

UNIT 11 COLONIALISM AND PATTERNS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

Structure

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- 11.3 Decolonisation Process
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11.0 OBJECTIVES

Decolonisation heralded the independence of the colonies and marks an important phase in world history. After going through the unit, you will be able to :

- trace the cause of decolonisation
- explain the patterns of struggle in winning independence, and
- understand the role of the international organisations in the decolonisation process.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Colonialism appeared on the political horizon of the globe when European nations like Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Holland build their empires over Asia, Africa and Latin America. The European powers exploited the resources of what came to be known as the third world countries and subjugated their people for about four centuries by their colonial and imperialist policies. The exploitation inevitably provoked its own contradictions in the form of national liberation and democratic movements. During the inter-war period (1919-1939) the colonies questioned the right of the coloniser to colonize and oppress the people of the third world. The process of decolonisation was accelerated with the end of Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations.

Although the general framework of colonial policies was economic exploitation and political subjugation, each colonial power followed specific policies in respect of their colonies. Likewise, while nationalist movements arose in almost all the colonies, the patterns of their struggle varied. Some colonies attained independence through constitutional means, while in some others, nationalism, attained a militant form. While some nationalist movements worked within the liberal democratic framework, yet some others adopted the Marxist ideology as their guiding philosophy. Post colonial political processes also varied according to the ideologies and nature of national liberation movements in the respective countries.

11.2 CAUSES FOR DECOLONISATION

Even before the Second World War, modern nationalism clocked as anti-imperialist movements arose in different colonies. It was a sense of identification with and pride in the nation state, as well as also the quest for power and national self-fulfillment. The birth of national organization in different colonies consolidated the national movements for independence. The psychological origins of nationalism are to be found in the fact that the introduction of European authority and culture disrupted the traditional life and institutions of the colonies. Those natives (as they were called by the white man) who received western education and were alienated from their own traditional milieu were never really treated as equals of the white man. It was among these elements that one finds the first signs of nationalist revolt. The superior economic and social status of the Europeans provoked a sense of revolt among the western educated elites of colonies. It is these 'elites' who first raised the banner of revolt and provided the leadership in the nationalist movements in the colonies.

Christian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, spreading Christianity under the imperial banner, preached the ideals of universal brotherhood and love. The 'natives' who received missionary education questioned the right of colonisers to treat them as inferiors. The ideals of the French Revolution influenced the minds of the elite who imbibed the values of democracy and freedom.

Another ideology that made a powerful appeal to the oppressed of colonies was Marxism. Communists were influencing the nationalist movements in different colonies and were endeavouring to convert the same into communist movements. Western nations were being dubbed as imperialists and exploiters by the socialist camp. This emboldened the nationalist movements in the colonies and they were progressively veering towards the socialist camp. This emboldened the nationalist movements in the colonies and they were progressively veering towards the socialist block in whom they saw a sympathizer and a saviour.

The profound involvement of the United Nations in the post Second was period compelled the imperialist powers to withdraw from their colonies. The credit for the success of decolonisation and expansion of the world community goes to the UN. The UN has played a significant role by encouraging the aspirations of dependent people and by setting goals and standards which accelerated assistance to attain their freedom.

Apart from these external clauses there were three current of thought, rather ideologies, which expressed the nationalist aspirations of Afro-Asian people. One such current was the rise of Islam. As a non-European religion, Islam had an appeal and a tremendous propaganda value with its simple and democratic creed. In those Muslim countries which were colonised, Islam separated the natives from the Europeans. The pride of Islamic faith and the duty it imposes on Muslims to fight infidels gave a certain militancy to anti-colonial movements in Islamic countries. The contact with the west provoked an intellectual ferment and Islamic fraternity and solidarity.

The second of these currents of thought was Asiatism, centuries of Dutch colonial oppression in Indonesia and British in India, gave rise to nationalist sentiments and a certain sense of unity among the people. The Indian National Congress was formed in the year 1885 to lead the national moment. Other colonies such as Malaya, Indonesia and Burma refused to accept political suppression. Japan became an Asiatic strength and power. Though it was an imperialist power, it raised the slogan of 'Asia for Asians' in order to garb its imperialist ambition and to carry the Asians along with it. In China, Sun-yat-Sen led the nationalist revolt in 1911, which was followed by a long civil war and the final victory of the communist forces.

The third of these currents of thought was 'pan-Africanism'. By the end of the 19th Century, Africans were questionist the European domination. The ideals and aspirations of the peoples of Africa was expressed in terms of pan-Africanism. Marcus Garvey was its most celebrated exponent. Du Boix was another champion of pan-Africanism and

made the League of Nations adopt a charter of Human rights for Africans. In later years Nkrumah of Ghana, became the leading ideologue of pan-Africanism.

After the end of First World War, the victorious powers, in a novel way, put the colonial territories under the mandatory system of the League of Nations. Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles 1919, dealt with the future of these territories. Depending upon the varying degree of evolution, geographic factors, and economic situation these territories were divided into three different categories A, B, C, and placed under the mandate of the Allied Powers. In general the people of these territories were to be led to self-determination. The mandatory council of League of Nations was charged with the responsibility of supervising the administration of these territories. In 1917, A.J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, made his statement that a national place for the Jewish people would be found in politics without any prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. The eventful establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the rise of militant Arab Nationalism have made the middle East one of the most sensitive areas in the East West conflict.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the causes for the rise of national liberation movements?

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- 2) Explain the ideological framework within which national liberation movements operated.

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11.3 DECOLONISATION PROCESS

The term 'decolonisation' is likely to give the impression that process of gaining independence was a peaceful one. However, this has been so. Colonisation itself was a violent process involving deceit, war and simple annexations by the colonial powers. The independence of the colonies was won by the people struggling in various forms. In some countries the process was relatively peaceful as in some of the French colonies of Africa like Senegal, the Ivory Coast in West Africa and in some British colonies such as Nigeria, Ghana etc. Some of the countries attained independence through the intervention of international organisations — the League of Nations and the United Nations.

Mandated territories under the League of Nations such as Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon, Pacific territories etc. either became independent or were placed under the Trusteeship council of the United Nations. The aims of these organisation was to lead these territories to self determination and eventually to independence. Most of them attained independence except South West Africa (now Namibia) which was under the Trusteeship of South Africa which pursued the policy of apartheid.

In the African colonies of Portugal — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau — there was a long drawn armed struggle and they could not become independent until 1974 when Portugal herself witnessed a democratic revolution that overthrew the military dictator Salazar.

The former French colony of Algeria too had to put up an armed struggle for seven long years from 1954 to 1961, while Morocco and Tunisia attained independence with comparative ease. The opposition of the French settlers in Algeria to its independence resulted in a violent struggle under the leadership of Ben Bella and Ferhat Abbas of National Liberation Front of Algeria (FLNA).

11.3.1 Latin America

In Latin America, independence was achieved by the Spanish and Portuguese colonies such before the African and Asian colonies. Revolutionary movements started in the Spanish colonies of Mexico and elsewhere and wars of independence developed in Venezuela, Argentina etc. by the early 19th century. By 1825 Spain lost her vast empire except Cuba and Puerto Rico. Unlike the North American struggle against the English against the English which led to the Thirteen colonies becoming the United States, the Spanish American revolts and wars of independence paved the way for seventeen separate republics.

Cuba and Puerto Rico continued under the corrupt rule of the Spanish until the United States became involved in the Cuban movement against Spain. Cuba not only fought a revolutionary war of independence against Spain, but also against US domination. The US drove Spain out of Cuba in 1898, but US investors then attained a dominant position in the island so that Cuba lost control over her own economic resources. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro, Cuba fought a guerrilla war against the dictatorial regime of Batista and overthrew him in December 1958. Later Castro expropriated US property, sought Soviet support and established a regime inspired by Marxism - Leninism. The ideological conflict between the United States and Cuba continues to this day even in the post Cold War era.

As early as 1823, the United States assumed the role of arbiter of the New World through the famous Monroe doctrine, which, while recognizing the existing colonies or dependencies of European powers refused to permit any future colonization by any European power. This was, in fact, a part of British and American monoeuvres to promote their rival interests in Latin America.

11.3.2 Decolonisation after the Second World War

The process of decolonisation was accelerated after the Second World War. Some of the colonial territories like French, Indo-China, Dutch Indonesia, British Malaya and Italian East Africa were occupied by enemy conquest and were virtually cut off from their colonial governors. The Japanese occupation of South East Asia provided a fillip to the nationalist sentiments and movements in the region by driving out the Western colonialists, removing them from strategic positions in the colonial administration and replacing many of these with natives. Finally, though quite authoritarian and oppressive the eventual collapse of the Japanese gave the nationalists an opportunity to seize the arms left by the defeated armies and gave a militant thrust to their struggles. Indonesia and Vietnam proclaimed their independence in this way. The Indonesian nationalists had to fight a long struggle for four years against the Dutch to gain their independence. In both cases, an open war was fought between the colonial power and the nationalist forces. In Vietnam, under the leadership of Viet Minh, after the 1954 cease-fire, the French withdrew from the northern parts of the country. In the South, a non-Communist government was installed. Later the French presence was replaced by the Americans. The long drawn heroic struggle of the Vietnamese against American imperialism is a legend in itself.

The most far-reaching historical outcome of World War II was undoubtedly the precipitate liquidation of nineteenth century empires and the contraction of Europe. The most momentous event was indeed the independence of India in 1947. The various present the independence of India in 1947. The various present and tribal revolts against the British and local land lords in different parts of the country and the rebellion of 1857, contributed to the rise of a nationalist Movement. The establishment of Indian National Congress gave an organisational expression to the movement.

Indian Nationalism was strongly influenced by Gandhi whose tenets were non-violence and non-cooperation. Gandhi's entry turned the movement into a mass movement. The transfer of power in India was facilitated after the Labour Government came to power in Britain, though the vivisection of the country into India and Pakistan could not be avoided. The Cabinet Mission attempted to find a constitutional settlement. The partition of British India became inevitable. Although partition was not peaceful, it paved the way for the establishment of the Constitution.

Among the British African colonies, Gold Coast (Ghana since independence) and Nigeria became the pioneers of independence. In March 1957 the Gold Coast together with the Trust territory of Togo land became the independent state of Ghana with dominion status within the Commonwealth. Nkrumah, its Prime Minister, was a champion of African independence and an exponent of Post Africanism. The federation of Nigeria attained complete independence in 1960.

11.3.3 South Africa

The struggles of the African People in South Africa and Namibia deserve special attention in the history of decolonisation. Historically, the Dutch were the first to settle in South Africa in 1652 on the site of what is today modern Cape Town. The area of White settlement extended more rapidly in the first half of the 19th century with the coming of the British and the establishment of British colonial rule in the Cape Town in 1806, the Dutch settling Afrikaners were forced to leave the Cape and go north of the Orange river — culminating in the mass exodus, the Great Trek, in 1830s. This resulted in the formation of two independent Afrikaner republics, Orange Free State and Transvaal, and the new British colony of Natal. In each of these, as in Cape Colony, racially stratified society developed with Whites assuming a position of dominance and the African being reduced to a state of serfdom. Although the declared policy of the British in the Cape and Natal was against discrimination, in practice, however, a property qualification restricted the franchise largely to Whites. In the Dutch Afrikaner republics, Africans were denied franchise, debarred from acquiring ownership of land in the Orange Free State and obliged to carry passes within the White occupied areas of Transvaal. The discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and large deposits of gold in the Transvaal after the end of the 19th century led to a scramble for control of these areas between the Dutch and the British, eventually leading to the defeat of the Dutch and the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, bringing together the Afrikaner republics of Orange Free State, Transvaal, Cape Colony and Natal. The Union of South Africa attained Dominion status and later became a sovereign independent state within the British Empire in 1934. In 1961 it broke its links with Great Britain, and left the Commonwealth to become a Republic.

The racist Government — the Apartheid regime — of South Africa denied even the most basic human rights to the Africans. The regime received support from many Western Governments which had strategic and economic interest in South Africa. As the African people had no legal rights nor freedom, opposition to the regime had to be clandestine. As the apartheid regime became increasingly brutal, African opposition to it also gained militancy. African resistance which began as cultural resistance to the White, eventually took the form of African National Congress in 1923 and Nelson Mandela emerged as its legendary leader. He was sentenced to life imprisonment following the Rivonia trial in 1963. Third world countries and the Non Aligned Movement supported the South African cause in international fora. In the eighties and early nineties the increasing international pressure both within the UN and from the Third World forced the Western nations to concede some of the demands of African countries. This forced the apartheid regime to agree to negotiate with African opposition. In 1993 Nelson Mandela was released from jail. After prolonged negotiations, elections were held in 1994. Thus, with the parliamentary elections, power was transferred to the black majority.

The former German colony of South West Africa (Namibia) came under the Mandate of South Africa. When the UN succeeded the League of Nations, South Africa claimed the Trusteeship over South West Africa, thus extending apartheid to the territory. The UN declared South African occupation as illegal and in 1967 the UN established the

Council for Namibia to administer the territory. After a long drawn struggle put by the South Western African Peoples' Organization (SWAPO) and the implementation of UN resolutions, South West Africa attained independence to become Namibia.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Distinguish between the various national movements in the Third World.

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- 2) Write note on the Anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa.

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11.4 IMPACT OF DECOLONIZATION

As a sequel to decolonization and expansion of international community, international relations assumed a truly international character. After decolonization new and sovereign nations emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These states became the battlefield of ideological competition and cold war. Their international importance was certainly heightened by this competition during the cold war. Naturally they opted for a foreign policy of neutralism in this period. They followed nonalignment as a symbol of new national prestige and dignity. They had articulated a new identity through their foreign policy orientation. Another important outcome is that the operation and working of UNO has undergone a sea-change owing to the presence of Afro-Asian nations. The United Nations has also reiterated their importance by openly aligning itself with the cause of their rising expectations. These countries have used the forum of the UN for pressing their demands on economic issues.

11.5 LET US SUM UP

The rise of colonialism marks an important chapter in the history of the world as it changed the relations between different parts of the world. Decolonisation as well as anti-imperialist struggles of the colonies gave rise to what is referred to as the Third World. These nationalist, anti-imperialist movements varied from country to country in their specifics. This was due to the patterns of colonial policies and their impact on colonial societies. There were those colonies which became independent through constitutional procedures and reforms; there were some which achieved independence through armed liberation struggles. Some attained independence due to international pressures and the intervention of organisations such as the League of Nations. However, these differences should not be over-emphasized. Practically all colonies experienced violent oppression by the colonial powers. Even for those countries which attained independence through constitutional reforms it would be false to say that these struggles were always peaceful. Armed struggles became inevitable in some colonies due to the intransigence of colonial powers. However, there were ideological frameworks which differed depending upon the nature of the elite, national leaders and the participation of the people.

11.6 KEY WORDS

- Apartheid** : Policy of the racial segregation. It had been practised in South African white people towards the black people.
- Colonialism** : A policy of acquiring and maintaining foreign country as colony and of exploiting it for the interest of the colonial power.

11.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

- A. Vandana 1995 : **Theory of International Politics**; Vikas Publishing Co, New Delhi.
- Hari Sharan Chabra: **UN and Decolonisation World Focus No. 149**, May 1992.
- Henri Grimal, 1965 : **Decolonisation, the British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires 1919-1963**; London.
- Immanuel Wallerstein 1961 : **Africa : the Politics of Independence**, Vintage Body, New York, Ny.
- Rama S. Melkote 1992 : **International Relations**; Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1. Exploitative character of foreign rule competed with the progressive developments in the international arena which are basically responsible for the rise of national liberation.
2. Ideologies like liberation, Marxism and many other progressive ideologies provided the framework.

Check Your Progress 2

1. There had not been an uniform national movement throughout the world. National movements emerged in different countries in the context of the ground realities of the country concerned.
2. It is basically a non-violent movement backed by the progressive world.

UNIT 12 FEATURES OF THE THIRD WORLD STATE

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives**
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- 12.2 Theoretical Frameworks**
 - 12.2.1 Liberal framework**
 - 12.2.2 Marxist framework**
 - 12.2.3 Dependency Theory**
- 12.3 Characteristics of the State**
 - 12.3.1 An Over-developed state**
 - 12.3.2 Autonomy**
 - 12.3.3 Control of the Metropolis**
- 12.4 Let Us Sum Up**
- 12.5 Key Words**
- 12.6 Some Useful Books**
- 12.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises**

12.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with third world states. After going through the unit you will be able to:

- Understand what is meant by the term third world
- Explain the characteristic features of the States of the third world
- Identify the essential attributes of the states of the third world, and
- Locate the role of third world in world politics.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

There has been a debate on the question of the nature of the State in the Third World, sometimes referred to as the post-colonial societies in political theory and comparative politics. It is important to understand the nature of state in the Third World as it enables us to locate the role of the Third World in international relations.

The term 'Third World' refers to a group of countries with certain common features. According to some writers the developed capitalist countries constitute the first world. The socialist countries are called the second world. The underdeveloped countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America that were subjected to colonial domination are called the third world. Some writers categorize the superpowers as the first world. The other developed countries like UK, Germany, Australia and Canada are clubbed together as the second world. The third world consists of underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Both definitions have a few things in common. In both classifications the attributes of the third world are one and the same. The third world is defined in both the classifications in relation to the developed countries. The Third World Countries are economically poor and they have a colonial past.

In the course of identifying the common features of the Third World one should not ignore variations among them. Some third world countries like the Arab countries are very rich while the others like Bangladesh are very poor. There are countries with democratic institutions. On the other hand some third world countries are ruled by military regimes. There are also differences among the third world countries in terms of social formations ranging from tribal societies to capitalist societies.

In spite of all these differences, the third world is not a meaningless category because it helps us in grouping together countries that came into being by fighting against the colonial domination. They all encounter similar problems because of their background. Hence, it is useful to study the third world keeping in mind both similarities and dissimilarities without exaggerating one to eliminate the other. There are certain general characteristics that the state in the Third World has acquired which may be attributed largely to the fact that they have been colonised and that colonialism has introduced certain fundamental changes in their societies. There are different theoretical frameworks in which the state can be understood.

12.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are several theoretical frameworks for studying the states of the third world. Among them most significant and popular frameworks are the liberal and Marxist frameworks.

12.2.1 Liberal Framework

The liberals argue that the state is a neutral agency and acts as an arbiter between the contending group in the society. In other words no group has a privileged access to state. Different groups in the society make their demands on the political system. The state agencies consider all these demands and take decisions in the general interest of the society. Within the fold of liberalism some writers propose that state agencies are dominated by the elite groups. Elite groups exercise domination by virtue of certain personal attributes not due to the control over economic resources. Liberal theory holds that in a democracy elite groups do not use power in their personal or group interests. Electoral compulsions force them to work for the welfare of all groups. In the third world the westernized elite controls the state and use it as an instrument to transform the traditional agrarian society into a modern industrial society.

The liberal approach has two lapses. In the first instance it refuses to recognize that political capacity of individuals is decided by their economic resources. Secondly it fails to explain how elite groups work for the entire society rising above their narrow economic and social interests.

In other words any explanation of the state in total disregard of the class divisions in the society would be simplistic. State is embedded in the society. Therefore it has to be studied in relation to the society.

12.2.2 Marxist Framework

Marx and Engels argued that state is neither an impartial agency nor a common trustee. It expresses the interests of the dominant classes to protect their interests. In other words it is an instrument in the hands of the dominant classes. The state follows society but does not precede it.

Hence the nature of the state depends upon the character of the division of labour in the society. Unfortunately, Marx has not written elaborately on the state. He made sketchy remarks. The followers of Marx have written extensively about the state. However most of these writings deal with the developed capitalist countries. These explanations are not valid for the third world which are different from the capitalist countries. The third world countries have a colonial past. Even after securing political independence they are subjected to economic exploitation by the western developed countries. Yet another important attribute of the third world countries is that they are dominated not by one single class but multiple classes.

Due to the above mentioned conditions the third world state has a distinct nature. It is known by various names such as peripheral state, the post-colonial state, and the over-developed state.

The third world countries were subjected to colonial exploitation, that disturbed the course of development and brought about lopsided development. The domination of the third world by the imperialist powers continued even after decolonization. There is no unanimity among writers about the nature of relationship between developed western countries and the third world.

12.2.3 Dependency Theory

Some writers who propounded the dependency theory argue that the third world countries do not enjoy political freedom and continue to be dominated by the imperialist powers. According to these writers the world is integrated into a single capitalist system.

The developed western countries constitute the core of the world system. During the colonial periods, the third world countries were shaped by the imperialist countries to suit their requirements. Due to this process, the third world is structurally integrated with the economies of the developed countries and is dependent on the developed countries. In world capitalism the third world survives as an adjunct of the core also known as metropolis — and lies on the periphery of world capitalism. In this model the third world state is an instrument in the hands of the metropolitan capital.

While agreeing with the notion that the underdeveloped countries are dominated by the developed capitalist countries, critiques of the dependency theory rejected the argument that the third world state has no autonomy. According to these writers, political freedom has enabled the third world countries to use the state to further their interests within the constraints imposed by neocolonial dominations.

Similarly, divergent opinions are expressed about the nature of the dominant classes in the third world. Some argue that the third world is dominated by the native capitalist class. But the predominant view is that there is no well formed dominant class in the third world. A loose alliance of various classes dominates the third world.

The third world state is also analyzed in terms of its relationship with the dominant classes. Most of the writers on the third world argue that the state has autonomy from the ruling classes that is delimited by the social structure.

Due to certain historical personalities, the third world state has acquired another distinct character. The colonial rulers have created a highly centralized state machinery to maintain their domination over the colonized. The state machinery is thus imposed from above and it has not evolved out of the internal social dynamics. Hence the third world state is not in tune with society, it is either advanced or over developed when compared with society at large.

After taking a look at the third world from various angles one may say that the third world state is an over-developed, post-colonial state, with autonomy from the ruling classes. In other words, it is a product of a complex social formation of the third world.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Write short notes on

a) Liberal framework

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i) Marxist framework

c) Dependency theory.

12.3 CHARACTERISTIC OF THE STATE

The State as an institution came into existence as part of a historical process. In the third world, decolonisation shaped the state, giving it specific characteristics. The boundaries existing at the time of colonisation were modified in some cases; in other cases entirely new states were carved out. The territorial boundaries of the state did not always coincide with the Nation; that is, often people belonging to different ethnic groups, nationalities were brought together and the boundaries of the colonies were traced, delimited according to the needs of the colonial powers. African states are the best examples to indicate the artificiality of the state. Nigeria for example was entirely a British creation. The Third World States became states before they became nations. This, is to a large extent, is responsible for territorial conflicts and for problem of national integration. A number of Third World Countries face ethnic and secessionist movements in the post-colonial era. British colonial policies and the dynamics of nationalist movements led to the creation of Pakistan's secessionist movement which in turn led to the creation of Bangladesh. The artificiality of the colonial boundaries, the impact of colonial legacy and the dynamics of decolonisation processes explain the complexity of the Third World State.

The third world state has the following distinct features.

1. It is an over developed state;
2. It enjoys autonomy from the dominant classes;
3. It protects the interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie also.

12.3.1 An 'Over-developed State'

In the Western capitalist countries the modern nation-state has emerged due to internal dynamics of society. It came into being in the course of a historical transition to capitalism. The rising capitalist class took the initiative to establish a nation-state.

In the third world the motive force for change in the political institutions came from outside. During the colonial period the third world was dominated by the western capitalist countries. The colonial rulers had created political institutions in their own image to facilitate domination over the native classes and economic exploitation of the colonies.

To perform these functions the colonial rulers have related an elaborated legal-institutional structure to control the colonies. The many and the bureaucracy who manned these institutions played a vital role in managing the affairs of the colonial rulers.

Even after independence the elaborate structure remained in existence. There are two salient features of this state: one, that it is not formed by the local classes nor is it established as a consequence of social change, two, the native ruling classes had no control over the state.

The state is far ahead of the time and space in which it is located. In the third world countries therefore bureaucracy and the army have acquired a central place. In the western capitalist countries the bureaucracy plays an auxiliary role. It is an instrument of the dominant class, whereas in the third world it has a central place and it enjoys autonomy from the dominant classes.

An over developed state weakens democratic institutions. Even in those third world countries where democratic institutions exist and the elected representatives control the state agencies, bureaucracy retains its domination over the state. However it exercises control in league with politicians.

In countries having democratic control politicians occupy central place. Politicians articulate the demands of the people to cultivate support. They formulate policies to fulfill the demands of the people. In this process politicians provide legitimacy to the political institutions. However, the power is hemmed in by bureaucratic procedures and controls. Politicians are converted into brokers between the state and the people.

12.3.2 Autonomy

The western countries are dominated by a single well-formed dominant class. In all the western countries the capitalist class is the dominant class. The third world is marked by the existence of multiple dominant classes. The landlord class, i.e. local bourgeoisie of the metropolis control the third world. An alliance consisting of all these classes dominates the state. The alliance is called historic bloc. The historic bloc arises because the social formation in third world consists of elements from both capitalist as well as precapitalist social relations. The capitalist class is weak and incapable of fighting against the pre-capitalist relations in society.

The capitalist class is weak because it exercises limited control over the economic activity. A large part of the economic production is controlled either by the metropolitan bourgeoisie or by the local landed gentry. No class is enough strong to exercise control over the state.

Since there is no single dominant class, the state acquires the autonomy to regulate the relationship between different classes of the historic bloc. The third world state, by deploying vast economic resources to reproduce capitalist production process in the interest of local dominant classes and the bourgeoisie of the metropolis, sustains its Autonomy.

12.3.3 Control of the Metropolis

The third world state is subjected to control by extraneous forces. The under-developed nature of the economy and the nature of the ruling elite/classes renders the state dependent on foreign aid and capital. The ruling elite by acting as mediators between the state and the external capital amass profits. This process does not help development. The gap between the ruled and the rulers and between the rich and the poor widens. It is far-fetched to argue that the third world state is completely under the control of imperialist rulers. Independence from colonial domination has eliminated the scope for the bourgeoisie of the imperialist powers to exercise direct control over the third world state. However it influences the third world state indirectly. The over-developed third world state by dissolving the national boundaries, creates favourable conditions for the world market to penetrate into the third world. The state by facilitating the induction of technology and investment brings about the integration of the third world into the global market. The state, the ruling elite, negotiate with the external world with diminishing power and ability to do so.

Check Your Progress 2

Features of Third World States

- Note:** i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the characteristics of the third world?

- 2) Write a note on the continuing control of the ex-colonial powers on their former colonies.

12.4 LET US SUM UP

The Third World state/states are to a large extent colonial creations in the sense that their boundaries, the nature of their regimes have been deeply influenced by colonial policies. The nature of the Third World state is analysed in liberal democratic, Marxist and new Marxist frameworks. The Third World economies are integrated into the World economy, which is guided by the principles of free market, and represent the interests of the dominant sections of the society. While they are dependent on the former colonial power, they also exercise a certain independence and mediate between the state and the metropolis. The Third World state is desired as 'over developed', as one with 'relative autonomy', as 'dependent' state.

12.5 KEY WORDS

Capitalist Class : The class of people who own the means of production, exploit the wage labour and appropriate the surplus value produced by the wage labour.

Latin America : The areas of central and South America where Spanish or Portuguese is the principal language.

12.6 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shamin (Ed.) **Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies** — Longman

Harry Galbourn : (1979) : **Politics and the State in the Third World**, Macmillan.

James Manor: 1991 : **Returning Third World Politics**, Longman.

Pool and Tardoff : 1981 : **Third World Politics : A Comparative Introduction**
Gammoch — Macmillan.

12.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- a) Liberals believe in democracy and rule of law. They do not subscribe to the view that the individuals are guided by their economic interests.
- b) Consciousness is a product of matter, it is the reflections of the external world. As per Marxist theory of state, the state is neither an impartial agency nor a common trustee. It is an instrument in the hands of the dominant class.
- c) As per the dependency theory the post colonial states are not in the real sense independent; they are still dependent upon their ex-colonial masters.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1. The chief characteristic of the third world countries is the economic backwardness.
- 2. The former colonial countries and other western developed states have been continuing their control over the states of the third world through unequal trade terms and through tied economic aid.

UNIT 13 THE GULF WAR

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
 - 13.1 Introduction
 - 13.2 Genesis of the Gulf War
 - 13.2.1 The Roots of the Conflict
 - 13.2.2 International Situation on the eve of Gulf War
 - 13.3 Iraq's Action against Kuwait
 - 13.3.1 Conquest and Annexation of Kuwait
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 - 13.4.1 The 28-Nations Coalition Under U.S. Leadership
 - 13.4.2 Sanctions against Iraq and Restoration of Sovereignty of Kuwait.
 - 13.5 Impact of the Gulf War
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13.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit deals with the first major crisis in West Asia after the end of the Cold War. The Gulf War caused by Iraq's annexation of Kuwait eventually resulted in the defeat of Iraq. After going through this unit, you should be able to :

- trace the events since the end of First World War till the Iraqi action against Kuwait;
 - analyse the Iraqi decision to take military action and annex Kuwait;
 - explain the reaction of the USA, U.S.S.R. and West Asian countries;
 - recall briefly the events of the Gulf War, and
 - discuss the outcome of US-led action against Iraq.
-

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The Cold War lasted for about 45 years. It had begun almost simultaneously with the end of Second World War in 1945. Nobody knows the exact date when the Cold War commenced. But it ended in 1989 when US President George Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev met and vowed to lead the world on the path of peace and progress. The first major international crisis after the Cold war occurred in West Asia during 1990-91. The attack by Iraq on neighbouring oil-rich Kuwait, and its subsequent conquest and annexation as Iraq's nineteenth province marked the first phase of the crisis. When all efforts to persuade Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait failed and peaceful solution appeared to be impossible, 28 nation coalition, led by the United States and authorised by the U.N. Security Council waged a war on Iraq and liberated Kuwait. This was the second Gulf War. The Iran-Iraq war of 1980-88 may be described as 'Gulf War One'. That prolonged war had been generally indecisive, though Iraq claimed eventual advantage. As Iran had already come under the fundamentalist regime of Ayottolah Khoemeine, Americans had generally supported Iraq in that war, without being actually involved in it. This unit is not concerned with Iran-Iraq war. It is the Gulf War of 1990-91 which threatened international peace, with injected Arab-Israel conflict

input and an attempt to give it an ideological colour. Despite provocation by Iraq, Israel was restrained from retaliation. The Gulf War period witnessed unexpected cooperation between West and East, though the U.S.S.R. did not send its troops to fight against Iraq.

13.2 GENESIS OF THE GULF WAR

The Persian Gulf region in West Asia (Middle East) includes several oil-rich states. These include several Arab countries such as Iraq, Kuwait, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. There are non-Arab states also. These include Iran and the Jewish state of Israel. Most of these countries (except Iran) were part of the Ottoman Empire which collapsed after the defeat of Turkey in the First World War. Many of the non-Turkish territories in West Asia were separated from Turkey but were not given independence. They were placed under Britain or France as the mandated territories in the League of Nations Mandate System. Iraq was one such territory that was seized from the Ottoman Empire and made a British mandate.

13.2.1 The Roots of the Conflict

The roots of the conflict are embedded in the creation of Iraq in 1920 (as a British mandate, to begin with), and establishment of British Protectorate of Kuwait. It was in 1961 that Kuwait was granted the freedom and power transferred to the Al-Sabah family. Iraq had questioned the legitimacy of Kuwait as a state in 1961 itself and had been wanting to include Kuwait in the territory of Iraq. After the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam Hussein's Iraq had formidable military arsenal, including a million-man army, advanced Soviet tanks and planes, and a stockpile of chemical and biological weapons. At the same time, Iraq had incurred large debts of Arab states to finance the Iran-Iraq war. Its economy was in bad shape. If Kuwait could be annexed, Iraq's economy was likely to get a boost. There was a long standing territorial dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, particularly over the strategic islands of Zubayyan and Warba and the invaluable Rumaila oil field.

President Saddam Hussain chose Kuwait to be his country's principal victim. On July 17, 1990 President Hussain denounced Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for producing more oil than the quota fixed for them by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). This had resulted in fall in oil prices, and consequent oil revenues for Iraq. The alleged loss to Iraq was to the tune of \$ 14 billion. Iraq, therefore, asked Kuwait and UAE to curb their excess oil output, failing which use of force was threatened. Iraq said : "if words fail to afford us protection, then we will have no choice but to resort to effective action to put things right and ensure the restitution of our rights." This threat was issued in the pre-crisis period, and it resulted in "one of the most dramatic and intense military - security crisis in the twentieth century." Kuwait was a helpless weak neighbour. Its immense oil reserves could become Iraqi wealth if the state of Al-Sabah was brought into the Arab State headed by President Saddam Hussain.

13.2.2 International Situation on the Eve of Gulf War

International situation appeared to favour Iraq. The Soviet Union which had been supplying most of the military requirements of Iraq was facing the crisis which eventually led to its disintegration. The United States had been sympathetic to Iraq during its war with Iran. Therefore, President Bush was perceived by Saddam to be friendly with him. He was unlikely to intervene in case Iraq decided to

annex Kuwait. In May 1990 Saddam Hussein, however, had expressed a fear that after collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, America might try to establish hegemony in the Middle East. He had also accused Kuwait and the UAE of overproduction of oil leading to fall in its international prices. He termed it a kind of war against Iraq"

At the end of the long war between Iran and Iraq, the latter was perceived to be a victor, although apparently the war had resulted in a stalemate. Iraq had failed to establish its hegemony in the entire Gulf region, yet it was clearly one of the two major regional powers. Iraq possessed a million-man army, advanced Soviet tanks and planes and stockpile of chemical and biological weapons. It had a formidable military arsenal. However, Iraq had to repay large sums of money that it had borrowed from neighbouring Arab countries during Gulf War-I (Iran-Iraq War, 1980-88). Iraq's economy needed a "massive infusion of funds for reconstruction". Besides, opined Brecher, "it had an insatiable desire for more advanced weapons, including a nuclear capability".

The Cold War had just ended. Iraq's principal "patron and arms supplier", the U.S.S.R. was passing through several internal conflicts and crisis and was on the verge of collapse. President Saddam did not expect any anti-Iraq action from the United States. The situation in second half of 1990 was, thus, "ripe for extracting economic and territorial concessions from Kuwait and, if necessary, using force to annex Kuwait as Iraq's long coveted 19th province". Analysing the events leading to Gulf War, Michael Brecher suggests that there was abundant evidence to show that the crisis was initiated by Iraq and directed against Kuwait. The prelude began several months before the Iraqi military action against Kuwait. The first anniversary meeting of the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) was held on February 24, 1990. It was attended by Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Yemen. In this meeting held at Amman, President Saddam Hussain warned that in view of impending collapse of Soviet Bloc, the Arabs had to be careful to resist US attempts to establish hegemony in the West Asian region. He also expressed displeasure at the behaviour of lesser oil producing states of the Gulf. As mentioned earlier, Saddam blamed Kuwait and the UAE for violation of OPEC production quotas. He said on May 30, 1990 that this was a kind of war against Iraq. Thus, by the end of May 1990, President Hussain appeared determined to acquire Kuwait and achieve increased oil benefits in the bargain.

Check your Progress 1

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
 ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) Why did Iraq opt for military action against Kuwait?

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2) What was the international situation on the eve of Gulf War?

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13.3 IRAQ'S ACTION AGAINST KUWAIT

In the second half of July 1990, Iraq began large scale preparation for the invasion of Kuwait. She deployed 35,000 troops, tanks and rockets from three elite divisions. On July 18, Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz charged that Kuwait had stolen \$ 2.4 billion worth of oil from disputed Rumaila oil field. A few days later America announced a joint military exercise with the UAE, and sent two additional warships as if " lay down a mark for Saddam Hussein". The next day Iraq demanded 2.4 billion dollar compensation from Kuwait. Under Iraq's pressure, oil prices were raised by Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) from 18 to 21 dollars a barrel on July 27. The two-day talks between officials of Iraq and Kuwait failed on August 1, 1990. Iraq was now ready for invasion, but Kuwait did not realise the seriousness of the crisis. Kuwait had not moved any of its forces towards the border even on July 27. They were put on full alert and deployed by two of the commanders north of Kuwait city. But the Emir of Kuwait did not expect an invasion and he ordered the troops to go back to their barracks. Even on August 1, Kuwait's envoy to the United States ruled out the possibility of an aggression. So poor was the intelligence of Kuwait's army.

13.3.1 Conquest and Annexation of Kuwait

Iraq began the invasion of Kuwait at 2 A.M. (local time) on 2nd of August 1990. Iraqi tanks reached the capital so fast that Kuwaiti army had no time to offer any resistance. Within six hours the Emirate of Kuwait had been conquered by Iraq.

Saudi Arabia, an ally of the U.S.A., was also taken by surprise. On being told of Iraq's invasion, Saudi King Fahd asked : "Are you sure?" Till a few hours before the attack most of the U.S. officials were regarding as very low the possibility of an attack. There were reasons for this. Firstly, Iraq's challenge to the existence of Kuwait was not new. Her stand consistently had been that from 1875 till the end of the first world war, Kuwait had been a part of the Province of Basra which was now a part of Iraq since 1920. Even after Iraq recognised the independence of Kuwait there were prolonged border disputes between Iraq and Kuwait. But, military action had never been threatened. Several rounds of talks had taken place right upto February, 1989. Secondly, during the Iran-Iraq war Kuwait had openly supported Iraq and had given about 15 billion dollar interest-free loan to her. So how could Kuwait now expect an attack? Thirdly, in any case, accusatory rhetoric is a core element of the political culture of inter-Arab politics.

In less than six hours of the commencement of invasion, America had made its position clear. The White House condemned Iraq's invasion and called for "the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces". But the U.S. had not made up its mind on the nature of action to be taken. The next day (August 3) (though August 2, U.S. time) President Bush said, "We are not ruling any options in but we are not ruling any options out." Bush did not say anything about the use of force for the simple reason that he did not know whether he would have to use force. The US President declared, " Our goal is not the conquest of Iraq. It is the liberation of Kuwait". But, after a month Bush added a personal dimension and said that his aim was ouster of Saddam Hussain. He said, "There is another way for the bloodshed to stop, and that is ... for the Iraqi people to take matters into their hands, to force Saddam Hussain, the dictator, to step aside and to comply with the United Nations resolutions ..."

The personality of President Saddam Hussain must be taken note of at this juncture. According to Michael Brecher, "he ruled through pervasive fear ... his aspiration to dominate the Gulf region, and ultimately, establish his pre-eminence

"in the Arab World". Somehow, he was convinced that after his 'success', in Gulf War-I, there was a conspiracy against Iraq spearheaded by the United States and Israel. Saudi Arabia and some other Gulf countries were also involved in the conspiracy. The Soviet leader Gorbachev's special envoy was told of this fear, and he opined "something in all this may have corresponded to the truth".

The U.N. Security Council debated the issue of Iraqi invasion, and subsequent annexation of Kuwait. Meanwhile, as mentioned above, Iraq's Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) decreed on August 8, 1990 the annexation of Kuwait "in a comprehensive, eternal and inseparable merger". Kuwait was made the nineteenth province of Iraq.

For Iraq, annexation of Kuwait was going to be a major economic gain. These included Kuwait's world-wide assets, and its valuable oil reserves. These gains were designed to overcome serious economic difficulties created by the prolonged Iraq-Iran War. Besides, Kuwait's 310 - mile coastline would improve Iraq's access to sea, so that Iraq could fulfil its ambition to be the **hegemonic power in the Gulf region**; and it could achieve the goal of pre-eminence in the Arab World. US condemnation of Iraq came as a surprise to Saddam Hussain because since 1982 Americans had clearly tilted towards Iraq as against "fundamental Iran".

Check Your Progress 2

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
 ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.
- 1) Sum up the outcome of Iraq's military action against Kuwait in Phase I of Gulf War II.

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13.4 LIBERATION OF KUWAIT

From the time Iraq invaded Kuwait on August 2, hectic diplomatic and other activities were initiated to pressure Iraq to vacate Kuwait. Saudi Arabia was among the main critics of Iraq. Therefore, Iraq sent 60,000 troops on Saudi border on August 3, 1990. Two days later it ordered formation of 11 additional divisions of the army. This was followed by deployment of 6000 to 15,000 U.S. troops and four fighter squadrons in Saudi Arabia; by August 11 the strength of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia was proposed to be raised to 200,000. On August 16, Iraq took thousands of foreigners – British, French, American and Japanese as hostages; on September 21, 1990 the Iraqi RCC called upon the people to be prepared for "the mother of all battles". By that time Iraq had about 130,000 troops in the south and in Kuwait. As U.N. decided to impose economic sanctions (which were in force even till 1997) Iraq threatened to attack Saudi oil fields, unfriendly Arab countries and Israel. The inevitability of U.N. authorised war against Iraq was evident by mid November, 1990. Meanwhile, Saddam Hussain offered to release the hostages on condition that U.N. guaranteed U.S. withdrawal of all allied forces from the region or if Bush gave in writing a "clear unequivocal commitment" to withdraw all allied forces from the region "along with a lifting of the U.N. blockade of

Iraq." Immediately, the United States rejected this demand until Iraq met the conditions of the Security Council resolutions of restoration of Emir's regime, and the release of all the hostages. Earlier Iraq had tried to link the Kuwait crisis with the Arab-Israel conflict. Iraq demanded the end of Israel's occupation of West Bank and Gaza, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon. President Bush told the General Assembly that if Iraq withdrew unconditionally from Kuwait, there may soon be enough opportunities to settle issues that divided the Arabs from Israel.

13.4.1 The 28-Nations Coalition led by the United States

As there were no signs of Iraq's compliance with the Security Council resolution, the United States went about building coalition of countries who were opposed to Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. It was not an easy task, yet a 28-nation coalition led by the United States was put in place. Some of them were NATO powers; others were from the West Asian region itself. While most of the 28 countries contributed to the military build up against Iraq in support of UN resolutions and to use force, if necessary, yet only six were actively involved in the war when it came. These were the United States, Saudi Arabia, Britain, France, Egypt and Syria. Besides, there were non-combatants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Morocco, Niger and Emirates. The war that took place from 17th January to 28th February, 1991 was generally a trial of strength between Iraq and the United States. On the other side, Iraq was supported by Jordan, Yemen and the PLO diplomatically, politically and economically, but none fought on the side of Iraq. Thus, it was an unequal fight between 28-nation coalition led by the US and Iraq.

The coalition led by the United States comprised more than 700,000 troops. The largest contingent was of course that of the United States. It consisted of 527,000 Americans backed by approximately 1500 aircraft and mighty naval flotilla of 91 warships.

The Soviet Union, faced with growing troubles at home, had joined the coalition and fully supported the U.N. resolutions and the U.S. determination to expel Iraq from Kuwait; but she refused to participate in a military build up in the Gulf or join in war against Iraq; and she made a high-profile attempt to mediate between the two conflicting sides. The Soviet Union was aware of likely repercussions among the muslim republics of USSR, in case she actively engaged herself in the hostilities. Besides, she had been giving massive aid to Iraq for two decades and the Gulf is too closely situated to the then Soviet territory.

For most Arab countries Iraq's action had created a dilemma – how to respond to the destruction of sovereignty of one of the Arab League members by another. If they condemned Iraq, that would mean giving the impression of aligning with the United States, generally described as an imperialist power. To support Iraq would mean undermining the core principle of territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Therefore, most of them either remained neutral or expressed rhetoric sympathy either with Iraq or the coalition.

Meanwhile, Soviet Union agreed to support Security Council resolution number 678 which called upon Iraq to vacate Kuwait by November 30, 1990 failing which use of force could be resorted to compel Iraq to vacate the aggression. The United States wanted military action to commence on January 1, 1991. But, Soviet Union brought about a compromise fixing January 15 incorporating Gorbachev's "pause of goodwill". The Security Council Resolution No. 678 was adopted by 12 votes to 2 (Cuba and Yemen voted against) and China abstained (which was not a veto). It authorised all UN members "to use all necessary means ... to restore international peace and security in the area".

The U.S. led 28-nation coalition commenced military action against Iraq for the liberation of Kuwait on January 17, 1991 at 2.4 A.M. (Gulf time). The Gulf War II was fought in two phases. From January 17 to February 23 it was limited to aerial bombardment of strategic targets in Iraq and occupied Kuwait. The aerial action was supported by naval action by the coalition forces. The ground action began on February 24 and by February 28, 1991 Iraq was defeated and Kuwait was liberated.

The air war, with naval support in the Gulf and Red sea, was a relentless daily assault on multiple Iraqi targets – roads, railways, airports, power system ammunition dumps and oil installations, etc. This was in addition to bombardment aimed at Iraqi troops, main scud missile-launching sites and nuclear reactor plants. 700 Iraqi aeroplanes were no match to nearly double the strength of the coalition. Besides, some of the ace Iraqi pilots landed their planes in Iran and thus avoided taking part in the battle.

13.4.2 Sanctions against Iraq and Restoration of Sovereignty of Kuwait

President Saddam Hussain, in a desperate move, tried to change the Gulf War into an Arab-Israel conflict, but he totally failed. For weeks, scud missile attacks were made on Israel by Iraq. The idea was that when Israel would retaliate, the Arab World would be called upon to fight against the Jewish state. That would make the position of Egypt and Saudi Arabia very difficult. Despite prolonged provocation, Israel did not retaliate. Israel was repeatedly requested by the United States not be dragged in the war.

Meanwhile, Gorbachev's diplomatic efforts unsuccessfully continued. Saddam Hussain had said that once the ground fighting began, Americans would have to swim in their own blood, and that the Vietnam War would be forgotten as picnic. But, within four days of ground action, Kuwait was liberated and Al-Sabah was restored as Emir of the country. Thus Kuwait's sovereignty was restored and Iraq suffered a clear defeat.

Although the war ended in early 1991. U.N. imposed sanction against Iraq were not withdrawn even till 1997. As Iraq had failed to destroy its nuclear capability, the United States is in no mood to oblige Iraq. Meanwhile, in 1995 President Saddam faced a new challenge when two of his daughters and their husbands defected to Jordan. Both the sons-in-law of Saddam Hussain were occupying important strategic position in Iraq. Their defection, with state secrets, was a big blow to Iraq's President. The King of Jordan had been a strong supporter of Iraq. When he allowed Saddam's sons-in-law to defect and stay in Jordan. It was a big blow to the Iraqi President.

After a few months (early 1996) President Saddam's daughters and sons-in-law were allowed to return to Iraq. Saddam's first wife had secured an assurance that their sons-in-law would be pardoned. However, soon afterwards both the sons-in-law were killed. The Gulf War II, which ended in 1991, was a serious crisis. Soviet Union was still in existence, but she could not support Iraq. The United Nations efforts to persuade Iraq to vacate her aggression having failed, military solution had to be sought under American leadership. This may be regarded as an example of collective security action which freed Kuwait from Iraq. Unlike the textbook meaning of collective security (U.N. calling upon all member-nations to help the victims), in this case the U.S. coalition was authorised to vacate the aggression and secure independence and restoration of sovereignty of Kuwait.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
- ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Describe the role of 28-nation coalition in the liberation of Kuwait.

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- 2) Analyse the role of USSR and various Arab countries during the Gulf crisis.

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- 3) Explain the events Leading to the restoration of sovereignty of Kuwait.

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13.5 IMPACT OF THE GULF WAR

In this section an attempt will be made to analyse the impact of the entire Gulf crisis on the major actors involved. The crisis had begun as a result of Iraqi military action against Kuwait, and the latter country's annexation as Iraq's nineteenth province. Thus, the direct impact was on Kuwait who lost its sovereignty, and regained it after the intervention of US-led coalition. During Seven month long occupation of Kuwait estimated 2,000 to 5,000 people were killed, several thousand were abducted, maimed and rendered homeless. Large number of people fled Kuwait's economy suffered wanton destruction, particularly when Iraq put most of its oil field on fire. About 100 oil wells were burning till much after Kuwait regained its sovereignty. All this traumatised the people of Kuwait, which resulted in near-universal anger, bitterness and fear of powerful Iraq.

After the war, demand for democratisation was renewed. People called for restoration of the Constitution of 1962 which had provided for an elected

legislature with limited powers, a check on authoritarian powers of Al-Sabah ruling family. That Constitution was set aside in 1986. Now, under the pressure of the U.S., the Government announced elections to a 50-member national Assembly. The elections held in 1992 resulted in 31 seats being won by pro-democracy elements.

Saudi Arabia is immediate neighbour of two main actors of the Gulf crisis. Saudi Arabia is a larger Arab Kingdom which was one of the 28-nation coalition that fought against Iraq in the second phase of the crisis and liberated Kuwait. Saudi Government and people lived in fear of Iraqi attack for six weeks (mid-January to end-February 1991). Iraq had amassed its forces on Saudi borders, while it was making repeated Scud missile attacks on Israel to provoke the Jewish State to retaliate. Iraqi forces made a brief incursion into Saudi territory early in February and resulted in the battle of Khafji. Saudis were aware of Iraq's military superiority and Saddam Hussain's ambition of hegemony in the Gulf region, but it did not expect the type of aggressiveness that was adopted by Iraq. The Iraq-Saudi relations were badly damaged.

The Saudi Government fully supported the US policy of maintaining UN sanctions against Iraq till Saddam Hussain was ousted. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia was aware of her smaller population and a small, though well-equipped, army. During the Gulf crisis Saudi financial resources were reduced by about \$ 16 billion, but her oil fields remained intact.

Israel boldly faced the Scud attacks, but did not get provoked. Despite temptation to retaliate, Israelis listened to US advice and did not attack Iraq.

The task of liberation of Kuwait was performed, as mentioned above, under the leadership of the **United States of America**. However, American casualties in the war, estimated by the generals between 10,000-20,000 were a source of unconcealed relief to the political leadership. President Saddam Hussain had talked of US soldiers' swim in their blood. But US led a victory. There was no physical damage to US installations and no scud missile attack took place on US cities. There were no trauma like the Kuwaitis had faced, nor long-term vulnerability as experienced by Saudi Arabia. The financial contribution of the allies exceeded the money spent by the US. Americans only witnessed the "Operation Desert Storm" on their TV sets. Besides, this came out to be America's first major victory after Second World War, as Korean War had resulted in a stalemate, and Vietnam War had resulted in America's "ignominious defeat."

The unilateral cease fire was ordered by the United States on February 28, 1991 hoping that the Iraqi people would throw Saddam Hussain out. Here the US proved wrong. The US had operated through the UN Security Council, stringent economic sanctions were imposed on Iraq which were not removed for years, and persistent attempts were made to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The victory of the coalition was also victory of the United Nations.

The outcome of Gulf War did not eliminate Iraq as a major regional power, as her stockpile of armaments survived 38-day air strikes. However, Iraq lost its primacy in the Gulf region. Iran now acquired that position, and a victorious Saudi Arabia emerged as a growing military power. In the larger Arab world, Egypt and Syria came out more powerful. Israel remained undisturbed and PLO - Israel peace process was speeded up. Iraq became preoccupied with Kurdish and shiite revolts.

Check Your Progress 4

- Note :** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
- ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.
- 1) What was the impact of Gulf crisis on Saudi Arabia?

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13.6 LET US SUM UP

Gulf war was the first major crisis after the end of Cold War. During the prolonged Iran-Iraq war, 1980-88, (Gulf War-I) Iraq had received full support from Kuwait as well as the United States. Thus, Kuwait did not expect that Iraq would attack and annex her. But, Iraq had the ambition of turning the small, but immensely oil-rich, Kuwait into its nineteenth province. In view of US dislike for new Iranian regime, Iraq did not expect that the Americans would oppose its adventure against Kuwait.

Kuwait was totally unprepared when Iraq launched massive attack on her in August 1990, and conquered her in just six hours of unequal war. Kuwait was later proclaimed to be Iraq's nineteenth province. This was phase I of Gulf War II.

On the initiative of the United States, the UN Security Council took up the cause of Kuwait and tried to reason with Iraq to vacate its aggression. Soviet Union was passing through a difficult period which later ended in its disintegration. The cold War had ended. Iraq did not get support from the Soviet Union. In effect USSR supported the US position and UN resolutions. China abstained on various resolutions adopted by the Security Council, but this did not mean Chinese support to Iraq.

When Iraq failed to comply with the Security Council resolutions, the UN permitted the setting up of a 28-nation coalition, led by the United States, to liberate Kuwait. Iraq was confident that it could not be thrown out of Kuwait. But, Iraq was decisively defeated after 38-days of air strikes and four days of ground fighting. Iraq's attempt to turn the crisis into an Arab-Israel conflict failed, and many Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia joined hands with the US, defeated Iraq and liberated Kuwait. Sovereignty of Kuwait was restored and Al-Sabah returned to power.

The Gulf War turned out to be first major gain of the United States after Second World War, a setback to Iraqi ambitions of hegemony in the Gulf and a victor of the United Nations. However, it had traumatised Kuwait and caused terrific fear in Saudi Arabia.

13.7 KEY WORDS

Mandate System : A Commission from the league of Nations to a member state to administer a territory.

Gulf : A expanse of a sea comprising a deep inlet with a narrow mouth.

13.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

James Lee Ray, 1992 : **Global Politics**, New Jersey

Rama S. Melkote & A Narasimha Rao, 1993 : **International Relations**.

L.S. Srivastava, 1983 : **A Global History : The Human Heritage** : New Jersey.

13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Iraq decided to annex Kuwait (a) because she had always regarded Kuwait as part of Iraq, (b) after Iran-Iraq war, the economy of Iraq had become weak, and (c) Kuwait is an oil-rich small neighbour. Kuwait as part of Iraq would help the latter acquire lot of oil-related wealth and tide over Iraq's financial difficulties.
- 2) The cold war had ended. Soviet Union, the principal arms supplier of armaments to Iraq, was passing through a difficult phase. During Iran-Iraq war both USA and Kuwait had supported Iraq. Thus, Iraq did not expect opposition from any quarter, and she could extend her territory.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Iraqi invasion of Kuwait came as a complete surprise to the latter. Iraq's massive armed might took just six hours to seize the entire Emirate of Al-Sabah. Ignoring U.S. warning, Iraq formally annexed Kuwait as its 19th province.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The 28-nation coalition was put together by the United States under authorisation by the U.N. Armed forces were mainly provided by the US and Saudi Arabia, Britain, France, Egypt and Syria. 38 days of air strikes could not force Iraq to free Kuwait. But, in subsequent four days of ground action the coalition brought unconditional surrender of Iraq and liberation of Kuwait.
- 2) The Soviet Union fully supported the UN resolutions and tried to persuade Iraq to vacate its aggression. But, when the coalition took action, USSR did not contribute troops or armaments. Several of Arab countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia actively participated in military action against Iraq. Others like Jordan did not take military action against Iraq nor gave it Military support.

- 3) UN authorised use of force by 28-nation coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi aggression. Last minute efforts by USSR to persuade Iraq failed, but this delayed action by the coalition. Iraq tried to turn the crisis into Arab-Israel conflict through repeated scud missile attacks on Israel. The latter was not provoked. Air attacks, followed by 4 days of ground fighting, liberated Kuwait. UN imposed sanctions against Iraq which were not withdrawn for several years.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Saudi Arabia is a neighbour of Iraq and Kuwait. Saudis were totally against Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. As Saudi Arabia fully supported action against Iraq, the latter amassed its troops on Saudi borders. Saudi people lived in fear of Iraqi aggression for six weeks. Iraqi forces made a brief incursion in Saudi territory and the battle of Khafji took place. Saudi financial resources were addressly affected to the extent of \$ 16 billion.

UNIT 14 DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
 - 14.1 Introduction
 - 14.2 Internal Reasons for the Disintegration
 - 14.2.1 Historical
 - 14.2.2 Cultural
 - 14.2.3 Political
 - 14.2.4 Economic
 - 14.3 External Reasons for the Disintegration
 - 14.3.1 Role of the USSR
 - 14.3.2 Role of the West
 - 14.3.3 The Demonstration Effect
 - 14.4 The Fall of the Communist Governments and Parties in Different Countries
 - 14.4.1 Poland
 - 14.4.2 Hungary
 - 14.4.3 GDR
 - 14.4.4 Czechoslovakia
 - 14.4.5 Bulgaria
 - 14.4.6 Romania
 - 14.5 Let Us Sum Up
 - 14.6 Key Word
 - 14.7 Some Useful Books
 - 14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
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14.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to examine the reasons which led to the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc and to trace the sequence of events which culminated in the end of the bipolar world order. After going through this unit should be able to

- identify the internal and external factors that have led to the collapse of Socialist bloc, and
 - explain the manner in which each country of the Socialist bloc witnessed the decline and fall of communist parties.
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14.1 INTRODUCTION

The events of 1989, which culminated in the disintegration of the Socialist bloc, have been described as "an earthquake" in world politics. Indeed, the sheer speed of those events left those who were observing the same as well as those who participated in them absolutely stunned. In fact, the pace with which the communist regimes in the socialist bloc fell one after another itself became a crucial part of the process of change. From mid 1989 and especially in the last quarter of 1989, almost every day there were reports of demonstrations, strikes, protests, fall of leaders and Governments. The entire atmosphere was charged with excitement and expectancy and high drama which cannot be fully conveyed in its description and analysis. The other aspect of this integration was that while the end result of the upheavals was the same, i.e. the fall of the ruling classes, there are a number of differences among the various countries as regards the

manner in which they fell. Thus, for example in Poland, the revolutionary changes were the result of prolonged and sustained resistance of solidarity, supported by the Catholic Church, in Hungary, they were the result of power struggle within the political elite; in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, the regime was overthrown by peaceful mass demonstrations but in Romania, the government of Ceaușescu was toppled by a bloody revolution and in Bulgaria the changes came about slowly sluggishly.

14.2 INTERNAL REASONS FOR THE DISINTEGRATION

14.2.1 Historical

Although the final disintegration of the Socialist bloc took a few months in the latter half of 1989, the basic reasons for the collapse can be traced to the period when, more than forty years earlier, communist rule was imposed in these countries during Stalin's time. This fact of forcible imposition of a system of government and an ideology, and the lack of democratic means in this had alienated the citizens of these countries and the feeling grew stronger with the passage of time.

14.2.2 Cultural

The countries of the Socialist bloc could neither compete in the new fields of consumer culture, the third industrial revolution and the speed of information technology, nor could they constitute an alternative block which could insulate itself from the capitalist world as was possible at one time in history when the "iron curtain" and descended across Europe after World War II. They simply lagged behind, condemned to only copy from the west. In the most crucial field of all, communications, it became more and more possible for people in the Socialist bloc countries to hear and see what was happening in the outside world. The impact of West German television in much of East Germany and Czechoslovakia is an example of this. Pop music provided a direct means of reaching the young in the Socialist world. With higher levels of education and increasing opportunities for travel, the comparison between living standard and political conditions in the socialist and advanced capitalist countries became more obvious. It was this comparative, rather than absolute failure that provided the basis for the collapse; not only did it generate discontent with the Socialist system which was increasingly seen as bankrupt, but it also destroyed the belief that the Socialist system could in any way catch up with the capitalist West, let alone overtake it.

14.2.3 Political

The discontent generated by this failure led to a widespread discrediting of the ruling Communist parties and its leaders which in turn led to an erosion of their legitimacy to rule. The fact that, historically, these regimes had been imposed forcibly during the post World War II period, and that they had not been democratically elected, formed the basis for the simmering discontent among the people. The economic failures brought their discontent into sharper focus and the authoritarian nature of the rule made the people generally question the legitimacy of the Communists parties to govern and dictate. Economic failure not only stimulated but also consolidated the societal tensions and opposition in most of the East European countries and it finally erupted in a major upsurge of nationalism in the different counties. It brought together workers and intellectuals, many young people and all sorts of underground organisations, and this unity

proved to be an extremely effective and strong threat to the ruling elite. It must be kept in mind that in different countries, there were different degrees of unity and cooperation among these sections. Even those groups which had formerly supported the communist regimes now joined ranks with the opposition.

In some countries, such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland for e.g., as a result of all these pressures and lack of support, and in the face of mounting economic crisis, the ruling party began to lose confidence in its ability to rule. Whereas, in the sixties and seventies, whenever there had been mass demonstrations or opposition, the Communist Party had not hesitated to use force to suppress the threat to its rule, now in the late eighties, most of these ruling elites found it difficult to use force to maintain its rule. This inability to use force had both internal and external causes.

14.2.4 Economic

It has been pointed out that the most fundamental and all-encompassing reason was the failure of these countries to live on to their promise of "catching up with and overtaking capitalism" in political and economic terms. It was a multifaceted failure in which the most crucial aspect was a pervasive economic failure. Not only were these countries unable to catch up with the West in narrow, quantitative terms such as industrial output, technological changes and food production, but also, in more general terms were unable to raise standards of living and meet the rising popular expectations, especially in the newly arisen consumerism and popular culture where the contrast with the capitalist West became more pronounced.

Undoubtedly, this was the most important cause and it has been argued by many experts that if drastic economic reforms had been initiated, the other problems could have been contained to some degree. Economic success could have possibly made the sociocultural and political issues less acute and could have made the management of the discontent somewhat easier.

Uptill now, we have been discussing the domestic causes. Now we shall turn to the external factors.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Which was the most important internal factor in the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc ?

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- 2) How did cultural factors generate and increase opposition in the countries of Eastern Europe ?

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14.3 EXTERNAL REASONS FOR THE DISINTEGRATION

14.3.1 Role of the USSR

The most significant of the external factors was the role and politics of the erstwhile USSR. More than six years after the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc and five years after the break up of the Soviet Union, it is possible to state that Gorbachev's policies of **Glasnost** and **Perestroika** in the Soviet Union, made the upheavals in East Europe both possible and successful. Of course, we cannot say that Gorbachev had known or anticipated the chain reaction that took place – but certainly, he was totally incapable of stopping or controlling what he had started. Gorbachev wanted to reform socialism and he was indeed successful to the extent that a great many changes came about in the Soviet Union. He was responsible for introducing political reforms and greater democracy in the political system of the Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe. On the one hand democracy – of the Western capitalist kind – produced a great enthusiasm among the youth, the opposition groups and associations and those sections of political and social groups which were desiring reforms. On the other hand it dealt a blow to the more conservative elements. The demand for reforms soon snowballed into a demand for an all-embracing, extensive reform of the Communist political system.

There can be no doubt now that the most crucial decision on the part of the Soviet leadership, particularly Gorbachev, which had the greatest demoralizing effect on the Communist regimes in East Europe, was the decision to revoke the Brezhnev Doctrine. Certainly, in the ultimate analysis, the ruling regime of the Socialist bloc was overthrown or replaced by powerful mass movements, but they would never have taken place without the change in Soviet policy towards its satellite states. In November 1988, Gorbachev announced in the United Nations the decision to unilaterally reduce the size of the Soviet armed forces and to withdraw 50,000 troops from the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The Soviet troops would no longer intervene in these countries whenever there arose any threat to the Communist regimes in power. These regimes could now no longer depend on external support in times of crisis. Gorbachev's change of policy became the indispensable precondition for the changes to occur, since the regimes could now no longer go on ruling in the old way and the opposition groups would not have to fear the use of external force.

From the above it should not be understood that there was no opposition to dissent in East Europe during the Communist Party rule, before Gorbachev's November 1988 decision. There was opposition, but it was fragmented and not very strongly organised. Moreover, the Communist Party was in complete and strict control of the country. During the second half of the eighties, opposition acquired form, purpose and some order. And ultimately the Gorbachev factor became responsible for strengthening the forces of change and bringing them together, inspired by his role as a radical reformer of the system. Poland had already had a long period of opposition movements led by Solidarity; there was some opposition in Hungary but it was not very significant; in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, opposition had existed for a long time but it was mainly confined to intellectuals and its links with the larger masses were very weak. In Bulgaria and Romania, where the regimes had been most repressive, there was hardly any active opposition. But in the latter half of 1988 and 1989, the dissent movements and opposition became very active, began multiplying and in a surprisingly short

period, became a tidal wave which speedily and conclusively swept away the old regimes. As we mentioned in the first paragraph, both the time in which these events took place as well as the manner in which they occurred, were different in all the countries. What took a year in Poland and Hungary, took a few weeks in the GDR, a few bloodless days in Czechoslovakia and a few bloody days in Romania, while in Bulgaria, the orthodox Communist rulers went quietly in a couple of months. Looking back we can see that the rapid expulsion of the Communist Party and the total rejection of its role in society (which had been one of complete domination) was the one common factor in all these countries – and also the most remarkable. For it was with the weakening of these parties, that the popular forces and pluralistic elements came to the front. And, by withdrawing the support of Soviet troops, Gorbachev greatly facilitated this process of the weakening of the ruling Communist parties.

14.3.2 Role of the West

Yet another important international factor was the role of the Western capitalist countries. As the people in Eastern Europe began to get more and more organised in their demand for systemic reform, greater democracy and removal of the Communist Parties, they received a lot of encouragement and welcome from Western Europe and the U.S.A. There was widespread belief among the people of Eastern Europe that they would receive financial, diplomatic and even military assistance from the capitalist West. In this way, the expectation of support also worked as a stimulus in the gathering protest.

14.3.3 The Demonstration Effect

There was also what one may call the demonstration effect which we mentioned in the first paragraph of this essay and which we can consider in the category of external factors. The success which these movements of democracy and reform were achieving in the different countries, had a greatly encouraging effect on other similar movements and protests of the Socialist bloc and each victory took the entire process a step further towards the eventual disintegration of the Socialist bloc. Thus, people first witnessed liberalisation measures initiated by the government in Hungary, then the election of a Solidarity government in Poland. Then, all of a sudden, mass migrations began taking place from the GDR in the summer of 1989 followed by mass demonstrations. Events acquired a faster momentum now and Czechoslovakia witnessed upheavals and finally, the curtain came down with the sudden, violent and bloody change in Romania.

Check Your Progress 2

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What was Gorbachev's contribution in beginning the process of change in the Socialist Bloc?

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14.4 THE FALL OF THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS AND PARTIES IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Now let us make a more detailed examination of the manner in which the Communist regimes were opposed and overthrown in individual countries of the Socialist Bloc.

14.4.1 Poland

In the second half of 1989, changes first began in Poland and Hungary. In August, the Polish United Workers Party – which was the official title of the Communist Party headed by Gen. Jaruzelski – ceased to form the government, and Solidarity, headed by Lech Walesa as President, formed the government.

14.4.2 Hungary

In September, the Hungarian Government took an unprecedented foreign policy decision : they opened their borders and permitted several thousand East German citizens (who were spending their vacation in Eastern Europe and who refused to return to the GDR) to cross over into Austria and from there to West Germany, i.e., the FRG. While this decision obviously had the approval of the Soviet Union, it meant that for the first time, a country of the Socialist bloc was declaring its preference for the West during a time of crisis. As the future Czech foreign minister later commented, it was this action that signalled the beginning of the end of the Soviet Bloc. An agreement was also reached between the Hungarian government and the opposition parties on the creation of a multiparty system and finally, in October 1989, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (as the Communist Party was called) renamed itself the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) and abandoned Leninism as its ideology. The HSP also declared its country to be a 'republic' – and not a "people's republic" – in which bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism would apply and we can see the degree to which this decision influenced public life – as many as 51 parties were expected to contest the parliamentary elections scheduled for 1990.

14.4.3 GDR

The regimes in the GDR and the Czech Republic were the next to crumble. Erich Honecker was removed as party leader and head of the State of GDR in October 1989 and widespread public demonstrations for democracy took place. The emigration of the country's youth and other professionals also continued in large numbers so that finally, in November, the GDR announced an end to travel restrictions for its citizens and threw open its borders with FRG, allowing direct emigration to the West. The Berlin Wall – which was the most important symbol of the East-West divide for so long – came crashing down, as thousands of people poured across – most of whom did not return. The entire Politbureau and the government resigned in December and the leading role of the Communist Party was scrapped and its name was also changed. In early January 1990, the official name of the party became party of Communist Democratic Socialism and all the time, the mass exodus of East Germans into the West continued. More than 4000 people were leaving every day, creating serious problems for both the GDR and FRG.

Increasingly, reunification of the two Germanies was seen as the only solution to the problem and finally as the East German crisis depended, both Moscow and the wartime allied powers of the West – United States, Great Britain and France – agreed to hold meetings and conferences to discuss all the aspects of reunification of the two Germanies.

14.4.4 Czechoslovakia

The Czech government tried unsuccessfully to suppress the popular demonstrations and rising opposition in October, and finally in November, 1989 the government and party leadership were overthrown. On 27 November a two hour general strike took place in cities and towns all over the country which finally resulted in the rejection of the leading role of the Communist Party. And on December 29, a special joint session of the Czech Federal Assembly unanimously elected Vaclav Havel – the man who barely eleven months earlier was arrested with 800 others for human rights protests in January 1989 – as the first Czech non-Communist President since 1948.

14.4.5 Bulgaria

Problems in Bulgaria erupted next. The first independent demonstration by more than five thousand people (after forty years of the Bulgarian Communist [BCP] rule) outside the National Assembly occurred on November 3, 1989 and a week later, the Bulgarian Central Committee accepted the resignation of the 78 year old BCP Secretary - General Zhikov. The new Bulgarian Party Politburo condemned the 1968 Soviet led invasion of Czechoslovakia and in this manner tried to reverse the then existing view of history. In early December, nine independent organisations joined together to establish the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria (UDF). The UDF later announced that it would campaign for political pluralism, a market economy and follow the rule of law. Finally, in January 1990, in an extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party Congress, the orthodox conservatives were totally defeated, the Central Committee and Politburo were abolished and replaced with a 153 member Supreme Council.

14.4.6 Romania

In Romania, the Communist Party regime continued to resist the popular uprisings and also attempted to organise "joint action" with other socialist countries to crush the opposition movements. Here, the downfall of the ruling elite was the bloodiest. At the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in November 1989, Nicolai Ceaușescu strongly resisted the idea that reform was necessary. At a time when the entire Socialist Base was in turmoil, this resistance to change is truly surprising. The critical point came in December when the government's attempts to seize a priest who defended the rights of ethnic Hungarians in Romania led to massive demonstrations, which quickly turned into anti-government protest. Security and army troops were ordered to open fire on crowds in two cities and when the Defence Minister refused to cooperate in this killing of innocent people, he was executed. This led to the Army joining ranks with the demonstrators, which ended with the fall of the government. A short but bloody civil war ensued which ended with the capture and trial of Nicolai Ceaușescu and his wife by a military tribunal after which they were executed by a firing squad. National Salvation Front, which had been created earlier, was recognised by the Soviet government, which promised a return to democracy.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
- ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.
- 1) Give the reasons for the differences in the manner in which the Communist Parties fell in Poland Romania.

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- 2) Describe the events which led to the reunification of the GDR and FRG.

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14.5 LET US SUM UP

Thus it was that the old order, represented by a bipolar world structure, came to an end. The new world order did not immediately get established – in fact, we can say that in many ways, it still has not been born – we are living in a period of transition. Many problems are in the process of being solved – many will continue to be there well into the next century. We can also say that the overthrow of the Communist government in the countries of the Socialist Bloc was only the first step in a long march towards reform and democracy. Not these countries, but the Western Bloc and the rest of the world as well were trying to understand the implications of this dramatic transformation of the world order. Our purpose was to examine the reasons and the manner in which the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc took place. How the individual countries attempted to tackle the political, economic, social, cultural and moral issues arising out of this disintegration would be the subject of another lesson.

14.6 KEYWORDS

Disintegration	:	The process by which an entity come apart, breaks up.
GDR	:	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
FRG	:	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
BCP	:	Bulgarian Communist Party
Socialist Bloc	:	The term was used to designate the countries in the Soviet camp, or the Warsaw Pact countries.
Glasnost	:	Russian word for Openness
Perestroika	:	Russian word for Restructuring
Solidarity	:	The Polish Workers Party formed under Walesa's leadership.

14.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

**Disintegration of the
Socialist Bloc**

Brown, J.F., 1991, **Surge to Freedom : The End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe**, Duke University Press, London.

Arnason, Johann P., 1993 **The Future that Failed : Origins and Destinies of the Soviet Model**, Routledge, London and New York.

Ash, Timothy Garton, 1989, **The Uses of Adversity : Essays on the Fate of Central Europe**, Random House, New York.

14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The economic factor was the most important internal factor in the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc.
- 2) With technological changes, communication revolution, increased education levels and greater travel and interaction, the people in the countries of Eastern Europe had greater and greater access to the happenings in the outside world. The impact of television and pop music and life-styles in the West propagated consumerism and increased the dissatisfaction with the way of life in their own countries.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Gorbachev's policies of **Glansost** and **Peresfroika** opened the process of change by attempting to reform socialism, introducing political reforms, democracy and economic reforms. It checked the conservative elements and inspired similar movements in Eastern Europe. Finally, in revoking the Brezhnev Doctrine in November 1988, Gorbachev paved the way for the changes by removing the main support of authoritarian regimes in power.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) In Poland, Solidarity had evolved as an effective political force over more than a decade and had managed to get many concessions from the Communist government – but in Romania, the authoritarian government of Ceausescu refused to make any concessions and also tried to suppress the demonstrations most brutally. So the people revolted.
- 2) The continuing migration and refusal of the people to return to the GDR, creating enormous economic and infrastructural problems, the breaking of the Berlin Wall and the psychological factor of being essentially one people eventually led to the reunification of the two Germanies.

UNIT 15 PERSPECTIVES ON THE CHANGING WORLD ORDER

Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Meaning and Dimensions of a New World Order
 - 15.2.1 Summary of Different Perspective
- 15.3 The Realist Perspective
- 15.4 The Liberal Perspective
- 15.5 The Marxist Perspective
- 15.6 The Perspective of Different Countries
 - 15.6.1 The American Perspective
 - 15.6.2 The European Perspective
 - 15.6.3 The Chinese Perspective
 - 15.6.4 The Russian Perspective
 - 15.6.5 The Developing Countries' Perspective
- 15.7 The Current Situation and Future Prospects
- 15.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 15.9 Key Words
- 15.10 Some Useful Books
- 15.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

15.0 OBJECTIVES

The break up of the Socialist bloc and the disintegration of Soviet Union, have an impact on world under. What are features of this new world order, how do different Schools of thought and actors on the international stage perceive this order. This unit deals with these questions. After going through this unit you should be able to

- explain the meaning and dimension, of the New World Order.
- identify the realist, liberal and Marxist perspectives on NWO, and
- recognise the broad perspectives of important actor, on the New world Order.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

It was President George Bush of the United States of America who began to first speak of a "new international order" at what was thought to be the successful conclusion of the Gulf War. The obvious questions that first come up are : what is a world order and what is new about it? Generally, a world order would describe the arrangement in which international relations are organised and carried out and so, a new world order would mean that a new such arrangement has come about, which is different from that which preceded it. More specifically, when we say that the present era is one which is characterised by a new world order, we mean that the old order, which was based on a bipolar division of the world as result of the Cold War, which characterized and overshadowed international regulations and global politics, has gone.

It was the disintegration of the Socialist Bloc in 1989 and subsequently the break up of the Soviet Union which finally and formally brought an end to the bipolar world order. Only after these developments, it came to be heard and read with increasing frequency that a New World Order (NWO) had come into existence. This term should not be taken to mean that there is a new system of international relations. Like the old world order, the NWO also continues to rest on the foundations of the sovereign state system which has been in place since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The NWO, born around 1991 suggests something else : that significant changes have come about in the structure of power relations in the world.

15.2 MEANING AND DIMENSIONS OF A NEW WORLD ORDER

At its core, the NWO suggests, first, that the rankings of the major actors or in other words, the order of importance of the various states have changed significantly and, therefore, the distribution of power in the world has also changed. More importantly, not only have the rankings changed but some states have vanished, while new ones have come into being. To give some examples : The Soviet Union no longer exists – instead there are fifteen new republics; Germany has reunified and there are strong prospects of the two Koreas – North and South – coming together in the future, Yugoslavia has experienced tremendous ethnic conflicts and appears to be fragmented into nearly five states. In addition to these developments, far-reaching systemic changes have come about in some other countries. For example, the states of the Socialist bloc have replaced the communist party rule with western style multiparty democratic systems.

There are several other factors which have greatly changed the system of power in the NWO. As mentioned earlier, although the sovereign state system continues to be the foundation of international relations, this sovereign state has to deal with a number of factors which have greatly transformed the nature of its functioning. Moreover, national boundaries are no longer posing any barriers to intervention of different kinds, even though nationalism is becoming a strong force in many parts of the world. Large Trans national Corporations (TNCs) with global strategies distribute resources for gaining more and more profit. Technologies and weapons of mass destruction are slowly spreading across borders – the collapse of the Soviet Union, in fact, removed one of the factors which had checked the spread of nuclear weapons in the old world order, i.e., tight Soviet technological controls and influence over its constituent states. Other global forces which greatly challenge the powers of the sovereign state are – the drug trade, terrorism, the spread of AIDS and environmental problems like global warming. In the NWO, international relations are going to be dominated by thinking about collective efforts to tackle these global problems.

Everybody therefore agrees that the world has changed – but the meaning and interpretation of these changes differ greatly across the world. Both these developments and their analyses are being done differently by different countries, depending upon their situation, ranking in the world order, and the degree to which they have been affected by these changes. In fact, in this unit, as we make a survey of the different perspectives on the NWO, we will see how fundamentally different assessments and points of view emerge and how different is the perception of the nature of the changes and how they see the kind of future that is shaping now.

15.2.1 Summary of Different Perspective

In the United States, there was a feeling of having won the Cold War and together with it, a sense of relief that the Soviet Union was, as it were, exhausted by the struggle. In Europe, there is a sense of opportunity, of regaining lost power and reassuming a larger role, a greater leverage, in world affairs. In China, as well, there is also a sense of opportunity, but this is mixed with a sense of isolation as the number of the Communist states becomes less and less and as the United States tries to play a more and more dominating role. In Russia, the erstwhile Soviet Union, there is a lot of confusion. While many view the developments as a victory of the struggle for freedom, on the other hand, they lost the Cold War. In the majority of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is none of the optimism about the future. For these countries in the developing world, there seems to be very little that has changed in the New World Order. First of all, the rankings of these states stayed the same, or in some cases, become worse – they were at the bottom before; they are at the bottom now. Furthermore, what little aid these countries could expect for their socio-economic development, is now lessened by the flow of funds to the former USSR and countries of Eastern Europe for their reconstruction. Thus we see that there are very different assessments of the changes all around.

The end of the bipolar world has led many to argue that the collapse of the Soviet Union has left the world with one dominant power – the United States, and so, it is not multipolarity but unipolarity which is the basis of the NWO. They point out that the five powers i.e. United States, Europe, Japan, Russia and China, are not equally balanced : Russia will continue to suffer from economic problems as it carries on with its reforms, China is still a developing country despite its impressive growth, Europe, although equal to the US in economic and human resources, does not have the necessary political unity to act as a single power, and Japan, although economically and technologically superior is limited in the military field. But this argument has been criticized by some on the ground that what we are witnessing in the NWO is an era of multipolarity, where the world order rests on a balance of five roughly equal powers. This is because, in today's world, it is not political or military power, but economic power which is increasingly determining the status of a country in the world order. In the economic field, there is no one single power which can dominate over the others.

15.3 THE REALIST PERSPECTIVE

From the perspective of the Realist School of International Relations, there is definitely a New World Order, but it did not begin with the Gulf War. For the realists, it is not 'justice', but the distribution of power among states that is the determining feature of a world order. Therefore, it was with the collapse of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe in the autumn of 1989, that the New World Order came into being. The rapid decline of the Soviet Union led to the end of the bipolar world which had provided a certain stability to the world and had persisted for nearly half a century. Certainly, the old world order had provided a stability of a kind. While the Cold War generated and fuelled a number of Third World conflicts, if not actual wars, involving the two super powers on either side, by proxy, but economic conflicts among the United States, Europe and Japan were kept in check by common concerns regarding the Soviet military threat. Bitter ethnic divisions in Eastern Europe for example, were kept under a tight lid by the Soviet presence there. (It is often argued that if the Socialist bloc had not disintegrated, Yugoslavia would not have become the hotbed of conflict that it is now.) In fact, a number of Third World conflicts were averted or shortened when

the superpowers feared that their clients might drag them to the point of a nuclear confrontation. The various Arab-Israeli conflicts were, for example, brief. In fact, some experts believe that a stronger Soviet Union would never have allowed its Iraqi client to invade Kuwait. If so, contrary to what some American analysts believe, Kuwait can be seen as a victim, rather than the cause of the NWO.

15.4 THE LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

Some analysts see the collapse of the bipolar world and the end of the Cold War as the victory of liberal capitalism and the end of the large ideological divides which were responsible for the great international conflicts of this century. This was the "end of history" thesis, propounded by Francis Fukuyama, according to which there is now no single, great competitor to liberal capitalism, in ideological terms. International relations have thus, to that extent, become more simplified because it is a single, unified world system that we live in today. The illusion, that there was a separate socio-economic system in the process of construction, has been destroyed—and a unification of world politics is underway. Various factors have promoted this tendency, the globalization of capital, the industrialization of many areas of the third world, large scale movements of people from poor to rich countries and the development of transcontinental communication networks. However, this view is not without its drawbacks.

There are many people within the liberal framework who point out that the collapse of communism has brought about a situation where there are now a great many sources of international conflict. Liberal capitalism has many competitors now, although they are fragmented and divided. For example, the indigenous neo-Maoism of Peru's Shining Path guerrilla movement; the many varieties of Islamic fundamentalism and the rise of ethnic nationalism.

15.5 THE MARXIST PERSPECTIVE

There are great many variants in the Marxist perspective on the NWO and each of them is an extremely complex attempt to come to terms with the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. But there are certain core features which could be said to constitute this view. First of all, the collapse of the Socialist bloc and the Soviet Union has been a major blow to the Marxist paradigm since it is interpreted by the West as the end of any kind of socialist alternative to capitalism. But Marxists believe that this is not the end of socialism – rather it is an opportunity to once again gather strength, get rid of the distortions that had plagued socialism and emerge with a better alternative. They believe that the fundamental injustices of the capitalist system – exploitation and inequity – will ultimately create the conditions for its downfall.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the meaning of a NWO and what is new about it?

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- 2) What are the major theoretical perspectives on the NWO and what is the major difference between them?

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15.6 THE PERSPECTIVE OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Before we begin to outline the different perspectives, it must be kept in mind that what we are going to examine is the official or governmental perspective on the NWO and not the views of intellectuals, theorists, scholars or individual political leaders. There is often such a diversity of views prevailing within a single country, which is also very often conflicting with each other, that it would be impossible to put them all down. We must also understand that there would be differences among the different countries or regions such as Europe or the developing areas – and again it would require a book to explain each country's position, or every individual viewpoint. What we are attempting to do is to broadly categorize the different perspectives according to the common interest that prevail among different countries, and these interests are largely economic, political and cultural.

15.6.1 The American Perspective

From the American point of view, there is only one Superpower in the world now, i.e., the United States, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar world order. The US has therefore to perform a leading role in this post Cold War World, which involves (a) preserving international stability and (b) leading a world wide movement for democracy. Both these objectives (which are criticized for being contradictory in nature) are based on the belief that the US can do what it likes, without fear of any serious opposition, because there is no Soviet Union and because Europe is largely an ally of the US. America's leading role also arises from the fact that it is the only country with the necessary military, diplomatic, political and economic power. But the US also realizes that such a unipolar system will not last for long because the international system has always been characterised by instability and dynamism, so that changes are recurring all the time. The end of the Cold War does not mean that this characteristic of instability has also come to an end and the US knows that the other members of the international community are not going to automatically agree with everything the US wishes to do. In fact, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which was the common enemy of the West European countries and the US for so long, the differences among the latter are coming out into the open. So the US will have to keep this in mind. But on the whole, on major international issues, both the US and West European countries tend to adopt broadly similar positions – particularly where common economic and strategic interests are involved.

15.6.2 The European Perspective

The Maastricht Treaty which was formally enforced on November 1, 1993, brought into being the long awaited European Union. But despite this apparently big step towards European integration, it must be remembered that there are major

differences among the countries of Western Europe on many fundamental issues, which reveals the absence of a genuine political will towards closer integration and also shown that beneath the efforts for a Union, strong nationalistic feeling continue to exist. Therefore, it is obvious that there are going to be differences in the perspectives of these countries as regards the NWO. In general, the collapse of the Soviet Union was seen in terms of a victory of the Western bloc in the Cold War, but the disintegration of the Socialist bloc fundamentally transformed the political and security environment in Europe.

With the removal of the factor that had kept them strongly united, the other important interests came into prominence, and it was now possible to pursue those interests more freely. After unification, Germany has emerged as the predominant force of Europe at the global level and a united, strong and economically powerful Germany has generated fears among the others. The countries of Europe are unevenly matched economically, they have major differences in the area of foreign and defence policies and there are historical problems also. However, a broad area of convergence of interests exists and it can be said to constitute the core of the European perspective : they see the need to coordinate efforts to promote the market economy in Eastern Europe and thus assist the process of incorporating the erstwhile Socialist bloc into the world capitalist system, to keep the national and ethnic conflicts in Eastern Europe under control and prevent the influx of the large number of refugees into their countries. In this manner, the perspective of the European countries is mainly Europe-centered. And as the economic disparity between the North and South widens, Europe needs to coordinate its position on the debt issue, on trade and aid problems and the matter of nuclear proliferation.

15.6.3 The Chinese Perspective

The Chinese view of the NWO is a rather ambivalent one – in the sense that it has elements of both optimism and pessimism. They agree on the whole that the old order has come to an end, but believe that a NWO has yet to take shape. In other words, we are going through a process of transition. While the international situation is more relaxed, factors threatening world peace and causing tension have not been removed completely. While some old problems have disappeared, new ones have cropped up, which could become destabilizing forces in future. For example, the Middle East Question remains unresolved after the Gulf War and the peace talks between Israel and the Arab countries are likely to be long and difficult process. Ethnic problems in some European countries are threatening to take on very serious proportions and the gap between the rich and poor countries is increasing. In other words, the present situation is at a vital turning point. On the whole, while it is not a unipolar world, we are moving in a direction of multipolarity and in order that the new structures and institutions contribute to peace and development, the NWO should be established on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, the **Panchsheel**, the core of which is non-interference in each other internal affairs. More importantly, the people and governments of all countries are entitled to adopt the social and political system and ideology of their own choice, keeping in view their national conditions. This perspective is clearly shaped by China's circumstances and requirements. Internally, China is undergoing a lot of changes and she realizes that her modernization process will take a long time. In that context, she shares some concerns with the developing countries. China is also being pressured by the US and the West on issues of human rights and opening up of the Chinese market. Yet it is an important power in the world today.

15.6.4 The Russian Perspective

As mentioned earlier, from the Russian point of view, the end of the bipolar world order was both a failure and a victory. On balance, the Russian perspective is predominately inward-looking and the concerns are mainly domestic since the crucial question for Russia is the fate of democracy and market reforms in the country on the one hand and the management of conflict in the CIS on the other hand. Priority is therefore given to the fulfillment of its national interests which means that all efforts would be concentrated on making a success of the free market economy, the privatisation and liberalisation of the entire economy, which would mean carrying out some extremely unpopular measures as well. To that end, there is a greater involvement in international organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank and GATT, and also actively relating to various regional organisations. Russian leaders are keen to establish Russia as a reliable and predictable partner in the international community and they believe that Russia will not cease to be a great power, even if it is no longer a superpower. Russia's global aims – disarmament and limitation of the arms race to release greater funds for socio-economic reforms and development – would be given due importance as also normalization of relations with the US, Japan and Europe.

15.6.5 The Developing Countries' Perspective

From the perspective of the developing world, the NWO has brought about a different division of the world into sharper focus. Whereas earlier, it was essentially ideological – between the capitalist West and the Communist East, now the divide is between the rich North and the poor South. And as the NWO takes more concrete shape, the iron curtain will be replaced by an economic curtain, leading to an increasing marginalisation of the poorest countries. The fear that prevails is that international relations would once again come to be dominated by Euro-Centrism, which had been kept in check by the bipolar structure and the Cold War. Some people point out that the need for raw materials and oil (which is possessed by the developing countries) will ensure that the South is not ignored or neglected too much, but in real terms, these countries would not be able to play an effective or important role in the NWO. The disintegration of the Socialist bloc has also led to a situation where the bulk of aid and trade is now being concentrated on the countries of Eastern Europe, since the overall economic and political stability of Europe is of greater concern. Consequently, humanitarian aid to the developing world would be greatly reduced. Not only that, greater conditions will be imposed on the aid given to the South, such as allowing free access to TNCs, severe limits on the amount of energy used for developmental projects, strict lowering of birth rates, interference in the domestic politics and imposition of Western style of democracy and multiparty politics, the introduction of a free market economy and selective transfer of technology, most of which is outdated and irrelevant. The developing countries also believe that greater priority will be given to global issues of vital importance to the rich North – such as environmental problems, human rights and nuclear proliferation. The need of the hour is a strong and united organisation, both at the regional level as well as within the developing world as a whole, to push for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), New International Political Order (NIPO) and New International Information Order (NIIO) as well as to transform the United Nations into a stronger and more effective organisation. On the whole, given the controversial and conflicting relations among the countries of the South, the outlook is not very promising.

Check Your Progress 2

Perspectives on the Changing World Order

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What are the main differences in the American and European perspective on the NWO?

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- 2) Describe the special features of the Chinese view point and the perspective of the developing countries.

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15.7 THE CURRENT SITUATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Thus, we can see that the present situation is anything but clear cut and well defined. There are many uncertainties and a wide variety of circumstances and it is obvious that things will take some time before a clear picture of the NWO can emerge. It may be called a period of transition where trends are indicative of an emerging multipolarity and naturally there are a great many differences in the approach and perspectives towards the NWO. The future will depend greatly on how the different countries can solve their problems – domestically, bilaterally and multilaterally – and how they can together work for peace and development in the world.

15.8 LET US SUM UP

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the demise of the Cold War have given birth of a New World Order. Now the bipolar world has been replaced by US led Unipolar world. The world is no longer divided into different socio-economic systems. Now the capitalist system has been the dominant force in the world. The local wars and the civil wars that were being fought during the period of previous world order, were generally the anti-imperialist nation liberation wars. They have now been replaced by parochial ethnic and religious fundamentalist civil wars or terrorist insurgencies. A new world trade system has come into existence and the World Trade Organisation has been formed. Trade barriers between the sovereign states are being relaxed. Embargoes on free flow of capital are being gradually withdrawn. Free competition and market economy are replacing the system of economy which was being so long dominated by state controlled economy.

15.9 KEY WORDS

NWO	: New World Order
TNCs	: Trans National Corporations
AIDS	: Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CIS	: Commonwealth of Independent States
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Euro-centric	: A situation where the focus of all policies as well as benefits, is confined to Europe.

15.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Olson, William C., and Groom, A.J.R., (1991), **International Relation then and Now : Origins and Trends in Interpretation**, Harper Collins Academic, London.
Kurth, James, "The Shape of the New World Order", **National Interest**, 24, Summer 1991.

Roberts, Admn., A New Age in International Relations", **International Affairs**, 67, 1992, pp. 509-25.

15.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) A new world order implies that the arrangement in which international relations are organised and carried out, has changed. What is new about is, that the old order which was based on the bipolar division of the world has gone and has been replaced by a system in which power relations and hierarchy have undergone changes as well.
- 2) The major theoretical perspectives on the NWO are the Realist, the Liberal and the Marxist. The Realist perspective focuses only on the power factor in international relations and does not pass any judgement on the morality or justice of the relations. The Liberal perspective sees the NWO as victory of Capitalism and the Liberal-capitalist ethnic while the Marxist perspective stresses the inherently unjust nature of the NWO and believes that the internal contradictions of capitalism would soon bring about its destruction.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) The American and European perspectives are broadly similar but the major concerns are obviously different. The US obviously sees a global role for itself whereas Europe's concerns are focused more on the continent. The immediate political and security goals of both are also somewhat different whereas in the economic field, elements of competition are becoming stronger.

- 2) While China and the developing countries also share many similar concerns, the main differences arise out of the relative difference in power and status that they have. As a major power in the world, China has obviously a greater degree of leverage than the poorer and less powerful developing countries, and is less likely to be victim of exploitation and dictation by the developed countries.

NOTES

UNIT 16 RESTRUCTURING OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Organization, Structure and Functions of the UN System
 - 16.2.1 The UN Charter : Purposes and Principles
 - 16.2.2 Main Organs of the UN and their Functions
- 16.3 The Changing Role of the UN
 - 16.3.1 The Cold War Period
 - 16.3.2 Post-Cold War Period
- 16.4 Some Accomplishments and Shortcomings
 - 16.4.1 Accomplishments
 - 16.4.2 Shortcomings
- 16.5 Restructuring of the UN System – Major Proposals and India's Position
- 16.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 16.7 Key Words
- 16.8 Some Useful Books
- 16.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

16.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the most significant international governmental organization – the United Nations – surveying its changing role in maintaining international peace and security since its inception. It also briefly discusses the UN's role in the field of socio-economic development. Its main focus is to summarise the ongoing discussion at international fora regarding restructuring of the UN system so as to make it more democratic, effective and relevant to contemporary world problems. After going through this unit you should be able to :

- describe the organizations, structure and functions of the UN system.
- gain an overview of the changing role of the UN during and after the end of the Cold War.
- examine some of the major successes and failures of the UN.
- describe the major proposals on the restructuring and reforming of the UN.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

Unit 16 has examined the Gulf War, disintegration of the USSR and the socialist bloc and the different perspectives on the concept of World Order. These extraordinary changes have influenced the changing role of the United Nations.

The UN was established on 24 October 1945. On that day, the UN Charter (constitution) came into force. The UN Day is celebrated each year on this day. The study of the UN system is important for many reasons. But two of them are most important. *First*, out of 390 inter-governmental international organizations that have been established since 1945, the UN has been the most important because of its significant influence on world politics. It has institutionalised a framework for international cooperation on a scale unprecedented in human history. It has attempted to resolve numerous international social, economic and humanitarian problems. *Second*, it has survived its first half century existence and in the process of reforming itself to face the future. Its predecessor, the League of Nations, which

was the first international organization for global peace and security, could not actively function for more than 20 years. In fact, with the birth of the UN, the death of the League of Nations was officially pronounced.

16.2 ORGANIZATION, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE UN SYSTEM

The sub-unit discusses the organisational set up of the United Nations under different sub-headings, such as the UN Charter: Purposes and Principles and the main organs of the UN and their functions.

16.2.1 The UN Charter : Purposes and Principles

The UN charter was originally ratified by 51 states in 1945, including India. These states are known as founding members of the UN. During the first 50 years its membership rose to 185, thus making the UN Charter an universally ratified international treaty.

According to Article 1 of the UN Charter, the purposes of the United Nations are four-fold : (i) to maintain international peace and security; (ii) to develop friendly relations among nations based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (iii) to cooperate internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and (iv) to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

The basic purposes on which the UN works are that it is based on the recognition of sovereign equality of all its Members, who are expected to fulfill their Charter obligations. They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering peace, security and justice. They are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other state. They are to assist the UN, in any action it takes in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The UN does not interfere in the domestic matters of any State.

In the preamble to the UN Charter there are *four* stated concerns and objectives and *four methods and practical steps* suggested for their realisation. The concerns are : (i) to save succeeding generations from war (as it should be recalled here that the two great World Wars of this century brought untold sorrows and destruction the casualty of human life in these wars was approximately 41.5 and 60 millions respectively); (ii) to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of human beings, in the equal rights of nations large and small; (iii) to establish conditions for justice and respect for treaty obligations; and (iv) to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. And for these ends; (i) to practise tolerance; (ii) to unite in maintaining international peace and security; (iii) to ensure that armed forces shall not be used save in common interest; and (iv) to employ international machinery for the promotion of economic and social advancement of peoples.

16.2.2 Main Organs of the UN and their Functions

To enable the UN to achieve its stated purposes and objectives the organization has been equipped with six main organs.

The General Assembly, perhaps the closest approximation of a world parliament, is the main deliberative body. It is designed to utilize the time honoured technique of resolving problems by free and frank discussions. It is to function as the worlds permanent forum and a meeting place. It is created on the assumption that "war of words" is better than war fought with "swords" or bombs. All Member states of the UN, are represented in it, and each has one vote on the basis of sovereign equality. Decisions on ordinary matters are taken by simple majority. Important questions require two thirds of the vote.

The Assembly has the right to discuss and make recommendations on all matters within the scope of the UN Charter. Its decisions are not binding on member States, but they carry the weight of world opinion. Thus, it does not legislate like a national parliament. But in the meeting rooms and corridors of the UN, representatives of almost all countries of the world — large and small, rich and poor, from diverse political and social systems — have a voice and vote in shaping the policies of the international community.

The Security Council is the organ to which the Charter gives primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. It can be convened at any time, even at mid-night when peace is threatened. Member States are obligated to carry out its decisions. It has 15 members. Five of these — China, France, the Russian Federation, the UK and the US — are permanent members. The other 10 are elected by the Assembly for two - year terms.

Decisions require nine votes; except in votes on procedural questions. A decision cannot be taken if there is a "no" vote by a permanent member (known as the "veto") on substantive questions.

When a threat to *peace* is brought before the Council, it usually first asks the parties to reach agreement by peaceful means. The Council may undertake mediation or set forth principles for settlement. It may request the Secretary General to investigate and report on a situation. If fighting breaks out, the Council tries to secure a cease-fire. It may send peace-keeping units (observers or troops) to troubled areas, with the consent of the parties involved, to reduce tension and keep opposing forces apart. Unlike the General Assembly resolutions, its decisions are binding and it has the power to enforce its decisions by imposing economic sanctions and by ordering collective military action as it did during Korean Crisis (1950) and authorized US-led forces to take action in Iraq-Kuwait Crisis (1990-91).

Absence or prevention of war does not automatically ensure a peaceful international system. To diminish the underlying causes of future conflicts that might lead to such threats to the peace or breach of peace, the founding fathers of the UN also provided mechanisms for economic and social progress and development and to promote higher standards of living. This job has been assigned to the **Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)** and specialized agencies.

The ECOSOC has 54 members. It usually holds two-month long sessions each year. It coordinates the economic and social work of the UN and related specialized agencies and institutions — together, known as the UN family of organizations or *simply as the UN system*. It recommends and directs activities aimed at, among others, promoting economic growth of developing countries, administering development and humanitarian assistance projects, promoting the observance of human rights, ending discrimination against minorities, spreading the benefits of science and technology, and fostering world cooperation in areas such as better housing, family planning and crime prevention.

The **Trusteeship Council** was created to supervise the administration of 11 Trust Territories and to ensure that Governments responsible for their administration take adequate steps to prepare them for self-government and independence. It is gratifying to note that all these territories have attained independence by the end of 1994 and now this body has little work. In fact, the Secretary General has recommended its abolition.

The **International Court of Justice** consists of 15 judges who are elected concurrently by the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is the main judicial organ of the UN. It resolves legal issues and interprets international treaties.

The **Secretariat** is the main organ. It consists of the Secretary General and other staff and personnel who run the UN administration and carry out the day-to-day work of the UN. Staff members are drawn from some 160 countries. As international civil servants, they work for the UN as a whole, and pledge not to seek or receive instructions from any government or outside authority. It has more than 25,000 staff, whereas its specialized agencies have around 30,000 staff.

Till now the office of the Secretary-General has been occupied by seven incumbents: Trygve

Lie (Norway); Dag Hammarskjold (Sweden) U Thant (Myanmar), Kurt Waldheim (Austria), Javier Perez de Cuellar (Peru), Boutros Boutros Ghali (Egypt) and Kofi Annan (Ghana).

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your progress with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) The UN was created at the end of the World War II to

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- 2) What broad distinction can you make between the decision of General Assembly and the Security Council?

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- 3) What is veto power? Who possesses it in the UN?

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16.3 THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE UN

The role of the UN can be examined briefly under two sections – the Cold War and the post-Cold War period.

16.3.1 The Cold War Period

We may recall here from unit 7 that among the main casualties of the Cold War was the UN. The Cold War has had such a profound impact that the UN could not perform its basic function of ensuring peace across the world. The Security Council was often deadlocked due to the use/misuse of veto by its permanent members – the so-called “Great Powers”. During the last 50 years, over 100 major conflicts around the world have occurred, which left some 20 million people dead. The Security Council was able to take action and enforce peace only on two occasions – the Korean Crisis of 1950 and the Iraq-Kuwait Crisis of 1990-91. In no other crisis – situations it was able to act, due to the exercise of veto. Till now, 280 times veto has been used, in the UN, of which half were cast in the first 10 years of the Cold War era. The veto power has been used by all the five permanent members of the Council at some time or the other, but the erstwhile USSR and USA – the two Superpowers – have used it somewhat indiscriminately. For instance, during the period 1945-85, the US exercised the veto 58 times while the Soviet Union used it 117 times. Due to the frequent use and misuse of veto, the Council was not able to pass resolutions on a number of serious crises that were brought before it. This led to the decline of the Security Council’s role.

During the Cold War period the UN had to deal with many crisis-situations such as the Korean Crisis (1950), Palestine question, Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir, Suez crisis (1956), Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956), the Congo Crisis (1960-64), Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979-88), Cambodian situation (1978), and Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). On

most of these cases, the Security Council could not agree on the nature of action to be taken to resolve them due to the veto problem. Under such circumstances, the General Assembly went into action under the authority of the famous "Uniting for Peace Resolution" of 1950, which enabled it to meet within 24 hours notice and recommend action to maintain peace and security in troubled region. The Assembly can invoke this resolution only when the Security Council is paralysed due to veto. In such cases, the Assembly assumes powers which were entrusted by the Charter exclusively to the Security Council.

Under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, the Assembly has met in emergency sessions to deal with many crises such as those of Suez, Hungary, Congo, Afghanistan, Namibia etc. During the Suez crisis, it invented a novel method to maintain peace. It sent to Suez a peace-keeping force — a force which does not fight to enforce peace, it only acts as buffer between parties to the conflict and is deployed on cease-fire line with the permission of the parties. Such a force was also sent to Congo and other places.

With the beginning of Detente between the two Cold warriors — the US and the former USSR — in 1970s, the Security Council regained its lost importance. As a result, the Cold War really became cold and the veto was not invoked as frequently as earlier.

16.3.2 The Post-Cold War Period

It should be noted that thirteen peace-keeping operations were undertaken by the UN between 1945-1987. Such "peace-keeping" functions were quite successful as the forces were mainly drawn from non-aligned States, while the Great Powers were barred from contributing forces. Due to its significant role in this field, the UN peace-keeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988. But the first five years after the Cold War has witnessed more crisis-situations than any comparable period of the Cold War era. Beginning with the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, the UN had to deal with many intra-State ethnic conflicts or civil wars. Since the end of the Cold War more than 20 UN peace-keeping operations have been launched. During the last 50 years nearly 6,50,000 people have served in such peace-keeping operations. A total of 1,145 have died while carrying out their duties. The UN has spent over \$ 11 billion on these operations. At the end of July 1995 nearly 70,000 peace keepers were deployed in 16 UN peace-keeping operations with an aggregate annual budget of approximately \$ 3.6 billion. Thus, the post-Cold War scenario has made the UN Members to rediscover the relevance of the UN to threatening peace and security.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check Your progress with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the importance of "Uniting for Peace" resolution?

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- 2) Explain the term "Peace-Keeping Force".

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16.4 SOME ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

Like any other international organization, the UN too has many accomplishments and shortcomings. Cooperation from its members has made it successful in many areas. The constraints and limitations under which it operates have contributed towards some of its failures. For reasons of space, only some of the accomplishments and limitations of the UN are attempted here.

16.4.1 Accomplishments

- 1) One of the greatest achievements of the UN is its role in the field of decolonization. It gave inspiration to millions of African and Asian people, who were under colonial rule, to claim the right of self-determination and independence. When the UN was founded, 80 of the present UN Members were under colonial rule. The UN helped many of them to achieve independence.
- 2) In the field of human rights, the UN has played a significant role. It has set a comprehensive list of norms or standards of human rights. These norms are defined in UN conventions, declarations and covenants. Till now it has adopted around 88 human rights instruments.
- 3) More international law has been formalised through the UN in the first 50 years of its existence than in the entire previous history of mankind. It has made major contributions towards expanding the rule of law among nations through the codification of international law.
- 4) In 1980 the World Health Organization (WHO), a Specialized Agency, proclaimed the total eradication of small pox from the world, as a result of 13 years WHO global programme.
- 5) In 1991, the heads of WHO and UNICEF (UN International Children's Education Fund) certified the immunization of 80% of the world's children against six killer diseases — polio, tetanus, measles, whooping cough, diphtheria and tuberculosis. The joint WHO-UNICEF programme saves the lives of more than 3.5 million children each year.
- 6) The UN Development Programme (UNDP) has made significant efforts to bring about social and economic progress all over the world. UNDP works with the Governments of developing countries to carry out projects in various sectors, such as agriculture, industry and education. It is the world's largest multi-lateral grant assistance organization. With an annual budget of \$ 1.3 billion, it supports more than 6,100 projects in some 150 developing countries and territories. In addition, UNDP-financed activities stimulate some \$ 14 billion a year in follow-up investment from public and private sources. More than 50% of the UNDP funds for projects go to 45 of the world's poorest countries.
- 7) Currently the UN is providing humanitarian assistance (like providing food, shelter, medical aid, education) through UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to some 24 million refugees worldwide. The cost of meeting their needs was estimated (in 1995) to be more than \$1 billion. For its role the UNHCR was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize twice — in 1954 and 1981.

16.4.2 Shortcomings

The UN's shortcomings are mainly due to the following two problems :

- 1) As discussed earlier, one of the most important operational problems of the UN has been the use of veto by the permanent members of the Security Council.
- 2) Another important problem that the UN is facing now is the financial crisis. Earlier in 1960s also it faced a similar problem when France and the USSR had refused to pay their contributions towards the costs of peace keeping operations. These two states alongwith others had refused to pay the costs of the UN Emergency Force (stationed at Suez) and the UN operation in Congo, on the plea that these two forces were illegally created by the General Assembly. In their view such forces can be organized only on the basis of a Security Council decision. The crisis of 1960's was solved by seeking an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question whether peace - keeping expenses could be considered as part of the expenses of the UN. The court by a majority decision declared that the peace keeping expenses constitute "expenses of the organization" within the meaning of the Charter provisions.

The financial crisis beginning from the 1980s, has been different from the earlier one. It all started with the decision of the US President to withhold its approved contributions on the ground that the US government disapproved certain UN programmes. This policy started by president Reagan and consistently followed by his successors, including Bill Clinton, has brought the UN on the edge of bankruptcy. Because, according to the formula approved by the General Assembly, the US is required to pay 25% of the UN budget. Some other states also have not paid their arrears in time, both for the regular budget and for peace-keeping operations.

According to the 1995 annual report of the Secretary General to the Assembly, as on 10 August 1995, unpaid assessed contributions totalled \$3.9 billion: \$858.2 million for the regular budget (of which \$456.1 million relates to the current years, i.e. 1995 and \$402.1 million relates to prior years) and \$3 billion for peace-keeping operations. 70% of these arrears were due from 5 top debtors (the largest being the US), all among the rich countries of the world.

Many interesting suggestions have been made not for solving the present financial crisis, but for ensuring an independent source of income for the UN to make it less dependent on Member. Some of these suggestions include :

- A tax on the international sale of designated weapons.
- A tax on international trade.
- A fee for the use of international water -ways.
- A tax on international mail or telecommunications.
- Taxes on international travel or international passport fees.
- Licensing fees for the use of outer space.
- Fees for fishing rights or mining mineral resources on high sea, which is "the common heritage of mankind".

However, none of these proposals have found approval by Member States.

16.5 RESTRUCTURING OF THE UN SYSTEM — MAJOR PROPOSALS AND INDIA'S POSITION

Since the meeting of the Heads of Government of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, a global debate on the restructuring of the UN system has begun. Many proposals have been made in this regard. The main objective of such reform proposals is to make the world body,

specially its Security Council, more democratic, efficient and adaptable to the changing international *milieu*. Since the UN responsibilities and concerns are world wide and now expanding to virtually every conceivable area of human activity, it is imperative to redesign the UN structure so that it can meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Many studies have been conducted on the basis of which suggestions have been made to restructure the UN system. These include the following :

- 1) The membership of the Security Council should be expanded from 15 to 23 or 25, out of which 5 should be additional permanent members – two industrialized countries (Germany and Japan) and three large developing countries (Brazil, India and Nigeria). The erstwhile UN Secretary General, Boutros-Ghali was reported to have suggested the names of these countries on 14 August 1992. Infact, in the General Assembly session on 25 September 1992, India formally staked its claim to a permanent seat in the Security Council. As the criteria suggested for expansion in the category of permanent members justified India's candidature, it was hoped that India would be elected to a permanent seat in the Security Council. The criteria was the ability and willingness of the incumbent of contribute to UN peace-keeping operations. India has been at the forefront of such operations since the inception of the UN, e.g. in Korea, Indo-China, Suez, Congo, Gaza, etc.

There is also a proposal to give the states based on this criteria, permanent seats in the Council without the veto power. Other suggestions include one that would urge the five present wielders of the veto to voluntarily renounce their veto power until the Charter is formally amended to abolish the right of veto. India accepts this suggestion but opposes any move to deny veto power to the new permanent members. Some of these proposals were discussed at an open-ended working Group of the 49th General Assembly session. The Working Group though agreeing on the need for expanding the Security Council, did not consider the question of which states to be made permanent members. The US has openly supported the case of Germany and Japan but is reluctant to support India's candidature. Moreover, other developing countries like Argentina, Iran, Egypt and South Africa are in the race.

- 2) There has also been a suggestion to replace the UN Disarmament Commission by a Joint Working Group after General Assembly and Security Council on Disarmament.
- 3) Because the Economic and Social Council has failed to perform its assigned functions, suggestion has been made to replace it by the creation of the Economic Security Council (ESC). The functions suggested for the proposed ESC include, among others, dealing with economic emergency situations, to considering such major non-military threats as the degradation of the environment, global poverty, unemployment, food security, drug trafficking, migration etc. According to the suggestion, its membership should be limited and should not exceed 25. It should take decisions by consensus.
- Others have opposed this proposal and have said that ECOSOC is actually the ESC, except for its name. ECOSOC has comprehensive mandate under the present UN Charter to deal with economic, social and humanitarian issues. In fact in recent years the ECOSOC has been dealing at the highest level to Governments, such issues like environment, human rights, social development, sustainable economic development etc. Therefore, they see no need to restructure the present ECOSOC.
- 4) Replace ECOSOC by an Economic Council and a Social Council. These new Councils should have 23 members.
- 5) Abolish UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and Trusteeship Council. On the abolition of the UNIDO there has been a general an agreement, whereas with regard to the other two, it has been said that they are doing excellent job and need not be abolished.

- 6) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) should be brought within the fold of the UN. Now they are Specialized Agencies only in name. Their agreements of association with the UN are of a limited nature, which require them to function as "independent" organizations. As a result, they are not subject to substantive coordination by the UN either at the inter-governmental level (i.e. ECOSOC) or at the Secretariat level. They do not provide all the information UN may require of them. They do not give the UN full access to their meetings, their heads annually address the ECOSOC, but they no longer invite the UN Secretary General to address their annual meetings. They have refused to accept UN's involvement in their budget making. And they do not feel themselves bound by any decision of the UN. This state of affairs is due to the policies of the rich industrialized states who dominate these bodies.

A serious debate on some of these proposals is taking place in the 185 capitals of the world and the UN headquarters. Unless the UN is redesigned in the light of constructive proposals, its functioning can not be improved.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) Check your progress with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) The UN Organizations which were awarded Nobel Peace Prize are....

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- 2) Which country is the biggest defaulter in paying its due contributions to the UN?
(1) USSR (2) USA (3) India (4) Britain

16.6 LET US SUM UP

This Unit has surveyed the objectives and principles of the UN, the structure and functions of its main Organs and Specialized Agencies, its changing role during and after the Cold War, some of its major accomplishments and problems and the various proposals for restructuring the UN system. It has underscored the urgent need for reforming the UN system.

16.7 KEY WORDS

- Conflict** : A situation marked by direct or indirect use of military force by one or more countries.
- Veto** : The privilege granted by the charter to the permanent Members of the Security Council to cast a negative vote and prevent adoption of substantive resolution.
- Detente** : Originally a French word meaning relaxation of strained relations between two countries.
- Resolution** : A duly approved document containing a formal statement of a considered view on a given question.

16.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Childers, Erskine and Urquhart, Brian, (1994) *Renewing the United Nations System* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjold Foundation).

Fawcett, Eric and Newcombe, Hanna, (ed.), (1995) *United Nations Reform: Looking Ahead After Fifty Years* (Toronto Science for Peace).

Rajan, M.S. (ed.), (1996) *United Nations at Fifty and Beyond* (New Delhi: Lancers Books). Roberts, Adam and Kingsbury, Benedict, (ed.), (1993) *United Nations, Divided World : the UN's role in International Relations,* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

United Nations, *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (1996) New York: Department of Public Information.)

16.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) UN was created to maintain international peace and Security, to develop friendly relations among nations; to solve international economic, social , cultural and humanitarian problems and to promote human rights.
- 2) The General Assembly can recommend, while the security Council decides and acts. Whereas recommendations are not binding on UN members, the decisions are.
- 3) The power to refuse concurrence to — or vote against — a resolution is the veto power, enjoyed by the five permanent members of the UN, namely China, France, Russian Federation, UK and the US.

Check Your progress Exercise 2

- 1) "Uniting for Peace Resolution" enables the General Assembly to discuss a crisis – situation and to take action specially when the Security Council is unable to do so in view of a veto problem.
- 2) "Peacekeeping Force" refers to a military contingent sent to the area of conflict with the permission of the parties to the conflict. It does not indulge in actual fighting, but is deployed on the cease-fire line and acts as buffer and fires only in self-defense.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

1. The UN peace keeping force got Nobel Peace Prize in 1988 and the UNHCR got it twice — in 1954 and 1981.
2. The US is the largest defaulter. It owed to UN more than \$527 million (regular budget) and \$ 553 million (Peace keeping).

UNIT 17 GLOBALISATION OF THE ECONOMY—IBRD, IMF AND WTO

Structure

- 17.0 Objectives
 - 17.1 Introduction
 - 17.2 Globalisation — Its Meaning and Structures
 - 17.2.1 Historical background
 - 17.2.2 Bretton Woods System
 - 17.2.3 IMF — Objectives and Functions
 - 17.2.4 Structure
 - 17.2.5 IBRD — Objectives
 - 17.2.6 Functions
 - 17.2.7 GATT
 - 17.2.8 Uruguay Round and WTO
 - 17.2.9 World Trade Organisation (WTO)
 - 17.3 Post Bretton Woods Developments
 - 17.3.1 Globalisation and Third World
 - 17.3.2 Impact of Globalisation
 - 17.4 Let Us Sum Up
 - 17.5 Key Words
 - 17.6 Some Useful Books
 - 17.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises
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17.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit explains the meaning of the Globalisation of the World economy and the institutions that have come into existence as part of the process of the globalisation. After going through the Unit you should be able to :

- trace the historical process of globalisation
 - describe the functions and structure of the institutions that govern the global economy
 - critically assess the impact of globalisation
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17.1 INTRODUCTION

The word 'globalisation' has now become familiar to most of us. The idea suggests that the world is undergoing an increasing process of international interdependence so that national economies as distinct entities with supreme authority within their territorial jurisdiction are becoming increasingly irrelevant. This does not mean the creation of a world or global community based on equality. Historically, the international economic system has developed on the basis of nation-states. Revolution in transport and communication, highly sophisticated industrial production technologies in the post-war period created a capitalist world market. The Bretton Woods System created in the post-war period that laid down the rules for international trade and commerce, collapsed in the seventies. The nineties has seen the emergence of the process of globalisation. New institutions and rules to govern world trade have come into existence in the form of WTO — World Trade Organization.

17.2 GLOBALISATION — ITS MEANING AND STRUCTURES

We must recognise the conceptual distinction between the international economy and globalized economy. ‘International’ economy refers to the collective is one in which process and outcome of the various national economies at the international plane. “International economy is an aggregate of nationally located functions”. A wide range of international economic interactions such as financial markets and trade in manufactured goods tend to function as opportunities or constraints for nationally determined economic actions. In a global economy, as markets and production become global and interdependent, domestic policies whether of private corporations or sovereign states, have to take into account the predominantly supra - national determinants of their spheres of operation. The state has to construct national policies to cope with increasing inter-connectedness of production, markets, at the global plane. As factors of production becomes international, particularly finance, and market forces extend to the global plane, the role of the sovereign state becomes subordinate to the dictates of global markets. Another major consequence of the notion of globalization is the transformation of Multi-National Corporations — MNCs, into Transnational corporations — TNC’s, as the major players in the world economy. TNC’s capital has no specific national identification and with an internationalised management, it is willing to locate and relocate anywhere in the globe to obtain either the most secure or the highest returns. With the revolution in communications, capital, particularly the financial sector, a TNC could relocate itself at the touch of a button. In a truly globalized economy this would be wholly dictated by market forces, without reference to national monetary policies. A TNC can produce and market at the global level as strategy and opportunities dictated. A TNC’s production-base is not restricted within one predominant national location (as with the multinational corporation), but it services global markets through global operations. Thus the TNC, unlike the MNC, is not controlled or even constrained by the policies of particular national states. This process tends to undermine the traditional notion of state - sovereignty.

17.2.1 Historical Background

The post-second world war period of international trade was governed by, what has come to be known as the Bretton Woods System. The great depression of the 30s and the collapse of the international monetary system were attributed to economic nationalism, competitive exchange rate, devaluations, formation of competing monetary blocs and absence of international cooperation. In July 1944, as the Allied forces were moving across France, representatives of forty four nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new international monetary order. A consensus emerged, which underscored that, the previous monetary systems which had relied primarily on market forces had proved inadequate. Henceforth, governments acting together would have assumed the responsibility of managing the international monetary system. United States of America, as the dominant economic and military power in this phase, assumed the primary responsibility for establishing a post - war economic order that was designed to prevent economic nationalism and encouraging free trade, along with increased international interaction. A liberal economic system, with international cooperation, was assumed to promote lasting peace. The United States and the United Kingdom, drew up a plan for new system of international monetary management. The Anglo-American plan, approved at Bretton Woods, became the first collective international monetary order that provided a basis for growing international trade, economic growth and political harmony among the developed market economies. Twenty seven years later, on August 15, 1971, President Nixon appeared on television to announce to the world the end of the Bretton Woods System, and that, the US would no longer abide by the rules and procedures of the International Monetary Order. The successive oil crises, the growing instability in the market economies, fall in the growth rates of the industrialised countries, have contributed to the increasing trend towards, what is now termed, ‘globalisation’ in the nineties. Before we go on to explain ‘globalisation’ let us turn back to the Bretton Woods system and the institutions established under it, particularly the International Monetary Fund

17.2.2 Bretton Woods System

Under the system, it was agreed that fixed exchange rates was the most conducive to trade and economic stability. Thus all countries agreed to establish the parity of their currencies in terms of gold and to maintain exchange rates within one per cent, plus or minus, of parity. The rules further sought to encourage an open system by committing members to the convertibility of their respective currencies into other currencies and to free trade. The IMF was to be the enforcing authority of the rules and the main instrument of public international management.

To facilitate post-war recovery, the IBRD or World Bank was created with a capitalization of \$ 10 billion and was expected to make loans of its own funds and to issue securities to raise new funds. However, the economic destruction of Europe was far too heavy and it was clear by 1947 that only the US contribution of \$570 million were actually available for IBRD lending and the credit facilities of the IMF were clearly insufficient to deal with Europe's huge deficits. In 1947 the United States stepped into fill the economic gap left by Bretton Woods and in the next two years a new international monetary system — the dollar standard — (replacing gold standard) based on unilateral American Management Development from 1947 to 1958. The US deliberately encouraged the outflow of dollars (as it had huge balance-of-trade surpluses) through various American Aid Programmes — the Marshall plan for European recovery, the Truman plan for aid to Greece and Turkey etc. Another source of dollar liquidity for the international monetary system grew out of the Cold War, i.e. the American aid to its military allies and US troop deployment across the world. The Cold War required significant military expenditures, overwhelming by the United States. Thus the dollar became the world's currency and the United States became the world's central banker, issuing dollars for the international monetary system.

The Bretton Woods Conference established the —

- 1) International Monetary Fund (IMF) to alleviate the problems of international liquidity, i.e. to help the member countries to meet their balance of payment deficit and international monetary instability.
- 2) The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) to help the reconstruction and development of various national economies by providing long - term capital assistance; and
- 3) The International Trade Organization (ITO) to work towards the liberalization of trade.

The IMF and IBRD, known as the Bretton Wood Twins were established in 1946. The proposed ITO did not materialize. In its place came the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The World Trade Organization (WTO) of 1995 was the culmination of prolonged GATT negotiations in the earlier era within the framework of the GATT.

17.2.3 IMF : Objectives and Functions

The IMF is an organization that seeks to promote international monetary cooperation and to facilitate the expansion of trade, and thus to contribute increased employment and improved economic conditions. Its membership consists of 153 countries which today account for over 80% of world trade. Membership of the IMF is a prerequisite to membership in the World Bank. There exists a close relationships between the two organizations as well as between the IMF and GATT. The IMF is a specialized agency within the United Nations system.

The important functions of the IMF are —

- 1) To facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income.
- 2) To promote exchange — stability, to maintain orderly exchange arrangements among members and to avoid competitive exchange depreciation.
- 3) To eliminate foreign exchange restrictions which hamper the growth of world trade. The fund also provides loans to members to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments, without resorting to measures detrimental to national or international prosperity. The IMF thus combines three major functions : Regulatory, Financial and Consultative.

The Fund maintains a large pool of financial resources that it makes available to members temporarily and subject to conditions to enable them to carry out programmes to remedy their payment deficits. The policy adjustments that countries make in connection with the use of the Fund resources is geared to improve support credit-worthiness with other official sources and private financial markets. The Fund also helps members to coordinate their national economic policies internationally as the focus of the fund is not only on the problems of individual countries but also on the structure of the international monetary system. Sometimes, such problems at the two levels of concern for the IMF are in conflict with one another, which tends to be to this disadvantage of the weaker national economics of the world.

17.2.4 Structure

The work of the IMF is carried by the Board of Governors, an Executive Board, a Managing Director and the staff. Each member country is represented by a Governor on the Board of Governors, which is the Fund's highest authority, and which meets annually. A member country's voting power is related to its contribution to the Fund's financial resources, which in turn is related to its relative size in the world economy. The Board of Governors delegates most of its powers to the Executive Board, which is responsible for conducting its business. The Executive Board is chaired by the Managing Director.

Resources — The resources of IMF come from subscription by members and borrowings. Every member is required to subscribe to the Fund an amount equivalent to its quota. Each member is assigned a quota expressed in Special Drawing Rights (SDRs). Quotas are used to determine the voting power of members, their contribution to the Fund's resources, their power to determine these resources and their share in the allocation of SDRs. A member's quota reflects its economic size in relation to the total membership of the Fund. The IMF is also authorized to supplement its resources by borrowing to forestall any threat to the strength of the international monetary system. The eleven highly developed industrial countries of the world have undertaken to lend to the IMF, if necessary.

The states can borrow from the IMF to meet their balance of payments needs, under various policies and facilities. Those who borrow from the Fund are required to follow an economic policy programme aimed at achieving a viable balance of payments position over an appropriate period of time. This is known as conditionality and reflects the principle that financing and adjustment must go hand in hand. IMF conditionality and its adjustment programmes (Structural Adjustment or SAP) are the subject of much debate in the developing countries. These conditionalities and structural adjustment programmes/policies that have been imposed on the developing countries include withdrawal of subsidies, devaluation of currencies, privatisation of economy etc. that have resulted in unemployment and have directly affected adversely the poorer sections of the society. The current debate in India on the economic policies of liberalization and withdrawal of subsidies reflects the controversial policies of the IMF.

17.2.5 International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

**Globalisation of the Economy
IBRD, IMF and WTO**

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established in 1945. It has two other affiliated institutions :

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) established in 1956; and the International Development Association (IDA) established in 1960. Membership of the IMF is the principal condition for membership of the Bank.

Objectives

The objectives of the Bank as laid down in the Articles of Agreement are –

1. To assist in the reconstruction and development of the member states, by facilitating capital investments for productive purposes, including the restoration of economies destroyed or disrupted by war, the reconversion of productive facilities to peace-time needs, and the encouraging of the development of productive facilities and resources in less developed countries (LDCs).
2. To promote foreign investment by means of guarantees or participation in loans and other investments made by private investors, and when private capital is not available on reasonable terms, to supplement private investment by providing, or suitable conditions, finance for productive purposes out of its own capital funds, raised by it and its other resources.
3. To promote long-range balanced growth of international trade and the maintenance of equilibrium in the balance of payments, by encouraging international investment of the productive resources of members in order to raise productivity, the standard of living and conditions of labour in the various countries of the world needing such help.

17.2.6 Functions

The IBRD, whose capital is subscribed by its member countries, finances its lending operations primarily from its own borrowings in the world capital markets. The Bank's loans have a grace period of five years and are repayable over twenty years or less. They are directed towards developing countries at a relatively advanced stage of economic and social growth.

The Board of Governors, on which each member country is represented by one Governor exercises all power vested in the Bank. The Governors of the Bank have delegated their powers to a Board of Executive Directors, which perform its duties on a full time basis. There are 21 Executive Directors who are appointed by the five members having the largest number of shares of capital stock and the rest are elected by Governors representing the other member countries.

The Bank assesses the repayment prospects of its loans, and for this purpose, takes into account the availability of natural resources, the country's past debt record etc. The bank lends only for specific projects which are economically and technically sound and of a high priority in the context of its larger objectives. As a matter of general policy, it lends for projects which are designed to contribute directly to economic productivity, and normally does not finance projects of primarily social character, such as education and housing. Most bank loans have been made for provision of basic utilities, such as power and transport which are prerequisites for economic development. The Bank encourages the borrowers to procure machinery and goods for Bank-financed projects in the cheapest possible market consistent with satisfactory performance. Finally, the Bank indirectly encourages promotion of local private enterprise.

In recent years the Bank has stepped up its lending for energy development, which now forms the largest part of the Bank's lending programme. Gas and oil development have also shown increasing attention in Bank lending. As economic conditions deteriorated in the third world countries in the 1980's the bank inaugurated a programme of structural adjustment lending. This lending supports programmes of specific policy changes and institutional reforms in less developed countries designed to achieve a more efficient use of resources. In 1983, the bank initiated its special action programme (SAP) for a two-year period designed to increase assistance to countries trying to cope with exceptionally difficult economic environment due to global recession. This comprised financial measures, combined with policy advice, needed to restore credit worthiness and growth.

17.2.7 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

An attempt to create an international organization to look after matters of trade and commercial policy were made as early as 1947. Although a charter for an International Trade Organization was drafted at the Havana Conference it was never ratified due to differences between those who wanted a free multilateral trading system and those who placed emphasis on full employment policies on a national basis. However, the American proposal for a general agreement on tariffs and trade was agreed upon, and many nations signed. So emerged the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade with no formal organization and no elaborate secretariat. It is through increasing liberalization of world trade and through GATT negotiations that the world Trade Organization emerged in 1995.

The two outstanding features of GATT were the principle of non discrimination and the principle of reciprocity with the purpose of promoting fair and free international trade among members. To ensure non-discrimination the members of GATT agreed to apply the principle of MFN (Most Favoured Nation) to all import and export duties. This meant that each nation shall be treated as well as the most favoured nation. However GATT did not prohibit economic integration such as the formation of free trade areas or customs unions, provided that the purpose of such integration was to facilitate trade between constituent territories and not to raise barriers to the trade of other parties.

Several rounds of GATT negotiations aimed at reduction of tariffs and non tariff barriers to trade led to the lowering of duties on trade, involving more than two-third of the world's States.

17.2.8 Uruguay Round and World Trade Organisation

The last round of multilateral trade negotiations known as the Uruguay Round (held in Punta del este in Uruguay), which was the eighth round, centered around three main issues –

- 1) Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)
- 2) Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) and
- 3) Trade in Agricultural Commodities.

The Third World countries have been by and large dissatisfied with GATT negotiations. Liberalisation of trade related intellectual property rights would mean that the less developed countries would have to compete with the advanced countries or the transnational companies. TRIPS covering copyrights, patents and trademarks is likely to harm the indigenous technology and nascent industries – particularly pharmaceutical and drug industry. GATT covers the service sector as well under TRIMS. This is likely to affect the employment conditions in the developing countries as they will be swamped by professionals from the advanced industrial countries. Agriculture is another contentious issue under GATT. While the US insisted on free trade in agriculture, withdrawal of state subsidies, EEC countries particularly France, which heavily subsidize their agriculture objected. The US threatened to use a law called super 301, under which punitive action is taken against countries which do not follow a free trade regime.

17.2.9 World Trade Organisation

The Uruguay Round was scheduled to be completed by 1990, that is within four years after its commencement. However, as the negotiations reached a deadlock over several contentious issues, the Director General of GATT — Arthur Dunkel intervened and proposed a draft that is known as the Dunkel Draft, also decisively called DDT (Dunkel Draft Text). The Dunkel proposals called for reduction in domestic and export subsidies, and replacement of non-tariff barriers, like quotas and quantitative restrictions by tariffs. Then proposals also called for require longer enforcement of copy rights and trade marks in case of India. Such a provision requires a change in India legislation on patents to conform to the Paris Convention.

The multilateral trading system sanctioned by GATT and the Dunkel proposals maintain the predominance of the advanced industrial countries of the West in the international economy. The GATT, the Uruguay Round, and the Dunkel Draft did not take into account the role of MNCs in exploiting the countries of the third world and widening the gap between the rich and the poor in such countries as well as with in the global system.

The Dunkel Draft was signed by member nations of December 15, 1993. After seven years of intensive negotiations, the new GATT agreements of Uruguay Round were ratified in December 1994 by the Indian Cabinet. The significant aspect of the GATT agreement is the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that supersedes the GATT. The 500 page agreement setting up the WTO ushers in a new era of multilateralisation of world trade. The WTO has become operational since 1st January , 1995 and has a status similar to the World Bank and the IMF. The treaty is binding on all its 117 member countries, two thirds of which are less - developed countries (LDCs). The Organization is expected to be the arbiter between the trading parties and generally ensure that the rules of the game are being followed. A dispute settlement mechanism is also to be established under the WTO. As to how the LDCs (including India with its vast market) fare in the competition with powerful, industrialized countries of the west is yet to be seen.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Define the concept of "International Economy".

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- 2) What do you mean by globalisation of the economy?

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- 3) The Brettonwoods System was established in the contract of

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- 4) The IMF is intended

- 5) GATT was founded to promote

- ## 6) : What is WTO.

17.3 POST BRETONWOODS DEVELOPMENTS

Two significant developments in the global economy since 1950 are the growth of regional economic subsystems, and the growth of multinational corporations (MNCs) which operate across national boundaries. While MNCs contribute to globalisation they can also pose a threat to national economic autonomy. Within the core of the capitalist industrialized world, regional economic activity emerged in the West European Economy leading from a common market to European Union in the 90's; in the Pacific and South East Asia regional subsystems emerged.¹¹ The emergence of a financial and securities market centred in New York, Tokyo and London is symptom of regionalization and globalization through inter-regional linkage. The growth of MNCs is both the cause and consequence of globalization. The emergence of world markets, and an international economic regime, provided the environment favourable to the growth of transnational firms. Initially such companies were predominantly US-based and sometimes dominated a whole sector of the global economy, imposing standards on it. The classic example is the IBM which at one time accounted for more than 80 per cent of the World Market in computers and was able to use this dominant position to define standards to maintain or increase its share of the market and/or competitive advantage. In the postwar period, the number, range and diversity of MNCs increased along with a changing balance between them in banking, oil, car manufacture and so on. This growth in the MNCs produced more complex interdependence in the global economy. It also posed difficult problems for national economies in areas of investment, capital movement and control of technology. A new managerial class – the class of corporate managers – emerged moving between companies and countries.

The post-war economy clearly indicates three features — the hegemonic position and role of the US in the world economy; the decline of the less developed (or developing) countries share of world exports from 1960-70 ; the relative isolation of the centrally planned economies (or socialist countries) in terms of their share of world trade. These countries (i.e. the socialist economies) did not receive Marshall Aid nor join the Bretton Woods system. Their post-war recovery was followed by world wide recession, with increasing energy prices as the oil-producing countries of the Gulf hiked oil prices. In 1971, the US suspended fixed dollar convertibility to gold, and world trade and finance moved to a system of flexible exchange rates rather than fixed parities and regulated adjustment mechanisms that had been planned originally. The end of the Bretton Woods system led to the intervention of the

Central Banks of major economies in the money market to keep exchange rate fluctuations within limits and reintroduce some stability into the international system.

Over the last twenty years or so the dominance of the US in the world economy has declined. However, the dollar has retained its role as the principal international currency, and this has helped it to stay at the centre of both monetary and trade regimes. The US still remains committed to the institutions of international economic order and to multilateralism and trade liberalism. But the emergence of Western Europe, particularly West Germany, and Japan as major economic powers has to some extent altered the distribution of economic power in the post-cold war era.

17.3.1 Globalisation and the Third World

The expansion of industrial capitalism to the 'periphery' of the international economy — South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and the neighbouring newly industrializing countries — 'South East Asian Tiger' as they are referred to — is also another feature of the 80s. But, these countries are inhabited by less than 2 per cent of the Third World population.

Throughout the 80s the gap between the rich and poor countries of the world widened and has continues to do so. The hope for a new international economic order (NIEO) through the North-South dialogue have not resulted in any improvement in the conditions of the people of the South. The belief, following neo-classical economics, that unrestricted international trade would allow the poor countries to come closer to the level of the rich, has been belied by historical experience. On the contrary, the lending policies of the World Bank & IMF, the conditionalities and structural adjustment programmes imposed on the countries of the third World — Africa particularly — have resulted in food riots, unemployment and increasing poverty in these countries. It must also be noted that international mechanisms of free trade led to inflation and recession, the deterioration of terms of trade for many European countries.

17.3.2 Impact of Globalisation

The technological advances of the last two decades have brought about a revolution in communications and transportation eroding the boundaries between markets and nation-states. Thus, economic process have become increasingly internationalized in a number of key spheres, like communications, production, trade, finance. New technology has also radically increased the mobility of economic units and the sensitivity of markets, and societies to one another, thus globalising economies of the world. This has paved the way for the ideal of global free trade to be achieved through the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Globalization has brought about radical changes in the production process, shifting industry from its old centres in the rich countries with high labour costs to countries of abundant cheap labour. While, earlier, labour remained a major factor of production, technology continued to render human labour redundant thus increasing unemployment and under-employment.

Historically such pressures have been met by state interventions, like protectionism.

However, globalisation with a free market ideology removed or weakened the possibilities of state intervention — whether in the form of subsidies or protection of their internal markets. While the labour in the developed countries fear losing jobs, the third world countries hope to see increasing employment opportunities. But, when commitment to free market ideology compels governments of the west, and more particularly the third world countries, to reduce the costs of social security and public welfare, mass reduction of employment and marginalisation of large sections of the society is inevitably taking place. Such social and political consequences of globalisation are likely to be world-wide, with its relatively greater impact with in the countries of the Third World.

An important consequence of globalisation is labour migration. As labour migrates to the industrialized countries of the West, or the oil-producing countries of the Gulf, in search of jobs social conflicts are on the increase. Racism in Germany and other western countries, resentment against immigrants in the Gulf by the local people are examples of this. Revolution in communications has undoubtedly brought the different parts of the World closer. Yet, that in itself is not sufficient to build a global community. An important

consequence of globalisation of economies is also fragmentation of societies, rise of movements of identities – ethnic, nationalist and religious. Free trade and WTO do not automatically harmonize the interest of the states. This is quite evident from the conflicts between the US and European countries over questions of telecommunications and satellite T.V. programmes, electronic industries etc. Economic globalisation should not be equated with the emergence of a Global community as a Nation. States (even after if their sovereignty has been undermined) continue to assert their priorities and interests over global interests. These conflicts tend to produce global insecurity and inter-state tensions.

Check Your progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the most significant development in the field of international economy during the post Brettonwoods period.

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17.4 LET US SUM UP

Globalisation is a process of intensifying economic inter-connectedness and interdependence of the national economies of the World. This tends to curtail the powers of the state to regulate their economies. Globalisation has been a historical process. The post-war period has seen the establishment of institutions that attempted to regulate the international monetary and trade relations. These institutions are the IMF, the World Bank and the GATT. The system was known as the Bretton-Woods system. However, this system under the hegemony of the United States of America collapsed in the 70s because the United States, unilaterally, refused to abide by its rules and procedures. The subsequent oil crisis followed by the revolution in industrial production through highly sophisticated computerised methods brought about radical changes in the international economic order. The Western countries need for resources, the economic crisis and stagnation in these countries, eventually led to globalisation under American hegemony. The process of globalisation has neither promoted equality among the national-states nor necessarily development for the third world countries. The transnational corporations and the industrialised countries continue to exploit and enjoy a dominant position in the global economy. The World Trade Organisation has been set up following the Uruguay Round of GATT.

17.5 KEY WORDS

Allied forces :	The World War II was fought between two power blocs, known as Allied forces and Axis forces. The forces were led by the UK, USA, France and the erstwhile USSR.
Dunkel Draft :	In order to break the deadlock in the Uruguay Round negotiations, The Director General of GATT, Mr.Arthur Dunkel prepared certain proposals. They have came to be known as Dankel Draft.
Service Sector :	There are two sectors in any Country's economy, namely, primary sector and secondary sector. Primary sector is directly involved in production of goods and services. Secondary sector offers services to the people, it is, therefore, known as service sector.

17.6 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Joan Edelman Spero, 1997 : 'The politics of International Economic Relations' George A Ilen & Unwin.

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975 : 'International Economic Institutions' London, 1975.

Chernulum F., Tata McGraw Hill 1988 : 'International Economies – New Delhi.'

17.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

- 1) International Economy is one in which processes are determined at the national level economics and International phenomena are results of the distinct and differential performances of the national economics.
- 2) The globalization of economy means that the national level economics do not have control over the International economy. The whole economy is guided by international market forces.
- 3) The great depression of the 1930s, the collapse of the International Monetary system and the devastating World War II.
- 4) The Bretton Woods System envisaged a fixed exchange rates for conducting International Trade. All Countries agreed to maintain the parity of their conveniences in terms of gold and to maintain exchange rates within one percent plus or minus or parity.
- 5) The IMF is an organisation that seeks to promote international monetary cooperation and to facilitate the expansion of trade and thus to contribute increased employment and improved economic conditions.
- 5) The GATT was founded to promote fair and free International Trade among member Countries.
- 6) The WTO superseded the GATT and has come into operations from 1st January, 1955.

Check Your Progress 2

1. The most significant development are the emergence of economic subsystems and the growth of the MNC's.

UNIT 18 THE REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS : EU, ASEAN, APEC, SAARC, OIC AND OAU

Structure

- 18.0 Objectives**
- 18.1 Introduction**
- 18.2 European Union**
 - 18.2.1 Origin, History and Objectives**
 - 18.2.2 Institutions or Organs**
 - 18.2.3 Role and its Future in World Politics**
- 18.3 Association of South East Asian Nations**
 - 18.3.1 Aims and Purposes**
 - 18.3.2 Institutions or Structure**
 - 18.3.3 Powers, Functions and Role**
- 18.4 Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Council**
- 18.5 South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation**
 - 18.5.1 Aims and Objectives**
 - 18.5.2 Structure and Functions**
 - 18.5.3 Accomplishments and Prospects**
- 18.6 Organization of Islamic Conference**
 - 18.6.1 Aims and Objectives**
 - 18.6.2 Organs of OIC**
- 18.7 Organizations of African Unity**
 - 18.7.1 Purposes and Principles**
 - 18.7.2 Organs and Institutions**
 - 18.7.3 Role and Activities**
- 18.8 Let Us Sum Up**
- 18.9 Key Words**
- 18.10 Some Useful Books**
- 18.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises**

18.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit deals with six major regional organizations. Like the UN, these organizations are playing a decisive role not only in political or economic matters at regional level but also at the international level. As the world is becoming more interdependent, national barriers are getting weakened and nations of a particular region are forming their own associations. This process is still continuing. After going through this unit you should be able to :

- explain the origin, objectives or functions and structure of major regional organizations or groupings;
- gain an overview of their changing role in regional or international politics;
- examine some of their major accomplishments and shortcomings.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Unlike the global international organization, regional international organizations and institutions are created to perform specific or limited functions for a group of countries which are united by some geographical, cultural or historical factors. These States of a particular region may unite themselves in group or organizations for economic and political ties or for political ideology and similarity of social institutions. Experience of such regional organizations may be useful for governments and peoples to appreciate the benefits of international integration and international confederal arrangements. Such experience may

also teach them to develop the intergrative political habits and skills for possible application on a larger scale and for a broader range of functions.

The Regional Organizations : EU, ASEAN, APEC, SAARC, OIC and OAU

Since the end of World War II many regional organizations have been established in the various regions of the world. This unit discusses the following ones.

18.2 EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union (EU) was previously known (till 1992) as the European Community (EC) or the European Economic Community (EEC). It is a closely-knit group of 15 European States. It was created to foster greater economic and political integration in Europe, to help them avoid another war among them, like World War II. These 15 members of EU, having a collective population of 370 million, share the common institutions and policies that have brought an unprecedented era of peace and prosperity to Western Europe. The EU is in many ways unique among the attempts towards fostering supranationalism among the people in its member countries. In fact, its unprecedented success story has served as a model for other similar experiments.

18.2.1 Origin, History and Objectives

Before and after the World War II many efforts were made to create unity among European States on institutional basis. However, the origin of EU can be traced directly to the year 1952, when six countries – Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and The Netherlands – decided to create the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) by pooling their coal and steel resources in a common market controlled by an independent supranational authority. A major landmark, however, came in 1958 when the Treaties of Rome (1957) entered into force. The Rome Treaties established the EEC and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), extending the common market for coal and steel to most other economic sectors in the member countries. The basic objective of these treaties was to establish gradually a European Common Market with the eventual free movement of goods, persons, services and capital among the EC countries.

In 1973, three other countries – UK, Ireland and Denmark – joined the EC. From Nine in 1973, its membership has risen to 15 by 1 January 1995. Others joining it were Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986), Australia, Finland and Sweden (1995).

Many significant developments occurred between 1958 and 1992 which enabled the EC to be transformed into what it is now known as EU. In 1973 the Constitution of the European Monetary Co-operation was signed. From 1999 the European Monetary System starts to operate. The single European Act (1986) and the Maastricht Treaty on European Union (1992) were milestones in the history of EU. The former entered into force in July 1987 and the latter on 1 November 1993. The former envisaged the creation of a single market by 1 January 1993. The Maastricht Treaty sets into motion an ambitious programme: a common or single currency at the earliest by 1 January 1997 or the latest by 1 January 1999; a European Central Bank, a common foreign and security policy and internal security and the European citizenship. Its task is to mould the Member States into a single Community embracing every sector of the economy covering such key areas as the free movement of goods and workers, freedom of establishment and services, the free movement of capital and payments, competition policy, economic and monetary policy, environmental policy, research and technology and industrial policy.

The introducing of Union (European) citizenship can be considered as the most important feature of Maastricht Treaty. It gives Union citizens the right to live, study or spend their retirement in any Member-State. Originally the right to freedom was restricted to workers only, but now everyone can benefit from it. Union citizens have the right to vote and stand as candidate in municipal elections in the Member State where they reside. This has major

implications. Indeed some Member States had to amend their constitutions to make it possible. It should be noted that the Union citizenship stands alongside national citizenship so that people can still retain their national identity. However, it must be acknowledged that the Union citizenship is one of the innovations introduced by the Treaty showing how the EU is gradually evolving from an economic community into a political union.

18.2.2 Institutions or Organs

The EU functions through seven organs. They are :

- 1) **The Council of the European Union** is the main decision - making institution. It is made up of Ministers from the 15 Member States. Different Ministers attend Council meetings depending on the agenda. It enacts Union Legislations (regulations, directives and decisions). Its decisions are binding throughout the EU territory and it directs inter-governmental cooperation. The Presidency of the Council rotates among the Member States every six months. Each Presidency concludes with a summit of the Council which brings together the Heads of State or Government.
- 2) **The European Parliament (EP)** is composed of 626 members, directly elected (since 1979) to five year terms. Members of the EP (MEPs) form political rather than national groups. The EP acts as the EU's public forum, debating issues of public importance and raises questioning for the Council and the Commission. It can amend or reject the EU budget.
- 3) **The European Commission** : A single Commission for all three Communities (the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom) was created when the Treaty merging the executives entered into force in July 1967. The number of commissioners was increased to 20 in January 1995. The Commission proposes policies and legislation, and ensures that the provisions of the treaties and the decisions of the institution are properly implemented.
- 4) **The Court of Justice** interprets EU law and its rulings are binding. The Court comprises 15 judges assisted by 9 Advocates-General. It is assisted by a *Court of First Instance*, which has jurisdiction to hear cases in limited areas.
The other bodies of EU are the *Court of Auditors* (15 members), the *Economic and Social Committee* (222 members) and the Committee of the Regions (222 members). The second body represents employers, employees and many groups such as farmers and consumers, and the third one represents local and regional authorities.

18.2.3 Role and its Future in World Politics

During the last four decades the EU has emerged as the world's largest trading bloc and an economic giant. It has served as a magnet to attract new members (the applications of Hungary and Poland for EU membership are pending since April 1994) bringing its total population and GNP equivalent to those of the present and former Super Powers — the USA and the USSR. It is gradually moving towards greater European integration and federalism. It may become a *United States of Europe* in due course. It is a Super Power in the making and may fill the vacuum created by the disintegration of the USSR, the only other Super Power since 1945. Its constructive role may restore the balance of power in the present unipolar world politics.

18.3 ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN NATIONS

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed following the signing of the Bangkok Declaration on 8 August 1967 by five States — Indonesia, Malaysia, the

Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei joined it in January 1984 and Vietnam recently. Though ASEAN came into existence principally as a result of the Vietnam war and its perceived threat to the non-communist States of South-east Asia, by admitting Vietnam (a communist State) it has overcome its earlier anti-communist bias. Like EU, it is attracting many new members. Myanmar has been given observer status at a meeting of its foreign ministers on 20 July 1996. It is expected that Myanmar alongwith Laos and Cambodia will soon join ASEAN.

18.3.1 Aims and Purposes

Seven aims and purposes were included in the ASEAN declaration. These are :

- i) to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of South East Asian Nations;
- ii) to promote peace and stability through binding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the UN Charter;
- iii) to promote collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest in the economic, social, cultural, technical, scientific and administrative fields;
- iv) to provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical and administrative spheres;
- v) to collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, expansion of their trade including the study of the problem of international commodity trade, improvement of their transport and communication facilities and raising living standards of their peoples;
- vi) to promote Southeast Asian studies; and
- vii) to maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes and to explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves.

18.3.2 Institutions or Structure

ASEAN's highest authority is the summit of heads of government of its members States. The summits are held only when necessary, the first such summit was held in 1976 and the third and most recent in 1987. The ministerial conference is an annual meeting of foreign ministers held on a rotating basis in each country. The ministerial conferences are supplemented by bimonthly meetings of the standing committee which comprises the foreign minister of the host country and ambassadors from other six. The ASEAN secretariat was formed in 1976; the post of Secretary-General rotates among member States every three years.

Other permanent committees include : (i) trade and tourism; (ii) industry, minerals and energy; (iii) food, agriculture and forestry; (iv) transportation and communications; (v) finance and banking; (vi) science and technology; (vii) social development; (viii) culture and information; and (ix) budget.

18.3.3 Powers, Functions and Role

ASEAN provides a unified front for the member countries vis-a-vis third countries primarily in the areas of trade, development aid and some areas of foreign policy.

ASEAN's internal powers are executed in the areas of, and through, its standing and other committees. Its primary functions in these areas are the coordination of joint industrial and technical projects and the harmonization of policies, standards and regulations.

It played an important role in two areas : (1) With the aim of maintaining peace and stability in the area, it sponsored the UN Conference on Cambodia 1981. (2) In 1977 it established Preferential Trading Agreements (PTA), which resulted in the increase of intra-ASEAN trade from 15% in 1977 to 21% in 1983.

18.4 THE ASIA-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION COUNCIL

On 5 November 1989 Asia-Pacific Economic Corporation Council the APEC was established. ASEAN members participated in its founding. APEC includes the ASEAN countries and the USA, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea. At the July 1990 inaugural meeting of APEC it was agreed to open membership negotiations with China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The European Community-APEC relations were on the agenda for the October 1991 meeting. ASEAN reactions to the foundation of APEC (a new regional economic organization) varied from Singapore which was very enthusiastic to Indonesia which called for greater concentration on intra-ASEAN rather than external economic relations.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your progress with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the bases or reasons for the creation of regional organizations?

.....
.....
.....
.....

- 2) The main features of the Maastricht Treaty are

(1)
(2)
(3)

- 3) The three main goals of ASEAN are

(1)
(2)
(3)

18.5 SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The SAARC was formally inaugurated at the first summit meeting of the Heads of State or Government of the South Asian countries in December 1985 in Dhaka. Seven countries of South Asia – Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka – had begun discussions on regional co-operation after the initiative for such an organization had been taken by the late President of Bangladesh, Zia-ur-Rahman, in May 1980. King Birendra of Nepal is also reported to have been among those who conceived the idea.

18.5.1 Aims and Objectives

According to Article 1 of the SAARC Charter (adopted in December 1985) its main objectives are as follows :

- a) to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their quality of life;
- b) to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region;
- c) to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among countries of South Asia;
- d) to contribute to mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problems;
- e) to promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields;
- f) to strengthen co-operation with other developing countries;
- g) to strengthen co-operation among themselves in international fora on matters of common interests; and
- h) to co-operate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

18.5.2 Structure and Functions

- i) **Meeting of Heads of State or Government** The SAARC Summit is the supreme policy making organ and meets ordinarily once a year. SAARC Summits have so far met in Dhaka (1985), Bangalore (1986), Kathmandu (1987), Islamabad (1988), Male (1990), Colombo (1991), Dhaka (1993) and New Delhi (1995). No summit meeting was held in 1989, 1992 and 1994.
- ii) **Council of Ministers** consists of the Foreign Ministers of the member States. It meets ordinarily twice a year and is concerned with the formulation of policies, review of programme of co-operation etc.
- iii) **Standing Committee**, comprising of Foreign Secretaries of the Member countries, is concerned with overall monitoring and co-operation, mobilisation of resources, identification of new areas of co-operation etc. It meets as often as deemed necessary but at least twice a year.
- iv) **Technical Committees** comprising representatives of member-States are responsible for implementation, co-ordination, and monitoring of the programmes in their respective areas of co-operation. They submit periodic reports to the Standing Committee.
- v) **Action Committees** may be set up by the standing committee. They consist of member-States concerned with implementation of projects involving more than two but not all member-States.

- vi) The Secretariat, established in 1987, consists of a Secretary-General and other staff monitoring the co-ordination and implementation of programmes as well as for servicing the meetings of the SAARC organs. It is based at Kathmandu.

18.5.3 Accomplishments and Prospects

Though SAARC has completed ten years, like the other regional organizations it has not been as successful as it should have been. Progress on the generally agreed items of the SAARC agenda has been not only very slow but also unsatisfactory. It has not been able to make any significant impact on the process of cooperation and coordination in implementing the aims and objectives of the SAARC. The reasons for this state of affairs are not far to seek. The region is marred by ethnic tensions such as the Tamil-Sinhala conflict, Assamese-Bangladeshi tensions and Hindu-Muslim conflicts. In all these ethnic tensions India, as the geographical centre of the region, becomes involved. Also, historically-rooted mutual mistrust, misperception and misunderstanding among its member-States prevails. The endemic conflict between India and Pakistan is well known. Indo-Sri Lankan tension over the Tamil question or the Nepalese complaints about India's interference in her domestic affairs are other factors for tension. Moreover, as the region's largest country, there is a lurking fear of Indian domination among other members. Although external security threats do not exist in South Asia today, the problem of cross-border movements of terrorists from Pakistan to India, first in Punjab and later in Kashmir, leading to continuous tension, skirmishes, military alert and low-level proxy-war, has aspects of security concern constraining genuine regional co-operation.

Despite these problems, SAARC has been gradually moving towards greater co-operation. The seventh Summit at Dhaka in April 1993 achieved a major breakthrough. It decided to set up the South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) which is a concrete step in the direction of trade liberation in the region. The SAPTA became operational in January 1996. But till in September 1996 intra-regional trade under SAPTA had not taken off as it remains hampered by a paucity of infrastructure, lack of information and prevalence of high tariff walls among its members. The attempts to throw open the borders for inter-State trade have run into trouble with businessmen in Pakistan and Bangladesh raising fears that their industries would be swamped by competition.

Since the SAARC is still in its initial stages one cannot expect quick results. However, within the existing constraints it has made some progress in regional co-operation. Its Visa Exemption Endorsement Facility is worth mentioning. Under this facility, with a view to promote people-to-people contact, visa exemption has been provided to Supreme Court Judges, members of National Parliaments, heads of national academic institutions, their spouses and dependent children from 1 March 1992. This facility allows them visa-free travel within the SAARC region.

18.6 ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

The Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) was established in May 1971, following a summit meeting of Muslim Heads of State at Rabat (Morocco), in September 1969 and the Islamic Foreign Minister's Conference in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) in March 1970 and in Karachi (Pakistan) in December 1970.

At present OIC has 45 members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Brunei, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

18.6.1 Aims and Objectives

The Regional Organizations : EU, ASEAN, APEC, SAARC, OIC and OAU

The aims of OIC, as set out in the Charter adopted in 1972 are :

- 1) To promote Islamic solidarity among member-States ;
- 2) To consolidate co-operation among member-states in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other vital fields, and to arrange consultations among member States belonging to international organizations; —
- 3) To endeavour to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination and to eradicate colonialism in all its forms;
- 4) To take necessary measures to support international peace and security founded on justice;
- 5) To co-ordinate all efforts for the safeguard of the Holy Places and support of the struggle of the people of Palestine and help them to regain their rights and liberate their land;
- 6) To strengthen the struggle of all Muslim people with a view to safeguarding their dignity, independence and national rights; and
7. To create suitable atmosphere for the promotion of cooperation and understanding among member States and other countries.

18.6.2 Organs of OIC

Over the years, the OIC has been actively working towards greater cooperation among its members in the field of economic, cultural, humanitarian and political matters. In this regard, it has launched programmes and has set-up the Islamic Reinsurance Corporation with authorised capital of US\$ 200 million. The Organization supports education of Muslim communities throughout the world, and, through the Islamic Solidarity Fund, has helped to establish Islamic Universities in Niger, Uganda and Malaysia. In the political field, however, the organization is mainly concerned with the recognition of the rights of Palestinians and the PLO. The 1981 Summit Conference called for a *Jihad* (holy war — though not necessarily in a military sense) for the liberation of Jerusalem and the Israeli-occupied territories.

Also, this was to include an Islamic economic boycott of Israel. In the last 15 years it demanded, among others, for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In fact, the Conference had asked its members not to participate in the 1980 Olympics unless the Soviet troops had withdrawn from Afghanistan. Though it is not very successful in building cooperation and consensus in political field, it is nonetheless an important international community-group.

18.7 ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is one of the multipurpose regional organizations and is the largest in terms of membership. It was established in 1963. From its original membership of 30 it has grown to include 51 States. All members are from Africa, since the OAU Charter does not permit non-African States to join. Only independent and sovereign States are admitted. After getting independence in 1990 Namibia was admitted as the 51st member.

18.7.1 Purposes and Principles

The purposes of the OAU are the following : (i) to promote unity and solidarity of the African States; (ii) to cooperate and coordinate efforts to achieve a better life for the people of

Africa; (iii) to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the African States; (iv) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and (v) to promote international cooperation with due regard to the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The basic principles of OUA include; (1) peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration; (2) unreserved condemnation of political assassinations and subversive activities; and (3) affirmation of a policy of nonalignment with regard to all blocs.

At the inception of the OAU, Ghana led an attempt to establish a central political organization with power to formulate a common foreign policy, common planning for economic development, a common currency, and a common defence system. These suggestions, implying the surrender of national sovereignty, were unacceptable to most of the Heads of State and Government that approved the OAU Charter. The Ghanian proposal for organic political union was rejected in favour of a loose organization with a limited functional approach to unity.

18.7.2 Organs or Institutions

The supreme organ of the OAU is the *Annual Assembly of the Heads of State and Government*. The agenda for the supreme organ is prepared by the Council of Ministers, which meets twice a year to supervise the general work of the organization and which is also called into emergency session to meet with any crises. The Council is charged with the responsibility of implementing the decisions of the supreme organ. A permanent *General Secretariat carries on the continuous activities* of the organization and provides necessary support for the periodic meetings of the policy making organs. The Secretariat is headed by an Administrative Secretary General, a title that underscores the limited initiative conferred upon the officer. Five functional specialized Commissions and a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration complete the organizational structure of the OAU.

18.7.3 Role and Activities

The OAU does not have an impressive record of resolving regional political, economic or refugee problems. During the last 30 years it has witnessed, most often helplessly, many crises that have sometimes threatened its disintegration. Many African States have experienced civil wars and guerilla fighting. The UN-imposed sanctions against racist South African government or the earlier white-dominated regime in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), were often at the behest of the OAU organs pressures for effective UN action. But when it came to the actual implementation of UN resolution, the individual African States have often violated UN resolutions imposing trade embargo by continuing to have trade links with South Africa apartheid regime. However, the OAU has some accomplishments in political, economic and social matters. *First*, in 1965, in the area of economic and social cooperation, the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa signed an agreement for mutual cooperation on a continuing basis to facilitate economic and social development in Africa. *Second*, in 1981, it adopted the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, which entered into force in 1986. OAU is the third regional organization (besides the Council of Europe and OAS) to have a regional human rights and mechanism to implement it.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your progress with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) List the eight main purposes of the SAARC.

.....

- 2) Why OAU is not a very successful organization?

18.8 LET US SUM UP

This Unit has begun with the discussion of the rationale of regional organization. It surveyed six kinds of major regional institutions, each of which have had different reasons for its creation. Thus we learnt that different reasons or factors, such as the homogeneity of interests, traditions, and values within small groups of neighbouring States, prompted their establishment. Moreover, it shows that political, economic and social integration is more easily attainable among a lesser number of States within a limited geographic area than on a global basis.

Also, this Unit has enabled us to examine some of the major accomplishments and shortcomings of these regional associations.

18.9 KEY WORDS

- Regional Integration** : The process whereby a group of nations or other political units shift loyalties from a national setting to a larger regional entity.
- Free Trade Areas** : An area where goods and products can move without tariff or custom duties.
- Common Market** : A customs union where labour and capital can move freely within the area characterised by product and factor integration.
- Apartheid** : The official policy of racial discrimination practised in South Africa till the white-minority government, which was in power for the last 50 years, was replaced by the first democratically elected non-racist government headed by Nelson Mandela in May 1994.

18.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bennett, A LeRoy, (1988) *International Organization — Principles and Issues*. 4th edn. (Eaglewood Cliffs, N.J.: Practice-Hall International).

Borchardt, Klaus-Dieter, (1995) *European Integration — The Origins and Growth of the European Union* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities).

Elazer, Daniel J. (ed.), (1994) *Federal Systems of the World — A Handbook of Federal, Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman).

18.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 18.1
2. (a) It entered into force in November 1993
(b) It seeks to establish a single currency in Europe
(c) A envisages European or Union Citizenship
3. See the first three aims in Section 18.3.1.
(a) to accelerate economic growth & development
(b) to promote peace and stability.
(c) to promote collaboration and assistance for mutual development of member states

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 18.5.1 of this Unit.
2. See Section 18.7.3 of this Unit.

UNIT 19 ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Structure

- 19.0 Objectives**
- 19.1 Introduction**
- 19.2 The Concept of Sustainable Human Development**
 - 19.2.1 Components of Human Development Paradigm**
 - 19.2.2 Concepts and Definitions of Sustainable Human Development**
- 19.3 Sustainable Human Development and the Environment**
 - 19.3.1 Economic Activity and the Environment**
 - 19.3.2 Water**
 - 19.3.3 Air Pollution**
 - 19.3.4 Solid and Hazardous Wastes**
 - 19.3.5 Land and Habitat**
 - 19.3.6 Atmospheric Changes**
- 19.4 International Environment Concerns**
 - 19.4.1 Introduction of International Environment Concerns**
 - 19.4.2 Agenda 21 and the Rio-Declaration**
 - 19.4.3 Can Market Mechanism Solve the Environmental Problem?**
 - 19.4.4 Multi-Stakeholder Partnership**
- 19.5 Let Us Sum Up**
- 19.6 Key Words**
- 19.7 Some Useful Books**
- 19.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises**

19.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will have an idea of:

- interface between sustainable human development and the environment;
- the trade off between economic growth and sustainable development; and
- global environmental concerns and the choice of partnership in sustaining human development.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

The development theories practised in the 1950's and 1960's overwhelmingly emphasised economic growth, growth of gross national product (GNP). In 1970's the world witnessed growing poverty and the approach followed was basic needs. However, the basic needs approach failed not only because of the selfishness of the privileged few but also due to helplessness of the deprived many. The 1980's have also witnessed selfishness and helplessness, both accumulated by the acute problems of environmental degradation in general and debt, deprivation and growing disparities within the countries in particular. However, in 1990's some hopes are being surfaced on the horizon: more balanced management policies, greater awareness of interdisciplinary linkages, sustainable benefits arising out of technological advances, the role of partnerships, etc. So, the pivot around which the new paradigm revolves is sustainable human development. Human development cannot be propelled by pursuing economic growth alone. Quantity of economic growth is only one dimension of development. Distribution of income, health, education, clean environment and freedom of expression are the most critical dimensions in the development process.

Sustainable development is primarily concerned with the replicable models of material consumption, models that recognises the limitations of the environment. However, sustainable development is not simply a call for environmental protection. It also implies

a new concept of development which provides opportunity for all the people of the world without depleting the world's finite natural resources. So, sustainable development is a process in which economic, fiscal, agriculture, industry and all other policies are taken care of to bring about development that is economically, socially and ecologically sustainable.

Sustainability also requires far-reaching changes at both national and international levels. At the national level, sustainability demands a balance between the compulsions of today and the needs of tomorrow, between private initiative and public action, between individual greed and social compassion. Sustainability also requires a major restructuring of budgetary provisions from military spending and inefficient public investment towards more human investment and environmentally safe technologies. At the international level, sustainable development require a consensus that the world cannot be safe for anyone without hearty co-operation of every one. For this what is needed is a equitable world order by dismantling the present international economic order. The present international order denies more than \$ 500 billion of economic opportunities each year to poor nations due to their unequal access to international market (market for good, services and financial capital). In such an unequal world, the concept of one world cannot be realised without global reforms. Without global equity, global sustainability will always remain an elusive concept.

19.2 THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Human development as defined in the UNDP's Human Development Report as the enlargement of the range of people's choices. It is an extension of the basic needs approach. (The concept of basic needs approach reminds us that the objective of development effort is to provide all human beings the opportunity for a full life.) Since, some basic interpretations are in terms of commodity bundles or specific needs, human development is trying to get away from this. Human development goes beyond basic needs in a sense that it is concerned with all human beings irrespective of poor and rich within a nation-state and among nation-states.

19.2.1 Components of Human Development Paradigm

There are essentially four components of human development paradigm; equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. Since human development paradigm distinguishes from the traditional concept of economic development, each of them needs to be taken care of in its proper prospective. Equity: Since, development is to enlarge people's choices, people must enjoy equitable access to opportunities. However, equity in opportunities need not necessarily result in same choices or same results. Even if, equity in opportunities result in unequal outcomes, equity in access to social, political and economic opportunities is regarded as a basic human right in a human development paradigm. It is based on the assumption that all human beings must be enabled to develop their capabilities to the maximum extent and put those capabilities to the best use in all possible areas.

Sustainability

Sustainability is another essential component of human development paradigm. Sustainability does not mean renewal of natural resources alone, which is only one aspect of sustainable development. It is the sustainability of human development including forms of capital — physical, financial, human and environmental. Putting it differently, it is the human life that must be sustained.

It also does not necessarily require preserving all kinds of capital in its current form. Technological progress undoubtedly create substitutes for some form of capital. And if cost effective substitutes are available, they can be used to sustain human choices. So, what could be sustained is at least the capacity to produce similar level of human well-being.

Sustainability is a dynamic concept focusing sharing of opportunities between present and future generations by ensuring intragenerational and intergenerational equity in

Productivity

Another essential dimension of human development paradigm is productivity. It requires that adequate investments must be made in human resources so as to achieve their potentiality. In fact, many East Asian countries have accelerated their growth through investments in human capital. Japan and Korea could emerge as the efficient exporters of steel products without possessing iron ore is mainly due to their tremendous human resources potential.

Empowerment

The human development paradigm focus on development by the people who must participate in the process which shape their lives. The strategy of prescription for the poor is neither consistent with human dignity nor sustainable over time. That is why human development paradigm envisages full empowerment of the people.

Empowerment means that people must be in a position to exercise choice of their own. It implies a political democracy where people can influence the decision about their lives. It also implies Economic liberalisation so that people are free from excessive controls and regulations. In other words, there must be decentralisation of power so that governance can be brought to the door step of every individual. Against the above discussions it is obvious that human development paradigm welcomes all choices whereas the older concept of basic needs concept is confined to only economic forces.

19.2.2 Concepts and Definitions of Sustainable Human Development

The concept of sustainable human development is that development which lasts for ever. It may be possible that those who enjoy the fruits of development today may be at the cost of making future generations worse-off by degrading the earth's finite resources and the environment. The general principle of sustainable development adopted by the World Commission on Environment and Development (our common future, 1987) is that "Current generations should meet their needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

The sustainable human development i.e., ensuring that "present needs are met without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs" require deliberate intervention to prevent depletion or degradation of environmental assets so that the resource base and ecological base for human activities may be sustained for ever. Different kinds of environmental assets, the renewable and non-renewable resources and sinks (the kind of actions that can ensure ecological sustainability) are summarised in the following two boxes.

BOX 1

Meeting the needs of the present....

- **Economic Needs:** Includes access to an adequate livelihood or productive assets, also economic security when unemployed, ill, disabled or otherwise unable to secure a livelihood.
 - **Social, cultural and health needs:** Includes a shelter which is healthy, safe, affordable and secure, within a neighbourhood with provision for piped water, sanitation, drainage, transport, health care, education and child development. Also a home, workplace and living environment protected from environmental hazards, including chemical pollution. Also important are needs related to people's choice and control including homes and neighbourhoods which they value and where their social and cultural priorities are met.
- Shelter and services must meet the specific needs of children and adults responsible for most child rearing (usually women). Achieving this implies a more equitable distribution of income between nations and in most within nations.
- **Political Needs:** Includes freedom to participate in national and local politics and in decisions regarding management and development of one's home and neighbourhood within a broader framework which ensures respect for civil and political rights and the implementation of environmental legislation.

BOX 2

...Without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs

- **Minimising use or waste of non renewable resources:** Includes minimising the consumption of fossil fuels in housing, commerce, industry and transport plus substituting renewable sources where feasible. Also, minimising waste of scarce mineral resources (reduce use, reuse, recycle, reclaim). There are also cultural, historical and natural assets within cities that are irreplaceable and thus non-renewable for instance, historic districts and parks and natural landscapes which provide space for play, recreation and access to nature.
- **Sustainable use of renewable resources:** Cities drawing on fresh water resources at levels which can be sustained; keeping to a sustainable ecological footprint in terms of land area on which producers and consumers in any city draw for agricultural crops, wood products and biomass fuels.
- **Waste from cities keeping within absorptive capacity of local and global sinks:** Including renewable sinks (e.g., capacity of river to breakdown biodegradable wastes) and non-renewable sinks (for persistent chemicals, includes green house gases, stratospheric ozone depleting chemicals and many pesticides).

Source: Mitlin Diana and David Satterthwaite, "Cities and Sustainable Development" the background paper to Global Forum '94, Manchester City Council, June, 1994.

Taking into account both the development and environment components in sustainable human development, the important criteria for judging sustainable human development could be:

- The quality of life of the inhabitants including existing levels of poverty, social exclusion and integration and socio-political stability;
- The scale and nature of renewable resource use, including the extent to which waste recycling or reuse reduces it;
- The scale and nature of renewable resource use, including provision to ensure sustainable levels of demand; and
- The scale and nature of non-renewable wastes generated by production and consumption activities and the means by which these are disposed off. It also includes the extent to which the wastes affect human health, natural systems and amenities.

However, this definition remains silent about the constituents of needs of the present and future generation. This is crucial, primarily, because developing countries in general are not satisfied with their present levels of consumption, while developed countries are not entitled for 85% of the world's income even without reversing the present patterns of consumption. As a matter of fact, the preservation of the global environment raises serious question about the distribution of global income and asset at present.

In fact, what we really need to sustain is human life. Sustaining the physical environment is a means, not an end, like growth of GNP is only a means towards human development. The environmental debate, therefore, must be given a human face to save it from the crises of environmental degradation. In other words, sustainable human development is putting people, not trees at the centre stage of the environmental debate.

The concept of sustainable development implies that each generation must meet its needs without incurring debts that it cannot repay. The word debt includes four dimensions, which are as follows:

- 1) Avoiding the accumulation of environmental debts by depleting natural resources;
- 2) Avoiding financial debts by incurring unsustainable borrowing;
- 3) Avoiding social debts by neglecting investment in human capital; and
- 4) Avoiding demographic debts by permitting unchecked population growth vis-a-vis urbanisation.

Human development can be sustainable if adequate care has to be taken, of course, through the budgetary policies; in each of these four areas so that it remains balanced in each generation. Sustainable development, therefore, requires that it must be different from economic development as well as respectful of the physical environment. And it must translate into human lives. However, preservation of physical environment is only a means towards the end, the end being sustaining human life. Development opportunities and human choices must be present for future generations so that the next generation enjoys at least the level of welfare/well-being enjoyed by our own generation.

Against this backdrop, the concept of sustainable human development should thus focus not only on the future but also on the present. It is ridiculous to worry about unborn generations if the present generation are living below the poverty line. It is neither necessary nor desirable to perpetuate today's inequities, which in fact is neither sustainable nor worth sustaining. So, adequate restructuring of the world's income and consumption patterns is a necessary precondition for any viable strategy for sustainable human development.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is human development? What are the different components of human development paradigm?

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- 2) How can we sustain human development?

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- 3) What are the important yardsticks for measuring a country's level of sustainable human development?

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- 4) "Sustainable human development not only focuses on the future but also on the present." Elucidate.

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19.3 SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

"Economic development and sound environmental management are complementary aspects of the same agenda. Without adequate environmental protection, development will be undermined; without development, environmental protection will fail" (World Development Report, 1992).

It has already been discussed in section 2 that development is all about well-being of people. Improving living standards and levels of health, education and opportunity are the important dimensions of economic development. However, the measure of economic development does not adequately reflect environmental degradation and the consumption of natural resources damaged by economic growth. In fact, it is neither possible nor desirable to give monetary values on all types of environmental damages. Nonetheless,

it is desirable to know how much environmental quality is being given up in the name of development as well as how much development is being up in the name of environmental protection. The World Development Report, 1992 argues that too much of environmental quality is being given up and too much of economic growth may be given up in the future to reap the benefits of both economic development and the environment. In other words, raising economic growth combined with sound environmental management policies can be used for tackling both environment and development problems.

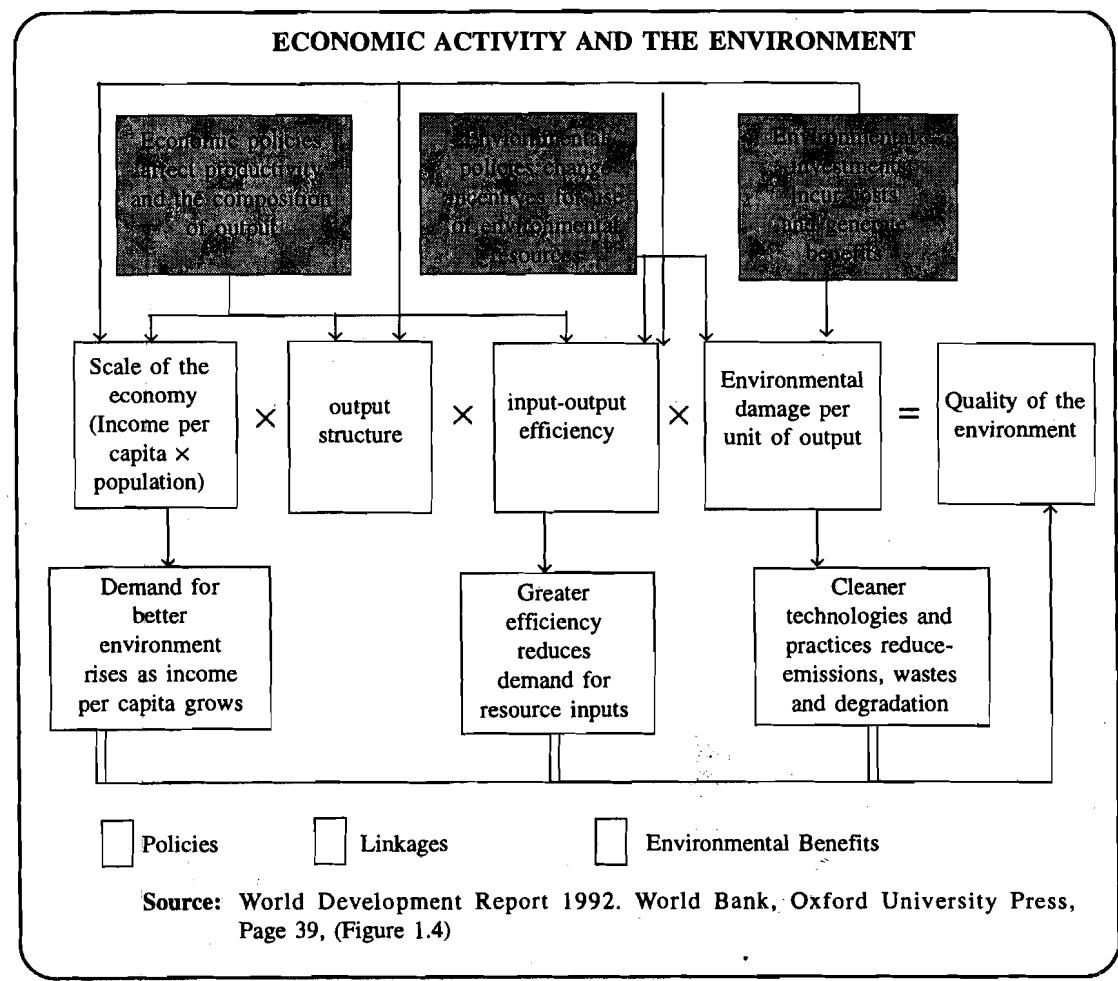
Now, the obvious question comes out is that why some economic activity lead to excessive environmental degradation? One possible answer could be that many natural resources are shared and the net value of many environmental goods and services is not paid for by those who use them. Besides, some natural resources are shared and in most of the cases there is no mechanism for enforcing property rights. Another possible reason could be that in some projects government policies subsidise environmental degradation which can induce more damage than would have been otherwise. One more reason could be that the poor who does not have adequate resources and hence no choice but to degrade natural resources in excess of what is currently needed to sustain.

The most important environmental concern in today's world that '**resources that are regenerative but are under valued**'. For instance, air and water are renewable resources but there is a limit of assimilate emissions and wastes. If pollution exceeds a particular limit, ecosystem can deteriorate rapidly. When fisheries and forests deplete beyond a threshold point, there would be loss of ecosystem and species.

19.3.1 Economic Activity and the Environment

The proposition that higher economic activity inevitably affect the environment adversely is based on the assumption that technology, taxes and environmental investment remain static. As the scale of economic activity increases, there may be a possibility that the earth's '**carrying capacity**' could be exceeded. The dynamic relationship between economic activity and the environment is given in Chart 1.

Chart 1



In Chart 1 it is clear that the scale of the economy is only of the factors that will determine environmental quality. The important question here is whether the factors that tend to reduce environmental damage per unit of activity can adequately compensate for any negative spill-over of the growth in the scale. The most important factors are:

Structure: Goods and services produced in the economy.

Efficiency: Inputs used per unit of output in the economy.

Substitution: The ability to substitute for those resources that are becoming scarce.

Clean Technologies and Management Practices: The ability to reduce environmental damage per unit of input or output.

Economic policies, environmental policies and environmental investments take cognisance of the individual behaviour in the true value of environmental resources. Economic policies affect the scale, structure and efficiency of production. Which in turn result in positive or negative effects on the environment. Efficiency resulting from economic policies often reduce the land for natural resource inputs. Environmental policies can reinforce efficiency and provide incentives for adopting environment friendly technologies. The environmental policy induced incentives may result in lower quantity of output but will generate benefits that can increase human welfare. As the scale of economy increases, there would be a possibility of increase in demand for cleaner environment, due to available of more resources for investment. Without rational reallocation of investment, the adverse consequences of economic growth is likely to dominate. For instance, increased income allows societies to deliver **public goods** such as health care, education, etc. On the other hand, environment may be worsened as the scale of economy increases. For instance, carbon dioxide emissions, municipal wastes, etc., tend to increase with income. So, what is necessary is introduction of sufficient incentives and disincentives to change the **behaviour** and **attitude** through regulations, charges, reliefs or by other necessary means. Even through, individual costs of changing behaviour are likely to be relatively higher in comparison to individual benefits, due to spill-over effect, it enables all the countries to grow more rapidly with less environmental impact then would have been otherwise.

Environmental degradation has basically three damaging effects. It affects human health adversely, reduces overall efficiency and productivity and involves loss of amenities. The health of people is affected by the contaminated drinking water, polluted air released by cooking fuels, smoke released by hazardous units, burning of woods, etc. We are going to discuss each aspect in a great detail.

Box 3

Concerns in Poor Countries

- Diarrhoeal diseases that result from contaminated water kill about 2 million children and cause about 900 million episodes of illness each year.
- Indoor air pollution from burning wood, charcoal and dung endangers the health of 400 million to 700 million people.
- Dust and soot in city can cause between 300,000 and 700,000 premature deaths a year.
- Soil erosion can cause annual economic losses ranging from 0.5 to 1.5 per cent of GNP.
- A quarter of all irrigated land suffers from salinisation.
- Tropical Forests — the primary source of livelihood for about 140 million people are being lost at a rate of 0.9 per cent annually.
- Ozone depletion, loss of bio-diversity and greenhouse effect are increasing at an alarming rate.

Source: "World Development Report, 1992" World Bank, Oxford University Press, Page 44.

19.3.2 Water

Access to safe drinking water is becoming an urgent need in many countries. The problem has been compounded further by acute scarcity of water. The most widespread contamination is fecal contamination (fecal coliform levels), which affect the human health indirectly. Human sewage, industrial effluent, intensive use of chemical fertiliser in agriculture, etc. are the main causes for the inadequate levels of dissolved oxygen which in turn endangers the fish population.

Since, surface water in cities are becoming polluted and costly to purify, ground water turned out to be the potential source of safe drinking water. However, in some areas, ground water too is polluted which is very important to prevent from contamination. Seepage from the improper use and disposal of heavy metals synthetic chemicals and other hazardous wastes are the primary reason for ground water pollution. Sometimes, industrial effluents are also directly discharged into the ground water. In coastal areas, over pumping also results in salinity of water. Lack of sewage system, the improper maintenance of septic tanks, etc. often contaminates the ground water. The use of contaminated waters for drinking and bathing is one of the principal reason for spreading of waterborne disease like typhoid, cholera, etc. It is because of their repercussions on human well being and thus economic development, polluted water supplies poses serious environmental problems.

Effect of Improved Water on Sanitation

Disease	Million of people affected by illness	Median reduction attributable to improvement (percent)
Diarrhoea	900*	22
Roundworm	900	28
Guineaworm	4	76
Schistosomiasis	200	74

* Refers to No. of cases per year

Source: Esrey et al (1990) "Health Benefits from Improvements in Water supply and sanitation, Survey and Analysis of the literature of selected diseases" USAID, Water and Sanitation for Health (WASH), Technical report 66, Washington D.C. Also reproduced in "World Development Report 1992" World Bank, Oxford University press, Page-49.

The health impact of improvement of water supplies can be perceived from a recent review by the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

The above mentioned review shows that the effects of these improvements are large with medium reductions ranging from 22 per cent in case of diarrhoea to 76 per cent for guineaworm. Besides, improved water supply also affect the mortality and morbidity patterns.

19.3.3 Air Pollution

Air pollution has mainly three man-made sources : energy use, vehicular emissions and industrial production. All these tend to expand exponentially with economic growth unless suitable pollution abatement measures are adopted. The most serious health risks are due to exposure to suspended particulate material (SPM), indoor air pollution and lead. There is an increasing evidence of sickness, morbidity and mortality linked to SPM. At a higher level of SPM, pulmonary diseases, pneumonia and heart diseases are common, particularly among old people and individuals whose health status is very poor. Even the lower level of SPM can cause respiratory problems.

Indoor air pollution also cause respiratory and other health problems. In poor countries, most of the women and children are exposed to indoor air risks. According to a rough estimate by WHO approximately 400 million to 700 million are exposed to indoor

pollution in developing countries. In highly developed countries, the major indoor air risks are emissions from synthetic materials, resins and radon gas. In poor countries, the problem arises primarily when households cook with wood, straw or dung. In fact, in most of the rural areas, these are the only fuels available or affordable. Bio-mass burning is also linked to deforestation. This in turn is another source of environmental damage. Studies in Nepal and India of non-smoking women who were exposed to bio-mass smoke have found very high levels of chronic respiratory diseases with mortality at an earlier age.

Lead also affect human health through ingestion and inhalation. The most important source is vehicular emissions where lead is used as a fuel additive. The problem has been compounded in towns and cities where the number of vehicles is continuously growing very rapidly. Thus, it is imperative to reduce the lead content of fuels.

Transboundary air pollution harms human health and causes loss of trees and forests. It has been well conceived at various forums that regional agreements for pollution abatement should be established and strengthened. Early warning systems and response mechanisms are needed for production from industrial accidents, natural disasters and destruction of natural resources.

19.3.4 Solid and Hazardous Wastes

Most of the cities in the world generate more solid wastes than they collect or dispose off. Usually, the volume increases with the level of income. Municipal waste services generally consume between 20%-50% of city budgets. Still, much of solid wastes is not renewed. Even if, municipal budget is adequate for collection, safe disposal of collected waste remains a problem. Open dumping, however, remains the principal method of disposal in many developing countries. Improper collection and disposal lead to a number of problems for human health as well as contamination of surface as well as and ground water. Solid wastes dumped in public areas or into waterways results in spread of many diseases. Industrial countries produce approximately 5000 tons of waste for every billion dollars of GDP whereas for many developing countries the total amount could be few hundred tons. The health risks arising from toxic and hazardous wastes vary across countries, of course, it depends upon how they are handled.

Management of hazardous wastes are improving in some countries whereas in many others it is dumped into water or on land-sites without any safeguard. However, the most crucial phenomena in today's world is that the toxic chemical banned in one country as hazardous are deliberately sold to and dumped into other countries, often developing countries. Even though, exposure to toxic and hazardous wastes are primarily local and less important risk compared to air and water pollution, without adequate measure of collection and safeguard disposal, the likely consequences could be too big to solve.

19.3.5 Land and Habitat

Land

Certain kinds of land use can decrease greenhouse sinks and increase atmospheric emissions. In this context, Agenda 21¹ proposes that appropriate national, administrative social and economic measures to be undertaken and limit greenhouse gas emissions, conserve natural resources which are relevant to atmospheric changes.

Against the backdrop, what is essential is an integrated approach to the planning and management of land resources. Integration means that environmental, social and economic issues should be combined simultaneously. Government should formulate legislation, regulations and economic incentives to encourage sustainable land-use and management of land resources, paying particular emphasis to agricultural land.

Forest

Forests occupy more than 25% of the world's land area. Forests are of three broad types — tropical moist and dry forests, temperate forests and degraded forest. Tropical moist forests are particularly rich in species. Tropical dry forests are not as species rich

¹ The concept of Agenda 21 has been explained at length in the next section.

as tropical moist forests, but they provide important protection against soil erosion. Temperate forests are the lowest bio-diverse of the three. They are the main source of industrial wood. The most serious cause of concern is with the tropical moist forests which are degrading at a rate that threatens the economic and ecological sustainability of the globe.

Forests are not only a source of timber but also a source of social and ecological functions. They provide livelihood strategies for forest dwellers and a habitat for a variety of plants and animals. They protect and enrich soils, regulates the hydrologic cycle, affect climate through evaporation, influence surface and ground water flows and help in stabilising the global environment by neutralising the growth of carbon dioxide. Different kinds of forests serve the above mentioned objectives in various proportions.

The rapid deforestation caused by farmers, logging and mining companies, fuel wood collectors, etc. Pose a serious threat to both development and preservation of the global environment. Deforestation in developing countries, however, is a recent phenomena. Growth of population in rural areas of developing countries often leads to a rising demand for fuel wood. Besides, modernisation of agriculture in some countries results in less demand for labour which in turn releases a sizeable labour force who find new livelihood strategies in forest frontiers.

To support the ecological, economic, social and cultural roles of forest and forest land Agenda 21 calls all countries to strengthen the forest related institutions and professional skills though:

- Promoting the participation of labour unions, rural co-operatives, local communities, indigenous people, youth, women, NGOs, etc. in forest related activities.
- Conducting research on forests, collecting data on forest cover and areas suitable for afforestation and ecological values.
- Supporting and enhancing technology transfer and specialised training.

Biodiversity

Biological diversity (a composite of genetic information, species and ecosystems) provides material wealth in the form of food, clothing, housing, fibre, medicine, inputs into industrial processes, spiritual nourishment, etc. In order to conserve biological diversity, Agenda 21 calls for governments to:

- Early entry into force of the UN convention on Biological Diversity
- Foster traditional methods and knowledge of indigenous people
- Share the benefits of biological resources and biotechnology with developing countries.

Develop national strategies for the conservation of biodiversity and safe transfer of biotechnology.

19.3.6 Atmospheric Changes

Greenhouse Warming

The atmospheric concentration of the gases that cause greenhouse warming have been increasing over the years. Carbon dioxide, the principle component of greenhouse gases, has increased by more than 12 per cent in the past thirty years. This new development is mainly the result of human activities on the earth. Concentration of greenhouse gases in the coming days depend on a number of factors — economic growth, the energy intensity and the chemistry of atmosphere, biosphere and ocean.

The greenhouse effect is a global issue, primarily because all emissions of greenhouse gases affect climate. But then, the conventional cost-benefit measures to tackle the greenhouse effect may be spread unevenly across the countries. As a result, negotiations on any international agreement on greenhouse warming is a difficult process. A host of factors that must be taken into account are the following:

- Climate change will vary across countries. Climate changes will be smaller but more rapid in equatorial zones than in the temperate zones.

- The damaging effects will vary across countries. Some countries may find that their climate is improving and hence gains accrue while others may find that such effects cause substantial losses. Even if the pattern of climate change is similar it may affect countries unequally due to differences in ecology, economic activity, the habitat and other environmental resources.
- The high-income countries have been emitting large amounts of gases for many years and thus contributing a disproportionate share of accumulated gases in the atmosphere. On the other hand, emissions from low income countries, starting from a lower base, are growing more rapidly.
- Measures to reduce emissions are one response to the threat of climate change. Another response could be to seek to adapt by investing in assets that will mitigate the impact of climate change on economic activities. However, the relative costs and benefits varies across countries.
- Some countries are solely dependent on exports of fossil fuels and are likely to suffer from the policies that tend to reduce the world demand.

Despite the above mentioned difficulties, there are various measures that can be adopted at national and international levels to reduce current emissions of greenhouse gases. There are broadly four technological options available for reducing harmful emissions:

- 1) Changing the fuel by switching to low sulfur coals, oil and gas.
- 2) Controlling emissions.
- 3) Using existing fuels more efficiently by adopting high efficiency and low emission technologies.

Ozone Depletion

Ozone depletion is the result of increasing atmospheric concentrations of chlorine originating from CFCs. In the Montreal Protocol, countries agreed to phase out production of CFCs. The consequences of decrease in the protective ozone layer in the long-run will be harmful for health and productivity of marine and terrestrial systems. Atmospheric levels of CFCs are expected to peak around 2000 A.D. The largest ozone impact is over Antarctica where the maximum depletion was deep and extensive (about 50 per cent), since measurement began. The most important consequence of ozone depletion is an increase in solar ultraviolet radiation received at the earth's surface.

In the absence of changes in human behaviour to protect against exposure to the sun's rays, a sustained ozone decrease of 10 per cent would mean an increase of eye damages from cataracts and skin cancers, particularly fair skinned individuals. Besides, continuous exposure to increase levels of ultraviolet radiation can suppress the immune system in people of all skin colours. The health risks could be reduced if people would avoid unnecessary exposure by making small changes in their behaviour.

Impact of UV radiation on plant productivity has also emerged as another cause of concern. Even though some plants have considerable capacity for adoption and repair, there are instances where agricultural crops have shown some inhibition of growth and photosynthesis when plants are exposed to UV radiation. Nevertheless, there are some scope to deal with increased UV radiation through plant breeding. There are also instances where increased UV radiation marine productivity and ecosystem in general.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) "Economic activities lead to environmental degradation". Give two reasons in favour of and two against the above argument.

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- 2) "Environmental degradation affect the mankind adversely". Write down at least two most important mechanisms with respect to each of the aspects mentioned below to make the earth safer in the future.

A) Water Pollution

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B) Air Pollution

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C) Solid and Hazardous Waste

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D) Land Degradation

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E) Deforestation

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F) Greenhouse Warming

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G) Ozone Depletion

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19.4 INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT CONCERNS

"International environmental problems are most complicated to solve than national problems for two reasons. First, no single authority can lay down and enforce appropriate policies. Secondly, solutions must accommodate large variations in the balance of benefits and costs to different countries. Some countries may have more pressing local problems and less money for solving them. To secure action, rich countries may sometimes need to pay poor ones" (World Development Report, 1992).

19.4.1 Introduction of International Environment Concerns

At the international level, it is often impossible to rely on a common regulatory framework, economic policy, legal framework and the authoritative powers of a national government. Solutions to international environmental problems therefore rest on collaboration, persuasion and negotiation among sovereign states. Prioritising the issues at the international level is also a highly complex. Since, the costs of doing nothing may be borne by the other nations. Also, the gains may not accrue to those who make a headway in the national policy. There are three main contours which necessitates international solutions:

First, regional problems regarding sharing of common resources, where the action of one country affect the others in the region. The typical problems coming under this category are transboundary pollution including acid rain, management of rivers, seas, etc.

Second, the world shares certain **global commons** where the action of one country affect the action of all other countries. For instance, atmosphere and deep oceans are the global resources. Accumulation of greenhouse gases, ozone layer depletion caused by the emission of CFCs and the like are international problems that affect the global community.

Third, there are resources that belong to one country but have immense value for the international community. They are not necessarily reflected in the market mechanism. Examples of this type are tropical rainforests, specific ecological habitats, individual species, etc.

Since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 in Stockholm, concerns have been growing regarding continuous deterioration of the global environment. As a matter of fact, any disruption of the ecological balance would sterilise the life-sustaining capabilities and eventual economic and ecological disaster. This global environmental deterioration has been attributed primarily to unsustainable patterns of certain kinds of consumption of production, especially in the industrialised nations. In fact, industrialised countries are solely responsible for the largest share of the world's current emission of pollutants including toxic and hazardous wastes.

In the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), member countries argued that poverty and environmental degradation were interrelated and environmental protection in developed countries had to be viewed as an integral part of the development process. This in fact is a logical culmination of the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development which, recognises that international environmental protection measures have to take into account current global imbalances in production and consumption. In the UNCED member countries agreed that the global character of the environmental problems (climate change, ozone layer depletion, transboundary air, water pollution, contamination of the Oceans and Seas, etc.) necessitated concerned efforts and effective participation of all countries. Indeed, concerted efforts are made in a partnership manner at the international level to the fulfilment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer future.

19.4.2 Agenda 21 and the Rio-Declaration

Agenda 21 — a programme for action for sustainable development internationally, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and the statement of principles for sustainable management of forests were adopted by 179 countries at the United National Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janerio, Brazil 3-4, June, 1992. It brought together thousands of business people, environmental and social scientists, educationists, trade unionists, indigenous people, religious leaders, women and youth. The key message from the UNCED were:

- The interdependence between development issues and the environment and
- The need for partnership between different nations and sectors of society to tackle these complex issues.

Agenda 21, one of the major outputs of the Conference, is a logical culmination of several years of intensive work where thousands of people from diverse countries and sectors were participated. Agenda 21 has 40 chapters which are divided into four sections:

- Social and economic dimensions
- Conservation and management of resources for development
- Strengthening the role of major groups and
- Means of implementation

Even though, Agenda 21 is not legally enforceable, it serves as a valuable statement of all the major socio-economic and environmental issues relevant to the achievement of sustainable development. It also deals with the complex and dynamic myriad of linkages between these issues and provides action and partnership between nations as well as sectors.

19.4.3 Can Market Mechanism Solve the Environmental Problem?

As has already been pointed out that the purpose of development policy and environmental policy is to improve the well-being of people. Environmental degradation necessarily occurs when those who decides to use environmental resources ignore or underestimate the costs of environmental damage to society. In fact, market mechanism does recognise the true social value of the environment. Some of the important underlying reasons are as:

- Market does not exist because it is difficult to exclude anybody's right to own or use the environment. Air for instance, market for air does not exist. Even if prices prevail they do not reflect costs to the society. As a result there is too much air pollution.
- Some uses of particular resource are marketable but other not. For instance, tropical rainforests where timber is marketed but watershed is not. In this non-marketable profits are often ignored and other uses are heavily exploited.
- When resources are open to all, they are exploited irrespective of their impact. Deforestation and overfishing are the typical examples of this type of externalities.
- There is often lack of information about environmental affects or low cost availability to the users.

It is because of the externalities associated with the environmental problems, market mechanism seems to be incapable of guiding resource consumption. The plausible way out of this crisis could be by adopting and reinforcing the wheels of partnership.

19.4.4 Multi-Stakeholder Partnership

Partnership has become one of the most crucial word in the debate on sustainable human development. By partnership in this context would imply that: voluntary and mutually beneficial collaboration between one or more parties aimed at developing strategies and solutions to the socio-economic and environmental challenges of sustainable development. The aim has been a total shift from provisions of confrontation, dependence and isolation to positions of mutual agreed interdependence.

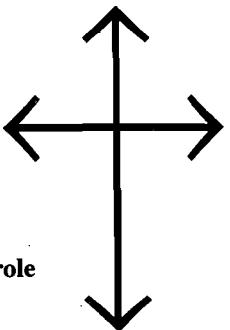
Even though there are diverse sectors and types of stake-holders, the document looks at three broad sectors:

- the government
- the voluntary or "not-for-profit" non-governmental sector (NGOs) and
- the corporate or "for-profit" business and industry sector

Even though, there are overlaps between these three groups in terms of their roles and responsibilities in public life, they can be used as a starting point for a fruitful discussion. Each sector has distinct skills and resources which can add value to the other sector in a partnership way.

Section 1**Social and Economic Dimensions**

1. Preamble
2. International cooperation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries
3. Combating poverty
4. Changing consumption patterns
5. Demographic dynamics and stability
6. Protection and promotion of human health
7. Promotion sustainable human settlement development
8. Integrating environment and development in decision making

**Section Three****Strengthening the role
of Major-Groups**

23. Preamble
24. Women
25. Children and Youth
26. Indigenous people and their communities
27. Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs)
28. Local authorities
29. Workers and Trade Unions
30. Business and Industry
31. Scientific and Technological community
32. Farmers

Section Four**Means of Implementation**

33. Financial resources and mechanisms
34. Transfer of Environmentally sound technology
35. Science for sustainable development
36. Promoting education, public awareness, and training
37. National mechanisms and international cooperation for capacity building
38. International institutional arrangements
39. International legal instruments
40. Information for decision making

Section Two**Conservation and management of resources for development**

9. Protection of the atmosphere
10. Integrated approach to the planning and management of land resources
11. Combating deforestation
12. Managing fragile ecosystems: combating desertification and drought
13. Managing fragile ecosystems: sustainable mountain development
14. Promoting sustainable agricultural and rural development
15. Conservation of biological diversity
16. Environmentally sound management of biotechnology
17. Protection of the Oceans, all kinds of seas including enclosed and semi-enclosed seas and Costal areas
18. Protection of the quality and supply of fresh water resources
19. Environmentally sound management of toxic chemicals
20. Environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes
21. Environmentally sound management of solid wastes and sewage related wastes.
22. Safe and environmentally sound management of radioactive wastes

Business and industry play a critical role in the process of building partnership for sustainable development. The combined social, economic and environmental effect of private enterprises, large and small, formal and informal, transnational and local is very crucial. The business sector generates livelihood strategies, new markets, products and services. Technological progress takes place in this sector because it undertakes risks, it is also a major consumer of natural resources and producer of wastes. So, what is needed is to find our ways and means to optimise the positive effects and minimise the negative effects.

However, in practice the business sector often lacks the following.

- The appropriate regulatory framework.
- The appropriate environmental, cultural and scientific expertise.
- The co-operation of local communities.

In the work place and market place: During its course of transaction with the employees, customers, suppliers, financiers and environmentalists, it can cooperate to develop cleaner process and products.

Multi-Stakeholder Partnership

Agenda 21 addresses the pressing problems today and so aims at preparing the world for the challenge of the next century. It reflects a global consensus on development and environment co-operation. Its successful implementation is first and foremost responsibility of the governments

- International Governments — UN systems
- Regional Government Grouping
- National Government
- State Government
- Local Self Government

- Transnational and National
- Local and Foreign
- Large and small scale
- Formal and Informal
- Rural and Urban
- Primary, Secondary and Tertiary enterprises

Business and Industry, Including transnational corporations and their representative organisations should be full participants in the negotiation and evaluation of activities related to Agenda 21.

- Academia
- Researchers
- Scientists
- Technologists
- Teachers

- Development Organisations
- Activist Group
- Churches
- Indigenous People
- Trade Unions
- Womens Group
- Youth Group

Non-Governmental Organisations play in the shaping and implementation of parliament democracy. Their credibility lies in the and constructive role they play in society and informal organisations, as well as movements should be recognised as the implementation of Agenda 21.

In the research and training field: Business sector can afford partnership with the academician and scientific personnel to develop new technologies, new products and new management systems.

In host communities: It can work with NGOs, local government and the public to add the quality of life investments in human capital.

In the public policy realm: It can collaborate with the government, international organisations, and research institutes to develop appropriate regulatory frameworks to improve its environmental performance without sacrificing its economic performance.

USEFULNESS OF PARTNERSHIP

- It can mobilise diverse skills and resources in a greater amount than otherwise.
- It can address problems in a more integrated, multidisciplinary and comprehensive manner.
- It can eliminate unnecessary duplication of costs and efforts (where there are shortages of financial and human resources)
- It can help traditional organisation to broaden their horizon and to respect each other's needs and capabilities.
- It can facilitate dialogue, creativity and mutual trust for conflicting interests.
- Interface between partners can also facilitate the flow of information and transfer of technology.

19.5 LET US SUM UP

After going through this unit, you get an idea of the link between environment and sustainable human development. Human development cannot be taken care of by pursuing economic growth alone. Economic growth is only one dimension of development. Distribution of income, provision of health care, education, safe environment and freedom of expression are the important dimensions in the development process. Sustaining human development therefore is not simply a call for environmental protection but which provides opportunity for all the people of the world to grow without affecting the world's finite natural resources. The general principle of sustainable human development is adopted by the world commission on Environment and Development is that current generations should meet their needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need. In other words, what we really need to sustain is human life. So, the environment must be given a human face to save it from the crises of environmental degradation.

Sometimes economic activities degrade environment primarily due to lack of interface between what is provided (resources advanced) and what is used. Environmental degradation damages human health, reduces efficiency and productivity and entails loss of opportunity to people. In order to counteract the adverse consequences of economic growth, it is necessary to rationally reallocate investment patterns as well as change the behaviour and attitude through proper incentive and disincentive structures. At the international level, any disruption of the ecological balance would sterilise the life sustaining opportunities and eventual ecological and economic disaster. If the present pattern of environmental degradation will continue, the life cannot be safer for anyone without hearty co-operation of every one in the world. In this critical juncture, what we really need is to build up partnership to sustain human life. It implies voluntary co-operation among all the stake-holders in the world. The Rio Declaration is precisely addressing these fundamental issues in a much more scientific way.

19.6 KEY WORDS

Abutement: A measure taken for reducing or eliminating air or noise pollution.

Air pollution: The contamination of the atmosphere with undesirable solids, liquids and gases.

Environment: The region, surroundings or circumstances in which anything exists, everything internal to the organism.

Environmental Impact: Any change in the environment for better or for worse, especially the effects on air, land or water of solid, liquid or gaseous wastes, smells or noise.

Gross National Product (GNP): It is the money value of goods and services produced in a country during a year plus net income from abroad. By economic growth we mean an increase in perception GNP over a long period of time.

Economic Development: It is defined as growth plus qualitative changes in various parameters of life, may be social, political, economic, cultural or religious. Thus, development involves structural changes encompassing institutional transformation including monetisation and modernisation of different sectors of the economy.

Basic Needs: The approach to development aims at achieving the full physical, mental and social development of human personality through a package of measures, and concentrates on the nature of what is provided rather than on income.

Carrying Capacity: It is the maximum capacity of the environment to assimilate all kinds of emissions and wastes. If pollution exceeds the carrying capacity, there would be loss of eco-systems and species.

Ozone: A highly reactive poisonous form of oxygen having chlorine like odor detectable by most people at an air concentration as low as 0.02 parts per million. Ozone is produced naturally during lightning storms by the passage of electricity through air. Ozone occurs high in the stratosphere in an 'ozone layer' where it forms and breaks down in an ozone cycle of reaction.

Chlorofluoro Carbons: The aerosol propellants, refrigerant fluids and framing agents are members of chlorofluorocarbons known by a trade name Freon.

Greenhouse effect: The property of selective absorption used in the construction of greenhouses which finds parallel in the general atmosphere, water vapour and carbon dioxide although only a minute fraction of the mass of the atmosphere, exercise considerable influence over the heat balance of the atmosphere and ground.

19.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

World Development Report, 1992, *Development and the Environment*, World Bank, Oxford University Press.

World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, *Our Common Future*, New York, Oxford University Press.

Anand Sudhir and Amartya Sen (1992), "Sustainable Human Development: Concepts and Priorities", Human Development Report Office, Occasional paper 8, UNDP, New York.

19.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Read Sub-section 19.2 and answer the questions.
- 2) Read Sub-section 19.2.2 and answer the questions.
- 3) Read Sub-section 19.2.2 and answer the questions.
- 4) Read Sub-section 19.2 and answer the questions.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Read Sub-section 19.3.1 and answer the question.
- 2) a) Read Sub-section 19.3.2 to 19.3.6.

UNIT 20 HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Structure

- 20.0 Objectives**
- 20.1 Introduction**
- 20.2 Significance of Human Rights**
- 20.3 The Concept: Evolution and Meaning**
 - 20.3.1 The Ancient Greeks and the Stoics**
 - 20.3.2 Dominant Notion Today**
 - 20.3.3 Milestones of Development**
 - 20.3.4 Right to Development**
 - 20.3.5 Diverse Conceptualisations of the Individual**
- 20.4 Universal v/s Cultural Relativism**
 - 20.4.1 Vasak's Three Generations of Rights**
 - 20.4.2 Differences between the Two Covenants**
 - 20.4.3 UN's Special Conventions**
 - 20.4.4 The UN and Decolonization**
- 20.5 Human Rights, Development and Democracy**
 - 20.5.1 Helsinki Process**
 - 20.5.2 Strategic Shifts in Global Political Economy**
 - 20.5.3 USA's Policy on Human Rights**
- 20.6 Features of Vienna Declaration on Human Rights**
- 20.7 Emerging Challenges to Human Rights Protection**
- 20.8 Let Us Sum Up**
- 20.9 Appendix I**
 - 20.9.1 UDHR**
 - 20.9.2 India: Fundamental Duties (Article 51A)**
 - 20.9.3 India: Fundamental Rights**
 - 20.9.4 India: Directives Principles of State Policy**
- 20.10 Appendix II**
- 20.11 Some Useful Books**
- 20.12 Answers to Checks Your Progress Exercises**

20.0 OBJECTIVES

'Human Rights' has become a popular topic. It has got several dimensions and each dimension may require a full thesis for a detailed treatment. In this Unit we will discuss various issues and developments in Human Rights and International Politics. After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- identify the concept: evaluation, meaning and its significance;
- discuss the issues at the global level;
- explain the position of Human Rights on various issues of development and democracy; and
- evaluate the role of international agencies in protection of Human Rights in the developing countries.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

Human Rights as we hear and read about today are predominantly of the Western heritage. Rights have always been there in every culture and tradition. But the influence of West in conceptualisation, standardization and their observance throughout the world has made it possible to identify human rights with its liberal underpinnings. This is however a reductionist way of understanding human rights. A balanced perspective will demand a closer examination of the changing political economy of the globe. Human

20.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

'Human Rights' is, at once, a simple and a complex concept. The most popular version of human rights refers to having a right as a human being. But on serious examination, it will not be difficult to see that it is a complex notion also. Two factors contribute to making it a complex notion: (a) its philosophical features are interwoven with political considerations and (b) over the years, confusing terminologies have been used in various expressions of human rights.

Despite rich complexity, the meaning of human rights has never moved away from its central plank, namely, provision, protection and promotion of those values through which "we affirm together that we are a single human community". In any sense, respect for human dignity is the essential value which lends meaning to human rights. But when it comes to 'packaging' human rights for implementation, influence of political considerations occupies centre-stage. This is an unfortunate development today. However, as we near the end of the 20th century, few will dispute that human rights is the most dominant idea on the agenda of the 21st century, and will continue to be so at least for the initial years in the next century.

The significance of human rights today can be highlighted by some of the development indicators given below:

- a) On the initiative of the UN, a World Conference on Human Rights was held in Vienna during 14-25, June 1993 (the first International conference was held in Teheran in 1968). After two weeks of lively proceeding in Vienna, a consensus was reached on the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action which, in the words of the then UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali heralded "a new vision "Gobol action for Human Rights in to the next century" later in March 1995, the world submmitt for Social Development included in the list of ten commitments to which the world leaders had pledged themselves:

"to promote social integration based on the enhancement and protection of all human rights".

- b) In pursuance of the above, member-states have found it necessary to devote the task of Human Rights Education among their people. "The International Decade for Human Rights Education" has been proclaimed and it has been in force since 1995. India has set up its National Human Rights Commission in 1993 and the Commission has started working full swing ever since. The national task and campaign for rights consciousness aim strategically at awareness promotion among its people as well as articulation and campaign for various 'group rights' belonging to women, child, tribals and dalits, consumers, sick and elderly, disabled and the others.
- c) A closer scrutiny of the post-war international politics will reveal that it has increasingly been characterized by "a constantly shifting, often contradictory, but dominant transnational discourse on aid policy" (R.E. Wood). This aid diplomacy focused on question of development and seldom addressed the questions of democracy, good governance and human rights which is the situation today. The shift in focus today has largely been occasioned following the end of the Cold War and dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc. As will become clear later, human rights observance has become unavoidable in their conduct and practice of states in the post-Cold war phase of international relations. All the aid donor countries and agencies have got this incorporated in their aid-policy requirements.
- d) Even those who differed with the aid conditions for human rights observance had their arguments focused on significance of human rights for today's world. These countries, mostly of East and South East Asia in the non-Western world (and without necessarily subscribing to the Western liberal individualism) have offered the arguments of "cultural relativism" as a counter. Briefly, 'cultural relativism' refers to a country's cultural peculiarities which should be incorporated, as the

argument runs, in the conceptualisation of human rights if the latter are to be effectively observed in practice. No cultural relativist has ever questioned the significance of human rights. If anything, they have also joined the Western advocates to make human rights real and practicable.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe various development indicators demonstrating the significance of human rights today.
-
.....
.....
.....

- 2) State whether the following statements are True or False:

- A) National Human Rights Commission was set up in 1995
- B) International Decade for Human Rights Education started with, 1993
- C) World Conference on Human Rights met at Vienna in June, 1993.
- D) Till recently aid policies addressed questions of development and did not give primary importance to those of democracy and human rights.

20.3 THE CONCEPT: EVOLUTION AND MEANING

If human rights are significant today, it needs to be mentioned here that the evolution of the concept and their practice have got a chequered history. It may be interesting to know that prior to the use of the term human rights, such rights were typically called the Rights of man or Natural rights. This difference is more than terminological. For example, Thomas Paine who is credited to have coined the expression 'human rights' in his English translation of the French Declaration of The Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) wrote the basic book on human rights in 1792 and titled it the Rights of Man. In the same year, (1792), in France only and for the first time in recorded history, Mary Wollstonecraft argued for equal rights for women in her equally classic book A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. The name change from 'rights of man' to 'human rights' was suggested by Eleanor Roosevelt in 1947 and it has since then been uniformly observed beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the General Assembly had passed on 10 December 1948.

20.3.1 The Ancient Greeks and the Stoics

The concept of human rights is rooted in the most ancient values as taught by different religions in the world. But the most dominant strand in the conceptualisation of human rights belongs to its western heritage whose philosophers, as a rule, trace the term to the classical Athenian democracy and the Social influence on Roman jurisprudence. It should be interesting to know that as a normative ethical concept, origins of human rights acquired a political connotation which is continuing till date in modern versions. The Classical Greeks views 'nature' as an "objective standard for the instruction of human social conduct" and insisted that natural laws can be known through a systematic description of the behaviour which "ought to occur" in a society. Politically, this only meant that not everybody in the city-state can have natural rights; actually, only the citizens and not others had access to benefits of natural law. But ironically, in their general defence of such inequalities, Plato and Aristotle have also introduced to the knowing world several conceptions of equality which serve as key elements in human rights theory today. To mention some of these prominent contributions:

equal respect for all citizens (isotimia),
equality before law (isonomia)
equality in political power (isokratia) and
equality in suffrage (isopsephia)
equality of civil rights (isopoliteia)

But, as said earlier, these benefits were available to the citizen only and they were only half of the Athens' population. The Roman concept of equality, however broadened the scope of the rights application. The Stoics were the foremost contributors to the natural law theory. Working within the classical Greek view, they however conceptualised 'nature' as "a universal system of rules" (as embodied in the Roman society) in which all rational human beings were entitled to equal civic status. The Roman doctrine of natural law introduced a revolutionary improvement over the narrow Greek view in that local conventional law (jus civile) can co-exist with the collective principles (jus gentium) which are observed by all and which by implication, meant that all persons were equal as members of the world community. There is definitely some lesson here to learn viz., coexistence of the general with a plurality of particulars. This has become an important element in the conceptualisation and practice of human rights today.

20.3.2 Dominant Notion Today

The dominant conception of human rights today belongs to the Western heritage of natural law philosophy and, as such, even today, human rights discourse cannot be said to be free from the influence of the Greek and the Roman views. Universalism of human rights today is practically possible only when the totality of the argument takes into account local variations.

Ideally, human rights should address issues and concerns relating to human dignity regardless of barriers of ideology and political and economic system. It should also focus on diverse groups of humanity in order to empower and restore their dignity.

It should provide an element of a social cement, "an irreducible human element" through which each member can proudly claim to belong to a single human community regardless of differences. Every religion and social ethos has got its own variant of what we call "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam". But in these days of aggressive globalization of economy and finance, universalization of the values of equality and freedom does not appear to be anywhere within sight.

For an average student, the picture of human rights has been one presented by the established authorities on the subject. This however is a biased view which equates human rights primarily with:

- a) the protection and promotion of civil and political rights,
- b) the demand for economic rights thrown in at times,
- c) democracy and more so, liberal democracy, as practised in the western world.

It is argued by the Western policy makers and scholars that it was only under the U.S. President Jimmy Carter's leadership that the Operations Human Rights began. Later, according to them, human rights became an international concern.

20.3.3 Milestones of Development

However, concepts of democracy and human rights predate Jimmy Carter through he gave the term and usage an official respectability. It thus became a cornerstone of his presidency between 1977 and 1981.

'Democracy' which entered the Vocabulary of the English language in the sixteenth century, had its birth way back in Athens some 2500 years ago. Similarly, official respect for freedom was sanctified (in the western heritage) by the 1688 English Bill of Rights, the 1776 American Declaration of Independence and the 1789 (French) Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. It is important to remember that all these declarations centered around the nation-state. However, following the second World War, a more universalistic approach to the question of rights emerged. The first example of this was the 1945 United Nations Charter under which the U.N. is "to promote

universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all" and "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal right and self-determination of peoples." Three years later, on 10 December, 1948, (which is today observed as the Human Rights Day) the U.N. General Assembly adopted without dissent (but with abstentions by the Soviet bloc nations, South Africa and Saudi Arabia) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which comprehensively spelled out the concept of human rights. Though only one fourth of the present strength of the U.N. adopted the UDHR then, many nations further committed themselves to respect human rights through a number of international agreements in subsequent years:

Some of the international agreements are:

- a) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966), came into force in 1976
- b) The European Convention on Human Rights (1950), came into force in 1953
- c) The American Convention on Human Right (1969), came into force in 1978
- d) The Helsinki Accords (adopted in 1975)
- e) The African Charter on People's and Human Rights (1981), came into force in 1986.

Along with the UDHR, both the international Covenants (ICCPR & ICESCR) and their Optional Protocols constitute what is known as The International Bill of Rights (IBR). IBR actually provides the conceptual framework to which other human rights instruments are to conform. Two unique features of the IBR must be mentioned. First the international covenants took the 1948 Declaration a step further by making the given provisions legally binding on the signatory states. Such States are required to open the doors for international monitoring of human rights. The ICPR has been signed by 121 states and ICESR by 123 states. The Indian Government has ratified both these covenants on 10 April, 1979 during the Janata Government headed by Morarji Desai. Secondly, of the thousands of treaties registered with the United Nations, about 5 per cent are multi-lateral, whereas in the human rights field, the opposite is true. Virtually, all human rights agreements are multi-lateral. This speaks for the widest observance of human rights in the world.

In view of these developments, the connotation of individual rights has acquired two new dimensions which were unthinkable till 1945. Today, international lawyers and commentators have sanctified and promoted the view that nation-states which are sovereign have however accepted the legal obligations and they do not question the treatment of their citizens under various human rights conventions. Secondly, the right of self-determination of peoples is now recognized as a legal right.

It is also important to note that the United Nations has been the main area within which the international politics of human rights has been played out. It is a different story that the international politics may itself be influenced by the national interest perceptions of a dominant power in today's uneven world. But it cannot be denied that the international norms regarding the rights of the individuals and groups have been established, and necessary institutions and mechanisms created to give concrete expression to these norms only under the auspices of the UN. That is where both the success and failures regarding human rights protection and promotion lie. Whereas the iniquitous politics of the globe have set limits to human rights observance, one also finds efforts of countervailing forces as represented in various multi-lateral treaties, declarations, resolutions and agreements as well as emergence of powerful regional regimes and the NGOs which have, on balance, made human rights a noble objective for most of the states to pursue.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which contains a Preamble and 30 Articles was proclaimed by the General Assembly "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." The Indian Constitution also provides for rights and duties for its citizens. Are our rights and duties at variance with the objectives of the Declaration? (Please find out the area of agreement and convergence of rights and duties as given in the Indian Constitution and compare them with that of the Universal Declaration from the lists given in Annexure-I. Remember that the lists contain rights and duties in their abbreviated form only).

The first World Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran in 1968 affirmed these principles contained in the Declaration. It is useful to remember that the General Assembly had passed a resolution in 1950 declaring that "enjoyment of civil and political freedoms and of economic, social and cultural rights are inter-connected and inter-dependent." These two characteristics of human rights viz., 'inalienability' and 'inter-dependence to the extent of inseparability' between civil and political rights on the one hand and the economic, social and cultural rights on the other, constituted the building blocks in the final re-affirmation of the content of human rights by the Second World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna in 1993. The nature, content and importance of human rights are no more in dispute today after the Vienna Congress.

20.3.4 Right to Development

1950 to 1993 was a long journey of debate and resistance to the questions of accepting an essentially Third World position which was that the economic and social rights be treated as inseparable from the civil and political rights. This controversy at the international level was reflected in the efforts of the developing countries backed by the then Soviet Union to formulate a concept of "the right to development" acceptable to all members of the U.N. Such a demand met hostility and rejection by the Western capitalist countries which denounced the idea of 'collective rights' and the 'global economic reforms' to be given as a concession to authoritarian regimes that curtailed freedoms to their citizens. In other words, right to development conveyed to the western liberals, curbing of fundamental political and civic rights. Despite this opposition, the General Assembly did finally adopt in 1986, a Declaration on the Right to Development after many years of preparation. According to this Declaration, the right to development is:

"an inalienable right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized."

A universally acceptable definition of 'development' however is awaited even in the year 1997, that is, more than thirty years after ICESCR was signed in 1966.

20.3.5 Diverse Conceptualisations of the Individual

Western liberalism has its sheet anchor in individualism — a political philosophy which focuses on "the physicalist conception of the individual." That is to say, the sensory of body and not the interrelationships with other individuals and the Nature, is what counts in an individual. As Prof. Bhikhu Parekh has pointed out: "Life, the continuation of the body in time, and liberty, the unhindered movement of the body, became two of the highest moral values." Violence, curtailment/restrictions, sufferings etc. which affect human rights have always been construed in their physical terms. Crying, dying, starving, and such other 'physical' sufferings provoked moral denunciation and condemnation for violation of human rights. But if one sees a child frustrated from developing his abilities for want of money, or a man in despair for lack of gainful employment, one would not generally see a moral problem involved there are believe that its redress becomes just as urgent as prevention of death. The developing countries of the third world therefore found little use in such a narrow conception of human rights, based on an 'individual' abstracted from his/her society and the surroundings.

It is worth remembering at this stage that this 'narrow view of the individual' came to dominate the world of moral concerns from the seventeenth century onwards, beginning, with John Locke, the English political philosopher. Locke was closely associated with the drafting of the 1689 Bill of Rights which spelt out the rights of the individual unambiguously and limited the prerogatives of the Crown. As such, the 1689 Bill of Rights came to contain for the first time in the world. Common Law principles of 'due process' and 'the writ of habeas corpus' (produce the body) besides all those existing rights which protected the subjects from the Crown under the 1215 Magna Carta. But such efforts at articulating civil and, later, political rights of the individual against the prerogatives of the Crown, though inherently progressive, were however based on narrowing down the meaning and the scope of the individual. The individual had a rich

and complex meaning before the so-called phase of modern politics. The ancient Athenians believed that "a man taken together with his land and political rights constituted an individual. Almost upto the end of the Middle Ages, a craftsman's tools were believed to be inseparable from the man. They constituted his 'inorganic body' and were just as much an integral part of his self as his self as his hands and feet" (B. Parekh). The Hindus always believed that the individual is born into a set of social relations, called caste. The Chinese have a highly complex conception of the individual who is born into a family which links his ancestors and the descendants into a 'living union' and therefore remains inseparable from it.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Prepare a table in the chronological order indicating major dates against the milestones of development in the evolution of human rights concept and practice. Begin with Magna Carta (the great charter) which was signed by king John in June 1215 under the pressure of the English barons. Your table should end with two developments in the year 1993.
- 2) Indicate True or False:
 - A) Eleanor Roosevelt suggested the change in the name from 'right of man' to 'human rights'.
 - B) According to Plato and Aristotle, not everybody in the city-state should have natural rights.
 - C) The dominant notion of human rights is of Western heritage; other societies merely followed them.
 - D) Almost upto the end of the Middle Ages, craftsman's tools constituted his inorganic body.
 - E) (For answers see at the end.)

20.4 UNIVERSAL V/S CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Against such a divergent conceptualisation of the individual, human rights in the Asian countries, assumes a different but not contradictory meaning. The Chinese representative at the Vienna Congress (1993) made an important observation arguing in favour of plural coexistence of the human rights regimes as against direct and indirect imposition of the West's views of liberal individualism.

"The concept of human rights is a product of historical development. Countries at different development stages or with different historical traditions and cultural backgrounds also have different understandings and practices of human rights. Thus one should not and cannot think the human rights standards and models of certain countries as the only proper ones and demand that all countries comply with them. It is neither realistic nor workable to make international economic assistance or even international co-operation conditional on them."

Important to note is that the Chinese are not against human rights; they are only against imposition of a single hegemonic model. This has also been the view, broadly, of the developing countries and the Vienna Congress had upheld this principle in paragraph 5 of the Declarations where it said:

"While the significance of national and regional peculiarities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of the states, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms." Significance of this emphasis (to bear in mind the socio-cultural peculiarities of states at different stages of socio-economic evolution) is clearly reflected in the ever-rising trade-based foreign policy pursuits of developed countries like USA, France and other countries towards China which according to them has not been able to maintain its human rights records properly. The most effective counter argument to the proposition that the cultural diversities will impede the evolution

of a common set of global standards of human rights, came in the Resolution adopted by the Asian NGOs meeting in the same year in a parallel session at the Bangkok regional human rights conference:

"Universal human rights standards are rooted in many cultures. We affirm the basis of universality of human rights which affords protection to all of humanity including special groups such as women, children, minorities and indigenous peoples, workers, refugees and displaced persons, the disabled and the elderly. While advocating cultural pluralism, those cultural practices which derogate universally accepted human rights including women's rights must not be tolerated."

While the argument for 'cultural relativism' for human rights concept and practice is valid in its own right, the limitation of such context-specific exercise must be strictly understood so that universality of human rights is promoted strongly. It is within such a conception of universality that the Third World countries will find the thesis of indivisible and inter-dependent rights working actually to the advantage of one and all.

20.4.1 Vasak's Three Generations of Rights

Karel Vasak has sought to classify the historical development of human rights according to the French revolutionary slogan "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". Liberty or the first generation rights are represented by the civil and political rights which are predominantly "freedoms from" rather than "rights to" types. Equality or the second-generation rights, correspond to the protection of economic, social and cultural rights. They consist of rights to such conditions of living which the state must create and make available for individual's maximal development of personality. Fraternity, or the third-generation rights refers to 'collective' or 'group' rights and are the new rights which are being claimed by the Third World States. These states have been demanding as a group for creation of an international legal and economic order that will guarantee the right to development, to disaster relief assistance, to peace and to a good and clean environment. Implementation of such rights would clearly depend upon international co-operation rather than international constitutional measures.

20.4.2 Differences between the Two Covenants

The two covenants the ICCPR and ICESCR were signed in 1956 but could not become effective, until 1976. The preamble and articles 1,3,5 of both the Covenants are almost identical. The salient difference between them is that while article 2 of the ICCPR provides that the protected rights will be respected and ensured immediately, article 2 of the ICESCR simply provides that the states should 'recognize' the rights and implement them in accordance with specific programmes.

Again, whereas the ICCPR establishes the Human Rights Committee (HRC) to supervise implementation of the Covenant and to provide a mechanism by which individuals may petition the HRC, the ICESCR simply relegates the function of supervision to a political body of the UN i.e. ECOSOC.

20.4.3 UN's Special Conventions

Notwithstanding the difficulties in establishing a universal system for protection and promotion of human rights, the UN system is in continuous process of drafting legally binding instruments to deal with specific aspects of human rights. They are a tribute to international struggle for human rights world over. Some of them are given in Appendix-II.

20.4.4 The UN and Decolonization

An important international development in the field of human rights relates to UN's practice in the field of decolonization. The UN charter provided for transfer of the Mandates (which were created by the League of Nations) to a Trusteeship system under the supervision of the Trusteeship Council. Administering states with colonies or non-self governing territories were placed under an obligation to regularly report to Secretary General of the UN about the well being of the people. Although, the UN charter

referred to the principle of self-determination, it certainly did not refer to the right to self-determination. It is now however generally accepted that such a right exists in international law. This view now has been reinforced by the General Assembly Resolution 2625 and the article I which is common to both the International Covenants which promised 'all peoples to have the right to self-determination.' Inclusion of this right reflects a collective right against an alien domination. But whether the right to self-determination goes further beyond one right to decolonization or to the right of minority cessation is an open question. Certainly the effects of large scale decolonization by the former colonial powers have created a group of new states who have been asking for the third generation rights referred to above.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is Cultural Relativism? What has Vienna Declaration got to say on this aspect?

.....

- 2) Identify at least two from each generation of rights as Vasak has formulated.

.....

- 3) Vienna Congress also remained open on it but at least on one aspect of this right, there has been unanimity till and including the Vienna Declaration. Which right are we referring to?

.....

20.5 HUMAN RIGHTS, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

As mentioned in section 20.3.2, the dominant notion of human rights is integrally related to two other liberal tenets of free market-based development and democracy. But this particular accent on human rights acquired its meaning and character from the post-cold war developments in the global political economy.

20.5.1 The Helsinki Process

A major international development to note in this field occurred during the period of détente (early 1970s) between the West (USA, France, Canada and U.K.) and the Communist bloc countries of Europe. Known as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (SCE), the Helsinki process (the name is after the capital of Finland where it was first convened in 1973) reflected a significant diplomatic development in the super-power relations during the last days of Cold War. While the Soviet Union got its Western borders recognised under the Helsinki Process, the Western powers got the Soviet bloc countries to recognise and commit themselves to human rights observance as per international standards. With the disintegration of the Soviet bloc countries, the Helsinki process acquired far-reaching importance. Although the primary function of the

Helsinki process was to establish a framework for development of peace and security in Europe, the institutionalised nature of its not-so-binding agreements became a source of great strength and momentum for promotion of the cause of democratic government and political pluralism all over the world. Internationalisation of human rights movement received its major impetus from the concessions which the Western countries extracted from the Soviet bloc countries. In this form, human rights movement came to be accentuated to imply democratic government and political pluralism after the liberal democratic ideals of the West which emerged victorious from the cold war.

It is therefore not surprising to note that human rights have emerged from the periphery of international arena to a position of primacy in the foreign policy of a substantial number of states during the post-cold war period. But its emergence has come about in a package of combined developments viz., **the triad of human rights, free market and democracy** which have become desirable, and attainable as policy objectives for most of the developing countries which are dependent on the economic and other aid from the developed West.

In this connection, students of international relations may do well to recall the historical continuity in which the Soviet Union was brought down to its knees before it gave concessions at Helsinki. The seventies were particularly a decade of foreign policy disasters for the Western capitalist countries. With the quadruple rise in oil prices administered by the OPEC countries, a fear of "Third World Unionisation" gripped the USA led bloc as it continuously suffered foreign policy reversals notably in South East Asia. This paved the way for détente. On the other side, taking advantage of the situation, the Soviet Union was indulgently expanding its influence. Soviet forces entered Kabul on the Christmas Day of 1979 and it is now the turn of the Soviet Union to suffer a similar set of foreign policy disasters till the system itself crumbled down.

20.5.2 Strategic Shifts in Global Political Economy

The anti-communism prism through which the American foreign policy planners from George Kenyan onwards viewed and shaped their country's foreign policy now stands shattered with the end of the cold war. The Third World activism which had raised its pitch of revolt during the seventies when it demanded a New International Economic Order also lost its momentum. As William Robinson aptly observes "containing communism" which legitimated US global interventions during the Cold War days has now been replaced by "democracy promotion" and "human rights protection" in order to secure the same set of objectives of global hegemony as they used to be before. The US post-cold-war foreign policy, according to this analysis, has witnessed a shift from "straight power concepts" to "persuasion", from cold war rivalries to, what Prof. Huntington calls "the Third Wave of Democracy."

In the economic field, conditions are to be created for the free play of the market forces which will ensure global integration across national borders. Widely referred to the globalization phenomenon, it conveniently overlooked that national economies are unequal among the politically equal sovereign states. Consider this instance : The top two richest industrialists of the world are Americans and their annual proceeds are of the same order as the GDP of India.

The globalization process which was unleashed in the wake of the end of cold war is showing contrary trends according to various Human Development Reports published by UNDP (United National Development Programme) annually. The 1992 Report brings out the ever-widening global income disparities:

"Between 1960 and 1989, the countries with the poorest 20 per cent of world population saw their share fall from 2.3 per cent to 1.4 percent. The consequences for income inequalities have been dramatic. In 1960, the top 20 per cent received thirty times more than the bottom 20 per cent but by 1989 they were receiving sixty time more". In terms of real consumption, "the North with about one fourth of the world's population, consumes 70 per cent of its food."

It is now an old story that the capitalist system of European production extended to other parts of the globe mainly through trading relationships. Today, the transnational corporations (TNCs) are responsible for more sales than the trade exports of all the countries in the world put together. In other words, private business of the TNCs are the major economic life lines of the world today and the governments have taken a back

seat. In this changed development in the international trade, it becomes important to note that most of these TNCs are in the USA and 80 per cent of the latter's trade transactions with the rest of the world are carried out under the banner of the TNCs.

Before the TNCs took charge (which actually represents an aggressive phase of asymmetrical financial globalization), the Third World states were already in debt traps owing largely to foreign aid dependent strategies of development which those countries followed during cold war days. The debt crisis was beyond resolution. Most of these developing countries came under the conditionalities of the World Bank and the IMF (to whom they owed huge sums) and went for Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) and liberal economic reforms. These so-called liberal economic reforms virtually meant freeing the economy from the state control and little social safety for the vast majority of the working people. According to a UNICEF estimate, "as many as 650,000 children die across the Third World each year because of this debt." It is common knowledge that there are few members and fewer votes from the developing world in the boards of IMF and the World Bank. It is the U.S. led West which dominates political, economic and cultural scenarios of the globe. Even in the media scene, as Chandra Muzaffar has pointed out, about 90 per cent of foreign news and information in the print media circulating in the worlds in controlled in one way or another by four news agencies located in the North.

Against this changed background of the post-cold war era, one often hears about broad acceptance of "the triad of human rights, free markets and democracy." As mentioned earlier, neither of these three is new to the world; acceptance of democracy and human rights has always been considered a noble pursuit for societies, though free-market goal was a post-cold war addition to the package. This also is the reason for a biased construction of human rights, and hence, opposition from groups of societies with divergent cultural values.

20.5.3 USA's Policy on Human Rights

The USA always maintained that its standards of maintaining human rights are unrivalled and second to none. But a closer scrutiny of the US policy of ratifying Human Rights Conventions gives a different story. The aggression and aplomb with which they won in the sphere of ideology (capitalism over communism), or international political economy ('Washington' over 'New York,' that is to say, victory of forces of World Bank, IMF etc. over the UN systems like UNDP etc.) are nowhere to be seen in its national policy of ratification of human rights conventions, though 'human rights promotion' is a major plank in the US foreign policy. This situation has more to it than what we read in newspapers about USA's inconsistent stand on human rights when it comes to trading with China, for instance.

In a set of editorial comments, The American Journal of International Law has brilliantly pointed out this indifference on the part of the United States which has "attached to each of its ratifications a package of reservations, understanding and declarations (RUD) which has evoked criticisms abroad and dismayed supporters inside.

These RUDs which have successfully stalled ratification of human rights conventions appear to have been guided by the following principles:

- 1) The US may not respect a treaty which is inconsistent with its Constitutional Provision.
- 2) And it is definitely so, if such a treaty seeks or promises to effect a change in the existing US law and practice.
- 3) It will not submit to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice to decide disputes as to the interpretation or application of human rights conventions.
- 4) Every human rights treaty should be subjected to a "federalism clause" whereby the states can largely have the responsibility of their implementation.
- 5) Every international human rights agreement should be "non self-executing", that is to say, the former cannot apply on its own merits.

With these type of national policies of hesitations and reservations it is not therefore surprising to find that the United States has till 1995 ratified only the following five

major treaties (though the second Clinton Administration (1996-2000) appears to be more determined in this direction):

- 1) In 1989, the Genocide Convention that was adopted in 1948
- 2) In 1992, the ICCPR that was adopted in 1966
- 3) In 1994, the Convention against Torture that was adopted in 1984.
- 4) In 1994, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination that was adopted in 1965.
- 5) In 1995, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women that was adopted in 1979.

According to the editorial comments again, "It was reported that the Clinton administration would seek Senate consent also to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (adopted in 1966), the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights (adopted in 1969) and the Convention on the Rights of Child (adopted in 1989)". It is important to mention here that the extremely slow progress in the ratification procedure may have been due to some technical snags in undertaking treaty obligations of international scope and application. But since these technical snags have been allowed to persist till date, the criticisms remain valid. More so in the light of developments like aggressive leadership by the US in creating a European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to help the transition process of the Central and East European Countries to free market economies, and its armed intervention in Haiti to "restore" democracy and the like. It may be of interest to note that the EBRD created in 1991 became the only international financial institution with an express commitment to human rights.

20.6 FEATURES OF VIENNA DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Howsoever skewed in terms of meaning attached to Human Rights in the contemporary international relations, importance of human rights for the entire humankind cannot be overemphasized. But it is crucial to know that the contents of an internationally acceptable set of human rights have been finalized and reconfirmed at Vienna. Let us briefly outline the seminal features of this universally accepted human rights package.

- 1) The universal nature of human rights and freedom is beyond question.
Whereas the dissident Asian countries (China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Iran, North Korea but not India) could temper their opposition as join the rest in the unanimous acceptance of the human rights as universal, the Western Countries for the first time formally accepted the equal validity of economic and social rights and also of the right to development alone with the civil and political rights which, they always thought, represented the quintessence of human rights.
- 2) The human rights as internationally declared and pledged to by most of the countries do not admit of any hierarchy among them and as such, are indivisible and inter-dependent.
- 3) Similarly, a new linkage has also been forged. According to the Declaration, "Democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are inter-dependent and mutually reinforcing." An important development in this direction is that the Human Rights Commission established a permanent working group to formulate an internationally acceptable right to development.
- 4) The right of the international community to be concerned with human rights practices in any country was firmly stated. This made a big dent on the concept of state sovereignty.
- 5) Nowhere is the international obligation of the sovereign states invoked more vividly than in areas that were customarily beyond the state's jurisdiction. The international accountability of the state will focus on the areas of domestic violence involving women and other societal violations like racism, ethnic cleansing, xenophobia, and others.

- 6) The Declaration called upon the international community and the national governments to mobilize institutionalized efforts to eradicate illiteracy and propagate human rights education. Following the World Conference recommendations, an International Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) was proclaimed ending years of long debate. Appointment of the High Commissioner for Human Rights was finally approved. The High Commissioner will have the overall responsibility for the UN Human Rights programmes.

20.7 EMERGING CHALLENGES TO HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

Two trends related to promotion and protection of international human rights may be noted: On the one hand, there is a tremendous drive towards establishing democratic governments all over the world. Most states feel some legal obligation (at least political pressure) to treat their citizens according to the international standards. More people are becoming conscious of their rights and this wholesome phenomenon is due largely to active facilitation by the Non-Governmental Organizations which have increasingly been playing an important role in human rights activities. The other trend however is the increasing incidence of human rights violations which have afflicted the society now. Re-emergence of fascist and undemocratic ideologies like fundamentalism in Europe, North America, Africa and Asia have raised the spectre of 'ethnic cleansing'. Human Rights violations have thus increased. Whether it is Bosnia or Rwanda or Afghanistan, the sordid story of human rights violations cannot be explained in a simple, straight jacket fashion. Taking stock of the human rights situation in the world, the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva presented to the Vienna Conference the following picture:

"At least half of the world's people suffer from serious violation of their economic, social, cultural, civil or political rights. These violations range from torture, execution, rape arbitrary detention, violence and disappearances, to extreme poverty, slavery, child abuse, famine and under-nourishment and lack of access to clean water, sanitation and health care."

Most of the Third World governments find themselves more committed to prevention of economic and political stability as ground realities becomes from bad to worse whereas the industrialized countries have so far shown little genuine commitment to the "second generation rights" which would have contributed significantly to freeing the Third World rulers from their economic hamstrings. Together, given the needed political will and commitment, these countries would have helped more the world in a direction which would have made it possible for the humankind to realize rights, democracy and development. For this agenda to be carried to its logical end, three agencies need to be conscious, vigilant and assertive: the individual, the non-governmental organizations and the United Nations. It is widely hoped that with the genuine participation of the individual, growing organizational potentials of the NGOs, and the encouragement by the and the spearheading leadership of the UNO, the required political and economic pressure on the actors and agencies can be generated on the international scene in order to create a world of democracy, human rights and development.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Identify four undisputed achievements of the Vienna Conference and mention at least ten human rights violations reported to it.
- 2) Indicate True or False:
 - A) EBRD created in 1991 was the only international financial institution with an express commitment to human rights.
 - B) International human rights treaties and obligations can apply to the USA with the same force as they do to India, (for example).
 - C) per cent of the foreign news and information in the print media circulating in the world is controlled by four news agencies located in the North.

- D) Human Rights occupied the centre-stage in the international arena only during the post cold war period.

20.8 LET US SUM UP

Human rights and fundamental freedoms are integral to personality development of human beings whose dignity cannot be compromised. International struggle for human rights has made it possible the accountability of the Sovereign States not only against violations within its jurisdiction but also in areas of societal living.

The picture of human rights in the mind of an average student is usually one which favours the idea that the concern for these rights began under US President Jimmy Carter's leadership. A closer scrutiny however suggests that such a picture is more often biased. It also does not take into account the role of a 'stalking horse' which the US establishment had been using in promoting democracy and human rights as an important foreign policy plank. As the critics argue, the human rights talk today is all 'persuasion' which has replaced the cold war ideological confrontations.

More reasons, than the often-cited technical snags, should be seen in the tardy progress in the US ratification of human rights. (So far they have signed only five major treaties). But the World Conference on Human Rights held at Vienna in 1993 finally succeeded in achieving four notable goals:

- 1) Confirmation of universality of Human Right.
- 2) Establishment of equal validity for social and economic rights along with civil and political rights and the right to development.
- 3) Expansion of the sphere of accountability of the sovereign state. It is obligated henceforth to protect human rights not only within its domestic jurisdiction but also conform to international conventions which is multilateral.
- 4) Finally, human rights, democracy and development are now going to constitute a triad of inter-relationships which are critically to influence the policy decisions of the aid donor and recipient countries. The Human Rights Commissioner has been set up to look after this responsibility. An International Decade for world wide Education in Human Rights has already been proclaimed. The support of the international community as well as the national governments including India has been enlisted.

All these official efforts represent but only one side of the picture. But no less significant would be a widely hoped co-ordination of efforts of the individual and non-governmental organizations under the spearheading leadership of the UNO. Collectively, joint and co-ordinated activities are expected to mount the needed pressure for building a world where democracy, human rights and development are given due emphasis and respectability. Official and institutional reforms hopefully would complement the individual efforts of Human Rights preservation and promotion.

20.9 APPENDIX-I

20.9.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Abbreviated)

Now, therefore, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms:

- Article 1 Rights to Equality
- Article 2 Freedom from Discrimination
- Article 3 Right to Life, Liberty, Personal Security
- Article 4 Right from Slavery
- Article 5 Right from Torture, Degrading Treatment

Issues in Development	
Article 6	Right to Recognition as a Person before the Law
Article 7	Right to Equality before the Law
Article 8	Right to Remedy by Competent Tribunal
Article 9	Freedom from Arbitrary Arrest, Exile
Article 10	Right to Fair Public Hearing
Article 11	Right to be Considered Innocent until Proven Guilty
Article 12	Freedom from Interference with Privacy, Family, House and Correspondence
Article 13	Right to Free Movement in and out of the Country
Article 14	Right to Asylum in other Countries from persecution
Article 15	Right to a Nationality and Freedom to change it
Article 16	Right to Marriage and Family
Article 17	Right to own Property
Article 18	Right to Belief and Religion
Article 19	Right to Opinion and Information
Article 20	Right to Peaceful Assembly and Association
Article 21	Right to Participate in Government and in Free Elections
Article 22	Right to Social Security
Article 23	Right to Desirable Work and to join Trade Unions
Article 24	Right to Rest and Leisure
Article 25	Right to Adequate Living Standard
Article 26	Right to Education
Article 27	Right to Participate in the Cultural Life of Community
Article 28	Right to Social Order assuring Human Rights
Article 29	Community Duties essential to Free and Full Development
Article 30	Freedom from State or Personal Interference in the above Rights

20.9.2 India: Fundamental Duties (Article 51A)

- 1) Respect for Constitution, National Flag and National Anthem
- 2) Cherish and Follow Ideals of National Freedom Struggle
- 3) Uphold and Protect Sovereignty, Unity and Integrity of India
- 4) Defend the Country and Render National Service when called upon
- 5) Promote Harmony and Spirit of Common Brotherhood (and Sisterhood)
- 6) Renounce Practices Derogatory to Dignity of Women
- 7) Value and Preserve Rich Cultural Heritage of the Country
- 8) Protect and Improve Natural Environment
- 9) Have Compassion for Living Creatures
- 10) Develop Knowledge of Science, Humanism and Spirit of Inquiry and Reform
- 11) Safeguard Public Property and Do Not Resort to Violence
- 12) Strive for Excellence in All Spheres of Individual and Collective Activity

20.9.3 India: Fundamental Rights

- 1) Right to Equality Before the Law (Article 14)
- 2) Freedom From Discrimination (Article 15)
- 3) Right to Equal Opportunity in Public Employment (Article 16)
- 4) Right to Freedom of Speech and Expression (Article 19)
- 5) Right to Assemble Peacefully Without Arms (Article 19)
- 6) Right to Form Associations or Unions (Article 19)
- 7) Right to Mover Freely (Article 19)
- 8) Right to Settle and Reside Anywhere in the Country (Article 19)
- 9) Right to Practice Any Profession, Occupation, Trade or Business (Article 19)
- 10) Right Not to Be Convicted of Offences Not Crimes At Time Committed (Article 20)
- 11) Right to Life and Personal Liberty (Article 21)
- 12) Right Not to Be Detained Without Being Informed of Reasons (Article 22)
- 13) Right to Consult With, And Be Defended By, a Lawyer After Arrest (Article 22)
- 14) Right Against Trafficking in Human Beings And Forced Labour (Article 23)
- 15) Right Against Employment of Children (Under 14 years) in Factories, Mines or Dangerous Jobs (Article 24)
- 16) Right to Freedom of Conscience And Freedom of Religion (Article 25-28)
- 17) Right to Protection of Cultural Rights of Minorities (Article 29)
- 18) Right to Protection of Educational Rights of Minorities (Article 30)
- 19) Right to Approach The Supreme Court if Rights Violated (Article 31)

20.9.4 India: Directive Principles of State Policy

- 1) Social, Economic and Political Justice (Article 38)
- 2) Means of Livelihood (Article 39)
- 3) Fair Distribution of Ownership and Control of Resources (Article 39)
- 4) Equal Pay for Equal Work (Article 39)
- 5) Preservation of Health and Strength of Workers and Children (Article 39)
- 6) Healthy, Free and Dignified Development of Children and Youth (Article 39)
- 7) Equal Justice and Free Legal Aid (Article 39A)
- 8) Right to Work, Education and Public Assistance (Article 41)
- 9) Just and Humane Conditions of Work and Maternity Relief (Article 42)
- 10) Living Wage and Decent Standard of Life (Article 43)
- 11) Full Enjoyment of Leisure, Social and Cultural Opportunities (Article 43)
- 12) Participation of Workers in Management of Industries (Article 43A)
- 13) Free and Compulsory Education for Children (Article 45)
- 14) Promotion of Educational and Economic Interests of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Other Weaker Sections (Article 46)
- 15) Raising Standards of Nutrition, Living and Public Health (Article 47)
- 16) Protecting Environment, Forests and Wild Life (Article 48A)
- 17) Protection of Monuments, Places and Objects of National importance (Article 49)
- 18) Separation of Judiciary from Executive (Article 50)

20.10 APPENDIX-II

There are various human rights instruments and UN declarations which the nations have pledged themselves to, in the interest of promoting human rights. Some prominent among them are:

- 1) The First, Second, Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions (dealing with conduct of war, treatment of prisoners and protection of civilians in war time)
- 2) The Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- 3) Convention on Political Rights of Women
- 4) International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)
- 5) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- 6) Convention Against Torture and other Cruel Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- 7) International Convention on the Rights of the Child (CAT)
- 8) The Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons
- 9) The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees
- 10) The Slavery Convention of 1926 and its Supplementary convention adopted in 1956.

In addition to these multilateral instruments of treaty status, many resolutions and declarations have been passed (by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council) which have contributed to setting international standards for human rights observance all over the world. They cover many specific areas of human rights concern. Prominent among them are:

- Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1957)
- Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded Persons (1971)
- Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (1981)
- Basic Principles on the Independence of Judiciary (1985)
- Declaration on the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearances (1992)
- Declaration on the Protection of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992)
- Declaration on the Rights to Development (1986)

In the same direction and with the objective of protecting human rights of the related persons, International Labour Organization (ILO) has also passed some conventions governing freedom of association. Some of them are:

- Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize (ILO Convention No. 87)
- Labour Relations (Public Service) Convention (ILO Convention No. 151)
- Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO Convention No. 169)

20.11 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Amnesty International (London); *Human Rights in India (1993)* Human Rights are Women's Rights.

Richard Reoch, *Human Rights — The New Consensus* (London).

Fareed Kazmi: *Human Rights 1994 — Myth and Reality*, New Delhi 1987

A B Kalaiah: *Human Rights in International Law*, New Delhi 1986.

K P Saksena: *Teaching Human Rights: A Manual for Adult Education*, New Delhi, 1996.

R J Vincent: *Human Rights and International Relations* (Cambridge) 1986.

Various Issues of Human Rights Quarterly

20.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) See Section 20.
- 2) A-F, B-F, C-T, D-T

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) See Section 20
Last two developments are Vienna Congress (June) and NHRC (October) in 1993
- 2) Except C, all are True

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) See Section 20. (Refer to para 5 of the Vienna Declaration)
- 2) Right to self-determination

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- 1) See Section 20
- 2) Except 13, all are True

UNIT 21 THE ETHNO-NATIONAL CONFLICTS, PATTERNS AND DIMENSIONS

Structure

- 21.0 Objectives
- 21.1 Introduction
- 21.2 Terminology
 - 21.2.1 Nation
 - 21.2.2 Nationalism
 - 21.2.3 Ethnic Groups
 - 21.2.4 Ethnicity
- 21.3 Meaning of Ethno-nationalism
- 21.4 Sources of Conflict
 - 21.4.1 Economic
 - 21.4.2 Political Discrimination
 - 21.4.3 Forced Assimilation
 - 21.4.4 Historical
 - 21.4.5 Population Pressures
 - 21.4.6 Refugee Movements
 - 21.4.7 Massive, Chronic and Sustained Human Flight
 - 21.4.8 State Collapse
 - 21.4.9 Persistent Cleavages among Ethnic Groups
 - 21.4.10 Complex of the Ethnic Minorities
 - 21.4.11 The Principle of Self Determination
- 21.5 Patterns of Ethnic Minorities
- 21.6 Dimensions of Ethno-national Conflicts
 - 21.6.1 Ethnic Domination
 - 21.6.2 Ethnic Secession
 - 21.6.3 Demand for Autonomy
 - 21.6.4 Peaceful Ethnic Self-determination
 - 21.6.5 Ethnic Cleansing
- 21.7 Implications of Ethno-national Conflicts
- 21.8 Suggestions
- 21.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 21.10 Key Words
- 21.11 Some Useful Books
- 21.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

21.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the ethno-national conflicts, the causes for emergence; the various patterns; and their dimensions with special reference to certain recent cases of ethnic conflicts Bosnia, Rwanda, Burundi, Chechnya, Sri Lanka, Quebec, Pakistan, etc.

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

- explain the meanings of nation, nationalism ethnic groups and ethnicity,
- define ethno-nationalism and ethno-national conflicts,
- describe the causes of emergence of ethno-national conflicts,
- discuss the various dimensions of ethno-national conflicts, and
- explain the implications of ethnic conflicts and also suggest certain preventive measures.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

Ethno-national conflicts pose one of the greatest challenges to international security in the post-Cold War world. Ethnic strife is not at all a recent phenomenon rather it has been an enduring factor of international relations. According to a estimate since 1945 alone, 10 million lives have been lost as a result of ethnic violence (Horowitz). The Cold War between the Soviet bloc and U.S. led western alliance had created a sense of stability among most of the world population by overshadowing various volatile issues. But the dissolution of the loose bipolar system has led to an ethnically fragmented multipolar international system and thereby aggravated insecurity among nations. The continuing spread of ethnic violence seems to replace the fear of the spread of communism as the central security concern among the western nations. This is probably because the rise of ethnic consciousness along with the demand for self-determination can assume dangerous proportions in a world where fewer than 10% of the 85 states are ethnically homogeneous. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, an American senator has warned, "the defining mode of conflict in the era ahead is ethnic conflict. It promises to be savage. Get ready for 50 new countries in the world in next 50 years. Most of them will be born in bloodshed". Ethno-national conflict, simply understood, is a manifestation of the enduring tension between the states that want to consolidate and expand their power and the ethnic groups the want to defend and promote their collective identity and interests. In case of most intense ethno conflicts protagonists want to establish their autonomy or independence. Ethno conflicts also arise when the subordinate groups strive to improve their status within the existing boundaries of a state rather than secede from it. For instance, in South Africa, the black community wanted greater control over state power. While the Tamils in Sri Lanka want to secede from the state itself.

21.2 TERMINOLOGY

Before examining ethno-national conflicts, let us study some important terms which are frequently used in dealing with this subject.

21.2.1 Nation

The most important term is 'nation' upon which the whole concept of ethno-nationalism revolves. 'Nation' writes Columbus and Wolfe, is a concept denoting a common ethnic and cultural identity shared by a 'single people'. It can be defined as a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. That is nation is ethnically homogeneous.

Nations which are developed through particular historical process, spread over centuries have 'objective characteristics' which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or a common descent and 'subjective' characteristics essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. However, unlike a state, a nation may exist beyond the geographical boundaries if they possess the above mentioned characteristics.

21.2.2 Nationalism

In simple words, nationalism is mainly the felling of unity and loyalty prevalent among the people of nation. Such a feeling seeks to defend and promote or in other words, it can be defined as 'a state condition of mind characteristic of certain people with a homogeneous culture, living together in a close association in a given territory and sharing a belief in distinctive existence and a common destiny.'

Here, it is important to mention that the idea of nationalism and the ideal of nation state were not necessarily based on ethnicity. Rather they stressed the voluntary coming together of people in a state with shared culture. Yet in modern times, especially in the twentieth century ethnicity has come to be predominant. The aspirations of smaller ethnic groups are raised to the consciousness of nationalism, which in turn, can mobilise people to demand an independent nation-state based on ethno-nationalism.

21.2.3 Ethnic Groups

A nation-state may be composed of one or more ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are those groups that are composed of or share a distinctive and collective identity based on shared experience and cultural traits. They may define themselves or be defined by others, in terms of any or all of the following traits — life ways, religious beliefs, language, physical appearance, region of residence, traditional occupations and a history of conquest and repression by culturally different people.

21.2.4 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity or a feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group. George de Vos defines it as, consisting of the “subjective, symbolic or emblematic use by a group if people ... of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups”. Further, according to Paul R. Brass, “Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups. Ethnicity is too ethnic category what class consciousness is to class.”

For the formation of an ethnic identity — a combination of factors — common descent, a socially relevant cultural/physical characteristics and a set of attitudes and behaviour patterns is necessary. Common descent is the most significant factor. Apart from this, cultural attributes like religion, language, customs, social beliefs and practices etc. After form the basis of identity to consolidate such an identity the members of an ethnic group must also share ideas, behaviour, patterns, feelings and meanings. Moreover, they should also perceive that they share a common destiny. For instances, Tamils of Sri Lanka, Muslims of former Yugoslavia, etc.

21.3 · MEANING OF ETHNO-NATIONALISM

After understanding the core words now we can easily comprehend the meaning and concept of ethno-nationalism.

Ethno-nationalism is a kind of sub-nationalism based upon ethnic identity of the ethnic groups. It is as vertical division of nationalism and excludes all those people from it who do not belong to same ethnic group. That is, it is an exclusive form of nationalism involving just one ethnic group. For instance, Muslims throughout the world constitute the nation. But they are further divided in two major ethnic groups (Shiya and Sunni) and many smaller groups called ‘Fiorkas’ like Khan, Sayyed, Kureshi etc. Any upsurge on the basis of particular ethnic group will be called ethno-national conflict. The Iran-Iraq war which lasted for eight years is an example of ethno-national conflict on the ‘Shiya-Sunni’ issue.

In short, ethno-nationalism is the nationalism of ethnic groups such as Muslim, Kurds, Latvians, Tamils etc., who define their nation in exclusive terms, mainly on the basis of common descent, race, culture, history and language. Here, the word, ‘common descent’ is the most important because merely by adoption of language and culture on one can be included in that particular ethnic group.

Ethno-nationalism transcends the boundaries of state, religion sect and class. It seeks to fragment established nationalities and communities and create new ones using ethnic indicators. The symbolic and cultural aspects of ethnicity are important in themselves and often get politicised for the promotion of collective interests. Most ethno-national conflicts are for a larger share of economic resources and products and for a greater part in decision-making processes. According to Joseph Rothschild, “politicised ethnicity has become the most keen and potent edge of intrastate and interstate conflict and it asserts itself today dialectically as the leading legitimator or delegitimating or political authority.”

There are two main approaches to the understanding of the new ethnic phenomenon. The primordialist approach to ethnic identities and ethnicity considers descent as the more important factor, for primordial loyalties can be activated more easily than rational principles and organisations founded upon them. The other approach is variously known as situational, subjectivist or instrumental. Its main emphasis is on the

perception of the members of a group of being different from others and on the implication of this for that groups present status or predicament and for its prospects for the future. These contending approaches are an aid to the explication of issues and to the understanding of contemporary reality.

Ethno-nationalism posses a threat to any state which does not have a common ethnicity or a shared identity and culture. Almost in all the plural societies are existing, the problem of ethno-nationalism is likely to pose a threat to the unity and integrity of the state.

21.4 SOURCES OF CONFLICT

There have been numerous attempts to explain the causes of the ethnic wars. One theory focuses on the role of mass passions or ancient hatred in driving ethnic violence. A second theory suggests that inter-ethnic security dilemmas are necessary for ethnic war to result, i.e. the fear of the ethnic groups that their interests are threatened may cause them to fiercely protect their interests. A third approach blames ethnic war on manipulation by belligerent leaders. However, scholars, agrees that all three factor — hostile masses, belligerent leaders and inter-ethnic security dilemmas are essential for ethnic war to result.

Infact, these factors are mutually reinforcing, belligerent leaders stoke mass hostility, hostile masses support belligerent leaders and both together threaten other groups creating a security dilemma (a fear of extinction) among them. This may result in conflict for survival or even domination among various ethnic groups.

It is important to note that any ethno-national conflict cannot be attributed to a single cause. Rather there is a combination of factors which are responsible for rise of ethno-national conflicts. These can be ethnically defined grievances, demographic threats, histories of ethnic domination, reciprocal fears of group extinction, defects political anarchy, etc. Horowitz argues that atleast these six factors are present in every case of severe ethnic violence such as, former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, Georgia, Azerbaijan, etc.

The cause of ethno-national conflict can be understood as the factors threatening the sacredly preserved and maintained cultural identity of the certain ethnic groups. Such threats strengthen the group identity mobilise the groups to and promote their interests.

The certain causes responsible for rise of ethnic conflicts can be discussed as:

21.4.1 Economic

Perhaps the most important source of ethno-national conflict is related too the economic conditions. Two main factors can be identified — first, uneven development of the regions of a state and second, the economic discrimination perpetuated by the state itself.

The uneven economic development can further give rise to two kinds of situations. First, if one or more ethnic groups become economically prosperous it may consider other ethnic groups which are relatively backward as 'liabilities' and therefore may try to suppress or get rid of the latter. Second, if a particular ethnic group remains economically backward it may blame the other ethnic group's for its economic deprivation. In both these cases, the hatred may develop into ethnic conflict.

Next, in the case of economic discrimination the state may not only deprive a particular ethnic group equal opportunities of development as well as deny and share in economic resources. For instance, the economic development policies of the Iraqi government have adversely affected the economic interests of Kurds. The Mosul oil fields are located predominantly in the Kurdish region but Iraqi governments have consistently refused to consider demands that a share of oil revenues be devoted to Kurdish region development. Moreover during 1980's the Iraqi government devastated the rural Kurdish economy by destroying thousands of villages and forcibly relocating their residents. The policy was a response to Kurdish rebellions and support-to Iranian during the Iran-Iraq war.

21.4.2 Political Discrimination

Most states have ethnically interspersed populations and discriminatory policies have often provoked ethnic unrest and inter-state conflict. Ethnic grievances can emerge if the ethnic groups are denied political access the right to exercise political control over the international affairs of their own region and communities. According to a study 80% of the politicised ethnic groups identified in 1990 lived with the consequence of historical or contemporary economic or political discrimination. And more than 200 of the 233 peoples identified in the study, had organised politically sometime between 1945 to 1980 to defend or promote their collective political interests against government and other groups.

21.4.3 Forced Assimilation

The assimilationist policies of the state constitute a direct threat to the ethnic identity of the group and develops resentment among the latter, which sooner or later may lead to an ethnic upsurge. By 'assimilation' we mean when minorities are made to forsake their old communal identities and adopt the language, value and behaviours of the dominant society see, for example, the Kurds in Turkey, who are repeatedly encouraged to assimilate into Turkish society. That is, the separate identity of the Kurds was rejected. Kurds were officially referred to as mountain Turks and were prohibited from teaching, writing or publishing in Kurdish.

21.4.4 Historical

The sense of a separate identity and grievances that result from imperial conquest and colonial rule can persist for many generations and provide the fuel for contemporary ethno-national movements. For instance, Myanmar, (formerly known as Burma), an ex-British colony has been locked in ethnic, conflict since its independence in late 1940s. The conflict began during the World War II when nationalist belonging to majority group attacked the British colonial army, which was recruited largely from ethnic minorities such as Karens, Chins and Kachins. Thousands had died in the ensuing struggle and the conflicts between minority people and Burma state have yet to be resolved.

21.4.5 Population Pressures

It refers to ethnic location, territory and environment which shape inter-group perceptions, competition and conflict. It is related to the settlement pattern of the groups, groups' attachment to the land and the relationship between ethnic groups and their physical settings respectively.

In Bosnia, for example, where before the collapse of Yugoslavia, all people identified themselves as Bosnian on census and survey forms. But after Bosnia attained statehood, there was a change in population settlement, the minority ethnic groups clung to boundaries that were ethnically exclusive and seemed to protect their ethnic identity. This formed the basis for further ethnic conflict in independent Bosnia itself, between Serbs and other minority ethnic groups. Other examples of ethnically based territorial claims which grew over the years as a result of demographic factors are those of Palestinians and Kurds.

21.4.6 Refugee Movements

Massive refugee movements further intensify demographic pressures and has the potential to spiral into regional crises. Refugees may increase population density and cause environmental degradation, land competition, disease, food shortages and lack of clean water, generating conflict and violence across borders. A current illustration is the Great Lakes region of Central Africa in which five countries (Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania) are affected by the two million refugees who were displaced in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Using the refugee camps as their bases, armed. Hutu extremists have the potential not only to further destabilise Rwanda three main target, but in varying degrees, the surrounding countries as well.

Another example of nascent ethnic conflict caused by refugees found in India-Chakma refugees. Chakma refugees who are basically the citizens of Bangladesh fled to India due to starvation and military crackdown in their own country. These people settled even beyond the border areas and can be easily found in the metropolitan cities — Bombay, Delhi, etc. Not only this they forcibly shared the land and other economic resources. This brought changes into the settlement pattern of the locals and created a hatred for them (Chakmas). This abhorrence was one of the major causes of the Bombay riots in 1995.

21.4.7 Massive, Chronic and Sustained Human Flight

It refers not only to the refugees the most identifiable human index of internal conflict but to a broader pattern of people on the move in the form of exodus of skilled professionals, intellectuals, artists and technicians and emigration of economically productive segments of the population such as entrepreneurs, businessmen, and traders these emigrates gradually sidelines the locals and cause frustrations among them. Thus, the roots for a ethnic conflict are laid down.

21.4.8 State Collapse

Another factor which contributes to ethno-national conflict is the state collapse or simply political anarchy.

Contrary to the popular perception which views ethnic conflict as a cause of state collapse, certain scholars also believe that it is infact the other way round. "State collapse cause ethnic conflict". Ethnic nationalism is the pathology of the state. The process starts with the deterioration of the centre. This leads to factionalisation as societal loyalties shift from the state to more traditional communities that are closer to the people and that offer psychic comfort and physical protection. The further a state disintegrates the more potential there is for the ethnic conflict to spread. Probably, there can be no other perfect example of this than the collapse of Soviet Union. With the fall of Soviet Empire and Communism pent up ethnic tensions were released. Economic collapse and removal of party discipline made possible secession on basis ethnic identities, apart from ethnic clashes in Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh, etc.

21.4.9 Persistent Cleavages Among Ethnic Groups

After the first World War — the creation of new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania on the ruins of Habsburg, Ottoman and Romanov empires reflected the triumph of principle of self-determination, but none of them was a nation state for all contained sizeable minorities. Further, even after all these decades cleavages between various ethnic groups were persisting. For instance, the former Yugoslavia was a unique multi-ethnic country with least homogeneity. The common unifying denominator was that were Slaves of the south. The major dividing factor was the religion, which was contained during the communist regime. There were six officially recognised 'Nations of Yugoslavia' Croats, Macedonia, Montenegrins, Muslims, Serbs and Slovens. Apart from nationalities there were ethnic minorities the largest being the Albanian and the Hungarians concentrated in two autonomous provinces of Serbia-kosovo and Vojvodina respectively. Among the ethnic groups 10 were officially recognised as "Nationalities of Yugoslavia". Albanians, Romanians, Ruthenians, Slovaks and Turks. The remaining ethnic groups were classified as "Other Nationalities and Ethnic Groups". Austrians, Greeks, Jews, Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Vlachs and "Others including those who preferred to classify themselves Yugoslavia".

Next, taking the example of Myanmar, it is found that the ethnic identities are quite well developed and cleavages between various groups persist. In 1981, the country had a population of 35.3 million people, 28.3 million Burmans, 3.14 million Shan, 1.55 million Arakanese, 2.4 million Karen and smaller Tribal groups like Kachin, Cha, and Wa.

The Shan, Arakanese, Karen, Mon, Kachin, Cha and Wa have strong ethnic identities and substantial autonomy and their bonds with the central authority, even in the past were fragile and mostly national.

21.4.10 Complex of the Ethnic Minorities

In a multi-ethnic state, the ethnic minorities suffer from a fear complex whereby the prominent or the largest ethnic group is considered as ruler by the smaller ethnic groups. It may be possible that the combined population of smaller ethnic groups is more than the largest group. But the smaller groups perceive themselves as minorities and may complain about their suppression by the largest group.

Such a perception persisted in former Yugoslavia where Serbs were merely 36% of the population of the country but was generally regarded as the rulers of the country and thus, the exploiters of other ethnic groups. The Croats and Slovenes usually felt that the central political authority was vested with the Serbs who could use the state power to suppress the aspirations of other ethnic groups.

Due to this kind of complex the ethnic minorities fiercely guard their cultural identity. Moreover, they also fail to develop strong association with nation-state, as they identify the largest ethnic group as the rulers of the state. Rather they intend to break away at the first opportunity.

21.4.11 The Principle of Self Determination

The principle of self-determination once considered as essential for establishment of democracy, and break up of colonial empires like — Ottoman, Russian, etc. is now threatening the very existence of state system.

The principle of self-determination has now been frequently propagated to acquire a sovereign independent nation state for an ethnic group. In other words, it is a means to fragment an existing nation-state. The newly independent states created on the basis of self determination are not necessarily democratic countries. It may not grant equal rights to minority ethnic groups and thereby sow seeds for ethnic clashes at any time in future.

For instance, while the Baltic states, Estonia and Latvia have reduced Russians to second class citizens. In the case of Yugoslavia, the newly independent states are not democratic and follow the murderous policy of 'ethnic cleansing'. That is to say, in the post Cold War period, the principle of self determination may continue to create ethnic and nationality problems and haunts the newly independent states as well as their neighbours for many years to come.

These are some of the important causes of the ethno-national conflicts.

Sometimes, the end of Cold War is also associated as a cause of ethnic clashes, since there has been a major upsurge of ethnic conflicts. But, it is totally false to blame the end of Cold War for the rise of ethnic-national conflicts. This is so because the ethnic clashes were present not only during the Cold War but even long before it started. The only thing which needs to be highlighted is that before the fall of the Berlin wall, the communist order and bipolar systems had kept the lid on ethnic problems through the hegemony of ruling communist parties and imposed assimilation of all nationalities under party leadership. Police measures eliminated or diluted dissent while economic development was expected to eliminate the root causes of ethnic hatred.

Infact, during the Cold War both communism and capitalism underestimated the force of ethnicity, each sustaining its own myth about how their systems would erode ethnic bonds. Capitalists assumed that modern economic development through — education, urbanisation, and formation of a middle class would bring people together and make them more alike. A modern person it was thought, would naturally shed his ethnic/tribal identity.

Marxism, on the other hand maintained that ethnicity would be replaced by allegiance to a higher utopian ideal, a stateless society, in which there would be full equality. If there were no class division, it was thought, there would be no need for group rivalry.

But, the things have not turned out to be simple as clear from the growing number of ethnic clashes.

21.5 PATTERNS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

An important fact of the international politics that ethnicity is a world-wide reality. That is, ethnic identities are widely prevalent.

Said and Simmons (1976) presented the statistics of 132 states of the world. The date of these states are classified as out of 132 states, 12 states (9.1%) have one ethnic group of population, 25 states (18.9%) have one dominant ethnic group comprising half the population. In 53 states, the population comprised of five or more significant ethnic groups.

According to Walker Connor, (1971), "pre-dominant modern states are multi-ethnic". He referred to the above data and stated that only 12 states in the world can be described as nation-states and can be considered as free of ethnic conflict, 50 states contain a nation or a potential nation" (i.e. those with a single dominant ethnic group).

It has been pointed out that the nation is a matter of self-awareness or self-consciousness and ethnicity involves subjective beliefs. Thus, a nation is a self-conscious ethnic group.

Further, the ethnic or ethnically motivated unrest is found as a common phenomenon in different countries respective of their difference on the levels of development, economy, proportional ethnic composition and polity. Connor points out that in three blocks of the world, i.e. the First World, (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Netherland, Switzerland and United Kingdom); the Second World (Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Laos, Romania, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, etc.) and the Third World (Burma, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Guyana, Iraq, Kenya, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, etc.) experienced ethnic unrest.

The ethnic identities and demands are also the degree and intensity of ethnic conflict, vary with varying political, social and economic conditions. Yet, Pauline A Baker and John A. Ausink in their articles "State collapse and Ethnic Violence. Towards a predictive Model" have attempted to present a theoretical model of the various ethnic-national conflicts.

First state analyses the root causes of ethnic conflict, including the historical background, socio-economic composition and environment that predispose a society towards fragmentation. Stage 2, addresses recent trends of precipitating events that lead from fragmentation to friction, such as discriminatory government policies, collapsed empires coups d' etat, or political assassinations. Preventive action would be most effective if it were taken at this stage or before.

A society is poised to go in one of the two directions as it enters the stage third the transition, which can occur violently or non-violently. A violent track at this stage is likely to lead a full-scale conflict between or among the ethnic group or ethnic group or state. At this stage the state transformations is underway. It is usually in this phase that the international community is involved militarily i.e. for the purposes of peace-enforcement or peace building. In Stage 4, the state is transformed it has moved towards disorder or a new political order. If there is a violent transformation, it may result in military victory, ethnic domination, war-Lordism, or on-going conflict (as in Somalia). If there is a non-violent transformation, it may result in elections, peaceful partition, conflict resolution, and new state structures. (As in South Africa).

Stage 5 represents the outcome, a phase, that is depicted by a continuum bounded at one end by a chaos, and at the other by constitutionalism. Obviously, there are several intermediate authoritarian or democratic outcomes, such as military rule, a one-party state/a representative federal system. But this is not the end of the process. A country could move up and down the continuum, until it reaches equilibrium. Or it could revert to an earlier stage, if the peace is too fragile and the institutional core is too weak to sustain it. This happened in the case of Angola, as 'backslide' from a non-violent to violent track, after the 1992 U.N. elections were rejected by rebel forces and the war resumed.

21.6 DIMENSIONS OF ETHNO-NATIONAL CONFLICTS

Usually ethnic-national conflicts acquire the following dimensions such as ethnic domination, ethnic secession, demand for autonomy, peaceful ethnic self-determination or even, the most inhuman of all, ethnic cleaning. However, it needs to be understood that these cannot be strictly compartmentalised rather all the above dimensions are mutual and interlinked.

21.6.1 Ethnic Domination

To begin with, ethnic domination is a common dimension of the ethnic-national conflict. It represents the inherent demand and desire of particular ethnic group to acquire and retain its control or domination over other ethnic groups.

In Rwanda, and Burundi for example, the conflict among two tribes for domination has resulted in grave ethnic crises.

The basic problem in Rwanda springs from the composition of its 8 million population. The entire population is tribal belonging to three tribes — Hutus, Tutsi and Twa. About 90% belong to the backward Hutu tribe whereas 9% are from the advanced Tutsi tribe. Just 1% are pygmies, also called Twa. It is said that Tutsis are aliens had settled in Rwanda and Burundi about 4 centuries back, having migrated probably from the region of the Nile. Under the Belgium rule, the tribal feuds were kept under control. But the Tutsis had established their hold over the economy of the country and turned the Hutus almost into slaves. After independence, the Hutus, constituting an overwhelming majority in the country rose in revolt against the domination of the Tutsis. This is the root cause of the tribal conflict in Rwanda. Similarly, in Burundi, also there have been bitter clashes between Hutus, which account for 84% of the population, and the Tutsis which constitute the remaining 15% of the population.

Recently in 1994, a genocidal war between Hutu and Tutsi broke out after the killing the immediate cause of Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana, and Burundi President Cyprien Ntaryamira, both of Hutu tribe when their plane was shot down at Kigali, the Rwandan capital in April, 1994. This plunged Rwanda into an ethnic conflict, later Burundi also got involved.

21.6.2 Ethnic Secession

If any particular ethnic group feels that its collective interests cannot be promoted outside the territories of the existing state, then it demands secession from the state. In this case, the principle of self-determination is claimed by the ethnic group wishing to secede.

There are many examples of ethnic secession — the most prominent in recent cases being the disintegration of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

After decades of subordination, several nationalities in USSR found that they could not any more reconcile their interests with the once mighty Union and seceded as soon as the political centre became fragile. However, in case of Yugoslavia, the principle of self-determination was taken to an extreme, Slovenian and Croatia sought and attained violent separation from a perceived Serb dominated Yugoslavia on this principle. The same theme was used by the Serb in Croatia and the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina for their recognition as independent entities. However, while Soviet Union collapsed without any bloodshed, Yugoslavia failed to check the bloody ethnic conflicts that followed its disintegration.

Another example of ethnic secession of Chechnya, a tiny republic of Russia. The Turkish speaking Chechens constitute a particular tribe, professing Islam. Their religious links with the Ingush and Avars, the largest group in Dagestan go beyond the causes and link them with several other Muslim ethnic republics like Tatarstan, and Bashkortostan in other parts of Russia and with the neighbouring countries like Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan.

Superficially, it may appear that the Chechen issue is of recent origin. But historically it has been pointed out that the Muslim tribes in the caucasus region had never been an

integral part of the Russian polity. The Czars of Russia had invaded the mountainous regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but could not subjugate these territories effectively. The Chechens had rebelled after 1917. Russian Revolution but were temporarily subdued. Again they had been on warpath during world war II and hence incurred the wrath of dictator Stalin who had disposed more than half of the population of Chechnya on the charge of collaborating with the Nazis.

In 1991, the Chechens declared independence along with several other republics of the former Soviet Union. Russia refused to recognise Chechnya and troops were ordered to depose the general Dezhokar Dudayev, the President of Chechnya. This plunged it in a civil war.

An important fact which needs to be stated that secession on the basis of ethnic identity had hardly ever achieved its desired goal instead it creates a vicious circle. There are numerous instances to prove it. First of all, take the case of Pakistan which separated from India on the basis of two nation theory i.e. the Hindu and Muslim population of pre-independence India constitute two different nations and cannot stay together.

Pakistan which aimed to establish a homeland for Muslim in South Asia, today has smaller population of Muslim than India, and in 1971 itself, a large portion of Bangla Muslims had succeeded from Pakistan.

Similarly, the armed conflicts in Georgia, Bosnia and Croatia have shown that the breakaway groups which subscribe to the exclusivist concepts of nation are likely to become embroiled in war with other ethnic groups living on the same territory and are also likely to have difficulty in establishing control over the territory they claim.

21.6.3 Demand for Autonomy

Sometimes the ethnic groups may simply demand more autonomy within the boundaries of the state.

For instance, in Pakistan the Muhajir Quami Movement (MQM) demands the separation of Karachi and other predominantly Urdu speaking Mohajir majority areas from Sindh constituting a fifth province of Pakistan or even an autonomous state. The ethnic confrontation between the Mohajirs, the Urdu speaking Muslim immigrants who came to Pakistan from India at the time of partition in 1947 and local Sindhi population is a much persistent phenomenon.

The Mohajirs who were economically and educationally better off than the Sindhis gave tough fight to Sindhi's for jobs and business. However, with the emergence of middle classes from among the local ethnic communities, the position of privilege that the Mohajirs enjoyed, eroded gradually since 1971, Mohajirs were increasingly alternated from the government services. Further with the secession of East Pakistan leading to the emergence of Bangladesh, every ethnic community in Pakistan became conscious of its identity, while Mohajirs realised that they alone had no identity of their own.

Here it is important to know the ethnic composition of Sind. Over the last several decades, Sind has become a cauldron of various ethnic communities which have immigrated into the area, due to social and political factors. Sind has a population of 19 million, and chronically Sindhis constitute less than half of the population. While six million are Mohajirs and Punjabis, four million are Baluchis and half a million are Pakhtuns.

So it was quite natural that the interests of the Mohajirs clashed with those of other ethnic groups. This resulted in outbreak of Mohajir-Sindhi riots, Mohajir-Pakhtun riots etc. in 1980s' the Mohajirs formed their own organisation (MQM) and have vigorously demanded an autonomous region of their own.

In 1994, about 1,200 people were killed in Karachi due to intra-muslim sectarian and ethnic violence between Mohajirs and Sindhis, Shias and Sunnis and the Mohajir factions.

21.6.4 Peaceful Ethnic Self-determination

It is also seen that some ethno-national conflicts are fought democratically, in such cases, there is a political dialogue and not an armed conflicts on the basis of referendum

different ethnic groups decide whether to stay in the same territory or to secede. Quebec, for example, is the second largest province of Canada, having 82 % French-speaking population. On the basis of language identity they wanted to secede from English speaking Canada. But the population chose to adopt a democratic way instead of weapons and held a referendum in October 1995. In this referendum, the French-speaking province of Quebec chose by a slender majority not to secede, while unity supporters won 50.6% votes as compared to 49.4% of separatists. In other words, the Quebecers bid to break away was lost by just 50,000 votes.

Though the referendum may not be the end of the struggle for separation yet for the moment it gave a sign of relief to the protagonists of international peace and security.

21.6.5 Ethnic Cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is the most dreaded dimension of ethno-national conflict. It is a 'cleaning operation' carried out by one ethnic group of the other ethnic groups. In this type ethnic conflict, the indigenous ethnic group launches a genocide and/or expulsion of the foreigners (those who not originally belong to that state). Bosnia Herzegovina, for instance, which declared its independence from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia, late in December 1991, will go in history for the magnitude of its human tragedy. Ethnic Serbs in Bosnia not only captured two-thirds of Bosnia territory, they also started an ethnic cleansing programme that caused death, destitution and the forced eviction of a large number of Bosnian Muslims.

The Serbian campaign to 'cleanse' a territory of another ethnic group, which gruesome and tragic, is historically speaking neither new nor remarkable population removal and transfer have occurred in history more than is generally acknowledged.

The Nazi campaign were an ethnic cleansing as these intended to remove Jews from territories of the Reich. The German term 'Judenrein' clean of Jews, was used to designate areas from which all Jews had been deported. The cleansing combined elements of deportation, expulsion, population transfer, massacre and genocide. Altogether about six million European Jews were murdered between 1935 and 1945.

Hitler also carried out a 'reverse cleansing' in his effort to consolidate the Reich. Ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) were in effect cleansed from Eastern Europe as they were recalled and resettled in Hitler's occupied territories especially western Poland. By spring 1942 more than 700,000 Germans had been transferred to German territories.

However, the largest and most sweeping ethnic cleansing in history — the removal of over 10 million Germans from Eastern Europe was taken by the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and Britain on August 2, 1945 in Potsdam. Though exact figures are not available, but it is estimated that nearly 12 million Germans were cleansed from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia after World War II. Later, the Czechoslovakia government with Stalin's consent expelled 25,000 to 30,000 Hungarians by the end of 1945. In 1946 there was an agreement for "population exchange" between Hungary and Czechoslovakia which allowed for the eventual exchange of 31,000 Magyars for 33,000 Slovaks.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Mention at least five sources of ethno-national conflict.

- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)

2) How does the complex of ethnic minorities lead to ethnic conflict?

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- 3) Mention five dimensions of ethno-national conflicts.
- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)
- 4) What do you understand by following terms. Give one example of each.
- a) Ethnic Secession
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- b) Ethnic Cleansing
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- c) Ethnic domination
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21.7 IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNO-NATIONAL CONFLICTS

The ethno-national conflicts, as already said, have dangerous repercussions. This former Secretary General of United Nations Boutros Ghali said in his Agenda of Peace "... If every ethnic, religious or language group claimed statehood there would be no limit to fragmentation and peace, security and economic well-being for all would become even more difficult to achieve."

The implications of ethno-national conflicts are discussed as follows:

- 1) It disturbs the international peace and security to a great extent. The ethnic groups usually adopt large scale terrorism and war and cause large scale death, decay and destruction.
- 2) Ethno-national conflicts possess the potential to destabilise any pluralistic society, as it makes all other ethnic groups conscious of their ethnic identity and the need to along then to promote their exclusive interests. Not only this, the ethnic groups once they consolidate their identity aim to suppress other ethnic groups.
- 3) It causes large scale refugee problem who fall prey to severe ethnic hatred and suppression flee to safer areas. At the beginning of 1993 it is estimated, about 63% of the worlds 42 million refugees were fleeing from ethnopolitical conflicts and repression.
- 4) Even if the ethnic conflict may be contained but the scars remain and the ethnic groups continue to feel insecure, and develop feelings to acquire and maintain dominating position even in peaceful times.
- 5) The mass-migrations and human flight created by the ethnic crisis does not help to end the problem. Instead, it increases the range of the ethnic conflict. As the mass movement of refugees to a particular territory increases demographic pressure on

the land and environment and disturbs the ecology and economy. These in turn created a volatile situation in the new territory also.

- 6) Further, there is no escape from the fact, that once the divisive principle of ethnic self-determination is accepted the breakaway states which would come into existence are likely to be 'sociologically monolithic.' Infact, according to a scholar Etizoni, "Ethnically based breakaway states generally result in more ethnic homogeneity and less pluralism, meaning that they after lack deeper sociological foundations of democracy". The absence of pluralism has the potential to create a predisposition towards further fragmentation.
- 7) Almost in all the major ethnic conflicts, external powers have to interfere. It creates the disturbances in the regional power balance and also threatens the security of those countries which are in the vicinity of the strife-torn state.
- 8) Ethno-national conflicts pose a grave threat to the sanctity of the nation-state system.
- 9) It not only halts the development process but even puts it off the track as much of the power and resources of state and international agencies are spent to curb these uprisings.
- 10) The motive of certain ethno-national conflicts as 'ethnic secession' or ethnic cleansing to form 'ethnically pure or stable states' is nothing but a mirage. As the war so succession in Yugoslavia and later ethnic cleansing in Bosnia shows. Henry Kissinger has been very critical of the international recognition granted to Bosnia and calls it an "irresponsible mistake". According to him "It is important to understand that Bosnia has never been a nation. There is no Bosnia ethnic group or specifically Bosnia cultural identity ... where Croatia and Slovenia had their own identity. Bosnia was a Yugoslavia in microcosm. It is a mystery why anyone could think that Croats and Serbs unwilling to stay together in largest Yugoslavia, could be induced to create a joint state in Bosnia-Herzegovina, together with Muslims they had hated for centuries".

21.8 SUGGESTIONS

After studying the intensity of the ethno-national conflicts, it would be wrong to suggest that these can be managed within a short span of time still some measures can be suggested to curb this problem. The only way out is to strengthen the values of pluralism, multi-nationalism and mutual tolerance. The leading political elites have no choice but to grant not-only their cultural rights, as Soviet Union did in ample measure, but also their basic right is to have a truly responsive and democratic government.

Another essential thing is to replace the 'principle of self-determination' with the principles of "fuller representation responsiveness and democracy". Once such a state is established an ethnic group or nationality would not have any legitimate claim to secede or demand an independent state. To prevent ethnic crises from emerging there is the need to foster the culture of consensus-making and political tolerance, among various ethno-political groups.

Next, in case of ethno-national conflicts, the external powers should maintain distance from ethnic politics. Usually, the external powers they support one ethnic group against the other, this only aggravates the problem instead of resolving it. The exploitation of different ethnic groups by the superpowers has virtually led to the grim situation of present day conflicts like in — Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, Kurds, etc.

The foreign powers if they wish to assist should stress more on cease-fire and peacekeeping alone and stay from assuming the role of 'broker'.

Finally, the governments in multi-ethnic states should strive for balanced economic development so that certain ethnic groups do not prosper on the cost of other ethnic groups.

To conclude with the words of Boutros Ghali in his 'Agenda for Peace' "Respect for democratic principles at all levels of social existence is crucial, in communities within states and within the community of states. Our constant duty should be to maintain the integrity of each while finding a balanced design for all." Otherwise, if steps are not

taken to curb the tendencies of ethno-national conflicts, then the world may be in store for decades of instability unlike that has been witnessed in the past 50 years.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.
ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Discuss five implications of ethno-national conflicts.

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- 2) Suggest some measures to curb ethno-national conflicts.

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21.9 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have studied the concepts of nation, nationalism, ethnic groups, ethnicity, ethno-nationalism. We have also studied the causes of ethno-national conflicts, their patterns and dimensions. Finally, the implications of such conflicts have been examined followed by certain suggestions to curb or prevent the rise of ethnic tendencies.

The concept of nationalism in its perverted form has produced before the world. Such conflicts have the potential to destabilise almost all the nations of the world and plunge the international system in an era of insecurity and break-ups.

But if state government machinery acts judiciously and actively, develops economic resources, creates feeling of security and participation among the ethnic groups. In addition if people develop mutual tolerance and believe in universality of humankind and overlook the differences on the basis of race, religions language etc.

Finally, if international community learns to maintain its distance in ethnic conflicts, yet helps to promote peace in affected areas. This problem can be curbed to a great extent before it assumes dangerous dimensions.

21.10 KEY WORDS

Autonomy is a political arrangement in which an ethnic group has some control over its territory, people and resources but does not have independence as a sovereign state.

Assimilation is a strategy for accommodating ethnic minorities that gives individual members incentives and opportunities to subordinate their identities to the language values and lifeways of the dominant group.

Ethnic Cleansing is the systematic elimination of ethnic minorities from a given territory using such means as terror, expulsion and murder.

Ethno Nationalists are large, regionally concentrated groups of people with a history of political independence or autonomy who seek to re-establish their autonomy. Those who want complete independence are called separatists.

Genocide is mass process by which leaders organise the energies and resources of their followers to pursue common political objectives.

Plural Societies consists of a number of ethnic groups each with distinctive collective identity and interests who are not ranked or stratified in relationship to another.

Pluralism is a strategy for accommodating ethnic minorities that recognises their individual and collective right to preserve their language, values and lifeways in existence with those of the dominant groups.

Cleavages: In stratified societies, status, power and wealth are unequally distributed among groups according to their ethnicity. These socially maintained distinction in stratified societies are called cleavages.

21.11 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

George de Vos and Lola Romauncci Ross (ed) *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*, Mayfield Publishing Co. California 1975.

Kumar Rupasinghe and Khawar Mumtaz (ed), *Internal Conflicts in South Asia*, Sage, New Delhi, 1996.

Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, Sage Publishing, New Delhi, 1991.

Ted Robert Curs and Barbara Harff, *Ethnic conflict in World Politics*, West View Press, Oxford 1994.

21.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 21.5
- 2) See Section 21.5.10
- 3) See Section 21.7
- 4) a) See Section 21.7.2
b) See Section 21.7.5
c) See Section 21.7.1

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 21.8
- 2) See Section 21.9

UNIT 22 INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Structure

- 22.0 Objectives
- 22.1 Introduction
- 22.2 Genesis of International Terrorism
 - 22.2.1 Nature of International Terrorism
 - 22.2.2 Types of International Terrorism
 - 22.2.3 Pattern of Global Terrorism
- 22.3 Urban Terrorism
 - 22.3.1 Urban Terrorist Bodies
 - 22.3.2 Techniques of the Urban Terrorists
 - 22.3.3 Modes of Combating Urban Terrorism
- 22.4 Rural Terrorism
 - 22.4.1 Growth of Rural Terrorism
 - 22.4.2 Rural Terrorist Activities in Asia and Africa
 - 22.4.3 Rural Terrorist Activities in Latin America
- 22.5 Fighting Global Terrorism
 - 22.5.1 Preventing the Process of People Killing Each Other
 - 22.5.2 Laws to Prevent Terrorist Practices
- 22.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 22.7 Key Words
- 22.8 Some Useful Books
- 22.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

22.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the nature and patterns of global terrorism, its operation at the urban and rural level and the attempts which can be made to curb terrorist practices at the international level. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- define the term 'terrorism' and understand it at the international level,
- explain the different types of international terrorism,
- understand the pattern of global terrorism,
- recognise the two prominent levels at which international terrorism operates — urban and rural,
- analyse the importance of preventing terrorist practices.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

The word 'terrorism' has emerged from the Latin verbs 'terrere' and 'deterre' which means an act to tremble and frighten respectively. It implies a strategy to achieve avowed objectives via the systematic use of violence thereby undermining the lawful authority of a government or a state. When the ruling authorities or the state fails to redress the grievances of the people and resorts to oppression and an undue infringement on their rights, it becomes imperative for the terrorists to make the concerned authorities accept their perspective by means of terror. Terrorism thus particularly has political overtures as it seeks to influence politics and governmental behaviour through an adverse manner. But terrorist activities are sometimes tacitly applauded by the public as the terrorists succeed in making explicit the failures of the political machinery. It follows that governments which are involved in large scale abuse of its powers become vulnerable to such attacks by the terrorists. However terrorists may estrange themselves from the community if their activities directly hamper the economy of the concerned country and result in a loss of jobs.

Terrorism does not have an universally accepted definition. As it is the cheapest way to fight without actually going to war terrorist practices have been prevalent always in all

parts of the globe and has left it scar in every stages of history. But it had become popular only during the 1790's and henceforth, when revolutionary France sought to do away with the aristocracy and its concomitants.

22.2 GENESIS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

22.2.1 Nature of International Terrorism

As terrorism is a world wide phenomenon, any related act involves several nations thereby making the process a complicated one. An essential precondition of international terrorism calls for international linkages between terrorist organisations and groups. Their use of violence at times makes their goals and objectives obscured. These groups however exchange equipments, involve themselves in combine operation planning, avail the benefits of each others training areas and support each other from the administrative and logical points of view. The terrorists in fact considers the world as a stage where their problems, intentions and imaginations are made public. They have no regard for their national boundaries. They belong to one country, achieve their training in some other country, get their finances and operate in some other different countries. Technological advancements have introduced new kinds of weapons and explosives in the fields of terrorism. Moreover the entry of criminals on an individual plane and the emergence of criminal gangs have changed the character of terrorism from being a politically motivated one to a criminally motivated one which comparatively is more dangerous.

22.2.2 Types of International Terrorism

Terrorism are of varied kinds no matter at which level it operates. They are:

- a) Discriminate and Indiscriminate Terrorism: This distinction is based on the activities undertaken by the terrorists. The former can be easily comprehended as discriminate terrorists attack their obvious enemies. All their victims are either combatants or potential belligerents. Such terrorism thus has an element of justification. The latter is always difficult to understand as in it people are indiscriminately attacked. Innocent public may be perceived as legitimate targets because they happen to be at the sight of the attack. The cause of such an attack is difficult to determine as it has no justification behind it.
- b) Right wing terrorism and Left wing Terrorism: The former involves themselves in pro-government activities and are reactionary in nature. The latter emerge from the intellectual class of the society and have a strong desire to move the economy in the right direction. Some of them may address one particular problem and adopt terror related methods to publicise their cause and hence gain a sympathetic hearing.
- c) Nationalists and separatists: Such terrorists are imbued with a sense of nationhood and want their state or territory to be returned back so that their land is recognised as an independent entity in the pages of history. The desire what they perceive to be originally belonging to them.

22.2.3 Pattern of Global Terrorism

Terrorism has been prevalent throughout history, engulfing all regions of the globe. Use of terrorist techniques by factions against regimes is an age old phenomenon. It can be traced to the Roman emperors who used such means to discourage any threat to their rule. However the first prominent instance of a movement resorting to terrorism as a major weapon was the Assassin Sect of the Middle East which had sent its agents throughout the Muslim world to carry out a chain of murders during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. Significantly enough, the contemporary wave of global terrorism received a major boost in the late 1960's from the same area. Terror was openly sponsored during the French Revolution in order to instill a revolutionary fervour among the people. Gradually the supporters of anarchism in Russia, the United States and means to bring about revolutionary political and social change. From 1865 to 1905 the

scene of global terrorism was thus restricted to these countries where prime official were killed by anarchists guns or bombs.

The twentieth century brought about revolutionary changes in the techniques and use of terrorism. Technological upgradation gave the terrorists a new mobility and lethality. Political movement of all shades of the political spectrum began to use such tactics. In fact totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin virtually adopted terrorism as their State policy though they did not acknowledge it publicly. In these States such techniques like torture and execution were carried out without legal restrictions to make people fearfully adhere to their policies and ideologies. Mao introduced a reign of terror on a much wider scale than Stalin. Iran too experienced a phase of terror and counter-terror during the regimes of Reze Shah and Khomeine when executions and mass murders were carried out on large scale. Similarly Spain too experienced violence of numerous kinds terrorist, leftist state sponsored and the like.

Terrorism is generally identified with attempts made by individuals or groups to destabilise or overthrow existing political institutions. At the global level terrorism has been used in anti-colonial conflicts whether by both the sides or by one side (Algeria and France), it has been used by groups of different religious denominations (Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland), in conflicts between two national groups over possession of contested homeland (Palestinians and Israel) and also in disputes between revolutionary forces and established governments (Iran, Indonesia, Argentina etc.)

With advancement in the means of communication and media the public impact of any terrorist act gets wide coverage thereby bringing the event directly to millions of viewers worldwide who in turn becomes aware of the grievances or political goods of the terrorists. Modern day terrorism sometimes pursue unrealistic goals thereby loosing popular support and alienating themselves from the political mainstream. As such they resort to such violent acts like hijackings, bombings, kidnappings etc. The most prominent terrorist groups of the latter twentieth century include the Baader-Meinhof Gang of West Germany, Italy's Red Brigades, France's Direct Action, al-Fatah and other Palestinian organisations and the like international collaboration is an essential feature of modern day global terrorism. The terrorists operating on a global scale are today establishing linkages worldwide and are basing their connections on religion, race or political ideology. Sometimes terrorist groups are trained financed and equipped by agencies of countries other than those where they operate. The incidence of terrorism thus has grown alarmingly. Some countries particularly the super powers are today using the instrument of terror and violence to pursue their foreign policy goals. Thus the main sponsor of global terrorism the big powers who have no regard for international frontiers, making terrorism a preventing phenomena.

Terrorism has assumed different forms in different countries alongwith it the response of the lawful government of the concerned countries have also been varied. In Federal Germany detail analysis and classification of offences are carried out and the characteristics of terrorists are worked out. Moreover in this country police action against terrorism has become highly organised with each item of terrorist information being automatically linked to a sophisticated radio network. In France terrorism has taken the form of war and the Government is making use of computerised records to register and study terrorist crimes. Terrorist activities in Britain are mainly carried out by the banned organisation called the Irish Republican Army. This body was the culmination of age old hatred of Irish Roman Catholics against the injustice meted out by the Protestant majority in Britain. Formed in 1919 it continues to carry out such activities as murders arson and such other acts sometimes in a small measure and sometimes in a small manner but it goes to the credit of British democracy that instead of resorting to illegal shootings and torture of the terrorist, it has dealt with the crisis with extraordinary stringent legislation, a supportive judiciary and the public.

Today terrorism has become a lethal weapon for initiating a process of destabilisation. It owes its origin to a few evil men who laid down the basic tenets for terrorist activities and initiated a trial of blood and violence. The most noted among them was Carlos, who originally hailed from Venezuela. Also known as the Jackel he is universally regarded as the chief protagonist of terrorists. He codified the aims of terrorists and the means of achieving them and enumerated a test of skills to be acquired by terrorists. He posed a challenge to governments around the globe till he met his death.

Over the years a clear distinction could be drawn between politically motivated and criminally motivated terrorism. The former terrorises people to extort money to maintain their groups. They have both foreign support and internal popular sympathy. The latter is motivated by criminal pecuniary gain and is led by criminal gangs who specialise in kidnap and ransom. The former is difficult to curb because of popular sympathy but the latter can be checked effectively by efficient policing and intelligence work.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is international terrorism?

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- 2) Can you enumerate the different type of terrorism?

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22.3 URBAN TERRORISM

Urban Terrorism as the name goes involved terrorist activities in the urban areas. In its existing form it is a relatively recent phenomenon. It was particularly meant to destabilise democratic societies in an effective manner thereby encouraging an authoritarian regime.

22.3.1 Urban Terrorists Bodies

International terrorism is largely urban in character. It dates back to the 1940's when Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL) of Palestine conducted urban campaigns for terrorist practices. Brazil followed the same path in 1969. It began simultaneously in countries like Brazil, Uruguay, Guatemala and the Palestinians. The main constituent part of Arafat's Palestine liberation organisation (PLO) is his own al Fatah which has spread terror almost entirely within the Middle East. International terrorist operations have been carried out by the smaller constituent organisations of the PLO which does not have a permanent home, renunciation of terrorist methods would be a far fetched goal. Lebanon has also been the target of Islamic fundamentalism since long.

Government agents do not carry out individual international terrorist attacks as they may prove to be counter productive if found out. But Iran, Iraq and Libya have been exceptions to this rule. They have not only provided facilities for terrorist was the 'fatwa' pronounced against British Indian author Salman Rushdie for alleged blasphemy. However Saddam Hussain of Iraq exceeded everybody in the use of terrorism against his own people to exterminate thousands of Iraqi Kurds in 1988. Algeria and Egypt have also faced terrorist campaigns by Islamic Fundamentalists. The IRA extort a large sum of money from the people and operate with an overall military structure mainly in the well-defined areas of Northern Ireland. The fanatical IRA members are still active today and continue the process of killing.

An unseen but deadly form of terror — ethnic cleansing present in crude forms since the dawn of civilisation, continues to be practised by majorities when they wish to frighten the minorities to leaving their territory. Beginning prominently from Hitler and Stal-

it emerged on a massive scale in Croatia and Bosnia, Herzegovinia following the break up of Yugoslavia in 1991. It also occurred in numerous former Soviet States and to some extent in Germany by the new Nazis against Turkish guest workers. Still there are many places like Macedonia and Slovakia which run the risk of such a process. Considering the scale of human misery created because of this terror, it can be considered as the worst form of terrorism in the twentieth century. This bloodstained process constitutes of men who preferred to kill or eliminate each other rather than living together.

22.3.2 Techniques of the Urban Terrorists

The urban terrorists use varied techniques. Firstly, the militant environmental and animal rights group avoid inflicting human casualties and confine themselves to the use of bombs and other violent devices to damage property thereby retaining public sympathy.

Secondly, bombing is another technique used by the urban terrorists. It involves very little risk to the bomber so it is a very popular tactic. It is in fact one of the most bloodiest technique as it always involves mass casualties, thus inviting world-wide public disgust against such cases. An increasing sophistication in electronics and the continuing process of miniaturization provides the bombers with more precisely guided vehicles. It has become easier to conceal the mechanisms and use it more precisely. Things have reached such new heights that restraints on the use of weapons can be social and psychological rather than technological, thus requiring public awareness against terrorism.

Thirdly, sometimes the urban terrorists in an attempt to avoid the counter productive indiscriminate casualties, resort to murder of individual targets by shooting. Some developments which are most likely to affect this technique are the use of laser sights (which enable the terrorists to conceal their gun and hit their targets at short ranges), the use of silencers, facilities for longer ranges, and the recent use of expansive and sophisticated surface-to-surface and surface-to air missiles.

Fourthly, intimidation and racketeering are other various forms of terror. The former technique is used to intimidate companies or force them into submission by extorting large sums of money as revolutionary taxes or forces business bodies to pay large ransoms. It is a means to finance further terrorism and much of it goes unreported. The latter technique is also to terrorise people who are innocent and force them to submission.

Fifthly, another technique used by terrorists in the urban areas is that of kidnaping individuals. As one of the most ancient and most international of coercive techniques, it is used to extort money to fund criminal political activity to achieve political concessions including release of fellow terrorists and changes in governments policies or government itself.

Sixthly, hostage seizures is another way used by the urban terrorists to spread terror. As different from kidnapping, under this technique hostage are kept in a known location. Domestic hostage seizures are meant to apply pressure on family acquaintances or colleagues. Political hostage seizures are done to attract publicity. Sometimes hostage tokens are provided safe-custody to a chosen location and at times are given a ransom so that the lives of the hostages are spared.

Seventhly, hijacking an aircraft, train or ship is another form of spreading terror. The premises seized in this case happen to be mobile but they are generally known where they are — Urban situations provide the environment for such occurrence because the aircraft, ship or train are all symbols of urban life. The primary aim of most hijacks is to gain publicity for a political cause.

22.3.3 Modes of Combating Urban Terrorism

There are various methods by the use of which urban terrorism can be countered. Some of them are enumerated as under:

Firstly, individuals who are threatened must be provided with secure environment so that they can put their best at work. An intruder would use every possible trick to deceive

the security guards. Entrances for staff visitors and vehicles should be thoroughly checked. Training and alertness of the security staff must be improved. Bullet proofing of office buildings should be provided if necessary.

Secondly, techniques for detecting explosives must be improved. Detection technology should be applied for electrical firing devices. The normal senses (sight, smell, hearing and touch) of the human searchers should also be developed. Many hurdles should be placed so that reliable research is guaranteed.

Thirdly, if armed response to possible terrorist attack is required the potential victims of terrorists must be guarded by trained bodyguards. The trained bodyguards can make their most contribution by giving the victims such advice which will prevent them from getting into a dangerous situation. As developments in personal weapons are likely to help the terrorist the only option would be to train the security forces individually so that they can respond quickly and fire accurately. As terrorists would have practised less often with live ammunition than soldiers or armed police men the danger of surprise attack could be minimised to some extent and sometimes overcome.

Fourthly, as individual victims of terrorists face the most risk when they are traveling especially by car the question of 'travel security' assumes significance. A kidnap or assassination requires more organisation because the kidnapers should know in detail about the traveling plans of their targets. As such strict discretion should be maintained over the movement of potential targets and such plans should be varied often so that the kidnapers look for other targets. Similar discretion should be used over air or sea travel. During air travel targets should be as inconspicuous as possible particularly during check-in and boarding.

Fifthly, personnel in specialist riot and anti terrorist squads should be regularly brought back to their normal police duties or else these squads would assume a character of their own which would deprive them of public sympathy as they would loose touch with them. The anti-terrorist squads should be able to handle both criminal and political terrorists interventions. A criminal case should be resolved with the greatest of restraint and the minimum use of force. Rescue operation further requires skilled judgement and timing. Accuracy is also important.

Sixthly, protection of the population from a terrorist attack depends on good intelligence. There should be coordination between intelligence organisations of each countries. Secrecy should be strictly adhered to by an intelligence service. Intelligence and personal surveillance should be regarded as supplements to human intelligence and not as substitutes for it. Tight safeguards are also a must for aids to police detection, such as tapping and taping of telephone calls and bugging and also of electronic monitoring.

Seventhly, prevention of terrorism also demands steps to prevent impersonation and an increase in the accuracy of the process of identification. Visitors coming from other countries should be carefully checked so that they do not prove to be impostors. Fingerprint scanning system should be made effective as a weapon in combating terrorism, drug trafficking and other international crimes, so that the legal systems are not abused.

Lastly, conviction not only deters terrorism and crime but also prevents it. But the most essential part of it is the collection of valid evidence and witness. Successful interrogation demands an interplay of proven facts with answers and statements provided by the suspect during the course of interrogation. However, trial by jury can be the best guardian of freedom and justice.

22.4 RURAL TERRORISM

Rural terrorist movements can also be called rural guerrilla movements. This is because rural terrorists operate from the forest or the jungles and have a rural background mainly. These organise popular support in the rural areas and terrorise anyone who do not support or cooperate with them. They develop their organisation in impoverished towns and involves in uprisings when the appropriate time comes.

22.4.1 Growth of Rural Terrorism

Rural terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Rural populations are very valuable to terrorist attacks because protection of rural populations is difficult and expansive. Village officials and police officers live under threat so they follow a policy of live-and-let-live with the terrorists. The prime targets of rural terrorism are rural affluence areas (for example the drug producing areas of Peru, Colombia, etc.), people in villages at work in the fields or on the roads or in any isolated areas, water supplies of the rural areas (as they are vulnerable to contamination), and the infrastructure which is again subjected to sabotage. Hand-held guided missiles and machine guns which are heavy is particularly used by the rural terrorists. Vulnerable premises in rural terrorism range from isolated army or police posts to large installations, oil refineries, air fields and villages which are defended. Because of long delay before help can come, isolated guards who protect installations are the most vulnerable for attacks. As such village security men must be equipped with surveillance and alarm systems if such attacks are to be stopped.

The most favourite technique of the rural terrorists used since the 1940's is the road mines detonated by the pressure of the wheel of a passing vehicle, because rural roads are mainly made of dirt, or oil-bound sand. Road bombs and impoverished explosives are other such weapons. Inspite of such weapons at their disposal the rural terrorists find it difficult to dominate the rural areas which require regular with the villages which again makes the task difficult because visitors in rural areas do not remain unnoticed, a fact which can be made use of by intelligence agencies.

In ordinary circumstances the army or the police better armed and with better opportunities for training have the advantage over the rural guerrilla units. But adverse is the case when the rural terrorists take the initiative either in an ambush or in a surprise attack. The problem however is to predict the movements of the terrorists which requires god intelligence and the best source of it is human sources. Security forces in the rural areas must build up the confidence of the rural people in their own security and convince them of the final defeat of the terrorists so that they cooperate in providing information. If such confidence is build up that their standard of life will steadily improve if stable government is maintained, the villages and other rural folk will be less likely to be aroused by political activists to use or support violence.

22.4.2 Rural Terrorist Activities in Asia and Africa

The rural terrorists in Asia and Africa follow the Maoist revolution and strategy of deploying cadres to organise popular support in the remote areas and thereafter terrorizing anyone who do not cooperate with them. In most cases these terrorists have close linkages with big criminal gangs usually financed by drug trafficking. One important aspect of the rural terrorist heritage is that refugees from internal conflict or oppression are often trained in the neighbouring countries to go back and serve as terrorists. The Indians did this to train a guerrilla force to assist their invasion of Bangladesh in 1971. Some notable instances of countries where rural terrorism has been widespread are in Asia and Africa.

During the latter part of 1970's Cambodia was subjected to the most vicious regime of government terrorism ever recorded. A Chinese oriented Communist Party forcibly established its rule in 1975 and let loose a reign of terror. A million people were killed and all manifestation of urban civilization were gutted. In 1978 the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and subjected the people with a threat of insurgency. Cambodia suffered thirteen years of civil war till the year 1991. Similarly in Philippines two main guerrilla groups have been operated since 1970s the Maoist New People's Army (NPA) and the Muslim secessionist group (MNLF) and are fighting for an independent Islamic state in the Southern islands of the country. MNLF have thousands of armed guerrillas and is supported by Iran, Libya and sometimes by sympathetic Muslims in the neighbouring territory of east Malaysia facing strong resistance from the Christian majority in the areas of their operation their strength has declined. The NPA continues to spread terror by assassinating local officials, police officers and soldiers. They are financed nearly by extortions from big businesses and their cadres are in rural areas, are organised, and exercise discipline by terror in the villages. Over the years NPA has fragmented but many of its members continue to operate as armed criminal gangs.

Sri Lanka has also been plagued by insurgencies since 1983. Commercial massacres in the North were initiated by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE) and insurgency in the south was begun by a radical Sinhalese nationalist movement, the people's Liberation Front (JVP). By 1989 the government forces captured or killed the entire JVP leadership by mounting a ruthless offensive though the Tigers have lost their initial strength because of heavy casualties in the course of encounters with the government forces, their fanatical members continue to thrive, as such terrorism in Sri Lanka continues. Terrorism in India is seen in the context of communal violence including that between Hindus and Muslims, separatist violence by Gurkhas, Nagas and others. Sikh violences and terrorism is mainly concentrated in the urban areas but it extends to massacres of Hindus in the villages and buses. That terrorism has flourished during communal frenzies is borne by the explosion of violence in Uttar Pradesh in 1992 December. In Bombay Hindus looted Muslim shops and the horrible process of ethnic cleansing went on in hundred. Afghanistan, Central Asia and Kurdistan have also been experiencing the scourge of rural terrorism. Terrorism in these areas is dependent on their rocky mountainous terrain and their tribal structure. Tribesmen engage themselves in terrorist activities as they want to free themselves from the regular armies of governments. As such the war remain focused on the control of rural roads from which the regular armies pass. However, a more serious threat in this region comes from the ambitions of the big neighbouring powers who in order to extend their influence support terrorist group in these areas. The process of ethnic cleansing in these areas also continues.

Sudan, Somalia and Southern Africa also has been experiencing terrorist movements. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, a terrorist organisation dominates half of Sudan particularly in the southern part of the country. Though formed in 1983, it split into two factions, one seeking independence for southern Sudan and the other seeking a federal Sudanese government. Continuing terrorist warfare is suppressed by the army and police. Somalia has also been experiencing chaos since 1991. After twenty one years of dictatorial Communist rule, a coup was organised by General Mohamed Aideed on behalf of the United Somali Congress (USC). This was followed by an immediate split between Aideed and Ali Mahdi whom the USC had appointed President of Somalia. These two groups had their own private armies which consisted gangs of young men, in vehicles mounted with machine-guns and rocket launchers who looted food supplies in the countryside. Though intervention by US troops and UN troops have made attempts to solve the problem but the warlords continue to fight and they have expressed contempt for the peace maker. Angola and Mozambique achieved independence from Portugal in 1975 but their new governments were opposed by terrorist movements — UNITA and RENAMO who controlled substantial amounts of territory and engaged in intimidating the villagers or tribesmen. Irrespective of attempts made by the ANC to improve the situation in South Africa violence and terrorism continues to hold their way thereby hampering political progress.

22.4.3 Rural Terrorist Activities in Latin America

The ongoing violence and terrorism in the Latin American countries like Colombia and Peru is because of the drug cartels who finance terrorist activities. Sendero Luminoso's (SL) rural guerrilla organisation and techniques in Peru operate in the shanty towns and has basis in the rural areas where coca is grown. It is a violent body and engages in terrorising the people with public mutilations and executions. Colombia, one of the most politically stable democratic systems in Latin America has been constantly plagued by violence, financed by the international drug trade. The two main terrorist organisations of Colombia are Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia and the National Liberation Army.

The former is a nation wide rural group and has an open political front. The latter mainly operates in the oil-producing areas in North-East Colombia and its aim is mainly to drive out the foreign oil companies. Even today drug money continue to flow into the country and there is no sign of the violence subsiding. El Salvador has also suffered from immense casualties because of terrorists who have resorted to the business of kidnaping for extorting money and from time to time terrorist bodies have tried to bring down governments as well. Violent conflict for years have weakened the economy but no respite seems to be in sight for the people of El Salvador because the ex-terrorists and members of terrorist bodies always resort to the use of gun to resolve any dispute. It is significant to note that the financiers of terrorism in Colombia and Peru particularly

are the drug addicts of the US and other European countries. As such these countries should make serious attempts to prevent their own drug addicts from buying it so that farmers are discouraged to grow coca in the Latin American countries and thus save itself from the menace of terrorism.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Name some urban terrorist bodies and related some of their techniques.

.....

- 2) What is rural terrorism?

.....

- 3) Name some countries in Latin America where terrorists are still active.

.....

22.5 FIGHTING GLOBAL TERRORISM

Terrorism seeks to disrupt the smooth functioning of democratic societies by demonstrating that governments are not in a position to provide basic security measures. It is a normal human urge to oppose terrorism but on some occasions nothing productive can be done. A government should take various steps to ensure the safety of its people and property within its jurisdiction. What can be done is that as a first step a police force of the highest quality should be created to counter terrorist activities or to combat bombings, kidnappings hijacking, etc. Terrorists generally operate in a discreet manner and they use covers to protect themselves from being detected. As such another requirement for fighting terrorism is to bring about improvements in the technique of intelligence, collections, infiltration and surveillance and the like. Through a concerted programme of public information and education, public assistance against terrorism should be sought for. People should be made more security conscious.

Freeing a hostage is a risky job. As such the main goal of the police should be to arrange the release of a hostage unharmed and to apprehend the offender. If apprehending the offender seems more important an attack may be launched. If release of the hostage seems very important and if demands cannot be met, the police should attempt to kill the offender. Thus hostage seizure is a complicated process. Different tactics may be followed for different incidents as each situation is an unique one.

22.5.1 Preventing the Process of People Killing Each Other

With every passing generation new forms of terrorism are being thrown up. To meet the challenge a more positive attitude towards peace making process should be developed so that people at large can be protected from terrorism. Technological development especially in the detection of explosives, access control surveillance and intelligence should be relied upon as a means of preventing the terrorist from abusing people's civil liberties and at extreme cases taking their lives as well. The world cannot hope to do

away with its armed forces because there will always be men with unwarranted ambitions to grab territory or resources. As such present day armed forces should be particularly designed to adopt to a peace keeping role or peacemaking role. The latter involves more casualties. Wherever possible every country should make its forces available for its neighbours on a regional basis because it would gain the most by preventing the conflict from taking a dangerous turn. But in cases where solutions on a regional basis is not possible it becomes the duty of the world to contain such conflicts and provide humanitarian aid. This calls for a unity of the permanent members of the UN Security Council as was the case during the gulf crisis of 1990. In case of terrorism in any part of the globe these countries should pull their full weight together and provide armed forces. Mass casualties can be prevented if governments make adequate contributions to fund the UN peacekeeping forces. Peacekeeping is an activity which has come to stay, as such countries must be induced to submit themselves to high subscriptions with a substantial reserve so that the UN can always play an active and positive role in times of crisis.

22.5.2 Laws to Prevent Terrorist Practices

Growing number of terrorist violence has over the years engaged the attention of the entire global community. The US has taken a lead to promote international efforts to tackle with their menace. Nations around the world has been taking serious steps to protect diplomats and embassies. This has lessened the incidence of embassies seizures. Similarly since 1910 the world has been seriously considering to promote air safety measures when a convention relating to the regulation of Aerial Navigation had taken place. But the most formidable obstacle hindering the prosecution of hijackers thereby putting at stake the international attempts to soil illegal aircraft seizure attempts, is the asylum phenomenon. As the term 'political offence' remains unclarified, nations always find justification for granting asylum to political refugees or political groups. Giving shelter to the fugitives under the guise of political crimes poses a serious threat to international aviation because unlawful aircraft seizures involves many serious crimes.

Considering the seriousness of such cases European countries have taken steps to curb terrorism. Their efforts though primarily aimed at unlawful interference with civil aviation also covers offences involving the use of bombs, grenades, rockets, etc. An informal international agreement on hijacking between these countries (17 July 1978) have not only taken a decision to extradite or prosecute hijackers but also to boycott the airports and airlines of those countries which failed to do so. Moreover regular meetings are being held to improve cooperation between each others intelligence and police. These agreements did not have a positive effect because most governments continue to be guided by their national self interest. The United Nations has also not been doing enough because countries like those of the Arab, African and Latin American ones openly sponsor and support terrorism. Infact they regard terrorism as a legitimate weapon to promote their political and economic goals.

One of the main aim of the terrorists is to make the legal system unoperative by intimidating witnesses and juries, thereby creating credible grounds for accusing the government of repression and torture. This calls for incentives to be given to informers for providing evidence and extending protection to them when required. If desired and if feasible adequate funds should also be made available to the informers to enable them to start a new life at a new place. It is but true that the costs involved in granting rewards and protection is negligible when compared to the cost of damage inflicted by the terrorists. Still other forms of intimidation like demands for protection, money and racketeering should also be tackled firmly.

The legal process should also be strengthened for exercising strict control on the possession and movements of explosives, armies and ammunition. Civilized nations should arrive at an agreement to tag all explosives with a colour code system which would detect their source and enable their progress to be recorded. Laws which not only help to track the criminal suspects and supporters but also detect houses which provide shelter to them should also be initiated to curb terrorism. The extent of duration of detention for questioning should be made relaxable in case a concerted attempt is made by the terrorists to circumvent the existing procedures and increase the degree of crime. Significantly enough all laws which seek to combat terrorism should also cover the lawyers as that they are not in position to abuse their rights and disrupt legal proceedings thereby supporting terrorist acts.

One of the biggest sponsors of terrorism and criminal violence in the world is the profit ensuing from narcotics trade. Drug trafficking not only generates illegal money but also encourages fraud, extortion and counterfeiting. Thus, narcotics consumption should not only be tackled but the laundering of money from all these sources should also be tackled. To make this possible, banks should be legally obliged and willing to make customer's accounts available to the police and judiciary so that illegal money can be easily detected and seized. Governments particularly in western countries should pass legislations to prevent their banks from undertaking transactions with foreign banks which do not have proper records. Prevention of terrorism also requires improved technological research in some urgent areas like detection of explosives, developing anti impersonation systems and equipments in aid of intelligence.

Over the years the nature of weapons have not changed much. The hand held missilie which were recently made available to terrorists was developed in 1984. However, one positive feature is that advancement in security technology have been far greater especially in explosive detection techniques. Nevertheless the terrorists groups are always on the look out of possessing all kinds of weapons and explosives. But what is creating a dangerous situation is the fact that with the entry of criminals in the sphere of terrorism, the very nature of terrorism has changed from a politically motivated one to a criminally motivated terrorism. What is also important to note is that it is only a small number of people who resort to terrorist techniques to force a democratic government to accept their views. Dissent should always be encouraged if it is constructive in nature but no matter how severe it may be prove to be it can never justify killing bombing or wounding. Crime arrogantly deprives a civil society of its liberty. Over the ages and throughout history every civilised majority has accepted a rule of law which places restrictions on the freedom to assault or harm others. Every society irrespective of its political inclinations deserved the right to protection from terrorism. Every democratic government should uphold the rule of law and strike a proper balance between the presentation of the civil liberties of the public inclusive of the minorities and the essential measures required to protect the lives of the people from terrorists attacks. Under to circumstances the claim of a militant minority to kidnap and kill should override the ultimate right of a majority to live in peace and enjoy all civil liberties. Prevention of terrorism ultimately depends on the nature of government policy and on the efficiency of its law-enforcing agencies which are required to operate in non political contexts.

Check Your Progress 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answers.
 ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Suggest one measure as to how terrorism can be checked.

.....

- 2) How can civilians be encouraged to provide evidence against the terrorists.

.....

22.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have defined the term 'terrorism' as a strategy of violence, used by people who do not understand reason, against the government or the state to achieve their objectives. When international linkages development between terrorist groups of various countries, international terrorism emerges. Terrorism, be it at the national or international level are of such types — (a) Discriminate and indiscriminate Terrorism, (b) Right wing and left wing Terrorism (c) Nationalists and Separatists. Having dealt with these, the diverse patterns of global terrorism has been taken into account. Contemporary global terrorism emerged in the Middle East and gradually spread its wings in such countries as the U.S. and Western Europe. Technological upgradation of the weapons used by terrorists have increased their mobility and lethality. Terrorism has assumed different forms in different countries and the response of the government have also been different. Having done this, international terrorism has been studied from an urban and rural point of view. An assessment of these two facets of terrorism the modes of combating them follow as obvious sequence. Finally suggestions have put forth as to how terrorism on a global scale can be checked. With new forms of terrorism emerging with every passing generation steps should be taken to prevent mass casualties and developing positive contact between civilians and state authorities. Peacekeeping is a role in which the United Nations can play a determinant role. Countries of the world should join hands to make this body an economically viable one so that it can play positive role in times of crisis. Besides this, leading nations of the world particularly the U.S. should make effective laws and regulations to check the menace of terrorism because ultimately they are the ones to be effected. The legal process should strengthened at the global level and control resources should be implemented stringently.

22.7 KEY WORDS

Intimidate: To frighten one into submission. Terrorists use intimidation as a technique to threat the government or the civilians and make them submit before their unlawful demands.

Surveillance: It means a close watch. It is also used as an alternative to supervision.

Guerrilla: It is a member of an irregular armed force which engages itself in fighting an established force, in other words the government.

Lethal: Deadly or dangerous. It is generally associated with weapon whose use is destructive in character, particularly the nuclear weapons.

22.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Clutterbuck, Richard, '*Terrorism in an Unstable World*' (Routledge, London and New York, 1994).

Ghosh, S.K., '*Terrorism : World Under Seize*' (Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995).

Quarles, C.L., '*Terrorism — Avoidance and Survival*' (Butter Worth-Heinemann, US, 1991).

Rao, N.P., '*Terrorism — Violence and Human Destruction — Causes Effects and Control Measures*' (Anmol Publishers, New Delhi, 1992).

Wardiac, G., '*Political Terrorism*' (Combridge University Press, 1982).

22.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) International terrorism involves international linkages between terrorist organisations and groups. These groups extends support to each other and avail benefits from each others country. They have no regard for the national boundaries and intend to publicise their demands globally.
- 2) The different forces of terrorism are:
 - i) Discriminate and Indiscriminate terrorism
 - ii) Right Wing terrorism and Left Wing terrorism
 - iii) Nationalists and Separatists.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Some urban terrorist bodies are Irgun Zvai Leumi of Palestine, the fundamentalist groups of Iran, Saddam Hussain and his supporters, etc.

Some of the techniques used by the urban terrorist bodies are the use of bombs, violent devices to damage property, murder to individual targets by shooting, kidnapping, etc.

- 2) Rural terrorism involves activities of these terrorists who operates from the jungles or forests and have a rural background mainly.
- 3) Some countries in Latin America where terrorists are still active are Colombia, Peru, El Salvador, etc.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) One important measure which can be taken to check terrorism is to improve the techniques used by intelligence agencies.
- 2) Civilians can be encouraged to provide evidence against terrorism by extending protection to them and by granting adequate rewards.

UNIT 23 REVOLUTION IN COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

Structure

- 23.0 Objectives
- 23.1 Introduction
- 23.2 Channels of Communication
- 23.3 New Communication Technologies
- 23.4 Issues in Communication Technology
 - 23.4.1 Communication and National Sovereignty
 - 23.4.2 Disparities in Communication
 - 23.4.3 New International Information Order
- 23.5 The Present Information and Communication Order
 - 23.5.1 The Impact of Communication Revolution on International Politics
- 23.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 23.7 Some Useful Books
- 23.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

23.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we will examine some of the key issues that arise from the present communication and information revolution. After going through this unit you should be able to:

- identify the channels of international communications,
- discuss the issues that arise from the rapid advances in communication technologies,
- explain the position of the developing countries on some key issues in communications, and
- identify the important features of the present communications and informations order.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

Dramatic changes are sweeping our world. Many have their causes or effects which can be traced to developments in the information and communication sectors. With the advent of satellites and digital technologies the speed and capacity of communication has outpaced our wildest expectations. Satellites in orbit have transformed communications both within and between nations. The cost of communication services is no longer related to distance and terrain. The ongoing digital revolution in communication has virtually eliminated traditional technical limitations in the provision of services. There is no longer a technological distinction between voice, text, data, and video services. As electronic networks spread, there is no longer a clear demarcation between many national and international networks.

The diffusion of these new technologies began in the 1980s and they are yet to have their full impact felt. Their impact is primarily being felt in the economic activities within and between nations, hastening the process of interdependence. But they have also widened the gulf between the information rich and the information poor. Developing countries of the South attempted to remove the imbalances in the flow of information and improve the coverage of news but the imbalances and distortions in the flow of information has not diminished. The new communication technologies that are beginning to have their impact on economic, social and political process are the focus of this unit. The focus is on some issues that arise from the diffusion of new communication

23.2 CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

Broadly speaking the communication channels that link people around the world can be divided into non technological and technological. Language, tourism, migration and international organisations are some of the non-technological channels of communication. Some of the major technological channels of global communications are print materials, postal services, radio and television broadcasting, telecommunications and computer communications.

The print media has been the most durable communication channel across nations. Ever since the printing press was invented in the 16th Century, the volume of books, newspapers, and periodicals that carry ideas to foreign audiences has increased. In the very recent past, the introduction of new technologies has increased the reach of this media. For a long time, transportation of printed material across national borders depended on transportation media. Today however, print media are less limited by the weight of the paper. Satellites are now distributing images of many newspapers and periodicals to publishing houses and printing plants around the world. Traditional print publishers are adapting or creating materials for new electronic publishing formats and the once 'printed' pages are now being distributed through computers or television sets via telephone lines, TV cables, video discs.

Postal communication began in the latter half of the 19th Century, and has become a near universal medium of global communication. Advances in transport and communication technologies are having an impact on this medium as well. In many countries today and private and public companies are competing for express mail services that can deliver a package to any place in the world in about two days. Electronic mail can now be transmitted from post office to post office, where it is reproduced in original form and then placed into physical mail. Fax machines are fast replacing postal service for personal mail.

Since its inception in the early 20th Century, international **radio broadcasting** has become one of the most significant channels of international communication. About a hundred countries broadcast news, opinion and entertainment to foreign listeners providing a major source of information. Some radio stations like BBC and Voice of America today command huge audiences across the globe.

Satellite telecommunications began in the early 1960s. The first true communication satellite was the Syncom III which broadcast the 1964 Tokyo Olympic games. The following year, INTELSAT, a global consortium was established to serve the global communication needs. Although a number of nations and private firms have launched communication satellites into orbit, INTELSAT system carries about 80 per cent of the world long-distance international telecommunication traffic.

Closely associated with the current digital revolution, the **computer** has emerged in the 1980s as a tool of communication. Today the computer to computer communications is world wide. With the dramatic increase in capacity, speed and reliability and fall in the prices, people are acquiring personal computers and joining international computer networks.

23.3 NEW COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGIES

In the post war period there are two important technical developments that have had a profound impact on the communications. One is the development of communication satellites and the other is the digital revolution. Although the use of communication satellites had begun in the 1960s, it was only in the 1980s that their full potential came to be realised. Combined with the digital telecommunications, satellites have increased the reach of the existing media by enabling the trans-border transfer of data, voice, picture.

Communications based on **satellite technology** became a reality with the dawn of the space era 1957. Although the former Soviet Union was the first to place satellites in

orbit it was the United States that took the lead in utilizing communication satellites for civilian and military purposes. A communication satellite is located about 36,000 km high in the orbit. From this height its beams can cover one third of the earth's surface. A satellite can interconnect any number of stations that lie under its antenna, known as footprint. All the points under its beam are of the same distances from the satellite. Hence we say that the satellite is insensitive to distance. Since the mid-1960, the International Telecommunications Satellite Organisation (INTELSAT), a satellite consortium, has come to dominate the intercontinental telecommunications. Its counterpart in the former socialist countries was the Internationals Organisation of Space Communications INTERSPUTNIK which was founded in 1971.

Other satellite consortiums have also been established to meet the specific requirements. For instances, there is the International Maritime Satellite Organisation founded in 1979 to meet the communication requirements over the seas. There are also regional consortiums to meet the communication requirements of specific regions such as the ARABSAT and ASIAVISION. In addition, several countries have launched their own satellites to meet the domestic telecommunication requirements. In the 1980s, private satellite systems have emerged to break the monopoly of the INTELSAT in satellite services.

Advances in electronics and digital devices are the other developments that have led to a revolution in communications. Basically information can be transmitted over any telecommunications medium in two ways: analog or digital. The analog transmission uses an electrical signal to represent the voice, picture, or data to be sent. When the voice is loud the signal is strong, and when it is soft, the signal is weak. Virtually all the worlds telecommunications channels started as analog devices. Today they are rapidly being replaced by digital technology. In digital communication, the information is translated into discrete binary digits (zeros and ones) known as bits. These bits can be transmitted unambiguously and saved exactly as transmitted. Computers are connected to each other to transfer digital data. Telephone lines that carry analog data are being used to send digital computer data by attaching a modem to the computer to convert analog information into digital. In the modem telephone system, conversations are converted into digital form and transmitted by wire or optical fibre.

The computer is the driving force behind the current digital revolution. Today there is a worldwide trend towards digital devices. As a result there is a drive to create 'integrated digital network' which will eventually merge previously separate communications network into new, high capacity systems that include telephone, telegraph, tele-text, fax, data, and video.

These new communication technologies, principally the satellite and digital networks have revolutionised communications in the recent years. The speed and capacity of communications technologies has outpaced our wildest expectations. As distance and terrain become meaningless in the satellite age and as the digital revolution spurs networking of communication devices, there is no longer a clear demarcation between many national and international networks. These have no doubt profound implications for the international system. In the following section we will examine two issues, national sovereignty and the flow of information, that have a bearing on the international political process. Although these two issues are related they are two distinct issues. On both these issues there are different perception between the advanced nations of the North and the newly emergent developing nations of the South.

23.4 ISSUES IN COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

23.4.1 Communication and National Sovereignty

New communication technologies pose several problems for the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty traditionally refers to a country's right to protect its borders from military aggression; to preserve its natural wealth and resources; and to choose its political, social, economic and cultural systems without interference by another state. From this conception of sovereignty flows the principle of 'information sovereignty' — that nations enjoy the full rights of sovereignty and territorial integrity in the areas of communication and information. However, the new communication and information technologies of

message production, dissemination and reception do not respect national boundaries. This has given rise to a host of issues that affect national sovereignty-controlling the flow of information, development of national communication facilities etc. Let us examine the issue of sovereignty generated by satellite technology by taking two types of satellites-direct broadcasting satellites and remote sensing satellites.

From their invention in the early 1960s, direct broadcasting satellites have raised the issues of national sovereignty. As already mentioned, a communication satellite placed in the GSO can cover one third of the earth's surface. In other words, whether intended or not, broadcasting signals from satellite spill over in to the territories of other nations. Its footprint (the geographical area covered by the signal) can never be shaped exactly to fit the intended coverage area. In this context some argue that a country should be protected from unwanted signals. Direct television broadcasting by satellites from one country to another without the prior consent of the receiving state is a violation of national sovereignty, a threat to national economies and national cultures. On the other hand, industrialised countries which lead in satellite technologies have argued that any regulation of direct broadcast satellites is a threat to the freedom of information. This position is strongly advocated by the United States.

Satellite technologies also gave rise to controversies related to the access of slots in outer space. Air space law allow a state to exercise sovereignty over its air space, whereas the prevailing space law doctrines allow countries to explore and use outer space, the moon, and other celestial bodies on a basis of equality without national appropriation by claim of sovereignty. Outer space law and airspace law are thus diametrically opposed both in principle and practice. Moreover, there has no satisfactory solution to the issue of identifying the point at which the airspace ends and outer space begins. The threshold between airspace and outer space is widely held to be the Van Karman line — the point to which states traditionally may claim sovereignty; over the air above their territory. Beyond this line according to this view, state sovereignty ends.

This definition has not been without controversy. Geo-stationary communication satellites are ideally located at a height of 36,000 km over the equator. Countries located nearer to the equator are at a vantage point to receive satellite signals through a relatively thin layer of atmosphere. But the geo-stationary orbit (GSO) is limited by the fact that satellites in his orbit cannot be parked close to each other and there are a growing number of countries and corporations interest in satellite services. In 1976, nine countries located on the equator adopted the Bogota Declaration, which stated that the geo-stationary orbit is a natural resource of the equatorial states and is thereby subject to their sovereignty. These countries insist that no object could be placed in the GSO without their approval. These countries fear that the GSO is limited and may not be available for them by the time they are ready to use it. This position has, however, been disputed by the two leading space faring countries, the United States and the former Soviet Union.

In fact, today there are four major positions on sovereignty over the GSO. The first advocated primarily by the United States, considers that the GSO should be allocated on a "first-come, first-served" basis. A second position, represented by the then Soviet Union, advocates the 'Van Karman principle', that is that there should be a clear demarcation point between outer space and aerospace, set at a specific altitude above sea level. Airspace below that boundary would be sovereign property. Above that limit it would be outer space to which all would have free access. The third approach, defended mainly by the developing countries, calls for global prior allocation of both orbital positions and frequencies. They favour establishing an international regime to guarantee equal access. Finally, we have the equatorial countries view, which also supports the need for prior allocation; but because of their geographical position claim preferential rights.

The question of sovereignty was also raised by another class of satellites — the earth observation or remote sensing satellites. These satellites detect, measure, and analyse substances or objects on earth from orbit. There is little doubt that data gained in this way can increase the political and economic power of the 'sensing' nation over the 'sensed' nation. Knowledge of likely oil-deposits, crop yields or failures, and mineral deposits can help governments and corporations make better plans for the domestic and make more informed bids on the international markets. Since international law grants absolute sovereignty national governments sovereignty over their natural resources, the issue here is whether a nation should have absolute sovereignty over information regarding those resources. To whom does the information belong when America's

LANDSAT, the French SPOT, India's IRS or some another commercial remote sensing satellite detects oil or important mineral deposits in some parts of Asia or Africa? The country whose resources are being sensed is not aware of the existence of these resources or that information. A country or a corporation owing and utilizing the remote-sensing satellite may know more about the country than the country does itself. Data obtained by these method by these methods might provide these countries and private firms with vital economic data which is not available to the local authorities. Some developing countries, such as Brazil have therefore opposed the use of remote sensing techniques or other advanced sensing techniques without prior consent. These countries fears have not been assuaged by a policy of unlimited availability of remote sensing satellite date. These fears have been compounded by the fact that a vast majority of these countries simply do not have the trained personnel to interpret the remotely sensed data even if the data is made available to them.

This debate finally resulted in the United Nations adopting the *Principles Relating to Remote Sensing of the Earth from Outer Space* in 1986, the first internationally recognised principles guiding the conduct of remote sensing satellites. By this treaty, sensed nations have given up the demand for prior consent before data dissemination. But the principles guarantee the sensed access to all data. In recent years, the debate on remote sensing satellites has been enlivened by the use of these systems by the international news agencies and commercial networks. Since the inception of the space age, the two leading space powers, the United States and Soviet Union had utilised satellites based sensing techniques to monitor the movement and deployment of military weapons by each other. They have also been used to verify the compliance of arms control agreements. In the 1980s, the monopoly of highly classified satellites of the governments in monitoring nuclear and missile activities was broken when international news agencies and commercial networks began using remotely sensed data. In the United States, television viewers saw LANDSAT pictures of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster nuclear disaster days before the Soviets acknowledged that the accident had even occurred. ABC news used the LANDSAT images to reveal that Iran had deployed Chinese made 'silkworm' missiles. This is bound to have significant bearing on the future trends in international political processes.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Some of the non technical means of communications are:
(a) (b) (c)
- 2) Bogota declaration states that
- 3) What is the position of different states on the sovereignty over the geo-stationary orbit?

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23.4.2 Disparities in Communication

The communication revolution has not benefited all of human kind equally. There are enormous and ever growing disparities between those who have information and those who lack information. These differences exist within countries and between genders. They exist between cities and the rural side. They exist between the rich countries and the poor countries. In other words, just as there is an economic division between nations, one can identify the division between the information-rich and the information-poor of the world. In fact, information abundance is a reality only for an exclusive club of nations and elite within those nations.

For more than a century, the North Atlantic news agencies divided the world into spheres of influences. Roads, ocean routes, transoceanic cables, telegraph, and radio frequencies followed colonial routes. One of the most persistent criticisms of news flows has been that the leading four transnational news agencies — Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Agence France Press (AFP) and Routers — control the bulk of the news flow. As we saw even today, with satellites, television, fibre optics, and computer communications, much of the information continues to flow along the North Atlantic axis. There is a one way flow of cinema, television programming from the big exporting countries to the rest of the world. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), whose main purpose is to promote the cause of peace by increasing understanding among nations through education and research, from its inception in 1945 has focused its attention on the development of communication infrastructure in member states. In the early 1950s the United Nations recognised that “independent domestic information enterprise (in developing countries) should be given facilities and assistance in order at they may be member states. In the early 1950s the United Nations recognised that “independent domestic information enterprise (in developing countries) should be given facilities and assistance in order that they may be enabled to contribute to the spread of information, to the development of national culture and to international understanding”. It called for the elaboration of a concrete programme and plan of action in this respect. In the 1960s, UNESCO surveyed communication technologies world wide and concluded that the disparities between the developed and developing countries was widening and that these disparities made free circulation of news and information a one-way flow rather than a real exchange. In the 1970s the developing countries gathered forces to demand a restructuring of the international information order. The Non-Aligned Movement, consisting of nations and liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and representing over two-thirds of the humanity, spearheaded the demand for a new international information order.

23.4.3 New International Information Order

The demand for a new information order emerged in the context of the debate on the new international economic order. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), seeking to promote the values of equality interdependence, development oriented towards the people rather than capital and technology, harmony with the environment, respect for human rights, and satisfaction of the basic human needs had developed the concept of New International Economic Order (NIEO). In order to correct the imbalances and distortions in the prevailing economic relations between the North and South, the NAM called for better terms of trade with the industrialised nations and more local control over productive assets such as capital, labour, and technology. It also called for greater trade among developing nations, greater investments by the industrialised countries, and greater participation of the developing countries in the world economic institutions. The issue was debated in the United Nations which in 1974 passed the *Declaration of a International Economic Order*.

The demand for a New Information Order was an outgrowth of the values inherent in the NIEO debate. As the non-aligned nations emphasised, one order was meaningless without the other. Communication was an antecedent and engine to economic activity. At the Algers summit meeting in 1973, the NAM called for the “reorganisation of existing communication channels, which area legacy of the colonial past”. Thereafter the demand for a new information order gathered momentum in tandem with the demand for NIEO. The New Delhi Declaration on Decolonisation of Information in 1976 succinctly put forward the case for balanced flow of information thus:

- “The present global information flows are marked by serious inadequacy and imbalance. The means of communication information are concentrated in a few countries. The great majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of information which is disseminated from a few centres.
- This situation perpetuates the colonial era of dependence and domination. It confines judgements and decisions on what should be known, and how it should be made known, into the hands of a few.
- Just as political and dependence are legacies of a colonialism, so is the case of dependence in the field of information which in turn retards the achievement of political and economic growth.

- In a situation in which the means of information are dominate and monopolised by a few, freedom of information really comes to mean the freedom of a few to propagate information in the manner of their choosing and the virtual denial to the rest of the right to inform and be informed objectively and accurately".

Not content with a mere critique, the NAM also launched two concrete efforts aimed at redressing the imbalances in the world's information flows. In 1975 the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool was initiated to provide news and information not usually found in western news services. In 1977, NAM organised the Broadcasting Organisations of the Non-Aligned Countries to ensure dissemination of broadcast information in and from non-aligned countries.

It was at the Colombo summit meeting that the NAM unequivocally stated for the first time that "a new international order in the fields of information and mass communications is as vital as a new international economic order". It was largely as a result of the NAM's efforts to obtain the Decolonisation of information that in 1978 UNESCO established an International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, popularly known as the MacBride Commission after its chairman Sean MacBride. The commission's report, *Many Voices, One World*, was presented at the 1980 General Conference. The MacBride commission strongly advocated the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and especially focused on the democratisation of communication. It called for reducing commercialism in communications and emphasised the media's role in aiding oppressed people to gain greater freedom, independence, access to information, and right to expression. The commission also envisioned an expanded role for UNESCO in implementing these recommendations.

However, the call for a new international information order encountered strong resistance from the Western governments. The press and publishing lobbying groups in these countries opposed the new information order on the premise that it would lead to government control. They particularly objected to the article stating that "States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction". The United States was particularly unhappy that UNESCO's programmes limited the influence and participation of private sector in the development of national communications of the developing nations. The United States withdrew from the UNESCO in 1984 saying that its programmes endangered the free flow of information and free market. It claimed that the Soviet threat hung over the future operations of the UNESCO and that freedom of press was in danger. A year later, Britain also withdrew from the UNESCO.

The withdrawal of the US resulted in the information and communication issue being shifted to the back burner at the UNESCO. Despite some sparks of activity, the information debate was largely squashed by the US action. The 1985 General Conference in a conciliatory tone declared that the establishment of a new world information and communication order should be 'seen as *an evolving and continuous process*'. In the following years all important issues of the new information order such as global news, the right to communicate, or national communication policies receded into the background.

23.5 THE PRESENT INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION ORDER

A new information order has taken shape but not the one envisaged by the non-aligned nations. It is an order of the advanced countries of the North. While many nations of the South languish in the pre-electric age, the developed nations have moved into the post-industrial or information age. The primary orientation of their economies is towards service rather than manufacturing activities. The knowledge industry predominates in these economies. These economies are shifting their manufacturing bases to the less developed countries where the cost of labour is relatively cheap. Economies are getting inextricably intertwined. But this interdependence facilitated by the communication technologies masks the growing divide between the North and South which has widened even more. Consider the following:

- Around the world each day, more than 8500 newspapers publish over 575 million copies. The developed countries account for 70 per cent of total newspaper production. Although developing countries, with three quarters of the world's population own about one-half of the world's daily newspapers, they can manage only 30 per cent of the world's newspaper output. On over 60 countries, there are no general interest newspapers or only a single newspaper is published.
- Book production has increased dramatically around the world. But more books are published [over six lakhs] and exported by the developed countries than by the developing countries [over two lakhs]. The increasing demand for scientific, technical, and educational books and the shortage of printing paper requires most developing countries to import increasing quantities of books from the countries of the West. However, the flow of books from the developing countries to the developed world remains slight. Essentially, the flow of books between the two groups is a one-way flow of books between the two groups is a one-way flow, with increasing concentration of the publishing industry in a few multinational corporations. The United States, Great Britain and Germany are among the largest exporters of books.
- In the production of cinematic films, developing countries produce a little more than the developed countries. India leads the world in the production of films. But United States while not the largest producer is the largest exporter. Along with France, Great Britain and Germany, it accounts for 80 to 90 per cent of all exported films.
- There are disparities in the distribution of radio and television receivers. The number of receiver per 1000 inhabitants in the developed world was 1,006 and 485 in 1988 while in the developing countries it was 173 and 44. These statistics do not reflect the fact that hundreds of radio transmitters in the third world are actually repeaters for signals originating in the developed world or the heavy dependence imported television programming, primarily from United States, or to a much lesser extent, Europe and Japan.
- Today there are nearly 200 communications satellites in the geo-synchronous orbit. Of these, over 90 per cent are launched by the developed countries. The United States and the Commonwealth of Independent States, have the largest satellite networks, including domestic civilian and world wide military communication network. With only 15 per cent of the world's population, they use more than 50 per cent of the geo-stationary orbit.
- By the end of the 1980s, the number of telephone lines in service in the developed countries was 350 million, as compared to 60 million in the developing world. Ten developed countries, with 20 per cent of the world's population, accounted for almost three-quarters of all telephone lines. The United States had as many telephone lines as all of Asia. More important, the telephone technology in the developing countries is still primitive and expensive when compared with the developed countries.
- Over 90 per cent of the world's computers are found in 15 of the world's most economically advanced countries. International computer communications is available in more than one hundred countries. But it requires three basic preconditions: a reliable universal electrical supply, noise-free and interference-free telephone lines, and reliable maintenance services. All these are lacking in most parts of the world.

In the 1980s nations of the South experience many improvements in communications, but the disparity between the North and the South continued to grow. Although some progress has been made in making developing countries' concerns heard, the current flow of information is more unbalanced today than it was ever before. Further although some transactional mass media have improved their coverage of the South, images of these countries are still distorted.

Market and commercial forces have been the main driving forces behind the current technological developments in the area of communications and information. In the 1970s, commercial interests played an important role in the weakening of institutional and governmental controls in the United States. In the 1980s many European nations have deregulated their communication and information sectors allowing greater

participation of the private sector in information production and dissemination. These market forces have their own political power and in many countries complement government policies that view electronic information industries as vital to the nations economic well being. As we noted earlier, these forces have played an important role in scuttling the development of a new information order as envisaged by the developing countries. With the national economies getting intertwined and with the emergence of world-wide communication and information networks, today there are greater pressures on the developing nations to deregulate their economies and information sectors.

Partly as a result of the growing communication among and between people around the world, and partly because of the market forces another ominous development is taking place — the increasing concentration and trans-nationalisation of media. A handful of huge conglomerates have begun to dominate the world's flow of information and communication. If the present trends continue by the end of the present century less than a dozen corporate giants are expected to control most of the world's important newspapers, magazines, books, broadcast stations, movies, recordings and videocassettes. These corporate giants exert a homogenising influence over ideas, culture, and commerce. This threatens the right to information to the extent that there will be no diverse sources to choose from and further there will be limited access for those citizens who wish to reach others.

23.5.1 Impact of Communication Technologies on International Politics

The impact of communication revolution heralded by communication satellites, digital and computer systems on international politics are just beginning to be felt. While predicting the exact impact of the new communication technologies is tricky, one thing is sure. The familiar ground is rapidly shifting. Almost all societies have become porous. Due to the convergence of key technologies, national governments are losing control over their national communications. Satellites make nonsense of traditional geography and notions of distance; cable multiplies the local delivery systems and sucks in distant signals; and computers process and transfer information to each other. As nations loose control over message production, dissemination, and reception, as a result of the transnational character of the communication technologies and processes, nations are faced with new threats — vulnerability to disruption and technical failures.

A new kind of global community is emerging with non-state actors such as transnational corporations and non-governmental organisations (NGO's) playing an important role. Communication revolution had played an important role in the rise of these actors into prominence. Previously isolated from one another, NGO's are becoming global actors, with the increase in their power and capacity to communicate. Playing a prominent role at the United Nations and other world forums, NGO's and citizen advocacy groups are taking up issues like environment protection, disarmament, human rights, consumer rights etc. issues and problems whose scale confounds local and national solutions. There is some evidence to suggest the emergence of a fledgling global civil society, that is part of our collective lives that is neither market nor government but is so often inundated by them.

Communication technologies are also facilitating the emergence of a world public opinion, another evidence of the emergence of global civil society. World opinion has formed around two types of problems; widespread national problems, such as underdevelopment, hunger, social inequalities, and the energy crisis; and problems that are global in scope, such as development, environment, disarmament, and human rights. Political leaders are increasingly paying attention not only to the traditional home and human rights. Political leaders are increasingly paying attention not only to the traditional home and foreign public opinion but the opinion expressed by the world at large. In the pre electronic ages, political leaders believed they could control home and foreign public opinion. The news media rarely quoted from editorial or opinion pieces that appear abroad. But today improved communication technologies, together with sophisticated sampling techniques, now make it possible for governments and the news media to know precisely what foreign publics think. Governments often tailor their actions to foreign publics as well as their own.

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the position of the Non-aligned states on the flow of information?

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- 2) The main recommendations of the MacBride Commission are:

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- 3) What promoted the United States to withdraw from UNESCO?

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23.6 LET US SUM UP

As result of convergence of several technologies, we are amidst dramatic developments in communication and information fields. As we saw, the principal technologies here are communication and remote sensing satellites and the digital systems. Unfortunately the communication technologies have not benefited all the human kind equally. There are enormous and ever growing disparities between those who have information and those who lack information. These differences exist within and between countries.

Since the mid 1970s, developing nations have been seeking to create a international communication order that is more balanced, decolonised and democratic. They have faced strong opposition from commercial interests and from those nations who want to retain their control over the global economic and information orders.

The impact of these technologies on international politics is just beginning to be felt. As we saw national sovereignty is threatened by communication technologies which make geographical distances meaningless. There is a global civil society in the making as a result of the world wide communication revolution. The present international communication and information order is promoting interdependence between nations and contributing to cultural homogenisation or synchronisation of the world. But it is also legitimising the existing economic disparities between and within nations.

23.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Govind Narain Srivastava (1989), *NAM and the New International Information and Communication Order*, Indian Institute of Non-aligned Studies, New Delhi.

Howard H Fredrick (1993), *Global Communication and International Relations*, Wadsworth Publishing Company, California.

23.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Language, tourism, international organisations are some of the non technological channels of communication.
- 2) A declaration adopted by nine countries located on the equator in 1976 stating that the geo-stationary orbit is a natural resource of the equatorial states and is thereby subject to their sovereignty. These countries insist that no object could be placed in the GSO without their approval.
- 3) See section 23.4.1

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 23.4.2
- 2) The MacBride commission strongly advocated the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and especially focused on the democratisation of communication. Some of the important recommendations are that:
 - 1) Developing countries must take measures to establish or develop the essential elements of their communications systems,
 - 2) Networks should be established to increase new flows,
 - 3) National production of broadcasting materials should be encouraged to help overcome dependence on external sources,
 - 4) Communication components in all development projects should receive adequate financing.
 - 5) The electromagnetic spectrum and geo-stationary orbit should be more equitably shared as the common property of mankind,
 - 6) Special attention should be devoted to obstacles and restriction that derive from the concentration of media ownership,
 - 7) Effective legal measures should be designed to limit the process of concentration and monopolisation,
 - 8) Conditions for the preservation on the cultural identity of every society should be created.

See section 23.4.2