

Decolonisation or Liberation of colonies

- Decolonization means the liberation of colonies but the process of liberation did not prove smooth rather it proved a long and arduous process. It is said that what impact earlier Napoleonic war produced on Spanish colony of Latin America the same impact the Second World War left on Asia-African colonies of Britain, France, Holland etc.
- **The process and the nature of decolonization:**
- The process of decolonization varies from one power to another and from region to region, for example, France was a bit hardliner in approach, it did not allow its colonies to slip out of its hand so smoothly. That's why France launched tough and bloody reprisals in its colonies like Algeria and Vietnam. On the other hand, Britain adopted a bit soft approach to nationalist resistance against its rule. The nature of decolonization depends even on what stake some colonial power was having in the region concerned. If the stake was higher, including a larger settled population as well larger investment in the region colonial power was not ready to vacate the region smoothly, for example, British resisted the liberation movement in countries like Egypt and Kenya for a longer time.
- Even the term 'decolonization' itself is a misnomer. It sounds as if the liberation of colonies was a smooth process and imperialist powers liberated colonies willingly, but the situation was quite opposite. The imperialist powers vacated the colonies and only then it became almost impossible for them to hold the

colonies. For instance, Britain was ready to leave Egypt and Kenya under severe pressure.

- **Factors behind the liberation of colonies—** Behind the liberation of colonies, the factors were working at three different levels i.e., at international level, at the level of the colonial power and above all, at the level of colonies.

- **At international Level—** The international situation underwent a great turbulence in course of the Second World War and there emerged new forces like Atlantic charter (1941), UNO, USA and USSR as superpowers.

1. **Atlantic charter** made a promise to ensure the right of self-judgment to the people living in different parts of the world.
2. **UNO** consistently pressurised the colonial power for liberating the colonies.
3. **USSR** started to project itself as a great sympathiser to the oppressed people of the world.
4. On the other hand, even **USA** emerged to be a great advocate for liberation of colonies due to following reasons—

It was desperately searching for the market as it emerged to be the most powerful economy in the world. It also devised to make Asia-African countries to rally behind her in Cold War.

- **At the level of colonial powers—**
- 1. Colonial powers themselves were facing several compulsions after the First World War. All the three imperialist powers, British, French and Dutch declined after the Second World War.
- 2. After the Second World War, they were badly involved in post-war economic

reconstruction.

3. They found the European market more lucrative than the colonial market.
4. European powers while taking the German instance came to realise that colonisation adversely affected their domestic economy.

- **At the level of colonies-**

1. Above all, a major change was visible at the level of colonies themselves. The Second World War was fought in the name of preserving human freedom and protecting democracy from fascist power. So, it naturally encouraged the aspiration of colonial people.
2. Even earlier, between two world wars, nationalist forces progressed much in Asian colonies. Indian nationalist aspiration reached at no point of return and through Quit India movement, it gave such signal to Britain. In East Asia, Japanese occupation sealed the fate of colonial powers. Colonial resistance movement also started in other colonies i.e., 'Mao Mao Movement' in Kenya, 'Bloody conflict' in Vietnam and Algeria. Then, fermentation started in other colonies also.

- **Two different models of decolonisation-**
In the process of decolonisation, we manifest two different models, **Capitalist and Communist**. Most of the Asia-African countries got freedom on the basis of the capitalist model but in some countries like China and Vietnam, the Communist Party led the movement. That's why very soon the liberation movement in these countries became part of the Cold War.

- **Liberation of Asian Countries –**

- **South Asia:**

- In post-World War era, **India** was the first country to attain independence. An

English educated middle class leadership, which was the product of English education, emerged in India and led the premier nationalist organization, Indian National Congress. Then, in course of time, even Indian National Congress changed its colour and contour and different elements like lower middle class, peasants, and working class all got associated with it. It worked as an umbrella organization in the national movement under Gandhi. It was in 1947, British negotiated transfer of power to India.

- It was in 1948 that **Sri Lanka** gained independence. Here, too middle class leadership played a significant role in the liberation movement. So the transfer of power also remained to be relatively peaceful.



- **East Asia:**

- The case of **China** was different, where after a long civil war a communist government came into power. Actually, China has long been subjected to colonial exploitation. It adopted different modes of protests against western powers from time to time but no specific method worked properly. In the meantime, due to its proximity to Soviet Russia, China was attracted to communist model.

- In 1921, there was the formation of Chinese Communist Party. It got the fiery leadership of Mao-Tse-Tung, who did not fall in line with Moscow blindly, rather, he re-interpreted communist strategy in a specific Chinese context. He brought essential changes in Marxist- Leninist line of revolution. He included peasants in proletariat groups and declared that the revolution in China would move from countryside to town but not vice-versa.
- So, it was Mao-Tse-Tung who made communism relevant to Asia in true sense, as Asia did not go for industrialization so far. So any proletarian revolution had to take place on the backbone of peasant force. Later, Vietnam followed the same model.

■ South-east Asia:

- Liberation movement in Southeast Asia took a specific turn due to two factors - firstly, the factor of Japanese occupation and secondly, the activism of the communist party. Whereas Japanese occupation hastened the end of European imperialism in the region, the progress of communist groups in the region made western powers scared and delayed the process of liberation of Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, liberation became the part of cold war.



Philippines—

- Philippines was a semi-American colony. It was the first region where USA could experiment with the policy of neo-colonialism after snatching the region from Spain in 1898. Later, Philippines was conquered by Japan during the Second World War. The demand for the liberation of Philippines from semi-colonial status under USA had started from 1930s onwards, but it was only after the exit of Japan that USA granted its independence in 1946.
- Just after the independence, the conservative government of Philippines had to face a severe challenge from leftist or communist groups. Therefore, between 1946 and 1957, Philippines face a situation of civil war. Communist or leftist factor became a matter of concern for USA which continuously gave covert support to the rightist government. Finally, leftist groups were defeated and suppressed in Philippines. Then USA could take a sigh of relief.



Malay Peninsula–

- The withdrawal of Great Britain from Malaya peninsula rather proved peaceful. A scenario similar to that of post war Philippines confronted Great Britain upon its return to Malaya in 1945. In Malaya, there was three ethnic groups, Chinese, Malayas who were in majority and others including Indian immigrants.
- British separated Singapore from Malaya and united the whole Malaya region. She decided to stay there even after 1945 due to economic reasons. In fact, rubber and tin exports necessitated British control on Malaya. But due to the nationalist pressure, Britain decided to withdraw later. But it was the period when Chinese communists became too active that created apprehension among the British. Therefore, against communists, the British, the Malays and non-communist Chinese were all united. Finally, communists were defeated. Then, through a negotiation with the Alliance Party, a dominant nationalist party, the British withdrew in 1957.



Ques - What problems were germane to the decolonization process on the Malay Peninsula? (UPSC-2017)

Ans- In 1940s, almost all of colonies of western powers in South-East Asia came to face two challenges. First challenge was that of Japanese conquest and the second was growing influence of communism. Britain came to confront same challenges in Malaya.

This region had fallen under Japanese occupation in 1942 and was regained by Britain in 1945 when Japan surrendered after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then Malay's nationalists including Malays, Chinese and Indians, three different ethnic groups, started to demand liberation from the British rule. But even after that, the British decided to stay there due to two reasons. Firstly, Britain suffered an economic hardship after the war. Therefore the exploitation of national resources in colonies had taken on new importance in the light of Britain's depleted exchequer and a largely crippled economy at home. In particular, rubber and tin exports necessitated the maintenance of British control of Malaya.

Secondly, Chinese communists had expanded their power in course of the fight against Japanese between 1942 and 1945. Then, after 1945, they emerged to be a powerful political force in Malaya. It was a matter of utmost concern for the British, as to put a check over communism was a part of the German policy towards western powers. So, the British fought against guerillas with determination while making a joint front with non-communist elements of Malaysia. Consequently, communist guerillas were defeated. Then the British made a peaceful exit from Malaya in 1957.

In this way, the British experience in Malaya was definitely different from the French experience in Indio-China.

Indonesia–

- In Southeast Asia, the liberation movement in Indonesia more or less took the same turn. In course of the Second World War, Indonesia also fell a prey to Japanese occupation and after exit of Japan in mid-August Indonesia was also vacated. Then once again, Holland

initiated to re-occupy her old colony and as she was pre-occupied with home affairs so British government of India came to take charge of Indonesia on the behalf of Holland. But in the meantime, a nationalist party under Dr. Sukarno, which had strengthened its position under Japanese government, opposed the move with tooth and nail.

- It was at that time even communist resurgence resurfaced, but Dr. Sukarno's party countered it. As Dr. Sukarno was having an anti-communist posture so he earned the sympathy of western countries to liberate Indonesia. Then colonial power Holland had to fill the pinch of international pressure as well. Even Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru, played a pivotal role in mobilising international diplomacy in favour of Indonesia. He organized a conference of Asian countries on the issue of liberation of Indonesia in 1949. Finally, due to intervention of UNO, Indonesia's independence could be ensured.

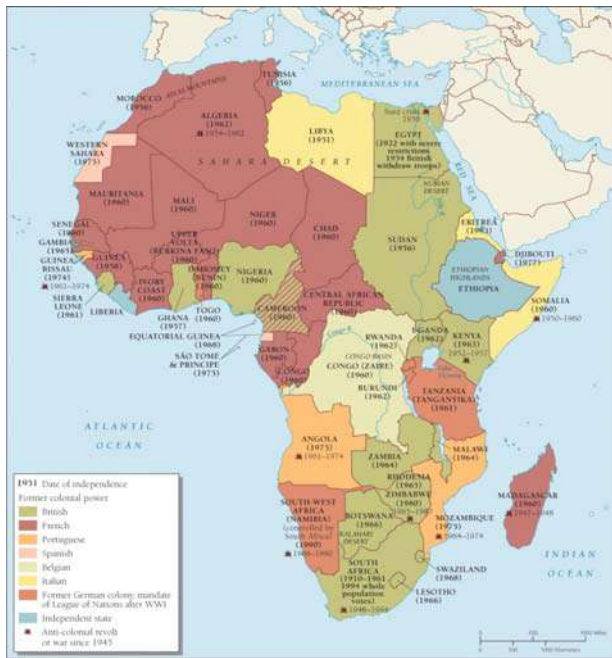
Vietnam—

- The case of Indo-China was quite different and it turned out to be a hot issue in international diplomacy. Indo-China was a French colony but it was conquered by Japan in course of the Second World War. After the exit of Japan in August 1945, France tried to regain its old position but in the meantime, a communist leader, Ho Chi Minh installed in North Vietnam a communist government in the name of Vietnamese Republic. Then civil war broke out in Vietnam as the France wanted to capture it again. In 1954, the United Nations divided Vietnam into northern and southern parts.

- The Vietnam War pitted the communist North Vietnam and its southern allies, known as the Viet Cong, against South Vietnam and its principal ally, the United States. The war began in 1954 (though the conflict in the region stretches back to the mid-1940s) and continued against the backdrop of an intense Cold War.
- Growing opposition to the war in the United States led to bitter divisions among the Americans. President Richard Nixon ordered the withdrawal of U.S. forces in 1973. In 1975, communist forces seized control of Saigon, ending the Vietnam War, and the country was unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam the following year.

■ Indian Contribution to liberation of Africa—

- In the following ways the Indian liberation movement gave support to the liberation of African countries-
 1. Tunisia, Morocco and Gold Coast had placed the demand of liberation but colonial power had continuously rejected their demand for freedom, but once India got independence in 1947, the demand for their liberation could not be avoided for a longer time and finally Tunisia and Morocco got independence in 1956, while Gold Coast emerged to be an independent nation in the name of Ghana in 1958.
 2. At least two African leaders, Nkrumah of Ghana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, clearly mentioned in their autobiography that they were largely inspired by Indian independence.
 3. Furthermore, Gandhian Satyagrah gave a new technique of protest to the African National Congress in South Africa. In fact, the leader of ANC, Albert Luthuli and later Nelson Mandela fell under the spell of Gandhi.



■ Liberation movements in Africa:

- If we observe the process of decolonization in Africa, we find that the process of decolonization seemed to be long and arduous. In some countries, fortunately, the process remained a bit smoother, but in others, it turned to be violent.

Western Africa:

- If we assess the entire process of decolonization in West Africa, we find that except Algeria in other West African countries transfer of power was negotiated relatively peacefully. Here the model of colonial liberation was prepared by Ghana.
- In fact, in the region of West Africa there emerged a middle class which was the product of the colonial rule. Western education influenced a number of Indigenous intellectuals. Some of them were the product of missionary schools. Some African intellectuals were associated even with lower government jobs under the British and French government. Some Africans even moved to western countries in order to get higher education. Apart

from that, some Black intellectuals of West Africa came in contact with the Black movement in U.S.A.

- The pioneer of decolonization in western Africa was to be Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Decolonization in Ghana was thought to be reasonably safe there were no White settlers whose racial privileges needed special protection. The process followed in other countries of West Africa such as Senegal, Zambia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leon, Mauritania etc. The case of Algeria seems to be exceptional where France was having a greater stake in the colony. So, it took the form of a military conflict.

Eastern Africa:

- In Eastern Africa, the process of liberation appeared to be a bit more difficult as in countries like Egypt, Sudan, and Kenya etc. British were having a greater stake in these colonies. If Ghana prepared the model of liberation of colonies in West Africa, Kenya prepared its model in east Africa. Suez Canal crisis in 1956 put a death knell to British colonialism in Africa. Still, British resisted the liberation of Kenya where Mau Mau movement created a larger pressure on White settlers.

South Africa:

- In South Africa, a new type of colonization was visible. In fact, White settlers in South Africa got autonomy first from metropolitan state then complete freedom. After that, White settlers in South Africa introduced the worst type of colonization on Black majority, Bantus. That was known as apartheid. It does not simply represent racial policy rather it represented the most formidable type of racial discrimination based on complete

social segregation of Black population. Later, due to consistent movement against the system and continuous pressure from world community, the system gave way to a democratic government.

Ques:- The anti-colonial struggles in west Africa were led by the new elites of western educated Africans. Elucidate. (UPSC-2016)

Ans:- The post-Second World War era witnessed fast-track course of decolonization in Asia and Africa. The process of decolonization in Africa started a bit late and it continued for nearly more than two decades. When we observe the process of the liberation of colonies we find that the pace and the timing of the liberation of colonies were decided by the nature of leadership in a colony, the nature of relationship between the colony and the metropolitan state, the status of the white settlers in the colony and also by the quantum of the stake the metropolitan state had in the colony.

The nature of leadership appeared to be a bit different in West Africa. In this region there emerged a middle class which was the product of the colonial rule. Some of them were like English educated Indian leaders. While some others were the product of missionary schools. Some African intellectuals were associated even with lower government jobs under the British and the French government. Some Africans even moved to western countries in order to get higher education. Apart from that, some black intellectuals of West Africa came in touch with the Black movement in USA. All these elements formed the part of modern intelligentsia which promoted the cause of liberation through constitutional methods.

The pioneer of decolonization in West Africa was Ghana's Kwame Nkruma who was greatly influenced even by the liberation

movement in India. It was a British colony and its liberation was thought to be reasonably safe. There were no white settlers whose racial privileges needed special protection. This process followed even in other countries of West Africa such as Senegal, Zambia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, Mauritania etc. The case of Algeria seemed to be exceptional where France had a greater stake in the colony. So, it took the form of a military conflict.

In this way in West Africa rise of a western educated intelligentsia gave a new turn to the national movement.

■ **Did colonialism come to an end or did it change its form after the liberation of the Asian-African colonies?**

- Colonialism did not end rather it changed its form and it manifested itself in a non-formal way. Its manifestation can be seen as follows-

1. In economic field:

- Formation of organizations such as IMF, World Bank and GATT to maintain their economic dominance just after the decolonization.
- Presently, to open the service sector and capital investment in third world countries in the name of economic liberalization.

2. In social field:

- To characterise non-Europeans as 'Oriental' and a policy of racial discrimination against them.

3. In cultural field:

- To divide the world into the central region and the peripheral region by the western intellectuals and making attempts to prove that all the important and progressive ideas are originated in the central region and from there they expanded into the peripheral one.
- Western intellectuals maintained their

dominance and hegemony over humanity subjects like history, sociology, political science, anthropology, and other subjects after making research on them and their analysis was inclined to prove the superiority of the West. This is probably the most dangerous form of colonialism.

- A postmodernist thinker, Michel Foucault, has given the concept of power-knowledge i.e. knowledge is superimposed by the superior authority.

■ Spread of Cold War in other parts of the world:

- Up to the end of 1940s, the cold war was confined to western Europe, but it was from 1950s onwards that the cold war expanded to the region of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In fact, to both the superpowers this point became crystal clear that in this cold war that power which was having the access to the vast resources of the world could have the excel on the other.
- So, both the superpowers, the USA and USSR, formulated a wide strategy to expand its influence in the vast region of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The USA decided to take following steps-
 1. It established military base in different regions of the world, for example, in Turkey, Pakistan and in Japan.
 2. In order to put a check on the expansion of communist ideas, it took initiative in forming military blocks like Baghdad Pact in West Asia (1955) and SEATO (Southeast Asia treaty organization) in Southeast Asia in 1954.
 3. The USA propagated the Domino theory in context of Southeast Asia and the Eisenhower Doctrine in relation to west Asia. Furthermore, the USA revived the Munro doctrine in order to counter the Communism in Latin America.

- On the other hand, even USSR was ready to give a reply to capitalist power. USSR, while putting its ideological compulsion aside, developed an alliance and friendship even with non-communist countries.

Major World crisis during Cold War Period

■ Korean Crisis (1950-53)

• Causes:

1. The division of Korea into two zones along the 38th parallel was the after effect of the two world wars.
 2. In 1950 by Chinese backing and with the support of Russian arms North Korea invaded and conquered South Korea.
 3. A joint command was constituted under the leadership of American commander, Macarther, with an objective to liberate South Korea.
 4. The joint command after liberating South Korea encroached the line and tried to conquer North Korea. Then the Chinese carried a counter-invasion on joint command.
- **Impact:** Korean crisis internationalised the cold war.

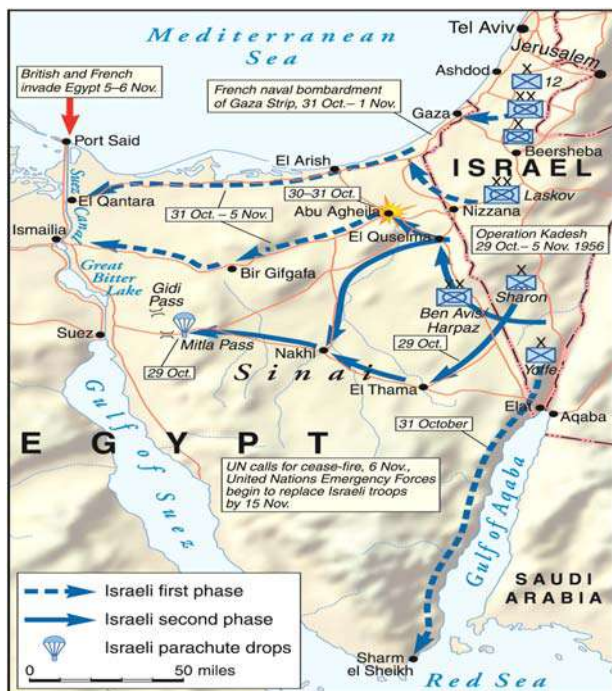


■ Suez Canal Crisis (1956)

• Causes:

1. Western block under Britain expected Egypt to fall in line with its foreign policy and with this purpose economic assistance for Aswan dam was announced.

2. But the head of Egypt, Nasser did not follow the line and extended recognition to communist China, so in reaction, Britain withheld the amount.
3. In reaction to the British move, Nasser terminated the lease of the Suez canal and nationalised it.
4. In retaliation, Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt.
- **Impact:** After the decline of British power in west Asia a vacuum was created and that was filled by the USA.



Ques:- What were the events that led to the Suez Crisis in 1956? How did it deal a final blow to Britain's self image as a world power? (UPSC -2014)

Ans: - Suez Canal crisis was the extension of cold war politics in Middle East. During the cold war period both the blocks tried to rally the maximum number of client nations behind them.

It was in this context that the western block under USA and Britain tried to win Egypt to its side. Therefore Egypt was given a very mouth-watering proposal in the form of a very favourable economic assistance package for construction of Aswan dam on

the river Nile. Although Gamal Abdel Nasser welcomed the proposal but he was not ready to restructure his foreign policy in favour of western block. To the frustration of the western powers he extended recognition to a communist country, China.

Such a gesture on the part of Egypt upset the western block so much so that Britain made an announcement of withholding the amount of economic assistance on Aswan dam. As a counter measure Egyptian President, Nasser, terminated British lease on Suez Canal and nationalized Suez Canal on the plea that he would mobilise the required resources to carry forward with the construction of the project. In retaliation Britain and France in association with Israel invaded Egypt. It culminated in the so called Suez Canal crisis.

Under severe pressure of world public opinion and the verdict of UNO, Britain had to withdraw from the Suez Canal. This proved to be a land mark event in international politics. Britain already had faced the situation of economic decline in post-second world war era. Then Suez Canal crisis put a death knell to its super power status. Once a power vacuum was created due to the decline of British power in west Asia, it was quickly filled up by USA. Therefore USA emerged to be the net gainer at the loss of Britain.

■ Vietnam Crisis (1954-75)

• Causes:

1. Once Japan withdrew from Vietnam after 1945 a communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, established a republic in North Vietnam while, the French captured south. The issue became part of the cold war.
2. Later in 1954, UNO divided Vietnam into northern and southern parts but after two years through a plebiscite, the future of Vietnam was to be decided.

3. But due to American pressure, plebiscite was postponed and the USA sent its army to crush the movement.

- **Impact:**

1. It proved a waterloo for the USA, as it could not prevent the reunification of Vietnam even after sacrificing 58000 soldiers.
2. It proved the popular nature of the Asian variant of communism which was different from the European variant.



■ Cuba Missile Crisis (1963)

- **Causes:**

1. A guerilla leader, Fidel Castro, captured the power in Cuba and started to resist American imperialism.
2. When USA tried to crush his government, he developed intimate relations with Soviet Union. The USSR installed medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba.
3. USA opposed and expected USSR to withdraw missiles, on the other hand, USSR initiated to install more such missiles. So, there appeared the situation of direct confrontation.

- **Impact:**

1. The danger of nuclear war compelled both the superpowers to think over detente.
2. It created differences between USA and France about NATO's policy.



Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

- What is the exact meaning of the Non-Aligned Movement, this issue has always turned to be a matter of controversy. Sometimes it confers with the terms neutrality, non-commitment, isolationism etc., but non-alignment doesn't mean the policy of neutrality. In fact, this policy was followed by Switzerland and Austria in international politics. Likewise, it doesn't mean either non-commitment or isolationism. In fact, the policy of isolationism had been followed by the USA from the era of the Munro Doctrine to the Second World War. On the contrary, Non-alignment implies active participation in international politics. It means to form an independent decision on important international issues without getting influenced by any superpower.
- At the time of independence itself, while addressing the Constituent Assembly, Pt. Nehru mentioned the question of joining a particular group or power block. India made it clear that it would remain non-aligned. Later, it took the form of a

movement known as the NAM. Its basis was prepared in the Bandung Conference of 1955, where 29 Asia-African countries participated, but formally NAM was launched at the Belgrade conference of 1961.

■ **Factors which prepared the base for NAM–**

- i. For neo-independent third world countries, development was the priority. But to join any block meant to spend its rare resources on military preparation.
- ii. After maintaining a non-aligned posture, the third world nation could get the economic assistance from both the block for their economic reconstruction programs.
- iii. Some nations like India & Egypt believed that, the policy of non-alignment was inherent in their culture itself.
- iv. Some of the third world nations believed that there is no value of their political independence if they couldn't have a free voice on international forums.

■ **Contributions of NAM–**

- i. Right from its beginning at Belgrade, the policy of non-alignment left its imprint on international politics. The NAM has always touched the important international issues. For example, after its first session, it raised the issue of a nuclear test by France and simultaneously, it demanded the membership of the Chinese republic in the UNO and Security Council. Likewise, right from the very beginning, it raised the issue of apartheid in South Africa as well as the issue of colonialism.
- ii. It gave an alternative forum to the newly independent Asia-African countries in a cold war-torn world.
- iii. It promoted the development of consensus among the third world nations on international forum.

- iv. It also demanded democratization of the world economic relations. G-77 was created within UNO at its initiative.
- v. From 1970's onwards, even super powers started to take NAM seriously.

■ **Limitations–**

- i. In true sense, NAM didn't work as a cohesive organisation and during the heyday of cold war, some of its members remained inclined to Soviet Union and some others to USA.
- ii. On many occasions it failed to stop international crisis, particularly during the first Gulf war (1991) its failure was clear.
- iii. Even on the front of decolonization, disarmament and the removal of apartheid it got limited success.

■ **Relevance of NAM in present world–**

- At the time of the Belgrade Conference of 1989, when the cold war was likely to end, there was a very important question about the relevance of NAM. Particularly after the disintegration of USSR and Warsaw pact, a question emerged that if there are no military blocks, then what's the relevance of non-alignment?
 - But when we observe minutely, we find that even in the post-Cold War era, NAM has its relevance but in an altered form. Following factors favour the relevance of NAM at the present time–
- i. After UNO, it is the largest world organisation. Its significance lies in the fact that it is an exclusive organisation of the third world nations. So among the third world nations, it can function as a very important forum.
 - ii. Keeping aside the term non-alignment movement for a while, if we view the basic objective of the organisation we will find that its main objective was to protect the interest of the third world nations. At that

time, the biggest threat was Cold War, so it talked in terms of non-alignment to protect their interest. Even today, the interest of the third world nations is threatened due to the new factors in international relations i.e., economic liberalization, environmental issues and terrorism. So, the third world nations are in the dire need of such an organisation where they can articulate their views and formulate a common program. As NAM is already there, so this requirement can be fulfilled by it.

- But a change in the nature and the objective of the organisation is urgently required. Only then it can face new challenges and tackle new international issues.

United Nations Organisation (UNO)

■ **Background for the formation of UNO**

- i. The massacre of the Second World War, in which almost 4 million people perished and more than 2 million people became homeless.
- ii. The roots of the United Nations can be traced back to August 1941, when the Atlantic charter was issued. The Atlantic charter was signed by US President Roosevelt and British Prime minister Churchill on a battleship in the Atlantic Ocean and it declared a few common principles for the future world order. For example, it declared that without freely expressed wishes of the people there should be no territorial change and no country would be able to resort to the policy of aggression. This prepared the basis for the future peace organization.
- iii. Declaration for the formation of the United Nation was issued on January 1, 1942.
- iv. The United Nations' charter was signed

by 51 states at San Francisco conference, which was held in April 25, 1945.

■ **Organs of UNO**

- It has six main organs-
 - i. **The General Assembly-** It is an important organ of the UN. It is constituted while taking all UN member states with having equal voting rights.
 - ii. **The Security Council-** It consists of 15 members, of which five are permanent and ten are non-permanent. The permanent members have veto power to reject the majority view if required. The Security Council is known as the heart of the UN, as various types of work including taking important decisions like inclusion of new members, sanction against any errant country, declaration of war etc., form part of its specific rights.
 - iii. **Economic and Social Council-** It assists the General assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. UNESCO, IMF, ILO all work under this council.
 - iv. **The Trusteeship Council-** It was formed in 1945 to oversee the decolonization of those dependent territories that were placed under the international trusteeship system created by the UN charter as a successor to the League of Nations mandate system. It made sure that the imperial powers couldn't reassert their influence on these territories.
 - v. **The International Court of Justice-** It is the principal judicial organ of the UN. The judges had diplomatic immunity, but their judgment is not binding on the member states.
 - vi. **The Secretariat-** It is headed by the UN General Secretary, who is chosen at every 5 years. He is the highest authority in the secretariat and is appointed by the general

Assembly on the recommendations of the Security Council for a five-year term. The General Secretary attracts the attention of the Security Council towards major international issues.

■ **Differences in the structure of League of Nations and that of the UNO**

- As UNO was formed after the failure of the League of Nations, thus an attempt was made to make correction in the mistakes committed earlier.
- i. UNO is more representative organization compared to the League of Nations. Its membership list is much larger.
- ii. The equal power which attributed to the Assembly and the Council was considered the main reason for the failure of League of Nations. Thus, in UNO, Security Council was given more power than the General assembly.
- iii. Even dominant countries did not have any special power in the League of Nations. Thus, they didn't get any motivation to work for world peace. Thus in UNO, apart from the principle of equality of the nations, even the concept of special status for powerful countries has been accepted. This exists in the form of 'Veto' power given to the five permanent members of the Security Council.
- iv. League of Nations didn't have any military arrangement but UNO has such provision. It can give the mandate of military action as well.

■ **Achievements of UNO**

- i. **Political-** UNO played an important role in resolving various international conflicts. The Suez Canal Crisis of 1956, Congo Crisis of 1961, the Second World War Gulf Crisis of 1990-91, Cambodian Crisis of 1993 etc. are few good examples.

ii. **Economic-** It encourages new research through its specialised agencies like the IMF, ILO etc. to improve economic scenario of the world.

iii. **Social-** It achieved major breakthroughs in the field of health as well; for example, Small Pox and Polio are under control now. It became possible through huge vaccination programmes. Recently, major efforts have been made for the control of AIDS.

iv. **Cultural-** UNO's efforts to restore forgotten cultures of the ancient world are commendable.

■ **Limitations of UNO**

- i. It has limited success in political field. Due to the provision of veto arrangement, the whole system couldn't work properly during the Cold War. Even after the Cold War it is not much effective. For example, the Iraq war (US invasion on Iraq) in 2003, the Libya war (2011) and the current Syrian war couldn't be stopped or handled properly by UNO.
- ii. It doesn't have any proper funding arrangements. Since it is mainly dependent on US funds, thus US enjoy undue influence in the organisation.
- iii. UNO depends on member nations for military support. But there is no compulsion for the member country to supply the army.
- iv. UNO was formed in 1945 and its structure remained almost unchanged till date. Now a lot of things have changed including the power status of various countries. Countries in the Security Council don't enjoy the same power status today. Thus, this arrangement should be changed and new roles should be given to rising powers like India, Brazil, Japan, and Nigeria etc.

