Perspectives of Public Administration

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PERSPECTIVES OF
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Block-1

STUDYING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Unit-1: International Relations: Meaning, Scope and Evolution

Unit-2: Emergence of International State System

Unit-3: National Interest-Key Determinants of International Relations

Unit-4: Power Cornerstone of International Relations

UNIT-1 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: MEANING, SCOPE AND EVALUATION

Structure

1.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying the unit, you will be able to understand:
- The meaning and definition of International Relations
- The differentiation between international relations and International Politics
- The nature and scope of International Relations

- The students will be capable of looking at IR from three different levels of analysis
- The emergence of the International State System
- The pre-Westphalia and post-Westphalian system

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The discipline of international relations as an independent field has gradually developed over the period spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The phrase 'International' was first used by English philosopher and jurist Jeremy Bentham in 1780 when he spoke about 'international Jurisprudence' as a branch of law. Since then, the term international has been used to refer to those relations carried on among or between different states.

However, international relations as an academic discipline emerged after World War I. As political activity, international relations date back to the time of Greek city-states and the work of Thucydides, the Greek historian (460-395 BC) who wrote the History of the Peloponnesian War. The Greek city-states were facing problems associated with managing recurring conflicts between them, a problem central to the later understanding of international relations. The conflict between Athens and Sparta, the former being a weak city-state in comparison to the latter, reflected another important issue of international relations the issue of power and the powerful. It was based on the index of power that the Roman Empire later prevailed over the Greek city-states. According to Barry Buzan and Richard Little, 'the interaction of ancient Sumerian city-states starting in 3500 BC can be considered as the first full-fledged international system. The original point in the development of international relations must be traced to the period of Greek city-states because of the presence of conflict and small-scale wars among the Greek city-states for domination. The entire period from the Greek city-state to that of the Roman Empire is beset with the theme of war, annexation, and domination the themes central to the formulation of international relations as a subject. This is also the period when discourses on interstate relations were discussed in ancient India.

Kautilya's Arthashastra was a treatise on the conduct of inter-state relations. But the origin of modern international relations can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century. When scholars attempted to explain why states behave in a particular manner that results in war and how conflicts or war could be avoided. International relations as an academic area of inquiry began to emerge as an independent discipline in the aftermath of World War I with the establishment of an independent chair of International Politics at the University of Wales, United Kingdom. In 1920 at the London School of Economics, an independent chair for international relations was created in the name of Phillip Neol Baker. Before WWI, the study of international relations was part of political science, history, and international law.

Therefore, the origin of international relations is not very old and IR as an academic field is very recent. Modern nation-states have become far too interdependent and relations among them whether political or those related to trade and commerce, have developed into an essential area of knowledge. The discipline of IR tries to scrutinize some of the vital issues of our times like the changing nature of international cooperation and conflict, diplomacy, power struggle, nature and impact of globalization on various nations, and security issues such as terrorism, issue related to climate change, trafficking, migration, and poverty, etc.

The traditional core of IR has to do with issues concerning the development and change of statehood in the context of the larger system. It focuses on states and the relations of states to help explain why war and peace is the central problem of traditional IR. However modern IR is not only concerned with political relations between the states but also concentrates upon issues such as human rights, multinational organizations (MNCs), International organizations, environment, gender, development, terrorism, and so forth.

This chapter will try to introduce the historical background of IR. At the outset, it will attempt to discuss the meaning and defining features of international relations within the field of political science as a discipline. It will then turn towards elaborating on the difference between the notion of international relations and international politics. The next segment of the chapter will deal with issues about the need for studying international relations through the lens of different levels of analysis, namely, individual, state, and international standpoints. It will further delve into the topic of the emergence of international state systems vis-à-vis the pre-Westphalia period, the birth of modern states, and the post-Westphalia approach.

1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF IR

There is no unanimity among the writers and scholars of IR regarding the meaning and definition of IR since there have been various meanings and definitions offered on the subject. Because of various explanations and definitions given by various scholars, it is essential to examine some of those definitions of IR. According to Quincy Wright, 'The official relations between sovereign countries are described as international relations. So according to Wright, IR should tell the 'truth about the subject' which means how such relations are conducted and as a discipline IR should treat them systematically and scientifically. In other words, IR must focus on the study of all relations political, diplomatic trade, and academics among sovereign states which constitute the subject matter of international relations. The discipline of IR should include the study of various types of states or groups of states, forms of governments, peoples, regions, alliances, confederations, international organizations, even cultural organizations, religious organizations etc. which

are central in the conduct of international relations. Prof. Schleicher defines international relations as relations among states. Hans J Morgenthau in his famous book 'Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace' states that, 'International Relations has struggled for power among nations. Charles Reynolds regards international Relations as the process by which conflicts arise and are resolved at the global level. In this environment, nation-states try to serve their political interests utilizing their policies and auctions which may conflict with those of other nations. Thus, the study of international relations is the study of conflicts, how they originate, how the parties in conflict behave in an attempt to deal with them and how these conflicts are resolved.

Another comprehensive definition of IR has been put forward by Harold and Margret Sprout. They define IR as those aspects of interactions and relations of independent political communities in which some element of opposition and resistance to conflict.

According to Professor Alfred Zimmern who had written before World War II International Relations does not cover a single discipline or subject in the usual sense of the word. It does not provide a single body of teaching matter. It is not considered with any particular subject but constitutes multiple subjects of law, economics, political science, geography, and so on. Hartman defines International Relations as a field of study that focuses on the "processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states." Since the national interests of different states are often in disagreement and conflict, Morgenthau concludes that international politics, like all politics, is a power struggle. Therefore, power is the course of how states uphold their primary national interest.

Thus, almost all the writers have focused that IR is concerned with relations among states. However, other scholars have included in their definitions of international relations the study of relations involving non-state actors as well. Therefore, the study of international relations is interdisciplinary. IR is a combination of political science, history, and economics to examine issues such as human rights, global poverty, climate change, economic issues, and globalization. It also covers various security-related issues as well as the political environment.

1.4 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The terms international relations and international politics are often used interchangeably. They are often used as synonyms too. Some of the most renowned scholars of international politics such as Hans J. Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson have used these terms interchangeably. The term international relations are used in a larger context than

international politics because it includes different kinds of aspects such as political, social, cultural, diplomatic, and non-diplomatic relations. Harold and Margaret Sprout have viewed international relations as human behaviour on one side of national boundaries affecting human behaviour on the other side of the country. The term international politics is used in a narrow sense. The term international politics is concerned with the study of conflict and cooperation among nations essentially at the political level. As Padelford and Lincoln define it, international politics is the interaction of state policies within the changing mode of power association. Palmer and Perkins express similar views when they opine that international politics essentially deals with the state system.

International relations and international politics also differ concerning the methodology of the study. International relations as a subject are descriptive that includes the study of various factors systematically while international politics is analytical. In this sense, international relations are much vaster than international politics. But there is a close relationship between international relations and international politics. Some scholars have regarded international politics as a subfield of international relations. Despite some differences between the two, it cannot deny that international relations and international politics intend to pursue the same goals and objectives.

1.5 NATURE AND SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Grayson Kirk identified in 1947 five crucial subject matters of IR; the nature and operation of state-system; factors that affect the power of a nation-state; the international position and foreign policy of Great Powers; the history of recent international relations and the building of a more stable global order. The Paris Conference of the International Political Science Association in 1948 decided that the subject matter of IR should include international politics, international organization, and administration, and international law.

Karl Deutsch has identified twelve major aspects of IR subject matter which include: state and world; global process and global interdependence; war and peace; power and limitation; international politics and society; world population and environment challenges; poverty; freedom and oppression; perception and illusion; activity and apathy; revolution and stability; identity and transformation. Vincent Barker (1970s) has identified seven elements as the basic subject matter of IR; elements of national power; tools available for promotion of national interests; nature and principal forces of international politics; political, social, and economic organization of international life; limitation and control of national power; foreign policy of one or more major powers and occasionally of a small state; history of recent international events.

Baylis and Smith in their famous book entitled 'Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations' have argued that in the background of globalization,

many new issues have been included within the scope of IR. This scope of IR includes; Human Rights, Environmental issues, and Gender issues. The scope of IR in the modern period remains within the large framework of appropriate establishment of the relationship between national interests and international obligations for every state. Due to this reason, Baylis and Smith have proposed the use of the term world politics instead of international relations to make the scope of IR more inclusive.

1.6 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: UNDERSTANDING THE LEVEL OF ANALYSIS

The reason why we study IR is that the entire population of the world is divided into different states. Together these states form an international state system. So legally states are independent of each other. But that does not mean that they exist in isolation. On the contrary, they adjoin each other and affect each other in various ways in the international state system. So, they form a system, which is the core of IR. We are today living in an interdependent state - system. All of us need to have a clear idea of what is happening in the world. Political events are important, but even economic developments, trade, commerce, and activities of actors like multinational corporations are no less significant.

The discipline of IR has broad objectives in today's society, as it tries to explain: first, the origin of war and maintenance of international peace, second IR tries to understand the nature and exercise of power within the international framework and lastly, the discipline of IR tries to understand the changing nature of the state and non-state actors which are main players in the decision making in the global system.

We live in an age of growing international cooperation. Therefore, not only do the activities of the United Nations and its numerous agencies affect all the nations and their peoples, but regional organizations like the European Union, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) also play important roles in our lives. International terrorism has been a concern for human societies at large. It has also served to be important for economic institutions like the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) that affect international relations. The study of International Relations has therefore become highly useful and enlightening for the scholars and students of IR.

1.7 THREE LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

This section aims to examine the significance and usefulness of the level of analysis which is a central concept of IR. In IR generally, three levels are used to analyze international relations. The debate related to the level of analysis began in IR in the 1950s when Kenneth Waltz (1959) published his book titled 'Man, the State and War. In his book, Waltz

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propounded three levels or three images to explain the behaviour of states or decisions of states concerning war. Waltz suggested that three levels of analysis can be utilized in the study of how wars occur. So, the level of analysis explains the ways of analyzing how foreign policy decisions are made at different levels of the state, individual policymakers, and the bureaucracy or the states as a collective.

1.7.1 Individual Level of Analysis:

According to Waltz the first level of analysis is the individual level, in which Waltz argues that wars are often caused due to patterns of human nature (human behaviour) or by the nature of a particular political leader. Individual level of analysis focuses on human nature. These individuals make decisions related to foreign policy and other political relations in the state system that determine the behaviour of other states in the global system. Individual level of analysis sees the political leaders of states as being the largest influencers of foreign policy. According to the individual level of analysis, the locus of the important causes is found in the nature and behaviour of man. Wars result from selfishness, misdirecting impulses, from stupidity (Waltz 1959: 16). So, the individual level of analysis focuses on human behaviour which means wars occur due to human nature or the nature of particular statesmen or political leaders like Saddam Hussein of Iraq or Napoleon and the policy of Hitler during the World War II.

1.7.2 State Level of Analysis:

The second level or image examines the behaviour of states. In the second level, Waltz considers the argument that the property of the state matters in affecting its behaviour. These include its form of government, internal constitution, or mode of production and distribution. In other words, Waltz suggests that this level of analysis focuses on the internal structure of the state. The State level of analysis examines how a state's characteristics determine its foreign policy behaviour. This level of analysis also sees states as having cultural characteristics based on their religious and social traditions, and their historical legacy, and includes an analysis of the economy and geographical factors. Waltz in this second level of analysis contends that wars are caused by the domestic structure (internal political structure) of states. In this context, Waltz refers to Lenin's theory of imperialism that point out that the main cause of war is rooted in the need for capitalist states to continue opening up new markets to perpetuate their economic system in their home country. For instance, some believe that democratic countries behave in a certain manner or don't fight with each other while capitalist states and socialist states generate different attitudes and behaviour. A failed state like North Korea may equally affect state behaviour and the failure of domestic democratic institutions may also result in war. We can also use state-level analysis to understand US intervention in Iraq. The US always had an idealist line in its foreign policy e.g., democratization of the world.

1.7.3 System Level of Analysis:

The system-level analysis looks at the international system; particularly, how the international system affects the behaviour of states. Waltz examines a property of the international system (anarchical) for causality in state behaviour. In this level of analysis, the international system causes the state to behave in a certain way. Hence it is the features of the international system that causes states to behave in the direction they do. This implies that any change in the international system will also be accompanied by a change in state behaviour. The key element in the international system is the power of a state. Some states are more powerful while others are weak. The cold war involved two powerful states. The behaviour of all states was influenced by the cold war since both the US and USSR were the two powerful states in a bipolar system. Today, the world is identified as unipolar with one superpower (or hyperpower) and that defines the behaviour of all other states in the system. So, this level of analysis can prove to be beneficial in explaining the US intervention in Iraq as a power of the US, the superpower, that attempts to order the world against states that serve to act as its threat. The US wants to maintain its supremacy and therefore defeat all opponents.

1.8 EVOLUTION OF IR AS A DISCIPLINE

This section will discuss the evolution of the international state system and its relevance in contemporary international relations. Generally, the scholars of IR trace the origin of the state system to the year 1648 when the treaty of Westphalia was signed, which brought the thirty years War to an end. This section is divided into three parts; the state system in the pre-Westphalia period, the second; Westphalian system, and the third the post-Westphalian system.

1.8.1 Pre-Westphalia
Much before the treaty of Westphalia was signed the political arrangements which worked in the form of states did exist and ties between other such units were common in nature. However, the only difference was that these political arrangements which operated in the form of states were not sovereign entities. The church in Rome largely served as the controlling authority. For most of human history, people have organized their political lives in different ways, the most common being in the form of political empires such as the Roman Empire or the Ottoman Empire. In the future, the world may cease to remain organized into a state system. People may eventually give up on sovereign statehood and abandon the institutions associated with it. People throughout history have abandoned many other ways of organizing their political lives including city-states, feudalism, and colonialism. It is not unthinkable to be of the view that a form of global political organization that is better or more advanced than states and the state system will eventually be adopted (Jackson &

Sorenson, 2009:8). There was no existence of independent sovereign states before the 16th century after which state system first began to be organized in Western Europe.

The first relatively clear historical manifestation of a state system is that of ancient Greece (500-100 BC). Ancient Greece was not a nation-state the way it is today. Rather it was a system of many states. Athens was the largest and most famous, but there were also many other city-states, such as Sparta and Corinth. Together they formed the first state system in European history. There were comprehensive relations between the city-states. But ancient Greece city-states were not modern sovereign states with extensive territories. The Greek state system was ultimately destroyed by neighbouring empires and Greeks became part of the Roman Empire, which was spreading its territories and ruling most of Europe, large parts of West Asia, and North Africa. Thereafter the Roman Empire had to tackle various political communities that were acquired. It followed a policy of subordinating the acquired territories rather than reorganizing them. Instead of international relations or quasi-international relations, under Roman Empire, the only option for political communities was either submission to Rome or revolt. Finally, peripheral countries of the Empire started to revolt. The Roman army could not contain the revolts and began to move away. Many a time, the city of Rome itself was invaded by tribes. Eventually, Roman Empire was brought to an end after many centuries of success and survival.

The empire system was the common pattern of the political system that gradually rose in Christian Europe over several centuries after the disintegration of Europe. The two successors of the Roman Empire were first, the Western Europe medieval catholic empire based in Rome, and second Eastern Europe and the near east, the Byzantine Empire. Apart from these two state systems North Africa and the Middle East formed a world of Islamic civilization that emerged in the Arabian Peninsula during the 7th century. There were other civilizations like India and Iran as well. The other oldest empire was the Chinese Empire which was ruled by various dynasties.

The medieval period was an era of empire and the relations and conflicts of various empires. During these centuries states did exist but in the form of empires. First, they were not independent and sovereign in the modern sense. Second, there were no well-defined territories and borders. So the territorial political independence that we have in the modern state system was completely absent during the pre-Westphalia period. The pre-Westphalia period was also one of considerable dismay, disorder, conflict, and violence due to a lack of clearly defined territory and control. These empires were always at war sometimes wars were fought between religious organizations and sometime between kings such as the Hundred year's war between France and England. During this period the king was the only source of power.

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1.8.2 Treaty of Westphalia and the Rise f the modern state system

The contemporary international state system was established by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This treaty formally ended the thirty years' War (1618-48) which began in 1618 over religious issues. The war was fought within the Holy Roman Empire between the Catholic Hapsburg dynasty and their protestant subjects in Bohemia. During these years, the conflict developed through a series of phases into a large political conflict involving Austrian and Spanish branches of the Hapsburgs along with their allies among the catholic German Princes against Denmark, Sweden, France, and their allies among the protestant German Princes. Therefore, this war involved the entire Europe and most of the part of Europe was devastated. The thirty years' War came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, in which major European powers agreed to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The peace of Westphalia paved the way for the rise of the nation-state system by recognizing state sovereignty. The conclusion of the Thirty-Year War in the Peace of Westphalia marked the starting point for new norms governing the behaviour of states in their relations with each other. So, the concept of sovereignty, mediation between states, and diplomacy all find their emergence in the treaty.

The Treaty of Westphalia determined relations among states and their subjects. It was one of the first attempts toward codifying an international set of laws that essentially provided the basis for international communities such as the European Union and the United Nations. This also laid the groundwork for an early American nation. The modern international system is the reflection of the Westphalian system. Hence Westphalian system remains the model for international relations around the world and the notion of sovereignty, solidified by the peace, is still the basis for modem international treaties and conventions. After the Peace of Westphalia territorial states emerged as the sole legitimate players in the new international system. Only sovereign states could either wage wars or enter into treaties or alliances with each other. After the Treaty of Westphalia, states were seen as the only legitimate political system of Europe based on their independent territory, sovereignty, and government.

Through this treaty, the state recognized the principle of sovereignty, the principle of territorial integrity, and the principle of equality.

1.8.3. Post-Westphalia State Systems
The Westphalian system began in 1648 within the next few centuries spread from Europe to the rest of the world. The Westphalian system assumed vital importance due to three reasons. First, it secularized international relations by separating them from religious grounds, anchoring them instead on the doctrines of national interest. Second, it promoted the idea of sovereignty in international relations. And, third, it accepted the notion of an international community based on the equality of states. So, over the next three centuries, the principles

and ideals of the Westphalian treaty gradually reached Europe Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The Westphalian system reached a peak in the late 19th century. The diplomatic form which emerged from the peace of Westphalia provided the framework or structure upon which global negotiations happened down through WWI until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Even after international relations were renegotiated after WWI, scholars argue that the effects of the peace of Westphalia and the structure that it provided can be seen in many modern international communities including the United Nations, formally the League of Nations, and the European Union (EU). The charter of the United Nations created in 1945 has some of the very same provisions as the Peace of Westphalia.

The recent trend in the transformation of the global system is often depicted as a shift from Westphalia to post-Westphalia. According to this notion, the Westphalian system comprising sovereign states that interact under anarchic conditions gives rise to a post-Westphalian system. This is not to say that a centralized world state is in the making. The emerging post-Westphalian order remains fragmented: issues of area-specific orders continue to coexist. Yet within some orders, international organizations gain political authority and, thus increasingly introduce vertical elements into the otherwise horizontal international order.

1.8.4 Challenges to the Westphalian System
There has been debate among scholars and policy formulators regarding whether the Westphalian system continues to dominate in the present century. Modern international relations are shaped by centrifugal and centrifugal forces. At the same time that globalization is pulling many of the inhabitants together, fragmenting processes are pushing people apart. The world is simultaneously becoming more cosmopolitan as well as more parochial. Many non-state actors such as international organizations and MNCs are now competing with sovereign states. There has been a sharp increase in the number of global organizations and institutions. Under globalization, politics can operate above the state through political integration schemes such as inter-governmental organizations like International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO). Today nation-states are entangled in a very complex network of global governance that includes MNCs, IOs (International Organizations), and NGOs (Non-governmental organizations. Hence the contemporary world is being shaped by forces that are challenging the Westphalian system.

The results of globalization are not only confined to the rules of global interactions but also challenge the power that rests with nation-states and raise it to a higher level. A state can hardly do anything even when it has taken momentous decisions on policy issues, because, with increasing proportion the operative part of it is dependent on or is the responsibility of a variety of non-state actors, international organizations, and MNCs. Globalization

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increased this trend in the decade of 1990s with the growing belief that the multi-dimensional process of globalization had the potential to erode or limit state sovereignty. Hence the notion of the nation-state has undergone a significant change in terms of its purpose and sovereignty. State sovereignty is an issue that has become highly questionable in the age of globalization. In the post-WWII period, the concept of nation-states has been effectively restrained in their individualistic pursuit of goals and payoffs by the proliferation of international organizations and regimes and the internalization of global norms and rules by domestic countries.

Nation-states and their sovereignty are also challenged by the emergence of global governance. Global governance is operating through a host of organizations ranging from international organizations to regional or local organizations. Some of these institutions or organizations can be identified as the United Nations and its various organs and agencies such as WHO, WTO, IMF, and regional organizations like the EU, ASEAN, SAARC, and NATO. So, the end of the Cold War saw growing integration and the erosion of Westphalian sovereignty.

Scholars would agree that the Peace of Westphalia was, for its time, a revolutionary and monumental achievement; it developed the framework for international diplomacy, a construct that simply did not exist before the 17th century. This peace was extremely influential down through the Treaty of Versailles and the Westphalian tradition can still be seen in modem international politics. The decisions that were made in the year 1648 on the issues of individual state sovereignty, religious tolerance, and diplomatic solutions to international warfare were the precedents of common and international law that held importance during the First World War and, arguably, still form the core of foreign policy. The Westphalian tradition can be seen in various modem international forums including the United Nations and is one of history's leading examples of how one conflict can impact the affairs of dozens of independent nations for centuries.

1.9 SUMMARY

The present chapter has mainly introduced the discipline of International Relations which has flourished in contemporary times and acquired a major ground as a field of study of its own. The chapter began by underlining the meaning and different definitions of International Relations that have been put forward by eminent scholars and researchers within the field. The development of International Relations as an academic discipline has been discussed at length. Thereafter an attempt has been made to lay out the differences that exist between International Relations and International Politics as it is well known that these two terms are quite often used interchangeably and sometimes as synonyms as well. The subsequent section of the chapter has dealt with the levels of analysis that are used to understand the subject matter of international relations. There are three levels of analysis,

namely, the individual level, the state level, and the system level which are used while analyzing and studying issues within the discipline of international relations. The emergence of the international state system has been elaborately taken up for discussion following the framework of levels of analysis. It has been argued by experts in the field of international relations that the international state system that took shape mainly resulted from the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 which gave birth to the modern and sovereign states. Before the existence of the present state system, the world was organized in the form of different political arrangements and the last such setting was in the shape of empires. These empires were unlike the present states. The difference between empires and modern states has been explained briefly in the chapter. However, many argue that the modern states which came up in the post-Westphalia phase have undergone a huge transformation with the concept of globalization set in. Globalization is argued as a system that has questioned the sovereign nature of modern states as they are closely tied with each other, interacting and in relationship with each other. In a world marked by globalization, modern states have entered a new phase of political arrangement that has given birth to an international-state system where one state interacts with another state as well as various other non-state actors.

1.10 EXERCISES

1. What is the meaning of International Relations?
2. What is the difference between International Relations and International Politics?
3. What is the scope of International Relations?
4. What is Westphalia Treaty?
5. Discuss the evolution of International Relations.

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UNIT-2 EMERGENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATE SYSTEM

Structure

2.1 Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 History of the International System

2.4 The Pre-Westphalian World

2.5 The Emergence of the Westphalian System

2.6. The Westphalian and   Post-Westphalian International Systems

2.7 International State System and Diplomacy

      2.7.1 International organizations (IOs), Multinational Corporations (MNCs), Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and International State System

2.8 Functioning of the International System

2.9 Summary

2.10 Exercises

2.11 References

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you will be able to

- Know the history of the international system
- Gather information about the Pre-Westphalian world
- Analyze The Emergence of the Westphalian System
- Draw the line of demarcation between the Westphalian and Post-Westphalian International systems

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2.3 INTRODUCTION

In modern international law, the State is the stable legal organisation of a territorial political community in a form that enables it, along with other similarly organised communities, to form part of the international community of States. States are the basic, primary components of the international community. An international system is a network of states, organizations, and individuals that interact on a global scale. It is the framework for international relations that outlines who interacts with whom, how they interact, and what the rules of engagement are. The State got identified with its four essential elements: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. In the sphere of International Relations, its four basic credentials Nationalism, Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Legal Equality got fully recognized.

In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War between Catholic states and Protestant states in Western and Central Europe, established our modern international system. Nationalism emerged as a strong force, allowing nation-states to grow even more powerful. Italy and Germany became unified countries, which altered the balance of military and economic power in Europe. The problems raised by the unification of Germany contributed to World War I (1914–1918). In the aftermath of the war, the international system changed dramatically again. The major powers of Europe had suffered greatly, whereas the United States began to come out of its isolation and transform into a global power. At the same time, the end of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires created a series of new nations, and the rise of communism in Russia presented problems for other nations. These factors contributed to the Treaty of Versailles, the rise of Nazism and communism, and World War II (1939–1945).

The end of World War II marked a decisive shift in the global system. After the war, only two great world powers remained: the United States and the Soviet Union. Although some other important states existed, almost all states were understood within the context of their relations with the two superpowers. This global system was called Bipolar because the system centred on two great powers. Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the nature of the world has changed again. Only one superpower remains, leading some scholars to label the new international system Unipolar. Others point to the increasing economic power of some European and Asian states and label the new system Multipolar. To some extent, both terms are accurate. The United States has the world's most powerful military, which supports the unipolar view, but the U.S. economy is not as powerful, relative to the rest of the world, lending credence to the multipolar view.

2.3 HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATE SYSTEM

States engage with one another in an environment known as the International System. All states are considered to be sovereign, and some states are more powerful than others. The system has several informal rules about how things should be done, but these rules are not binding. International Relations has its existence right from the appearance of the states. But the modern international system under which we live today is only a few centuries old. Significant events have marked milestones in the development of the international system.

- **The Peace Treaty of Westphalia (1648)**

In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War between Catholic states and Protestant states in Western and Central Europe, established the modern international system. It declared that the Nation-state is Sovereign within its borders and established the state as the main actor in global politics. The International system has consisted primarily of relations among nation-states. Peace of Westphalia was a series of Peace Treaties signed between May and October 1648. The Treaty of Westphalia brought an end to the Thirty Years War (1618-48) in the Holy Roman Empire (Between Protestant & Roman Catholics) and the Eight Year War between Spain and the Dutch Republic. This treaty established a new system of IR based on its fundamental principle- the state's sovereignty.

- **Shifting Balances of Power (1600–1800)**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Nation-state emerged as the dominant political unit of the international system. A series of powerful states dominated Europe, with the great powers rising and falling. Weaker states often banded together to prevent the dominant power from becoming too strong, a practice known as preserving the **Balance of Power.** Frequent wars and economic competition marked this era. Some Nations—notably France and England—were powerful, but some others such as Spain and the Ottoman Empire shrank in power.

- **Emergence of Nationalism (1800–1945)**
  The nineteenth century brought two major changes to the international system:

  - Nationalism emerged as a strong force enabling the Nation-states to be very powerful.
  - Italy and Germany became unified countries, which altered the balance of military and economic power in Europe.

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The problems created because of the Unification of Germany contributed to World War I (1914–1918). The International system changed dramatically after the close of the War. The major powers of Europe suffered greatly. The United States began to come out of its isolation and transformed into a global power. At the same time, the end of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires gave birth to some new Nations and the rise of Communism in Russia presented problems for other Nations. These factors contributed to the Treaty of Versailles, the rise of Nazism and Communism and World War II (1939–1945).

- **New World Orders (1945–onwards)**

The end of World War- II marked a decisive shift in the global system. After the war, only two great world powers remained: the United States and the Soviet Union. Although some other important states existed, almost all states were understood within the context of their relations with the two superpowers. This global system was called Bipolar because the system centred on two Great Powers.

Since the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the nature of the world has changed again. Only one superpower remains for which the new international system is called Unipolar. The increasing economic power of some European and Asian states made the new system known as Multipolar. The United States has the world's most powerful military, which supports the unipolar view, but the U.S. economy is relatively less powerful, lending support to the multipolar view.

2.4 THE PRE-WESTPHALIAN WORLD

Many International Relations theorists date the contemporary system from the formulation of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This treaty marks the end of rule by religious authority in Europe. The Greek city-state system, the Roman Empire, and the Middle Ages are each key developments leading to the Westphalian order   The Middle Ages was marked by the debate on Centralization and Decentralization. With the disintegration of the Roman empire in the fifth century A.D., power and authority became decentralized in Europe. By 1000 A.D. three civilizations had emerged from the rubble of Rome:

     1. *Arabic civilization:* under the religious and political domination of the Islamic caliphate, advanced mathematical and technical accomplishments made it a potent force.

     2. *Byzantine Empire:* located near the core of the old Roman Empire in Constantinople and united by Christianity.

     3. *The rest of Europe*, where languages and cultures proliferated, and the networks of communication developed by the Romans started to disintegrate. Much of Western

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Europe reverted to feudal principalities, controlled by Lords and tied to fiefdoms that had the authority to raise taxes and exert legal authority. Feudalism was the response to the prevailing disorder

The pre-eminent institution in the medieval period was the church. After 1000 A.D. secular trends began to undermine both the decentralization of feudalism and the universalization of Christianity in Europe. Commercial activity expanded into larger geographic areas. All forms of communication improved and new technologies made daily life easier. Economic and technological changes prepare the ground for fundamental changes in social relations.

Niccolò Machiavelli, in *The Prince*, elucidated the qualities that a leader needs to maintain the strength and security of the state. Realizing that the dream of unity in Christianity was unattainable, Machiavelli called on leaders to articulate their political interests. Leaders must act in the state's interest, answerable to no moral rules.

In the 1500s and 1600s, as European explorers and even settlers moved into the New World, the old Europe remained in flux. Feudalism was being replaced by an increasingly centralized monarchy. The masses, angered by taxes imposed by the newly emerging states, rebelled and rioted.

2.5 THE EMERGENCE OF THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM

The formulation of sovereignty was one of the most important intellectual developments leading to the Westphalian Revolution.

Much of the development of sovereignty is found in the writings of French philosopher Jean Bodin. To Bodin, sovereignty was the "absolute and perpetual power vested in a commonwealth." According to Bodin, Absolute Sovereignty is not without limits. Leaders are limited by Natural Law, Laws of God, the type of Regime, and Covenants and Treaties.

The Thirty Years War (1618-48) devastated Europe. But the Treaty of Westphalia ending the stalemate had a profound impact on the practice of international relations in three ways: i) It embraced the notion of sovereignty—that the sovereign enjoyed exclusive rights within a given territory.

ii) It also established that states could determine their domestic policies in their own geographic space. Leaders sought to establish their permanent national militaries. The state thus became more powerful since the state had to collect taxes to pay for these militaries and the leaders assumed absolute control over the troops.

iii) It established a core group of states that dominated the world until the beginning of the nineteenth century: Austria, Russia, England, France, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands and Belgium.

The most important theorist at the time was Scottish economist Adam Smith. In An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Smith argued that the notion of a market should apply to all social orders

- Individuals should be permitted to pursue their interests and will act rationally to maximize his or her interests
- With groups of individuals pursuing self-interests, economic efficiency is enhanced as well as the wealth of the state and that of the international system. This theory has had a profound effect on states' economic policies.

2.6 THE WESTPHALIAN AND POST-WESTPHALIAN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS

The basis of modern International Relations was established by the 1648 Westphalian Peace Treaties, which marked the birth of Nation-States as the privileged and primary actors, replacing the medieval system of centralized religious authority with a decentralized system of Sovereign states as the sole legitimate form of sovereign authority.

- The Westphalian state-centric system was based on some new principles, including the sovereignty, sovereign independence and equality of the nation-states, territorial integrity, the equal rights and obligations of the states, non-intervention in others' domestic affairs, and the conduct of inter-state diplomatic relations through embassies, among many others.

- Power was at the centre of this system to regulate inter-state relations in the absence of any higher systemic authority.

As Michael Vaughan argues, the Westphalian order was important for three reasons:

(I) It secularized international politics and managed it on the norms of National Interests.

(II) it introduced the concept of sovereignty which offered a privileged status to the states without any higher authority standing above them, unless the state voluntarily assents to such an authority.

(II) it accepted the states as sovereign supreme authorities within their borders with legitimate authority over all inhabitants living there and promoted a conception of international society based on the legal equality of the states. Referring to this difference between internal and external sovereignty, domestic politics and foreign policy emerged as two distinct and independent domains for the Nation- states. This continued until the late 1980s when state sovereignty and the state-centric Westphalian system had to face the

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challenges of a newly emerging international order. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Eastern European Communist governments, mostly through the non-violent Revolutions of 1989, transformed the international system by altering not only the rules governing superpower conflict but also the norms underpinning the international system. Thus, the end of the Cold War symbolized the end of modern international relations and state-centric ideology along with the weakening of the core state-centered tasks. In this respect, the Post-Westphalian International system can be conceived within the framework of three constitutive dynamics.

First, Sovereignty has been eroding in the globalizing and more cosmopolitan world. Nation states have become enmeshed in a complex network of global governance including regional and international organizations, transnational and sub-national entities, multi-national corporations and non-governmental organizations, citizen movements, and individuals that emerged as the independent actors with the assumed capacity to compete with states. Thus, states can no longer hold exclusive sovereignty and have lost the privilege of being the basic and determining actors of power struggles. Their capacities have been restrained by global dynamics which forced states to share their power and sovereignty with all non-state actors.

Second, the scope of International Relations has expanded by reaching many new fields of study. Human Rights, Gender, Women, the Environment, democratization, population movements, and energy politics are some of the new ventures. These are no longer confined to the limits of the Nation- states, inter-state relations, and state-centred activities.

Third, as Richard Haass argues, "International Relations becomes two-pronged: not just state-to-state, but between states on the one hand and sub-national and supra-national actors on the other, "along with its derivative impact on contemporary International Diplomacy as state-centred conduct.

In the Post-Westphalian International system, the nature of International Relations has changed because of the fragmentation and transformation of Sovereignty, its limits have been extended to embrace power and competition not only between states but also between cultures and civilizations. The International system has become much more interdependent, owing to the emerging partnerships between states and non-state actors. The difference between internal and external sovereignty has lost its validity. The distinction between domestic politics and foreign policy has become more uncertain than ever. Despite all of these changes, the discourse on the weakening of state power and the disappearance of states in the post-Westphalian system is only rhetorical. States continue to be important in a globalized world, although in a different way. Today, states have to open themselves to non-state actors, which has forced the former to recognize and co-exist with the latter in a multi-level and multi-centred structure. As a result, what happened in practice in the post-Westphalian era is that the conduct of certain activities and practices that were previously under the sovereign authorities of the states now take place through coordination and

cooperation among several different actors. One of the most obvious areas of cooperation is diplomacy.

2.7 INTERNATIONAL STATE SYSTEM AND DIPLOMACY

In a globalized system, diplomacy and diplomatic practices have transformed the sovereignty-based functions of states along with modifications like state sovereignty. Diplomacy is typically understood as a means of implementing the goals and objectives of the foreign policies of the states. Traditionally, diplomacy has been defined from a state-centric perspective until very recently. One of the leading thinkers in this field, Geoff R. Berridge defines Diplomacy as "*an essentially political activity and well-resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power ... to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law.*" In a similar way, Adam Watson defines the concept as a "*process of dialogue and negotiations among the states to manage their relations and to reach to their objectives without resorting to force or power.*"

One of the most striking definitions of diplomacy belongs to Sir Harold George Nicolson, who argues that diplomacy is "*the management of international relations by negotiation, the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by the ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist.*" Henry Kissinger accepts diplomacy as the conduct of relations among states based on compromise rather than on power relations. He argues that the successful and effective implementation of diplomacy is dependent on International Law, International Institutions, and Institutionalization. Thus, from an institutional perspective, diplomacy is accepted as a package of rules and routines embedded in the activities, structures, and cultures of state institutions as diplomatic actors, which define appropriate behaviours and acceptable norms for the states in their conduct of relations with each other in the international environment.

2.7.1 International Organizations (IOs), Multinational Corporations (MNCs), Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and International State Systems

The strategic leaders of the 21st century was primarily concerned with the issues of foreign policy and National Security. The Nation-state, first codified by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, remains the dominant political body in International Politics with its ability to influence events and people even though challenged by non-state actors. This takes place being aggravated by the transnational threats posed by Terror, the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), Crime, Drugs, pandemics, Human Trafficking, and Environmental degradation. This is also influenced by potentially positive factors such as Globalization and the Information revolution.

The International system refers to the structure of relationships that exist at the international level. These include the roles and interaction of both State and Non-state actors, along with

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international organizations (IOs), Multinational Corporations (MNCs), and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs).

States prepare and carry on Foreign and National Security policy within the environment of balancing conflict and cooperation. The International community has tried for years to maintain order and prevent conflict using International Institutions like the United Nations (UN) and International legal Regimes like the Geneva Conventions.

The Policy-makers of the 21st century must be able to understand the threats to find existence in the international system represented by both Conventional and Transnational entities. If the policy-maker or strategist can accurately assess all these factors, he might be able to determine friends and enemies, threats and opportunities, and capabilities and constraints inherent in the contemporary world. Threats, challenges, and opportunities can come in many shapes and sizes.

If a Nation-state can come to the assistance of another Nation-state or Region in time of need (e.g., natural disaster or failing economy), the opportunity exists to demonstrate concern and ultimately gain some level of influence with the entity in need. The same may be true when cooperating with other states as they march towards democratic forms of government or market economies, or when signing on to an International Regime like an arms control treaty.

The Sovereign equality is marked by the following elements:

1. States are legally equal.

2. Every state enjoys the rights inherent in full sovereignty.

3. Every state is obligated to respect the fact of the legal entity of other states.

4. The territorial integrity and political independence of a state are inviolable.

5. Each state has the right to freely choose and develop its own political, social, economic, and cultural systems.

6. Each state is obligated to carry out its international obligations fully and conscientiously and to live in peace with other states.

Since the 17th century, the Nation-state has been the dominant political entity in the international system because of the concept of sovereignty which has given to the states both absolute domestic control and independence at the international level. But Nation-states have never been alone in the international system. Various Non-state actors have always challenged their influence. The term non-state actor refers to any participant in the international system that is not a government but may have an impact on the internationally

related decisions or policies of one or more states. Examples of Non-state actors would be IOs, NGOs, MNCs, the international news media, armed elements attempting to free their territory from external rule, or terrorist groups. An individual may also be a non-state actor. Examples of uniquely powerful individuals would be Multibillionaire Bill Gates, Financier George Soros, and Terrorist Ayman al-Zawahiri.

An IO is a formal institutional structure that transcends national boundaries. States create them by multilateral agreement or treaty. IOs normally function as an association of states that wield state-like power through governmental-like organs. The founding treaty defines the limits of the IO's legal competence. Thus, the primary difference between a state and an IO is that the IO possesses only the powers granted to it in its originating document by the states that created it and cannot legally act beyond those powers. A state possesses the rights and duties recognized by international law, subject to the provisions of that law, and can involve itself in almost any activity of its choosing. IOs depend entirely on member states for support and resources, both political and practical (like money and personnel). The result is that every IO depends on a sufficient number of member states that believe it is in their national interest to support the IO and its activities. Without member-state support, the IO will not be able to function. Examples of IOs include the UN, NATO, and the European Union (EU).

But NGOs are voluntary organizations of private individuals, both paid and unpaid, who are committed to a wide range of issues but not on behalf of any specific state government. Owing to increased interconnectedness and advancement in communications technology and transportation, specialized NGO organizations have risen around the globe, and have an unprecedented level of influence in the modern international system. NGOs may be of two categories: those having a universal non-commercial and non-partisan focus, and those primarily motivated by self and profit interest. The former is likely to involve humanitarian aid organizations, human rights groups, environmentalists, or new social movements. Representative organizations of this first type are Amnesty International, Greenpeace, the Red Cross, and Save the Children.

The second NGO grouping, those that are directed by self-interest, is usually best represented by MNCs. MNCs, sometimes called transnational corporations, are global actors that execute commercial activities for profit in more than one country. They influence the field of international commerce. They are the modernizing force in the international system through the establishment of hospitals, schools, and other valuable infrastructure in the Third World. They are charged with exploiting underdeveloped states in the conduct of corporate free trade.

International Regimes can take the form of legal conventions, international agreements, treaties, or international institutions. Special issue areas that they occupy include economics, the Environment, Human Rights, policing, and Arms control. Contemporary Regimes like

the World Trade Organization (WTO), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Kyoto Protocol on the Environment, Geneva Conventions, International Criminal Court (ICC), United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START) I and II are all intended to specify general standards of behaviour and identify the rights and obligations of signatory states.

The checks and balances created for the international system by the primary state actors and regimes have still been unable to assure global stability and good governance. The problem of failed states has emerged since the end of the Cold War. It indicates that a breakdown of law, order, and basic services, such as education and health for the population, has occurred. This situation arises when a state is no longer able to maintain itself as a workable political and economic entity. A failed state is ungovernable and has lost its legitimacy from the perspective of the international community. In some cases, power lies in the hands of criminals, warlords, armed gangs, or religious fanatics. The failed states have created space for civil war. The end of the Cold War accelerated the process of the failure of the State because the rival powers no longer provided economic and military assistance to former client regimes in the underdeveloped world. The governments of the failed states in countries like Haiti, Somalia, Liberia, Cambodia, and Rwanda were unable to survive without that assistance.

The failure to maintain complete order in the international system is also associated with the development of the rogue state. A Rogue state is a state that frequently violates international standards of acceptable behaviour. This is a sovereign entity that is openly aggressive, highly repressive, and intolerant with little or no regard for the norms of the international system. As such, it is a threat to International Peace. The Rogue state may attempt to exert influence over other states by several means. It might threaten or develop, test, and monitor the ballistic missile systems or break international treaties, or sponsor terrorism. It is likely to be aggressive toward other states. Current examples of Rogue states are North Korea and Iran.

Transnational threats are threats to the international system that cross state borders. Such threats emerged or increased dramatically in the latter part of the last century. While the term transnational relates to any activity that crosses state boundaries, transnational threat is a technical term that usually refers to activities with minimal or no governmental control. Three types of movement can be associated with transnational behaviour: movement of physical objects, including human beings; movement of information and ideas; and movement of money and credit.

These transnational threats fall into two broad categories:

1. Direct threats from human beings (terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking to include illegal alien smuggling, small arms transfers, and smuggling of WMD).

2. Threats from impersonal forces (Disease and International Pandemics, Population growth and Migration, Resource shortages, Global Environmental degradation, Climate Change, and Natural disasters like earthquakes, volcano eruptions, hurricanes, or tsunamis).

Transnational threats have been expanding since the end of the Cold War for several reasons. Many emerging democracies are the vestiges of former authoritarian states where there has been a long legacy of coercion, violence, and corruption. Such states relied more on roles and relations than on rules and regulations. Thus, many emerging governments have been constrained by political norms that place factional loyalties above commitment to public policies.

The threats and the problems associated with Failed and Rogue states, ungoverned spaces, and potential competition and conflict among the state and non-state actors, also present some opportunities. Some States and Non-state actors can advance their causes in support of their national, organizational, or group interests by exploiting instability in the system. This interaction among the actors represents the international system at work.

2.8 FUNCTIONING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

As players on the international stage, both state and non-state actors either work alone or attempt to work with other elements of the system. Such relationships might be with other states or non-state actors on a bilateral basis; formal groupings of states, IOs, NGOs, or other non-state actors; or informal, even unacknowledged, cooperation with other system members. States can opt to form or join existing alliances or coalitions. An alliance is a formal security agreement between two or more states. States enter into alliances to protect themselves against a common threat. The members of an alliance believe they can improve their overall position in the international system and their security relative to states which are not members of their alliance by consolidating resources and acting in unison. Additional benefits to alliance membership might include the ability to offset the cost of defence. Unless an Alliance partner is an actual liability, membership in an Alliance allows states to supplement their military capability with those of their alliance partners. The Alliance is less expensive than a unilateral approach to security. Economically related Alliances can provide expanded economic benefits through increased trade, assistance, and loans between Allies.

States often agree to participate in a Coalition as a matter of convenience. Coalitions are likely to be temporary, while alliances can frequently endure for lengthy periods. Examples would be the American-led coalitions during the first Persian Gulf War (Operations DESERT SHIELD/ STORM) and the second conflict (Operation IRAQI FREEDOM). Two ways states might use alliances or coalitions are to balance or to bandwagon. Both refer to decisions, conscious or subconscious, about relations with other system members. A state is balancing when it joins a weaker alliance or coalition to counter the influence or power of a stronger state or group of states. Balancing occurs when a weaker state decides that the dominance and influence of a stronger state are not acceptable, and the cost of allowing the stronger state to continue its policies unchecked is more than the cost of action against the stronger state. Balancing can be either external or internal in origin. In the external case, weaker states form a coalition against a stronger state, shifting the Balance of Power in their favour. A weaker state can also balance internally by deciding to undertake a military buildup to increase its power over the stronger state.

Balancing in the International system can also be either a hard or soft action. It would be hard when it is intended to increase or threaten the use of military power of one state relative to another. A soft use would occur if weaker states want to balance a stronger opponent but believe that the use of military power is infeasible. In that situation, states employ nonmilitary elements of power to help neutralize the stronger states. Band wagoning is different from balancing because it will always refer to the act of a weaker state or states joining a stronger state, alliance, or coalition. Band wagoning occurs when weaker states determine that the cost of opposing a stronger state exceeds the benefits to be gained from supporting it. The stronger power may offer incentives like territorial gain or trade agreements to entice the weaker actor to join with it.

Both State and Non-state Actors on the Global stage decide to participate in Alliances and Coalitions and to conduct policies in support of balancing and band wagoning based on their assessment of their relative power in the international system. This reflects one of the pervasive concepts relating to the system—that it represents or responds to a balance of power. It is important to distinguish between balancing of power as a policy (a deliberate attempt to prevent predominance on the part of another actor in the international system) and balancing of power as a description of how the international system works (where the interaction between actors tends to limit or restrict any attempt at hegemony and results in a general status of stability). The most widely accepted usage of the Balance of Power term is related to the latter version: the process that prevents or opposes the emergence of a single dominant actor. Theoretically, the international system works to prevent any actor from dictating to any other actor—that is, it works to maintain the anarchy of equal, independent, and sovereign states. Balance of power performs that duty for the system.

The Equilibrium protects the sovereignty of the states and the inequality of power, and the threat of violence combinedly give both dominant and subordinate actors a shared interest in maintaining order in the international system. Balance of Power becomes a type of compromise among actors that find stability preferable to anarchy, although it results in a system that favours the strong and wealthy over the weak and poor. More powerful actors, like the Great Power states, play leading roles in a Balance of Power International System because they have the superior military force and the ability to make use of key technology. The Balance of Power concept fulfils three functions in the international system:

    1. It prevents the system from being transformed by conquest into a universal empire.

    2. Localized Balances of Power serve to protect actors from absorption by a dominant regional actor.

    3. Most important, the Balance of Power has helped create the conditions in which other features of the international system can develop (i.e., diplomacy, stability, anarchy, or war).

The third function ensures the importance of the balance of power concept to the international system for the foreseeable future.

The search for security is the most significant concern for the vast majority of actors in the international system. Security implies the absence of threats to one's interests. In absolute terms, complete security would mean freedom from all threats. Historically, the term security is equated to the military dimension of security. Thus, security meant security from war or violent conflict. But the 20th century witnessed an expansion of the concept to include other security issues such as those relating to the economy or environment. Economic security is the assurance that a hostile actor cannot control the supply of goods and services or the prices for those goods and services. Examples are guarantees of water, oil, or natural gas. Environmental security implies protection from environmental dangers caused by natural or human processes due to ignorance, accident, mismanagement, or design, and originating within or across national borders.

How an actor in the international system chooses to interpret the concept of security helps determine participation in Alliances or Coalitions, involvement in universal Collective Security frameworks, and Balancing or Band wagoning behaviours.

States normally use power to achieve or defend goals that could include prestige, territory, or security. There are two general components of power: hard and soft. Hard power refers to the influence that comes from direct military and economic means. But Soft power refers to the power that originates from the more indirect means of moral authority, Diplomacy, Culture, Ideology, and history. Hard power describes an actor's ability to induce another actor to perform or stop acting. This can be done using military power through threats or force. It can also be achieved using economic power—relying on assistance, bribes, or economic sanctions. In contrast to the primary tools of hard power—the ability to threaten

with sticks or pay with carrots—soft power attracts others or co-opts them so that they want what you want. The need to combine the hard elements with soft elements would reflect a state's active participation in critical areas like "alliances, partnerships, and institutions, global development, public diplomacy, economic integration, and support for climate change and energy security-related technology and innovation."

Whether hard, soft, or smart, an actor's power is measured in terms of the ability to wield the instruments of power that it possesses. Such measurement is always done about another actor or actors and in the context of the specific situation in which the power might be wielded.

American security professionals often categorize the instruments of power in terms of the acronym DIME for the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic elements, and that remains the current DoD doctrinal definition. Regardless of which specific instruments of power are available for potential use, the most important consideration for an actor's ability to transform potential power into operational power is political will. The effectiveness of the actor's government and depth of domestic support (or leadership effectiveness and stakeholder support for nonstate actors) are crucial for developing and sustaining political will.

Any peaceful or forceful action taken by an actor in the international system will usually be taken to promote the interests of the executing actor. The National Interest is intended to identify what is most important to the actor. Until the 17th century, the National Interest was usually viewed as secondary to that of religion or morality. The rulers needed to justify their actions by engaging in war. This changed with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. For a state, the National Interest is likely to be multifaceted and can be oriented on political, economic, military, or cultural objectives. The most significant National Interest is the survival and security of the State. The assessment of the importance of its National Interests by the State determines what it will do or not do within the international system.

2.9 SUMMARY

Nations and states are not the same. Nations represent groupings of people that claim certain common bonds, such as descent, language, history, or culture. Collectively, such an aggregation would constitute a national entity. States, also known as Nation-states, have a legal character and possess certain rights and duties under the tenets of International Law. The 1933 Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States, considered the classic legal definition for states, declared that states possess the following characteristics: a permanent population, a defined territory, and a government capable of maintaining effective control over its territory and conducting international relations with other states. In

addition, the government must possess a monopoly on the legitimate use of force in the state, and other states in the international system must recognize the sovereignty of that government. The concept of Sovereignty came into existence with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia ending the Thirty Years War in Europe, when, for the first time, the authority of state governments became officially recognized as greater than the authority of organized religion in formal state affairs. In contemporary international law, Sovereign states are treated as equals, with every recognized state able to participate in the international system on the same plane.

According to Hoffman "An International system is a pattern of relations between the basic units of world politics which is characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by these units and of the tasks performed among them, as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform those tasks". International Relations allows nations to cooperate, pool resources, and share information as a way to face global issues that go beyond any particular country or region. Contemporary global issues include pandemics, terrorism, and the environment.

Three major trends in the international system are climate stress, financial limitations, and political uncertainty. The growth in cross-border economic activities takes five principal forms: (1) international trade; (2) foreign direct investment; (3) capital market flows; (4) migration (movement of labour); and (5) diffusion of technology

The contemporary international system is one of multipolarity, leaning towards non-polarity. The end of the Cold War marked the shift of the international system from being motivated by ideology to being motivated by strategy — an underlying feature of bipolarity. A Multipolar system exhibits a 'Balance of Power' mechanism, in which many states become allies to maintain power, without a single force dominating. The current international system exhibits all of the key characteristics of a Multipolar system — multiple nation-states of influence, alliances that shift based on power and stability, and international decisions made primarily for strategic terms. Facilitated by the advent of Globalization, Non-state actors possess an unprecedented level of economic, military, and cultural influence. Their expanded influence in the international system has helped shift it from the bipolarity of the Cold War era. The advent of globalization has also introduced a real-time effect into International Relations which has permanently altered the interactions between state and non-state actors, and the influence they have on the world.

2.10 EXERCISES

1. What is meant by the state system?
2. Describe three features of the state system.
3. Trace the evolution of the state system since the Peace of Westphalia.

4. Examine the Functions of the International System.

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UNIT-3 NATIONAL INTEREST: KEY DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Structure

3.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you will be able to

- Explain the importance of National Interest for any Nation-state;
- Analyze the relationship between National Interest and foreign policy;
- Define Security and Explain the Role of Security in the protection of National Interest and exercise of power.
- Know the Types of National Interests
- Identify the Methods for the Promotion of National Interest

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3.2 INTRODUCTION

'National Interest' is a key concept in International Relations. All nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their National Interests. The foreign policy of each Nation is formulated based on its National Interest and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its National Interests. A state always tries to justify its actions based on its National Interest. The behaviour of a state is always conditioned and governed by its National Interests.

"The meaning of National Interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states"—Morgenthau.

3.3 MEANING OF NATIONAL INTEREST

National Interest is a vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning according to the context in which it is used. Statesmen and policy-makers have always used it in ways suitable to them and to their objective of justifying the actions of their states. Hitler justified expansionist policies in the name of "German national interests."

The US presidents have always justified their decisions to go in for the development of more and more destructive weapons in the interest of "US national interest." To build up a strong nuclear base at Diego Garcia was justified by the USA in the name of meeting the challenge posed by the erstwhile USSR as well as for protecting the US interests in the Indian Ocean. During 1979-89, the (erstwhile) USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan in the name of "Soviet national interests".

China justified its border disputes with India and the Soviet Union in the name of attempts to secure the national interests of China. Now the P-5 countries talk of non-proliferation and arms control in terms of the national interests of all the nations.

All these and many more examples can be quoted to stress the ambiguity that surrounds the concept of National Interest. This ambiguity hinders the process of formulating a universally accepted definition of National Interest. However, several scholars have tried to define National Interest.

3.4 DEFINITION OF NATIONAL INTEREST

(1) National Interest means: "The general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving." — Charles Lerche and Abdul

(2) National Interest is: "What a nation feels to be necessary to its security and wellbeing … National interest reflects the general and continuing ends for which a nation acts." —Brookings Institution

(3) "National Interest is, that which states seek to protect or achieve about each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states." —Vernon Von Dyke

(4) "The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states". —Morgenthau

(5) National Interest means: "The values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve about each other" and "desires on the part of sovereign states". —V.V. Dyke

3.5 ROOTS OF THE IDEA OF NATIONAL INTEREST

National Interests can as define as the claims, objectives, goals, demands, and interests that a nation always tries to preserve, protect, defend, and secure in relations with other nations. According to Beard, this can never be an objective or quantifiable process because interests cannot be separated from human motives and concerns. There is no such thing as an objective reality called the national interest. Consideration of the national interest is a subjective assessment. As far as policy is concerned, interest inheres in human beings as a motive or force of attention, affection, and action. According to Beard, interest, subjectively considered, may take the form of an idea, and every idea about earthly affairs is attached to some interest considered as a material thing and is affiliated with social relationships. There are no ideas without interest and no interest without ideas. This claim has important implications for all analyses of the national interest which attempt to disaggregate its parts. It represents a challenge to claims made by classical realists that permanent, fixed national interests can be identified as objectives that should determine the conduct of the foreign policy of states. It also means that the national interest cannot be reduced to its parts for scientific measurement and assessment. Any analysis of the national interest must entail an inquiry into the ideas that express and represent the interest to be considered. The general will at the basis of claims for the national interest is an assumption that a political community

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can speak with a common voice. This is referred to as general will by Rousseau- the common expressions of a political community that cannot be reconciled with particular interests. The bond of society is that identity of interest which all feel who compose it. Societies have common interests which should form the basis of decision-making and policy. From critical perspectives of the national interest, the claim that a complex society can have common interests is largely a myth that serves the interests of dominant groups. Perhaps Rousseau had in mind Thucydides remark that an identity of interest is the surest of bonds whether between states or individuals. The transformation of raison detat into national interest started with Machiavelli. He argues in his book 'The Prince that the survival of the state was the paramount political consideration for rulers- an end in itself. The means necessary to achieve this goal are less important than the end itself.

3.6 COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

Two-fold classification of the Components of National Interests:

(A) Vital or Non-Variable Components of National Interest:

Physical identity includes territorial identity. Political identity means politico-economic system and Cultural identity stands for historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These are called vital components because they are essential for the survival of the nation and can be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war for securing or protecting its vital interests.

A nation always formulates its foreign policy decisions intending to secure and strengthens its security. The attempts to secure international peace and security, that nations are currently making, are being made because today the security of each state stands inseparably linked up with international peace and security. Security is, thus, a vital component of national interest. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even utilizing war.

(B) Non-vital or Variable Components of National Interest:

The non-vital components are those parts of national interest that are determined either by circumstances or by the necessity of securing the vital components. These are determined by a host of factors—the decision-makers, public opinion, party politics, sectional or group interests, and political and moral folkways.

"These variable interests are those desires of individual states which they would, no doubt, like to see fulfilled but for which they will not go to war. Whereas the vital interests may be taken as goals, the secondary interests may be termed as objectives of foreign policy."

These objectives have been listed by V.V. Dyke and his list includes Prosperity, Peace, Ideology, Justice, Prestige, and Power. Though each state defines these objectives in a manner that suits its interests in changing circumstances, these objectives can be described as common to almost all states. Thus, a national interest that a nation seeks to secure can be generally categorized into these two parts.

3.7 CLASSIFICATION OE TYPES OF NATIONAL INTERESTS

To be more precise in examining the interest that a nation seeks to secure; Thomas W. Robinson presents a sixfold classification of interests that nations try to secure.

1. The Primary Interests: These are those interests in respect of which no nation can compromise. It includes the preservation of physical, political, and cultural identity against possible encroachments by other states. A state has to defend these at all costs.

2. Secondary Interests: These are less important than primary interests. Secondary Interests are quite vital for the existence of the state. This includes the protection of citizens abroad and ensuring diplomatic immunities for the diplomatic staff.

3. Permanent Interests: These refer to the relatively constant long-term interests of the state. These are subject to very slow changes. The US's interest in preserving its spheres of influence and maintaining freedom of navigation in all the oceans is an example of such interests.

4. Variable Interests: Such interests are those interests of a nation that are considered vital for national good in a given set of circumstances. In this sense, these can diverge from both primary and permanent interests. The variable interests are largely determined by "the cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, and political and moral folkways."

5. The General Interests: The general interests of a nation refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations, etc. Maintaining international peace is a general interest of all nations. Similar is the case of disarmament and arms control.

6. Specific Interests: These are the logical outgrowths of the general interests and these are defined in terms of time and space. Securing the economic rights of the Third World countries through the securing of a New International Economic Order is a specific interest of India and other developing countries.

T.W. Robinson also refers to three more Types of National Interests, such as Identical Interests, Complementary Interests, and Conflicting Interests. The first category includes those interests that are common to a large number of states; the second category refers to those interests that, though not identical, can form the basis of agreement on some specific issues; and the third category includes those interests that are neither complementary nor identical.

7. Identical Interests: Identical interests between nations are those national interests that those nations hold in common. For example, Britain and the U.S. have had an interest in assuring that the European continent is not dominated by a single power.

8. Complementary Interests: These Interests between nations are those which, although not identical, at least are capable of forming the basis of agreement on specific issues.

9. Conflicting Interests: These Interests are those which are not included in Identical and Complementary Interests. It should be noted, however, that today's conflicting interests can be transformed tomorrow through diplomacy, the occurrence of events or the passage of time into common or complementary interests. The same thing might be said about the possibility of transforming identical or complementary interests into conflicting interests.

However, this classification is neither absolute nor complete. The complementary interests can, with time, become identical interests and conflicting interests can become complementary interests. The study of the National Interest of a nation involves an examination of all these vital and non-vital components of national interest.

3.8 HANS MORGENTHAU'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST

According to Morgenthau, "The concept of National Interest is similar in two respects to the 'great generalities' of the constitution, such as the general welfare and due process. In Morgenthau's opinion, the minimum requirement of nation-states is to protect their physical, political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states. Mahendra Kumar observes: "Perhaps the only level at which it can be defined is the level at which it

can be defined as the level of survival. It is difficult to define national interest either as more or less as survival. Not being a clearly defined quantity, National Interest is rather a psychological phenomenon which is subject to drastic changes that may result from internal shifts in power or from a change in a nation's values".

3.9 INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL INTEREST

Instruments and methods for the promotion of national interest are well explained by Palmer and Perkins. It will be pertinent to rely on their views while dealing with these instruments and methods. These can be briefly outlined as follows:

1. Diplomacy, 2. Alliance, 3. Propaganda 4. Psychological and Political Warfare, 5. Economic Means, 6. Imperialism and Colonialism and 7. Coercive Means

1. Diplomacy: Diplomacy is a universally accepted means of securing national interests. It is through diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations. It seeks to secure the goals of national interests. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations to achieve the desired goals and objectives of the national interests of their nation.

The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest in such a way as can persuade others to accept these as just and rightful demands of the nation. Diplomats use persuasion and threats, rewards and threats of denial of rewards as the means for exercising power and securing goals of national interest as defined by the foreign policy of their nation.

Diplomatic negotiations constitute the most effective means of conflict resolution and for reconciling the divergent interests of the state. Through mutual give and take, accommodation, and reconciliation, diplomacy tries to secure the desired goals and objectives of national interest.

As an instrument of securing national interest, diplomacy is a universally recognized and most frequently used means. Morgenthau regards diplomacy as the primary means. However, all the objectives and goals of national interest cannot be secured through diplomacy. It consists of the techniques and procedures for conducting relations among states. Diplomacy is practised through diplomats.

2. Alliances: Alliances and Treaties are concluded by two or more states to secure their common interests. This device is mostly used for securing identical and complementary

interests. However, even conflictual interests may lead to alliances and treaties with like-minded states against common rivals or opponents.

Alliances and treaties make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories of the treaties to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The alliances may be concluded for serving a particular specific interest or for securing several common interests. The nature of an alliance depends upon the nature of the interest which is sought to be secured.

Accordingly, the alliances are either military or economic. The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding 'communist menace' led to the creation of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS, etc. Likewise, the need to meet the threat of socialism led to the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact among communist countries.

The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of the European Common Market (Now the European Union) and several other economic agencies. The needs of Indian national interests in 1971 led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation with the (erstwhile) Soviet Union. Alliances and Treaties are thus popular means for securing national interests.

These are usually concluded by two or more states for the promotion and protection of their common interests. Thus, the character and the tenure of the alliance will depend on the relative strength of those interests, Robinson observes: "The advantage of pursuing the national interests through alliances, of course, lies in the translation of inchoate, common or complementary interests into common policy and in bringing the nation's power directly to bear on questions of national interests."

3. Propaganda: Another important method for securing the National Interest is Propaganda. Propaganda is the art of salesmanship. It is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals and objectives or ends that are desired to be secured. It consists of the attempt to impress upon nations the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve.

In the twentieth century, propaganda has become a major instrument for the promotion of National Interest. In the most general terms "any attempt to persuade persons to accept certain points of view or to take a certain action" is propaganda. Lasswell says, "Propaganda is the manipulation of symbols to control controversial attitudes; education is the manipulation of symbols to transmit accepted attitudes".

"Propaganda is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions, and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose." —Frankel

It is directly addressed to the people of other states and its aim is always to secure the self-interests—interests which are governed exclusively by the national interests of the propagandist.

The revolutionary development of the means of communication (Internet) in recent times has increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.

4. Psychological and Political Warfare:

Eisenhower associated psychological warfare with "the struggle for minds of men". Linebarger defined psychological warfare in the broad sense as "the application of parts of the science of psychology to further the efforts of political, economic, or military action," and in a narrow sense as "the use of propaganda against an enemy, together with such other operational measures of military, economic, or political nature as may be required to supplement propaganda".

5. Economic Means:

The rich and developed nations use economic aid and loans as the means for securing their interests in international relations. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries provides a big opportunity for the rich nations to promote their interest's vis-a-vis the poor nations.

The dependence of the poor and lowly- developed nations upon the rich and developed nations for the import of industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid, armaments, and for selling raw materials, has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic instruments of foreign policy. In this era of Globalisation conduct of international economic relations has emerged as a key means of national interests.
States deliberately follow certain Economic policies in pursuit of their National Interests. Economic methods are regularly employed to fulfil National Interests both in peace and war.

6. Imperialism and Colonialism:

From the sixteenth century till the middle of the twentieth century European nations used imperialism and colonialism as a tool to further their National Interests.

7. Coercive Means:

The role of power in international relations is a recognized fact. It is an unwritten law of international intercourse that nations can use force for securing their national interests.

International Law also recognizes coercive means short of war as the methods that can be used by states to fulfil their desired goals and objectives. Intervention, Non-intercourse, embargoes, boycotts, reprisals, retortion, retaliation, severance of relations, and pacific biocides are the popular coercive means which can be used by a nation to force others to accept a particular course of behaviour or to refrain from a course which is considered harmful by the nation using coercive means.

War and Aggression have been declared illegal means, yet these continue to be used by the states in the actual course of international relations. Today, nations fully realize the importance of peaceful means of conflict-resolution like negotiations and diplomacy as the ideal methods for promoting their national interests. Yet at the same time, these continue to use coercive means, whenever they find it expedient and necessary. Military power is still regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a nation to secure its desired goals and objectives.

The use of military power against international terrorism now stands universally accepted as a natural and just means for fighting the menace. Today world public opinion accepts the use of war and other forcible means for the elimination of international terrorism.

All these means are used by all the nations to secure their national interests. Nations have the right and duty to secure their national interests and they have the freedom to choose the requisite means for this purpose. They can use peaceful or coercive means as and when they may desire or deem essential.

3.10 NATIONAL INTEREST AND IDEOLOGY

It has always been a serious problem in international politics to determine the precise nature of the relationship between national interest and ideology. With the growth of communism and the emergence of the concern for peace in the twentieth century, this problem has become even more serious. To understand the relationship between ideology and national interest, it is necessary to be as precise as possible about the meaning of national interest and ideology. The concept of national interest is closely related to the concept of ideology. But to be able to understand this relationship, it is necessary to be clear about the meaning of ideology. There are two different senses in which the term ideology is used. In the first sense, ideology is defined as a self-contained and self-justifying belief system based on a definite worldview; it claims to provide a basis for explaining the whole of reality.

Thus, the present definition of ideology does not have anything to do with world ideologies such as communism, fascism, and democracy. The sense in which the term ideology is used here is borrowed from Karl Mannheim's concept of a particular ideology. Mannheim

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believes that whenever we are sceptical of the ideas and their interpretations advanced by our opponents, we take those ideas as a set of a particular ideology. Ideologies in the context of power are thus a cover to hide the real nature of the objectives of a foreign policy. However, ideologies are not the accidental outgrowth of the hypocrisy of certain individuals. It is a matter of continuous development of a nation's interests, practices, and capabilities. In our times three other such ideologies have developed: A. Ideologies of the United Nations B. National self-determination C. The ideology of peace. The above account of ideology as a means for the attainment of maximum possible power would show that a study of international politics, especially of the process of power struggle, is fraught with difficulties. The discussions of national interest and ideology would show how closely the two are interrelated. This interrelationship has, however, been the dominating characteristic mainly of traditional international politics. The only possible ideology would then be the one related to peace and international integration.

All these means can be used by all the nations for securing their National Interests. Nations have the right and duty to secure their National Interest and they have the freedom to choose requisite means for this purpose. In the interest of international peace, security and prosperity they are expected to use peaceful means.

3.11 SUMMARY

National interest is one of the ingredients of international relations. It often acquires a central focus of inquiry because the importance of each nation in the international arena is primarily based on its National Interest.

However, in the interest of international peace, security and prosperity, Nations are expected to refrain from using coercive means particularly war and aggression. These are expected to depend upon peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and for securing their interests. While formulating the goals and objectives of National Interest, all the nations must make honest attempts to make these compatible with the international interests of Peace, Security environmental protection, protection of human rights and Sustainable Development.

Peaceful coexistence, peaceful conflict-resolution and purposeful cooperation for development are the common and shared interests of all the nations. As such, along with the promotion of their national interests, the nations must try to protect and promote common interests in the larger interest of the whole international community.

All this makes it essential for every nation to formulate its foreign policy and to conduct its relations with other nations based on its national interests, as interpreted and defined in

harmony with the common interests of humankind. Foreign policy aims to secure the defined goals of national interest by the use of national power.

3.12 EXERCISES

1. Examine National Interest along with its Components.
2. Discuss the various types of National Interest.
3. Describe the Instruments or Methods of realizing National Interest.
4. Analyze Hans Morgenthau's conception of the National Interest.
5. Explain how National Interest is related to Ideology.

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UNIT-4 POWER CORNERSTONE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Structure

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4.1 OBJECTIVES

After Studying this unit, you will be able to understand

- The Meaning and Definition of National Interest
- The Roots of the Idea of National Interest
- The Components of National Interest
- The Classification or Types of National Interests
- Hans Morgenthau's Conception of the National Interest

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Power is the fundamental & important concept of International Relations, International Politics, International affairs and International Law. Power. shows the sphere of relations between different processes of international relations. Types of interpretations about power in international relations were reflected in different theories of international relations. The concept of power is linked with realism theory. The role of power in national policy differs from its control over international policy and relations. The international side of power relies on the ability to use maximum facilities to affect other states. The powers can be seen in several forms and attributes. Power is an essential component of actors in their interactions and a social process that forms the social identities and capabilities of actors. The distribution of power in international relations has been described with the application of the term 'polity'. There are economic power, physical power and knowledge power. But the term 'power' used in international relations is different from all these powers. Power in the context of international relations means the political power of the head of the state and head of the government to control internal policy, foreign policy and interstate relations. Power is connected with the type of leadership.

4.3 WHAT IS POWER?

Power is a group or set of material and non-material factors that effect on individual or group of individuals. Obligation and Commandership are reflected in power. Power is an ability in a factor owing to possessing situation in social relations. Power is the relation between actors where some compel others to implement something. Laswell has opined that the power is ability & and capability of participating in the decision-making process including individual relations. Power is the ability to direct & manage the decisions and actions of others. Power is originated from one's strength and will. Power has been defined by Michael Barnett and R. DuVall as the production, in and through social relations of efforts that shape the abilities of actors to determine their situation and fate. Power is also a goal of states and leaders. Power is a measure of influence holding control over issues, events and outcomes. Victory

in conflict and attainment of security are signs of power. Powers are also statuses and positions which some states or actors possess.

Some scholars have distinguished between hard power and Soft Power. Hard Power is coercive & based on force whereas soft power is attractive. Power is easier to experience than to measure like love. Power is the capability to do things and to control others to achieve one's goals. There are various types of powers like political power, economic power, military power, civilian power, religious power and legislative power. Power is also the possession of certain important resources. Power may be the holding of the highest cards in the international poker game. Power is the capability to control and influence the behaviour & actions of people. Power is considered legitimate and may be referred to as authority. Power occurs & exists in all social and political relationships. In Social Science and Politics, the concept of power refers to the social production of an effect or influence that fixed the capabilities, capacity, actions, beliefs and conducts of political actors and rulers. The true meaning of power is legal official authority, capacity and right with possession of control and influence. We can say power is the rate of doing work in a unit of time. According to the Elite Theory of power in each society, there is a small group of individuals who hold power. Decisions are taken and rules are framed by them. Foucault opines that modern power touches persons through the different shapes of constraint. According to him power is everywhere diffused and embodied. He emphasized three types of powers namely sovereign power, bio power and discipline power.

4.4 ELEMENTS OF POWER

The power of a state or country is dependent upon different factors which are together called the elements or components of powers. Elements are known as capability factors. The elements of power may be grouped into two classes namely permanent and temporary elements. The elements of power can be also classified into natural and social determinants. Natural elements include geography, resources and population. Social elements include economic development and national morale. Another classification of Power's elements is under Tangible Elements and Intangible elements. Tangible elements can be assessed in quantitative terms and intangible elements are ideational & psychological.

4.4.1 Tangible Elements

Population and Territory are the tangible elements of power. A country with accommodation for a large population offers excellent natural resources and raw materials. A state having a large population can help to defend itself by retreating. Population is the economic base of the state. The state is a community & assemblage of persons. There can be no state without population. The population can popularize democratic values. There are countries with very small populations like Switzerland and Canada. There are populated countries like China and India. There is no definite limit to the size of the population. The population is a source

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and centre of economic and military power. A large population make a state have strong forces and manpower. The territory is an important tangible element of power which is important from economic, industrial and industrial viewpoints. A state large in size is more powerful.

A large size of the state enables the country to keep vast areas for agricultural production and industrial growth including a defensive army. But a smaller state may become more powerful. A huge area is no guarantee of power for a country. Israel is a small country as a par territory but it demonstrated a large amount of military power. A territory is also known as an area under the powerful economic control of a government. A territory is consisting of land, sea, forest, hill and airspace. It is a geographical area subject to the sovereignty and control or jurisdiction of a state. Altman has divided the territory into primary, secondary and public territory. The population has its quantitative and qualitative features like structure and shape whereas the territory has features like size, quality and geographical position.

4.4.2 Geography

Geography is an important element of power that regulate the economy and polity of a state. It includes location, climate, size, resources and topography. Geopolitics is a study of the relationship between geographic space and foreign policy. Location affects the foreign policy of a state. Isolation policies were followed by Rome, Japan and America for geographic protection. The antiquity importance of climate had favoured great powers. In modern research, the temperate zone as a power factor is stressed. A temperate mind develops an industrious mind. Geography is the most stable, natural and permanent element of power. According to Napoleon the foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography. Geographical maps are applied by states to justify a course of action or policy to reject the views of other nations. Specialists and observers of international relations require an atlas that reflects population, raw materials and data. Maps are applied as a medium to justify a particular action. Location is both a helping and hindering factor for power. England was able to become a large naval power due to its location. Japan became a major shop-building nation because of its location. The location of Switzerland helped receive the status of a permanently neutralized state.

The climate is relevant and useful in the context of power. Food protection, economy and culture of a state are determined by climate. Climate can be the centre of big limitations and help for individual abilities. A bad Climate may make a nation weak. Power may be affected by extreme or cold. Topography influences the power structure and cohesion of the nation. The power of a nation can be influenced by terrain for growth, offence and defence. The boundary is also a geographic factor of national power that affects international relations.

Disputed boundaries led to conflict and weak power. Power is strengthened by natural boundaries. Technological innovations have made it possible for overcoming geographical problems.

4.4.3 Natural Resources

A state cannot expect to be powerful without adequate natural resources. A natural resource is known as a gift of nature. Natural resources influence the industrial and military ability of a country. A big source of power is self-sufficiency and self-dependent on natural resources. America has been able to get the position of super power owing to self-sufficiency in various natural resources. A country has to possess sufficient natural resources to become an industrialized nation. We can get natural resources from mines, fertile soil and materials. Natural resources are important for raw materials and food. Oil has influential significance for industry and military strength. Requisite medium of energy security helps the power. A sufficient supply of food is related to military preparedness. The progress of a nation is related to the presence of natural resources. Renewable resources are those that will supply not finished by use which include solar power, wind power and hydro electric energy. Nonrenewable resources have finite reserves depleted by extraction. The ten countries with the most valuable natural resources are Russia, America, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Iran, China, Brazil, Australia, Iraq and Venezuela. The forest is an important natural resource because of the opportunities it provides to various spheres.

4.4.4 Economic Development

National power depends upon economic power as a vital part. Economic power is the medium for military power and welfare. An economically developed country with strong financial power can be a great power. Economic development is based on strong economic organization, planning and budget. Economic development is an important instrument of foreign policy. A nation with a sound economy can apply economic instruments like aid, loan, trade and grants. Economic development and industrial capacity are linked. Economic development is the creation of wealth from which community benefits are realized. Local economic development includes the allocation of limited resources like land, labour and capital. Economic Development is a continuous effort on the part of the government to influence the direction of the private sector. The power of a country is being strengthened by various economic reconstructions.

4.4.5 Technology

The application of knowledge of science for promoting human welfare is known as technology. Technology is the capability to apply scientific methods for development and welfare. The nature and level of technology is linked with progress in engineering and industrial production. The power status of a nation is determined by the level of technology

and advancement. A country supported by highly developed and advanced technology can be treated as a developed nation. Currently, nuclear technology is known as a significant source of power and influence. Big boost to the power of states reflected in nuclear technology, missile technology, space technology and information technology. The role of technology as a factor of national power can be judged from technological assistance and weapon technology.

4.4.6 Leadership

Leadership shapes the structure and role of power. The qualities of the leadership that runs the government of the state are connected with the utilization of man power resources and natural resources. The function of a powerful leader is civil and military planning. It is the responsibility of the leadership to lay out and implement foreign policy. National Power is fundamentally the power of leaders. The quality of leadership fixes the nature and scope of power that a nation can apply for securing national interests. Capable, devoted and mature leadership is the source of national power. There are three types of leadership namely autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire. Charismatic leadership attract people to receive political obedience. Every capable leader grows a style based on their personality, goals and culture

4.4.7 Ideology

Ideology is an effective intangible element of power. Both friendship and enmity in international relations originated from ideology. Ideas and ideologies influence the power of a nation. Ideology is the source of unity and support of the people. Communism as an ideology helped as a big source of strength in the communist state. The ideology of democratic socialism was favourable for India to keep friendly relations with the democratic west south east. The ideology of a nation is expressed through different techniques. Ideological leaders seek followers who believe in their goals and values. A leader with ideology tries to appeal to a cadre of like-minded people.

4.4.8 Diplomacy

The diplomacy of leaders can influence power. Diplomacy is the art and medium by which nations conduct affairs intending to safeguard their interests. There are various types of diplomacy like public diplomacy, economic diplomacy and diplomacy with ill intention. Diplomacy is reflected in foreign policy, international conferences and treaties. Diplomacy makes negotiation, and state representation gather & evaluate information, make relations, and facilitate the implementation of international law. Diplomacy is managed through bargaining and negotiation. Different nations apply diplomacy to keep their positions in international politics and international relations. Diplomacy can be seen as a medium for handling crises in international relations.

4.5 MEASUREMENT OF POWER

Specialists require a sound way to measure power as the balance of power is the cycle of International Politics. Policy makers require an abject way to gauge the power of nations. Most specialists measure power in terms of resources, wealth and assets. Power can be measured by tallying wealth and military assets; wealth helps a country to influence another country. Power can be also measured by military resources. Measuring pore needs a powerful outcome. The power as-outcomes approach is useful for analyzing past events. There are three main approaches to the measurement of power namely control over resources, control over actors and control over events & outcomes

4.6 METHODS OF EXERCISING POWER

The value and role of power depend on its types of exercising. There are methods of exercising power namely persuasion, rewards, punishment and force. A nation is to influence others by way of argument and debate. A country can influence other nations by offering various rewards one of the most effective rewards to refrain from some punitive actions. Acts of punishment should be threatened in advance. The most extreme method of using force is war. Exercising power depends on the mentality of leaders and the machinery of the state. There are two dimensions of exercising power namely inside the state and outside the state.

4.7 MANAGEMENT OF POWERS

Every state attempt to manage power for its usefulness in a world of uneven powers by balance of power, intervention and collective security. Balance of power is the posture and policy of a state protecting itself by matching its power against the power of another state. A state can enhance its power or add to its powers. Some third-world states resisted the advances of super powers and maintained non-aligned stances. There was a shift in the balance of power in 1989-90. Balance of Power means considering striving towards an equal distribution of power to avoid dominance. Balance of power as a theory predicts rapid changes in international power. The balancing process helps to maintain the stability of relation. Cold War is an example of a balance of power. Balance of power assumes that nations are determined to protect their rights and interests including war, vital interests of the nations are served and the relative power position of the states can be measured. There are two types of balance namely symmetrical balance and asymmetrical balance. The balance of power played a crucial role in 19th-century politics and impacted bellicose, pacifistic or direct. The main goal of the balance of power was to prevent another instance of aggression. The features of the balance of power are equilibrium, active intervention, status quo and big power game.

Intervention – Intervention is a term for the application of force by one country in the international or external affairs of another act. Intervention is an unlawful act. Intervention is a forcible or dictatorial interference by a state in the affairs of another state to impose certain conditions. There may be intervention by invitation or request. Intervention by invitation may or may not involve combat. Intervention may be done by various means like military, diplomatic and economic. The concept of Intervention is linked with the notion of 'interference'. Article 2 of the UNO Charter prohibits intervention. International Law may permit intervention as dictatorial interference by one state in the affairs of another state. There are three kinds of intervention namely internal, external and punitive. Humanitarian intervention is a medium to prevent a gross violation of the human rights of a nation where such a state is incapable to protect its people. 1990 was the decade of humanitarian intervention during which the UN used intervention on humanitarian grounds. Some types of interventions have been declared legitimate.

Collective Security – The concept of collective security replaces one of the military alliances between a state which occurred until World War II to ensure the collective defence of a state by its allies in case of aggression by another state. Collective Security was placed by UN Charter in 1945. Collective Security is a system in which states have tried to prevent or stop wars. Collective security is a safety-security-protection arrangement. Collective security is one of the applications for peace and a valuable device for power management. International Cooperation to provide collective security originated in the Concert of Europe. The fundamental principle of collective security is that attack on one state is an attack on all states. Security became the inevitable concern of all nations. Collective Security is the method for establishing international peace and minimization of war. Sometimes collective security is disrupted due to the negative role of super powers

4.8 SUMMARY

The concept of Power is prominent and important in the sphere of international relations as power is relevant from the point of view of both cooperation and conflict. The most prominent attribute of international relations is the expectations for power. Power can be defined as holding the ability and capacity to show their impact on a world scale. The position of power is based on power ability, spatiality and status-based dimension. Power is related to the possession of military, economic and diplomatic strength. There is no general standard for defining a powerful state, Power is treated as a goal of states and leaders. Force, influence and authority are the three main attributes of power. Most specialists treat geography, natural resources, population, territory, and economic development as elements of power. Ideas on management and measurement of powers have been given in this unit including intervention and collective security.

4.9 EXERCISES

1. What do you mean by power in the context of international relations?
2. What are tangible elements of power?
3. What are non-tangible elements of power?
4. What is the significance of power in international relations?
5. What is the importance of geography as an element of power?
6. Why natural resource is an important element of power?
7. How power can be measured?
8. What is the management of power?

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Block-2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Unit-5: Classical Realism and Neo-Realism

Unit-6: Liberalism and Neo-Liberalism

Unit-7: Marxist Approaches, Feminist Perspectives

Unit-8: Euro-Centricism, Perspective from the Global South

UNIT-5 CLASSICAL REALISM AND NEO-REALISM

Structure

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After Studying this unit, you will be able to understand

- Classical Realism
- Neo-Realism
- Difference Between Realism and Neo-Realism
- Basic Tenets of Neo-Realism
- Defensive Realism and Offensive Realism

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The realistic approach is based on the assumption that there is a perpetual existence of tension and conflict among nations. It may be due to ethnicity, natural resource, ideology, and subjugation. It is associated with the names of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Max Weber, EH Carr, Frederich Schuman, Nicholas Spykman, Reinhold Niebuhr, Arnold wolves, Kenneth Thompson, George F. Kennan, Hans J. Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger and others. They all try to present their perspective on power as the perspective of international relations spanning over centuries.

Few theories have shaped that branch of political science known as International Relations as powerfully as neo-realism. Realism is not a single unified theory. There are many variants of realism such as classical realism, neo-realism or structural realism, neo-classical realism, and rational choice realism. Among various variants of realism, the most powerful variant is neo-realism or structural realism. Kenneth Waltz is the ardent exponent neo-realist theory of International Relations. In his famous book Theory of International Politics (1979) various distinctive features of the neorealist or structural realist theory of International Relations. Neo-realism, developed largely within the American political science tradition, seeks to reformulate the classical realist tradition of E.H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, and Reinhold Niebuhr into a rigorous and positivistic social science.

5.3 CLASSICAL REALISM

Realism holds politics as a struggle for power and seeks to explain it with various components like power, security, and national interest. Defining power as a psychological relationship in which one actor can control the behaviour of another actor. Thus, the apolitical actor may be an individual or nation who always tries to secure one's interest aligned with power. Political realism also regards balance as the guide to perspective politics. It is Hans J. Morgenthau who has given the best perspective of the realist theory of international relations. He says "international politics like politics is a power struggle." and states six principles.

Couloumbis and Wolfe in analyzing the basic feature of realism observe that "to act rationally (that is to act in one's interest) is to seek power, and thereby having the ability and willingness to control others.

5.4 FEATURES OF REALISM

1. History has provided enough evidence to prove that humans by nature are wicked and sinful.

2. Lust for power and dominance has been a major trait, an important and all-pervasive fact of Human nature.
3. Yet the human instinct for power can be eliminated.
4. Struggle for power is the inconvertible and eternal reality of international relations.
5. We know that each nation always seeks to serve the goals of national interest defined in terms of power.
6. The law of self-preservation governs the behaviour of all the states at all times in the global world.
7. We have seen that nations always seek power, demonstrate power and use power. In all its manifestations.
8. Peace can be preserved only by the management of power through devices such as the balance of power. Collective security, world government, diplomacy, alliances, and the like.

An accomplished writer Mahendra Kumar holds that the basic assumption underlying the realistic approach is rivalry and strife among nations in some form or the other is natural and not a mere accident. One action in the pursuit of a particular interest is political and its roots lie in human nature. Power is desired to pursue one's interest and that's dictated by the law of nature. Realism is pragmatic and a vital principle that can help the understanding of the entire domain of International Relations and help in the formulation and implementation of policies designed to secure the national interest. Hans J Morgenthau believes that realistic theory explains the whole matrix of politics among nations. J.H. Haz "says it is rather a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security and power factors." (Political Realism and Political Idealism p.18)

The basic assumption underlying the realist theory is the perpetual existence of conflict among nations in various formats. Thus, a contest for power is going on in the world and this can neither be controlled nor regulated by international law or world government, nor an international organization. Thus, Realism unequivocally accepts as its guiding principle the permanence of the power struggle.

George Kennan and Hans J Morgenthau are the leading exponents of this theory and both of them start with the conviction that the national interest is a reliable guide to intelligent policy. The main consideration before every state is to safeguard its national interest. Kennan insists on adopting the moral approach in the formulation of policy while safeguarding the national interest while Morgenthau ignores the moral aspect-completely and insists on taking the the national interest as they are the real guide in the formulation and understanding of International Relations However both of them regard power politics as the basis of global political relation.

Morgenthau is credited for bringing about a systematic and comprehensive theory of International Politics at the dawn of cold war politics. Political Realism was also prevalent

in the 18th& 19th centuries. But, his six principles of Realist theory provide the core of 20th-century Political Realism. It is a Realistic theory and approach that relates to human nature and it reflects in its real sense amongst Nations too. As all modern nation-states are driven to secure national interests by the exercise of national power. Thus, when each state uses its national power to achieve its objective, a power struggle emerges within the nation.

5.5 HANS J. MORGENTHAU'S SIX PRINCIPLES OF CLASSICAL REALISM

1. The first principle of political realism states that "Politics like society, in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. "Thus, it becomes necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of the laws and build up a rational theory of international politics. When we understand these objective laws, it will be easier to make inroads in the study of international politics. Further, it is necessary to initiate the study of human relations. With an empirical and rational theory, a nation's foreign policy can be framed which will serve as a guide to states in conducting their relationship with other nations of the world.

2. The second Principle holds that nations define and act in securing their national interest by the exercise of power. National interest is passionately linked to National Power. First national interest is conceptualized and then achieved by executing national power. History is a glaring example of this. Without a link between national interest and national power, it can just be a vision without action. A gap between vision and action mode Political Realism assumes that "statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power, and we have historical evidence of this. Foreign Policy experts have always regarded power as the central theme of politics. It also suggests that foreign policy through a study of the motives of a statesman might end up in a futile exercise and deception. This may also occur due to the distorted or personalized interest and emotion of the actor and the observer which might go beyond recognition. Instances from history also reveal that even good motives and thoughts may not yield successful policies and might result in the opposite of what is desired. As a case study comparing the policies of both the British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill. The former followed appeasement as a policy to prevent the Second world war. While Churchill based his on national interest and power and had a high success rate in real terms.

Thus, it can be said that Political Realism judges more on performance in securing the goals of national interest than only weighing the motives of a statesman.

Further ideology as a basis in foreign policy is also rejected. It is used as a veil or camouflage to cover up nationalistic actions. So, it is misleading to judge the actions of the state with the ideological preferences of a statesman. Another example comes from the Sino-Soviet

conflict of 1969 lasting seven months and was not necessarily an ideological conflict as it appeared in the realm of world politics. It is perceived as a clash of interest and independent perception of the relationship with the Western world, in world politics rather than a conflict of interest or clash of ideologies between Mao Tse Tung and Nikita Khrushchev. The deception in Chinese foreign policy towards her neighbours has been on two planks. The policy of peaceful coexistence but in reality, has been its expanse of power and influence thereby building up to be a superpower in global politics. Thus the 21st-century foreign policy of major powers has been of National interest expressed through national power. Having an impact on foreign policy.

This principle of Morgenthau is the master key to international politics. "It imposes intellectual discipline upon the observer and infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics.

3. The third principle: Explains that interest is always dynamic. Though the concept of Political Realism has universal validity. As we understand the idea of national interest is the essence of Politics and is not affected by the situation, time, and place. Yet national interest is dynamic and has to be analyzed in a continuous process with the changes in the national regional and global environment where each state is an actor in securing its national interest.

    As observed by scholars that the nature of interest that determines Political action in a particular period is dependent on the political, economic, historical, and social context within which the framework of foreign policy is conceived and formulated. This also applies to National Interest which also changes according to the environment in which it has to operate in realizing the national objective. If we take the example of India. We know that ever since independence and the division of the country with hostility inherent from our eastern neighbour China and Pakistan national security have been the main concern. Aligned with this national power which also changes to the needs of the time. Change in leadership and the new perception of world order calls for modernization of the military and strategic planning for enhancing the capability and strength of our defence forces from time to time. Thus, Political Realism emphasizes a scientific analysis of international relations in changing times. More or less broadening the scope of the relationship and international understanding.

4. Fourth Principle: Abstract Moral Principles cannot be applied to Politics. Though Political Realism understands the significance of morality in Political action it emphasizes that universal moral principles cannot be applied in state action and has to be analyzed only in specific conditions and circumstances. Though it may not determine policies and state actions yet can be a source of influence on the moral

conduct of men. "Let Justice be done even if the whole world perishes" are quotable quotes issued by statesmen. But in the realistic sense, the Nation cannot standby by slogans as it is the sole custodian of the security, liberty, and welfare of the people and cannot compromise with these pertinent issues. Thus, Politics can be on ethical standards but National power and National interest have to combine in sufficing the demands of the citizen. Yet in the Global arena, prudence has to be observed by nation-states in realizing their national Interest.

5. Fifth principle: Difference between the Moral Aspirations of a Nation and the Universal moral principles. A dichotomy exists between the moral aspirations of a nation and those that govern the universe. Though each nation strives to cover its national interest with moral cover yet its manifestation may be different. The anti-terrorist policy of Unites States is more in its national interest and to an extent making the world safe for democracy and infinite freedom. Thus, it cannot be deduced that there can be the application of moral principles in the same manner by the belligerent and non-aggression states.

6. Sixth Principle: Autonomy of International Politics. By looking at all of the above five principles of Morgenthau it can be said that there is a wide difference between his Political Realism and that of other theories. It is quite distinct and focused on intellectual and moral attitudes regarding political matters thus, it is maintaining an autonomous status in the study of international relations. It can be said that Political Realism is neither idealistic nor legalistic nor moralist in its approach. The bottom line being it studies power and its struggle between nation-states either to maintain it at the desired level or to increase it and be a focus of attention in global politics. However, in the context of securing peace, he advocates the idea of accommodation. Diplomacy and mediation may be the instruments of power management.

5.6 LIMITATIONS OF REALISM

Making a critical assessment it can be said that power may not be the only motivation that influences human nature there can be other incentives and drives which influence world leaders and their nation-states. So, linking power and politics is the wrong speculation.

Going by the dictum of Morgenthau that all nations perennially seek to utilize power for struggle and dominant states is just like saying that states are and will be always in a continuous state of war.

Morgenthau also projects a narrow view of human nature as power centric and holds it responsible for all human actions. There is no critical assessment of the other avenues of

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human nature. There are contradictions in his theory when he says that there is the possibility of establishing peace by mediation and diplomacy and other means where able statesmen can carry out this process but at the same time says that finding able statesmen is difficult and it's a rare breed in contemporary times.

He overlooks the fact that international relations changes with time. He has overemphasized the power through which nation-states can achieve their goal and national interest. Theories are to be dynamic and not static thereby creating confusion. There cannot be universal adoption of his theory. Later scholars have termed one-sided theory.

Despite certain drawbacks, the realist theory has shown a way to the development of international theory and the research and orientation given by its exponent cannot be ignored. Realism paved the way for the emergence of Neorealism. However, the question comes up is Realism still relevant in the 21st century?

5.7 NEO-REALISM

Neo-realism or structural realism is a theory of international relations that emphasizes the role of power politics in international relations, sees competition and conflict as enduring features, and sees limited potential for cooperation. As a variation of realism, neo-realism predominantly focuses on the international system rather than human nature. While the state remains the key actor, greater attention is given to the forces above and below the state through the level of analysis or structural-agency debate- with the international system as a structure acting on the state and individuals below the level of the state acting as an agency on the state as a whole. Main advocates of neo-realism are- Robert Jervis, Kenneth Waltz, Stephen Walt, John Mearsheimer, and Robert Gilpin Neo-realism is also termed "structural realism," and a few neorealist writers sometimes refer to their theories simply as "realist" to emphasize the continuity between their own and older views. Its primary theoretical claim is that in international politics, war is a possibility at any time. Neorealism is also subdivided into defensive and offensive realism.

5.8 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN REALISM AND NEO-REALISM

- **Realism**

Realism gives centrality to human nature which shapes the behaviour of the state's international relations. Realism paid more importance to the individualistic aspect of social life. Unchanging human nature was given more importance by the realists. Thus, political situations were deemed self-interested in character and nature. Realism aims
more at the analysis of the roots of conflict in international relations. It also believes in the implementation of strategies to approach conflict in international relations. When it comes to the politics of realism, what we can see is that realist politics is an autonomous sphere. A realist believes in designing proper definitions of economy and culture. Realism is

hierarchical. Unlike neo-realism, realism does not believe in the supremacy of central authority. On the whole, it can be said that realists do not believe in anarchy. In realism, power is a very important aspect. The power of a state is considered based on factors such as the military power the state holds.

- **Neo-Realism**

Neo-realism focuses on the structure of the international system and anarchy (absence of rule). Neo-realism did not pay much attention to the individualistic aspect of social life. On the other hand, neo-realists said that the conflict in international relations can be solved and explained more by the state of anarchy. This is one of the main differences between realism and neo-realism. When it comes to the politics of neorealism, what we can see is that neo-realist politics is not an autonomous sphere. Neorealism does not believe in defining economy and culture. Neo-realism is anarchical. It is not hierarchical, unlike realism. Neo-realism takes a different approach to explaining the nature of the conflict in international relations. It considers that interstate conflict is rooted in the absence of central authority. When it comes to the use of strategies, although the neo-realist believes in defining strategies to approach conflict in international relations, this approach is more inclined towards security.

- **Similarities**

Realism and Neo-realism are two different schools of thought that showed a difference between them when it comes to their outlook on international relations. Both of them differed in their approach to the problem of identifying the various causes of conflicts in international relations. Though they have different approaches, there are some fundamental similarities between the two as well. Both believe in the anarchical structure of the international system and emphasize central aspects of statism, survival and self-help Realism and neo-realism explain the word as it is. They do not explain the word as it should be. So, they are realistic. They both show that the domestic politics of a country is separate from foreign policy. In these two approaches, states are defined as rational actors rather than agents of morality.

- **Differences**

1. First, realism believes that conflicts arise because states are self-interested and power-seeking units as they are made of people who are self-interested and unchanging. Neo-realism believes that conflicts arise because of anarchy. Since there is no central authority, the states try to seek power to help themselves.
2. Secondly, realism focuses its interest on human nature. Neo-realism focuses its interest on the structure of the system.
3. Thirdly, realism is interested in power, while neo-realism is interested in security.
4. Fourthly, realism believes in the implementation of strategies to approach conflict in international relations. Although the neo-realist believes in defining strategies to

approach conflict in international relations, this approach is more inclined towards security.

5. Fifthly, both realism and neo-realism speak about system polarity. In realism, since the focus is more on gaining power, the unipolar system is the type of system of polarity the realists speak the most about. In a unipolar system, there is only one great power. So, to balance the power in an international system, all other countries have to come together to equal the power of one great power. In neo-realism, the bipolar system is the most stable. In a bipolar system, there are two great powers. So, the international power is balanced. The multipolar system, though it is talked of by both realists and neo-realists, is not a very favourable topic. That is because it means there are more than two great powers. In such a situation, balancing power can be a great problem.

6. Lastly, Realism believes that conflicts arise because states are self-interested and power-seeking units as they are made of people who are self-interested and unchanging. Neo-realism believes that conflicts arise because of anarchy. Since there is no central authority, the states try to seek power to help themselves.

5.9 BASIC TENETS OF NEO-REALISM

The basic tenets of neo-realism enable the systematic approach to studying shifts in state behaviour. Six fundamental neorealist concepts are respectively introduced in this section; There are six fundamental tenets of neo-realism: anarchy, structure, capability, the distribution of power, polarity and national interest. These concepts are evoked by many realist scholars of international relations.

1. Anarchy and Structure

The first two concepts; 'anarchy' and 'structure'; are intertwined. The 'structure' of the international system is said to be 'anarchic'. 'Anarchy' does not imply the presence of chaos and disorder. It simply refers to the absence of a world government. With no overarching global authority that provides security and stability in international relations, world politics is not formally and hierarchically organized. International politics is structured by 'anarchy', in contrast to domestic politics which is structured by 'hierarchy'. The international system is thus defined in terms of an anarchic international structure.

An 'anarchic structure' has two main implications. Firstly, every actor in the international system is responsible for looking after itself, rendering the international system a "self-help system". This system is thus composed of self-regarding units, that primarily seek to survive. Therefore, the organizing principle of the international structure is 'anarchy', and this 'structure' is defined in terms of states. Secondly, states perpetually feel threatened by a potential attack from others. Where no one commands authority, no one is obliged to obey.

2. Capability

The anarchical structure of the international fosters fear, threat and doubt among nations-states which leads to the third concept of 'capability'. Capabilities are instrumental for states to ensure their survival. The survival aim encourages relative gains. Neorealist scholars thus strive to paint a relational picture of the capabilities each state possesses at any given time. This is referred to as 'relative capability.'

3. Distribution of Capabilities

However, in such system states are perpetually insecure, they perpetually wish to acquire capabilities. Because of the security dilemma, competition ensues and the vicious circle of security and capability accumulation is on. In the security competition, states will achieve varying levels of capability. Thus, capabilities are distributed differently across the constitutive units of the system. Such an assessment of the 'distribution of capabilities' constitutes the fourth concept of neorealism. Countries' ranking depends on how they score on all the aforementioned components of 'relative capability.

4. Polarity

Both realism and neo-realism speak about system polarity. In realism, since the focus is more on gaining power, the unipolar system is the type of system of polarity the realists speak the most about. In a unipolar system, there is only one great power. So, to balance the power in an international system, all other countries have to come together to equal the power of one great power. In neo-realism, the bipolar system is the most stable. In a bipolar system, there are two great powers. So, the international power is balanced. The multipolar system, though it is talked of by both realists and neo-realists, is not a very favourable topic. That is because it means there are more than two great powers. In such a situation, balancing power can be a great problem.

5. National Interest

Neo-realism tries to analyse national interest relatively. In striving for security, states seek to expand their capabilities vis-à-vis rival states. Thus, ensuring territorial, economic and military security constitutes the national interest calculus of a state. At the same time, the level of capability a state possesses vis-à-vis others constrains or equips states to pursue such interests. In turn, the scope and ambition of a country's interests are driven by its level of capability Therefore within a neorealist conceptual framework, the national interests of states are best understood concerning their relative capability ranking.

5.10 DEFENSIVE REALISM AND OFFENSIVE REALISM

- **Defensive Realism**

Defensive neo-realism is a structural theory in international relations that is derived from the school of neo-realism. The theory finds its foundation in the political scientist Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* in which Waltz argues that the anarchical structure

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of the international system encourages states to maintain moderate and reserved policies to attain national security. In contrast, offensive realism assumes that states seek to maximize their power and influence to achieve security through domination and hegemony. Defensive neo-realism asserts that aggressive expansion as promoted by offensive neo-realists upsets the tendency of states to conform to the balance of power theory, thereby decreasing the primary objective of the state, which they argue to be the ensuring of its security. Defensive realism denies neither the reality of interstate conflict nor that incentives for state expansion exist, but it contends that those incentives are sporadic, rather than endemic. Defensive realism points towards "structural modifiers," such as the security dilemma and geography, and elite beliefs and perceptions to explain the outbreak of conflict.

Structural realism has become divided into two branches, defensive and offensive realism, following the publication of Mearsheimer's 'The Tragedy of Great Power Politics in 2001. Waltz's original formulation of neo-realism is now sometimes called defensive realism, while Mearsheimer's modification of the theory is referred to as offensive realism. Both branches agree that the structure of the system is what causes states to compete, but defensive realism posits that most states concentrate on maintaining their security (i.e., states are security maximizers), while offensive realism claims that all states seek to gain as much power as possible (i.e., states are power maximizers). A foundational study in the area of defensive realism is Robert Jervis' classic 1978 article on the "security dilemma." It examines how uncertainty and the offence-defence balance may heighten or soften the security dilemma. Building on Jervis, Stephen Van Evera explores the causes of war from a defensive realist perspective.

- **Offensive Realism**

Offensive realism, developed by Mearsheimer differs in the amount of power that states desire. Mearsheimer proposes that states maximize relative power ultimately aiming for regional hegemony. In addition to Mearsheimer, several other scholars have sought to explain why states expand when opportunities to do so arise. For instance, Randall Schweller refers to states' revisionist agendas to account for their aggressive military action. Eric Labs investigates the expansion of war aims during wartime as an example of offensive behaviour. Fareed Zakaria analyzes the history of US foreign relations from 1865 to 1914 and asserts that foreign interventions during this period were not motivated by worries about external threats but by a desire to expand US influence. Mearsheimer outlines five "bedrock" assumptions on which offensive realism stands: (1) the international system is anarchic; (2) great powers inherently possess some offensive military capability; (3) states can never be certain about the intentions of other states; (4) survival is the primary goal of great powers; and (5) great powers are rational actors. From these core assumptions, Mearsheimer argues "three general patterns of behaviour result: fear, self-help, and power maximization**.

Offensive realism, a theory of international relations, holds that states are disposed to competition and conflict because they are self-interested, power-maximizing, and fearful of other states. Moreover, it argues that states are obliged to behave this way because doing so favours survival in the international system. Debate continues as to whether modern states do, or should, behave in this way, but we are struck by a different question. The main question is whether the three core assumptions about behaviour in offensive realism—self-help, power maximization, and outgroup fear— have any basis in scientific knowledge about human behavioural evolution. We find that these precise traits are not only evolutionarily adaptive but also empirically common across the animal kingdom, especially in primate and human societies. Based on these findings, we hypothesize that states behave as offensive realists predict not just because of anarchy in the modern international system but also because of the legacy of our evolution. In short, offensive realism may be describing the nature of the human species more than the nature of the international system.

5.11 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have studied the core concepts of realism, features, Morgenthau principles of classical realism, limitations of realism, Neo-realism, basic tenets of neo-realism, similarities and differences between realism and neo-realism, and defensive and offensive realism. Classical Political Realism highlights Power Politics, National Interest, Conflict, competition for Global Resources, survival instincts in a nuclear-charged world, security, and statism. It takes Human Nature as its basis to have an understanding of international relations.

From the local to the global politics is shaped and materialized through human nature. Typical of Hobbes's perception Realists also view human nature as self-centered and competitive rather than benevolent and selfless. Thus, arises the power to subjugate and dominate others or the tradition of hegemony. State as the major player. Leaders are the drivers. Realists emphasize that state power dominates international politics as it is aligned with National Interest. In subscribing to the End and means theory. National interest is the objective or the end. Power is the Means to achieve it. This is the reason major powers of the world are in the race for acquiring more power, dominance, and influence in world politics. Though the realists agree that morality should be an essence of the state's national power and interest in the domain of international politics yet they are pessimistic about fair play, a gap between ideal and real.

Thus, there are a lot of criticisms levelled against the realistic approach by the Neorealists. Development of the eighties was spearheaded by Kenneth Waltz. Kenneth Waltz's structural realism has had a major impact on scholars in international relations. Waltz claims that the structure of the international system is the key factor in shaping the behaviour of states. Waltz's neorealism also expands our view of power and capabilities. However, he agrees

with traditional realists when he states that major power still determines the nature of the international system. Structural realists minimize the importance of national attributes as determinants of a state's foreign policy behaviour.

5.12 EXERCISES

1. What is realism? How does power relate to realism?

2. What is classical realism?

3. Discuss Morgenthau's six principles of classical realism?

4. Define neo-realism. What are its major concepts?

5. Outline the similarities and differences between realism and neo-realism?

5.13 REFERENCES

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UNIT-6 LIBERALISM AND NEO-LIBERALISM

Structure

6.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to understand

- Liberalism and its core ideas
- The key concepts of Neo-liberalism

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Liberalism is an important theory of international relations. The primary ideological force influencing Western political philosophy has been liberalism. Some people associate liberalism with Western civilization itself and present it as the philosophy of the industrialized West. Although they drew on a much older tradition of so-called "idealist" theorizing those dates back to Kant's belief in the possibility of "universal and perpetual peace," in the Middle Ages. The ideas of early "just war" thinkers like Thomas Aquinas, liberal ideas, and theories had a significant impact on the discipline of international relations as it took shape after World War I.

Liberal ideals were marginalized during the early post-1945 period as a result of the Versailles Settlement's failure and the rise of realist philosophy, but they began to gain more prominence from the 1970s onward, frequently in the shape of so-called neoliberalism. Liberalism's idealism overtones were largely swept away as a result. The liberal theory received extra impetus as a result of the conclusion of the Cold War, the expanding effects of globalization, and a new wave of democratization in the 1990s.

The idea of harmony or balance among conflicting interests is the primary principle of liberalism in all of its manifestations. Individuals, groups, and states may pursue their interests, but a natural balance will generally come into play.

Competing interests complement one another on a deeper level; conflict can never be unresolved. A balance of interests tends to form among the states of the world, much as, from a liberal perspective, natural or unregulated equilibrium tends to emerge in economic activity, leading liberals to trust in the prospect of peace and cooperation.

Neoliberalism refers to a school of thought which believes that states are or should be considered first and foremost with absolute gains rather than relative gains to other states. Neo-liberal institutionalism or neo-liberalism reiterates the Lockean idea of capitalism and speaks for Woodrow Wilsonian principles of free trade. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are considered to be the founders of the neoliberal school of thought.

6.3 LIBERALISM

Liberalism stands as an important perspective among various theoretical perspectives on world politics today. The liberal tradition in International Relations is closely connected with the emergence of the modern liberal state. Liberal philosophers, beginning with John Locke in the seventeenth century, saw great potential for human progress in modern civil society and capitalist economy, both of which could flourish in states which guaranteed individual liberty. (Jackson, and Sorensen, 2010)

The traditions of liberal political thought as propounded by liberal thinkers like John Locke, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Immanuel Kant, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Stuart Mill, and Adam Smith were revived. (Ghosh, 2021)

The central theme of liberalism in all its forms is the notion of harmony or balance amongst competing interests. Individuals, groups and, for that matter, states may pursue self-interest but a natural equilibrium will tend to assert itself. At a deeper level, competing interests complement one another; conflict is never irreconcilable. (Heywood, 2011).

Liberalism holds that human nature is good and that people can improve their moral and material condition, which ultimately would lead to progress in society. Bad human behaviour, which is responsible for injustice and war, results from corrupt social institutions

and misunderstandings among leaders. Liberals believe that war and aggression can be moderated or even eliminated through institutional reform or collective action. The liberals believed if harmony of interests among individuals was possible, there could be harmony of interests among states as well.

Liberal worldview lies in certain basic assumptions about human rationality and morality, belief in reforming institutions as solutions to problems, and ideas on human development.

In simple terms, liberalism means individual freedom and rational choice. Liberals generally take a positive view of human nature. They have great faith in human reason and they are convinced that rational principles can be applied to international affairs. Liberals recognize that individuals are self-interested and competitive up to a point. But they also believe that individuals share many interests and can thus engage in collaborative and cooperative social action, domestically as well as internationally, which results in greater benefits for everybody at home and abroad.

Liberalism is a theory of both governments within states and good governance between states and peoples worldwide. Unlike Realism, which regards the 'international' as an anarchic realm. Liberals seek to project values of order, liberty, justice, and tolerance into international relations.

6.4 CORE IDEAS OF LIBERALISM

The key themes within liberal theory are as follows:

- Interdependence liberalism
- Republican liberalism
- Liberal institutionalism

A. Interdependence liberalism

Liberal concepts of trade and economic interdependence are the foundation of these ideologies. Such concepts can be linked to the development of commercial liberalism in the nineteenth century, which was influenced by Richard Cobden (1804-65) and John Bright (1811-89), two so-called "Manchester liberals," as well as David Ricardo's (1770-1823) classical economics. The key theme within commercial liberalism was a belief in the virtues of free trade. Free trade has economic benefits, as it allows each country to specialize in the production of the goods and services that it is best suited to produce, the ones in which they have a 'comparative advantage'. (Heywood, 2011). Free trade, however, plays an equally significant role in uniting nations in a web of economic interdependence that makes fighting abroad economically unviable.

Free trade, however, plays an equally significant role in uniting nations in a web of economic interdependence that makes fighting abroad economically unthinkable. Cobden and Bright thought that free trade would unite individuals of various racial backgrounds, religious beliefs, and linguistic groups in what Cobden called "the bonds of eternal peace." Free commerce would not just contribute negatively to maintaining peace but it would also have positive benefits in ensuring that different peoples are united by shared values and a common commercial culture, and so would have a better understanding of one another. In short, aggression and expansionism are best deterred by the 'spirit of commerce'.

This commercial liberalism has been further developed by neoliberal thinkers like Keohane and Nye. Both Keohane and Nye called it complex interdependence.

B. Republican liberalism

The concepts of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and the modern American scholar Michael Doyle serve as the foundation for Republican liberalism. It assumes that democratic governments have advantageous traits and refrain from starting wars with one another.

The liberal view of international politics uses an "inside-out" method of theorizing, similar to classical realism. Assumptions regarding their fundamental components are used to generate larger conclusions about international and global affairs. Although realists' belief in power politics contrasts dramatically with liberalism's emphasis on peace and international cooperation. Both viewpoints share the idea that states are fundamentally selfish players. As a result, every state is at least potentially dangerous to others. Liberals, on the other hand, disagree with realists and think that a state's political and constitutional structure significantly impacts how it acts on the outside. This can be seen in the Republican liberal tradition that dates back to Woodrow Wilson.

The aggressive character of authoritarian regimes stems from the fact that they are immunized from popular pressure and typically have strong and politically powerful armies. As they are accustomed to the use of force to maintain themselves in power, force becomes the natural mechanism through which they deal with the wider world and resolve disputes with other states.

Republican liberalism, therefore, promotes the spread of democracy, one of the core principles of all political beliefs, to bring about peace. It is a theory with a significant normative component in this sense.

Therefore, to achieve peace, Republican liberalism encourages the growth of democracy, one of the fundamental tenets of all political ideologies. In this sense, it is a theory with a sizable normative element.

C. Liberal Institutionalism

Liberal institutionalism stands for liberal thinking puts faith in human reason and believes that this reason could deliver freedom and justice in international relations. Their emphasis was a transformation of individual consciousness, abolishing war, setting up a world government, promoting free trade and maintaining peace. Liberal internationalists talked about the 'harmony of interests in international relations, which has been vehemently criticized by E.H. Carr in his famous work *The Twenty years' crisis (1939),* Jeremy Bentham, and Immanuel Kant were the leading exponents of liberal internationalism. (Ghosh, 2021)

6.5 NEO-LIBERALISM

Liberalism has been revived under the rubric of neoliberal institutionalism since the 1970s. Neoliberalism is a revised version of liberalism. Neoliberalism became the dominant political ideology of the 20th century, and it still affects and is used in many political systems throughout the world today. As you read this piece, you may realize how directly neoliberalism affects the political landscape around you. Neoliberalism is an international relations ideology shaped by many economic and political thinkers such as Hayek and Friedman.

Neo-liberalism emerged from a famous quote given by Woodrow Wilson in favour of global institutions which goes as "Institutions will convert the "jungle" of international relations into the zoo". However, initially, liberal institutionalism, the precursor of neoliberal institutionalism was very broad in its framework which was visible in the establishment of the UNO in 1945. Neo-liberalism is an umbrella term that believes in the role of international institutions in promoting global change, cooperation, peace and prosperity.

Neoliberalism acknowledges the realism claims that states are the most important actors, but still stresses the importance of cooperation.

It is a school of thought which holds that international cooperation between states is feasible and sustainable and that such cooperation can reduce conflict and competition. Neoliberalism tries to focus on the task of initiating and maintaining cooperation among states under conditions of anarchy. Neoliberalism is a response to Neo-realism, not denying the anarchic nature of the international system and states as the key actors in international relations but still maintaining that non-state actors and inter-governmental organizations matter.

Neoliberals highlight the role of international institutions and regimes in facilitating cooperation between states. The main reason why international organizations facilitate cooperation is that they provide information, which reduces collective action problems among states in providing public goods and enforcing compliance. Robert Keohane's 1984

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book After Hegemony used insights from the new institutional economics to argue that the international system could remain stable in the absence of a hegemon, thus rebutting hegemonic stability theory. Keohane showed that international cooperation could be sustained through repeated interactions, transparency, and monitoring.

Neoliberalism is a conservative political philosophy that supports economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, government interference, and free-market capitalism, laissez-faire economics. The political philosophy of neoliberalism promotes the idea of "freedom." Additional traits that help characterize neoliberalism include:

- support for free market principles
- minimal government involvement in economic and social affairs
- encourages economic rivalry and opens markets
- the significance of each person as a political and economic player

6.5.1 Key Concepts and Thinkers of Neoliberalism

- **Neo-Liberal Institutionalism:** It supports the idea of the economic integration of the world through multilateral institutions like the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund.
- **Regional Trade Blocs:** Regional trade blocs like the European Union (EU) and the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) create a new atmosphere of regional cooperation and co-existence.
- **Complex Interdependence: Joseph Nye and Robert O. Keohane** have claimed that different countries in the world are now economically interlinked ad hence, conflicts are not irreconcilable due to the greater benefits of cooperation.
- **Hegemonic Stability Theory:** Thinkers like Robert Gilpin and Charles P. Kindle Berger argued that the presence of a global hegemon makes the global flow of goods and services safe and secure, ensures adherence to international laws, and hence, there are fewer conflicts.

6.6 SUMMARY

Liberals place a high value on human reason and rationality. Liberals generally take a positive view of human nature. They have great faith in human reason and they are convinced that rational principles can be applied to international affairs. They emphasize the connections between the state and society and contend that there are strong ties between domestic institutions and politics on one hand and the other hand international politics. The

liberal approach did not address the question of anarchy in international politics. Liberals and neo-liberals also differ on the causes of conflict 126 Theoretical Perspectives among states. Neoliberalism is a revised version of liberalism. Neoliberalism differs from liberalism. Neo-liberalism is an umbrella term that believes in the role of international institutions in promoting global change, cooperation, peace and prosperity.

6.7 EXERCISES

1. Explain liberalism and its core ideas.
2. Explain the theory of Neoliberalism.

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UNIT-7   MARXIST   APPROACHES,   FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Structure

7.1 Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Marxist Approaches to the Study of International Relations

7.4 Feministic Perspective on the Study of International Relations

7.5 Summary

7.6 Exercises

7.7 References

7.1 OBJECTIVES

After Studying this unit, you will be able to understand:

- The Marxist Approaches
- Feminist Perspectives in IR

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Theories and approaches to International Relations (IR) are instruments that aid in the study and comprehension of international politics. Marxist Theory is the only IR theory named after a philosopher (Karl Marx). However, the Marxist approach to world politics is not restricted to Karl Marx's theories. Many thinkers have contributed to the development of Marxist perspectives, including Vladimir Lenin, Antonio Gramsci, Andre Gunder Frank, Robert Cox, Stephen Gill, Justin Rosenberg, Andrew Linklater, and Mark Rupert.

The main focus of the Marxist approach to world politics is on divulging the real nature of the state, state-system and how they affect the capitalist world economy and vice versa. Different variants of the Marxist approach to International Relations and sometimes their competing claims may puzzle a student of international politics. To avoid unnecessary

confusion, it would be prudent and helpful to identify some shared assumptions which hold different variants of Marxism together.

The feminist perspective in international relations emerged from the "Third Debate" between positivists and post-positivist scholars in the 1980s. The feminist approach to international relations challenges the male-centric nature of global governance and institutions. It calls for greater gender equality in decision-making bodies and promotes the inclusion of women's perspectives and voices in shaping global policies and agendas.

7.3 MARXIST APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Marxist Theory had a significant contribution to comprehending International Relations as it helped in understanding the correlation between politics, economy, social forces and structures of order. The writings of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels constituted the core ideas of this theory. Further, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Mao Tse Tung and other scholars developed this theory. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx argued that capitalism divided people based on control over the means of production. Hence, a clash was inevitable between the capitalist class (bourgeoisie) and workers (the proletariat); from that class, the struggle would emerge a new social order which, in turn, would bring about substantial changes in the structure of states resulting in an altogether different world order.

According to Marxists, the hierarchical structure of the world system was the result of an expansion of world capitalism which benefitted only a few states and organizations and relegated many others to the background. Conventional Marxists like Lenin and Bukharin adhered to this view only and perceived imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. In this stage, new mercantilist states would emerge who would use coercive forces to achieve their economic and political ends, they believed. Further, it would bring acute disappointment to the proletariat class. These factors would jeopardize the ideal of peace and cooperation among states. Thus, the Marxist theory challenged the liberal theory of the state promoting capitalism and protectionism. However, Marxism suffered a setback after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It paved the way for the emergence of neo-Marxists. This new school included all dissident theories that did not rigidly follow the conventional Marxist theory. Neo-Marxists called for a revision of some of the elements of Marxism while retaining the core of it: class struggle as the motor behind history. Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, Antonio Gramsci, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno emerged as prominent neo-Marxists. One of the leading neo-Marxists, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) underscored the concept of hegemony for dominance.

Neo-Marxists perceived:

(a) international law and organisations as by-products of a dominant group of states which ensured the interests of the capitalists;

(b) capitalist structure and mode of production as exploitative; and

(c) the importance of major structural changes in international politics for addressing inequalities.

Further, a variant of neo-Marxism, under the title 'Dependency Theory' emerged with great fervour in the 20th century extending its domain from northern states to southern states. Dependency theorists such as Raul Prebisch, Euzo Faletto, Fernando Henrique Cardosa and Andre Gunder Frank tried to explain why rich northern countries benefitted from the development process. They suggested that there was a need for major changes in international economic relations among states so that the unequal distribution of power and resources could be rectified. Similarly, the world system theory was another significant variant of the Marxist theory, propounded by Immanuel Wallenstein. He elucidated three classes of states-core, periphery and semi-periphery. The core represents the advanced developed countries, while the periphery symbolizes developing countries with cheap and unskilled labour, from where raw materials were extracted by core countries. In between the core and periphery, there exist the semi-periphery states representing the newly industrialized countries with cheap skilled and semiskilled labour. The world theory was further developed by Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin 3 and Giovanni Arrighi. They pointed out that World Wars were the result of clashes between the core states for domination and exploitation of the periphery countries.

7.4 FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The word "feminism" was first used in English during the 1880s, to indicate support for women's equal legal and political rights with men. With time and further awakening, the feminist movement split into several parts to accommodate different views and perspectives from people of all kinds of ideologies, for example radical, liberal, Marxist, socialist, ecofeminism, Black feminism, etc.

Feminism involves deep theoretical disagreements that find their roots in competing for ideological traditions. It started with religious traditions to assert women's worth. During the 17th century, the demand for equal access to education, employment, political participation, and legal rights emerged in secular liberal ideology. Feminism tried to bring women out of the domestic sphere to the public sphere which was considered men's domain. In Medieval Europe, when women were denied the right to own property, study and participate in public life, to vote, feminism came in support of these women.

Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged compared to men and are subordinated to men because of a system of patriarchy. Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices through which men dominate and exploit women. This implies two things. One is that it is not biological characteristics but social systems that are at the root of gender inequality. And second that not every individual man is necessarily in a position of domination, nor is every woman in a position of subordination. The Feminist movement involves struggles for political and legal rights and equal opportunities for women.

Most feminists challenge the doctrine of essentialism that casts women with a fixed identity, i.e., women as essentially peaceful and men as aggressors. Such projections are used in ultra-nationalist projects and dangerous political agendas. Feminists have critiqued the state, concept of power and theories of International Relations (IR) and national security doctrines. Feminism is linked with movements for women's rights and gender equality.

The issue of whether women/ gender should be included in the study of International Relations (IR)/ IR theory can be traced back to the 1980s, although the denial of women in politics and therefore political theory goes back to the earliest theoreticians of politics. IR is a relatively new subject and the discovery of women's absence from IR theory is, therefore, new as well. However, the relegation of women away from power or public life in general goes back a long way, and since 'power' is at the root of international politics and to a large extent, IR theory, it is important to note that women were viewed as subordinate in Western political theory (and in many Eastern ones as well) from the very beginning of theorizing.

Feminist interventions to this kind of thinking began systemically only in the nineteenth century with the growth of liberalism, which called for a curb on the powers of the state, and coincided with the development of capitalism in England and the rise of the idea of free enterprise. Political liberalism opened new vistas in political theorizing within which some thinkers like J.S. Mill advocated legal and political rights for women, denying that women were inferior to men by having "women's nature" (nervous, intuitive etc); women's subordination came from customs and legal systems whereby men denied women education and equal political and legal rights, leaving women with no option but to get married and retire to the private sphere of the household. Such ideas as well as the mainstream theories of political liberalism influenced women thinkers, and liberal feminism emerged within the context of the growth of economic and political liberalism in England and later, the United States (US).

Early liberal feminists assumed the absolute authority of the 'natural right of reason' as an inherent right of all human beings regardless of sex, and therefore, individuals living in society should have political and legal rights irrespective of gender. They also critiqued the relegation of women to the 'private' domestic sphere as women's natural space. For the first

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time in the history of Western political thought, there were theoretical and practical interventions by women thinkers and activists. In this context, the names of Mary Wollstonecraft (A Vindication to the Rights of Women), Francis Wright, Sarah Grimke, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, are worth mentioning.

Given the absence of women from the 'public' sphere, it is important to first explain feminist conceptions of patriarchy and the patriarchal state before the issue of feminist interventions in IR theory is taken up because the 'state' as mentioned underlies most of IR theory throughout the 20th century. Feminist theorists typically characterize patriarchy as a social construction. Lorraine Code defines it as a system in which females are subordinate to men in terms of power and status, and that it is "right and proper for men to command and women to obey". While one cannot speak of 'feminist theory' in the singular, feminist theorists appear to agree that patriarchy extends from the family to the state, and the patriarchal state has its roots in the patriarchal family unit. In liberal feminism, for example, there is a 'public'/ 'private' dichotomy, wherein the state, the market (economy) and all institutions outside the family constitute the 'public'; only intimate familial relations are 'private'. This implies not only a structural but an ideological divide – according to patriarchal ideology, everything outside the family (the private sphere) is a cold uncaring place for competition; only the family is a haven for love, comfort and security.

Feminists claim that this is how power dynamics and politics relegate women to the private familial place, restricting the public space for men – the patriarchal division of the 'public' and the 'private' teaches women that their 'private' world is a place of love and care outside the public realm of competition and strife. Within this kind of patriarchal ideology, women can hardly come out with their stories of domestic violence and marital rape, narratives that have long been wrapped in silence. Feminists note that unless women learn that the ideology of 'home as a haven', distinct from the violence of the public world, is generated via patriarchy to keep male power in society intact and that politics and power do not stop at the doorstep of home, or that the bedroom is free of power dynamics, no amount of legal or political empowerment would empower women. Therefore, the 'private' is also political and women should be as much part of the public sphere as the private. These views can be traced to both Marxist and liberal feminist scholars. One of the basic tenets of Marxist theory is that history moves via contradictions between the structure and the superstructure (structure being the production system) from primitive modes of production to modern times; further, for Marx, labour power has an exchange value and the key to the self-producing nature of capitalist accumulation lies in the extraction of surplus value from the labour of the proletariat.

Marxist feminists who propagate the 'dual systems' theory, have, however, constructed a base and superstructure of patriarchy, which is distinct from the Marxian model. Women's oppression stems from both the material (economic) base and the patriarchal base, and women do not have control over either. The material base of patriarchy, which is not

identical to the economic base, is formed through controlling women's labour power and sexuality in the public sphere, and through the sexual division of labour, in the private sphere. In the public sphere, women perform jobs for lower wages, thus producing only use value and not exchange value; exchange value is expressed in monetary terms, but use value is not. Women's labour is like that of the proletariat whose labour is used by those who control the means of production. Unpaid domestic labour is hidden surplus value that goes into reproducing the proletariat and eventually in reproducing and accumulating capital. 3 But since use value is not exchange value, it denigrates women in the eyes of men, providing the rationale for male dominance.

Liberal, radical, Marxist and socialist feminist scholars, while agreeing that patriarchy denotes oppression, have analytical differences and also provide different solutions. Early feminist work on the state analyzed how women were subordinated by a centralized state; later however, it was realized that states are differentiated entities and feminist interventions began in the different aspects of the state and statecraft. It is from such roots that feminist interventions also began in the field of International Relations since IR began as a discipline that dealt with relations between states. However, there has been a widening and deepening of the discipline over the years, particularly since the late 1980s and especially following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when a state collapsed not as a result of international power politics or war as had been the general conclusion of earlier IR theorists who focused on the state and inter-state power relations, but as a result of an implosion, in which non-state variables played an important role. Therefore, actors other than the state, who had at best been considered subordinate to the study of IR, the nature of social transitions and the fact that social and political constructs can sometimes succumb to assaults from within, began to be studied. In the wider context of the new emerging constructs, collective or group identities began to be recognized as significant in matters like value formation – and these began to be considered important factors in the study of the state as an 'actor' in the international arena and also in IR theory. For instance, the construction and ascription of collective identities like religious or ethnic identities, plays an important role in war and peace – it has always been important in relations between states including the conduct or non-incidence of war, but it is only recently that IR theorists have expanded the discipline to accept identity formation as important in IR.

The problem of integrating feminist theory or gender into IR can be traced to the fact that since the end of World War II and through much of the Cold War, the predominant paradigm of IR has been Realism, within which states, which are largely seen as unitary 8 and rational, are deemed as the key actors. Realist scholars focus on reified states and the potential for, or actual conflict between states, with the major concerns being stability, sovereignty and power. In this context, the experiences of women, which are the domain of feminist theorists, were unimportant because women wield very little power in the international state system, even as a collective.

Among the early feminist theorists, three women stand out for their interventions in IR theory – Jean Bethke Elshtain, Cynthia Enloe and Ann Tickner. Their writings revealed theoretical deficiencies across the field. In "Women and War: Ten Years On", Elshtain took up the core IR issue of war and discussed the 'dubious' claims of IR knowledge. Enloe in Bananas, Beaches and Bases among narratives of various feats/ (de)feats of women, brings up the issue of nationalism. Similarly, Tickner's Gender in International Relations worked at basics to consider a reappraisal of security defined in Realist terms from the feminist standpoint. She presents 'women' as a gender group that is made to exist apart from the subject matter of IR and international relations, fields that are dominated by men and their concerns.

7.5 SUMMARY

Marxism is a relatively new approach to IR. In terms of basic assumptions, methodology and dealing with the issues, the Marxist approach presents a different and fascinating picture of world politics. It becomes evident from the foregoing discussion that Mars himself had little to contribute by way of a theoretical analysis of international relations. What is noteworthy about the Marxist approach to international relations is the fact that despite the collapse of the Communist Party rule in the former Soviet Union and other East European states, Marx's work has retained its relevance in the contemporary world. Of particular importance is Mars's analysis of capitalism, which has yet to be bettered. The main strength of the Marxist approach to international relations lies in its ability to reveal the hidden workings of global capitalism.

Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged compared to men and are subordinated to men because of a system of patriarchy. Feminists analyze state security, power, and nationalism to show that the traditional approach focuses almost entirely on state power, and military strategies and is thus state-centred. They submit that this approach is patriarchal and has biases against women and hides their role. They see war and nationalism as being gendered processes. Feminists advocate a feminist approach to state security and international relations as one that will show gender biases and correct these biases.

7.6 EXERCISES

1. Explain the Marxist Approach to the study of international relations.
2. Discuss the feminist perspective on the study of international relations.

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UNIT-8 EURO-CENTRISM, PERSPECTIVE FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Structure

8.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:
- Explain Euro-centrism and Ideology of Southern Countries
- Identify and describe some key concepts related to the Southern States
- Analysis of some gaps in the views of Southerners

8.2 INTRODUCTION

International relations (IR) are a study of the interaction of nations. International Relations Theory (IRT) is a Western-cantered discourse try to make you a global phenomenon. IRT's dependence on knowledge emerged from Western experiences that made them culturally and somewhat bound partially. It is based on Western political theories and social realities

that emerged with the Age of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. Therefore, the IRT can be seen as the social structure of the West imposed by colonialism in other parts of the world. Having the presence of strong epistemological questions related to how knowledge is created. IRT is specific knowledge from the West. There is a strong value embedded in IR's discipline is Western or ethnocentric.

IRT emerged from the West. As these theories have been built with a mindset of living in the West, they cannot explain or understand all the major structures and dynamics of different societies or realities. IRT is considered narrow because there is no non-Western theory. IR outside the West theories is considered scattered, unsystematic, and virtually inaccessible. Acharya and Buzan in their book, Non-Western International Relations Theory– Perspectives on and Beyond Asia (2010), challenging Western dominance theory claim that the IR theory is distorted and misunderstood much of world history. They, therefore, call for the introduction of case studies in China, India, Japan and Southeast Asia to expand, diversify and enrich IRT. They argue that the main reason for the lack of a non-Western IRT is ideal force and perception; providing, in a different way, the concept of Gramscian "hegemony and ethnocentrism and exclusionary politics". The West is seen as having a monopoly in the production of knowledge. Here is the model powered by modern European history which became the main model to understand IRT, thus making IRT strongly European-centric.

8.3 THE CONCEPT OF EURO-CENTRISM

IRT is a European story. Sujata Patel explains Euro-centralism is the idea that all knowledge emerges in Europe in the context of modern Europe. Thus, it is a linear conception of time that shows that this knowledge generated through values and institutional systems has been common in Europe for over 500 years. She again writes that this story combines two main stories: the superiority of Western civilization (through progress and reason) and belief in the growth of capitalism (through modernization, development and creation of a market). These master stories are all ethnic. It must be understood that European knowledge considers itself superior to others colonized and so they are modern. They are the starting point of modernity and become a point of reference for other cultures and civilizations.

Europe and The West are depicted as modern, rational in culture and science and master civilization while the East is portrayed as inferior. They created a binary of modernity and tradition. Western European countries are all torchbearers of modernity while Eastern countries are traditional and backward.

In this way, European societies justified their imperial experience and the colonialism they had imposed in other parts of the world. It is necessary to bring modernity to the rest of the

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world. We see theories like Marxism legalize control and domination of much of the world to inject them with communist ideals.

8.4 FOUNDATION OF EURO-CENTRISM

The important foundations of European centralism are:

Evolutionary theory: Belief that Western societies have grown taller than non-Western societies. It follows the logic established by Charles Darwin, on the Origin of Species and examines the evolution of species over the years. The logic anchored in his writings is the logic of the survival of the fittest.

Dualism: He insists on the idea that Europe and the West are sources of knowledge, making them stronger, thus standing out against the non-Western, which is traditional. Thus, we see the creation of binary opposites form a hierarchy that leads to the formation of a dualism of "self" and "other".

Sujata Patel writes how the division of knowledge brought by Eurocentrism is seen in the context of how academic knowledge of India was framed by colonial anthropologists and administrators in India. For example, European scholars divided their knowledge of Indian religion, creating a difference between the "great traditions" that are Hinduism and the "little traditions" that are the folk culture. Many of them have been accepted by scholars.

Researching South Asian religions. On the other hand, South Asia has thousands of distinct cultural practices and ideas that already exist and are known to exist in many forms and with unequal and interdependent relationships. In the 19th century, anthropological and sociological knowledge dissolved the distinction and reclassify them into four of the five major religious traditions. The European understanding of Indian religion led to the imposition of assimilation. It can be said that Western categories and standards have been used in the study of non-western societies.

8.5 EURO-CENTRISM AND INTERNATIONAL THEORY

IRT is dominated by the West because most of the traditional IRT is derived from Western philosophy, political theory and history. History as a subject is also deeply European-centred. Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan study neo-realism and classical realism, the two dominant theories that predict the rest of world history. Their works are based on the European history of international anarchy and balance of power politics as a global, permanent structural state. IRT is deeply European because it comes from a history that goes back to the West. It ignores large swaths of history, including the West and non-Western,

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where empires such as the Han, Persian, Incas and Aztecs ruled their known world. Its main historical story is a modern one in which the Western powers fight each other and take control of the rest of the world. It is considered that the evolving categories are imposed on non-Western. These types are Western and therefore European. Acharya and Buzan write more about how IR theories like Liberalism and ideas of individualism, markets, and democracy and their application will benefit all mankind.

IRT seems to homogenize its ideas and standards around the world. One sees this in the theory of Marxism manifesting itself as universal and as a model that can be done in all regions of the world. IRT as a European principle is seen as recreating the world in its image as sovereign states, diplomacy and international law. How do Acharya and Buzan refer to these things carried out by English schools in international relations and their goals for international society? In this way, they emphasize cultural cohesion European cosmopolitan society on a global scale lacks a common culture to strengthen it. Moreover, the English school doesn't seem to recognize the presence of other international companies established outside Europe. The goal is to see how Europe has remade the world. Even the critical theories in international relations are of European origin. They are affected by Western political and social practices. These theories have universal assumptions, but in many cases, try to understand each situation in its way. Even the outlook for southern countries is considered to be strongly influenced by Western theory.

IRT is special, local and European, and claims to be common to assert its claim. IRT is studied and researched all over the world context is a study of Westphalian nation-state interactions, a structure that appeared especially in Europe. This understanding imposes itself on those who do not Western or global South, naturalize and make it the global norm. In addition, all Non-Western countries have adopted the model of the Westphalian state system; this automatically makes them actors in the entire global interaction of States. However, this does not mean that they are equal players. IRT seems to say for the West and in the interest of maintaining its power, prosperity and influence. They don't speak for others, whether it's the global West or the South. It appears as constitutive of the reality with which it is addressed.

8.6 NON-WESTERN IRT OR VOICES FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The ideas of the Global South are the creation of the West. This takes place on two levels, the first at the conceptual and psychological level with the West creating the non-Western or Southern Hemisphere as the defining "other" self. Edward Said in Orientalism (1978) writes that the West has managed in creating the non-Western or Southern Hemisphere. Thus, non-Western or Eastern is described as a complete European invention, through which there is a strong degree of domination imposed by the West through restructuring and

powering the East not the West. The second way the non-Westerners or people Global South were created by colonialism. European countries, forming the Western core who has invaded much of Asia, Latin America, Africa and Australia and made their colonies, to exploit their resources. In these colonies, the European Empire powers to transplant their mode of governance, which was eventually adopted by these countries after independence. The majority of people who are not Western or Global South is also considered poor and underdeveloped because they are still victims of America's New Colonialism. After the Second World War, The United States became a superpower, replacing the European powers. He, however, continued the previous policies of imperialism and domination that had been pursued by the European Empire. Through the International Economic Crisis, the Bretton Woods system that created financial institutions like the World Bank, The International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, the United States dominates the world. It was these policies that led to the formation of the Global North and Global South.

Southern countries are generally the least developed countries economically, including many countries with different levels of economic, cultural and political development. As mentioned earlier, these countries have remained poor due to the centuries-old application of colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, Europe and the West are directly responsible for their "dependent" position. Their subordinate position is also reflected in them not being studied in IR theories. The lack of prospects for Global people in IRT is a serious injustice because it means turning a blind eye voice of the majority of the world's population. There is a strong need to expand in the field of IWT and to integrate the voices of southern countries to bring a more accurate and representative understanding of international relations.

According to Benabdallah, Zamora and Adetula, IRT just emphasizes concepts that do not reflect reality in many states of the Southern Hemisphere. Their prospects are missing or below the theoretical level in traditional research. However, in the present colonial period domination profoundly shapes the state of the present world order, which is not assigned in the IRT. Therefore, the issues of race and empire are not present in the dominant theory despite the presence of post-colonial and post-structuralism. It must be understood that people who are not from the West can build their understanding of IRT based on their history and social relationships theory.

Benabdallah and others write how the traditional IRT also interprets history in this wrong way. Most world events are told from a Western perspective and thus the voices of the colonists and the oppressed disappeared, leading to different theoretical foundations. They give an example of what a real scholarship looks like write about the Cold War, seeing it as a period of relative stability because there is no war between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, if we look at the same period through a Global South prism, we see a world

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full of about proxy wars and human suffering, when two superpowers intervene in conflicts to advance their interests or harm the interests of others. Therefore, it is important to integrate non-Western agents and non-Western thinking to explore the differences, challenges, supports and shapes of the global and regional order. There is a need constantly question the dominant theories in the post-colonization context. Countries and theorizing on the role of emerging economies and other countries in the South States shape international institutions and global governance. Current IRT should adapt to absorb the views of southern countries.

Universal and global assumptions about IRT are also reflected in policies shaping international politics. An important means by which this is realized, go through hypotheses rooted in the Western way of thinking. An example of this is seen in the context of "development" - a word that means power to dictate national and international policies and attract huge sums of money.

8.7 THEORY OF DEPENDENCY

One of the ways that Western conceptions of development and economic progress are needed in the non-West is through the United Nations Millennium, The Development Goals and their successors, the Sustainable Development Goals. These global initiatives are based on a concept of development that considers many countries in the South have not made progress economically. These are the goals that all countries in the world are committed to achieving, targeting and sponsoring. Thus, there is the imposition of Western values and understandings of developments and progress in non-Western countries.

Have are major challenges to the Western understanding of development as an organizing principle of international politics. It seems to appear from dependency theory, which is a major contribution from Latin America IRT researchers. It emphasizes that underdevelopment and poverty are the results of political, economic, and cultural influences that have impacted the southern states ever since outside. The relationship between the Southern Hemisphere and the Northern Hemisphere is called exploitative and unfair. This is because of the way the southern states were integrated into the global economic system through capitalist development, exploited human and material resources and broke Production methods.

How Benabdallah and others write dependency theory analyzing the underdevelopment of many countries in the Southern Hemisphere is the direct result of state unfair trade policies, interventions, and practices. Current economic relations between countries in the South and The Global North won't help the South grow at all. Instead, the countries in the South are poorer than the North. The emphasis of demand-dependent theorists' complete restructuring

of the entire international economic system to economic justice for the world's poor. We see a continuation of the colonization process in the Global South, considered neo-colonialism. Scholars have stated that in the final years of formal colonialism, the departing colonial powers brought a set of new policies and programs that lead to the establishment of dominance in the economies of the Southern Hemisphere.

Some policies applied to southern countries are the production of industrial crops for export, dependent on foreign financial aid and the entrenchment of private capital (both domestic and foreign) as the engine of growth and development. The North-South Trade Agreement and the policy of international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) are considered to protect northern interests despite constant calls from Southern countries to have a fairer agreement in global trade relations. International organizations that, according to Benabdallah and others, serve the privileged agenda for "developed" countries in trade relations and to the detriment of the first country "developing" colonies. The Northern Hemisphere sees these policies as a tool to help underdeveloped countries. However, the prospect of the Global South is that these policies are a new type of colonial domination because there is a continuation of unequal and exploitative North-South relations.

8.8 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

How Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan write about the contributions of non-Western countries in IRT, does not seem to meet the criteria of hard theory. They are placed in lighter designs, focusing on classical ideas and beliefs of contemporary periods. According to them, they can be divided into four job types, as follows;

The first is similar to Western international theory focusing on important figures such as Thomas Hobbes, Machiavelli, Kant, etc., where there are classical Asian traditions and classical religion, politics and military figures such as Sun Tzu, Confucius and Kautilya, on which some are a secondary document of the type "Political Theory". They claim, that certain efforts to get an understanding of these thinkers are present but very rare. An example of this might be Confucian thought and the idea of socialism. It was often cited as an example of an "Asian perspective", and has been as an alternative to Western libertarian values. It is also presented as an alternative concept of the East Asian international order; this may raise questions about the hegemonic ambitions of the northern states. In addition, Acharya and Buzan write about how in India, Vedic ideas about strategy and politics have been invoked to justify India's acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Even the work of Kautilya's Arthashastra can be a good example of understanding the presence of strong IRTs from the Southern Hemisphere. He developed the means by whereby a kingdom can defend its sovereignty, called Rajamandala, he describes the different ways in which a country can interact with neighbouring countries to increase their power and authority. The Arthashastra is a text that can be described as India's contribution to strategy Think. Thus, Kautilya's Arthashatra is an important example of the presence of non-western international relations thought in the category of classical realism.

The second type of work according to Acharya and Buzan concerns the thinking and foreign policy approach of Asian and non-Western leaders such as Nehru, Mao, Aung San from Myanmar, Jose Rizal from the Philippines and Sukarno from Indonesia. However, it should be emphasized that their thoughts may come from practising Western or practising Western literature at home. Yet they came with ideas and approaches independent of the Western intellectual tradition. One example of this is the idea of non-alignment, developed by Nehru and his colleagues Asian and African leaders in the 1950s, partially adapted from concepts of neutralism in the West, but in many ways an independent concept.

Nehru also promoted the idea of non-exclusive regionalism, as opposed to a military bloc based on the classical European balance of power model. Aung Sang's ideas offer something that could be considered liberal internationalist international relations, emphasizing independence and multilateralism rather than that isolationism has characterized Myanmar's foreign policy under the military regime. He rejected discriminatory regional blocks, such as economic blocks and hobbies. In the 1960s, Sukarno developed and bred certain ideas about the international order, such as "formed old forces" and "emerging forces", based on a nationalist past as well as its international leadership duties. There are also the Mao Zedong Three Realms theories and ideas about war and strategy. We must respect the theoretical significance of these ideas, especially Asian nationalistic leaders.

On this point, Acharya and Buzan attach special importance to Nehru, as he is recognized both in India and around the world as a thinker in his own right, rather than just a political strategist. His opinion shaped the beliefs and initial foreign policy approaches of some Asian countries. In his writings, Nehru is seen as a critic of Western realist approaches to power politics. The first Prime Minister of Independent India Sees the Western conception of realism as a "continuation of the old tradition" of Europe power politics. He believes that the current situation has the presence of the southern countries is not taken seriously. For Nehru, some "realists" solutions to the world's problems have ignored the new forces sweeping the world to understand the economic and military decline of the West after World War II War, as well as the rise of nationalism and demands for freedom in the old world. He writes how realism is detached from the reality of the greatest things. IRT seems to ignore Nehru's thoughts and contributions to world politics. People feel an ethnographic understanding of international relations

The third form of employment in non-Western IRTs is used by non-Westerners Western theories in local context analysis. However, Acharya and Buzan write that taking into account their work in the development of non-Western IRT could problem. The problem is that most scholars have received their training in the West and have spent most of their professional lives in Western institutions. Thus, they cannot be considered as true "local" scholars and does their work contribute "indigenous" to non-Western IRT? The answer to this question has generated a lot of debate and has not yet given a clear answer.

The fourth form of work on IRT involves non-Western countries and more specifically Asian research, events and experiences and develop concepts that can be used as tools to analyze more general patterns in international relations, locate the Global South within the broader international system and compare it with the rest of the world. Below, Acharya and Buzan quote the works of Benedict Anderson's "Imagination Community" and "Everyday Forms of "resistance", have inspired experts in comparative politics as well as international relationships. Another example they give is that of Edmund Leac, the political system of the Central Highlands of Burma (1954) is used to analyze fluid concepts of national identity in Southeast Asia and beyond. These scholarly articles are considered to look at events and processes from a non-Western perspective. He captures the distinctive patterns and experiences of countries in the Southern Hemisphere, bringing a lot of autonomy and agency needed for these voices. But it is mentioned by Acharya and Buzan that non-Western IRT is quite limited as in most cases, non-Western researchers are considered to be testing Western IRT in an Asian or regional context. So, they insist on the need to "discover" how" local knowledge" can be turned into definitive frameworks for analysis progress. However, these forms of academic endeavour are seen as a means by which the West is seen as cooperating with non-Westerners.

A form of theory indigenous to the Southern Hemisphere that plays an important role in contributing role to IRT is "small studies". Works of Homi Bhaba Mediocre and Arjun Appadurai's research on globalization seem rebellious against Eastern and Western domination. Postcolonialism is seen as an attempt to dismantle relativity and the binary distinction as they appear as central and periphery, First World – Third World and North-South. However, as Aijaz Ahmad writes, post-colonialism is seen as not generating new knowledge about the third world, it instead restructures existing blocks of knowledge in the Post structural model. Then it occupied the places of cultural production outside of the Eurasian regions by globalizing concerns and orientations stemming from central places of European-American cultural production. So non-westerners' efforts are considered heavily influenced by the West. This is because no Western efforts are essentially part of a cultural discourse rooted in the West.

8.9 LIMITATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Some limitations and problems were observed in the generation and analysis of Global South international relations theory. According to Siba Grovogui one of the main problems with IRT from Global South is that it does not have a central structure, no central command and no designated spokesperson. He has several guardians, some of them have been self-selected, which is also the result of a lack of consistent historical identity and shared agendas. As mentioned earlier, the global IRT in many cases is seen as taking ideas and discourse from the West.

In addition, most countries in the Southern Hemisphere are nation-states that have adopted Western governance and state-building models. Therefore, they are considered to operate on the same model as the states of the West. The mainstream IRT emerges from Western societies, State interaction and explanation. Likewise, the interaction between countries in southern countries is studied from a relational perspective. Benabdallah and others have given examples of China and its interactions with many African countries.

Currently, China is Africa's largest trading partner and the two economies of countries are interdependent. However, this relationship is an imbalance where African countries seem to import more from China than they don't export to China. China's development model (Beijing Consensus) is different from the neoliberal development model advocated by the IMF and other Western institutions (Washington Consensus). The consensus emphasizes liberalization and a reduction in the role of the state in the market has been denounced by many African leaders as it is neo-colonial and exploiter. On the other hand, the Beijing consensus, with the principle of non-interference presents an interesting alternative to several African countries.

Furthermore, they write that China is seen as benefiting from its development role in African countries, by strengthening cultural dialogue and network building through person-to-person exchange. Through Confucian institutes adopting African exhibits of Chinese language and culture, the Chinese government is seeming to sponsor thousands of people to train in different fields. It is part of building a shared identity based on future aspirations and trajectories that will help people get out of poverty. However, this model is adopted by China in Africa and, in some Latin American countries, is the subject of much debate.

8.10 SUMMARY

International Relation Theory as a discipline has a strong European character, due to its emergence from the experience of Western countries. However, it assumes a universal position and imposes itself in the non-Western world. It is therefore a profound act of

hegemony that leads to a process where Western values and standards are practiced in non-Western countries. This experiencing colonialism and cultural imperialism, whereas the ideas of the West are rational, scientific and modern. Non-Western ideas are nicknamed traditional, religious and non-scientific. The different interactions between the states are identified along the lines of interactions that have occurred in Europe and between European countries. Europeanism makes the West the centre of modernity and power. International organizations such as IMF, World Bank and the World Trade Organization are seen as imposition as West sanctions and policies against non-Western countries. The model of state building in the West has the form of a Westphalia nation-state, originating in Europe. There have been exports of the same model around the world, with ideas for state interaction such as realism, liberalism or Marxism emerging from knowledge tradition in the West. Even criticism against Western IRT is coming from Western political and social theories. To answer these questions, here we focus on the so-called Global South Perspective, which is still scattered and somewhat inconsistent. However, in conclusion, we may say that there is a steady increase in the voice of the Southern Hemisphere and this is important because it is necessary to bring the concept of fairness and equity in IRT.

8.11 EXERCISES

1. Explain the Euro-centrism and ideology of southern countries.
2. Identify and describe some key concepts related to the Southern States.
3. Analysis of some gaps in the views of Southerners?

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Block-3

AN OVERVIEW OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY IR-HISTORY-I

Unit-9: World War I: Causes and Consequences

Unit-10: Bolshevik Revolution: Significance and Its Impact

Unit-11: Rise of Facism/Nazism

Unit-12: World War II: Causes and Consequences

UNIT-9: WORLD WAR I: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Structure

9.1 Objectives

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9.3 First World War (1914-1919) Causes and Consequences

9.3.1 Causes of the First World War

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9.4 Summary

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9.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Learn about the First World War as a pivotal moment in global history.
- Explain the causes of the first world war
- Know the key factors that contributed to the 1914 firestorm.
- Comprehend its effects on the worldwide level as well as in the participating nations.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In 1914 the whole world was in the throes of a horrible war known as World War I it is so called because of its unprecedented horribleness and extensive nature. It was an inevitable consequence of the crisis in the international situation towards the close of the nineteenth century. The First World War is the name given to the conflict that began in Europe in 1914 and quickly expanded to practically the entire world due to its extraordinary scope of involvement and overall nature. We shall look at its causes and effects in this unit. After finishing this lesson, you ought to be able to: The events that precipitated the First World War and the First World War's core causes chronology of the War's events resulting from the War War's Effects Understanding of the European Powers' Interwar Dynamics A New Chapter in World Politics.

In the third quarter of 1914, the First World War began. The conflict started in Europe but quickly spread to virtually the whole world. This war's destruction was unprecedented in history. Early wars typically did not involve civilian populations, and the combatants' armies suffered the majority of the casualties. The war that started in 1914 was a total war, and the bombing of civilian areas resulted in a significant number of civilian casualties. The Holocaust was unique in its scope. The world economy was impacted by the war. Once more, a comprehensive conflict in which both sides mobilized their resources. It went on for over four years. It was a pivotal moment.

9.3 FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1919) CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

9.3.1 Causes of The War

The First World War was the first total war that Europe had seen in generations. It entirely contributed to the dissolution of the 19th-century order.

European framework. As a result of this catastrophe, Europe lost its position as a leading continent, and quickly industrializing superpowers like the USA and Japan began to pose a threat. Imperial conflicts between European governments, according to Susan L. Carruthers, professor of American studies at the University of Warwick in the UK, were the primary cause of the war in 1914. Between Germany and Britain, there was a naval rivalry. France was concerned about Germany's growth. On the other side, Germany was forced to expand because of economic necessity. These circumstances as well as the nationalist and disruptive issues. Beginning on July 28, 1914, the First World War involved as many as 26 states

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participated. There were two divisions among the European superpowers. Coalitions, including the Triple Entente (France, Russia, and Britain), the German, Austrian-Hungarian, and Italian Triple Alliance. In the end, the countries making up the Triple Entente are referred to as the Central Powers, whereas the countries that made up the Triple Alliance were known as the Allied Powers.

9.3.2 The Secret Alliances System:

The system of covert alliances was the primary cause of the conflict. In actuality, Bismarck was responsible for this as he attempted to create a network of similar alliances against German enemies after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. These moves gradually partitioned Europe into rival equipped camps which confronted one another. The arrangement of coalitions, as you can figure, helped in certain events in safeguarding harmony, in as much as the individuals inside one gathering frequently held their companions or partners in restriction from inciting war. However, it also made it inevitable that all of Europe's major powers would be involved in any war.

From 187 1 to 1890 Bismarck was the judge of European legislative issues. He declared that Germany was a nation that was "satiated" as Chancellor of the new German Empire. He realizes that conflict, which had brought Germany power and worldwide unmistakable quality, would, whenever gambled once more, bring her main annihilation. As a result, Bismarck represented both the upkeep of the status quo and the upkeep of the new Balance of Power that he had established through his alliance system. He realizes that France was Germany's hopeless foe, especially after the lowness of 1870. So, Bismarck's conciliatory expertise and political knowledge were utilized in developing coalitions for the assurance of Germany. The foe of Germany was France, and Bismarck's accomplishment was the discretionary disconnection of the country. Germany and Austria allied in 1879 to provide each other with protection if Russia attacked either power. Three years later in 1882, Bismarck instigated the Franco-Italian rivalry over Tunis and convinced Italy to fail to remember her genetic ill will towards Austria. A mystery Triple Collusion was manufactured in 1882 between Germany, Italy and Austria, expressly cautious, to a limited extent against France, to some degree against Russia.

France, powerless after the Franco-Prussian War, found its overwhelming union with serious concern. As long as Bismarck was at the helm, he maintained the system of the balance of power, which he fulfilled with the reinsurance contract with Russia in 1887. France was haunted by the nightmare of isolation. But after Bismarck ceased to be German Chancellor in 1890, his successors abandoned his skillful diplomacy. A little bitterness arose Between Russia and Germany at the Berlin Congress on the subject of Eastern settlement a question France took advantage of this situation and acted carefully, succeeding in 1891, in the conclusion of the alliance with Russia. Thus, was born a twin alliance that ended during French isolation and served as a counterweight to the Triple Alliance. Germany's rejection

of Bismarck's diplomacy made some Britons think of diplomatic circles. The German emperor did not believe that Germany was "enough Power" and called for an ambitious policy of world empire. He also announced that Germany's future lies at sea. This change in German politics was quite alarming to England, and forced him to leave his "magnificent solitude." That attracted Britain Closer to Dual Alliance. In 1904 he signed a treaty with the Entente Cordiale France to settle all mutual differences. A similar arrangement followed in Russia in 1907. So, France, Russia and England formed a separate political group called Triple Entente. When the triad faced a tirade European country it became "armed peace". Continental Europe, albeit at peace the other looked at its neighbours with envy, and I saw an atmosphere of fear and suspicion ruled Europe.

9.3.3 Militarism

As the world entered the 20th century, an arms race had begun. By 1914, Germany had the greatest increase in military build-up. Great Britain and Germany both greatly increased their navies in this period. This increase in militarism helped push the countries involved into war. Militarism was closely related and was a system of secret alliances another important cause of war. This system of maintaining large armies began in France during the Revolution and continued later under Napoleon. It was Bismarck that effectively expanded and developed Germany during unification. After The Franco-Prussian War in 1870, the armies and navies of all the great powers tends to grow more and more. This armed race was generally advertised in the name of self-defence which created fear and suspicion among the nations. If any country educated the strength of its army and built strategic railways, its great neighbours were immediately scared to do likewise, so the mad race in armaments went on in a vicious circle, particularly after the Balkan wars of 1912-13. Anglo-German Naval rivalry was one of the contributory causes& of the war. Militarism also meant the existence of large armies and navies that were psychologically attuned to the "inevitability" of early war. War for these professionals offered an opportunity for quick promotion and a big break. This should not mean that they incited war for selfish motives and personal gain. However, the chance the results of his war preparations could not be missed makes its psychological impact.

9.3.4 Nationalism

Another very important reason for the war was the wave of nationalism spreading everywhere in Europe. It was one of the legacies of the French Revolution. Resonator. The victory of nationalism in Italy and Germany contributed to it a new impulse and made it a powerful force in politics. The unification of Italy and Germany became possible mainly because of this Cavour and Bismarck managed to awaken the spirit of nationalism. This process incited racial pride in people, encouraged them to raise their country above all else and made them haughty in their attitude towards their neighbours. It was too little nationalism, which increased competition between Germany and other countries d take part

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in vigorous naval and military competition. It was which pitted European powers against each other for their interests in Asia, Africa and the Balkans. It was kept alive by the rabid nationalism of the French their spirit of revenge for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and made France most bitter the enemy of Germany. From 1866, relations between France and Germany remained stable excited Behind Napoleon-iii was bitter national opinion jealousy of Prussian power. The resulting delirium of national ascension the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 opened a new era of popular hysteria in international relations *Italy irredenta* (unbought Italy) also screamed and expressed Italy's national ambition to separate the Italian-speaking district of Trieste and Trentino from Austria, prompting Italy to seek support from Germany. There arose the western borders of the tsarist Empire. Poles and Ukrainians, Liths and Finns continued the strong centrifugal pull of the empire after 1870. The policy of the LTG towards these nationalities was intense Russification. Especially under, Alexander-iii in 1881-1894. It had the opposite effect the extreme support of these ethnic groups for the Russian social revolutionaries, which soon created connections throughout the region. Those local movements represented the spirit the radical nationalism that prevailed during this period. In the end, the modest national aspirations of the Balkan peoples made the Balkan Peninsula convertible tinder which soon set Europe on fire. In fact, behind the most attractive events was the spirit of exuberant nationalism to war.

9.3.5 Imperialism

Imperialism, as described in the passage, refers to the expansionist policies pursued by capitalist nations in the era of monopoly capitalism. During this time, the primary purpose of imperialism was to promote capitalistic accumulation on a global scale. The motives behind imperialism and the various factors that influenced countries to acquire colonies during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Here are the key points. Imperialism was indeed one of the significant underlying causes of the First World War. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European powers engaged in a period of aggressive expansionism and colonialism in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world. This period of colonial competition and territorial acquisition created tensions and rivalries among the major powers, ultimately contributing to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Rivalries and Alliances: Imperialism led to the formation of competing alliances among European powers. For example, Germany, seeking to expand its influence, pursued an aggressive foreign policy that included challenging British naval supremacy and aligning with the declining Ottoman Empire. This sparked fear and suspicion among other powers, leading to the formation of opposing alliances like the Triple Entente (France, Russia, and the United Kingdom) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy).

Balkan Crisis: Imperialism also contributed to tensions in the Balkans, a region of south Eastern Europe with a history of ethnic and nationalist conflicts. Various European powers

sought to expand their influence and control in the Balkans, leading to territorial disputes and rising tensions in the region. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary in Sarajevo in 1914 triggered a chain reaction of events that ultimately led to the outbreak of war.

Arms Race: The quest for imperial dominance extended to military capabilities. The major powers engaged in an arms race, competing to build larger, more advanced armies and navies. This militarization further heightened tensions and created a precarious balance of power that, when combined with other factors, set the stage for a major conflict.

Colonial Rivalries: Competition for colonies and territories outside Europe often led to confrontations between European powers. These conflicts further strained relations and added to the overall atmosphere of instability and hostility.

Economic Factors: Imperialism brought economic benefits to the colonial powers, but it also generated economic rivalries and protectionist policies among them. These economic tensions contributed to the overall climate of mistrust and hostility, making diplomatic resolutions more challenging.

While imperialism was not the sole cause of the First World War, it significantly contributed to the complex web of political, military, and economic factors that culminated in the outbreak of one of the deadliest conflicts in human history. The war had far-reaching consequences, reshaping the geopolitical landscape and setting the stage for further global conflicts in the 20th century.

9.3.6 The Immediate Cause:

The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife Sophie on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Archduke Franz Ferdinand was the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his assassination set off a chain of events that led to the outbreak of the war. The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary and his wife Sophie on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia. Archduke Franz Ferdinand was the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his assassination set off a chain of events that led to the outbreak of the Swathe assassination was carried out by Gavrilo Princip, a member of a nationalist group called the Black Hand, which sought the independence of South Slavic peoples from Austria-Hungary and their unification with Serbia. Princip's act was part of a larger nationalist movement known as the Pan-Slavic movement, which aimed to unite all Slavic peoples in the Balkans. The assassination triggered a diplomatic crisis between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Austria-Hungary saw the Serbian government as having a hand in the assassination, and on July 23, 1914, they presented Serbia with an ultimatum containing strict demands, threatening military action if Serbia did not comply. Serbia agreed to many of the demands, but not all, and Austria-

Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. The situation rapidly escalated due to the complex system of alliances in Europe. Following Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia, a series of alliances came into play: Russia had historical ties with Serbia and was concerned about the fate of Slavic peoples in the region. Russia began mobilizing its forces to support Serbia. Germany, Austria-Hungary's ally, saw Russia's mobilization as a threat and declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914. Germany then declared war on Russia's ally, France, on August 3, 1914. Germany's invasion of Belgium on August 4, 1914, to reach France prompted Britain, which had guaranteed Belgium's neutrality, to declare war on Germany. This series of declarations and alliances led to the rapid escalation of tensions and the outbreak of the First World War. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand acted as the spark that ignited the powder keg of pre-existing tensions and rivalries among European powers, leading to a devastating global conflict that lasted from 1914 to 1918.

9.3.7 Consequences of First World War

World War I continued for four years. Millions of people lost their lives on the battlefield and several others were mutilated. No war before it had been so very extensive. It was a total war. The deadly weapons used in this war were unprecedented and horrible.

From a historical point of view World War, I had enormous importance.

- Because of this war, the European map underwent a change the German, Russian, Turkish and Austrian empires had fallen.
- Out of the debris of these empires were born many new states like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc. the extent of the old states also underwent a change
- The spread of democracy and nationalism was the most significant effect of World War I.
- The nationalist movements gained strength in the various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.
- Democratic administrations were established in the newly emerging states. Dictatorships like the Nazism of Germany or the fascism of Italy were found in those countries where democracy had failed.
- The labour became actively conscious of its rights. Consequently, trade-union movements became potent in various countries. In several countries labour welfare laws were passed to meet the demand of the labourers.
- A worldwide economic crisis swept in as a result of World War I.
- From this crisis again dissension among the different countries followed.
- Internationalism spread as an upshot of World War I. Most of the countries showed their eagerness for international cooperation and assistance.

This gave rise to the international organization known as the League of Nations.

The Domestic and International Consequences of World War I:

1. **Europe was dramatically transformed:**

- Former German and Turkish colonies came under "mandate" control of the victorious nations.
- France receives occupation rights over Germany's Rhineland- its industrial centre.
- Austria-Hungary was carved up to become the newly-independent states of Austria and Hungary. Substantial parts of its territory were added to Romania and Serbia. The Expanded Serbian kingdom later became known as Yugoslavia.
- A buffer zone of the nation was created between Russia and Europe to help deter the spread of Bolshevism- Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland.
- The Ottoman Empire was carved up by the victorious nations. In 1916- before the war over French, British and Russian diplomats signed an agreement to divide up the Ottoman Empire into areas of direct control and "sphere of influence". Ottoman Empire was carved by France, Britain, and Russia after World War I this treaty created the modern Middle East borders,

The human and Economic costs were enormous:

- Approximately 10 million died due to direct military action. Serbia lost one-quarter of its pre-war population. Typhus killed an unknown number of millions – 1 million in the Balkans alone. People throughout were starving.
- Economic damage in Europe was unrecorded. In many countries, rail and river transport was destroyed. Manufacturing capacity for all of Europe was one-fourth below normal one year after the wars end. The fragile machinery of international exchange was destroyed.
- Another 50-100 million people died-1 to 3 per cent of the entire world's population in the Great Flu Pandemic (January-1918- December 1920). The 1918 pandemic killed predominantly previously healthy young adults-a fact related to its occurrence during WWI. While the war did not cause the flu, close troop quarters and massive troop movements worsened the pandemic and probably increased its transmission. Some believe the soldiers' susceptibility to the flu was caused by their weakened immune systems due to malnourishment, as well as the stresses of combat and chemical attacks.

Germany lost valuable territory and was forced to accept the role as the real aggressor in WWI when, in actuality, all the powers had a shared responsibility:

- The Austrian-Hungarians acted most recklessly, caring little about the possible consequences of a small Balkan war.

- The Serbian government knew several days in advance about the assassination plot and, chose not to warn Austria. (Worried that if true Pan-Slavic sentiment were understood in Austria, Serbia would suffer dire consequences.)
- Russia might have negotiated an early peace had she mobilised only against Austria but instead, the Russians mobilized against Germany as well.
- Britain might have equally legitimate imperialist claims and admit that any other nations might have equally legitimate imperialist claims-especially Germany.

The old grievance was exacerbated rather than alleviated:

- Germans bitterly resented the victors- its historical enemies France and Britain, as well as its newest enemy, the US. They were especially resentful of the harsh peace settlement, the war preparations-the eventually totalled over $33 billion and the fact that they were held responsible for the war itself.
- The newly created nations, which had always been appended to other powers, were weak and continued to be dependent upon outsiders for security.

Although Americans had escaped widespread damage to our homeland during the 19 months of our involvement, the economic, social, and political consequences upon our people were profound:

- The U>S spent 35.5 billion dollars on the war effort. More than 4.8 million Americans served in the armed forces. About 116,000 Americans died and another 204,000 were wounded. The Typical American soldier was a draftee between 21 and 23 years old, white, single, and poorly educated.
- The status of two groups of previously un-empowered persons was temporarily improved-black Americans and women. Over 260,000 black Americans were drafted or volunteered and a half million Southern blacks moved to the urbanized North where they found decent-paying jobs. Over I million women worked in industry between 1917-1918, but few women entered the workplace, moving, instead, to better-paying positions. Gains of both groups were short-lived.
- The war exposed the deep divisions among Americans that had been festering since colonial times: white versus black, nativist versus immigrant, capitalist versus labour, and men versus women. It also elevated political division: radical versus progressive, pacifist versus interventionist, nationalist versus internationalist, and Republican versus Democrat. This latter point was especially evident in the rejection of Wilson's 14 points: Anti League of Nations Political Cartoon.
- All major countries involved in WWI objected to certain points. England and France distrusted Wilson's idealism for a peaceful world-a world made "safe for democracy".

What they wanted was

- To Disarm and Cripple Germany

- To take and redistribute all of Germany's colonies.

- To put an end to Wilson's ideas about self-determination

- However, when peace negotiations began, Wilson instated that his 14 Points should serve as a basis for the singing of the Armistice. So, what happens with Wilson's vision?
  - In Versailles, he was forced to compromise to get his most important point of the 14-point charter. But he was only able to get three of his other points fulfilled:
  - The evacuation and restoration of Belgium.
  - The evacuation and restoration of all French lands lost in the war: and the establishment of an independent Poland.
- The war's aftermath destroyed the Wilson presidency. During the elections of November 1918, Wilson had appealed to voters to elect a Democratic Congress saying that any other result would be "a repudiation of my leadership." This alienated many moderated Republicans as well as many of Wilson's fellow Democrats. The Democrats lost both the House and Senate.
- When he went to Paris to negotiate the Peace Treaty, he refused to take any prominent Republicans and purposefully ignored the powerful Republican senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge who was lead of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- A treaty without the League of Nations accepting the 14 points, was not signed until almost three years after the last shot was fired. Thus, it was not until July 1921 that Congress, acting in concert with the new president, Republican Warren G Harding, passed a joint resolution officially ending the war.
- Wartime powers allowed the federal government to intervene as never before in the lives of Americans.
- The U.S. emerged as a greater power, by 1920, it was the world's leading economic power and had shifted from being a debtor to a creditor nation- thus becoming the world's leading banker.
- The war, as Foner tells us, "Cast a long shadow over the following decade" – the U.S retreated from the international community by rejecting involvement in the League of Nations, progressivism and progressive reform came to an end, and we failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

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The reason for American entrance into the war was to "make the world safe for Democracy":

- Wilson understood that if we did not enter the war, we would not be able to help shape the peace that he envisioned. - making the world "safe for democracy" and creating a new world order that would change the balance of power in Europe. This new world order would replace the traditional great power politics that brought Europe into the war and would instead emphasize the need for collective security, Democracy, and self-determination in countries throughout the world. These ideas were embedded in his famous "Fourteen Points" photo of Woodrow Wilson in 1919.
- The first five points dealt with general principles:
    - Renounced secret treaties
    - Dealt with freedom of the seas
    - Wanted the removal of world trade barriers
    - Advocated arms reductions
    - Suggested the international arbitration of all colonial disputes
    - Points 6 to 13 were concerned with specific territorial problems, including claims made by Russia, France and Italy.
    - Raised issues about US and European commitment to territorial requests for self-determination and autonomy for peoples formerly ruled by the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires.
    - Suggested the creation of a "general association of nations to ensure peace and resolves conflicts through negotiations: -the League of Nations.
    - Advocated "collective Security" the idea that in case of external aggression of any League member, the council would determine how member states would respond.
    - Americans had increased their economic ties with the Allies. England, especially, becomes a huge market for American goods and loans at interest.
    - English and German violations of America's neutral rights on the high seas increased the incidents of submarine warfare and led to the January 1917 announcement that Germany would begin sinking all ships in the waters around England and France. The Zimmerman telegram intercepted from the German foreign minister to the German ambassador in Mexico proposed an alliance with Mexico in case of war with the US and offered financial support and recovery of Mexico's "lost territory" in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona.

Importance:

- From a historical point of view World War, I was of utmost importance

in the history of the World.

- First, the war brought a total change in the map of the German, Russian, Turkish and Austrian empires that had fallen.
- Second, out of the ashes of the four empires were born many new states like Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and others. The extent of the old states of Europe also underwent a major change.
- Third, the spread of Democracy and Nationalism was another important aspect of World War I.
- Fourth, the national movement gained strength in the countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Also, democratic administrations were established in the newly emerging states.
- Fifth, it is also to be remembered that dictatorships like the Nazism of Germany and the Fascism of Italy developed because of the failure of democracy in these countries.

Timeline of the War:

1914

- July 23 – Austrians present a humiliating ultimatum to the Serbian government amounting to Austrian intervention in Serbia's internal affairs.
- July 28 – a dual alliance of Austria-Hungary and Germany declare war on Serbia determined to crush its independence.
- August 3 - Germany declares war on France, citing alleged French air raid on Nuremberg as justification. Germany, on its initiative, was now at war with two great powers, Austria-Hungary only with Serbia.
- August 4 –Britain declares on Germany after Germany demanded unobstructed passage for her armies through Belgium. (Britain was the guarantor of Belgium's neutrality stance,) Germany is now at war with three major powers.
- August 6-Austria declares war on Russia; Dual monarchy is now at war with Russia.
- On August 12-Britain and France declares war on Austria; Montego declares war on Germany.
- August 23-Japan at war with Germany. (The Japanese, allied with the British since 1902, entered the war hoping to gain German outposts in the Pacific and in China.)
- August 25-Austria at war with Japan.
- October- Turkey joins the Central powers.
- November 2 –Russia and Serbia declare war on Turkey.
- November 5 –Great Britain and France declare on Turkey.

1915:

- May 23 – Italy abandons the Triple Alliance and joins the Allies after securing promises of Austrian territory from them.
- September – Bulgaria joins Triple Alliance.

1916:

- Rumania joins the triple entente
- August 27 – Italy declares war on Germany

1917 marks a turning point in European history. First, for the first time, an outside power stepped in to help Europe settle its affairs. Thereafter, the US would have a large say in the future of Europe. Second, the Russian Revolution marked the ascension of a socialist nation committed to the destruction of the pre-European order.

- April 6 –US declares war on Germany – the Union of Soviet and socialist Republics and the new government sought peace with the central powers.
- Dec 5-Russia signs an armistice with Germany.
- Dec 7-US declares war on Austria-Hungary.
- Dec 15-Central powers and Russia concede an armistice.

1918:

- January – President Wilson went before Congress to explain American war aims through what was called the Fourteen Points. The last point would establish "A general association of nations…affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

1919:

- January 12-Paris Peace Conference convenes.
- June 28-Treaty of Versailles is signed.

The participation of America enhanced the striking power of the Allies. The USA sent both men and materials. By July 1918 the number of American soldiers on the different fronts rose to more than 300,000. The Central Powers had no hope of getting fresh supplies. So they failed to bear the Allies' offensive. Consequently, they surrendered during the latter half of 1918, one by one. Bulgaria surrendered in September and Turkey in October. The Hapsburg Empire disintegrated and Emperor Charles abdicated in November. The Germans had now no way out. Emperor Kaiser William II abdicated and Germany surrendered in

early November. The war thus ended with the victory of the Allies. The war continued for four years and three months. Thirty states from Europe, America, Asia and Africa were entangled in the war which overthrew four dynasties and brought into existence seven new states. The war killed more than 18 million people and the total cost was nearly $ 333 billion.

- **Paris Peace Conference**

Wars are normally terminated and peace is restored after the signing of peace treaties between warring states. The First World War was also terminated through peace treaties, as mentioned earlier. When the war entered the decisive phase, the Allied powers started considering the plans and proposals put forward by different quarters for a feeling of lasting peace in the world. At Germany's surrendering and signing of the instruments of Armistice, the Allies took effective steps for holding a peace conference. The conference was ultimately called in Paris in January 1919. It continued for about six months. Thirty-two countries consisting primarily of the Allies participated in this conference. The gathering was impressive because most of the world leaders were present. This was the first time, in a conference like this that non-European powers — the USA, Japan, etc. attended. Russia did not attend because it had earlier withdrawn from the war. None of the Central Powers was invited to participate in the deliberations. The conference was mainly conducted by the Big Three - the USA, Great Britain and France. But they could not ignore the others. However, the conflicting and narrow national interest.

9.4 SUMMARY

The First World War began in 1914 and continued in the last quarter of 1918. The First World War was considered "the war to end all wars". However, the peace accords did not guarantee this. On the contrary, the Treaty 58 Historical Perspectives contained certain provisions that were extremely harsh to the defeated countries and thus sowed the seeds of new conflicts. Similarly, some victorious nations felt cheated because not all their wishes were granted. Imperialism was not destroyed by war. The victorious powers expanded their possessions. Europe fragmented and weakened as a great power. The Ottoman Empire was dissolved: Turkey was modernized and declared a republic; other parts of the Ottoman Empire were ceded to the Allies under the "mandate system" of the League of Nations. The factors that caused the rivalry and conflict between the imperialist countries that led to the war were still there. Therefore, there is still a risk that more wars will be fought due to another "division" of the world. The emergence of the Soviet Union was seen in many countries as a threat to the existing social and economic system. The desire to destroy it influenced the politics of these countries. These factors, along with certain developments over the next twenty years, created the conditions for another world war.

9.5 EXERCISES

1. Examine the cause of the First World War.
2. Examine the reasons for American entrance into World war-I.
3. Discuss the importance of World war-I.
4. Examine the consequences of the first world War

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UNIT-10 BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS IMPACT

Structure

10.1 Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 The Seed of Revolution

10.4 Bolsheviks Seize Russia

10.5 Significant and Impact of the Bolshevik Revolution

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10.9 Exercises

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10.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through the unit, you would be able to understand:

- The nature of the Bolshevik Revolution and its impact on international relations.
- The various steps taken by the new Soviet state to create a new system of International relations.
- The impact of the Bolshevik Revolution on anti-colonial struggles.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

As a result of the Oct. Revolution of 1917, Russia becomes the first major country to be ruled by a government committed to communism. Following the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and the defeat of Russia in the Crimea War (1856–59), capitalism and industrialization swiftly advanced in Russia. Russia undertook extensive industrialization to meet its own needs as a powerful continental power. This was made possible by the state exerting significant influence over economic affairs. As capitalism developed, demand for raw materials and markets emerged. Russian imperialism had already colonized Central Asia by the third quarter of the 19th century, and it was competing with other imperialist nations for concessions in the Balkans and the Far East. By the turn of the century, Russia had become an imperialist power with a semi-feudal agricultural system and a totalitarian government there was no elected body with real legislative authority, no popularly elected government, and zero political and civil rights. The liberal organizations were feeble and made too many concessions to the ruling class. Marxism was rising in popularity and given the historic task of fusing the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist movements.

10.3 THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

As Karl Marx's ideas spread throughout Europe in the late 1800s, they found their way to Russia. The Russian Empire at this time was ruled by an autocratic tsar who refused to share political power, believing that his sovereignty came directly from God. This makes Russia a magnet for political radicalism and revolutionary ideas.

In 1898, a newly formed group called the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (or SD) adopted the Marxist doctrine. Five years later, the SD split into two factions called the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Their split stems from opposing views on tactics and membership.

The leader of the Bolshevik faction, a young lawyer named Vladimir Ulyanov or Lenin was a Marxist socialist and a staunch opponent of the Tsar's rule and its policy in Russia. He was a strong supporter of Marxian analysis of history and capitalism as well as strong critics of both feudalism and capitalism. Like Marx, he describes these as evils based on the evil system of ownership of private property and means of production. Lenin was aware of the precarious condition of the farmers and also the demand of the workers. They wanted freedom from these evil systems. So, Lenin argued that since the real enemy was exploitation and private property, there should be a revolution of workers to over through both capitalism and feudalism. Thus, Lenin lent full support to Marxism as the ideology of revolutionary socialism. This interpretation was supported by several economists and was upheld by the socialist in general and more particularly, by the Revolutionary Socialists of Russia. He formed a small group of disciplined "professional revolutionaries". This group is not only waiting for the revolution but also working to make it happen as soon as possible.

10.4 BOLSHEVIKS SEIZE RUSSIA

The process of the rise of Russia as the first socialist state began at the dawn of twenty century. Lenin's vision came to fruition in October 1917 when his Bolshevik Party supported by more than 200,000 soldiers and workers took control of the Russian government. Thus began the emergence of communist Russia and the birth of the Soviet Union. After taking power, the Bolsheviks began to turn Russia into a socialist state. Just days after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin issued a series of decrees promising far-reaching reforms. His government promised to end Russia's involvement in World War I, ensure peace with Germany, and bring home all Russian troops.

The Bolsheviks began to keep their promises. Old symbols and structures of tsarist Russia including nobility titles, bureaucratic ranks and government offices were abolished. Private ownership of land ended, and vast estates once owned by wealthy Russian aristocrats and landowners were dismantled and given to peasants. The new regime legalizes citizenship rights and improves working conditions. Women have achieved a level of equality with men unmatched elsewhere in Europe, including equal pay, working conditions and the right to vote. Social reforms such as healthcare and literacy programs were introduced.

These plans and promises fuelled the optimism of the Russian people. However, this would not last long, civil war, economic deprivation and unrealistic expectations would prevent the Bolshevik regime from realizing its dream of a classless "worker's paradise".

10.5 SIGNIFICANT IMPACT OF REVOLUTION

10.5.1 Bolshevik Revolution and International Relation

The October Revolution brought a fresh message of hope and liberation to the oppressed peoples of the colonies and the rest of the world. Liberation from all types of exploitation—national, social, economic, and political—was the message. The new Bolshevik government expressed this in several declarations, legal decisions, and diplomatic initiatives.

In January 1918, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which reaffirmed an unwavering commitment to keeping humanity free of war and achieving a democratic peace among nations based on the principle of the nation-state, self-determination without annexation or indemnities. The declaration proclaimed Soviet State's ". A complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and the small countries."

The newly formed Soviet state firmly opposed the then-dominant system of international relations, which included war and colonization as integral parts. Instead, it was urged to establish a system of international relations based on fundamental democratic values and the idea of a just and democratic peace. A necessary corollary of Soviet international diplomacy was the rejection of covert diplomacy.

10.5.2 Peace Initiatives of the Bolshevik Government

The Soviet foreign ministry published the previous secret treaty signed by the Tsarist state (Russian emperors were known as Tsars), including the Anglo-Russian secret treaty and convention of 1907 on the "demarcation" of spheres of interests of both the Powers, England and Russia in the Middle East; agreement to carve up Tsarist Russia. The Decree on Peace was one of the first major acts of the new Soviet State.

Because the Entente Powers, who ended up winning the First World War, refused to negotiate a broad peace agreement, Soviet Russia was compelled to hold peace negotiations with the opposing camp, which included Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

Six points were included in the Soviet proposal: not forcibly annexing territories occupied during the war; restoring the political independence of countries defeated in war, the freedom of choice of minorities to stay in a country or become independent through a referendum; protecting the rights of minorities in a State utilizing special legislation protecting their national culture and, wherever possible, administrative autonomy; war reparations waivers; and solutions to colonial problems according to the first four principles. Although imperial Germany rejected the Soviet proposals and imposed

humiliating peace terms on it, Lenin agreed to sign the Breast-Litovsk peace treaty on German terms despite strong opposition within the Bolshevik party and government. Lenin firmly believed that war was harmful to the interests of the working people.

10.5.3 Bolshevik Renunciation of Special Privileges in the Neighboring Countries

The theory and practice of Soviet foreign policy, which sought to reshape international relations on democratic principles, were permeated by the ideas of national sovereignty and equality. Small states, colonies, and semi-colonies that had previously been independent were inspired by the rise of the first socialist state to fight for and defend their sovereignty against imperialist oppression and encroachment. The Soviets gave relationships with Eastern European nations based on the values of equality, respect, and friendship special importance as they worked to develop a new system of international relations. They were welcome to receive friendly support from the Soviet government in their fight against "imperialism." Despite its precarious economic situation, the new socialist state provided significant material assistance as well as political and moral support to nations like Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran, and others. The banks, the railways, the highways, the port facilities along Iran's Caspian coast, and other property that had belonged to Tsarist Russia were all given to Iran without asking for payment in June 1919 by the Soviet government, which also renounced all concessions and control over Iran's state revenue. The first equal treaty between Iran and a European power was signed with Iran in February 1921, ensuring Iran's independence and the security of its borders with the Soviet state.

In a similar vein, a treaty of friendship and alliance was forged with Turkey, which had benefited greatly from the Soviet state's economic, financial, and military assistance. In the spring of 1921, an agreement between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan was signed, granting the latter interest-free loans and appointing Soviet experts to work there.

10.5.4 Bolshevik Revolution and Antic-Colonial Struggle

More lasting, however, was the inspiration provided by the creation of the first watch. The socialist state that until then was considered by many to be a distant dream. The success of Revolutionary thought influenced the thoughts and actions of free generations' struggle in colonial countries. It also encouraged radical movements of poor people in the underdeveloped world. Many in the colonies were convinced that the European imperialists and their local surrogates were not invincible against the combined strength of the oppressed, thanks to the victory of the Russian workers over the feudal and capitalist forces. In the Call of the Russian and Oriental Workers of the new socialist state, a direct appeal is made to "Persians, Turks, Arabs and Hindus" to squander their time to overthrow the yoke of their oppressors and surrender to their masters' land. The appeal pointedly noted that Mia was experiencing a rising tide of nationalism. Such claims about the new revolutionary state are

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more persuasive for colonial peoples who now had a strong ally in the revolution of The Russian government.

10.5.5 Spread of Socialist Ideas in the East

The October Revolution brought about a wide dissemination of socialist ideas. Marx's general analysis of social development appears to have been remarkably accurate, according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of India, who wrote in his book Discovery of India that Lenin had "successfully adapted the Marxian thesis to some of these subsequent developments." The national intelligentsia's understanding of the political and social forces in their country and abroad that could be relied upon to fight for political independence and societal progress has been strengthened by acquaintance with scientific socialism. To meet the urgent problem of national revival, they have also been able to identify the ideology which best suits them.

10.5.6 Unity of Nationalist and Socialist Forces in the East

Under the influence of the October Revolution, socialist thought spread, witnessing the establishment of revolutionary groups and communist parties whose activities enhanced the conscience of workers and organised them against oppression, even imperialists or local oppressors. Those groups were also active in mobilizing workers and peasants to take part in political activities, preparing conditions for combining their struggle with that of national liberation and against imperialist domination. The October Revolution pointed out the need for an alliance between the workers' movement and the national liberation struggle of the people to overthrow imperialism. With the success of socialism in Russia and the retreat of world imperialism, national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America grew in size and intensity, including covering more countries and a larger population. National liberation movements have become more and more in-depth in terms of content, and purpose and, importantly, are becoming more and more successful. This was largely due to the revolutionary impact of the new Soviet state's successful resolution of national and social problems. In short, the October Revolution opened a path for socialism and national liberation throughout the world. It stimulated the consciousness of the people of the colonies, expanding the base national movements and, ultimately, accelerating the development of the left colonial and semi-colonial circulation.

The Indian revolutionary nationalists operating abroad formed contracts with Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership, in response to the success of Russia's revolution. Among those who went to Moscow to seek cooperation and guidance for the liberation of India were Barkatullah, Obaidullah Sidhi, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Bhupendranath Datta, Hardayal and M.N. Roy. The two great sons of India, Pandit Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore, were greatly influenced by events in Russia and remained the Soviet Union's most devoted friends until the end of their lives. Many Indian revolutionaries working abroad

were inspired by the October Revolution and made socialism the goal of their program. Among them were young Muslim mujahedeen's who had crossed the border from Afghanistan to Soviet Russia and members of the Ghadar party founded in the United States before World War I. The working-class movement in India led to the emergence of communist groups and the official launch of the Communist Party of India in 1925. In his days in prison, Shaheed Bhagat Singh had been inclined to Socialism and one of his last political acts was the celebration of Lenin's birthday.

10.5.7 Intensification of National Liberation Movements

By encouraging other classes of citizens to settle in the Colony, the October Revolution gave rise to a more rapid pace of National Liberation. The last months of 1981 and early 1919 in India were marked by a massive wave of strikes, which had not been previously seen in the country. Approximately 125 000 workers were affected by the strike in Bombay's textile industry. With roughly 200 strikes involving 1.5 million workers during the first half of 1920, the strike movement reached its zenith. This circumstance led Gandhiji and the Congress to decide to start the "non-violent non-cooperation" movement, which marked a significant advancement in widespread mobilization. In some other nations, the fight against imperialism has also become more intense.

While the Sinn Fein Party announced the establishment of the Irish Republic, Irish militants under the command of Michael Collins carried on their fight against the British. In Egypt, the Nationalist Party of Zaghlul Pasha was vehemently opposing British rule, and after Zaghlul was deported in 1919, there were widespread uprisings that the British brutally put down. Egypt proclaimed its independence in 1920. Mustafa Kemal Pasha established a provisional government and declared war on the Allied occupation in Turkey. In addition to rejecting to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, China also entered a new stage in its fight against imperialism. The May Fourth movement of 1919, which served as a transitional marker, saw widespread intellectual and student participation, a frontal attack on Confucianism, and a boycott of Japanese goods. The message of the October Revolution was well received by the Eastern nationalist leaders. In his newspaper, I Kesari, Bal Gangadhar Tilak praised the victory of the Bolsheviks. Another prominent figure in the Indian national movement, Bipin Chandra Pal, was greatly influenced by the October Revolution and its call to end all forms of exploitation. Lala Lajpat Rai praised the success of the revolution in Russia and its Look East policy. The Russian Revolution and its socialist achievements had a lasting impact on the political thought of Jawaharlal Nehru and this led to a great change in thinking about the Indian Parliament.

Sun Yat-sen was the first public leader of China to call for recognition of the Soviet Union Russia by Asian countries. It is also a reaction to the policies of the new revolution state confrontation with China despite the hostility of the beggar government of

the time towards the Soviet Union Republic. In 1918, Soviet Russia publicly renounced all treaties, agreements and loans that were once imposed on China by the tsarist government. The best Chinese minds have seen the historical relevance of the October Revolution to China's future. Li Dazhao and Lu Xin, the emotional minds behind the May Fourth Movement, which became the core of China's communist movement, hailed the October Revolution as the dawn of a new era.

10.5.8 Rise and Growth of Communist and Workers' Movements

The October Revolution not only had a great impact on the liberation movements in colonialism, but it also paved the way for the birth and growth of communists and workers moving to the East. A Communist International (also known as the Third International of Comintern) was established in Moscow in 1919 with the goals of bringing together various communist groups, parties, and movements, popularizing Marxist-Leninist theory, and debating the strategies and tactics of joining with other nationalist non-communist forces against imperialism. The unity of the working class in the industrialized West and the oppressed peoples of the colonies in their shared struggle against imperialism was the ideal that was embodied in the creation of the Communist International. The Communist International developed into the global hub for organizing revolutionaries. A key focus of the Comintern's theoretical and practical work on the national and colonial question was the issue of a unified anti-imperialist front. The concept of the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, or more specifically, the unification of socialist and national liberation movement forces, crystallized at the Second Comintern Congress in 1920.

Due to the oppressive nature of the colonial regimes, the Comintern promoted numerous communist parties from Eastern Europe in Soviet Russia.
Turkish communists established the first communist party in Soviet Russia, which was then followed by Iranian, Chinese, and Korean communists. Following the arrival of Indians who had attended the Comintern's second congress in Tashkent in October 1920, the first group of Indian communists was established. The seven individuals who made up this group dubbed themselves the Communist Party of India at the initiative of M.N. Roy and H. Mukherjee.

10.6 SUMMARY

Conditions were favourable for the escalation of anti-imperialist struggles in the colonies as a result of the Bolshevik victory and its support for liberation movements. In addition to inspiring nationalists and communists around the globe, it also aided in uniting them around the cause of anti-colonialism. An alternative system of international relations emerged,

combined with the Bolshevik policy of peace, renunciation of special privileges, and covert diplomacy.

10.7 **EXERCISES**

1. Examine the nature of the Bolshevik revolution and its impact on international relations.
2. Discuss the various steps taken by the new Soviet state to create a new system of international relations.
3. Critically examine the impact of the Bolshevik revolution on anti-colonial struggles.

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UNIT-11 RISE OF FACISM

Structure

11.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will understand
- The Rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe as well as their impact on international relations in this unit.
- The Meaning of Fascism.
- Essential Features of Fascism.
- The Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain
- Mussolini - From Socialist to Fascist
- Causes of the rise of Fascism in Italy
- Neo-fascism in Europe

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Despite their ideological similarity, Fascism and Nazism emerged in Italy and Germany during the interwar period and proved to be the forerunners of the Second World War. In 1922, Italy was turned into a Fascist State. Nazis came into power in Germany in 1933. The

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Italian word Fascio, which meant "bundle" and referred to a bundle of rods and an axe—a symbol for the party flag—is where the term fascist came from. "Fascisti" represented national strength and unity for the Italian people. In 1919, Benito Mussolini established his Fascist party. Nazi was a term related with the individuals from the Public Communist German Labourer's Party of Adolf Hitler. (To be known as a Nazi was not a slanderous term around then; rather, it was used to describe someone who was fervently committed to a particular activity or practice or sought to exert control over it.

Fascism is a political ideology that started with Mussolini and his hunger for Italy to be a great and powerful state like the ancient Roman Empire. Fascism is based on extreme nationalism focused on mainly military power to control the people. it is also based on militaristic ideals of "courage, unquestioning obedience to authority, discipline, and physical strength." In countries like Germany, Hitler thrived for a Volksgemeinschft, or a people's community. He achieved his goals but military control and dictatorship over the government. Many fascist movements also had imperialistic goals as seen with Mussolini when he sought to expand is empire into North Africa. On May 22, 1939, Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini signed the pact of Steel, which allied the two countries politically and militarily, to form the Axis powers.

11.3 ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF FASCISM

The ideology of fascists was strongly nationalist. They aimed to make Italy as powerful as she had been during the Roman Empire's early years. However, their nationalism was confined. They pushed war and imperialistic development and a strong state to understand these goals. As per Totalitarianism, state and country are definitive moral creatures. As a result, Fascism's most important doctrine was aggressive nationalism.

Fascism opposed democratic parliamentary government. It thought democracy was a weak form of government that couldn't deal with the complicated political and economic issues. Fundamentalists endured no resistance. They needed all out compliance to the Party and the pioneer Mussolini were proclaimed their II Duce, the pioneer. Nothing could be finished against him or as opposed to his desires. At the end of the day, Autocracy had faith in one party authoritarian system.

Fascist were emphatically against communism of all varieties. They couldn't stand the socialists. What's more, it needed to free the universe of "Socialist threat". They upheld free undertaking. Their program was upheld by the industrialists. However, Fascists opposed individualism. or on the other hand free enterprise, by the same token. They didn't maintain that individuals should be in a position to challenge the state. They didn't need a weak state. The Fundamentalist state, in this manner, was outright, transcendent and all far reaching.

Fascists were against internationalism or world requests. Their patriotism was of outrageous sort. By implication, Italy's support for the League of Nations was not due to merit. However, Mussolini concealed his faith in the League until his expedition to Ethiopia.

Fascists supported war. They had no confidence in demilitarization. Armaments are the only means by which wars can be won. As a result, war was glorified. Mussolini composed: "Only war elevates human energies to new heights and confers noble status on those who are brave enough to engage in it. Subsequently, the two Mussolini and his German partner Hitler extended regions of their nations by wars.

Hence, one party rule has no obvious belief system. Fascism was a theory that called for "militant nationalism." It had faith in the utilization of power, advancement dominion and expansionism also, enormous rearmament. It dismissed majority rule government and serene method for settlement of worldwide debates. A "conservative reaction" to the rising tide of socialism was fascism. Dictatorship was a statement of faith of despotism, which Mussolini characterized as: "Nothing is against the state; everything is within the state.

11.4 FASCISM IN ITALY, GERMANY AND SPAIN

Fascism originally showed up in Italy when Mussolini coordinated and drove the Extremist Party to power. Italians were disgusted by the performance of their governments after World War I, which failed to advance the national interest and failed to uphold national honour. The country, then again, was torn by work distress designed by the liberals. In this circumstance, Mussolini mobilized a large contingent of volunteers, provided them with military training, and stoked the populace's nationalistic fervour. The Fundamentalist projects for inside harmony and outside greatness engaged Individuals. They mobilized behind Mussolini, who took steps to hold onto power. In this Circumstances, Ruler Victor Emmanuel III requested that Mussolini structure a bureau, which he did on October 31, 1922. He before long annihilated all resistance and expected to be domineering powers. Dictatorship stayed in charge of Italian undertakings till 1943. At the point when we examine the ascent of fascism, we by and large limit ourselves to Dictatorship takeover of Italy. Yet, in Germany and Spain, bunches with comparable sort of thoughts and projects of activity came to drive. In Germany, the National Socialist Party—also known as the Nazi Party— led by Adolf Hitler assumed power at the beginning of 1930. At the Paris Peace Conference, Germany was humiliated by England, France, and their allies, which led to Nazism. Like the Italian Extremists, Hitler's Nazi party additionally supported rearmament, war and update of ceasefires. Similar to Fascists, Nazis opposed parliamentary democracy, socialism, the League of Nations, and peaceful dispute resolution.

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Not long after Hitler's fascism was laid out, major areas of strength for Germany of comparative adventurism were seen in a few other European nations moreover. In France, in 1935- 36, conditions looking like those in Italy (before the coming of Mussolini) won, what's more, ill will between the radicals and the conservatives was intense to such an extent that there was an unmistakable plausibility of development of a fascism. The circumstance was saved by a convenient activity by all liberals, radical gatherings, communists and even socialists who framed the Front Popularize, which won the races held in April - May, 1936. The Front formed a government under the Superb Ministership of Leon Blum.

In adjoining Belgium about a similar time, a Fundamentalist gathering driven by Degrelle presented brutality and foulness in open life. Because of France's alliance with the Communist Soviet Union, it opposed Belgium's alliance with France. Under their impact, Belgium reported that it was returning to its previous status of an impartial state. This was viewed as a 'surrender' by Belgium from the Locarno Collusion. In spite of the fact that one party rule couldn't hold onto power in Belgium yet it made a huge bid. Corneliu Codreanu led the formation of the fascist party known as the Iron Guard in Rumanian. This party was a response to the financial emergency in the nation and complete bungle by the Rumanian Government. Like Italian Black shirts (Extremists) and German Tempest - officers (Nazis), the Rumanian. Iron Watchmen coordinated assaults on parliamentary lawmakers, Jews and the working classes. Ruler Hymn of Rumania neglected to smash the Fundamentalists and finally settled his own autocracy.

Fascism was clearly evident in Poland as well. In 1937, the public authority of Poland was coordinated, on the Extremist model, as a Camp of Public Solidarity. Peasants and workers on the one hand and the government on the other led to an open conflict. A nationwide conflict was deflected just when the public authority guaranteed electing changes. The situation was saved and reconciliation was achieved due to Germany's growing threat.

Spain, in any case, couldn't save itself. A tyranny was laid out by Broad Primo de Riveira in 1923. However, Riviera resigned in 1930 out of sheer desperation due to Spain's lawlessness. The following year, King Alfonso XIII abdicated, establishing a republic. However, the country's order was not restored by even the elected government. In 1935, Spain, like France, voted for a leftist Popular Front government. This hastened an emergency in the country. Countless military officials transparently undermined the public authority saying that except if general turmoil was caused by the public authority of President Azana, the military would hold onto capacity to re-establish the request. Dreading inconvenience, Azana resigned various officials and moved numerous others to faraway places. General Franco, who was sent to the Canary Islands, was one of these officers.

Spanish fascists murdered a policeman on July 12, 1936. In reprisal the nation's top Extremist pioneer Calvo Sotelo was killed by the Cops. This was the signal for the episode of a nationwide conflict in Spain. General Franco showed up in Spanish Morocco a couple of days after the fact and broadcasted uprising in Spain.

The rebels led by General Franco received significant financial and military support from Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the Soviet Union. The nationwide conflict which happened for almost three years finished in Walk 1939 with definitive triumph for the fundamentalists under the authority of General Franco. In this way Spain joined the Fundamentalist camp of Italy and Germany.

As a result, after World War II, at least three European nations actually adopted fascism. Nonetheless, Italy was the trailblazer and its chief Mussolini was the main promoter of Despotism. To that end the ascent of Despotism is for the most part connected with Italy and Mussolini.

11.5 MUSSOLINI - FROM SOCIALIST TO FASCIST

Benito Mussolini was brought into the world in 1893. He was at first affected by his dad's Communist perspectives. He went to Austria and Switzerland later. However, he was compelled to leave these nations due to his radical activities. Mussolini continued to promote socialism for some time after returning from Austria. At the point when war broke out in 1914, Mussolini upheld impartiality of his country. He abandoned his socialist ideas by 1915 and began advocating for Italy's entry into the war.

Mussolini turned into major areas of strength for the Ceasefires. He assembled a conference of his Companions and ex-servicemen and every one of the people who had during 1914-15 argued for Italian Mediation in the conflict. He presently coordinated them in the Fascist party and gave a call for getting equity for Italy and disposing of communists, socialists, and the powerless Government.

Most of the Fascists came from rich propertied class young sons of businessmen unemployed ex-soldiers and discontented professionals and a large number of students: became ardent supporters and followers of Mussolini. Fascists were totally opposed to communists. They were financed mostly by capitalists. During 1920-21 almost civil war conditions prevailed in the country. The government was a silent spectator as Mussolini led the masses to believe that their future lay secure only with him and his party. Premier Giolitti

was forced to resign in July 1921. He was replaced by Luigi Facta, who was as weak as his predecessor was.

11.6 CAUSES OF THE RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

You have learned about the definition of fascism. You have also comprehended the Fascist agenda of action in Italy and Germany. We have previously claimed that Fascism lacked ideology. It was a reaction to a set of events. We have just briefly examined how and why Italians, and subsequently Germans, chose Fascism. In this section, we will examine the causes of the emergence of Fascism in Italy, as well as its internal and foreign policies.

In 1882, Italy joined the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, transforming the Dual Alliance into the Triple Alliance. It was a coup against Russia and France. But Italy did not want to be permanently associated with Austria-Hungary, with which it had boundary issues. Italy desired to include Libya into its dominion in North Africa. When France guaranteed Italy that it would not oppose Italy's plans for Libya, Italy promised France in 1902 that it would not fight France in the event of a Franco-German war. However, Italy did not formally withdraw from the Triple Alliance. When World War I broke out, Italy proclaimed herself neutral. However, there was much debate among Italians on the subject. Italy emerged victorious after the war. Towards the final stages of the war Italians had made a notable contribution to the Allied victory. However, Italy discovered soon after the war that the cost of war was far more exacting than they had anticipated. It was estimated that about 70, 00,000 Italian soldiers were killed in the war and about 1,000.000 were wounded. Her economic losses were also disturbing. In these circumstances the last hope of Italians was the Paris Peace Conference. They expected to get all the promised territories. But that did not happen. Wilson's idealism stood in the way of realisation of her dreams. Italians blamed England and France for betrayal. They were emotionally disturbed when they found that they were being denied even Fiume. Thus, while the Paris Conference was still on, Italian poet Gabriel d' Annunzio organised a coup, and led a band of young men (black shirted volunteers) in a chartered boat and captured Fiume. This was strongly resented by the Paris Conference. Prime Minister Orlando, who failed to secure justice to Italy at the Peace Conference, was replaced in 1920 by Giolitti. The new Prime Minister did not approve of the ultra-nationalism of the poet Giolitti concluded a treaty at Repallo in 1920 with Yugoslavia and returned Fiume to Yugoslavia. This action of the Giolitti government made it very unpopular in the country, and became an important cause of the rise of fascism.

Another issue which made the Giolitti Government unpopular was the Albanian problem. Albania, a small country just across the Adriatic Sea, has two important neighbours-Greece and Yugoslavia. Albania was occupied by the Allied troops during the war. After the war, Italy wanted to rule Albania as a mandated territory. Paris Conference did not accept this

demand. Even the proposal to divide Albania between Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy was rejected. But Italian Army continued to occupy Albania by the middle of 1920 there were so many internal problems in Italy that Prime Minister Giolitti was forced to withdraw his troops from Albania which annoyed the Italians.

Besides, most of the territory in the Near East, promised to Italy in 1915 by England and France, was either given to Greece or was allowed to be retained by Turkey. In Africa, mandates were established over several former German colonies by Britain, France and Belgium. Italy did not get any colony. She merely got some extension of her colonies of Libya and Somaliland. Italian people felt frustrated at this mismanagement of country's foreign claims. The prevailing mood in Italy was best expressed by the phrase, 'mutilated victory.

Economic situation of Italy was also chaotic. Millions of men were retrenched from the armed forces. Unemployment, budget deficit and prices of essential commodities were increasing rapidly. This situation was conducive to the rise of socialist forces. In the 1919 parliamentary elections the socialists secured 156 seats. But they often voted against government measures, creating parliamentary stalemate. Communists and their sympathizers, on the other hand, frequently organized agitations and demonstrations. During 1919 and 1920 as many as 35,00,000 working days were lost due to strikes, lockouts and agitations.

The government was unable to deal with the problem. If parliamentary democracy was unable to solve the challenges, communism could not provide an alternative while causing widespread dissatisfaction in Italian society and the economy. In these conditions of Fascist leadership could persuade the populace that Italy required a transformation. A powerful, effective, patriotic, and non-committal government Marxism. Benito Mussolini 'seized power' against this backdrop. Italy's Fascist dictatorship was created.

- **What is Fascism?**

Fascism is an intensely nationalistic, anti-communistic and anti-democratic movement which served as a model to dictatorial regimes in Italy and Germany.

- **Discontentment after the treaty of Versailles:**

Italy joined as the Allies in the First World War to gain territories of Turkey and Germany. But by the treaty of Versailles, she could get only Southern Tyrol and Tertino, and the coastal regions of Dalmatia. She could get no part of the German and Turkish colonial empire.

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- **Economic Crisis:** Italy suffered heavy losses in terms of life and property in the First World War. After the war, many soldiers became unemployed. Trade and commerce were ruined leading to large=-scale unemployment. There was a shortage of food grains.

- **Political Instability:** Italy was governed by a series of coalition governments and there was no continuity in their policies. Governments were unable to deal with problems of unemployment, strikes and riots.

- **Clash conflicts:** The common man had been promised, during the war, that he would be rewarded greater attention to his economic needs, these promises were ignored and the common man was embittered. Thus, people wanted the control of the government to be in the hands of the common man.

- **Threat of Socialism and or Communism:** inspired by communism, the peasants took away the land from the landlords and workmen organized strike and took hold of factories. the industrialist was worried about the strength of the labour unions and wanted a powerful government who could establish peace they therefore provided financial support for fascism.

- **Failure of League of Nations:** The League of Nations proved to be weak and failed to check the rise of dictatorship.

- **Leadership provided by Mussolini:** Mussolini had a charismatic personality. In his speeches he praised the past glories of Italy and won the faith of his countrymen.

11.7 NAZISM

Factors leading to the rise of Nazism in Germany

- **Treaty of Versailles:** Germany was forced to code large chunks of her territory to France, Belgium, Poland and Denmark. Her overseas possessions (colonies) were divided by the allies in the war among themselves. Germany was forced to pay heavy reparations to the tune of 33 billion dollars and the total strength of the German army was fixed at von Lakh. The term of this treaty was greatly resented by the Germans who eagerly looked for an opportunity to avenge the same. These sentiments were exploited by Hitler who openly encouraged the German to consign the Treaty of Versailles into the waste paper basket, to rebuild the empire of Germany, and to recapture the lost colonies.

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- **Growing fear of communism:** after the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the Communist influence in Germany increased considerably. The communists organized themselves effectively and succeeded in capturing a number of seats in Reichstag. Hence, Hitler warned the people that communists of Germany would become the servants of their Russian masters and follow the dictates of Communists.

- **Economic Crisis**: Due to the harsh term of the treaty of Versailles, Germany had to suffer in agricultural production, colonies, foreign investment, trade contracts, etc. the foreign countries raised tariffs against the German goods. The number of unemployed people increased.

- **Resurgence of Militant Nationalism:** The German preferred prestige and glory to liberty and freedom and hence could not reconcile with the democratic parliamentary system prevailing in their country. They felt that only a strong man could restore the past prestige of Germany and check the rising popularity of communism. When Hitler promised them all glory, they welcomed him with open arms.

- **Anti-Semitic propaganda**: the Nazis described the Jews as traitors. They said that the Jews and conspired with the Allies during the war and could again commit them all glory, they welcomed him with open arms.

- **Absence of strong Volunteer Corps**: Under the Treaty of Versailles, Germany military force was considerably reduced and a large number of German soldiers were thrown out of employment. Hitler roped in all these soldiers and organized them into Volunteer Corps that served as the party army. The members of the volunteer Corps propagated the programme of the Nazi party and worked for safeguarding its interests.

- **Charismatic personality of Hitler:** Hitler, a shrewd politician and a brave soldier, was a gifted orator who captivated the Germans by his emotional speeches. The Germans nourished a feeling of resentment against the humiliating and insulting behaviour meted out to them by the allies and wanted to avenge the same. Hitler fully exploited the sentiments of the Germans and openly encouraged them to consign the treaty of Versailles into the waste paper basket, rebuild the German empire and to recapture the lost colonies. Hitler assured the Germans that if they would abide by the Nazi ideology their economic misery would come to an end. This greatly appealed to the German people and they extended full support to Hitler and his Nazi party.

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- **Aims of Nazism:**

In "Mein Kampt" (My Struggle) Hitler expressed the aims of the Nazi movement as follows:

- To exalts Nationalism
- To advocate the rule by a great leader from a single party:
- To despise internationalism, peace and democracy
- To use force and brutality
- To extol war
- To uphold the racial supremacy of the Germans and to have hatred for the Jews.

- **Similarity between The Aims of Fascism and Nazism**

- To have faith in the totalitarian rule
- To despise democratic political system
- To hold that the state is supreme and it could suppress the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals.
- To uphold One-party One leader
- To believe in aggressive nationalism and imperialism
- To regard war as an instrument for furthering national interests.
- To uphold intensely nationalistic, Anti-Communist, Anti-Democratic, rule.

- **Similarity Between the Causes of Fascism and Nazism**

- Discontent after the treaty of Versailles
- Economic crisis, unemployment and decline in production in agriculture and trade.
- Hatred for democratic principles and preference for Totalitarian system and one-party rule.
- Fear of the spread of Communism
- Political instability and class conflict between the aristocrats and the common people.
- Failure of the League of Nations.
- Leadership provided by Mussolini and Hitler.

11.8 NEO-FASCISM IN EUROPE

After the end of World War I, Benito Mussolini, the leader of the Fascist movement in Italy, gained power in 1922 and established a totalitarian regime characterized by strong nationalism, suppression of dissent, and authoritarian rule. However, towards the end of the Cold War, some neo-fascist and neo-Nazi movements began to resurface in Italy and

Germany. These movements were not as rigid in their ideology as their predecessors from the inter-war years. The "Federalist" in 1994 pointed out the dangers of this Neo-Fascist resurgence, warning about the potential threat to democracy and peace.

One prominent Neo-Nascist party in Italy was the "Alleanza Nazionale" (National Alliance), which denied being a neo-fascist group despite its origins in the post-World War II "Movimento Sociale Italiano" (Italian Social Movement) founded on clear Fascist policies. The party had both "hard-line" and "respectable" wings, with some members joining the Italian government in 1994. Once in power, they emphasized their moderate nature, but suspicions remained about their true intentions.

Similarly, Germany also experienced the rise of Neo-Nazis after the Cold War. These groups, while not gaining entry into the German government, posed a concern for the nation due to their extremist ideologies. Fascism, in its original form, was based on negative values like oppression, national hatred, and intolerance. It was led by charismatic figures who manipulated ultra-nationalist sentiments in the 1920s, exploiting the perceived injustices following World War I. It's important to note that the information you provided dates back to 1994, and the political landscape may have evolved since then. The prevalence and nature of far-right movements can vary over time and across different countries, influenced by various social, economic, and political factors.

The emergence of fascism in 1922 in Italy was indeed a response to the declining political institutions of the country. It represented a set of programs for action, seeking to address the perceived weaknesses of traditional democratic systems and offering an alternative form of governance. While it may not be accurate to describe fascism as a single, uniform ideology across all European countries, various countries did experience the rise of fascist parties or movements with their own unique characteristics. It is crucial to recognize that fascism is not a monolithic ideology but rather manifests differently in different contexts. While there may be shared features or elements among various fascist experiments, there is no "generic fascism" that fits all cases. Instead, one can more accurately speak of "fascist-style regimes" that exhibit some common traits.

The Nazi regime in Germany, for example, drew inspiration from Italian fascism but had its distinctive characteristics and objectives. While the two regimes had some similarities, they also had significant differences, and it is important to avoid oversimplification by grouping them under a single label of "Fascism."

Despite the differences between various fascist experiments, some elements like racism, violence, and brutality were indeed present in many of them. These aspects have provided ideological fodder to different fascistic movements throughout history and continue to influence such movements today. In summary, fascism emerged as a response to specific

historical and political circumstances in different countries, leading to diverse forms of fascist parties and movements. While there are shared features among them, each experiment has its own unique characteristics and objectives. It is crucial to avoid overgeneralization and recognize the complexities and nuances within the historical context of each fascist movement.

11.9 SUMMARY

We were able to learn about the meaning of fascism, the factors that contributed to its growth and development, and the categories that defined the Fascist worldview, the historical development of fascism, and its operational dynamics through this unit on fascism: We learnt that the rebel against logic gave to dictatorship its ideal scenery. We also noticed that the various components of fascist ideology were racialism, elitism, corporation (statism), imperialism, and militarism. In authentic terms, fascist11 arose against the discouraging ethos of the post-first universal conflict advancements the customary administering tip top at first worked with it. After that, it set out on its own independent path, with the help of totalitarianism's processes. At first drawing in the communist and patriot powers to its overlay, one party rule took care of political absolutism by singling out its real and possible foes and constraining them to a subject status. After gaining strength, it embarked on an imperialist strategy and joined Nazism due to the strength of its military strategy, which led to the Second World War. The functional setting of extremism saw the ascent of a solitary party, centralization and grouping of force and mass enlistment of youth in party issues.

11.10 EXERCISES

1. What is Fascism? Examine the causes that led to the rise of fascism.
2. What is Nazism? Examine the factors leading to the rise of Nazism.
3. What are the Essential Features of Fascism?
4. Distinguish between fascism and Nazism.
5. Explain Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain.
6. What were the causes of rise of fascism in Italy?
7. What is Neo-Fascism in Europe?

11.11 REFERENCES

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UNIT-12 WORLD WAR II CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Structure

12.1 Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Causes and episode of The Second World War

12.4 Consequences of World War II

12.5 Summary

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12.1 OBJECTIVES

Studying this unit, you should be able to understand

- The Causes for World War II.
- The Beginning of World War II and the Establishment of Soviet Allegiance.
- About the peace treaties that were signed after the war was over.
- The rise to power of the United States and the Soviet Union.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

World War II began on September 1, 1939, with German attack against Poland. Previously, two former adversaries, Germany and the Soviet Union, had forged a non-aggression pact. Aggression pact making way for Polish partition between two of them. All efforts to reach an understanding between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and France on the other had proved fruitless. In fact, secret negotiations were being simultaneously carried on between Discuss about the peace treaties that were signed after the war was over. the Soviet Union and Germany and also between Britain and Germany. Britain and France took Soviet Union for granted and did not bother to conclude a military alliance with the latter. This paved the way for Soviet- German non- aggression pact and German attack on Poland.

Poland received assurances from Britain and France a few months prior to the outbreak of World War II that, in the event of an aggression against it, they would provide her with all possible assistance. At the point when all endeavors to stay away from war and safeguard

Poland had fizzled and Germany attacked Poland, England and France proclaimed a conflict on Germany on September 3, 1939. Before long thereafter, numerous different nations excessively proclaimed battle on Germany. Japan had sent off hostility against China, yet didn't pronounce war either on the Soviet Association or, for quite a while, on the USA, Italy stayed nonpartisan in the battle for quite a while, yet at last joined the conflict in favor of Germany in June 1940. After Germany had won unequivocal triumphs against a few nations in Europe, it pursued a conflict against the Soviet Association likewise on June 22, 1941. This brought USSR into the Partnered Camp. With the Japanese siege of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 the US at last entered the conflict. The Allies (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States and their allies) and the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy, and Japan) fought in the war.

In this unit, you will learn about the conditions under which World War II broke out and the factors that contributed to the conflict. The war came to an end with the unconditional surrender of Italy, Germany, and Japan, in that order. You will likewise learn about the outcomes of this most damaging conflict since the beginning of time. Military exercises and subtleties of different fights are not our anxiety in this Unit. We will close the unit with a reference to the endeavors made after the battle for the finish of the truces with the crushed powers. We will also talk about how the United States of America and the Soviet Union became the two Super Powers and how some of the old big powers lost their power.

12.3 CAUSES AND EPISODE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

You have read about the start of World War II in September 1939, when Germany attacked Poland and Britain and France declared war on Germany. This gives the impression that the Polish dispute led to the war. Part of this is true. Clean issue was for sure the quick reason for the conflict, yet there were numerous different reasons what is going on in which war became inescapable. Let us briefly discuss all of the war's immediate and distant causes.

- **Treaty of Versailles**

After the First World War, in 1919, the Paris Peace Conference attempted to establish an ideal world order based on peace, justice, and disarmament. Be that as it may, what at last arose looking like settlement of Versailles was a directed deal of harmony forced upon Germany? Participants who emerged victorious lacked sincerity of purpose. France wanted to make amends for its humiliation and defeat by Germany in 1871. Germany did not receive the usual courtesy that is expected of representatives of sovereign nations. The harmony meeting had started in January 1919. The settlement of harmony was drafted by Partners with next to no discussion with the crushed Germany. Germany received the draft treaty on May 7, 1919, and within three weeks, it was required to submit written suggestions.

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Germany experienced a severe outpouring of resentment when the terms of the treaty were made public. Germany rejected that it alone was liable for the conflict. Germany mentioned numerous criticisms and proposed adjustments in any case, with the exception of one alteration, regardless of the complaints were brushed lastly, Germany was made to sign the Deal of Versailles on June 28, 1919. It was referred to as a "diktat" by Germans, who could not bear the insult or humiliation.

Germany lost all of its overseas colonies, and even in Europe, her size decreased significantly. Poland, France, and Belgium all gained at her expense. Her armed force and naval force were seriously reduced. She was advised against joining the air force. Germany was pronounced at real fault for atrocities and made to vow to pay a monstrous measure of repayment to the victors. Settlement of Versailles ravaged and embarrassed Germany. After twenty years, it was the turn of Germany to get payback. The rise of Hitler to prominence, his proud people's determination to avenge their humiliation, and the consequent onset of World War II were all set in motion.

- **Failure of Collective Security system**

Collective security system was a noteworthy ideal the world leaders had pledged at the end of the First World War. Providing security collectively to the victim of an international aggression was its aim. Thus, Covenant of the League of Nations provided that in case of an aggression, members of the League, by their collective action, would compel the aggressor to withdraw. This collective action could either he in the form of economic sanctions against the aggressor, or military support to the victim of aggression or both.

During the inter war years it was, nonetheless, demonstrated that the Association was an inadequate association in regard of a major power on the off chance that the last option chose to wage of a conflict against, or add-on, a little country. In 1931, Japan committed a hostility against China and by mid-1932, figured out how to vanquish Manchuria area of that country. Japan maintained to the League with great tact that her action in Manchuria was self-defense, i.e., that it was only a police action and not an act of aggression. Japan, a long-lasting individual from the Association, moved forward to lay out a manikin Manchukuo system in Manchuria. At the point when the Association asked part countries not to perceive Manchukuo, Japan left the Association but rather held control on the vanquished domain.

Afterward, in 1935 Italy pursued a conflict against Abyssinia, crushed her, and in May 1936 officially added that country into Italian Domain. The Association attempted to uphold aggregate security framework, pronounced Italy an attacker and clipped financial sanctions. All of this was in vain because no military action was taken against Italy, a major power and permanent League Council member. Likewise, no move was initiated by a powerless Class of Countries against Germany when she renounced the tactical conditions of the Versailles Deal (1935) and the unreservedly arranged Locarno Agreement remilitarized Rhineland (1936), when attached Austria (1938) and eviscerated Czechoslovakia (1938-39). As a

result, the failure of the collective security system proved to be a major factor in the outbreak of World War II.

- **Failure of Disarmament**

At the Paris Peace Conference, it was agreed that nations could only guarantee world peace by reducing their armaments to a level that was compatible with their own safety or defense. This indicates that all offensive weapons were to be destroyed. The League of Nations was given the responsibility of developing a strategy to reduce armies. The Association delegated Impermanent Blended Commission in 1920 which anyway couldn't accomplish any significant work since France demanded, security prior to demilitarization. In 1925 Preliminary Commission was founded. Due to dissimilar perspectives on countries that made a difference, it couldn't distinguish hostile weapons. Finally, in February 1932, a Disarmament Conference met in Geneva without much preparation. Once against shared doubt and doubt prompted the disappointment of Meeting, after extended discussions. Germany had been incapacitated by the Settlement of Versailles. Victor countries were to incapacitate later. However, they never really wanted to arm themselves. Hence, in October 1933 Germany announced that she was leaving both the Demilitarization Meeting and the Class of Countries. Later in 1935 Germany officially pronounced that she was not any more limited by the military or demobilization provisos of the Settlement of Versailles. Different nations were at that point possessing huge amounts of deadly implements and huge military. German choice proclaimed an enormous deadly implement race which prompted an equipped clash. The disappointment of demilitarization became one more significant reason for Second Universal conflict.

- **World economic crisis**

World financial emergency started in1929 with abrupt stoppage of advances by the American monetary houses to the European nations. A large number of them, especially Germany, were gaining quick modern headway for the most part with the acquired American cash. The emergency had it cut off influence during 1930-32. It unfavorably impacted economies of most nations either straightforwardly or in a roundabout way. Nearly 700,000 people lost their jobs as a result in Germany, which proved to be the worst affected nation. It was compelled to announce that it would no longer pay any reparations. Out of the financial emergency of Germany arose Nazi tyranny of Adolf Hitler. In 1933, he was appointed Chancellor of Germany, but he soon overthrew democracy and established a dictatorship. In the meantime, even England was forced to take severe measures, such as dropping the gold standard. Germany, Japan and Italy exploited this financial emergency and independently set out upon forceful plans. They set up their Extremist Coalition which turn out to be generally answerable for WWII.

- **Rome, Berlin, Tokyo Axis:**

Just before WWI, Europe was partitioned into two antagonistic camps. Germany, Japan, and Italy came together to form an alliance, repeating the same procedure. The Anti-Commenter Pact was used to bring it to an end between 1936 and 1937. The Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo Axis was a group of fascist powers that wanted to expand imperialism. They openly opposed peaceful dispute resolution and praised war. They tormented western nations and misled more fragile countries like China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Poland. Their conflict like demonstrations and animosities however seen at this point slipped through the cracks. Frightened at the lead of Pivot powers, Britain and France drew nearer to one another and a fruitless endeavor was made at the development of an Old English French-Soviet Front. Despite the fact that France and Soviet Association had a coalition, at this point in their craving to conciliate Hitler, France and Britain overlooked Soviet Association and when Stalin needed a tactical settlement between three non-Extremist powers they relaxed. The world was taken aback when the Soviet Union signed the no-aggression agreement with Germany, which raised suspicions. This straightforwardly cleared the way for German assault on Poland which prompted the episode of the Subsequent World War. England and France declared war on Germany while the Soviet Union also invaded Poland.

- **The Problem of National Minorities**

In Europe, new nation states were established as a result of peace negotiations following the First World War, with large ethnic minorities left behind and neglected. President Wilson of the US had supported the standard of self-assurance. However, by virtue of different vital contemplations this guideline could not be as expected carried out. As a result, large German minorities found themselves in Poland and Czechoslovakia with non-Germans. There were Russian minorities in Poland and Rumania; and, surprisingly, after the Minority Deals were finished up after the Paris Meeting, around 750,000 Germans were under unfamiliar rule. Hitler took advantage of the circumstance and for the sake of disavowal of freedoms to German minorities in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and ready for hostility. He added Austria, obliterated and dissected Czechoslovakia lastly attacked Poland. Hence, the issue of minorities turned into a significant issue and a significant excuse for the conflict.

- **Appeasement by Britain and France**

International strategy in view of conciliation of Nazi-Fundamentalist tyrants ended up being a significant reason for WWII. Britain and France's policies appeared to diverge after the First World War. The British foreign policy had always been based on power balance. Britain was concerned that France's overwhelming power would upset the balance of power in Europe. Consequently, it helped Germany against France in the between war years. When Hitler came to control in Germany and Italy turned into a partner of the Nazi despot, England immediately drew nearer to France which gravely required English help against a threatening Germany. After 1933, French unfamiliar strategy basically turned into an expansion of English international strategy. Britain was concerned about the expanding

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power of Communism. Not just the Soviet Association must be really tested, yet purported famous Fronts in France and Spain had additionally to be annihilated. With this goal in view, England took on the arrangement of settlement towards Hitler and Mussolini. France before long took action accordingly. Baldwin initiated appeasement, which Neville Chamberlain vigorously pursued in 1938. Somewhat English French want to assist Mussolini during the Abyssinian with fighting, while at the same time keeping up with help of Association endeavors, their virtual acquiescence to Hitler at the Munich Meeting, and their failure to safeguard more vulnerable countries like Austria and Albania were obvious proof of Old English French shortcoming and this pre-arranged the ground for the Conflict.

- **German Attack on Poland**

The evident and quick reason for the conflict was German assault on Poland on September 1, 1939. Prior, when all endeavors at Old English French partnership with the Soviet Association had bombed Hitler gone into a peace settlement with Stalin. This was completely unexpected given that Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia had only ever harbored hatred for a number of years. Presently, quick to parcel off Poland between themselves, Germany and Soviet Association marked the agreement not to take up arms against one another. However, given the course of events, those who opposed the agreement referred to it as a "simple aggression pact against Poland." The two nations had decided on September 1, 1939, to divide Eastern Europe into their respective spheres in a secret agreement that was only made public in 1945. As you know Britain and France and as of now guaranteed Poland of their assistance if there should arise an occurrence of an intrusion. They stayed faithful to their promise and pronounced battle on Germany. While Germany attacked Poland in the west, Soviet soldiers moved into Poland from the east on September 17-18, 1939. In accordance with the Soviet-German Frontier and Friendship Treaty of September 28, 1939, Poland was divided between Germany and the Soviet Union. In the meantime, numerous different nations had likewise announced battle on Germany, however these were representative announcements as even France and England were as yet bustling getting ready for war, while Poland was being obliterated.

- **The War Begins**

Poland, as we have seen above, turned into the prompt reason for the Conflict. On Spring 23, 1939 German soldiers had discreetly involved Memel (a German city under Lithuanian I power) after Hitler had requested that Lithuania give up it. On the equivalent day German Unfamiliar Pastor Ribbentrop called Clean Diplomat and directed to him terms that Germany might want to force upon Poland. He demanded that Danzig, which had already been Nazified, be returned to Germany, as well as the authorization of an east-west highway and rail link across the Polish Corridor so that East Prussia could be connected directly to Germany. This basically meant crossing a corridor. Hitler, be that as it may, was working out rehash of another Munich botch by England which didn't happen. British guarantees for

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Poland were made clear and unambiguously by Prime Minister Chamberlain. Later, when Italy invaded and annexed Albania on April 7, Britain provided Greece and Romania with similar assurances. Conscription was first announced by France and then by Britain. The following day, Hitler retaliated by rejecting the 1934 Polish-German non-aggression pact and the 1935 Anglo-German Naval Treaty. Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1936, and Italy followed a year later. As a result, the Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo Axis represented the determination of three nations to end global communism. In actuality, it was a coalition against the Soviet Union. By August 1939 Hitler was ready to settle the clean issue in his own particular manner. However, he was looking for a plausible justification. When Hitler agreed to engage in direct negotiations with Poland regarding the Danzig issue, he was able to twist the diplomatic arm of Britain, which was otherwise determined. On August 29, 1939, Hitler directed Britain's Ambassador in Berlin to arrange for a Polish delegation to arrive in Berlin the following day, fully empowered to negotiate and reach an agreement with the Germans. This was a very unusual request. Regularly, global discussions set aside some margin to start. In any case, formal proposals are first communicated diplomatically before a foreign delegation is invited. Obviously, Hitler had no craving for quiet arrangement. Germany made no room for negotiations because it was obvious that a Polish delegation would not be able to arrive on August 30. This gave Hitler the much-anticipated affection for the arranged intrusion of Poland. When German troops invaded Poland early on September 1, 1939, the war broke out. On September 3, 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. On 18 September Soviet Association additionally attacked Poland, however neither Italy nor the US entered the battle for some time. In the interim Britain and different partners were at that point on war, at this point endeavors were still on for some arrangement. However, Germany was determined to wage a full war.

- **USA and USSR become Allies**

When the war began, Germany and Italy were political allies, but Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact disappointed Mussolini. Italy did not enter the war till June 1940. Then, as France was on the verge of defeat and surrender, Italy joined the war on the side of Germany against France and the Allies. Soviet Union did not join the war, but was helping Germany by invading Poland. She later attacked Finland and was expelled from the membership League of Nations. Stalin continued to trust Hitler until the Nazi dictator had defeated most European neighbors and attacked Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. Meanwhile, Stalin had coerced three Baltic Nations, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, to join the Soviet Union as its Union Republics. They lost their independence as Stalin told their leaders that if they refused to join USSR, they would be ruined by Germany.

Soviet Union had also dictated terms to Rumania and recovered Bessarabia and " Bukovina from it. Thus, by mid-1941 Soviet Union was busy collecting war gains without being in the war.

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Hitler had secured French surrender in June 1940. But Hitler was not so lucky where Spain was concerned. General Franco keeps his country out of war. Since it was being fought by Hitler in association with Stalin, Spain remained neutral throughout the war.

Public opinion in the United States was overwhelmingly opposed to being drawn into the war. In 1937, US Congress had passed the Neutrality Act which also prohibited sale of armaments in a future war. When the war actually broke out and Germany started bombing and destroying western democracies, Americans began weakening their neutrality stance. Cash and Carry Act was passed in November 1939, permitting countries at war to buy American weapons provided they paid cash and carried them in their own ships. When the war reached a crucial stage, Lend-Lease Act was passed in March 1941. It allowed the President to sell, exchange, end lease or otherwise dispose of any defense article. Thus, US began supplying armaments to friendly countries such as Britain and China. Three months later when Soviet Union was attacked by Germany, she was also covered by the Lend-Lease Act.

'The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939 had been designed by Hitler to keep Soviet Union in the dark about his actual intentions. As soon as Germany had defeated her enemies on the European continent, it began preparing for invasion of the Soviet Union itself. But Stalin remained convinced that Hitler would not attack Soviet Union. Everyone had warned Stalin of Nazi attack-Churchill, American Embassy and Stalin's own men in Tokyo. But Stalin refused to listen till 22 June 1941 when Germany actually launched the attack on Soviet Union. Stalin was stunned at this and Soviet Union sought allied assistance. Britain accepted Soviet Union into the Allied camp. In July, London and Moscow signed a military pact. When Soviet Union was facing a devastating war, United States was forced to enter the war in December 1941, when Japan attacked its naval base in Pearl Harbour. American relations with Japan were never cordial. Japanese assets in America were already frozen. In August 1941 the United States had announced that any Japanese action against Thailand would cause her grave concern.

Unsuccessful attempts were made for a meeting between us President Roosevelt and Japanese Prime Minister Kono in September. In October Kono resigned and General Tajo became the Prime Minister of Japan. He openly encouraged conflict. In November, Britain had promised to declare war on Japan if United States became involved in a war with that country. Tension was building up rapidly and war appeared imminent. On 6 December 1941 President Roosevelt made a personal request to the Japanese Emperor for help in maintaining peace. Rather than peace, America got Japanese bombardment next day. On December 7, 1941 early in the morning large America naval fleet based at Pearl Harbor (Hawaii Islands) was heavily bombed by the Japanese. A few hours later, Japan declared war "on the United States of America and the British Empire". On December 11, both Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The war thus became global.

12.4 CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

The collapse and defeat of the Axis powers—Italy, Germany, and Japan—may be briefly mentioned here because we are dealing with World War II as a whole. Subtleties of fights and triumphs and losses are not our anxiety in this unit. However, we might make reference to in short, the way in which the three Pivot Powers were crushed and the Partners at last arose Triumphs.

- **Germany and Italy's defeat:**

The majority of European nations had been conquered by the two Fascist Powers. England was under steady assault, and huge pieces of the Soviet Association counting the three Baltic Republics had been overwhelmed by the Germans. In 1943 the Partners chose to send off hostile against the Pivot by selling Italian Domain in Africa. This goal was accomplished by May 1943. The Fascist structure showed signs of cracking, upsetting the Italians. "Operation Hugky" was chosen by the Allies to launch an invasion of Sicily by the Italians. It was anything but a hard and fast exertion in light of the fact that the thought was to involve Italy as a base to have the option to bomb Germany and the Balkans. In Sicily, a large number of Italians surrendered in July 1943 after heavy air attacks. Germans couldn't guard the island. Mussolini went to Hitler a few days after the first attack on Sicily and asked for more German help, but he was turned down. Mussolini called a gathering of Extremist Excellent Committee which requested that the Ruler take direct order. King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini on July 25, 1943, and appointed Marshal Bodolio to lead the new government. Mussolini was captured. Italy at last gave up genuinely on September 3, 1943. Around the same time, be that as it may, Germans entered Rome and held it under their occupation for a few months. Rome could only be captured by the Allies on June 4, 1944.

The Partners chose to overcome Germany by opening two fronts against her. From the east, Soviet Association was pushing her out: In order to free France, the United States of America and its allies attacked Normandy in West England. By Walk 1944, the Pivot powers were removed from a large portion of Ukraine and different pieces of the Soviet Association. Soviet soil was gotten free from German armed forces before the year finished. On June 6, 1944, the West Front against Germany opened up. It started from English Channel, and for this reason 150,000 American troopers were shipped consistently.

Ninety-seven days after their invasion, Allied forces liberated France and entered Germany on September 11, 1944. After that, Hitler's air force began a massive bombardment of London that lasted until the beginning of 1945. Conspiracies to eliminate Hitler were hatched as the Germans began to lose. The last attack on Germany was arranged at Yalta Gathering in February 1945. Overall round hostile was started against Germany by the English, Canadian, French and the Americans. In the meantime, the Soviet Hostile was proceeding unabated. The battling was most furious at the German Chancellery in whose

underground protections Hitler had set up his last central command. When everything was lost, the Nazi tyrant, who was once longing for administering over the whole world, serious self-destruction on April 30, 1945. Hitler had named Docnitz as his replacement, yet he could never really save the country. On May 5, 1945 German administrators in North East Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark gave up genuinely. Nazi powers in Austria gave up following day. At long last on May 7, Docnitz Administration (of Germany) gave up genuinely "all land, ocean and aviation based armed forces of the Reich". The conflict in Europe was over on May 8, 1945.

- **Defeat of Japan**

In the Far East, the Allies were putting in a lot of effort to defeat Japan. As a result, the United States bore the primary responsibility, with assistance from Britain, China, the Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand. China served as the organizing ground for the Allied invasion of Japan. MacArther coordinated these activities. Two partnered crusades were sent off in the fall of 1944. The' one under Master Mountbatten was focused on reconquest of Burma. The other, under Gen. MacArther involved freedom of Philippine Islands. By June 1945, both missions had been completed. Subtleties of these tasks are not our anxiety here. The Potsdam Gathering which was meeting to conclude the fate of the crushed Germany and other related issues gave a call to Japan in July 1945" to broadcast now the unrestricted acquiescence of all Japanese military the option for Japan is immediate and unadulterated annihilation". She did not sign this declaration because the war between the Soviet Union and Japan was not yet over. The Japanese refused the ultimatum and continued to fight. At this point, the United States made the decision to use the atom bomb to win Japan's unconditional surrender. The first atom bomb was dropped on the important Japanese city of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, by the American Air Force. More than half of the area was destroyed.

Two days afterward (August 8), the Soviet Association pronounced battle on Japan and started hostile in Manchuria and Southern Sakhalin (both were then under Japanese control). The Soviet troops made rapid progress. On August 9, 1945 per second nuclear bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, releasing uncommon obliteration. The following day, Japan sued for harmony. Battling halted however give up archives were marked exclusively on September 2, 1945 on board the US war vessel Missouri. WWII at last finished with Japan going under the American occupation. The outcomes of the conflict, hence was the all-out rout of the three Pivot powers and triumph of the Partners. This also meant democracy's victory and dictatorship's defeat**.**

- **Peace-Making After Second World War**

The finish of truces after WWII ended up being a very troublesome errand. Treaties were only signed with five of the defeated powers after the war had ended for two years. Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland were among them. Only in 1955 and 1952 were

peace treaties with Austria and Japan signed. There was no way to unite Germany. It stayed split between favorable to west Government Republic of Germany (West Germany) and Popularity based German Republic affected by the Soviet Association. Since Germany was not rejoined no settlement with Germany as such was at any point finished up. Two Germanys were at long last joined together in 1990 into one Germany. We will momentarily manage the Potsdam Meeting and then the truces closed with other crushed powers.

- **The Pots dam Conference**

In the months of July and August of 1945, the Potsdam (Berlin) Conference was held. Germany had surrendered to the allies without condition. A few choices had been taken at various war-time meetings with respect to the eventual fate of Germany and of other east European nations. A conventional plan had now to be settled on in the radiance of these choices. Stalin, Churchill, Chiang Kai-shek, and U.S President Harry Truman attended the Potsdam Conference. They were helped by powerful appointments. While waiting for a formal peace treaty to be signed, the Conference made important decisions about how Germany would be set up in the future. Arrangements were likewise started for the marking of ceasefires to be finished up with other crushed powers. Japan was at this point to be crushed**.**

Various core values were attracted that should have been the foundations of ceasefire with Germany. These included 10 political standards, 9 financial aspects standards, 10 standards to direct the assurance of restitution, 6 standards to oversee the division of the German naval force, and 5 standards of the dissemination of the German dealer maritime boats. A panel including the delegates of four major powers for military control of German Zones was set up. Additionally, it was decided that the Nazi organization, the Nazi laws, and Germany would be disarmed. The war hoodlums were to be attempted and seriously rebuffed. At last, a majority rule government would be laid out in Germany and privileges and freedoms of individuals would be reestablished.

The western regions of Poland would be comprised of South-eastern Prussia, the regions to the east of the Rivers Order and Neisse, pending the final demarcation of the country's western borders. In addition, it was agreed that Poland would hold democratic elections that were free and fair as soon as possible. The Potsdam Conference also decided that the Allied forces would leave Iran right away. It was planned to declare Tanjier an international area. No repayment was to be taken from Austria.

The conference made decisions about where Japan would surrender. Imperialistic components would be killed and Japan would be incapacitated. Japan's war criminals would be punished. Following her acquiescence Associated Military Control would be laid out in Japan and in the long run a popularity-based government would be set up. The sway of Japan would be restricted to her four major and a couple of more modest islands. All foreign lands

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occupied by Japan prior to or during the Second World War would be released and returned to their legal owners.

The circumstances spelt out at the Potsdam Meeting for the Japanese acquiescence were not acknowledged by that country. Atomic bombs were dropped on two Japanese cities early in August 1945 by the United States of America without informing the Soviet Union, resulting in her unconditional surrender on August 10, 1945. In this way, WWII reached a conclusion. The way that the US created and utilized the nuclear bomb without the information on the Soviet Association became one the causes that brought forth the virus war following the threats finished the Second Universal Conflict.

- **Treaties of Peace**

Not at all like the Paris Harmony Meeting of 1919, had just an Unfamiliar Clergymen meeting occurred in London from September 11 to October 3, 1945. By that point, significant disagreements had emerged between the Western powers and the Soviet Union. The London conference was unable to make much progress, and neither could the subsequent three meetings. The draft-arrangements were ready in these gatherings, to be closed with five powers-Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. After that, from July 29 to October 15, 1946, a 12-nation Paris Conference was held. The Foreign Ministers Committee then met again, and on December 12, 1946, in New York, the treaties were finally approved by the Committee. Finally, the Allies on one side and the five defeated powers on the other side signed these treaties. With each of them, separate treaties were concluded**.**

Here, the principal provisions of these peace treaties may be briefly discussed. Italy lost a number of territories as a result of the Treaty that they signed together. France, Greece what's more, Yugoslavia acquired regions at the expense of Italy. Trieste turned into an autonomous port under the charge of an over nor selected by the Security Board of the Unified Countries. Albania and Ethiopia recaptured their freedom. Indeed, they became sovereign states. Italy was denied of the states of Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea. Italian guard powers were impressively diminished and she was expected to pay enormous measure of cash as restitution in seven years or less. The Rumania Settlement given to move of the areas of Bessarabia, and Bukovina from Romania to the Soviet Association and Doubruja to Bulgaria. She was required to compensate the Soviet Union, and its military strength was restricted.

Some of the villages that Hungary had occupied in 1938 to the south of the Danube were ordered to be returned to Czechoslovakia. The Region of Transylvania was returned by Hungary to Romania. She was also disarmed and ordered to pay reparation.

Bulgaria didn't a free any area. It really acquired the region of Doubruja from Romania. Yet, similar to other people, Bulgaria was likewise approached to pay repayment and her outfitted powers were abridged.

Finland was denied of a few little regions which all went to the Soviet Association. She gave the Soviet Union the Salla region, Petsamo province, and the Naval Base of Porkkala Udd. Like other crushed powers, repayment was forced upon Finland too. The size and scope of its armed forces were significantly reduced.

These five settlements gave greatest benefit to the Soviet Association. Another country who acquired adequate region, power and renown was Yugoslavia who turned into the most impressive country in the Balkans and an opponent of Italy.

- **Austria**

Austria had been involved by the German armed force in 1938 and from that point forward gone on as an involved piece of crushed Germany. Austria was treated as a "freed region". The 1943 Moscow Conference had promised to establish Austria as a sovereign nation. Be that as it may, not long after the conflict, serious contrasts created among the Partners. Soviet Association needed to force serious monetary limitations on Austria. This was not satisfactory toward the western powers. The impasse persisted for nearly ten years. At last, Austria consented to proclaim itself an "unbiased" country and to pay a remuneration to the Soviet Association. The Soviet Union then agreed to separate the Austrian issue from the German issue. On May 15, 1955, Austria signed a peace treaty that made it a "neutral" nation.

- **Japan**

The cold war and contrasts between the US and the Soviet Association postponed the finish of ceasefire with Japan. Yet, in contrast to Germany and Austria, Japan was under control of just the American powers. The Americans had established an interim military administration following the surrender of the Japanese on August 10, 1945. The Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers was in charge of all authority. The position of Supreme Commander and Japanese Administrator was given to General MacArthur. A gathering to draw up a truce was met by the US at San Francisco in 1951. The Soviet Union and other socialist nations attended the meeting, but India and Burma declined. The meeting was attended by 52 nations. India did not agree with some of the peace terms that were proposed.

Even the Soviet Union found it impossible to sign the draft treaty. The treaty drafted under US influence was signed with Japan by 49 countries, on April 28, 1952. A separate peace treaty was signed by India with Japan in June 1952.

There were 27 articles in the Peace Treaty that Japan and 48 other nations signed with the United States. It acknowledged Korea's independence. It could be recollected that Korea had

been divided after the conflict between North Korea (Socialist) and South Korea (Liberal Majority rules government). The sovereignty over the islands of Formossa, Sakhalin, and Kurile was given up by Japan. The Islands of Bonin and Ryukyu (Okinawa) were put under the American Trusteeship. Only her four principal islands and a few smaller islands were under Japanese control. Also, Japan consented to surrender all her privileges to China. Thirdly, Japan acknowledged liability regarding the conflict and responsibility to pay planning however considering financial circumstances, it was excluded from the installment of restitution. This was done in light of the fact that the Deal was closed a lot after the intensity of the conflict had died down and in light of the fact that it was presently a nearby partner of the US. Ultimately, it was concurred on a fundamental level that the unfamiliar military would be removed from Japan. By the by, in case of a reciprocal understanding among Japan and the US the American powers could keep on remaining however under a new and intentional arrangement. Japan was granted unlimited access to its arsenal.

- **Germany**

We have said that Germany was isolated into four occupation zones following its acquiescence. The Western powers alleged that the Soviet Union was transforming its region of Eastern Germany into a communist state in violation of an earlier agreement. This hampered not just the unification of Germany yet in addition decision of a ceasefire. By the by, both Soviet Association and the Western Powers took various one-sided choices in regards to Germany. The first such choice was taken by England, and the US who consolidated their zones into one on January 1, 1947. Afterward, France likewise permitted the consolidation of her zone with the Bound together western zone. Consequently, the three powers chose to set up a free, free and vote based government in West Germany. The Government Republic of Germany (FRG), including recent western zones, was officially settled on September 21, 1949. The Western Powers officially ended the 'condition of battle' with the Government Republic of Germany in 1951.

Not long after the setting up of the Government Republic of Germany, the Soviet Association continued to make a free province of East Germany. It was assigned as the German Popularity based Republic (GDR) and was coordinated on the Communist example of the USSR. Full power was conceded to the GDR by the Soviet Association by a deal finished up between them in September 1955-one year after the power of West Germany was perceived by the western powers. Subsequently, Germany stayed isolated into two threatening nations till 1990-one was lined up with the west and had industrialist request and had gained extremely fast modern headway, and the other was adjusted to the Soviet Association and had her economy in light of communism and her political framework designed on the Soviet Association. The two Germanys-West Germany and East Germany started course of unification in 1989. The Assembled Germany was conceived exclusively in October 1990.

- **Emergence of Super Powers**

The idea of Super Power grew solely after WWII when some of the recent enormous powers were overwhelmed in regard of force (ability to impact the personalities and activities of different states) by two nations, specifically the US of America and the Soviet Association. Just before WWII, English Realm, France, Italy and Japan were among the perceived large powers. At the point when the conflict finished Germany as well as Italy and Japan were additionally crushed. As previously mentioned, Germany was occupied by four nations, and the atom bomb attacks destroyed Japan. The crushed nations turned out to be militarily frail, politically immaterial and financially devastated. Among the victors, England had become so powerless that by 1947 it couldn't keep up with her soldiers even in Greece and Turkey for their protection against socialism. The British Empire could not last.

The decolonization process was accelerated after India gained independence in 1947. England was as yet perceived as a major power and involved a long-lasting seat in the U.N. Security Chamber, yet its solidarity had impressively reduced. France had been a casualty of German occupation until a subsequent front was opened and it was freed in August, 1944. Even though France won the war and got a permanent spot on the Security Council, it was not a very powerful country for a few years after. That left just two of the central victors for example the US and the Soviet Association who acquired in military power and political status. In this manner, a significant result of WWII was the development of these two victors as Super Powers. Indeed, even after England, France and China became atomic powers they couldn't challenge the Super Power status of US and USSR.

- **The United States became a Nuclear Power**

There was only one nation at the end of the war that had the potential that no other state had. In July 1945, the Americans detonated, tentatively, the first atomic gadget throughout the entire existence of humankind. Two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, breaking Japan's resistance and prompting her unconditional surrender. The United States of America failed to disclose that it was working on an atomic bomb when the two countries were allies in the war, shocking the world and disgusting the Soviet Union. In any event, when the US chosen to utilize the nuclear bomb in Japan, different Partners were kept in obscurity till the genuine utilization of it.

The unconditional surrender of Japan resulted in the American victory, depriving the Soviet Union of "all but a token share in the post-war settlement in the Far East." For the next five years, the Soviet Union was a weak and inferior power until she developed her own nuclear weapon in 1949. The Soviet position was very shaky since the Virus war had started, for which the West was transparently accusing the USSR. In the developing power of the Virus War, no one knew whether America had a third bomb or not. The United States could devastate the Soviet Union by dropping a third bomb on Moscow if it had one or could

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produce one quickly. This caused a peculiar circumstance, and as Peter Calvocoressi says: " The USSR something like the

most paltry state, was helpless before the Americans on the off chance that they ought to will to do to Moscow and Leningrad how they had treated Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Americans maybe never expected to do anything like that, however it positively made her more remarkable than any other individual. She was the 'Incomparable Power' for something like five years.

Other than its atomic weapons, what had assisted America with turning into a Super Power was the way that no fight an at any point occurred on her area all through the time of war. After the Pearl Harbor Americans were participated in an unpredicted conflict, yet all the same the nonmilitary personnel lives and property were left immaculate. This gave an additional benefit to the Americans on the grounds that their different Partners in the conflict had experienced weighty nonmilitary personnel misfortunes too. The Soviet Union had been the target of German invasion until the second front was opened against her, France was occupied for four years, and Britain was heavily bombarded.

Until the Soviet Association tested her atomic gadget in 1949, America had the imposing business model of atomic power. Through 1953, the United States maintained a significant technological advantage over the Soviet Union in both the military and political spheres. America had world's most grounded air force and a main naval force. The US and USSR both had around 12 million men each in equipped power by the end of the conflict.

- **Soviet Union's Challenge to the United States**

The power base of the Soviet Association was not practically identical to that of the US. The Soviet Union was successful in establishing communist regimes in Poland and a number of other East European nations, which its army liberated from Nazi rule. Be that as it may, it didn't have atomic weapons until testing of first such gadget in 1949. Throughout the war, the USSR had sustained enormous losses. It had also lost a lot of civilians, and a lot of its troops had been killed and wounded. The Soviet populace was diminished by around 20 million individuals. While steel creation in America had expanded by 50 percent during the conflict, Soviet Steel creation had been cut considerably. The situation in industry and agriculture was comparable. For instance, while the US was delivering 7,000,000 vehicles every year, the Soviet creation was restricted to 65,000 vehicles every year.

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union had overtaken the United States as the second-largest power in the world, despite differences in their respective economic situations. In a number of strategic areas, Soviet influence was well-established. As Geir Lundestad says, "the nation expanded its region extensively: the Baltic nations, Eastern Karelia, also, Petsamo, the eastern pieces of pre-war Poland and the northern piece of East

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Prussia, Carpathian, Ukraine, Bessarabia, and northern Bukovina, Southern Sakhalin what's more, the Kurile Islands".

The Soviet Association turned into an atomic power in 1949 despite the fact that until 1953 the US kept up with clear prevalence in regions like conveyance framework. Yet, when the USSR turned into an atomic weapon express her status improved and she was perceived as a Super Power. The communist upheaval in China in 1949 and marking of a long-term settlement between two socialist monsters offered a chance in the arm to the Soviet Association.

The Soviet Union had made a concerted effort to surpass the United States in science and technology right after the Second World War. It subjected everything counting post-war reproduction to finding the Americans in military innovation. When Soviet Association fostered its atomic power, it turned into an opponent of the US and the two came to be perceived as the Super Powers. Both drove a power block each.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union came face-to-face with one another in distinct regions of the world following the Second World War. "They were the two main actors in the international area," says Lundestad. the geographic distance isolating them was gone, yet the political distance would before long be more prominent than ever".

12.5 SUMMARY

The Second World War broke out when Nazi Germany attacked Poland on first September, 1939.Multi day, after the fact, Britain and France pronounced battle on Germany. Prior two curve opponents, Germany and Soviet Association had closed a Peace Settlement. It was criticized as a deal to divide Poland between the two nations. Significant reasons for the Second Universal Conflict were the Arrangement of Versailles which finished WWI, embarrassed Germany and was viewed by Germans as a 'diktat', and uncalled for; disappointment of demilitarization which was believed to be certain assurance of staying away from war; the world financial emergency which energized military and forceful activities in nations like Japan; the formation of the Rome, Berlin, and Tokyo Axis, a coalition of three fascist powers eager to overthrow the existing world order; issue of disappointment of minorities; the appeasement strategy that Britain and France used to win over Nazi and Fascist dictators; lastly German assault on Poland that turned into the prompt reason for the conflict.

Initially, a number of nations joined the war on the side of Britain and her allies; however, the United States remained out of the conflict until Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 forced the United States to join the war as an ally. The Soviet Union was kicked out of the League of Nations after it invaded Poland and Finland. However, disregarding the Peace Agreement, Germany went after Soviet Association in June 1941.

The Soviet Union joined Britain right away. In the meantime, Italy had joined the war in June 1940 by joining Germany and declaring war on France. The Hub experienced their most memorable mishap when Italy was gone after in 1943. Mussolini was excused by the ruler and later Italy gave up genuinely, despite the fact that for at some point Rome was involved by Germans. In order to free Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union fought Germany. Following a subsequent front was opened by UK what's more, USA, Germany lost France as well as had to give up in May 1.945. Japan kept on battling in the Pacific till two nuclear bombs were come around American in August 1945 driving Japan to give up. Hence the Conflict finished with the rout of the three extremist powers; also, triumph of the Partners.

After the war, efforts to make peace proved to be very difficult. The Potsdam Conference, held in 1945, was called by the Allies to work on a peace treaty with Germany. No truce could be finished up with any of the crushed nations right away after the conflict. However, peace agreements with Italy, Romania, Hungary, and Finland were reached after prolonged diplomatic efforts; and later with Japan and Austria. As a result of Germany's occupation for a number of years, no peace treaty could be signed.

The division of Germany into four occupation zones was the war's most significant outcome. Later, three Western Zones united into a single sovereign nation, and in the east, a government supported by the Soviet Union was established. As east European nations were freed by the Soviet armed force, they were given socialist state-run administrations. The cold conflict started between two power alliances into which the world was isolated.

It was fortunate for the United States that no battles were fought on her territory, and her civilian casualties were minimal. It was the main country to create and utilize the nuclear bomb. Soviet Association gained this power five years after the fact. As other enormous Powers had lost a lot of their ability, the US and USSR arose as super Powers and drove the two power alliances.

12.6 EXERCISES

1. Summarize the episode of The Second Great War.
2. How did the Nazi fascism finish in Germany?
3. Find out what took place prior to Japan's unconditional surrender.
4. Summarize the primary results of The Second Great War.
5. Examine the terms of the peace treaty that Japan signed in 1952.

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Block-4

AN OVERVIEW OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY IR-HISTORY-II

Unit-13: Cold War Evolution and Different Phases

Unit-14: Disintegration of USSR

Unit-15: The Emergence of the Third World

Unit-16: End of the Cold War

UNIT-13 COLD-WAR EVOLUTION AND DIFFERENT PHASES

Structure

13.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to understand

- The concept of the cold war.
- The evolution or the origin of the cold war.
- The causes of the cold war.
- The various phases of the cold war.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

The unit will try to focus on the origin or the evolution of the cold war. It will also discuss the various phases of the Cold and its relevance in international politics. The cold war started after the end of World War II. World War –II was about to end in the year 1945 when the USA dropped the atomic bomb on two cities of Japan namely Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This tragic incident or action of the USA was not discussed with the USSR counterpart. This incident forced the USSR to stay separate from the US alliance because both countries were fighting the world war-II from the same side and all the information were shared between both countries. The decision of the USA was a sense of betrayal for the USSR and that incident emerged with the idea of a cold war. The cold war was the ideological war between

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the two superpowers USA and USSR. The USA believed in the capitalist idea whereas USSR strongly supported the socialist idea of the world.

13.3 CONCEPT OF COLD WAR

The idea of the cold war emerged after the end of World War II. The cold war was the ideological war between USA and USSR. The two superpowers were trying to justify their ideology as superior in the international system. The post-World War II scenario, the emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as superpowers, and the ensuing Cold War between them.

i. After World War II: The Second World War left many countries devastated, but it also led to the rise of two major superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, due to their military, economic, and political strength.

ii. Indirect competition and the Cold War: The USA and USSR had differing ideologies and approaches to governance. They engaged in indirect conflicts and proxy wars, seeking to expand their influence and reduce the power of the other. This intense rivalry and geopolitical tension without direct military confrontation came to be known as the Cold War (approx. 1947-1991).

iii. The leadership of Capitalist and Communist Countries: The USA, as the leading capitalist nation, formed alliances with other capitalist countries, creating what was known as the Western bloc or the "First World." On the other hand, the USSR, as a communist nation, led the Eastern Bloc or the "Second World," consisting of other communist countries.

iv. Rivalry: The leadership of the two superpowers over their respective blocs led to significant geopolitical competition and rivalry. Both sides sought to promote their political ideologies and economic systems globally, leading to numerous conflicts and incidents during the Cold War.

v. State of Tension: The Cold War was characterized by a state of constant tension and hostility between the two major superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their respective allies.

vi. Policies to Strengthen and Weaken: During the Cold War, both sides adopted various policies aimed at bolstering their position and influence while simultaneously trying to undermine the other side. These policies were not limited to military strategies but also included economic, political, and ideological measures.

vii. Avoidance of Direct War: The term "Cold" in the Cold War signifies that there was no direct military confrontation between the USA and USSR. Instead, they engaged in indirect conflicts and proxy wars in different parts of the world, using other nations as battlegrounds.

viii. Falling Short of Actual War: Despite the high levels of tension and hostilities, the two superpowers refrained from engaging in a full-scale war with each other. This

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was due to the fear of mutually assured destruction and the potentially catastrophic consequences of a direct military confrontation between two nuclear powers.

The Cold War had a profound impact on global politics, influencing the formation of military alliances (NATO and Warsaw Pact), the space race, the arms race, and various regional conflicts like the Korean War and the Vietnam War. The competition between the USA and USSR extended into various spheres, including technology, culture, and propaganda. It eventually came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, marking a significant shift in the international system.

13.4 THE EVOLUTION OF THE COLD-WAR

The origin of the Cold War. The events leading up to and during the Cold War were complex and multifaceted, involving a combination of historical, ideological, and geopolitical factors. Let's discuss some key points:

1. Relationship between Roosevelt and Stalin: During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in their fight against Nazi Germany. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the USA and Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union, cooperated to defeat the common enemy. The lend-lease program, which provided military aid to the USSR, was indeed an example of this cooperation.

2. Post-WWII Eastern Europe and Communist Ideology: After the defeat of Germany, the Soviet Union sought to establish friendly governments in Eastern European countries, which they considered a buffer zone for their security. This led to the installation of communist governments in countries like Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, which raised concerns in Western countries.

3. Winston Churchill's Fulton Speech: On March 5, 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered a speech in Fulton, Missouri, in which he used the term "Iron Curtain" to describe the division between the communist and non-communist countries in Europe. This speech highlighted the growing tensions between the Eastern Bloc led by the Soviet Union and the Western Bloc led by the United States.

4. Deepening Suspicion and the Birth of the Cold War: The differing ideologies, conflicting geopolitical interests, and mutual suspicion between the Western powers and the Soviet Union contributed to the escalation of tensions. The Soviet Union's consolidation of control in Eastern Europe and the Western response to contain the spread of communism further fueled the antagonism between the two sides.

It's essential to recognize that the Cold War's origins are a subject of ongoing historical debate, and various factors played roles in shaping the events of that time. The complexity of the historical context and the actions of different nations make it challenging to pinpoint

a single cause for the Cold War. It was a result of a long and intricate process that evolved over several years following World War II.

13.5 CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

The Cold War was the fundamental ideological and political differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.

- **First Cause:**

The ideological contrast between the United States and the Soviet Union played a crucial role in shaping the Cold War. The USA was a capitalist democracy, promoting individual freedoms, private ownership, and a market-based economy. In contrast, the Soviet Union was a communist state, advocating for collective ownership, central planning, and a one-party system.

- **The clash between these two opposing political systems**:

capitalism versus communism created deep mistrust and suspicion between the two superpowers. Each side saw the other as a threat to its respective way of life and believed that its system was superior and destined to prevail globally. Both the USA and the Soviet Union sought to expand their influence and increase their sphere of control around the world. This led to intense geopolitical competition as they vied for dominance in regions and countries that were strategically significant.

- **European Dominance and Security Concerns**:

After World War II, the Soviet Union sought to establish a buffer zone of friendly communist governments in Eastern Europe to ensure its security. This move was viewed with concern by the Western countries, including the USA, as they saw it as an attempt by the Soviet Union to dominate and control other European nations. Nuclear Arms Race: The development of nuclear weapons by both the USA and the Soviet Union added another dimension to the Cold War. The fear of nuclear annihilation created a delicate balance of power known as "Mutually Assured Destruction" (MAD), which deterred direct conflict between the superpowers but also intensified the global standoff.

The culmination of these factors, along with specific historical events and incidents, led to the protracted period of tension, rivalry, and competition known as the Cold War. It had far-reaching implications on global politics, security, and diplomacy, shaping the world order for decades until the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

- **Second Cause:**

The arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union was a significant factor that fuelled and intensified the Cold War.

- **Arms Race and Military Buildup**:

After World War II, both the USA and the Soviet Union sought to enhance their military capabilities, leading to a rapid arms race. Each side believed that building up their military strength and nuclear arsenals would provide them with a strategic advantage and deter aggression from the other. The development and deployment of nuclear weapons by both superpowers drastically altered the dynamics of international relations. The possession of these devastating weapons created an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, leading to the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

- **Fear and Security Dilemma**:

The arms race and nuclear proliferation led to a profound sense of insecurity among both superpowers and their allies. Each side feared the potential aggression from the other and saw the build-up of arms as a necessary response to perceived threats. The intense competition in the arms race and the division of the world into two power blocs, the Western Bloc led by the USA and the Eastern Bloc led by the Soviet Union, further deepened the divide between the two sides and their allies. The arms race not only impacted the superpowers but also had implications for other regions of the world. The USA and the Soviet Union engaged in proxy conflicts, supporting opposing sides in various regional wars, thereby exacerbating tensions and conflicts around the globe.

The arms race and the resulting division of the world into power blocs significantly contributed to the prolonged and complex nature of the Cold War. It shaped international relations, influenced military strategies, and had profound implications for global security. The constant threat of nuclear war and the ever-present tensions between the superpowers defined the geopolitical landscape for much of the 20th century.

- **Third Cause**:

These opposing ideologies of capitalism and communism played a pivotal role in shaping the conflict. Here's how ideological differences contributed to the Cold War:

- **Capitalism vs. Communism**:

The United States, as a capitalist nation, promoted a system based on private ownership, free markets, and individual freedoms. The Soviet Union, as a communist state, advocated for collective ownership, central planning, and a one-party system. These starkly different ideologies created inherent tensions and rivalry between the two superpowers. Both the USA and the Soviet Union sought to expand their respective ideologies and influence globally.

They saw themselves as representing two competing and incompatible worldviews, each striving for dominance and recognition of its system.

- **The Domino Theory:**

The US and its Western allies feared the spread of communism and believed in the "domino theory," which posited that if one country fell to communism, neighbouring countries would follow suit like falling dominos. This belief led the US to intervene in various conflicts to prevent the spread of communism. Both sides engaged in extensive propaganda efforts to promote their ideologies and discredit the other. The media, education systems, and cultural exchanges became battlegrounds for the dissemination of ideas and values.

- **Ideological Alliances**:

The ideological divide influenced the formation of alliances. The USA built alliances like NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to counter the spread of communism, while the Soviet Union established the Warsaw Pact with its communist allies. While the ideological differences were central to the Cold War, they were also intertwined with geopolitical and national interests. The competition for spheres of influence often masked underlying power struggles and geopolitical ambitions.

The clash of ideologies between capitalism and communism served as a backdrop to many of the events and conflicts during the Cold War. It fuelled tensions, influenced policy decisions, and shaped the broader narrative of the global struggle between the two superpowers and their respective blocs. The ideological divide remained a significant factor until the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s.

- **Fourth Cause:**

The nuclear program of the United States, particularly the use of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II, indeed had significant implications for the Cold War. Here's how the nuclear factor influenced the course of the Cold War:

- **Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki**:

The US dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 marked the first and only use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The devastation caused by these bombings demonstrated the immense destructive power of nuclear technology. The use of atomic bombs created a profound sense of fear and insecurity among other nations, including the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership saw the atomic bombings as a demonstration of the USA's willingness to use nuclear weapons, and this significantly shaped their perceptions of American intentions. The US monopoly on nuclear weapons did not last long. The Soviet Union successfully developed its atomic bomb in 1949, breaking

the US nuclear monopoly. This development initiated a period of nuclear arms race between the two superpowers.

- **The Doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD):**

The possession of nuclear weapons by both the USA and the Soviet Union led to the emergence of the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). This concept meant that if either side initiated a nuclear attack, the other would retaliate with overwhelming force, resulting in catastrophic consequences for both sides. Arms Race and Strategic Competition: The nuclear arms race between the USA and the Soviet Union became a central feature of the Cold War. Both sides continually developed and deployed nuclear weapons, intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and other strategic weapons, increasing tensions and heightening the risk of accidental or intentional nuclear conflict.

- **Deterrence and Stability**:

While the existence of nuclear weapons raised the stakes and dangers of the Cold War, it also contributed to a certain level of stability due to the doctrine of MAD. The fear of mutually assured destruction acted as a deterrent against direct military confrontation between the superpowers.

The development and use of nuclear weapons by the United States during World War II, followed by the Soviet Union's successful acquisition of its nuclear capabilities, significantly influenced the dynamics of the Cold War. The nuclear factor brought about a sense of urgency and caution in the superpowers' dealings and played a vital role in shaping the strategies and actions taken during the Cold War era.

13.6 PHASES OF COLD-WAR

The cold war was divided into various phases. Because each superpower was engaged in the cold war for a long time and developed various nuclear weapons during this period. However, the development of nuclear weapons was restricted by various treaties or agreements under the supervision of the United Nations.

- **1st Phase -1946-1949**

After the end of World War II, the Soviet Union exerted significant influence over Eastern European countries, often referred to as the Eastern Bloc. Here's a more detailed explanation of those events:

1. The Yalta Conference: In February 1945, towards the end of World War II, the leaders of the Allied powers - the United States (represented by President Franklin D. Roosevelt), the Soviet Union (represented by Premier Joseph Stalin), and the United Kingdom (represented by Prime Minister Winston Churchill) - met at the Yalta Conference to discuss the post-war

reorganization of Europe. At the Yalta Conference, the Allied leaders agreed on the division of Europe into spheres of influence. The Western Allies recognized the Soviet Union's "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe, acknowledging that the Red Army had occupied these territories during the war.

Soviet Occupation and Satellite States: As World War II came to an end, the Soviet Red Army occupied Eastern European countries, including Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. The Soviet Union used its military presence to establish communist governments in these countries, effectively turning them into satellite states or countries under Soviet influence and control. In the years following the end of the war, the Soviet Union and its leaders, especially Joseph Stalin, worked to consolidate the newly established communist regimes in these Eastern European countries. They gradually dismantled democratic institutions and suppressed opposition to ensure loyalty to Moscow. Winston Churchill famously referred to the division between the communist East and the non-communist West as the "Iron Curtain" in his speech in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946. This term symbolized the ideological and physical separation of Europe into two opposing blocs.

The Cold War: The establishment of communist satellite states in Eastern Europe and the growing tensions between the Western powers and the Soviet Union contributed to the start of the Cold War, a period of geopolitical rivalry and ideological confrontation that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The actions taken by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe after World War II significantly shaped the post-war political landscape and played a pivotal role in the division of Europe during the Cold War. These events had far-reaching consequences for the global balance of power and international relations during the second half of the 20th century.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were essential components of the United States strategy to counter the spread of communism in post-World War II Europe. Truman Doctrine (Containment Policy): On March 12, 1947, President Harry S. Truman delivered a speech before a joint session of Congress, outlining what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. The main objective of this policy was to contain the expansion of communism and prevent its spread to other countries. Truman pledged political, military, and economic support to any nation facing the threat of communism. The doctrine marked a shift in U.S. foreign policy, signalling the nation's commitment to confront the spread of communism worldwide. Aid to Greece and Turkey, first practical application of the Truman Doctrine was in Greece and Turkey. The United States provided substantial financial and military aid to these countries to help them resist communist influence and insurgency. This assistance was instrumental in stabilizing these nations and preventing the establishment of communist regimes.

Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program): On June 5, 1947, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced the Marshall Plan. This plan was designed to provide economic aid and assistance to help rebuild war-torn Europe after World War II. The primary goal was to support the economic recovery of European countries, which would not only improve their living conditions but also serve to counter communist influence. The Marshall Plan offered significant financial assistance to European countries, providing them with the resources needed to reconstruct their economies, infrastructure, and industries. Throughout the plan, the United States provided around $12 billion (equivalent to roughly $130 billion today) to aid in Europe's reconstruction.

Both the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were critical elements of the broader U.S. foreign policy of containment during the early years of the Cold War. These policies helped strengthen Western Europe, fostered economic interdependence, and played a significant role in stabilizing the region against the backdrop of growing tensions between the Western bloc and the Soviet Union's Eastern bloc.

After gaining independence in August 1947, Pakistan and India became important countries in the context of the emerging Cold War. Their different approaches towards the ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union influenced their relationships with the superpowers. Pakistan, with its proximity to the Soviet Union and its strategic location in South Asia, drew the attention of both the US and the Soviet Union. Initially, Pakistan aligned itself with the United States and joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), both of which were anti-communist military alliances supported by the USA. Pakistan's support for democracy and its anti-communist stance aligned with the broader objectives of the US during the Cold War.

India, on the other hand, adopted a policy of non-alignment and neutrality in the Cold War. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru spearheaded India's non-alignment movement, seeking to maintain equidistance from both superpowers and not aligning itself with any military bloc. India was committed to pursuing an independent foreign policy and promoting peace and cooperation among nations.

The differing stances of India and Pakistan towards the superpowers had implications for US-Soviet relations in the region. Pakistan's alignment with the US and its role as a member of anti-communist alliances made it an important ally for the US in the region. At the same time, India's policy of non-alignment, while not directly favouring the US, did not align with the Soviet Union either. India's policy of non-alignment and its efforts to foster good relations with both superpowers allowed it to play a role as a mediator in international conflicts. The Sino-Indian War of 1962 and the Indo-Pakistani wars in 1965 and 1971 were some instances where India's neutral position allowed it to engage in diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts. The differing approaches of India and Pakistan towards the superpowers

also influenced their bilateral relations. During the Cold War, India and Pakistan were involved in several conflicts and wars, which were sometimes influenced by the broader geopolitical dynamics of the Cold War.

- **2nd Phase 1949-1953**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established on April 4, 1949, as a military alliance between the United States, Canada, and several European countries. Its primary purpose was to counter the influence of communism, particularly the expansion of the Soviet Union, and to provide collective defence to its member states.

NATO was created in the aftermath of World War II, during the early years of the Cold War. The original signatories of the NATO treaty were the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. Since then, the alliance has expanded, and it currently includes 30 member countries. The cornerstone of NATO is Article 5 of the NATO treaty, which stipulates that an armed attack against one or more member states will be considered an attack against all member states. In such a scenario, NATO members are obliged to come to the aid of the attacked member through collective defence measures, including military assistance if necessary.

The primary motivation behind the formation of NATO was to contain the spread of communism and to deter further Soviet expansion in Europe. By establishing a collective defence alliance, the Western powers sought to demonstrate their commitment to defend each other against any potential aggression from the Eastern bloc led by the Soviet Union. NATO was not only a military alliance but also a symbol of transatlantic unity and cooperation between North America and Europe. It served as a commitment by the United States to the defence of its European allies and provided a framework for joint military planning and coordination. NATO played a crucial role in shaping the geopolitical landscape during the Cold War and beyond. It provided a framework for Western countries to work together in the face of common security challenges and demonstrated the commitment of its members to safeguarding peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic region.

The Korean War, which lasted from 1950 to 1953, was a significant conflict that resulted in the division of Korea into North and South Korea. Here's a more detailed overview of the key events. On June 25, 1950, North Korea, under the leadership of Kim Il-sung and with the support of China and the Soviet Union, launched a surprise invasion of South Korea. The invasion aimed to unify the Korean peninsula under communist rule.

In response to the aggression, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution calling for a collective response to repel the North Korean forces. Led by the United States, a UN coalition consisting of troops from various countries, including the UK, Canada, Australia, and others, intervened to support South Korea. The United States played a crucial

role in supporting South Korea. Under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, American forces were actively engaged in the war. The US provided significant military and economic aid to South Korea throughout the conflict.

As the UN forces, led by the US, advanced towards the Yalu River (bordering China), China intervened in the war to support North Korea. The entry of Chinese troops into the conflict escalated the war further and added complexity to the conflict. The Korean War reached a stalemate with neither side able to achieve decisive victory. In July 1953, an armistice agreement was signed, leading to the cessation of hostilities. However, no formal peace treaty was ever signed, leaving the two Koreas technically still at war.

As a result of the Korean War, the Korean peninsula was divided into two separate states: North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) in the north, under communist rule, and South Korea (Republic of Korea) in the south, which remained a democratic state allied with the West, particularly the United States. The Korean War had a lasting impact on the Korean people and the broader geopolitical landscape of the region. The division of Korea remains a significant unresolved issue to this day, and tensions between North and South Korea persist. The war also solidified the Cold War divide in Asia, with North Korea becoming closely aligned with China and the Soviet Union, while South Korea remained a staunch ally of the United States.

- **3rd Phase 1953-1957**

The emergence of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) as well as the Soviet Union's response with the creation of the Warsaw Pact. These developments were part of the broader geopolitical competition and the escalating arms race during the Cold War. The South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was established on September 8, 1954, in response to the perceived threat of communism in Southeast Asia. The signatories of SEATO included the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan, among others. SEATO aimed to provide collective security and mutual defence against communist aggression in the region.

In response to the establishment of NATO and SEATO, the Soviet Union formed the Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955. The Warsaw Pact was a collective defence treaty signed by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies, including East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. It aimed to counterbalance NATO's presence in Europe and strengthen the Eastern Bloc's military coordination. These treaty organizations and military buildups reflected the intensifying geopolitical tensions between the Western bloc, led by the United States, and the Eastern bloc, led by the Soviet Union. The creation of these alliances and military deployments further deepened the divisions and rivalries of the Cold War, contributing to the heightened state of global tension during that era.

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- **4th Phase 1957-1962**

The construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 was a significant event during the Cold War and indeed became a powerful symbol of the ideological and physical division between Eastern and Western Germany. After World War II, Germany was divided into four occupation zones, with the Soviet Union controlling the eastern part and the United States, United Kingdom, and France jointly occupying the western part. The city of Berlin, located deep within the Soviet-controlled zone, was also divided into four sectors, with each occupying power controlling one sector.

As the Cold War intensified, the ideological differences and geopolitical tensions between the Western powers (the USA, UK, and France) and the Soviet Union deepened. This led to a massive wave of emigration from East Germany to West Germany, particularly through Berlin. The flow of emigration prevents its citizens from leaving East Germany, the Soviet Union and the East German government, under the leadership of Walter Ulbricht, constructed the Berlin Wall. On August 13, 1961, the wall was built to physically divide East Berlin (controlled by East Germany) from West Berlin (controlled by the Western powers).

The Cuban Missile Crisis was one of the most dangerous and tense moments during the Cold War. In the early 1960s, the United States deployed nuclear-armed Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Italy, which were within striking distance of the Soviet Union. This deployment was part of the US strategy to counter potential Soviet aggression in Europe. In response to the US missile deployment near its borders, the Soviet Union, led by Premier Nikita Khrushchev, sought to establish a nuclear missile presence closer to the United States. Soviet leaders saw an opportunity to place intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) in Cuba, thereby increasing the USSR's capability to deter the US from engaging in military action against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, with the support of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, secretly began constructing missile launch facilities in Cuba in the summer of 1962. These missile sites were capable of deploying medium-range and intermediate-range ballistic missiles, bringing major US cities within their range. In October 1962, during a routine reconnaissance flight, a U-2 spy plane captured aerial photographs that revealed the construction of missile sites in Cuba. The photographic evidence was brought to the attention of US President John F. Kennedy, who was briefed on the situation.

The discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba heightened tensions between the US and the Soviet Union to a dangerous level. The situation brought the world to the brink of nuclear war, and both superpowers engaged in intense diplomatic negotiations to defuse the crisis. The crisis also led to measures to improve communication channels between the US and the Soviet Union, such as the establishment of the "hotline" to facilitate direct communication between the two leaders.

- **5th Phase 1962-1969**

The Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), also known as the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), was a significant international agreement aimed at limiting nuclear weapons testing. During the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union conducted numerous nuclear weapons tests, which had severe environmental and health consequences. The detonation of nuclear bombs released harmful radioactive particles into the atmosphere and posed a serious threat to human health and the environment.

The growing concerns about the environmental and humanitarian impact of nuclear testing, negotiations for the treaty began in 1962. The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom signed the PTBT in Moscow on August 5, 1963. The PTBT banned all nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater. It allowed testing to continue only underground, where the release of radioactive particles was limited and contained. The primary aim of the treaty was to curb the spread of radioactive fallout from nuclear tests, which was a significant health hazard for people around the world. The PTBT received widespread international recognition, and many countries signed and ratified the treaty in the following year

The PTBT was an important precursor to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which aimed to ban all nuclear weapons testing, including underground tests. The CTBT was opened for signatures in 1996 and has been signed by many countries, but its entry into force is still pending as not all nuclear-capable nations have ratified it.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was indeed concluded in 1968, and it remains a crucial international treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and promoting nuclear disarmament and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The NPT was opened for signature on July 1, 1968, and entered into force on March 5, 1970. The treaty was a response to growing concerns about the proliferation of nuclear weapons and technology among nations during the Cold War.

- **The NPT has three main pillars or objectives:**
  i. Non-Proliferation: It aims to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and technology to countries that do not possess nuclear weapons.
  ii. Disarmament: It calls for nuclear-armed states to work towards complete nuclear disarmament.
  iii. Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy: It promotes international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy for economic and social development, subject to safeguards to prevent diversion to military purposes.

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- **6ᵗʰ Phase 1979-1978**

The period marked by the easing of hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union is known as Détente. During this phase, efforts were made to reduce tensions and promote cooperation between the two superpowers. Richard Nixon's presidency played a significant role in pursuing a friendly policy towards the USSR and China,

Détente was a period of reduced hostilities and improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, starting in the late 1960s and continuing into the 1970s. The term "détente" is of French origin and translates to "relaxation" or "easing." The President of the United States in 1969, Richard Nixon pursued a policy of Détente as a means to ease Cold War tensions. He believed that engaging in dialogue and diplomatic negotiations with the Soviet Union and China could lead to a more stable and peaceful international environment.

In May 1972, Richard Nixon visited the Soviet Union, where he held talks with Soviet leaders, including General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. During the summit, Nixon and Brezhnev signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I). The treaty aimed to limit the number of strategic nuclear weapons and ballistic missile launchers held by each country. It was the first major arms control agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. The signing of SALT I was a landmark achievement in nuclear arms control and remains an important part of Cold War history.

Further, US President Carter engaged in negotiations with the Soviet Union to create the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) treaty. SALT II aimed to impose additional limitations on the number of strategic nuclear weapons and delivery systems for both superpowers. Despite Carter's earnest efforts, the SALT-II treaty faced significant challenges in the United States. The treaty faced opposition in Congress, which ultimately refused to pass it. One of the primary reasons cited for the rejection was the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan further heightened tensions during the Cold War. It led to increased mistrust and suspicion between the US and the USSR, and many policymakers in the US viewed the invasion as evidence of Soviet expansionism and aggression. The invasion of Afghanistan cast a shadow over the SALT-II negotiations and made it difficult for the treaty to gain support in the US. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty, and it was never implemented.

- **7ᵗʰ Phase-1979-1991**

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 marked a turning point in the Détente era and had significant consequences for the Soviet Union, eventually contributing to its disintegration. The conflict in Afghanistan also played a crucial role in shaping the dynamics

of the Cold War and the involvement of various nations, including the United States and Pakistan.

In December 1979, the Soviet Union launched a full-scale military invasion of Afghanistan to support the communist government in Kabul. The invasion aimed to prop up the pro-Soviet regime and stabilize the country, which was facing internal unrest and resistance from anti-communist groups. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to the collapse of the Détente period, as it escalated tensions between the US and the Soviet Union. The United States condemned the invasion and viewed it as a clear violation of international norms and an expansionist move by the USSR.

The United States, along with other Western and Islamic countries, decided to support the Afghan resistance, known as the Mujahideen. Pakistan, under the leadership of President Zia-ul-Haq, became a crucial conduit for US support to the Mujahideen fighters. The US initiated "Operation Cyclone" to provide financial, military, and logistical assistance to the Afghan Mujahideen. The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) worked closely with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to funnel arms, ammunition, and funds to the resistance fighters.

The conflict in Afghanistan turned into a proxy war between the US and the Soviet Union. The US and its allies supported the anti-Soviet Mujahideen, while the Soviet Union and its Afghan allies fought to maintain control over the country. The Afghan conflict proved to be a costly and protracted war for the Soviet Union. After nearly a decade of fighting, the Soviet forces faced significant resistance from the Mujahideen and growing international pressure. In 1989, the Soviet Union eventually withdrew its troops from Afghanistan.

13.7 SUMMARY

The Cold War indeed lasted from around 1949 to 1991, with tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union shaping the global geopolitical landscape during this period. Here's a more detailed breakdown of the phases and the end of the Cold War. The Cold War began in the late 1940s and intensified during the early 1950s. This phase was characterized by heightened ideological and military rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union. Key events included the formation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the Korean War, and the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The Détente era, which emerged in the late 1960s, witnessed a partial easing of tensions between the superpowers. Efforts were made to engage in diplomatic dialogue and arms control negotiations. Key milestones included the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963) and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) agreement (1972). The period from 1979 to 1987 saw a resurgence of tensions, particularly with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979). This led to a breakdown in Détente and a renewed arms race between the US and the USSR.

The late 1980s saw significant changes in Eastern Europe, with pro-democracy movements and a series of revolutions leading to the fall of communist governments. The Berlin Wall was also brought down in 1989, symbolizing the end of the division in Europe. The Soviet Union's economy struggled, and its military interventions in Eastern Europe faced challenges. The disintegration of the Soviet Union began in 1991, with several of its constituent republics declaring independence. The Soviet Union officially dissolved on December 26, 1991, and this event marked the end of the Cold War era. The end of the Cold War can be seen as a gradual process, with multiple factors contributing to its conclusion. The economic challenges faced by the Soviet Union, coupled with the reforms introduced by Gorbachev, played a significant role in its eventual disintegration. The termination of the Cold War marked a significant shift in global politics and the emergence of a new world order.

13.8 EXERCISES

1. What is the meaning of the Cold War?
2. Who were the main states in the cold war?
3. What is the socialist ideology of the cold war?
4. What is NPT? How does the NPT impact during the cold war?
5. What is CTBT? When did it sign?
6. Discuss the phases of the Cold War
7. Discuss the origin of the cold war.

13.9 REFERENCES

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UNIT-14 DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR

Structure

14.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to understand:

- The history of the creation of the USSR.
- The socialist bloc and their role in the World War-II
- The various major events that led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
- The different factors of disintegration.
- The consequences of disintegration in International Politics.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

The disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991 was a significant event in world history and had far-reaching consequences. The collapse of the USSR can be attributed to a combination of internal and external factors.

The Soviet economy faced numerous challenges, including inefficiency, central planning, and a lack of innovation. The heavy emphasis on heavy industry and military spending left little room for consumer goods production, leading to shortages and discontent among the populace. The Soviet political system became increasingly authoritarian, with a lack of political pluralism and meaningful participation. The rigid one-party rule under the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) stifled dissent and prevented necessary political reforms. The USSR was a multi-ethnic state with various republics, each with its distinct culture, language, and identity. As the grip of Soviet control loosened, nationalist sentiments grew in many regions, leading to demands for greater autonomy and even independence. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to reform the Soviet system through policies like perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness). However, these reforms inadvertently accelerated the disintegration process by unleashing forces that the central government could not control. The USSR faced severe economic challenges in the late 1980s, including mounting debt, falling oil prices, and widespread shortages. The economic crisis further eroded confidence in the system and fuelled demands for change. The fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, particularly in countries like Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, weakened the Soviet sphere of influence and dealt a blow to the USSR's image as an invincible superpower.

14.3 HISTORY OF THE USSR

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had a total of 15 member republics before its disintegration in 1991. Here is the list of the republics:

1. Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (Russia)

2. Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukraine)

3. Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (Belarus)

4. Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (Uzbekistan)

5. Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (Kazakhstan)

6. Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (Georgia)

7. Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (Azerbaijan)

8. Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (Lithuania)

9. Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (Moldova)

10. Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (Latvia)

11. Kyrgyz Soviet Socialist Republic (Kyrgyzstan)

12. Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (Tajikistan)

13. Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Armenia)

14. Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Turkmenistan)

15. Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (Estonia)

Each of these republics, along with Russia, was a constituent part of the Soviet Union and had varying degrees of autonomy within the federal system.

14.4 THE SOCIALIST BLOC OR SECOND WORLD WAR

The member republics of the USSR that were listed earlier were indeed Soviet socialist republics, which were part of the socialist bloc led by the USSR. These countries were under communist or socialist rule and were aligned with the principles of the USSR. They formed a part of the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War.

During World War II, many of these countries were occupied by Nazi Germany and subjected to Fascist rule. After the war, as the USSR advanced and liberated these territories, they came under Soviet control, leading to the establishment of pro-Soviet governments in these countries.

The Warsaw Pact was indeed a military alliance formed in 1955, led by the USSR, as a response to the creation of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) by Western capitalist countries. The Warsaw Pact included several Eastern Bloc countries, and it served as a collective defence mechanism for the socialist states, with the primary aim of countering the influence of NATO. To reiterate, the USSR played a central and dominant role in the socialist bloc during the Cold War, both politically and militarily, and the member republics listed earlier were the countries that comprised the Soviet Union.

14.5 MAJOR EVENTS OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR

i. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was a crisis in the Socialist bloc, particularly in many Eastern European countries, which led to widespread protests against their

governments and the influence of the USSR. Several factors contributed to this crisis, and the lack of timely intervention from the USSR ultimately led to the collapse of communist governments in these countries.

ii.   The fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, was a pivotal event that marked the beginning of a series of events that led to significant changes in Germany and, eventually, the disintegration of the USSR. After World War II, Germany was divided into two separate countries: West Germany (officially known as the Federal Republic of Germany) and East Germany (officially known as the German Democratic Republic). West Germany was a democratic and capitalist state, while East Germany was a socialist state under the influence of the USSR. The Berlin Wall, which was erected in 1961, physically divided East and West Berlin, symbolizing the broader division between the capitalist Western bloc, led by the United States, and the socialist Eastern bloc, led by the USSR. The wall was not just a physical barrier but also represented the ideological and political divide of the Cold War. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was a momentous event. It was a result of mounting pressure from citizens in East Germany who were seeking greater freedoms, democracy, and the ability to travel to the West. Mass protests and civil unrest in East Germany, along with changing policies in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev, contributed to the weakening of the communist government in East Germany.

iii.   The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and later as the President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev introduced a series of economic and political reforms to address the deep-rooted problems within the USSR. These reforms, known as "perestroika" (restructuring) and "glasnost" (openness), were intended to modernize and revive the Soviet economy and increase political openness. Perestroika involved significant changes to the centralized planning system. It aimed to decentralize decision-making, promote limited market mechanisms, encourage private entrepreneurship, and give enterprises more autonomy. The goal was to make the Soviet economy more efficient and responsive to consumer demands. Glasnost, on the other hand, sought to promote transparency and openness in government affairs, allow more freedom of speech and press, and address corruption and inefficiencies within the system. This policy aimed to increase public participation and accountability in governance.

iv.   Boris Yeltsin, the elected President of the Russian Republic, played a pivotal role in opposing the coup and advocating for democratization and rapid economic reforms. He emerged as a prominent leader of the opposition to the hardline Communist elite who sought to thwart Gorbachev's reform agenda. During the attempted coup in August 1991, Boris Yeltsin took a defiant stand against the plotters and became a symbol of resistance to the hardline elements attempting to reverse the course of

reforms. Yeltsin addressed the crowds and rallied support against the coup, urging people to defend democratic principles and the sovereignty of the Russian Republic. Yeltsin's vision of democratization involved allowing more political pluralism, and individual freedoms, and dismantling the authoritarian structures of the Soviet system. He was committed to fostering a market economy and pursuing rapid economic reforms to transition away from the centrally planned economy, which he saw as a hindrance to progress and growth. The pluralist movement, with Yeltsin as one of its key leaders, sought to break the stranglehold of the Communist Party on political power and pave the way for a more open and competitive political landscape. Yeltsin's electoral victory as the President of the Russian Republic in June 1991 demonstrated widespread support for his vision of change.

v.   As the USSR began to unravel, some of the larger and more influential republics, such as Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, emerged as key players in the process and played crucial roles in declaring the dissolution of the Soviet Union. With the weakening of the central Soviet government and the loosening grip of the Communist Party, various republics within the USSR started asserting their demands for greater autonomy and even independence. These independence movements gained momentum and support from their respective populations. Several republics, including Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, asserted their sovereignty and declared themselves independent states, separate from the Soviet Union. They claimed the right to self-determination and the ability to determine their own political, economic, and social systems.

14.6 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE USSR

Several factors are responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The following factors or causes are important to dissolve of USSR.

14.6.1 Economic Weakness

The weakness of the Soviet economy was indeed a major cause of dissatisfaction among the people in the USSR. Several factors contributed to the economic problems such as:

Huge Military Spending: The Soviet Union maintained a massive military-industrial complex, allocating substantial resources to defence and military-related activities. The arms race with the United States and the cost of maintaining a large standing military put immense strain on the Soviet economy. This heavy focus on military spending came at the expense of investments in consumer goods production and civilian infrastructure, leading to shortages and a lower standard of living for the general population.

Maintenance of Satellite States in Eastern Europe: The USSR exerted significant influence over the Eastern European countries known as the Eastern Bloc. Maintaining these

satellite states was politically and economically costly for the Soviet Union. The Soviet government provided military and economic aid to these countries, and they often operated as economic satellites, serving Soviet interests rather than their development. This further strained the Soviet economy and diverted resources away from domestic needs.

Maintenance of the Central Asian Republics: The Central Asian Soviet republics, such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and others, were resource-rich regions within the USSR. However, the centralized Soviet economic planning often prioritized the extraction of resources for the benefit of the Soviet Union as a whole, rather than promoting local development and investment in these regions. This led to economic disparities and discontent among the populations of these republics.

Centralized Economic Planning: The Soviet economy operated on a centralized planned system, where the government determined production targets, resource allocation, and prices. This top-down approach often resulted in inefficiencies, lack of innovation, and shortages of consumer goods, as resources were not allocated optimally and consumer demand was not adequately considered.

14.6.2 Political Un-accountability

The long-standing single-party rule of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union led to an increasingly authoritarian regime characterized by widespread corruption, nepotism, and lack of transparency. Gorbachev's decision to introduce political reforms, including allowing multi-party elections and creating the presidency for the Soviet Union, initiated a slow process of democratization that ultimately contributed to the destabilization of Communist control and played a significant role in the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party's monopoly on power had led to a lack of political pluralism and genuine democratic representation. The absence of competitive elections and the concentration of power in the hands of a few party elites resulted in a disconnect between the government and the people, leading to widespread disillusionment and dissatisfaction among the population.

Gorbachev recognized the need for reforms to address the deep-rooted problems within the Soviet system. He aimed to tackle the issues of corruption, inefficiency, and lack of public accountability that had plagued the government for decades. His policies of glasnost (openness) and democratization sought to increase transparency, allow more political freedom, and create space for public participation in governance. By allowing multi-party elections, Gorbachev sought to introduce a degree of political competition and broaden political representation. He also introduced the concept of a presidency for the Soviet Union, creating a new position with limited executive powers. These reforms were intended to decentralize power and reduce the absolute authority of the Communist Party.

However, the introduction of democratization and political pluralism also brought unintended consequences. As the political landscape opened up, various opposition movements and demands for greater autonomy gained momentum. The reformist measures initiated by Gorbachev emboldened independence movements in the Soviet republics, and they began to assert their right to self-determination and sovereignty.

The reform process and the increasing calls for independence within the republics created a dynamic of centrifugal forces that challenged the unity of the Soviet Union. The disintegration of the USSR was not a single event but a culmination of a series of developments, and the process of democratization and political reforms initiated by Gorbachev played a significant role.

14.6.3 Gorbachev's Reform

As Gorbachev's reforms, particularly the policies of glasnost (openness) and democratization, allowed people in the Soviet Union to enjoy more freedom of speech, access to information, and political participation, it fueled a growing desire for further reforms and changes. The initial demand for greater openness and political liberties quickly evolved into a broader demand for comprehensive societal and economic transformation. The newfound freedom and access to information exposed people in the Soviet Union to the stark contrast between their living standards and those in the West. As they became aware of the higher levels of prosperity and consumer goods available in Western countries, the desire to catch up and improve their standard of living intensified.

The growing demand for change and reform became a powerful force that was difficult for the Soviet government to control or suppress. People increasingly voiced their frustrations with the inadequacies of the Soviet economic system, the lack of consumer goods, and the inefficiencies in the centrally planned economy. They called for a transition to a market-oriented economy that would allow for greater economic opportunities and prosperity. Furthermore, the desire for political change also extended to demands for more autonomy and independence within the Soviet Union. The nationalities and ethnic groups in various Soviet republics sought greater self-determination, leading to calls for sovereignty and independence.

14.6.4 Rise of Nationalism

The rise of nationalism and the desire for greater national identity and sovereignty among various republics played a significant role in the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The varying levels of nationalism and economic disparities among the republics were indeed important factors in the disintegration process.

Nationalism played a key role in driving independence movements and demands for sovereignty among the Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), Ukraine, Georgia,

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and other republics. These regions had distinct historical, cultural, and linguistic identities that were suppressed under the Soviet system. As the Soviet government's control weakened, nationalist sentiments grew stronger, leading to demands for greater autonomy and independence.

The Baltic republics, for instance, had been forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union during World War II and had their independence annexed by the USSR. The restoration of their independence became a central focus of their nationalist movements, particularly as they saw the changes taking place in the Eastern European countries and the growing global support for their independence aspirations. Similarly, Ukraine and Georgia, with their rich histories and distinct cultural identities, sought to assert their sovereignty and break away from Soviet control. The economic disparities and political suppression they experienced under the Soviet system further fueled their desire for independence.

At the same time, there were significant economic disparities among the republics of the Soviet Union. The more prosperous regions, such as Russia and the Baltic republics, were industrialized and had higher living standards compared to the less developed Central Asian republics. As the central control of the Soviet government weakened and the demands for greater autonomy grew, there were concerns among the more prosperous republics about the economic burden of supporting the less developed regions.

The rising nationalism among the more prosperous areas in the USSR, combined with economic disparities and the perception of uneven economic contributions, created tensions within the union. Ordinary people in the prosperous republics were reluctant to shoulder the financial burden of uplifting the less developed regions.

These factors contributed to a complex web of political, economic, and social forces that ultimately led to the disintegration of the USSR. The national movements in various republics, along with the economic concerns, weakened the central government's ability to maintain control and unity, ultimately resulting in the emergence of independent states and the end of the Soviet Union as a political entity.

14.7 CONSEQUENCES OF DISINTEGRATION

The end of the Cold War, which was a prolonged period of geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, brought about significant shifts in the global landscape.

1. End of Arms Race and Ideological Confrontations: The end of the Cold War marked the conclusion of the intense arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two superpowers significantly reduced their nuclear arsenals and shifted away from the confrontational policies of the past. With the dissolution of the USSR, the ideological competition between communism and capitalism also lost its intensity.

2. Change in Power Equations: The end of the Cold War resulted in a shift in global power dynamics. The United States emerged as the sole superpower, leading to unipolar world order. The capitalist ideology and market-oriented economic systems gained prominence as the dominant model of development.

3. International Financial Institutions: Following the Cold War, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank played a prominent role in shaping global economic policies. These institutions provided financial assistance and policy advice to countries, promoting market-oriented economic reforms and opening up economies to the global market.

4. Emergence of New Countries and Alliances: The dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of newly independent countries in the post-Soviet space. Nations like Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) became sovereign states. Many of these countries sought to establish new alliances and partnerships on the global stage.

5. Baltic Countries Aligned with NATO: The Baltic countries, after gaining independence, sought security assurances by aligning with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Joining NATO provided them with a collective defence mechanism and protection against potential security threats.

6. Shift in Global Security Paradigm: With the end of the Cold War, the global security paradigm underwent significant changes. Traditional security concerns were supplemented by new challenges, including non-state actors, terrorism, and transnational issues like climate change and pandemics.

7. Expansion of Democratic Values: The end of the Cold War also saw the spread of democratic values and governance systems. Many former Eastern Bloc countries and Soviet republics transitioned from authoritarian regimes to democratic systems.

8. Economic Integration and Globalization: The post-Cold War era witnessed increased economic integration and globalization. Countries around the world sought to enhance economic cooperation and trade, leading to the development of global supply chains and the growth of international commerce.

Overall, the end of the Cold War had profound and far-reaching consequences on the global stage, reshaping international politics, economics, and security. The post-Cold War era brought both opportunities and challenges, ushering in a new phase in world history.

14.8 SUMMARY

The disintegration of the USSR indeed marked a significant shift in the balance of power in international politics, leading to a phase of the USA's dominance in world affairs. The collapse of the Soviet Union left the United States as the sole superpower in the post-Cold War world, leading to a unipolar moment in international relations. During this period of unipolarity, the United States wielded substantial influence over global politics, economics, and security matters. The U.S. played a key role in shaping international policies, resolving conflicts, and promoting its vision of liberal democracy and market-oriented economic systems.

In the post-Cold War world, countries like India maintained good relations with Russia, the successor state of the Soviet Union. India's relations with Russia, often referred to as a "strategic partnership," were built on historical ties and shared interests. Despite the geopolitical changes after the USSR's disintegration, India sought to maintain and strengthen its relationship with Russia. India's emphasis on a multipolar world order was driven by several factors. First, India historically pursued a policy of non-alignment during the Cold War, seeking to avoid getting entangled in the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. This policy of non-alignment continued to influence India's approach to international relations in the post-Cold War era.

Second, India's commitment to a multipolar world order was rooted in the belief that a diverse and balanced distribution of power among major global players would be conducive to international stability and peace. India sought to avoid a situation where a single power dominated world affairs and instead advocated for a world where multiple nations had a say in shaping global policies. Additionally, India's engagement with Russia was driven by economic and defence ties. Russia remained an important partner for India in areas such as defence procurement, nuclear energy, and space cooperation.

14.9 EXERCISES

1. What was the importance of the USSR during the cold war?
2. What was the role of the socialist bloc in the cold war?
3. What were the major events of the disintegration of the USSR?
4. What are the major causes of the disintegration of the USSR?

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UNIT-15 THE EMERGENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD

Structure

15.1 Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Emergence of the Third World

15.4 Independence of Asia and Africa from 1945-1960

15.5 Non-Alignment Nations

15.6 Relevance of the Third World Countries

15.7 Summary

15.8 Exercise

15.9 Reference

15.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to understand:

- The concept of third world countries.
- The emergence of the third world.
- The Importance of Non-Alignment Movement
- The relevance of the third world countries.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

The term "Third World" originated in 1952 when French demographer Alfred Sauvy used it in an article titled "Three Worlds, One Planet." Sauvy argued that the concept of the Third World was overlooked due to the dominant focus on the confrontation between the two superpowers during the Cold War, which should have been credited with the title of the "First World" based on historical facts.

The term was deliberately coined by French intellectuals as a conscious reference to the legally underprivileged "French Third Estate" during the French Revolution of 1789. This reference reflected the exclusion and disregard that the developing countries experienced concerning economic privileges by the developed countries (the "superpowers"). The term

"Third World" was used synonymously with other phrases such as "underdeveloped world," "developing countries," "less developed countries," "former colonies," "Afro-Asian and Latin American countries," and "the South" (referring to the North-South division).

Mark T. Berger suggests that the beginning of Third Worldism can be traced back to the complex context of colonialism and anti-colonial nationalism in the early 20th century. The overall consolidation of Third Worldism, according to Berger, occurred during the post-1945 period, which saw the rise of national liberation movements in various countries. Overall, the term "Third World" originally aimed to highlight the economic disparities and the distinct relations between developing countries and the developed world. Over time, the term has evolved and been used to address various social, political, and economic issues related to the developing world. (Dwivedi, 2015).

15.3 EMERGENCE OF THE THIRD WORLD

The term "Third World" is commonly used to refer to economically underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America. These countries share common characteristics such as poverty, high birth rates, and economic dependence on more advanced countries.

The aftermath of World War II indeed played a significant role in the decolonization process in various Asian colonies. Japan's expansion during the war resulted in the removal of European powers from many Asian territories, leading to a power vacuum. After Japan's surrender in August 1945, nationalist movements in these territories demanded independence, and they were no longer willing to accept a return to colonial rule. The post-World War II era saw the emergence of newly independent nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. During this period, the United States and the Soviet Union, as the two superpowers of the time, sought to gain influence over these new nations and compete for geopolitical advantage. It's important to note that while the term "Third World" was originally used to describe countries unaligned with the two major power blocs during the Cold War, it later evolved to refer to developing countries facing economic challenges and striving for growth and development. (Dwivedi, 2015).

Most Third World nations are indeed former colonies of industrialized European countries. During the mid to late nineteenth century, European powers, including Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Italy, and others, colonized large parts of Africa and Southeast Asia. The colonial powers viewed these continents as sources of raw materials, labour, and territories to exploit for economic gain.

Colonial rule had significant impacts on these regions. The colonies were often exploited for their natural resources and cheap labour, leading to economic disparities and underdevelopment in the colonized territories. Additionally, the imposition of colonial

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boundaries often divided ethnic and linguistic groups, creating artificial and sometimes contentious nation-states upon independence.

World War II had a profound impact on the colonial powers. It weakened their global dominance and led to widespread uprisings in various colonies. The effects of the war, coupled with the growing demands for independence from European colonies, resulted in significant changes in the world map by the 1950s. Many colonies gained their independence during this period, leading to the emergence of numerous new nation-states in Asia and Africa. The decolonization process in the mid-20th century marked a critical turning point in world history, reshaping geopolitical dynamics and paving the way for the emergence of the Third World as a distinct entity characterized by common challenges and shared developmental goals.

15.4 INDEPENDENCE OF ASIA AND AFRICA FROM 1945-1960

The diverse patterns and processes that accompanied the decolonization and nation-building efforts in various regions. Indeed, the decolonization process was not uniform and followed different trajectories in different parts of Asia and Africa. In some places, decolonization was relatively peaceful and achieved through negotiated independence, with colonial powers willingly granting sovereignty to the territories. However, in other areas, there were violent conflicts and civil wars as independence movements fought for self-rule against colonial authorities.

After gaining independence, some nations managed to establish stable governments and democratic systems, while others experienced political instability and were ruled by military juntas or authoritarian regimes for extended periods. The Cold War, which was the ideological and geopolitical rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, influenced the decolonization process. The superpowers sought to gain influence over the newly independent nations in Asia, Africa, and other regions. The Soviet Union promoted the spread of communism as a means to end social injustice and exploitation, while the United States advocated democracy and free enterprise as the solution to oppression.

This ideological competition embroiled many developing countries in the superpower rivalry, leading to proxy conflicts, political manoeuvring, and support for different factions within these nations. The developing countries became geopolitical battlegrounds as the superpowers sought to expand their spheres of influence. Overall, the decolonization process and the subsequent nation-building efforts were complex and multifaceted, reflecting the diverse historical, political, and social contexts of each region. The legacies of these processes continue to shape the political and economic landscapes of many nations today.

Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent during the period of decolonization. In Southeast Asia, the colonized peoples were among the first to demand independence from their colonial rulers. The partition of Korea in 1945, divided into a communist-backed North and a capitalist-backed South by the United States and the Soviet Union, set the stage for one of the early major confrontations of the Cold War in the region.

The British Empire's influence was indeed waning after World War II, and they faced mounting pressure to grant independence to their colonies. In the Indian subcontinent, India experienced violent clashes between the Hindu and Muslim communities during its struggle for independence. The situation ultimately led to the partition of the subcontinent into two separate states: India (Hindustan) and Pakistan in August 1947. The partition of India was marked by mass migrations and communal violence, resulting in one of the largest and most tragic population movements in history. Despite the disaster of partition, the withdrawal of the British Empire had a significant impact on other colonies, leading to a wave of decolonization in the following years. (Dwivedi, 2015).

Many former colonies were granted independence in the years following World War II. In 1948, the United Kingdom granted independence to both Burma (now Myanmar) and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Malaya had to wait until 1957 to gain independence, and it went on to become Malaysia in 1963 after the merger with Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo (now Sabah). The decolonization process in Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent marked a transformative period in world history, reshaping political landscapes and paving the way for the emergence of independent nation-states in the region. However, the process was not without its challenges and complexities, as witnessed in the partition of India and the subsequent struggles for nation-building and governance.

The decolonization process during the late 1950s and 1960s. During this period, many former British colonies in Africa, the Americas, and Asia gained their independence. Ghana, a former British colony in sub-Saharan Africa, became the first country to proclaim its independence on March 6, 1957. This event marked a significant milestone in the decolonization of Africa. In East Africa, Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged to form Tanzania, while Bechuanaland became Botswana, and Northern Rhodesia became Zambia. The transition from British rule in many of these territories, including Ghana, was relatively orderly and peaceful, contrasting with the experiences of other European colonies where independence was sometimes achieved through armed struggles or violent conflicts.

In the Americas, British Guiana gained its independence and became Guyana in 1966 after 330 years of British rule. Several other British-controlled islands in the Caribbean, such as Jamaica and the Bahamas, also became independent nations during this period. In the Mediterranean region, Malta and Cyprus both gained independence from British rule, leading to Britain's withdrawal from the area.

Overall, the decolonization process during the 1950s and 1960s reshaped the political map of the world, as many colonies in Africa, the Americas, and Asia secured their sovereignty and became independent nation-states. The end of the British Empire's rule marked a significant shift in global politics and a major step toward self-determination for formerly colonized peoples.

The Chinese Civil War, which started in 1946 and continued until 1949, was a significant conflict between the Chinese Nationalists (led by Chiang Kai-shek) and the Chinese Communists (led by Mao Zedong). The civil war occurred in the aftermath of World War II and the defeat of Japan, which had occupied parts of China during the war. During the civil war, the Chinese Communists gained support from various segments of the population, particularly peasants and rural communities, as they promised land reforms and improvements in the conditions of the lower classes. On the other hand, the Nationalists faced issues such as corruption and economic instability, which contributed to their declining popularity. (Dwivedi, 2015).

Mao Zedong's Communists achieved victory on October 1, 1949, when they established the People's Republic of China (PRC). This event marked the end of the Chinese Civil War and the beginning of communist rule in mainland China. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists retreated to Taiwan, where they continued to govern under the name "Republic of China." The establishment of the People's Republic of China had a profound impact on the global stage. It became the world's most populous communist state and represented a significant victory for communism in Asia. This victory was seen as a powerful symbol by anti-colonial movements and nationalist forces in other parts of the world, inspiring them to believe that imperialism could indeed be defeated. The emergence of the PRC, combined with the British evacuation of India and the overall decolonization process in various parts of the world, contributed to the sense of hope and empowerment among colonized peoples that they too could assert their independence and challenge the imperial powers. It marked a turning point in world history and influenced the trajectory of decolonization and nationalist movements in the post-World War II era. (Dwivedi, 2015).

In the aftermath of World War II, France had to contend with demands for independence from its colonies. The pattern of decolonization in French colonies followed a similar trajectory to that of other European colonial powers, such as the United Kingdom. Stalemates emerged as France faced challenges in maintaining its colonial empire. The desire for independence and self-determination was strong in many French colonies, leading to increasing nationalist movements and demands for autonomy.

In 1958, a significant turning point occurred in the process of decolonization when Guinea chose to proclaim itself independent from France, led by Sékou Touré. This move was a major blow to French colonialism and marked the beginning of a series of independent states emerging from the former French colonies. Throughout the 1960s, numerous French

colonies gained independence. Countries such as Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville (now the Republic of the Congo), Ivory Coast, Dahomey (now Benin), Gabon, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Central African Republic, Senegal, Chad, and Togo all became independent states.

The year 1960 was particularly significant, as Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) also proclaimed its independence on June 30, 1960. The independence movements across French colonies challenged France's imperial ambitions and led to the dismantling of its colonial empire. France faced various armed conflicts as it sought to retain control over some of its colonies. In Indo-China, France launched an armed campaign against nationalists under Ho Chi Minh, leading to a prolonged and ultimately unsuccessful war. Syrian independence was also agreed to by France, and it pulled out of Tunisia and Morocco in 1956 in response to nationalist protests.

However, the most challenging and costly conflicts were in Algeria, where France faced a protracted and brutal war against separatists seeking independence. The Algerian War, which began in 1954, resulted in significant casualties and political turmoil in France. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the pressure to decolonize and the difficulties faced in maintaining its empire had become a significant political crisis for France. Ultimately, the decolonization process led to the emergence of a new geopolitical landscape, as former colonies became independent states and sought to shape their destinies.

The United States granted independence to the Philippines in 1946. After several decades of American colonial rule, the Philippines became an independent nation on July 4, 1946, marking the end of US control over the archipelago. In 1947, the United Nations approved the partition plan for Palestine, dividing the territory between Jews and Arabs. This decision aimed to address the long-standing conflict between the two communities over the land. However, the partition plan resulted in violence and further escalated tensions between Jews and Arabs, eventually leading to the Arab-Israeli War in 1948.

The former Belgian colony in Central Africa became the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1960. The country gained independence after years of colonial rule under Belgium. However, the process of decolonization in Congo was marked by challenges, including political instability and conflict. Indonesia endured a prolonged struggle for independence from the Netherlands. After four years of military and diplomatic confrontation, the Dutch government finally recognized the independence of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in December 1949. This marked the end of Dutch colonial rule in the region and the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia.

These events illustrate the diverse and complex nature of the decolonization process in different regions. Decolonization involved political negotiations, armed conflicts, and diplomatic efforts, and it led to the emergence of newly independent states with their

governance and destinies. The post-World War II era was a transformative period in world history, reshaping the political map and influencing the course of international relations.

15.5 NON-ALIGNMENT NATIONS

In the aftermath of World War II, many newly independent countries in Asia and Africa sought to maintain their independence and protect their distinct identities in the face of increasing polarization between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These countries did not want to align with either bloc and preferred to pursue a policy of non-alignment, hence they were often referred to as "non-aligned" or "Third World" countries.

The concept of non-alignment was first adopted by countries like India, Burma (now Myanmar), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Egypt, and Indonesia. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, played a key role in promoting the policy of non-alignment. He convened a conference in Delhi in January 1949 to support the cause of Indonesian independence, which marked a significant turning point in history.

Nehru envisioned non-alignment as a means to create new alignments and a new balance of power, distinct from the polarized Cold War blocs. He emphasized that non-alignment did not imply forming a new bloc, but rather the countries of Asia coming closer together, with India taking a leading role in this process. The term "non-alignment" has been associated with various meanings and interpretations. Some consider it synonymous with neutrality, neutralization, isolationism, unilateralism, non-involvement, and non-commitment. While there may be nuances and differences in the interpretations of non-alignment, the overarching goal was to preserve independence and autonomy in international affairs and to avoid being drawn into the conflicts of the Cold War. (Dwivedi, 2015).

Non-alignment became a significant force in international politics during the Cold War era, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was established in 1961 to further promote the principles of non-alignment among developing countries. The NAM played a crucial role in advocating for the rights and interests of the newly independent nations and influencing the course of global politics.

i) Neutrality: Neutrality refers to the political and legal status of a country during a war, where it remains impartial and does not take sides with any of the belligerents. Neutral countries refrain from participating in military actions or providing assistance to either party involved in the conflict.

ii) Neutralization: Neutralization signifies a political status of a particular state that it cannot give up under any circumstances. This could mean the state is permanently designated as neutral in international relations, committing not to take part in any alliances or military actions.

iii) Isolationism: Isolationism involves policies of aloofness or the idea of keeping a country's affairs separate from the affairs of other nations. Isolationist policies aim to minimize involvement in international conflicts, alliances, or foreign entanglements, focusing instead on domestic issues.

iv) Non-involvement: Non-involvement implies avoiding participation or entanglement in the struggles between different superpower ideologies during the Cold War era. Non-involved countries sought to maintain autonomy and independence in their foreign policy decisions.

v) Non-commitment: Non-commitment refers to a politics of detachment or impartiality in a multi-polar relationship, where a country avoids being overly aligned with or dependent on any particular power bloc. Non-committed countries may engage in diplomacy with various powers but refrain from making long-term binding commitments.

These terms help clarify the distinctions and nuances of non-alignment and related principles that newly independent countries sought to adopt during the Cold War period. The policy of non-alignment allowed these countries to pursue their interests independently, despite the pressures of alignment with either the Western or Eastern bloc.

15.6 RELEVANCE OF THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

The Bandung Conference in 1955, held in Bandung, Indonesia, brought together newly independent and developing countries from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The conference highlighted the collective power of the so-called "weak" or non-aligned countries and demonstrated that they could assert their interests and influence global politics. This event played a crucial role in shaping the concept of the Third World, emphasizing the importance of solidarity among developing nations and their ability to mobilize their collective strength.

The end of the Cold War indeed marked a significant shift in the global order, and the three-world classification scheme (First World, Second World, Third World) lost its relevance as the bipolar dynamics of the Cold War came to an end. The dissolution of the Soviet Union diminished the relevance of the Second World, leaving the former Eastern Bloc countries in a state of transition.

However, the Third World has maintained its relevance in the contemporary period. Despite changes in global geopolitics, many developing countries continue to face challenges related to poverty, economic development, and political stability. The term "Third World" may have evolved, and the traditional three-world order may no longer be in vogue, but the concept of developing countries and the struggles they face persist. Developing countries still grapple with issues of economic inequality, social disparities, and sustainable development. They often seek collective action and cooperation to address global challenges such as climate

change, trade imbalances, and global health crises. In the contemporary context, the term "Third World" may not be used as extensively as in the past, and some prefer alternative terms like "Global South" or "developing countries." Nevertheless, the underlying concerns of the Third World remain relevant and continue to shape international relations and discussions on global development and cooperation. These Third World countries were often characterized by their struggle for political independence, economic development, and non-alignment with the superpower rivalry. (Dwivedi, 2015).

Arif Dirlik, a historian and cultural theorist, argues that geopolitically, the Third World serves as a reference point for development in global politics. It represents an alternative path to modernity and development that is distinct from the models followed by the First and Second World countries. The term "global modernity" in this context refers to the idea that there are multiple paths to development and progress, not solely based on the Western capitalist or the Eastern communist models. The context of the Third World is crucial when discussing geopolitical relationships and global processes. These countries have often faced challenges in navigating international politics, dealing with the influence of major powers, and pursuing their development agendas.

One critical aspect of the contemporary world is the significant material inequalities that exist between the North and the South. The North generally refers to the more developed and industrialized countries, while the South refers to the less developed and often economically struggling countries. The statistics you mentioned illustrate a massive disparity in income distribution, with 23% of the world's population in the North enjoying 85% of the income, leaving only 15% for the 77% population in the South.

These inequalities have profound political and social consequences. They can lead to issues such as economic dependency, political instability, social unrest, and migration flows from less developed regions to more developed ones in search of better opportunities. Additionally, the influence of dominant powers in global politics can perpetuate and exacerbate these inequalities, making it challenging for Third World countries to pursue their development paths and achieve meaningful progress. Addressing the imbalances and promoting a more equitable global order remains a significant challenge in contemporary geopolitics. It requires cooperation, solidarity, and recognition of the diverse development aspirations and needs of nations across the world.

In the post-Cold War era, the concept of the Third World remains relevant, albeit with some adaptations to the changing global landscape. The principles articulated at the Bandung Conference, especially the five principles of peaceful coexistence, laid the foundation for cooperation among newly independent states, emphasizing mutual respect and mutual benefit. These principles were significant for promoting unity and solidarity among Third World countries during a time when they sought to assert their independence and autonomy in a world dominated by the Cold War superpowers.

The structure of the contemporary international political economy has evolved from the Cold War era. The traditional division of the world into three distinct segments (First World, Second World, and Third World) has become less rigid, with characteristics of all three segments now found in both the North and the South. This means that economic and social disparities are not solely confined to specific regions; they can be found across the globe. As a result of these changes, the counter-hegemonic force that was created by Third World states at the Bandung Conference cannot remain limited to Third World countries alone. The need for a new brand of Third Worldism emerges one that aims to include not only states but also non-state actors in the subaltern (marginalized) and excluded segments of the Trilateral regions (comprising North America, Western Europe, and East Asia).

Despite the geopolitical and economic changes, the North/South divide, which represents the disparities between more developed and less developed regions, has not disappeared. While borders might have diminished in political and economic significance, the gap between the wealthy and the impoverished remains evident. Therefore, there is a call for a revival of the concept of Third Worldism as a means to address and tackle the persisting issues related to economic inequality and underdevelopment.

This new form of Third Worldism should strive for a broader coalition, involving not only states but also various non-state actors like civil society organizations, advocacy groups, and grassroots movements. By including these voices from marginalized segments in both the North and the South, this reinvigorated Third Worldism can work towards promoting social justice, economic equity, and human rights on a global scale. It should be an inclusive movement that advocates for meaningful change and cooperation among nations and peoples to create a fairer and more just world. (Dwivedi, 2015).

15.7 SUMMARY

The concept of the Third World emerged during the period of the bipolar world dominated by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It provided an alternative path for developing countries, offering a different approach to development and international relations than that of the First and Second World countries. The Third World served as a mobilizing force for the completion of decolonization, as many countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America sought independence from colonial rule. Additionally, the Third World offered an option for a counter-hegemonic alliance, where developing countries could unite and assert their collective interests and positions on the global stage, especially in response to the dominant influences of the superpowers during the Cold War.

The Cold War had a profound impact on developing countries politically, socially, and economically. These nations often found themselves caught in the power struggles and ideological conflicts between the two superpowers. They became pawns in the geopolitical game, with the US and the USSR supporting rival factions in many Third World countries,

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leading to instability and internal conflicts. However, with the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the USSR, and the disappearance of the Second World, there arose a debate about the relevance of the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Some argued that the changes in the global geopolitical landscape rendered these concepts obsolete.

Nevertheless, the concept of the Third World and the grouping of developing countries as a whole continue to be relevant in the contemporary era. It still serves as a reference point for development, especially for countries facing widespread poverty, rapid population growth, and the lack of industrial growth and development. These countries often share common challenges and interests that can be better addressed through collective efforts and solidarity. While the geopolitical context has evolved, many developing countries still grapple with economic disparities, social inequalities, and the need for sustainable development. Therefore, the concept of the Third World remains pertinent for understanding and addressing the unique concerns of these nations in the face of a rapidly changing global landscape.

In conclusion, the concept of the Third World has evolved and remains relevant in the contemporary era as a reference point for development and a symbol of unity for developing countries facing common challenges. It continues to hold importance as a platform for collective action and cooperation among nations striving for a more equitable and just world order. (Dwivedi, 2015)

15.8 EXERCISES

1. What do you understand about the third world?
2. What is a non-alignment alliance?
3. How does third world relevance in the contemporary period?
4. Explain the emergence of the third world.
5. Discuss the importance of the non-alignment movement.

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UNIT-16 END OF THE COLD WAR

Structure

16.1 Objectives

16.2 Introduction

16.3 End of the Cold War

16.4 Factors responsible for the end of the cold war

16.5 New World Order

16.6 Summary

16.7 Exercises

16.8 References

16.1 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to understand:

- The concept of the cold war and the end of the cold war.
- The ideological perspectives of international politics.
- The factors responsible for the end of the cold war.
- The international politics after the cold war.

16.2 INTRODUCTION

The unit will clearly elaborate the concept of the end of the cold war. It will focus on the disintegration of the Soviet Union and other several reasons to force the end of the cold war. The fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany in the year 1989 was the major event of the Soviet

Union losing control of the bipolar world and the consequences of the end of the cold war. The dominance of the Soviet Union in international politics became very low because the disintegration of the Soviet Union created or got the independence of several countries. The newly independent countries form their respective government with their own ideology and set the political regime. Since 1991, the international system became multipolar, and the bipolar ideology of the USA and USSR were neglected in international politics.

16.3 END OF THE COLD WAR

The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s marked a significant turning point in world history. Several factors contributed to the conclusion of this decades-long conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. Here are some key reasons why the Cold War finally came to an end:

1. Economic Pressure: The economic strain of sustaining the arms race and military expenditures took a toll on both the USA and the USSR. The Soviet Union's economy was particularly burdened, leading to stagnation and a loss of competitiveness. The USSR found it increasingly challenging to keep up with the technological advancements and economic prowess of the West.

2. Reform in the Soviet Union: In the mid-to-late 1980s, the Soviet Union underwent significant political changes. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, introduced policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) to address the country's economic and political issues. These reforms ultimately led to more openness and transparency, but they also unintentionally weakened the authoritarian grip on Eastern Europe, leading to the unravelling of the Soviet bloc.

3. Eastern European Revolutions: The Soviet Union maintained control over Eastern European countries through the Warsaw Pact, a military alliance. However, in the late 1980s, these satellite states started demanding more political freedoms and independence. Peaceful revolutions and mass demonstrations in countries like Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Romania weakened Soviet control over the region.

4. End of the Arms Race: The USA and the USSR had engaged in a dangerous arms race, stockpiling nuclear weapons and other military technologies. Both sides realized the immense cost and risk involved in continuing this competition, leading to a desire for disarmament and arms control agreements.

5. Leadership Change in the Soviet Union: Gorbachev's leadership brought about a more conciliatory approach to foreign relations. He pursued diplomatic initiatives, sought to reduce tensions with the West, and engaged in nuclear arms reduction talks with the US, exemplified by treaties like the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START).

6. Détente and Diplomacy: Through a series of high-level summits between US and Soviet leaders, such as the meetings between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, the two superpowers started to build trust and find common ground. These meetings helped ease tensions and create a more cooperative atmosphere.

7. Symbolic Events: Certain events served as symbolic milestones in ending the Cold War. One of the most iconic moments was the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which marked the reunification of East and West Germany and signified the end of the division between Eastern and Western Europe.

8. Dissolution of the Soviet Union: In December 1991, the Soviet Union officially dissolved, and the former Soviet republics became independent nations. This marked the end of the USSR as a superpower and significantly reduced the scale and intensity of the Cold War.

In conclusion, the end of the Cold War resulted from a combination of internal and external factors, including economic pressures, political reforms, social movements, arms control efforts, and diplomatic engagements. The desire for peace, the recognition of the futility of continued conflict, and the changing global dynamics all played pivotal roles in bringing an end to the long-standing confrontation between the USA and the USSR.

16.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE END OF THE COLD WAR

The end of the cold emerged a new set of political systems in international politics. There are several players came into existence in international politics in post-cold war. Few factors are responsible for the disintegration of Soviet Union and the end of cold war. The factors are given below:

16.4.1 Détente

Détente refers to a period of easing tensions and improving relations between two countries, particularly during the later 1960s and 1970s. During this time, the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union indeed experienced a notable improvement, and this period of détente played a crucial role in bringing about long-term peace between the superpowers. Several key factors contributed to the improvement in US-Soviet relations during the period of détente:

Both the USA and the USSR recognized the dangers of the nuclear arms race, which had escalated tensions to alarming levels. As a result, they engaged in arms control talks to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This led to agreements like the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I and II), which aimed to control the number of strategic nuclear weapons held by both countries. While ideological differences between the two superpowers persisted, the period of détente saw a certain level of mutual acceptance and

acknowledgement of the other's existence. Both sides realized the need to manage their differences and avoid direct confrontation.

Détente allowed for increased cultural and scientific exchanges between the two countries. This facilitated a better understanding of each other's societies and fostered more people-to-people interactions. Both superpowers established more direct and reliable communication channels, such as the Hotline, to prevent misunderstandings and avoid accidental escalations during times of crisis. The period of détente played a significant role in reducing the risk of direct military confrontation between the USA and the USSR. By easing tensions and creating a more stable environment for dialogue and cooperation, détente helped pave the way for peace between the superpowers in the long term. It contributed to a climate of negotiation and diplomacy, which later facilitated the signing of various arms control agreements and, eventually, the end of the Cold War. However, it is essential to note that détente was not without its challenges and occasional setbacks. The improvement in relations was not always steady, and there were moments of renewed tension during this period. Nevertheless, the overall effect of détente was a positive one, as it opened doors for dialogue, confidence-building measures, and diplomatic efforts that ultimately contributed to reducing the risk of global conflict between the two superpowers.

The United States and the Soviet Union were keen to improve relations in the 1960s and 1970s. These factors played significant roles in shaping the policy of détente during that period:

- **Cuban Missile Crisis and Fear of Nuclear War**: The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. The near-catastrophic event made both superpowers realize the grave dangers of direct confrontation and the potential catastrophic consequences of a full-scale nuclear conflict. Avoiding such confrontations became a priority for both sides.

- **Arms Race and Economic Burden**: The arms race had escalated to unprecedented levels, with both countries spending vast sums of money on military build-up and nuclear weapons development. This led to economic strains and diversion of resources away from domestic needs. Reducing military expenditures through arms control agreements became a practical incentive for improving relations.
- **Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)**: In Western countries, including the USA, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) gained widespread support. The CND's advocacy for the elimination of nuclear weapons put pressure on the US government to pursue disarmament talks and seek avenues for reducing the nuclear threat.

War Weariness and Vietnam: The US involvement in the Vietnam War was deeply unpopular among many Americans. The Vietnam War was costly in both lives and resources and intensified the desire among the public and policymakers to avoid getting entangled in other foreign conflicts. Seeking improved relations with communist nations, including China and the USSR, was seen as a way to reduce global tensions.

- **China's Rapprochement**: The USA's decision to pursue better relations with China in the early 1970s played a significant role in the dynamics of the Cold War. By opening diplomatic channels with China, the US aimed to create a triangular relationship, putting pressure on the Soviet Union and also reducing the risk of a two-front conflict.
- **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT):** The signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968 signalled a commitment by both superpowers to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. This treaty highlighted the importance of arms control and disarmament efforts.
- **Space Race and Technological Cooperation**: The space race was an integral part of the Cold War rivalry. However, space exploration also provided opportunities for cooperation and cultural exchanges between the two superpowers, fostering some level of mutual understanding.

Overall, these various reasons converged to create an environment conducive to détente. Both the United States and the Soviet Union recognized that a more stable and cooperative relationship would be beneficial in avoiding costly and dangerous confrontations. Détente provided a mechanism for managing tensions, reducing the risk of nuclear war, and opening channels for communication and negotiation. While it did not completely eliminate the competition and ideological differences between the superpowers, détente represented a significant shift towards a more peaceful coexistence during the 1960s and 1970s.

16.4.2 Helsinki Agreement

The Helsinki Agreement, signed in 1975 during the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) held in Helsinki, Finland, was a landmark diplomatic event. The agreement aimed to improve relations between the Western and Eastern blocs and promote cooperation and security in Europe. It consisted of three main baskets: The parties pledged to respect each other's borders, refrain from the threat or use of force, and conduct military activities with transparency. The agreement emphasized cooperation in trade, technology, and economic development to enhance relations between the participating states.

The most significant aspect of the Helsinki Agreement was its recognition of human rights. It committed the signatories to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and movement. While the agreement did not lead

to an immediate end to the Cold War tensions, it set the stage for ongoing dialogue on human rights and security issues.

The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project was a joint mission in space conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union in July 1975. It was the first international human spaceflight mission, and its successful execution represented a symbolic moment of cooperation during the height of the Cold War. The mission involved American astronauts from NASA's Apollo program and Soviet cosmonauts from the Soviet space program docking their spacecraft in space, exchanging greetings, and conducting experiments together. The iconic image of American and Soviet space professionals shaking hands in space symbolized a temporary thawing of tensions.

Following the success of the SALT I treaty in 1972, the USA and the USSR engaged in further negotiations to continue limiting their nuclear arsenals. The result was the SALT II agreement, signed in 1979 but never ratified by the US Senate. The treaty aimed to further reduce and limit the number of strategic nuclear weapons on both sides and included provisions for verification and data exchange to increase transparency. Although it was not fully implemented, it represented a significant effort to control the arms race and maintain stability between the superpowers.

Unfortunately, détente faced challenges and setbacks in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as Cold War tensions flared up once again. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and other geopolitical issues strained US-Soviet relations, leading to a shift away from the détente policy. Nonetheless, these high points of cooperation served as crucial milestones in fostering communication and trust between the USA and the USSR during a critical period of the Cold War.

16.4.3 US Policy under Ronald Reagan

Under President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, the United States significantly increased its defence spending, and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was one of the notable projects that emerged from this period. The SDI, often referred to as "Star Wars," was a proposed missile defence system that aimed to use space-based technologies to intercept and destroy incoming ballistic missiles, particularly those launched by the Soviet Union.

The key components of the SDI included placing satellites equipped with high-energy laser beams or other advanced weapons systems in space. These satellites would be designed to track and intercept enemy missiles during their flight phase, effectively rendering the Soviet nuclear arsenal less effective as a deterrent against the USA. The primary goal of the SDI was to create a strategic advantage for the United States by reducing the threat posed by Soviet nuclear missiles. If successful, it would have made the USA less vulnerable to a nuclear strike while potentially giving the US government greater leverage in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

The strategies employed by the Reagan administration to undermine the Soviet Union and advance its foreign policy objectives during the 1980s. Reagan's approach involved a combination of military build-up, support for anti-communist movements within the USSR and Eastern Bloc, and the use of media and financial aid to promote human rights and exert pressure on the Soviet regime.

- **Support for Anti-Communist Movements:** The USA provided covert assistance to groups and dissidents within the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, who opposed communist governments. This support aimed to foster internal dissent and weaken the grip of communist regimes. It also demonstrated the USA's commitment to promoting democratic values and human rights.
- **Media Influence**: American radio stations like Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcasted information into the Eastern Bloc, providing an alternative to state-controlled media and spreading information about democratic principles and human rights. These broadcasts were secretly listened to by many citizens in the USSR, further exposing them to alternative viewpoints and ideas.
- **Financial Aid and Human Rights**: Reagan offered financial aid to communist countries that showed a willingness to respect human rights. This approach used economic incentives to encourage reforms and put pressure on the Soviet Union and its allies to improve their human rights records.
- **Military Build-up and Pressure**: Reagan's significant increase in defense spending during the early 1980s, as part of the Strategic Defense Initiative and broader military buildup, put immense pressure on the Soviet economy. The USSR struggled to keep up with the high levels of American military spending, leading to economic strain and internal challenges.
- **New Talks on Arms Cuts**: The combination of Reagan's assertive policies and the Soviet Union's internal and economic pressures created an environment conducive to negotiations on arms cuts and reductions. This culminated in renewed arms control talks, leading to agreements like the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, signed in 1987.
  While Reagan's strategies were costly, they significantly impacted the geopolitical landscape and played a role in shaping the eventual end of the Cold War. The mounting pressures on the Soviet Union, combined with its own internal issues, contributed to a shift in its leadership and a willingness to engage in negotiations with the USA. This paved the way for the eventual easing of tensions and the eventual end of the Cold War**.**

16.4.4 Soviet Policy under Mikhail Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991, played a pivotal role in improving relations with the United States and taking significant steps towards nuclear

disarmament. His policy of "new thinking" and openness, known as Glasnost and Perestroika, led to a significant thaw in the Cold War and set the stage for historic arms control agreements with the USA.

One of the landmark achievements during Gorbachev's tenure was the signing of the INF Treaty in 1987. This treaty marked the first time that the USA and the USSR agreed to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons - the medium-range and short-range missiles. Both countries pledged to dismantle these weapons systems, leading to the elimination of thousands of nuclear warheads. In an effort to end the costly and unpopular war in Afghanistan, Gorbachev announced the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country in 1988. This move was seen as a step towards reducing international tensions and improving relations with the United States.

The START treaty, signed in 1991, represented another significant milestone in nuclear arms reduction. The treaty committed both the USA and the USSR to reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals by about one-third. It marked a continuation of the efforts initiated by previous arms control agreements, further reducing the nuclear threat between the two superpowers. Gorbachev's willingness to engage in dialogue and his commitment to nuclear disarmament helped establish a more cooperative atmosphere between the USA and the Soviet Union. His relationship with President Ronald Reagan and later President George H.W. Bush played a critical role in advancing these arms control agreements. The use of pens made from scrapped missiles during the signing of the START treaty symbolized the commitment of both nations to disarmament and the desire to move away from the hostility of the Cold War era. These treaties contributed to the winding down of the Cold War and paved the way for the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership was characterized by his commitment to reforming the communist system within the Soviet Union. He introduced two key policies, perestroika (renewal) and glasnost (openness), with the aim of improving the Soviet economy, addressing corruption, and allowing more freedom of expression and criticism within the society. Gorbachev believed that these reforms were essential for the survival and revitalization of communism in the Soviet Union.

- **Economic Reforms**: Gorbachev's perestroika policy sought to restructure and revitalize the Soviet economy. He recognized the inefficiencies and stagnation in the central planning system and wanted to introduce elements of market-oriented reforms. Gorbachev aimed to decentralize economic decision-making, encourage more individual initiative and entrepreneurship, and make state-owned enterprises more accountable and efficient. The goal was to boost productivity, encourage innovation, and create a more dynamic economy.
- **Political Reforms**: Glasnost referred to the policy of increased openness and transparency in the Soviet system. Gorbachev believed that allowing more freedom

of expression, press, and public discussion would help uncover and address societal problems and improve government accountability. He wanted to create a more participatory political atmosphere and encourage constructive criticism and debate.

- **Combating Corruption**: Gorbachev recognized the widespread corruption within the Soviet system, which undermined efficiency and public trust. He sought to tackle this issue through various measures, including greater transparency, stricter anti-corruption laws, and efforts to promote ethical behaviour among officials.
- **Strengthening Support for Communism:** Gorbachev believed that by addressing the economic and political shortcomings of the communist system and involving the people in decision-making, he could reinvigorate support for communism among the Soviet population. He envisioned a renewed sense of loyalty to the party and the state through genuine reforms and improved living standards.

However, Gorbachev's reforms faced significant challenges and unintended consequences. The introduction of openness allowed public criticism of the government and exposed long-standing problems within the system, leading to widespread discontent and calls for greater democratization. The economic reforms also encountered resistance from conservative elements within the party and bureaucracy, as well as unintended consequences, such as shortages and economic turmoil.

Ultimately, Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Soviet system and make communism work better for the Soviet people contributed to significant changes both domestically and internationally. The policies of perestroika and glasnost set in motion a chain of events that led to the loosening of state control, increased demands for political change, and ultimately, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Despite the challenges and criticisms his reforms faced, Gorbachev's efforts to reform the Soviet Union left a lasting impact on the history of the 20th century.

16.4.5 Opposition to Communism within the Eastern Bloc

By the end of 1980s, dissatisfaction with communism and the economic hardships faced by people in Eastern Europe became more pronounced. A combination of economic difficulties, shortages, and declining living standards led to a growing sentiment that the communist system was failing to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. This discontent eventually fueled significant changes in the political landscape of the region.

Communist economies in Eastern Europe were facing various challenges, including inefficiency, centralized planning, and an inability to keep up with the technological advancements of the West. As a result, economic growth was sluggish, and shortages of essential goods became increasingly common. Inflation and rising prices eroded the purchasing power of the people, leading to declining living standards. Many citizens were finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet and afford basic necessities. Shortages of

food and consumer goods were particularly evident in some countries, exacerbating the frustrations and discontent among the population.

The economic difficulties were accompanied by a growing desire for political change. Increasing numbers of people in Eastern Europe started to call for democratic reforms, greater political freedom, and an end to one-party rule. In 1989, Poland held its first partially free and democratic elections since the end of World War II. The opposition movement, Solidarity, which had gained massive popular support, won a landslide victory. The election results signalled a major shift in the political landscape of Eastern Europe and served as a catalyst for further changes in the region.

The events in Poland had a domino effect, leading to similar transformations in other Eastern European countries. Over the course of 1989, several other Eastern European countries experienced significant political changes, often referred to as the "1989 Revolutions" or the "Fall of Communism." This led to the end of communist governments in countries like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, and Romania. The series of democratic revolutions and the fall of communist governments in Eastern Europe marked a historic turning point in the Cold War. The changes paved the way for the eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of the Cold War itself. It represented a triumph of democratic ideals and the desire for greater political freedom and self-determination among the people in the region.

On November 9, 1989, the East German government announced that the Berlin Wall, which had physically divided East and West Berlin since 1961, would be opened for free movement between East and West. This announcement followed widespread protests and demonstrations across East Germany calling for democratic reforms and an end to the one-party rule. The Wall, which had symbolized the division between the communist East and the capitalist West, was no longer a barrier, and people were allowed to cross freely.

As the news spread, thousands of people gathered at the Wall to celebrate this historic moment. Joyful crowds from both East and West Berlin came together, hugging, singing, and dancing on top of the Wall. Many people used hammers and pickaxes to take home pieces of the Wall as souvenirs. The Berlin Wall, which had been a powerful symbol of the Cold War and division, was rapidly transformed into a symbol of hope and unity. The fall of the Berlin Wall was a pivotal event in the dismantling of the Iron Curtain, which had separated Western Europe from Eastern Europe and the Soviet bloc. It marked the beginning of the end for communist governments in Eastern Europe and set in motion a series of revolutions and reforms that led to the fall of other communist regimes in the region.

The fall of the Wall also paved the way for the reunification of East and West Germany. In October 1990, East and West Germany formally reunited, ending 45 years of separation. This reunification signaled the end of the Cold War division in Europe and was a powerful symbol of the triumph of democracy and the desire for freedom and unity among the German

people. The fall of the Berlin Wall remains one of the most iconic and significant events of the 20th century, symbolizing the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a new era in Europe. It represented a triumph of people's aspirations for freedom, democracy, and the peaceful resolution of longstanding conflicts. The reunification of Germany further solidified these changes and helped shape the geopolitical landscape of Europe in the post-Cold War era.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the loosening of Soviet control in Eastern Europe triggered a wave of democratic revolutions and movements for change in other countries in the region. The majority of these demonstrations were peaceful, and communist governments in countries like Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (which later split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia), and Hungary resigned without bloodshed, leading to significant political transformations.

However, as you mentioned, the situation in Romania was different, and the transition from communist rule was much more turbulent. Nicolae Ceausescu, the longtime communist leader and President of Romania, refused to step down, leading to a violent and dramatic end to his regime:

- **Romanian Revolution - December 1989**: Protests against Ceausescu's oppressive rule and the dire economic conditions in Romania had been building for some time. As demonstrations escalated in December 1989, the Romanian government's violent response only fueled public anger and intensified the calls for change. The Romanian Revolution resulted in significant changes in the country's political landscape. Ceausescu's dictatorship was overthrown, and the National Salvation Front, a coalition of former communists and anti-communist dissidents, took power. Romania subsequently embarked on a path of political and economic reform and transition to democracy.

  The events in Romania were tragic and marked the end of one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in Eastern Europe. While the revolutions in other Eastern European countries generally ended with peaceful transitions, Romania's experience was a stark reminder of the complex and unpredictable nature of political upheavals during this transformative period in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

16.5 NEW WORLD ORDER

The term "new world order" and its association with the post-Cold War era. The term encompasses various interpretations and ideas, but it generally refers to a period of significant change in world politics and the global balance of power. It implies a shift towards collective efforts to address global challenges that go beyond the capabilities of individual nation-states.

During the end of the Cold War, Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George H. W. Bush used the term to describe their vision for the post-Cold War era and the spirit of cooperation among major powers. Gorbachev's vision was ambitious but constrained by the internal crisis within the Soviet system. In contrast, Bush's vision acknowledged the unipolar status of the United States, asserting that American leadership would be indispensable in shaping the new world order.

The Gulf War of 1991, which was fought to liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi invasion, was seen as a significant test of this emerging new world order. It demonstrated how the international community could come together to address aggression and maintain global stability.

The concept of a "new world order" remains complex and has been subject to various interpretations over time. It encompasses notions of global cooperation, collective security, and the need for multilateral approaches to address global issues such as conflict, climate change, and economic interdependence. However, it has also faced criticisms and challenges, particularly with regard to issues of sovereignty, the role of major powers, and the tension between international cooperation and national interests. Overall, the term "new world order" continues to be a subject of debate and discussion in international relations, reflecting the ever-changing dynamics and complexities of the global political landscape.

16.6 SUMMARY

The unit has clearly argued the end of the ideological war between the USA and USSR. The cold war situation provided an uncertain world order in international politics. The world became two blocs on one side it was the USA and another side USSR to justify their respective ideology as superior in the world system. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the USSR forced to end the cold war in the year 1991. The end of the cold war made great opportunities for the newly independent countries to part in international politics, they also formed their own government regime on the basis of their ideology and interest. Further, the end of the cold war provided the scope for the emergence of a multipolar world and given less importance to the bipolar world.
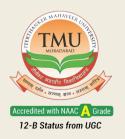
16.7 EXERCISES

1. What is the concept of cold war?
2. What were the major events in international politics during the cold war period?
3. What are the factors responsible for the end of the cold war?
4. Discuss the international politics in the scenario of post-cold war.
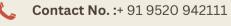
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