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Political Philosophies (Forms & Effect on the Society)

CAPITALISM

Industrial capitalism implies the investment of capital in manufacturing industry, with a subordination of labour to such investment and a focus on the maximum extraction of profits as returns on investment. It may be distinguished from trading capitalism or finance capitalism which has commercial and financial transactions respectively as their focus.

Dictionary of Social Sciences explained capitalism as denoting an economic system in which the greater proportion of economic life, particularly ownership of and investment in production goods, is carried on under private (i.e. non-governmental) auspices through the process of economic competition with an avowed incentive of profit.

Wealth amassed by capitalism differs in quality as well as quantity from that accumulated in pre-capitalist societies. Wealth under capitalism is typically accumulated as commodities or objects produced for sale rather than for direct use by its owners.

Rise of capitalism is associated with three main features: (1) the growth of the capitalist spirit i.e. the desire for profits, (2) the accumulation of capital, and (3) the development of capitalist techniques.

Capitalism: Birth to Bloom

In the middle ages, the form assumed by commercial capitalism was entirely different. In England, and in Holland, the birth of capitalism can be dated from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The capital amassed was available to fund the famous chartered companies (Dutch East India Company 1602; West India Company 1621). It also provided the circulating capital for merchants engaged in the 'putting-out system' whereby they supplied raw materials to domestic

handicrafts workers and marketed the product. This stage of capitalism based upon riches amassed from commerce is known as commercial capitalism. Early capitalism is the combination of commercial and financial activities, of trade and banking. Under the 'putting-out' system, or *Verlagssystem*, (as it was called in Holland), a wealthy merchant (capitalist) buys the raw material, pays a variety of labourers to work it up into a finished product at home or in shops, and sells the finished product.

The whole industry became merchant-dominated and craftsmen became mere wage earners. It was also known as the domestic system as the work was done in the homes of individual workers instead of in the shop of master craftsman. Capitalism did exist in ancient world in the form of commerce as well as guild system and merchant dominated putting-out system in the medieval world.

One can also distinguish the periods of early capitalism, full capitalism (*Hochkapitalismus*) and late capitalism. In the period of early capitalism, which lasted from the 13th century to the middle of the 18th century, economic agents, i.e. the entrepreneurs and the workers operated within the old feudal framework and retained all the features of their handicraft origin and pre-capitalist mentality. The output of factories and manufactories was still not very significant. In the period of full capitalism, which closed with the outbreak of the World War, the scope of economic activity was expanded enormously, and scientific and technological application was also remarkably broadened. The period of late capitalism can be best characterized by describing the changes which capitalism has been undergoing since the World War I.

Evolution and Types Of Capitalism

Marxist historians have identified a series

of stages in the evolution of capitalism; merchant or commercial capitalism, agrarian capitalism, industrial capitalism and state capitalism. The first stage, i.e. mercantile or commercial capitalism provided the initial thrust and impetus for capitalism in the sense that merchants started becoming entrepreneurs to cater to market demands by employing wages labourers as well as by exploiting the existing craft guilds. Commercial Capitalism metamorphosed into industrial capitalism, which again, according to Marxist economists, gave way to socialism.

Commercial Capitalism and agrarian capitalism were, therefore, two forms of capitalism that overlapped with each other, the difference between them being that one emerged out of commercial surplus while the other out of agricultural surplus. Agrarian capitalism sometimes metamorphosed fully into commercial capitalism i.e. invested the entire surplus accumulated from agriculture into commerce and sometimes transformed directly into industrial capitalism by investing in industrial development alone.

Sometimes capital was accumulated from both these sources, i.e. commerce's and agriculture, and paved the path for the rise of industrial capitalism. Agrarian capitalism was emphasized by Immanuel Wallerstein who adopted a world-economy perspective, and considered its origin to be rooted in the agrarian capitalism.

According to Wallerstein, in world economy, there existed certain zones—like the periphery, the semi-periphery and the core. The strong states imposed unequal exchange upon the weak states. Therefore, the strong states or the core dominated the entire world economy in agrarian capitalism which was the essence of a national economy where production is separated from consumption, and is made a source of profit after being utilized in profit-making enterprises. Agricultural revolution, therefore, played a very significant role in the growth of capitalism by feeding a growing population and by creating a surplus to meet the demand for industrial raw materials.

A fourth form of Capitalism is –state capitalism—defined by Lenin as a system under

which state takes over and exploits means of production in the interest of the class which controls the state; but the phrase, 'state capitalism', is also used to describe any system of state collectivization, without reference to its use for the benefit of any particular class. There is a fifth form in which there is an increased element of state intervention either in terms of welfare programmes of lessening the impact of business cycle. This is welfare capitalism or protected capitalism. Precisely, capital accumulation out of the profits of merchants to be invested in various economic activities was what is called commercial capitalism. It took different forms in different stages. For example, it existed in some of its elements in ancient Egypt and in ancient Rome. The ancient times were the age of capitalist accumulation, rather than capitalist production.

History of Capitalism

From 1100 on, real accumulation of wealth were made, frequently in the first instance in the form of coin, which might later be invested in land, building, or ships, in some instances these accumulations sprang from agricultural surplus. Under Commercial Capitalism capital accumulation took place out of the profits of merchants, quite independent of the employment of workers for wages. This was the point which distinguished commercial capitalism from other forms of capitalism. The ancient period, therefore, was the age more of commercial accumulation rather than of commercial capitalism.

Commercial Capitalism: Features, Evolution and Results

According to Sombart, Commercial Capitalism or 'early capitalism' operated within the feudal framework. Main feudal features of this phase were as follows. Work was generally done in the homes of the producers and not under the factory shades of modern industries. Not full-scale machines, but simple tools were used for manufacturing. And many a times these factors of production were owned by the workers themselves. Since factors of production were limited, manufacturing was also on a

much smaller scale as compared to goods produced in factories. One man, i.e., the merchant entrepreneur, controlled the whole process from start to finish. At the same time certain capitalist features were also visible. e.g. Incentive of profit was the main driving force behind the entire process. With increasing desire for profits, the demand for labour was rising tremendously with the result that the merchant capitalists were hiring more and more workers. Financial advances were provided to the producers by the capitalists. These could be equated to wages under industrial capitalism. The final product as well as the entire profit was appropriated by the capitalists.

Evolution of Commercial Capitalism

Three major themes can be identified in evolution of Commercial Capitalism. The first is the transfer of organization and control of production from the imperial and aristocratic strata of pre-capitalist states into the hands of mercantile elements. Second theme deals with how Feudal social relationships were replaced by market relationships based upon exchange and this in turn steadily improved the wealth and social importance of the merchants against the aristocracy. Economic organization of production and distribution through purchase and sale dominated the entire scene. It resulted in the separation of a traditionally seamless web of rulership into two realms. One of them involved the exercise of the traditional political tasks of rulership, and the other realm was limited to the production and distribution of goods and services. Third theme is related to the presence of an ideological framework based upon profit which contrasts sharply with that of pre-capitalist formations.

Changes: Guilds - Putting Out - Commercial Capitalism

With the decomposition of the feudal order formation of mercantile capitalism or commercial capitalism took root. The system of manufacture at this time was widely through guilds, that is, economic and social association of merchants or craftspeople in the same trade of craft to protect the interests of its members. The guild system

declined from the 16th century because of changing trade and work conditions which led to the emergence of the putting-out system which developed in the woollen industry. Although the scale of production was insignificant, the organization was basically capitalist.

One can date the capitalist era as beginning in the 16th century. However, historians and economists have referred to this early stage as mercantile or commercial capitalism. Significant progress in the field of trade and commercial capitalism led to immense accumulation of capital and is referred to as the Commercial Revolution.

In the paper and textile industry, one of the main reasons for European success was the mechanization of the productive process by the adoption of the water mill. The most spectacular consequences of the supremacy acquired by Europe in the technical field were the geographic explorations and the subsequent economic, political and military expansion of Europe. Discovery in Mexico and Peru led to rich deposits of gold and especially silver. In 1503 precious metals also arrived from the Antilles. Precious metals became more abundant; prices rose because demand for goods had risen because the abundance of precious metals had made people richer and production could not expand proportionately. As a result, the rise in demand resulted in a rise in price.

The period 1500 to 1620 was the 'Price Revolution'. Between 1500 and 1620, the average level of prices in the various European countries increased by 300 to 400 per cent. The net result was that the merchant and banking bourgeoisie gathered strength. With banking and merchant bourgeoisies having acquiring immense fortunes and national states having mastered the means of conquest and domination, the conditions were ready in the 16th century for the future development of capitalism.

Transformation of the European trade occurred as a result of the overseas expansion and the influx of bullion. Most significant changes were: growth in international trade, ending of regionalism, trans-oceanic trade,

growth of markets, and new kinds of commercial organizations.

Banking was very limited in the Middle Ages due to moral disapproval and was carried on mostly by the Jew. Usury was common among the Jews since the 11th century because they were the real moneylenders. The prohibitions against usury issued by the church could mean nothing to them since they were not Christians. By the 15th century, however, the banking business had spread to southern Germany and France. The first important Bank was the Bank of Sweden (1657). The most important one the Bank of England was founded in 1694.

Formation of regulated companies, i.e. an association of merchants grouped together for a common venture, was another feature of the Commercial Revolution. A standard system of money was adopted by every important state to be used for all transaction within its borders. The creation of national currencies was therefore really an important achievement of the Commercial Revolution.

In the 16th century, the flow of spices from the East and the bullion from the West were important. But gradually new overseas products became staples of consumption in Europe and grew in commercial importance—indigo from the East, porcelain from China, cocoa from America, tea and coffee from the Far East and the Near East, etc. till the end of the 17th century, capitalism can be called commercial capitalism, as it was capital dominated by commercial activity.

Mercantilism

Mercantilism, a term coined by Adam Smith, played an important role in the evolution of Commercial Capitalism. Maurice Dobb refers to it as 'a system of state regulated exploitation through trade—essential the economic policy in age of primitive accumulation. Mercantilism can be said to be a state controlled economic policy which aimed at regulating the trade and commerce of the nation, as well as its factories and manufacturers with the primary purpose of ultimately to concentrate and wield political power.

It had certain common characteristic features like bullionism, paternalism, imperialism, economic nationalism, etc. Bullionism meant that the prosperity of a nation was determined by the quantity of precious metals within its borders, became an essential element of mercantilism. Mercantilism is closely interlinked with Commercial Capitalism as growth of the latter attracted the attention of the state and although the activities of the merchants were sometimes obstructed and hampered by the policy of mercantilism and therefore the merchants were forced to oppose mercantilist policies on those occasions. On the whole the merchants were positively benefited by the state policies like creating markets by acquiring colonies and thereby expanding exports by building fleets, by providing protection against foreign goods by raising the tariff, by maintaining banks, by giving subsidies, etc.

Feudalism To Capitalism

Two main points of views are available for explaining the demolition of feudal model of production. One view believes that the exchange relations or external trade demolished it. Another view postulates that inner contradictions like exploitation of the peasant by the nobility and unproductive use of economic surplus like expenditure on war and luxury were responsible for the break-down of feudalism.

Dobb raised a point regarding the emergence of capitalism: supersession of serfdom by contractual relations, relation or rise of peasant property. This was the result of the inner contradictions in the feudal relation between the nobility and the peasantry. The very misery of the peasantry created the danger of depopulation of manors. The effects of the nobility's expenditure on unproductive activities like were equally disastrous. Overexploitation of labour, unproductive use of economic surplus and exhaustion of power and opportunities to increase lord's revenue made the feudal mode increasingly untenable. Dobb attached producers released from feudal constraints and engaged in the petty mode of production. Le Roy Ladurie stressed the importance of the demographic model implying that the long-term trends of the

feudal economy conformed to the Malthusian sequence of population growth outstripping food supply and then demographic decline due to calamities like famine; starvation, etc. Abundance of labour in the 16th century, due to population growth gave a boost to feudalism. Conversely, feudalism received a blow in the 17th century with a sharp fall in population. This was, in the view of Ladurie, the decisive role of the demographic factor in shaping the nature and sequence of transition.

According to Brenner, the two fundamental problems regarding the transition related to: (i) the decline versus persistence of serfdom and its effects, and (ii) the emergence and predominance of secure small peasant property versus the rise to landlord-large tenant farmer relations on the land. In the 14th and 15 centuries the perpetual class conflict between the second and third social groups resulted in the triumph of the peasantry and serfdom came to an end. In England, however, since the monarchy was dependent on the gentry for taxes, it could not protect the peasantry against the oppression of the gentry and the feudal lords. As a result, the peasantry was ultimately again suppressed by feudalism, leading to the deprivation of land which was subsequently enclosed by the landlords. The successful enclosure movement in England laid the foundation of agrarian capitalism in the 16th century and this facilitated the process of early industrialization. In France, however, the monarchy was directly dependent upon the peasants for taxes. So the landlords could not enclose the lands successfully as the peasants resisted the move. As a result, agrarian capitalism could not develop in France. It was all the more delayed in Eastern Europe where monarchy was extremely weak, feudal were powerful and consequently feudalism continued in its strongest form.

Anderson stressed the importance of town and international trade to the process of capitalist development. His theory is also known as 'electric Marxism.' The putting-out system was much more elaborately developed and manufactories were created when merchant capital was invested in industrial mode of production. The

change of investment from commercial to industrial production was accentuated by the shift in the economic centre from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The metamorphosis of commercial capital into industrial capital was completed basically by two primary factors—the deployment of commercial capital increasingly into industries, thereby transforming it into industrial capital and a significant increase in the number of factories and manufactories. Commercial Capitalism, as mentioned earlier, took different form in different countries.

Another effect of commercial capitalism was a rise in demand for consumer and capital goods—textiles, wine, weapons, equipment of various kinds, etc. and also for commercial and transport services for the transportation of finished goods as well as raw materials from one place to another. The slave trade resulted in transportation of black population to America. Rise in demand resulted in increased production. The 'Price Revolution' was therefore an inevitable consequence of Commercial Capitalism. Commercial Capitalism resulted in the growth of markets that again had a very important outcome—the rise of towns. From the nucleus of small trading centres, they slowly and gradually evolved into flourishing, prosperous towns with all characteristics of urban civilization. The Price Revolution, on the other hand, led to the rise of the bourgeoisie class. Nobles, who could not cope, became heavily in debt. Merchants, Businessmen, traders, Lawyers, i.e. the bourgeoisie, made fortunes and thereby emerged as a powerful force in society.

It was in the phase of industrial capitalization that capitalism is said to have achieved its classical form. Capitalism grew over a long period of time. Consequently, historians differ as to the point in time where the phenomenon may be reasonably said to exist. A capitalist system implies, in the first place, that property is predominantly in private hands and the allocation of goods, services, and factors of production (land, labour and capital) is made mainly through market mechanisms with capitalist responding to profit signals, workers to wage incentives, and consumers to

prices. Most striking characteristic of capitalist performance has been a sustained (although not continuous) upward thrust in productivity and real income per head, which was achieved by a combination of innovation and accumulation. The development of capitalism entailed a revolution in economic relations, institutions, and attitudes; on occasions it involved violence on the part of proponents and opponents alike; and it gave birth to new social classes. The expanding market economies of medieval Europe, with various institutional accompaniments (such as the development of cities, merchant houses, and guilds) were the foundation on which later capitalism developed. Somewhere in the late Middle Age the economic centre of Europe shifted from the Mediterranean littoral of Northern Europe. Modern capitalism first became stabilized between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. But a decisive leap came forward in the nineteenth century, first in England, with the merging of a capitalist economy with the immense technological power released by the industrial Revolution.

Capitalism is a term denoting a mode of production in which capital in its various forms is the principal means of production. The term 'capital' (capital, from the Latin word *caput* of 'head') first emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, denoting stocks of merchandise, sums of money, and money carrying interest. In everyday speech now, the word 'capital' is generally used to describe an asset owned by an individual as wealth. Capital might then denote a sum of money to be invested in order to secure a rate of return, or it might denote the investment itself: Capital is an asset which generates an income flow for its owner. The Marxist concept of capital first, capital is something which in its generality is quite specific to capitalism. While capital predates capitalism, in capitalist society the production of capital predominates, and dominates every other sort of production. Capital cannot be understood apart from capitalist relation of production. Indeed, capital is not a thing at all, but a social relation which appears in the form of a thing. Although capital is undoubtedly about making money, the assets which 'make' money embody a particular

relation between those who have money and those who do not, such that not only is money 'made' but also the private property relations which engender such a process are themselves continually reproduced.

It is the private ownership of capital in the hands of a class—the class of capitalists to the exclusion of the mass of the population—which is a central feature of capitalism as a mode of production. Only Marxists have consistently sought to integrate in a single theoretical construction the economic, social, political and cultural dimension of the capitalist phenomenon. Neither Max Weber nor Joseph Schumpeter, nor Friedrich von Hayek, all of whom attempted to construct on-Marxist frameworks to understand capitalism, succeeded in supplying a satisfactory framework. Weber's intellectual enterprise was essentially one of comparative history, designed to uncover the roots of the unique Western development of what he called 'modern rationality', which was intrinsic to the capitalist system. Schumpeter remained essentially an economist and his most durable contributions have remained in economics, for example, his theory of the economic role of entrepreneurship. Hayek made some highly astute observations about the relation of capitalism to various other phenomena in modern society, such as democracy and the rule of law, but he never set out to construct a comprehensive theory embracing all these relationships. The term 'capitalism' is more recent than 'capitalist'. Adam Smith, commonly regarded as the classical theorist, did not use the term at all. Capitalism can be said to be characterized by, production for sale rather than own use by numerous producers. A market where labour power too is a commodity and is bought and sold, the mode of exchange being money wages for a period of time (time rate) or for a specified task (piece rate). The existence of a market for labour contracts with its absence in either slavery or serfdom. The predominance is not universal mediation of exchange by the use of money. This aspect accentuates the importance of banks and other financial intermediary institution. Capitalism or the managerial agent controls the production (labour) process, choice of techniques,

the output mix, the work environment, and the arrangement for selling the output control by the capitalist or the manager of financial decisions. It is the power of the capitalist entrepreneur to incur debts or float shares or mortgage capital assets to raise finance.

There is a competition between capitals. This increasing competition forces the capitalist to adopt new techniques and practices which will cut costs, and accumulate to make possible the purchase of improved machinery. This competition strengthens the tendency towards concentration of capital in large firms. It is to neutralize competition that monopolies and cartels emerge. A major driving force of capitalist industrialization is the strong propensity to risk capital on new techniques that hold promise of improved profits, in strong contrast to the defensive wariness of the pre-capitalist approach to technology. Some scholars regard the application of science to industry as the distinguishing characteristic of modern industry. Nor were such efforts limited to men of scientific training. Indeed one of the most remarkable features of technical advance in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the large proportion of major inventions made by ingenious tinkerers, self-taught mechanics and engineers. The most significant improvements in technology involve the use of machinery and mechanical power to transform tasks that had been done far more slowly and laboriously by human or animal power. During the eighteenth century, a notable increase in the use of waterpower occurred in industries such as grain milling, textiles, and metallurgy. It involved the substitution of coal for wood and charcoal as fuel, and the introduction of the steam engine for use in mining, manufacturing and transportation. The use of coal and coke in the smelting process greatly reduced the cost of metals and multiplied their uses, whereas the application of chemical science created a host of new, 'artificial' or synthetic materials.

Though the term 'industrialization' is absent from the work of Marx and Engels, the concept is clearly present. Marx distinguishes 'Modern Industry' or 'The Factory System' or "The Machinery System' from earlier forms of

capitalist production, co-operation and 'Manufacture'. Modern industry is distinguished from manufacture by the central role of machinery. Marx distinguishes two stages in the development of the machinery system. In the first stage, 'simple co-operation, ' there is only a 'conglomeration in the factory of similar and simultaneously acting machines' using a single power source'. In the second stage, a 'complex system of machinery', the product goes through connected series of detailed processes carried out by an interlinked chain of machines. David Landes placed technology at the centre of the Industry Revolution. Industrialization has come to be used as a synonym for sustained economic growth. Expansion of total output alone, however, is not a sufficient criterion of industrialization since if population is rising more rapidly than output, it is compatible with declining real incomes per head. A country which retains a large, even predominant, agricultural sector may be described as industrialized if real incomes rise and technology changes. The expression *révolution industrielle* was first used in the 1820s by French writers who, wishing to emphasize the importance of the mechanization of the French cotton industry then taking place in Normandy and the Nord, compared it with the great political revolution of 1789. It acquired general currency only after the publication in 1884 of Arnold Toynbee's *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England: Popular Addresses, Notes and Other Fragments*. Toynbee dated the British Industries Revolution from 1760. Professor J.U. Nef stressed the essential continuity of history and traced its beginning to 1540-1660, with the new capitalistic industries of Elizabethan England.

In the model put forward by Adam Smith (1723-90) in *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Book 1, the development of a society's wealth-equated with the development of the productivity of labour – is a function of the degree of the division of labour. Specialization of productive tasks – classically achieved through the separation of agriculture and manufacturing, and their assignment to country and town respectively. The division of labour in industrial production

made possible an unprecedented growth in output and productivity. Smith's famous principles that the division of labour is limited by the extent of the market—literally, the size of the area and population linked up via trade relation. For Adam Smith the development of trade and the division of labour unfailingly brought about economic development. The growth of commerce and the growth of liberty mutually determine each other. Smith and his fellow 'political economists' traced the advance of capitalism to the onset of conditions that liberated purportedly inherent human qualities and to the beneficent operation, in market transactions, of an 'invisible hand' that brought the common good out of the conflicting self-interest of all individuals. Commerce could be seen as a key to prosperity, but only its unhindered pursuit would secure the maximum prosperity.

To Marx, capitalism was powerful and dynamic, a superior form of production that promoted economic growth far above anything possible in feudalism. He attributed its appearance not to the release of natural, unchanging human predisposition but to specific economic, political, and legal measures. In Marx's interpretation of the emergence of capitalism two broad perspectives are offered. He first emphasizes the corrosive effect upon the feudal system of mercantile activity, the growth of a world market and new expanding cities. The second variant, evident especially in *Capital*, centres on the 'producer' and the process whereby the producer (agricultural or in the crafts sector) becomes merchant and capitalist. Marx regards the latter as 'the really revolutionary path' to capitalism since this transforms the organization and techniques of production. The primitive (or original) accumulation of capital is a concept developed in Marx's *Capital* and *Grundrisse* to designate the process which generates the preconditions of the ongoing accumulation of capital. In Marx's word, 'primitive accumulation is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production'. A property-less class of wage-labourers, the proletariat, becomes confronted by a class of

capitalists who monopolize the means of production.

Many of Marx's contemporaries saw capital as the result of abstinence and saving, as the original source for accumulation. Marx's point is that primitive accumulation is not an accumulation in this sense at all. Abstinence can only lead to accumulation if capitalist relations of production, or the polarization between a class of capitalists and a class of wage-labourers, are already in existence. Marx argued that since pre-capitalist relations of production are predominantly agricultural, the peasantry having possession of the principal means of production, land, capitalism can only be created by dispossessing the peasantry of the land. Accordingly, the origins of capitalism are to be found in the transformation of relations of production on the land. For Marx the first and foremost effect of the 'agricultural revolution' in England was to expropriate the peasant from the soil and establish capitalist agriculture. Enclosures converted property characterized by shared rights into private property.

For Marx, merchants could foster primitive accumulation by usury, crushing artisan guilds, expanding markets, providing employment or by investing profits. While Marx emphasized domestic cause of proletarianization, he focuses primarily on international commerce in accounting for the genesis of the industrial capitalist. This interpretation stresses the forcefulness, often genocidal, and the unevenness of primitive accumulation. The theory of 'proto-industrialization' (henceforth PI) actually started with Franklin Mendel's, 1969 dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, 'Industrialization and Population Pressure in Eighteenth-Century Flanders.' This was study of the relatively rapid population growth experienced in the internal region of Flanders, where a peasant population combined agriculture with part-time linen manufacture.

PI had distinctive pattern of development. It generally originated in pastoral regions and declining or large-scale agricultural areas. Scholarship on PI emphasizes interconnections among widening markets, rising populations

(especially rural) seeking wage-earning employment, and the search for cheap labour by entrepreneurs. PI is credited with creating the key changes in the generation of supplementary handicraft incomes which will lead to an expansion of population. Accordingly, handicrafts generated the labour supply of the Industrial Revolution. PI will soon begin to encounter diminishing returns as dispersed industry creates difficulties in the collection of output and the control of quality. PI created pressures leading to the factory system and to new technology. PI also is supposed to have led to the accumulation of capital. PI will lead to accumulation of technical knowledge by merchants as a result of their experience with inter-regional and international trade. PI also leads to agricultural surplus and reduces the price of food.

Capitalism was from the beginning, Wallenstein argues, a matter of the world-economy and not of nation states. One with a common political system and one without. These he called, respectively, world-empires and world-economies. North more elements, Wallerstein placed Eastern Europe (but not Russia) and Spanish America at the 'periphery', while the Mediterranean littoral (Spain and the Northern Italian city-states) became a 'semi-periphery'. The core areas had mass market industries, international and local commerce in the hands of an indigenous bourgeoisie, and, relatively advanced and complex forms of agriculture. The peripheral areas were mono-culture, with the cash crops produced on large estates by coerced labour. The semi-peripheral areas were in the process of de-industrializing. In the core states relatively strong state systems emerged. By contrast, the critical feature of the periphery was the absence of a strong state. The semi-periphery was, once again, in between in its polity.

Wallerstein's identified three stages in the development of the world-economy. The first was one of agricultural capitalism, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. In this stage England first ousted the Netherlands from her commercial primacy and then successfully resisted France's attempt to catch up. It was

only in the third stage from the mid-eighteenth century, that capitalism became primarily industrial (rather than agricultural or mercantile). "Industrial revolution" was not merely economic, but social, intellectual and political too. Agriculture's contribution in this respect has been broadly assessed on four counts, namely whether it created a food surplus for the non-rural population; whether it helped to widen home and foreign markets; whether it generated capital for industrial investment; and whether it supplied a labour force for industrial employment.

Effect on society

The pre-capitalist social system that of the ancient regime was one of 'estates.' An estate was a stratum in which all the three major benefits—privilege, power, and prestige—were largely determined at birth and, also were fixed as legal inequalities. The modern bourgeoisie grew out of the Third Estate first demands of this new class was legal equality of all-or at least of those above a certain minimal level of wealth. Max Weber placed the contrast between estates and classes at the core of his theory of social stratification and Marx made this a key criterion in his analysis of what constituted a class. When Marx used the concept of class in political analysis, he held that a class must have a certain degree of cohesion and sense of common purpose, as well as common relationship to the means of production. Feudal estates were too internally stratified to possess this attribute. One very significant change with capitalist industrialization has been the enormous expansion of the middle strata. The basic cause of this development was undoubtedly technological. An ever-smaller portion of the labour force was required for the actual tasks of material production, allowing the diversion of ever larger numbers of workers into administrative activities. There was also a vast expansion of the state bureaucracies.

Effective control over economic resources rather than legal ownership of them is the defining criterion for the top capitalist class. Thus Nicos Poulantzas, in *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* begins by defining the bourgeoisie not in terms of a legal category

of property ownership but in terms of 'economic ownership' (that is, real economic control of the means of production and of the products) and 'possession' (that is, the capacity to put the means of production into operation. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Marx Weber makes it clear that a capitalist enterprise and the pursuit of gain are not at all the same thing, it called for a new type of economic agent, the capitalist entrepreneur. One of Weber's insights that has remained widely accepted is that the capitalist entrepreneur is a very distinctive type of human being. Weber was fascinated by that, he thought to begin with what was a puzzling paradox. In many cases, men—and a few women—evinced a drive towards the accumulation of wealth but at the same time showed a 'ferocious asceticism,' a singular absence of interest in the worldly pleasures that such wealth could buy. Many entrepreneurs actually pursued a lifestyle that was 'decidedly frugal'.

For Weber, capitalism was originally sparked by religious fervor. Without that fervor the organization of labour that made capitalism so different from what had gone before would not have been possible. In India, Hinduism was associated with great wealth in history, but its tenets about the afterlife prevented the same sort of energy that built up under Protestantism, and capitalism properly never developed. For Max Weber, 'rational restlessness' was the psychological make-up of Europe, the opposite of what he found in the main religions of Asia: rational acceptance of social order by Confucianism and its irrational antithesis in Taoism; mystical acceptance of social order by Hinduism; the worldly retreat in Buddhism. Weber located rational restlessness especially in Puritanism. Such persons are 'enterprising' because they are liberated from strong communal ties, which enable them to seek new opportunities without the constraints of collective tradition, customs and taboos. This clearly involves a certain 'ego ideal', a strong discipline, traits that Weber called 'inner-worldly asceticism. Joseph Schumpeter stressed the central role of the capitalist entrepreneur, rather than the stock of capital, as the incarnation of technical progress.

First, capitalist themselves are not the motivating force of capitalism, but instead entrepreneurs who invent new techniques or machinery by means of which goods are produced more cheaply. In any urban environment, people would have ideas for innovation, but who had those ideas, when and where they had them, and what they did with them were unpredictable. The second element of Schumpeter's outlook was, that profit, as generated by entrepreneurs, was temporary.

R.H. Tawney in 1921 argued that capitalism had created The Aquisitive Society. He thought that capitalism misjudged human nature, elevating production and the making of profit, which ought to be a means to certain ends, into ends in them. In particular, it sabotages 'the instinct for service and solidarity' that is the basis for traditional civil society. He thought that in the long run capitalism was incompatible with culture. Soviet experiment in application of the socialist model underwent various phases in accordance with the demand of the time. There were contradictions from within and outside which eventually led to its disintegration. At the same time, the same model was applied differently even in the countries under the Soviet influence, which gradually gave way to the dominant capitalist system. Yet, it would be immature to argue that this model was a complete failure as it was this model which forced the so called capitalist economies of the Western Europe to integrate welfare economic principles and strengthen social distribution networks albeit with a limited role for the state. On the other hand, the criticisms of the capitalist economic system and visions of alternative models have continued to drive the thinkers and activists alike.

LIBERALISM

In the early modern age of the Western world (beginning roughly in the early 1500s and running for about 200 years), a number of changes occurred that led to new ideologies: The European discovery of the Americas, the rise of Protestantism, the beginnings of the free-market economy, and the early stages of the scientific revolution fundamentally altered

Europe. People began developing different ways of thinking to take account of these changes.

Perhaps the most important of the new ideas is liberalism (also known as classical liberalism). This type of liberalism, which began in England in the 1600s, differs from American liberalism. Classical liberalism developed when thinkers as John Locke (in his Second Treatise of Government in 1690) rethought the relationship between the individual and society, as well theorized about the rights and responsibilities of the individual. These ideas formed the foundation for many political systems still operating today.

Liberalism in Action

During the French Revolution (1789–1799), the monarchy and much of the church were destroyed, as were traditional laws and habits in different parts of the country. The revolutionaries exalted reason, to the point of literally creating a temple to it (the revolutionaries renamed the Church of Notre Dame in Paris “the Temple of Reason”) in 1793. But as a result of the revolution, France plunged into years of civil war and violence. Only the emergence of Napoleon—an authoritarian ruler—brought stability back to the country.

Liberal Beliefs

Liberalism emphasizes:

- **Individualism:** The individual takes priority over society.
- **Freedom:** Individuals have the right to make choices for themselves. This freedom is not absolute, and some behaviours, such as murder, are prohibited. Freedom of religion is a particularly important freedom to come out of liberalism because so many governments at the time were very closely tied to a particular religious creed.
- **Equality:** No person is morally or politically superior to others. Hierarchies are rejected.
- **Rationalism:** Humans are capable of thinking logically and rationally. Logic and reason help us solve problems.
- **Progress:** Traditions should not be kept unless they have value. New ideas are helpful

because they can lead to progress in the sciences, the economy, and society.

- **The free market:** Liberalism and capitalism go hand in hand. Liberals like the free market because it more easily creates wealth, as opposed to traditional economies, which often have extensive regulations and limits on which occupations of people can hold.

These basic characteristics of liberalism have led liberals to argue in favour of a limited government, which draws its power from the people. In practice, this has meant favouring a democratic government.

Mill's Good Government

In his books *On Liberty* (1859) and *Considerations of Representative Government* (1861), English philosopher J. S. Mill argued that good governments should be unrestricting enough to allow people—both men and women—to pursue their own interests and achieve their own potential as they see fit. Fostering individuality would, in turn, benefit society as a whole, because fewer people would feel restricted or marginalized. Mill also believed that representative democracy was the best form of government because it allowed people to express their individuality and provided them the opportunity to take a more active role in the political process. The more active the people are, Mill thought, the more satisfied they are with their government.

Classical liberalism has profoundly influenced the modern world, so much so that we do not even realize how controversial its ideas were in early modern Europe. Back then, liberal ideas were considered dangerous and inflammatory by traditional European governments, and liberals were frequently persecuted. Even after liberalism took hold in England, the rest of Europe was hostile to liberal ideas for another century (and even longer in some cases).

Example: For centuries, Eastern Europe suffered greatly from authoritarian rule, in which one person or a small group holds all the political power and oppresses everybody else. As recently as 1989, open discussion of liberal

ideas (such as the free market) or publicly complaining that the communist governments did not speak for the people could get a person arrested. The writer Vaclav Havel, for example, was jailed by the Czechoslovakian government. But after the 1989 end of the communist government in Czechoslovakia, Havel served as the newly democratic government's first President.

The Controversial Case of John Locke

In the seventeenth century, liberals were not held in high esteem, as evidenced by the life of John Locke. Locke was forced to flee into exile to avoid arrest by the British monarchy. He returned to England only after the Stuart monarchs were overthrown in 1688 and a government friendlier to liberalism took power. But even then, Locke refused to acknowledge that he had written *Second Treatise of Government*, his main political text, because of its controversial nature. Other liberals, in England and elsewhere, were arrested or even killed by traditional governments.

CONSERVATISM

Conservatism (also known as classical conservatism) began as a reaction against the liberal ideas taking hold of Europe during the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century. This type of conservatism differs from American conservatism. Edmund Burke, a British member of Parliament, observed the early stages of the French Revolution with great distress and predicted the violence and terror that would ensue. His book, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), is one of the founding texts of classical conservatism.

Burke and other conservatives attacked liberalism for many reasons. They argued that liberalism destroyed tradition. In its rush to overturn the old and bring in the new, liberalism and capitalism ruthlessly attacked traditional institutions and beliefs.

Conservative Beliefs

Conservatism emphasizes:

- **Stability:** Stability is a precious thing, and

change must be made gradually in order to preserve it. Undermining stability is very dangerous because societies can easily fall into chaos and violence. Classical liberals frequently called for revolution, which opens the door to great turbulence, according to the classical conservative view.

- **Concreteness:** Liberalism is too abstract. It focuses on freedom and equality, not on the concrete way people live every day.
- **Human fallibility:** Liberalism overestimates human beings. Humans are frequently ignorant, prejudiced, and irrational. By ignoring these defects, liberalism becomes unrealistic.
- **Unique circumstances:** There is no universal answer to the problems of society; the circumstances are unique in each country.

Classical Conservatism and Democracy

Many early conservatives favoured authoritarian government. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars (roughly 1792–1815), for example, most European governments actively worked to stop the spread of liberalism and democracy. Nevertheless, conservatives were not necessarily hostile to democracy. Generally these conservatives argued that some sort of monarchy was necessary, but some were more open to popular government. Burke, in particular, thought that limited democracy was a good form of government for England, as long as it maintained the customs.

Classical Conservatism Today

For the most part, classical conservatism has faded. Most people who label themselves conservatives are more like American conservatives than classical ones. But there are still some classical conservatives. Many of them in Europe have ties to old noble families, and some advocate monarchism. Classical conservatives can also be found in other parts of the world.

The chart below compares classical liberal views with classical conservative views on several issues.

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM VERSUS CLASSICAL CONSERVATISM

Issue	Liberalism	Conservatism
Tradition	Only valuable if it serves a purpose; we should not be afraid to overturn tradition.	Repository of acquired wisdom; collection of best knowledge from many years of practice.
Freedom	Essential for human flourishing; people are free to do as they please as long as they do not hurt others.	Excessive freedom is bad; lets people ignore societal responsibilities and overlook social customs.
Reason	Relies on reason; the great success of the scientific revolution can be repeated in human affairs if we use reason.	Thinks reason is fallible and prone to error; human beings cannot discover the best way to govern through thinking. Instead, we must base our judgments and decisions on experience.
Free Market	Valuable because it unleashes tremendous economic growth and efficiency, enriching society.	Dangerous because it breaks down traditional economic roles. The profit motive corrodes customary mores and reduces all relationships to cash transactions.

COMMUNISM

Socialist Movement

With the emergence of a social and economic system of capitalism, the means of production such as factories and the things produced by factories were owned and controlled by a few people. The vast majority of the people who worked in the factories had no rights. Their conditions of work and living were miserable. They were frequently without jobs. The workers gradually began to organize themselves into trade unions to protect their common rights though for a long time there were laws against workers combining themselves into unions. The governments were also forced to pass laws against some of the worse features of capitalism. For example Laws to protect workers from unsafe conditions of work were passed in many countries. Some progress was also made in regulating hours of work.

Some workers had begun to think that machines were the cause of their misery. In

England, there was a movement to machines led the Luddites so named after their leader Ned Ludd. However, they soon realized that the destruction of machines would not put an end to their misery. In England, a new political movement started which aimed at winning political rights for workers.

Early Socialists

The greatest challenge to capitalism came from the ideas of socialism and the movements based on those ideas. The idea grew that capitalism itself is evil and that it needs to be replaced by a different kind and economic system in which the means of production would be owned by the society as a whole and not by a few individuals. Many philosophers and reformers in the past had expressed their revulsion against inequalities in society and in favour of a system in which everyone would be equal. However these ideas had remained as mere dreams. The French Revolution of 1789 with its promise of equality had given a new impetus to these ideas. But the French Revolution,

while it put an end to the autocratic rule of the French King, it did not usher in an era of equality in economic, social and political life. The wide gap between the aims of the French Revolution and the actual conditions in France after the revolution created serious discontent among the people. It led to an attempt to overthrow the existing government in France with a view to building a society based on socialist ideas. This attempt, known as Babeuf's Conspiracy, is an important event in the history of socialism.

Babeuf Conspiracy

The Conspiracy, as the name indicates, was the work of Babeuf. He was born in 1760 and had participated in the French Revolution. He organized a secret society called the Society of the Equals. Babeuf, in a manifesto, had declared, "Nature gave everyone an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods.....In a true society, there is no room for either rich or poor". He said that it was necessary to make another revolution which would do away "with the terrible contrasts between rich and poor, masters and servants. The time has come to set up the republic of equals, whose welcoming doors will be open to all mankind." The society planned an uprising but the government came to know of the plan and in May 1796, a large number of leaders, including Babeuf were arrested. Babeuf was executed in 1797. Though Babeuf's attempt at overthrowing the government had failed, his ideas exercised an important influence on the growth of socialist movement.

Utopian Socialists

There was another group of socialists in the early history of socialism which included:

1. Saint-Simon (1760-1825)
2. Charles Fourier (1772-1837)
3. Robert Owen (1771-1858)

They viewed property in relation to its usefulness to society. They recognized the evils of capitalism and proposed the establishment of a new and better system of society in its place. Saint-Simon coined the slogan, 'from each

according to his capacity, to each according to his work'. They visualized a society free from exploitation of any kind and one in which all would contribute their best and would share the fruits of their labour. However, the methods they advocated for the establishment of such a society were impracticable and ineffective. Hence they came to be called utopian socialists.

Communist League

Many groups and organisations were also formed to spread socialist ideas and organise workers. One of these was the League of the Just which had members in many countries of Europe. Its slogan was 'All men are brothers'. Thus internationalism was one of its important features. In 1847, its name was changed to the Communist League and it declared as its aim, "the downfall of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the overthrow of the old society of middle class, based on class distinction, and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property." Its journal carried the slogan, "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" It instructed Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to draft a manifesto.

Marxian Socialism

The Communist Manifesto first appeared in German in February 1848. The influence of this document in the history of the socialist movement is without a rival. It was the work of Karl Marx (1818-83) and his lifelong associate Friedrich Engels (1820-M). Both Marx and Engels were born in Germany, but spent much of their life outside Germany, mostly in England. Through their work in the socialist movement and through their numerous writings, they gave a new direction to socialist ideology and movement. Their philosophy is known as Marxism and it has influenced almost every field of knowledge. Their view of socialism is called scientific socialism.

The Communist Manifesto stated that the aim of workers all over the world was the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class differences",

it said “appears an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all”. It pointed out that socialism was not merely desirable, but also inevitable. Capitalism, it said, does not serve the needs of man and, like other social and economic systems in history, it would be replaced by a system, better suited to human needs. Marx analysed the working of capitalism in his famous work *Das Kapital* (Capital) and pointed out the characteristics that would lead to its destruction. According to him,

1. Workers produce more ‘value’ than they get in the form of wages, the difference being appropriated by the capitalists in the form of profits.
2. This constitutes the basis of conflict in capitalist society. Profits can be increased at the cost of workers’ wages and, therefore, the interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilable.
3. Economic crises were inevitable under capitalism because of the discrepancy between the purchasing power of workers and total production. These crises would be resolved only if the private ownership of the means of production is abolished and the profit motive eliminated from the system of production. With this, production would be carried on for social good rather than for profits for a few
4. The exploiting classes would disappear and a classless society would emerge in which there would be no difference between what was good for the individual and for society as a whole.

Marx and Engels believed that this would be accomplished by the working class which was the most revolutionary class in capitalist society. They advocated that the emancipation of the working class would emancipate the whole human race from all traces of social injustice.

Around the time the Communist Manifesto was published, revolutions broke out in almost every country in Europe. These revolts aimed at the overthrow of autocratic governments,

establishment of democracy and also, in countries such as Italy and Germany, at national unification. One of the major forces in these revolutions were the workers who had been inspired by ideas of socialism. The Communist League participated in these revolutions in many countries. However, all these revolutions were suppressed.

Writings of Karl Marx showed that capitalist mode of production generates four types of alienation: alienation of man in the workplace; alienation of man from his product; alienation of man from his species life; and, alienation of man from man. For human beings, work is a means of self-expression and development of one’s potential. However, in capitalism work ceases to fulfil this requirement. The industrial unit divides the work of production into small fragments; it compartmentalizes jobs such that each individual repeatedly performs the same differentiated and narrowly specialized task. Under these circumstances, work becomes a routine, if not a drudgery. The instrumental rationality that governs the workplace also extends to the social space.

Effect of Communism (Socialist Movement) on Society:

Soviet Union constituted a unique culture, talked in terms of the “Soviet people”, and proclaimed the birth of a new community, recognizable as a Soviet nationalism. Despite the fact, that it was carried out in the name of internationalism and denouncing nationalism, which meant no more than suppressing certain non-socialist ideological brands of nationalism.

Sayer provides a perspective on the broader implications of the economic analyses by Karl Marx of capitalism and the social analysis by Max Weber of the same phenomenon. Sayer’s essay indicates how industrial capitalism and capitalism generally (in the way Braudel deals with it), has generated “modernity” and a preoccupation with “modernity”; industrial capitalism cannot be associated purely with economic transitions and its limited social consequences, even over the long term. It is part of much broader developments.

Sayer points out that Marx did not associate capitalism with specifically economic features. Rather, Marx thought of it as a stage of development. Asserting the importance of wage labour and general “commoditization” as crucial features of capitalism, Marx stressed, though, that what was most significant to such capitalism was that it affects almost all social relations. Once the process is set in motion, it “revolutionizes both the material production processes and the social relation on which it rests”.

Craft workers are brought into a single workshop and subordinated to a single capitalist, enabling greater labour discipline. Production also is co-operative, in the sense that there now appears a detailed division of labour in the workshop and in society; and it is competitive. During this phase, such processes are “more or less accidental.” But, during the next phase, that of Modern Industry, these processes “are the rule,” and there is a transformation to the extent to which labour is subordinate to capital. “Things” (or “commodities”) become crucial to all relationships; all “use value” is an aspect of “exchange value”.

Later writers, Sayer points out, such as Max Weber, Michel Foucault or Norbert Elias, have disputed the factors on which this broad socio-economic and cultural transformation rests. If, for Marx, it is the product of a complex economic process, for Weber it is the consequence of a cultural process which does not exclude economic implications, but was fundamental to it. For Michel Foucault, it is the change in the discursive paradigm of society that is crucial to capitalism and modernity, while, for Norbert Elias, it is the very personal discipline of individuals in society.

Class Struggle

In Middle Ages, three most basic social groups were: those who fought as mounted knights (the landed nobility), those who prayed and 'looked after' the spiritual welfare of society (the clergy) and those who laboured in fields and shops (the peasantry and village artisans). After the revival of towns there emerged a fourth social group, the distance traders and

merchants. The central axis of the medieval economy was the relationship between the landed aristocracy and the peasantry, as much rooted in the specific relations of production as modern class relationships are. The landed aristocracy derived its income from the ownership of land, on which it did not perform any economic function.

The clergy derived their special place as first estate through their self-proclaimed role as mediator between God and humanity, and by virtue of this role enjoyed a number of privileges, chief among them the exemption of taxation for themselves and the Church as an institution. There was transition to a modern class society which had no place for privilege based on birth, status and legal shackles

The challenge to the feudal social structures came from the class struggles of the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, and the Nation-State as a political formation. In the new nation states there was a natural alliance between the bourgeoisie and the monarchies. They opposed tolls, tariffs and other petty regulations that restricted trade and other commercial activity. The towns and the bourgeoisie became major forces in the transition from feudal societies to modern class societies organized as nation states. The estate system was modified, and not completely undermined, once the economic relationships that sustained them were eroded.

These two new classes- a bourgeoisie spread out into the commercial, financial and industrial sectors; and a proletariat in agriculture and industry, initiated a transformation of the social spectrum by the 18th century. However, the 18th century continued to be the age of the dominance of the landed aristocracy, though this aristocracy itself was now rooted in the emerging capitalism.

The emergence and development of modern class society parallels the birth of the nation-state and emergence of the nation as an organizing principle. In fact the political form given to the modern society was that of a nation. The French Revolution in democratizing the concept of the nation to guarantee the fundamental rights of all people also legitimized the link between the two. The transition to

citizenship from being subjects of kings and queens was inseparably linked to equality before law as well as private property and a unified market.

During the course of the 19th century the press, the educational system, the religious movements, and the inter-imperialist rivalries contributed to the strengthening of national identities and the growth of self-conscious nationalist movements. In Italy, Germany and Central Europe, they represented powerful forces, and incorporated the class interests of the lesser gentry and the emerging middle class. Yet, it is worthwhile remembering that national identity did not really diminish class affiliations.

The struggle for vote, equal wages for equal work, inheritance rights and various manifestations of patriarchy contributed to awareness of gender issues. This is a view that does not remain uncontested. Perceptions apart, classes remain a basic reality of contemporary society, and class solidarities still retain considerable significance. The reality of all wage labour under capitalism today is that it is still necessarily exploitative and organized in the interest of Capital. Class relations may have become mystified or hidden under the force of media, and more sophisticated forms of production and consumption, but the relationship between Capital and labour retains its essential contradiction in the post-industrial capitalist social order.

Communism Today

With the fall of communist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, communism has been in retreat for most of the 1990s and 2000s. There are, for example, fewer communist movements around the world than during the Cold War. But there are still several major communist regimes, including the governments of North Korea and Cuba.

Democratic socialism: A peaceful and democratic approach to achieving socialism. As an ideology, democratic socialism also emphasizes a classless society in which all members jointly share the means and output of production. But unlike communism, democratic

socialism attempts to achieve its goals peacefully via the democratic processes. Democratic socialists reject the need for immediate transition to socialism in favour of a gradualist approach, achieved by working within a democratic government. Economic inequalities should be remedied through a welfare state, a system that provides aid to the poor and help to the unemployed.

Democratic Socialism Today

Democratic socialism has been quite successful in western Europe and Scandinavia. Many governments there have extensive welfare systems that have remained largely intact even when democratic socialists are voted out of office. Democratic socialist parties exist in many democracies around the world. Germany's Social Democratic Party and Britain's Labour Party are contemporary examples of successful political parties heavily influenced by democratic socialism.

DEMOCRACY

20th century saw an unparalleled extension of democracy in terms of both its inclusiveness as well as its spatial expansion. Beginning with the extension of the suffrage to women in the older western democracies, and ending with the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, democracy in the 20th century surely became more inclusive. 21st century is witnessing the same expansion both vertically and horizontally. Horizontal expansion evident in the fact that new areas as in Arab States and North Africa are experimenting with one of the most revolutionary and addictive political thought i.e. Democracy. At the same time vertical expansion can be noticed in increasing emphasis on inclusion of local communities in governance model across the States. In India same is visible in enhanced efforts to empower the 3rd tier of democracy i.e. PRIs and ULBs. (Panchayati Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies).

An understanding of modern democracy is not possible without an account of the social and political ideas, as well as of the patterns of material development in the economic and productive spheres of the societies in which

modern democracy took birth. But describing each and every change at the same time will lead to problem like lack of coherence and repetitions of ideas and changes. Students must note that changes that led to emergence of industrialization, capitalism, communism, nationalism, colonialism and de-colonialism were not compartmentalized but rather were acting simultaneously and effectively on society and modern man. Now a brief history and analysis of the philosophy of Democracy follows and it is suggested to students to follow the above mentioned advice of referring cross cutting themes while understanding History of World in modern times.

Democracy in the city-state of Athens is considered to be the most stable, enduring and model form of democracy in Greece in ancient times. But this had its own exclusivist weaknesses.

Modern Democracies Flourished in West

Britain is regarded as the first modern democracy because after Civil War (1640-1649), royal absolutism was brought to an end, and powers were transferred from the Crown to the two Houses of Parliament. Though, universal adult suffrage was only fully achieved in 1948, when plural voting was abolished in favour of the principle of one-person one-vote.

More radical tradition of democracy in France was inaugurated by the French Revolution of 1789, with its stirring call of Liberty-Equality Fraternity. In the United States of America, too, the advance of democracy in the aftermath of the Civil War was restricted to white men, and the enfranchisement of women, as also of indigenous and black people was not achieved until the twentieth century.

Nationalism and democracy are two ideas that fundamentally differentiate modern state from earlier states. Modern state differs from the pre-modern state in, how it exercises vast, centralized and bureaucratic power, and also how it legitimizes its rule through the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. It thus mobilizes support for the state, especially through nationalism, which is a form of imposing a

uniform culture over a political territory.

It mobilizes support through the modern political party, which is an invention of the nineteenth century; and modern politics could be conducted through either the multi-party system called pluralist or the single-party system, often called totalitarian or dictatorial. But citizen's function in modern politics by the exercise of rights which they possess at birth and which cannot be denied to them subsequently; they thus organize themselves into all types of groups independent of the state. This is often called democratic; but it is more important to realize that modern citizens are capable of being more active politically than ever before, whether the state be democratic or not; and that complements the state's capacity to mobilize them to action on a scale unknown in history. These two tendencies combine to produce modern politics, the active citizen and the mobilizing bureaucratic state.

Initial Democracies: Liberty Rather Than Equality

Beginning of democratic theory is distinguished by a strong emphasis on the concept of liberty, rather than the concept of equality with which it later came to be identified. The idea that God spoke directly to individuals, without the mediation of priests, also made possible and legitimate the questioning of political authority. In modern world, struggle for democracy everywhere and throughout history, has been a struggle against political inequality based on, and often justified by, inequalities of birth and wealth.

Industrial capitalism created new social classes which questioned the stranglehold of the older elites, whose power was based entirely in the ownership of land, and demanded a share in political power. Gradually, the middle and working classes also became more vocal and assertive in claiming rights of political participation.

Centrality of the state naturally resulted in greater pressures for controlling the state and sharing in the power and the resources that it commanded. In Western societies, capitalist

industrialization is widely believed to have been a powerful impetus to democratization. Patterns of economic development effected significant changes in the nature of class forces and class divisions, and both these interacted with the state and political institutions to redefine society and politics.

However, outside of the west, social theorists have many different explanations for the varied routes through which democratization occurs. The 'real world of democracy', as said by C.B. MacPherson, has been populated by many variants of democracy: from bourgeois democracy to socialist and even communist versions, each of which has insisted that its form of democracy is the truest and most genuine. For societies which attach greater significance to the community than to the individual, the democratic part of liberal-democracy (such as free elections and freedom of speech) is more universalizable than its liberal component.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau is the premier philosopher of democracy, with his faith in the direct participation of the citizens in the making of laws. John Stuart Mill expressed his fear of the tyranny of the majority. Karl Marx's attitude to democracy was somewhat ambivalent. Even as he viewed bourgeois democracy as inherently flawed, on account of its class character, Marx nevertheless endorsed the battle for democracy as an important stepping-stone on the journey of the proletariat towards revolutionary change.

Democracy and Feudalism

Even as ideas of the French Revolution—liberty, equality and fraternity, popular sovereignty and nation as constituted of the entire people, led to the birth of modern politics and modern public opinion, representative institutions throughout Europe continued to exclude people as representatives. Democracy continued to be interpreted in the light of the interests of the propertied classes. The House of Lords in Parliament represented by the richest four hundred families in Britain continued the tradition of the 'estate' of the nobility, even after the composition of the House of Commons changed in favour of the 'commoners' through a series of Reform Acts of Parliament.

These political institutional arrangements hampered constitutionalism and handicapped the class struggles for greater political democracy.

Destruction of Feudalism (which was one of the biggest danger to Democratic Spirit) was a slow process. The first artisans destroyed machinery which they saw as destroying their livelihood and way of life, subsequently evolving into the first trade-unionists. The emergence of a factory proletariat finally led to the dichotomy of capital and labour as the primary contradiction in the modern class society. With the emergence of capital as the dominant element in economic production, the bourgeoisie became the representative of status quo, and the class struggles of the working class the moving forces of history. As Marx pointed out, a class had been created whose emancipation could result in the end of class exploitation itself. The birth of modern politics, as expressed through the ideals of the French Revolution and the following revolutions of 1830 and 1848 meant primarily that no privilege could any more remain unquestioned. The forces of democracy unleashed by these revolutions ended all legitimacy of estates.

Challenges to Democracy in Contemporary Times

In the 'realist' account of Joseph Schumpeter who said that the classical, 18th century definition of democracy (as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions by making the people decide issues through the election of legislators to carry out their will) was flawed because the people were ignorant, irrational and apathetic, and therefore the principle of popular sovereignty was meaningless. Among the important challenges to democracy at the beginning of the 21st century, the following may be identified:

1. Development or rather 'Lack of Development'.
2. Disrespect for Diversity by Democratic Neutrality.
3. Gender and Democracy in Patriarchal State.
4. Globalization and Loss of Democratic Credentials.

Democracy is potentially a powerful weapon against poverty and deprivation. But slow pace of development in many countries, including India is often attributed to adoption of Democracy. The neutrality of democratic theory becomes a problem, as it prevents special consideration from being given to those citizens whose formal equality is undermined by the disadvantage and prejudices that they are subject to by virtue of their cultural identity. Communitarian critics of liberalism have argued that individuals are not the autonomous pre-social creatures that liberal theory makes them out to be. Rather, they are formed and constituted by the traditions and communities in which they are formed and constituted by the traditions and communities in which they are located.

Feminists argue that the customary division between the private and the public realm tends to relegate women to the private sphere characterized by subordination to patriarchal power and lack of freedom, while democracy is restricted to the essentially male-oriented public sphere. Globalization, as we know, increases the intensity of transnational flows of trade, finance, capital, technology, information and culture. Thus, it makes it difficult for democratic governments-particularly in the countries of the South-to control their own affairs internally and in a self-contained way.

The new institutions of global governance, such as the International Monetary Fund or the World Trade Organization, perform regulatory functions but themselves are organised in ways that are not democratic or accountable. On the contrary, they reflect and reinforce the asymmetries of global power relations.

Despite the shortcomings, the fact that all manner of political regimes have sought to appropriate the label 'democracy' to legitimize themselves, clearly shows that it carries a positive normative connotation. And democracy is here to stay for long. Recent Arab spring clearly shows the desire and temptation of human nature towards democratic principles.

Democracy goes far beyond the formal, constitutional, and ideological restriction of that label to one type of regime, whether it be liberal, counter-revolutionary, or communist. However,

limited, coerced, "unfair", or "distorted" the electoral process, no regime could do in past and can do in present without it.

Effect of Democracy on Society

Throughout history, democracy has been called many things. Merriam-Webster defines "democracy" as "government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system." Former American President Abraham Lincoln called democracy, "... the government of the people, by the people and for the people." However, former United Kingdom Prime Minister Winston Churchill said, "The strongest argument against democracy is a five minute discussion with the average voter." Regardless of how we praise and criticize democracy, it is evident that democracy has played a major card in the shaping of modern society. We will explore why and how democracy has accomplished this.

Before one can know the impact democracy has had on the world, one must take a look at its history. While its birth can't exactly be pinpointed, historians do know that ancient civilizations employed forms of democracy. The world's first republic, Vaishali, is part of a group of ancient republics known as the Maha Janapadas. Vaishali and the other Maha Janapadas developed and used democratic systems named Sangha, Gana and Panchayat. Sangha, meaning "community", was more of a religious brotherhood rather than a complete democratic system; however, the elements are in place. Decisions in the sangha were enacted by everyone. Each individual in the sangha had equal decisive power and emphasis was put on participation in the sangha. The gana system was slightly more organized. "Gana" could refer to many things, such as tribes, troops, class, etc. but is commonly used to refer to a governing body. The various ganas would have chiefs making the important decisions if the public could not agree on a topic. Out of the three ancient forms of democracy, Panchayat is the closest to modern day democracy. Panchayat is still utilized in some parts of the world today.

In Panchayat, elders are elected by the village council. These elders would mediate arguments amongst the people. Throughout the ages, other nations had similar democratic elements in their government. For example, the Roman Empire was known as the Roman Republic before its government system changed from a republic to the quasi-monarch such as in the time of Julius Caesar. During this period, officials were elected by the citizens. Citizens were divided into different castes with various powers, but all citizens were allowed to vote. Even in the days of the American Indian, democracy in various stages can be found. The Iroquois Indian used a very loose form of democracy to govern the people. Certain males were born into a leadership caste. Only the members of this caste could become leaders. Furthermore, only women of the same caste could remove the leaders. Understanding democracy's evolution throughout history is key to understanding the impact it has had on the world. These are just a few points in the history of democracy. As we can see with the preceding examples, democracy has had an extremely long and rich history, weaving in and out of various cultures.

This evolution of democracy has allowed the world to grow towards a world where fear and oppression is eliminated. One way this is occurring is by democratic countries' promotion of education. Education and democracy go hand in hand. Democratic countries tend to allow more freedoms, such as freedom of information. With information being readily available, it is much easier for education to thrive, as opposed to an authoritarian government that would restrict information. Democracy also promotes freedom from the government, as a leader that is deemed unfit can be easily eliminated from office. This can result in more educated and intelligent leaders that fit the bill properly.

Democracy is not without its criticisms, however. When Churchill stated, "the strongest argument against democracy is a five minute discussion with the average voter," he may have been referring to the difficulty of understanding a democratic government and how it functions. If the average voter is not thoroughly educated

in the system, they may not know the ramifications of the decisions they vote or not vote on. Classic philosopher Plato addressed this concern in his writings. He believed that a system where the citizens were ruled by only the intelligent would benefit society more. A finance capitalist in Australia was cited saying, "It's a strange system. I mean, after all, why should a kid of eighteen have the same value of vote as I do". Perhaps one of the biggest criticisms of democracy is that it is value-neutral. This can have a profound effect on society. Robert Kaplan in his essay "Was Democracy Just a Moment" points out that both Hitler and Mussolini arose to power through democracy. Kaplan's argument there isn't that democracy is the cause of dictators rising to power, but that democracy exposes a society's health. It is amazing to see the various systems and their effects on society. There isn't a "right" or "wrong" way to govern people. In the end, it all boils down to what a person values the most. Some may value freedom of information, others may value stability. Either way, the effect will be profound and will touch everyone.

Brief comparison of Societal effect of Communism and Democracy

Communism, a well known form of socialism, is a government system revolving around full equality amongst the working class. Philosopher Karl Marx is known as "the father of communism". Marx was an opponent of capitalism who believed that communism would end capitalism, just as capitalism ended feudalism before. While communism does have its economic element, we will focus on the government aspect in order to fairly compare and contrast the ideology against democracy. In theory and on paper, communism appears to create a utopian, classless society free of government. However, in practice this has not occurred. Communism has come under fire by many opponents, especially human rights activists. It appears that mankind has perverted communism from the theory it was into means of control. While some may argue that it is not fair to say communism has caused a negative impact on the world because communism isn't the practice as the

theory was originally conceived, we can only compare what has been enacted in the world. China, a communist nation is an example of this situation. The Chinese government has oppressed its people and plunged the nation into fear. Many cases of human right violation and other fundamental rights violation are common in China. Again the theory of communism itself cannot be blamed for the Chinese government's actions. However, in the current communist governments, the workers labour for government owned companies. This creates an environment almost akin to slavery. In a democratic society, the workers can oust corrupt leaders that harm society rather than help. It is in this sense that democracy's impact on society is much more positive than communism.

WELFARE STATE

Welfare can be defined as a citizen's entitlement over and beyond his current contribution to national income. This thought increasingly displaced charity from the early 19th century and the same began to be undertaken by the state in a comprehensive fashion.

In the pre-modern time charity and welfare were tasks that were generally performed by the family, community or the religious establishment. In modern times, however, the state looks upon welfare as a part of its responsibility and handles it in an institutionalized manner. In the pre modern period, the individuals could appeal to the Church or religious groups, family or the community when faced with poverty or illness and the causes of poverty were often seen either in fate or in individual failure.

Roots in Industrialization

Economic development as well as social dislocation marked the capitalist transformation of the world during 1750-1850. In this situation ideas about relief and charity began to change. The reform sentiment that gathered momentum during this period affected a range of social policies.

Roots of modern welfare state are traced to

Industrialization. Industrialization brought with it economic growth but also the growth of urban centres where an increasing class of people lived at subsistence levels. The modern state began to tackle the social problems that arose out of this through measures that grew in coverage both out of a strong sense of humanitarian concern as well as because of a fear of social unrest.

Different Approaches for A Welfare State

Britain was the 1st state to experience Industrialization and it was here only that initial contours of welfare state were drawn for the first time. A whole body of legislation developed the welfare state. Not just the poor but all citizens were entitled to a variety of social benefits such as a minimum wage, access to public health systems and schemes were established for social insurance such as old age pensions, or unemployment benefits.

Elizabethan Poor Laws were codified in 1597-1598. Under these laws a compulsory tax was imposed on each household and this money was used to provide relief to the aged, the infirm but not the 'sturdy beggar'. The able-bodied poor were punished.

Germany under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck was the first country to adopt comprehensive social legislation. Bismarck was motivated by a political vision glorifying the nation and an economic vision that stressed national self-sufficiency and paternalism. He also sought to counter the threat posed by the demands of a socialist movement. The workers health was important to the nation because the worker was also the soldier that protected the state. The duty of the State, according to Bismarck was to regulate all aspects of life in the national interest. To make the nation strong it was necessary to help the weaker citizens. German welfare system provided the most comprehensive protection to workers in all of Europe and became a model that many copied.

Unlike these policies that were marked by obligatory help on a long term basis, in pre modern Japan ideas of welfare were based on an ideology of benevolent rule where the ruler

helped to mitigate the sufferings of his people through timely help. Japan had a special model in which wealthy merchants were involved in charity and taking care of the urban poor in cities like Edo (Tokyo), Kyoto and Osaka.

Besides this, Confucian ideas of filial piety and diligence were adopted while propagating a self-help approach to take care of poor. It was argued that even poor peasants by working hard, being thrifty and improving productivity by using new agricultural method could improve their lot and become wealthy. However, while promoting self-help a poor person was not seen as the individual but rather as the community.

After the restoration of Meiji Government (1868), government instituted a series of measures to set up the institutional structure of a modern state system grounded in the belief that it was the responsibility of the state to create a strong and prosperous country. The state worked through private relief efforts in time of emergencies and this policy proved successful because Japan was still largely an agrarian society. These were subsequent cuts in the central budget and the responsibility was shifted to municipalities. Government efforts were directed at preventing poverty through moral instructions. Rather than poor relief the government focused in rebuilding the community.

Mainstreaming Welfare: Democracy and Popular Opinion

Electoral reforms allowed greater participation and in turn Parliament was made more sensitive to Popular opinion and became the vehicle for realizing social legislation. The question of who are the poor was central in much of the debates and proposals for social legislation. Poverty and its relief were now transformed into a social problem that required a different approach. It was no longer a matter of providing relief but services and these not just

to a particular group of people but to all citizens.

However, the general democratization of politics and greater political participation through the electoral process changed the forms of social control and placed greater reliance on internalized moral and cultural mechanisms. Relief and charity expanded and were transformed through social legislation that sought to provide for the needs of all its citizens from 'cradle to grave'. The post world war 2 years influenced by the economic crisis and unemployment before the war and sense of crisis during the war fuelled the resurgence of left wing movements all over Europe. People increasingly demanded that the state had an obligation to secure the well being of its citizens.

Bureaucrats saw society as the unit at which poverty could be tackled and this view was grounded in social theories emanating from Europe that said the state had a public responsibility. However, even while the state's obligation to relieve poverty now became the key element in social policy earlier ideas need not be jettisoned. But today, the family system must be stressed more. Also the idea that, public assistance must not create dependency, continue to be a major strain in designing welfare policies e.g. MGNREGA scheme has been questioned even in government circles that it may lead to reduced efforts by population towards gaining skills and may dent the demographic dividend by leading to a dependency syndrome.

The questions that are raised when welfare policies are initially formulated inter alia include, does state support lead to dependence and loss of initiative, does the financial costs place an unacceptable burden on those who do not benefit from these policies, and do entitlements or reservations create special interest groups. These questions remain as engrossing as in past and finding a widely acceptable strategy in this arena remains elusive dream for all States that aspire to be a Welfare State.



The League of Nations

Introduction

American President Woodrow Wilson intended the League of Nations to be the primary body of a new style of international relations based on the cooperation of all of the nations of the world. The League was to be centered in Geneva, Switzerland, a neutral location. Small nations as well as large nations were asked to join, dependent on their acceptance of the Covenant of the League. The League of Nations first met in November 1920. Forty-two nations were represented at this first meeting. Notably absent were Germany, Russia, and the United States. Germany, identified as the aggressor in World War I, was barred from admission at first, and admitted in 1926. Russia, now the Soviet Union, was not invited to join the League due to the radical policies of the new communist government. The Soviet Union finally became a member of the League in 1935. In November 1919, the US Senate voted against accepting membership to the League, and the nation never joined.

The League of Nations operated through three agencies: the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. The Assembly met annually, and consisted of a delegation from each member nation. Each member had one vote. The Council was composed of four permanent members and four nonpermanent members, serving as a sort of cabinet, with some executive powers. The Council was responsible for the prevention of war through disarmament, resolving disputes, and supervising the mandates of the League. The Secretariat was the League's civil service, preparing the agenda for the Assembly and the Council, serving a clerical purpose, and preparing documents for publication.

The League of Nations succeeded in providing assistance to bankrupt nations, supervising its mandates, and resolving conflicts

between minor powers. During the early 1920s, the League made two attempts to outline a mechanism by which international conflicts could be contained and resolved. Both methods aimed to identify the aggressor nation and pledge League support to the victim. The Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the first of these two efforts, was drafted in 1923. It proposed that the Council should declare which side of a conflict was the aggressor within four days of the outbreak of the conflict, at which point the League's members would automatically have to support the victim nation. The treaty failed, due to consensus that deciding which side of a conflict was the aggressor was far too difficult to do in just four days and without any concrete guidelines. The treaty also mandated military participation on the part of the member nations, a clause distasteful to many. In 1925, the League tried once again to outline a mechanism for the containment of war. The Geneva Protocol provided for compulsory arbitration of international disputes by the League. Any nation unwilling to submit to the League's arbitration would be declared the aggressor. This proposal was brought down by the British delegation, whose overseas colonial leaders feared that they would be dragged into European affairs by the Geneva Protocol.

The League of Nations was at first heralded as the bastion of a new system of international relations in Europe. The so-called 'old diplomacy' is known as the Westphalian System, since it had been in place since the Treaty of Westphalia, signed at the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 by the major European powers. Under the Westphalian system the elites of government often met in secret to determine the fate of Europe and the world. World War I shattered the old system along with the empires that had maintained it. American participation in the war was a major step toward a shift in the

balance of world power, and the beginning of the end for European dominance. The brutality, and to some, apparent needlessness, of the war and the changing face of European geography led to new ideas about how international affairs should be managed. The secretive nature of the Westphalian system had led to petty resentments, the pursuit of narrow self-interest, and the division of Europe into warring camps. Many, including Woodrow Wilson, felt that a more open, all-inclusive system would be more fostering to cooperation, a concept of international justice, and peace. The League was seen as a way to institutionalize these goals and strive for peace as a collective world community.

The League of Nations was an organization wrecked by contradictions and insufficiencies from the start. Membership was determined by the acceptance of the Covenant of the League, which stated the goals and philosophy upon which it was founded. The covenant, however, had been drafted by small committees behind closed doors, thus violating the spirit of "open covenants openly arrived at" expounded by the Covenant of the League itself. This contradiction foreshadowed similar crises of ideology in the future for the League. The United State's failure to join the League of Nations was a major blow to the hopes of its founders, and to Wilson's view on the character of the 'new diplomacy.' It also marked the beginning of a period of US isolationism, which kept the US effectively out of European political affairs for the majority of the inter-war period.

The founding and structure of the League of Nations was established primarily for the purpose of preventing future wars, a new concept for Europeans who traditionally believed that war was a necessary and inevitable outgrowth of international relations. However, the League could not come to a decision on how best to do this, without infringing on the sovereignty of the member countries, as would have been the case if the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol had been passed. The failure of these two measures left the League with only the power to invoke economic sanctions against a nation determined

to be the aggressor in a conflict, and greatly called into question the authority and ability of the League to mediate conflicts. The League of Nations thus exercised only limited powers, and did so clumsily. Most powerful nations preferred to manage their affairs outside of the League, only rarely deferring to the League's authority. Despite these shortcomings, the League of Nations did accomplish some of its unification and pacification goals, and perhaps most importantly, set the stage for the United Nations, which would take its place after World War II.

Attempts at Reconciliation and Disarmament (1921-1930)

Though the League of Nations failed to pass any broad measures to achieve a lasting peace, the former Allies and Germany were reconciled on December 1, 1925 with the signing of the Locarno Pacts. The Pacts were intended to assuage French fears of resurgent German aggression. They included guarantees on the French-German and Belgian-German borders, signed by those three nations and with Britain and Italy acting as guarantors, promising to provide military assistance to the victim of any violation of peace along those borders. The Locarno Pacts also included treaties between Germany and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and France, providing for the settlement of potential territorial disputes. Additionally, French-Polish and French-Czechoslovakian mutual assistance treaties were signed in case of German aggression.

The League of Nations, for its part, moved from its focus on settling conflicts to attempts to disarm the European militaries which had been built up during the war. In this arena it fared little better than it had in the latter. Disarmament was a major goal of the League. Article III of the Covenant of the League called for "reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety." However, despite this priority, the first major arms treaty was negotiated outside of the League, in November 1921. The United States convened the Washington Conference, attended by Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, China, Japan, and Portugal. The Conference resulted in a naval

armaments treaty which set a ratio for tonnage of capital ships (over 10,000 tons, with guns bigger than eight inches) for Great Britain, the US, Japan, France, and Italy. The ratio agreed upon, in that order, was 5:5:3:1.67:1.67.

In 1925, the League of Nations appointed a commission to prepare a disarmament conference. The commission met first in 1926, and a number of times subsequently, all without success. Britain and France refused to cooperate, and without their participation, disarmament floundered. The League's inability to promote disarmament led United States Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand to jointly denounce war in the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact, which stated that the signing parties condemned recourse to war, and denounced it as an aspect of policy. The pact was eventually ratified, often hesitantly, by 65 nations. Some nations signed while claiming exceptions for self-defense and such. The Kellogg-Briand Pact had no enforcement mechanism, but was based rather on the affirmation of the spirit of peace.

The last major League of Nations-sponsored disarmament conference met from February to July 1932 at Geneva, with 60 nations in attendance, including the United States. However, this conference, like its predecessors, failed to secure any agreement, and organized disarmament remained an unaccomplished goal.

The treaties of the Locarno Pacts were the major part of France's efforts to surround Germany with French allies and discourage German aggression. Somewhat to France's dismay, the treaties worked to usher in a period of good relations between Germany and its neighbors. The frequently referred to 'spirit of Locarno' had a positive psychological effect throughout Europe and many believed a lasting peace would grow from that root. The Locarno Pacts were also important in that they represented a revival of traditional power politics and a rejection of the League of Nations as the arbiter of international relations. Power politics had outdone the League in its efforts to promote peace, and the Locarno Pacts demonstrated definitively that the major European powers were not interested in handing authority over

to the League.

Similarly, the League repeatedly failed and was outdone by traditional power politics in its efforts to promote disarmament. The Washington Conference and the subsequent London Naval Conference of 1930 produced the only successful armaments agreements of the inter-war years. They were important steps toward disarmament, but served to frustrate Japan, whose leaders felt the nation was disrespected by the European nations, and repudiated the agreements during the late 1930s in preparation for World War Two. One fact that emerged clearly from the two conferences was that the United States, though it generally stayed out of European affairs during this era, lent great prestige to any affair in which it involved itself, and as an organizing unit commanded far more respect from the economically and politically distressed states of Europe than did the League of Nations, which was in effect, a weak coalition of these distressed states.

One reason that disarmament remained a nearly impossible goal for the League of Nations was its inability to persuade Britain and France to cooperate and act against their respective national interests. Britain was willing to support the vast reduction of land forces to a minimal level. However, France feared a German invasion on its borders and refused to accept any reduction in ground troops. France had no qualms about supporting drastic naval cuts, but Britain, an island nation, depended upon the navy for security, and refused to decrease naval strength. No arms agreement could be achieved while these powers refused to compromise. It took power politics and the presence of the United States to forge the little compromise that was reached.

The Kellogg-Briand Pact was important not because of any practical application, but because it successfully articulated the hatred and fear of war that had developed in Europe as a result of World War One. The Soviet Union, not to be outdone, quickly adopted its own Eastern peace treaty, the Livitinov Protocol, which was signed by the Soviet Union and four other states. The concept of rival peace treaties conveys the contradictions and absurdity of inter-war politics.

Economics During the Inter-War Years (1919-1938)

During World War I, some 10 million Europeans were killed, about 7 million were permanently disabled, and 15 million seriously wounded, mostly young men of working age and middle class backgrounds. This loss, combined with the destruction of land and property, led to a European situation of grave pessimism and poverty for many. Living conditions declined dramatically at the close of the war, the infant mortality rate skyrocketed, and life was quite difficult for Europeans of the period. The widespread material destruction totaled billions of dollars of damage in Europe. The war's prosecution had cost the nations of Europe six and one-half times as much as the total national debt of the entire world during the years from 1800 to 1914.

The Allies bore the brunt of the debt, and material damages, France especially. But the Central Powers were punished severely by the war's concluding treaties. Germany lost 15 percent of its pre-war capacity, all of its foreign investments, and 90 percent of its mercantile fleet. The Treaty of Versailles imposed reparations payments which were generally considered intolerable and impossible. In Austria, agricultural production fell 53 percent from pre-war levels, and starvation was a persistent problem. Inflation hit all of Europe in the first years after the war, as pent up demand was released and production fell off due to a shortage of raw materials. By 1920, prices in Hungary were 23,000 times what they had been before the war, and in Russia the multiplier was 4 million. A sharp depression in 1920 and 1921 corrected prices to some extent.

This depression, however, meant that the debtor countries increasingly found it impossible to pay their war debts. Germany pleaded with Britain and France for a moratorium on reparations payments, but France would not agree, and in fact, sent troops into the Ruhr in 1923, when Germany defaulted on its payments. In 1924, a solution was presented in the form of the Dawes Plan, presented by the American, Charles Dawes. Under this plan the total sum owed by Germany would remain the same, but

the yearly payments were reduced, and Germany was granted a loan. The German Chamber of Deputies accepted the plan on August 27, 1924. As a result, the German mark began to stabilize, and Germany was able to pay on time for a short while.

Meanwhile, the European Allies had their own financial problems. They ended the war deeply indebted to the United States. The United States demanded payment in gold and dollars, which the Allies borrowed from creditor nations, creating even greater debt elsewhere.

From 1925 to 1929, Europe entered a period of relative prosperity and stability. However, unemployment remained high, and population growth outstripped economic growth. During this time, world trade increased and speculative investment increased as the result of better economic times. US creditors, flush with capital coming in from Europe, led this speculative movement.

Germany continued to struggle with reparations payments, and in 1930, the Young Plan replaced the Dawes Plan, lowering annual payments yet again, but to no avail. In attempts to maintain benefits for the unemployed and drive prices down, taxes were hiked, and unemployment shot up again. As the Great Depression that had struck the United States in 1929 began to set in throughout Europe in the early 30s, banks began to collapse. Despite international loans, Germany, and Europe as a whole, plunged into depression, during which currencies collapsed and all hope of stability was dashed. Despite efforts to stabilize world prices and European employment, Europe remained mired in depression until the outbreak of World War II.

Most of the financial costs incurred by that nations fighting in WWI were covered by deficit spending. As a result, the money supply increased without any regard to the actual gold and silver reserves of the European nations. Most nations were forced to abandon the gold standard, causing their currencies to depreciate rapidly and creating rampant inflation. However, many analysts argue that strict government policies, implemented at the correct times, could have kept this inflation in check.

Regardless, these measures were not taken, currencies remained wildly unstable, and world trade could not be resumed. The widespread borrowing of money to make debt payments only served to worsen the situation. Reliance on short-term loans at high rates, and the foolish extension of credit to the struggling powers by speculating creditor nations only served to drive up national debts even farther, and generally overextend the nations of Europe financially.

Germany was no exception to this rule. Most of the money paid by Germany to Britain and France under the Dawes Plan came in the form of borrowed money. Between 1924 and 1929, Germany borrowed 28 billion marks, and paid some 10 million in reparations. Even without a depression in the early 1930s, this situation was likely to collapse on the Germans' heads. When the depression did hit, it was magnified in Germany by this overwhelming dependence on short-term capital.

While Europe struggled to rebuild during the 1920s, the United States prospered as the major creditor of the Allied nations. The United States feared the depreciation and collapse of foreign currencies, so demanded payment in dollars and gold, a situation which put a great deal of pressure on European treasuries.

However, US financial institutions benefited greatly from this influx of capital, and sought ways in which to invest it, driving up the US stock market by speculation, and often sending capital back to Europe in the form of loans. American financial experts favored massive international loans as a means of increasing American exports, increasing employment, and strengthening the already mighty dollar. American enthusiasm for speculation raised the economic tide both at home and in Europe from 1925 to 1929, but in the end, the situation proved unsustainable.

This period of outward prosperity belied the problems beneath. There was no international agreement on currency stabilization, so it was carried out haphazardly, in a varied, unsynchronized fashion by the nations of Europe. Currencies responded to speculation during the period of prosperity, rather than to realistic economic indicators. Additionally, the prosperity achieved during the late 1920s was distributed unevenly throughout Europe. All of this meant that the situation was primed for a sharp correction. That correction came in the early 1930s, plunging Europe into economic hard times once again.



History and development

Despite the problems encountered by the League of Nations in arbitrating conflict and ensuring international peace and security prior to World War II, the major Allied powers agreed during the war to establish a new global organization to help manage international affairs. This agreement was first articulated when U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill signed the Atlantic Charter in August 1941. The name United Nations was originally used to denote the countries allied against Germany, Italy, and Japan. On January 1, 1942, 26 countries signed the Declaration by United Nations, which set forth the war aims of the Allied powers.

The United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union took the lead in designing the new organization and determining its decision-making structure and functions. Initially, the "Big Three" states and their respective leaders (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin) were hindered by disagreements on issues that foreshadowed the Cold War. The Soviet Union demanded individual membership and voting rights for its constituent republics, and Britain wanted assurances that its colonies would not be placed under UN control. There also was disagreement over the voting system to be adopted in the Security Council, an issue that became famous as the "veto problem."

The first major step toward the formation of the United Nations was taken August 21–October 7, 1944, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, a meeting of the diplomatic experts of the Big Three powers plus China (a group often designated the "Big Four") held at Dumbarton Oaks, an estate in Washington, D.C. Although the four countries agreed on the

general purpose, structure, and function of a new world organization, the conference ended amid continuing disagreement over membership and voting. At the Yalta Conference, a meeting of the Big Three in a Crimean resort city in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin laid the basis for charter provisions delimiting the authority of the Security Council. Moreover, they reached a tentative accord on the number of Soviet republics to be granted independent memberships in the UN. Finally, the three leaders agreed that the new organization would include a trusteeship system to succeed the League of Nations mandate system.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, with modifications from the Yalta Conference, formed the basis of negotiations at the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO), which convened in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, and produced the final Charter of the United Nations. The San Francisco conference was attended by representatives of 50 countries from all geographic areas of the world: 9 from Europe, 21 from the Americas, 7 from the Middle East, 2 from East Asia including India, and 3 from Africa, as well as 1 each from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (in addition to the Soviet Union itself) and 5 from British Commonwealth countries. Poland, which was not present at the conference, was permitted to become an original member of the UN. Security Council veto power (among the permanent members) was affirmed, though any member of the General Assembly was able to raise issues for discussion. Other political issues resolved by compromise were the role of the organization in the promotion of economic and social welfare; the status of colonial areas and the distribution of trusteeships; the status of regional and defense arrangements; and Great Power dominance versus the equality of states. The UN Charter

was unanimously adopted and signed on June 26 and promulgated on October 24, 1945.

Organization and administration

Principles and membership

The purposes, principles, and organization of the United Nations are outlined in the Charter. The essential principles underlying the purposes and functions of the organization are listed in Article 2 and include the following: the UN is based on the sovereign equality of its members; disputes are to be settled by peaceful means; members are to refrain from the threat or use of force in contravention of the purposes of the UN; each member must assist the organization in any enforcement actions it takes under the Charter; and states that are not members of the organization are required to act in accordance with these principles insofar as it is necessary to maintain international peace and security. Article 2 also stipulates a basic long-standing norm that the organization shall not intervene in matters considered within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. Although this was a major limitation on UN action, over time the line between international and domestic jurisdiction has become blurred.

New members are admitted to the UN on the recommendation of the Security Council and by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. Often, however, the admittance of new members has engendered controversy. Given Cold War divisions between East and West, the requirement that the Security Council's five permanent members (sometimes known collectively as the P-5)-China, France, the Soviet Union (whose seat and membership were assumed by Russia in 1991), the United Kingdom, and the United States-concur on the admission of new members at times posed serious obstacles. By 1950 only 9 of 31 applicants had been admitted to the organization. In 1955 the 10th Assembly proposed a package deal that, after modification by the Security Council, resulted in the admission of 16 new states (4 eastern European communist states and 12 noncommunist countries). The most contentious application for membership was that of the

communist People's Republic of China, which was placed before the General Assembly and blocked by the United States at every session from 1950 to 1971. Finally, in 1971, in an effort to improve its relationship with mainland China, the United States refrained from blocking the Assembly's vote to admit the People's Republic and to expel the Republic of China (Taiwan); there were 76 votes in favour of expulsion, 35 votes opposed, and 17 abstentions. As a result, the Republic of China's membership and permanent Security Council seat were given to the People's Republic.

Controversy also arose over the issue of "divided" states, including the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), North and South Korea, and North and South Vietnam. The two German states were admitted as members in 1973; these two seats were reduced to one after the country's reunification in October 1990. Vietnam was admitted in 1977, after the defeat of South Vietnam and the reunification of the country in 1975. The two Koreas were admitted separately in 1991.

Following worldwide decolonization from 1955 to 1960, 40 new members were admitted, and by the end of the 1970s there were about 150 members of the UN. Another significant increase occurred after 1989-90, when many former Soviet republics gained their independence. By the early 21st century the UN comprised nearly 190 member states.

Principal organs

The United Nations has six principal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The only body in which all UN members are represented, the General Assembly exercises deliberative, supervisory, financial, and elective functions relating to any matter within the scope of the UN Charter. Its primary role, however, is to discuss issues and make recommendations, though it has no power to

enforce its resolutions or to compel state action. Other functions include admitting new members; selecting members of the Economic and Social Council, the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, and the Trusteeship Council; supervising the activities of the other UN organs, from which the Assembly receives reports; and participating in the election of judges to the International Court of Justice and the selection of the secretary-general. Decisions usually are reached by a simple majority vote. On important questions, however-such as the admission of new members, budgetary matters, and peace and security issues-a two-thirds majority is required.

The Assembly convenes annually and in special sessions, electing a new president each year from among five regional groups of states. At the beginning of each regular session, the Assembly also holds a general debate, in which all members may participate and raise any issue of international concern. Most work, however, is delegated to six main committees: (1) Disarmament and International Security, (2) Economic and Financial, (3) Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural, (4) Special Political and Decolonization, (5) Administrative and Budgetary, and (6) Legal.

The General Assembly has debated issues that other organs of the UN have either overlooked or avoided, including decolonization, the independence of Namibia, apartheid in South Africa, terrorism, and the AIDS epidemic. The number of resolutions passed by the Assembly each year has climbed to more than 350, and many resolutions are adopted without opposition. Nevertheless, there have been sharp disagreements among members on several issues, such as those relating to the Cold War, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and human rights. The General Assembly has drawn public attention to major issues, thereby forcing member governments to develop positions on them, and it has helped to organize ad hoc bodies and conferences to deal with important global problems.

The large size of the Assembly and the diversity of the issues it discusses contributed to the emergence of regionally based voting blocs

in the 1960s. During the Cold War the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe formed one of the most cohesive blocs, and another bloc comprised the United States and its Western allies. The admission of new countries of the Southern Hemisphere in the 1960s and '70s and the dissipation of Cold War tensions after 1989 contributed to the formation of blocs based on "North-South" economic issues-i.e., issues of disagreement between the more prosperous, industrialized countries of the Northern Hemisphere and the poorer, less industrialized developing countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Other issues have been incorporated into the North-South divide, including Northern economic and political domination, economic development, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and support for Israel.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The UN Charter assigns to the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Security Council originally consisted of 11 members-five permanent and six nonpermanent-elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. From the beginning, nonpermanent members of the Security Council were elected to give representation to certain regions or groups of states. As membership increased, however, this practice ran into difficulty. An amendment to the UN Charter in 1965 increased the council's membership to 15, including the original five permanent members plus 10 nonpermanent members. Among the permanent members, the People's Republic of China replaced the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1971, and the Russian Federation succeeded the Soviet Union in 1991. After the unification of Germany, debate over the council's composition again arose, and Germany, India, and Japan each applied for permanent council seat.

The nonpermanent members are chosen to achieve equitable regional representation, five members coming from Africa or Asia, one from eastern Europe, two from Latin America, and two from western Europe or other areas. Five of the 10 nonpermanent members are elected

each year by the General Assembly for two-year terms, and five retire each year. The presidency is held by each member in rotation for a period of one month.

Each Security Council member is entitled to one vote. On all "procedural" matters-the definition of which is sometimes in dispute-decisions by the council are made by an affirmative vote of any nine of its members. Substantive matters, such as the investigation of a dispute or the application of sanctions, also require nine affirmative votes, including those of the five permanent members holding veto power. In practice, however, a permanent member may abstain without impairing the validity of the decision. A vote on whether a matter is procedural or substantive is itself a substantive question. Because the Security Council is required to function continuously, each member is represented at all times at the UN's headquarters in New York City.

Any country-even if it is not a member of the UN-may bring a dispute to which it is a party to the attention of the Security Council. When there is a complaint, the council first explores the possibility of a peaceful resolution. International peacekeeping forces may be authorized to keep warring parties apart pending further negotiations. If the council finds that there is a real threat to the peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression (as defined by Article 39 of the UN Charter), it may call upon UN members to apply diplomatic or economic sanctions. If these methods prove inadequate, the UN Charter allows the Security Council to take military action against the offending country.

During the Cold War, continual disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union coupled with the veto power of the Security Council's permanent members made the Security Council an ineffective institution. Since the late 1980s, however, the council's power and prestige have grown. Between 1987 and 2000 it authorized more peacekeeping operations than at any previous time. The use of the veto has declined dramatically, though disagreements among permanent members of the Security Council-most notably in 2003 over

the use of military force against Iraq-have occasionally undermined the council's effectiveness. To achieve consensus, comparatively informal meetings are held in private among the council's permanent members, a practice that has been criticized by nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

In addition to several standing and ad hoc committees, the work of the council is facilitated by the Military Staff Committee, sanctions committees for each of the countries under sanctions, peacekeeping forces committees, and an International Tribunals Committee.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Designed to be the UN's main venue for the discussion of international economic and social issues, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) directs and coordinates the economic, social, humanitarian, and cultural activities of the UN and its specialized agencies. Established by the UN Charter, ECOSOC is empowered to recommend international action on economic and social issues; promote universal respect for human rights; and work for global cooperation on health, education, and cultural and related areas. ECOSOC conducts studies; formulates resolutions, recommendations, and conventions for consideration by the General Assembly; and coordinates the activities of various UN programs and specialized agencies. Most of ECOSOC's work is performed in functional commissions on topics such as human rights, narcotics, population, social development, statistics, the status of women, and science and technology; the council also oversees regional commissions for Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Western Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council was designed to supervise the government of trust territories and to lead them to self-government or independence. The trusteeship system, like the mandate system under the League of Nations, was established on the premise that colonial territories taken from countries defeated in war should not be annexed by the victorious powers but should be administered by a trust country under

international supervision until their future status was determined. Unlike the mandate system, the trusteeship system invited petitions from trust territories on their independence and required periodic international missions to the territories. In 1945 only 12 League of Nations mandates remained: Nauru, New Guinea, Ruanda-Urundi, Togoland and Cameroon (French administered), Togoland and Cameroon (British administered), the Pacific Islands (Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas), Western Samoa, South West Africa, Tanganyika, and Palestine. All these mandates became trust territories except South West Africa (now Namibia), which South Africa refused to enter into the trusteeship system.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice, commonly known as the World Court, is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, though the court's origins predate the League of Nations. The idea for the creation of an international court to arbitrate international disputes arose during an international conference held at The Hague in 1899. This institution was subsumed under the League of Nations in 1919 as the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) and adopted its present name with the founding of the UN in 1945.

The court's decisions are binding, and its broad jurisdiction encompasses "all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force." Most importantly, states may not be parties to a dispute without their consent, though they may accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court in specified categories of disputes. The court may give advisory opinions at the request of the General Assembly or the Security Council or at the request of other organs and specialized agencies authorized by the General Assembly. Although the court has successfully arbitrated some cases (e.g., the border dispute between Honduras and El Salvador in 1992), governments have been reluctant to submit sensitive issues, thereby limiting the court's ability to resolve threats to international peace and security. At

times countries also have refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction or the findings of the court. For example, when Nicaragua sued the United States in the court in 1984 for mining its harbours, the court found in favour of Nicaragua, but the United States refused to accept the court's decision.

The 15 judges of the court are elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. No two judges may be nationals of the same state, and the judges are to represent a cross section of the major legal systems of the world. Judges serve nine-year terms and are eligible for reelection. The seat of the World Court is The Hague.

SECRETARIAT

The secretary-general, the principal administrative officer of the United Nations, is elected for a five-year renewable term by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and by the recommendation of the Security Council and the approval of its permanent members. Secretaries-general usually have come from small, neutral countries. The secretary-general serves as the chief administrative officer at all meetings and carries out any functions that those organs entrust to the Secretariat; he also oversees the preparation of the UN's budget. The secretary-general has important political functions, being charged with bringing before the organization any matter that threatens international peace and security. Both the chief spokesperson for the UN and the UN's most visible and authoritative figure in world affairs, the secretary-general often serves as a high-level negotiator. Attesting to the importance of the post, two secretaries-general have been awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace: Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961 and Kofi Annan, co-recipient with the UN, in 2001.

The Secretariat influences the work of the United Nations to a much greater degree than indicated in the UN Charter. It is responsible for preparing numerous reports, studies, and investigations, in addition to the major tasks of translating, interpreting, providing services for large numbers of meetings, and other work. Under the Charter the staff is to be recruited

mainly on the basis of merit, though there has been a conscious effort to recruit individuals from different geographic regions. Some members of the Secretariat are engaged on permanent contracts, but others serve on temporary assignment from their national governments. In both cases they must take an oath of loyalty to the United Nations and are not permitted to receive instructions from member governments. The influence of the Secretariat can be attributed to the fact that the some 9,000 people on its staff are permanent experts and international civil servants rather than political appointees of member states.

The Secretariat is based in New York, Geneva, Vienna, Nairobi (Kenya), and other locales. It has been criticized frequently for poor administrative practices-though it has made persistent efforts to increase the efficiency of its operations-as well as for a lack of neutrality.

Functions

Maintenance of international peace and security

The main function of the United Nations is to preserve international peace and security. Chapter 6 of the Charter provides for the pacific settlement of disputes, through the intervention of the Security Council, by means such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and judicial decisions. The Security Council may investigate any dispute or situation to determine whether it is likely to endanger international peace and security. At any stage of the dispute, the council may recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment, and, if the parties fail to settle the dispute by peaceful means, the council may recommend terms of settlement.

The goal of collective security, whereby aggression against one member is met with resistance by all, underlies chapter 7 of the Charter, which grants the Security Council the power to order coercive measures-ranging from diplomatic, economic, and military sanctions to the use of armed force-in cases where attempts at a peaceful settlement have failed. Such measures were seldom applied during the Cold

War, however, because tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union prevented the Security Council from agreeing on the instigators of aggression. Instead, actions to maintain peace and security often took the form of preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping. In the post-Cold War period, appeals to the UN for peacekeeping and related activities increased dramatically, and new threats to international peace and security were confronted, including AIDS and international terrorism.

Notwithstanding the primary role of the Security Council, the UN Charter provides for the participation of the General Assembly and nonmember states in security issues. Any state, whether a member of the UN or not, may bring any dispute or situation that endangers international peace and security to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Charter authorizes the General Assembly to "discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security" and to "make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both." This authorization is restricted by the provision that, "while the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests." By the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of November 1950, however, the General Assembly granted to itself the power to deal with threats to the peace if the Security Council fails to act after a veto by a permanent member. Although these provisions grant the General Assembly a broad secondary role, the Security Council can make decisions that bind all members, whereas the General Assembly can make only recommendations.

Peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building

International armed forces were first used in 1948 to observe cease-fires in Kashmir and Palestine. Although not specifically mentioned in the UN Charter, the use of such forces as a buffer between warring parties pending troop

withdrawals and negotiations—a practice known as peacekeeping—was formalized in 1956 during the Suez Crisis between Egypt, Israel, France, and the United Kingdom. Peacekeeping missions have taken many forms, though they have in common the fact that they are designed to be peaceful, that they involve military troops from several countries, and that the troops serve under the authority of the UN Security Council. In 1988 the UN Peacekeeping Forces were awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

During the Cold War, so-called first-generation, or "classic," peacekeeping was used in conflicts in the Middle East and Africa and in conflicts stemming from decolonization in Asia. Between 1948 and 1988 the UN undertook 13 peacekeeping missions involving generally lightly armed troops from neutral countries other than the permanent members of the Security Council—most often Canada, Sweden, Norway, Finland, India, Ireland, and Italy. Troops in these missions, the so-called "Blue Helmets," were allowed to use force only in self-defense. The missions were given and enjoyed the consent of the parties to the conflict and the support of the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries.

With the end of the Cold War, the challenges of peacekeeping became more complex. In order to respond to situations in which internal order had broken down and the civilian population was suffering, "second-generation" peacekeeping was developed to achieve multiple political and social objectives. Unlike first-generation peacekeeping, second-generation peacekeeping often involves civilian experts and relief specialists as well as soldiers. Another difference between second-generation and first-generation peacekeeping is that soldiers in some second-generation missions are authorized to employ force for reasons other than self-defense. Because the goals of second-generation peacekeeping can be variable and difficult to define, however, much controversy has accompanied the use of troops in such missions.

In the 1990s, second-generation peacekeeping missions were undertaken in Cambodia (1991-93), the former Yugoslavia (1992-95), Somalia (1992-95), and elsewhere

and included troops from the permanent members of the Security Council as well as from the developed and developing world (e.g., Australia, Pakistan, Ghana, Nigeria, Fiji, India). In the former Yugoslav province of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Security Council created "safe areas" to protect the predominantly Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) population from Serbian attacks, and UN troops were authorized to defend the areas with force. In each of these cases, the UN reacted to threats to peace and security within states, sometimes taking sides in domestic disputes and thus jeopardizing its own neutrality. Between 1988 and 2000 more than 30 peacekeeping efforts were authorized, and at their peak in 1993 more than 80,000 peacekeeping troops representing 77 countries were deployed on missions throughout the world. In the first years of the 21st century, annual UN expenditures on peacekeeping operations exceeded \$2 billion.

In addition to traditional peacekeeping and preventive diplomacy, in the post-Cold War era the functions of UN forces were expanded considerably to include peacemaking and peace building. (Former UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali described these additional functions in his reports *An Agenda for Peace* [1992] and *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace* [1995]). For example, since 1990 UN forces have supervised elections in many parts of the world, including Nicaragua, Eritrea, and Cambodia; encouraged peace negotiations in El Salvador, Angola, and Western Sahara; and distributed food in Somalia. The presence of UN troops in Yugoslavia during the violent and protracted disintegration of that country renewed discussion about the role of UN troops in refugee resettlement. In 1992 the UN created the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which provides administrative and technical support for political and humanitarian missions and coordinates all mine-clearing activities conducted under UN auspices.

The UN's peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace-building activities have suffered from serious logistical and financial difficulties. As more missions are undertaken, the costs and controversies associated with them have

multiplied dramatically. Although the UN reimburses countries for the use of equipment, these payments have been limited because of the failure of many member states to pay their UN dues.

Sanctions and military action

By subscribing to the Charter, all members undertake to place at the disposal of the Security Council armed forces and facilities for military sanctions against aggressors or disturbers of the peace. During the Cold War, however, no agreements to give this measure effect were concluded. Following the end of the Cold War, the possibility of creating permanent UN forces was revived.

During the Cold War the provisions of chapter 7 of the UN Charter were invoked only twice with the support of all five permanent Security Council members-against Southern Rhodesia in 1966 and against South Africa in 1977. After fighting broke out between North and South Korea in June 1950, the United States obtained a Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force to support its ally, South Korea, and turn back North Korean forces. Because the Soviet Union was at the time boycotting the Security Council over its refusal to seat the People's Republic of China, there was no veto of the U.S. measure. As a result, a U.S.-led multinational force fought under the UN banner until a cease-fire was reached on July 27, 1953.

The Security Council again voted to use UN armed forces to repel an aggressor following the August 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. After condemning the aggression and imposing economic sanctions on Iraq, the council authorized member states to use "all necessary means" to restore "peace and security" to Kuwait. The resulting Persian Gulf War lasted six weeks, until Iraq agreed to comply with UN resolutions and withdraw from Kuwait. The UN continued to monitor Iraq's compliance with its resolutions, which included the demand that Iraq eliminate its weapons of mass destruction. In accordance with this resolution, the Security Council established a UN Special Mission (UNSCOM) to inspect and verify Iraq's implementation of the

cease-fire terms. The United States, however, continued to bomb Iraqi weapons installations from time to time, citing Iraqi violations of "no-fly" zones in the northern and southern regions of the country, the targeting of U.S. military aircraft by Iraqi radar, and the obstruction of inspection efforts undertaken by UNSCOM.

The preponderant role of the United States in initiating and commanding UN actions in Korea in 1950 and the Persian Gulf in 1990-91 prompted debate over whether the requirements and spirit of collective security could ever be achieved apart from the interests of the most powerful countries and without U.S. control. The continued U.S. bombing of Iraq subsequent to the Gulf War created further controversy about whether the raids were justified under previous UN Security Council resolutions and, more generally, about whether the United States was entitled to undertake military actions in the name of collective security without the explicit approval and cooperation of the UN. Meanwhile some military personnel and members of the U.S. Congress opposed the practice of allowing U.S. troops to serve under UN command, arguing that it amounted to an infringement of national sovereignty. Still others in the United States and western Europe urged a closer integration of United States and allied command structures in UN military operations.

In order to assess the UN's expanded role in ensuring international peace and security through dispute settlement, peacekeeping, peace building, and enforcement action, a comprehensive review of UN Peace Operations was undertaken. The resulting Brahimi Report (formally the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations), issued in 2000, outlined the need for strengthening the UN's capacity to undertake a wide variety of missions. Among the many recommendations of the report was that the UN maintain brigade-size forces of 5,000 troops that would be ready to deploy in 30 to 90 days and that UN headquarters be staffed with trained military professionals able to use advanced information technologies and to plan operations with a UN team including political, development, and human rights experts.

Arms control and disarmament

The UN's founders hoped that the maintenance of international peace and security would lead to the control and eventual reduction of weapons. Therefore the Charter empowers the General Assembly to consider principles for arms control and disarmament and to make recommendations to member states and the Security Council. The Charter also gives the Security Council the responsibility to formulate plans for arms control and disarmament. Although the goal of arms control and disarmament has proved elusive, the UN has facilitated the negotiation of several multilateral arms control treaties.

Because of the enormous destructive power realized with the development and use of the atomic bomb during World War II, the General Assembly in 1946 created the Atomic Energy Commission to assist in the urgent consideration of the control of atomic energy and in the reduction of atomic weapons. The United States promoted the Baruch Plan, which proposed the elimination of existing stockpiles of atomic bombs only after a system of international control was established and prohibited veto power in the Security Council on the commission's decisions. The Soviet Union, proposing the Gromyko Plan, wanted to ensure the destruction of stockpiles before agreeing to an international supervisory scheme and wanted to retain Security Council veto power over the commission. The conflicting positions of the two superpowers prevented agreement on the international control of atomic weapons and energy.

In 1947 the Security Council organized the Commission for Conventional Armaments to deal with armaments other than weapons of mass destruction, but progress on this issue also was blocked by disagreement between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. As a result, in 1952 the General Assembly voted to replace both of these commissions with a new Disarmament Commission. Consisting of the members of the Security Council and Canada, this commission was directed to prepare proposals that would regulate, limit, and balance reduction of all armed forces and armaments;

eliminate all weapons of mass destruction; and ensure international control and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. After five years of vigorous effort and little progress, in 1957 the International Atomic Energy Agency was established to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

In 1961 the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring the use of nuclear or thermonuclear weapons to be contrary to international law, to the UN Charter, and to the laws of humanity. Two years later, on August 5, 1963, the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty was signed by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The treaty to which more than 150 states later adhered prohibited nuclear tests or explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater. In 1966 the General Assembly unanimously approved a treaty prohibiting the placement of weapons of mass destruction in orbit, on the Moon, or on other celestial bodies and recognizing the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes.

In June 1968 the Assembly approved the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which banned the spread of nuclear weapons from nuclear to nonnuclear powers; enjoined signatory nonnuclear powers, in exchange for technical assistance in developing nuclear power for "peaceful purposes," not to develop or deploy nuclear weapons; and committed the nuclear powers to engage in measures of disarmament. The treaty represented a significant commitment on the part of more than 140 (now 185) signatory powers to control nuclear weapons proliferation; nevertheless, for many years the treaty, which went into effect in 1970, was not ratified by significant nuclear powers (including China and France) and many "near-nuclear" states (including Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa). Some of these states signed the treaty in the early 1990s: South Africa signed in 1991, followed by France and China in 1992.

The UN has been active in attempting to eliminate other weapons of mass destruction of a variety of types and in a variety of contexts. In 1970 the General Assembly approved a treaty banning the placement of weapons of mass

destruction on the seabed. A convention prohibiting the manufacture, stockpiling, and use of biological weapons was approved by the Assembly in 1971 and took effect in 1975, though many states have never acceded to it. In 1991 the UN General Assembly passed a resolution on the registration of conventional arms that required states to submit information on major international arms transfers. During the first several years of the registry, fewer than half of the UN's members submitted the required information; by 2000 about three-fifths of governments filed annual reports. In 1993 the Chemical Weapons Convention, which prohibited the development, production, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons and called for the destruction of existing stockpiles within 10 years, was opened for signature. In 1996 the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, which prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons, was signed-though it has not yet entered into force-and two years later a treaty banning the production and export of antipersonnel land mines (Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction) was concluded. Despite international pressure, the United States refused to sign both the test ban and the land mine agreements.

Many negotiations on disarmament have been held in Geneva. Negotiations have been conducted by the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1960); the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (1962-68); the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (1969-78); and the Disarmament Commission (1979-), which now has more than 65 countries as members. Three special sessions of the General Assembly have been organized on disarmament, and, though the General Assembly sessions have produced little in the way of substantive agreements, they have served to focus public attention on the issue. In other forums, significant progress has been made on limiting specific types of armaments, such as bacteriologic, chemical, nuclear, and toxic weapons.

Development of international law

The United Nations, like the League of Nations, has played a major role in defining, codifying, and expanding the realm of international law. The International Law Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1947, is the primary institution responsible for these activities. The Legal Committee of the General Assembly receives the commission's reports and debates its recommendations; it may then either convene an international conference to draw up formal conventions based on the draft or merely recommend the draft to states. The International Court of Justice reinforces legal norms through its judgments. The commission and the committee have influenced international law in several important domains, including the laws of war, the law of the sea, human rights, and international terrorism.

The work of the UN on developing and codifying laws of war was built on the previous accomplishments of the Hague Conventions (1899-1907), the League of Nations, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928). The organization's first concern after World War II was the punishment of suspected Nazi war criminals. The General Assembly directed the International Law Commission to formulate the principles of international law recognized at the Nürnberg trials, in which German war criminals were prosecuted, and to prepare a draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind. In 1950 the commission submitted its formulation of the Nürnberg principles, which covered crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. In the following year the commission presented to the General Assembly its draft articles, which enumerated crimes against international law, including any act or threat of aggression, annexation of territory, and genocide. Although the General Assembly did not adopt these reports, the commission's work in formulating the Nürnberg principles influenced the development of human rights law.

The UN also took up the problem of defining aggression, a task attempted unsuccessfully by

the League of Nations. Both the International Law Commission and the General Assembly undertook prolonged efforts that eventually resulted in agreement in 1974. The definition of aggression, which passed without dissent, included launching military attacks, sending armed mercenaries against another state, and allowing one's territory to be used for perpetrating an act of aggression against another state. In 1987 the General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions to strengthen legal norms in favour of the peaceful resolution of disputes and against the use of force.

The UN has made considerable progress in developing and codifying the law of the sea as well. The International Law Commission took up the law of the sea as one of its earliest concerns, and in 1958 and 1960, respectively, the General Assembly convened the First and the Second United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The initial conference approved conventions on the continental shelf, fishing, the high seas, and territorial waters and contiguous zones, all of which were ratified by the mid-1960s. During the 1970s it came to be accepted that the deep seabed is the "common heritage of mankind" and should be administered by an international authority. In 1973 the General Assembly called UNCLOS III to discuss the conflicting positions on this issue as well as on issues relating to navigation, pollution, and the breadth of territorial waters. The resulting Law of the Sea Treaty (1982) has been ratified by some 140 countries. The original treaty was not signed by the United States, which objected to the treaty's restrictions on seabed mining. The United States signed a revised treaty after a compromise was reached in 1994, though the agreement has yet to be ratified by the U.S. Senate.

The UN has worked to advance the law of treaties and the laws regulating relations between states. In 1989 the General Assembly passed a resolution declaring 1990-99 the UN Decade of International Law, to be dedicated to promoting acceptance and respect for the principles and institutions of international law. In 1992 the General Assembly directed the International Law Commission to prepare a

draft statute for an International Criminal Court. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) was adopted in July 1998 and later signed by more than 120 countries. The ICC, which is to be located at The Hague upon the ratification of the statute by at least 60 signatory countries, has jurisdiction over crimes against humanity, crimes of genocide, war crimes, and crimes of aggression, pending an acceptable definition of that term. Under the terms of the convention, no person age 18 years or older is immune from prosecution, including presidents or heads of state.

Since 1963 the United Nations has been active in developing a legal framework for combating international terrorism. The General Assembly and specialized agencies such as the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency established conventions on issues such as offenses committed on aircraft, acts jeopardizing the safety of civil aviation, the unlawful taking of hostages, and the theft or illegal transfer of nuclear weapons technology. In 2001, in the wake of devastating terrorist attacks that killed thousands in the United States, the General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism continued work on a comprehensive convention for the suppression of terrorism.

Assessment

The United Nations is the only global international organization that serves multiple functions in international relations. The UN was designed to ensure international peace and security, and its founders realized that peace and security could not be achieved without attention to issues of rights-including political, legal, economic, social, environmental, and individual. Yet the UN has faced difficulties in achieving its goals, because its organizational structure still reflects the power relationships of the immediate post-1945 world, despite the fact that the world has changed dramatically-particularly with respect to the post-Cold War relationship between the United States and Russia and the dramatic increase in the number of independent states. The UN is a reflection of the realities of international politics, and the

world's political and economic divisions are revealed in the voting arrangements of the Security Council, the blocs and cleavages of the General Assembly, the different viewpoints within the Secretariat, the divisions present at global conferences, and the financial and budgetary processes.

Despite its intensively political nature, the UN has transformed itself and some aspects of international politics. Decolonization was successfully accomplished, and the many newly independent states joined the international community and have helped to shape a new international agenda. The UN has utilized Charter provisions to develop innovative methods to address peace and security issues. The organization has tried new approaches to economic development, encouraging the establishment of specialized organizations to meet specific needs. It has organized global conferences on urgent international issues,

thereby placing new issues on the international agenda and allowing greater participation by NGOs and individuals.

Notwithstanding its accomplishments, the United Nations still operates under the basic provision of respect for national sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of states. The norm of national sovereignty, however, runs into persistent conflict with the constant demand by many in the international community that the UN take a more active role in combating aggression and alleviating international problems. For example, the United States appealed to the issue of national sovereignty to justify its opposition to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Criminal Court. Thus it is likely that the UN will continue to be seen by its critics as either too timid or too omnipotent as it is asked to resolve the most pressing problems faced by the world's most vulnerable citizens.

United Nations members

The table provides a list of UN member countries.

1945	Argentina, Australia, Belarus (Belorussia), Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russia (U.S.S.R.) ¹ , Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia ²
1946	Afghanistan, Iceland, Sweden, Thailand
1947	Pakistan, Yemen ³
1948	Myanmar (Burma)
1949	Israel
1950	Indonesia
1955	Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka (Ceylon)
1956	Japan, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia
1957	Ghana, Malaysia
1958	Guinea
1960	Benin (Dahomey), Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), Cameroon, Central African Republic,

	Chad, Congo (capital at Brazzaville), Congo (Zaire; capital at Kinshasa), Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Cyprus, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo
1961	Mauritania, Mongolia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania ⁴
1962	Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda
1963	Kenya, Kuwait
1964	Malawi, Malta, Zambia
1965	The Gambia, Maldives, Singapore
1966	Barbados, Botswana, Guyana, Lesotho
1968	Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Swaziland
1970	Fiji
1971	Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates
1973	The Bahamas, Germany ⁵
1974	Bangladesh, Grenada, Guinea Bissau
1975	Cape Verde, Comoros, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Suriname
1976	Angola, Samoa, Seychelles
1977	Djibouti, Vietnam
1978	Dominica, Solomon Islands
1979	Saint Lucia
1980	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Zimbabwe
1981	Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Vanuatu
1983	Saint Kitts and Nevis
1984	Brunei
1990	Liechtenstein, Namibia
1991	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, North Korea, South Korea
1992	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
1993	Andorra, Czech Republic ⁶ , Eritrea, Macedonia, Monaco, Slovakia ⁶
1994	Palau
1999	Kiribati, Nauru, Tonga
2000	Tuvalu
2002	East Timor, Switzerland
2006	Montenegro ²
2011	South Sudan
¹ The seat held by the U.S.S.R. was assumed by Russia in 1991.	

²The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a member from 1945 until its dissolution following the establishment and admission of the new member states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia (1992), Macedonia (1993), and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (2000), the last reconstituted as Serbia and Montenegro in 2003. In 2006 Serbia and Montenegro split into separate countries.

³North Yemen (capital at San'a') merged in 1990 with South Yemen (capital at Aden). Upon unification, there was one membership.

⁴Tanganyika merged in 1964 with Zanzibar. The country's name after the merger became Tanzania, with a single UN membership.

⁵East Germany and West Germany were admitted as separate members in 1973. Upon unification of the two countries in 1990, there was one membership.

⁶Czechoslovakia, a member from 1945, split into two countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, in 1993.

■■■

Cold War

In the course of the nineteenth century, the world effectively passed under the domination of the six imperial powers, what were known as the great powers, USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan.

World War II resulted in the concentration of leadership in just two powers, the super powers, the USA and the USSR, with the UK, France, Germany, and Japan reduced to second rank. During the epoch of the Cold War, the hierarchy appeared thus: the super powers USA and USSR as leaders; a second level of a vast body of states of unequal resources but none capable of challenging the super powers; and a number of aspirant states and entities, although their number was dwindling through decolonization, but sometimes increasing through movements of secession within existing states.

Russian Power

From the beginning of 1917 Russia experienced a tremendous domestic political and socio-economic upheaval with several factions struggling to gain exclusive power. In October-November 1917 the Bolsheviks led by Vladimir Lenin replaced a coalition of socialists in the Kremlin and immediately sued for peace with Germany. The Bolshevik Revolution affected every aspect of Russian life and also had profound effects on the rest of the world, most immediately in Europe and on international relations.

Avowed Bolshevik aims of fostering world revolution aroused acute anxiety in all capitalist societies that lasted over the next seven decades. The ideology of revolution and its accompanying propaganda of workers rights across national borders became an instrument of the Communist Third International, which replaced the Second International in 1920, as well as that of the

Soviet Union. At the same time, Lenin wanted Russia to have normal relations - including credits and trade - with the western powers.

Announcement of a New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 enabled a commercial agreement with Britain but de jure recognition was not forthcoming from Britain, France or Italy until 1924 and from the US only in 1933. Stalin's assumption of power in 1928 and the means he adopted to ensure his supremacy and implement his policies of economic transformation in the 1930s - were extreme by any definition, and made the Soviet synonymous with 'totalitarianism' in the western lexicon.

Policy Of Containment

Origins of the Cold War lay in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the image of communism as a militant faith determined to produce world revolution.

US policies of 'containment' as well as President Reagan's depiction of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" in the 1980s grew out of that mindset.

The supreme power of the US in 1945 was evident in its economy that accounted for about 50 per cent of total world GNP, its superiority, and its technical prowess seen in the detonation of two atomic bombs.

Defeated Germany was divided into four occupation zones, as was its capital Berlin situated within the Soviet zone. The occupying powers differed on many subjects including de-Nazification, reparations, the German-Polish border, currency and economic policies, and transit rights.

Mutually reinforcing fear and suspicion could be seen on the one hand, in Soviet convictions that the US intended to renege on promises made at Yalta and use a rearmed

Germany against the USSR, and on the other hand, in American convictions that the Soviet Union intended to control all of Germany and advance into as much of Europe and the rest of the world as possible. To forestall such an eventuality through a policy of 'containment' of communism became the prime foreign policy objective of the US.

In March 1947 President Truman announced a 'doctrine' for opposing communism. All Latin American countries committed themselves to joint defense against internal and external communist subversion in the Rio treaty signed with the US in 1947. In June 1947 Secretary of State John Marshall launched a plan of massive economic grants (\$17 billion between 1948 and 1952) to 16 non-communist European countries conditional on their removing barriers to economic integration.

Cold War: Manifestations

Confrontation between these two military alliances armed with increasingly sophisticated conventional and nuclear weapons was the central feature of the Cold War. Though both sides probably overestimated the aggressive intentions of the other, fear of their capabilities spurred an arms race and sharpened the sense of danger of imminent nuclear conflict over several decades, especially at times of crisis such as over Berlin in 1948 and 1961, the Hungarian nationalist uprising of 1956, the Taiwan Straits in 1958, or the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962.

Gradually, however, nuclear weapons came to be seen as non-usable and territorial status quo in Europe was accepted by both sides, even when challenged by internal events such as the 'Prague Spring' of 1968. A European détente was initiated and in 1975 all the European states along with Canada, the US, and the USSR came together in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) affirming the status quo as well the need to protect human rights.

The Cold War came to Asia first when the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949 was interpreted as a grievous 'loss' in the US.

In June 1950 the partitioned peninsular nation of Korea erupted in war and the US led United Nations forces against communist North Korea forces assisted by PRC 'volunteers'. The Korean War ended in a stalemate and an armed armistice in 1953 that created a demilitarized zone along the 38th parallel. Communist North Korea, in alliance with neighbouring PRC, seemed to freeze in time even as substantial US forces were stationed in South Korea and remain there.

The Eisenhower Administration in the US deployed its Seventh Fleet to neutralize the Taiwan Straits and prevent open conflict between the PRC and ROC. The US also announced a doctrine of 'massive retaliation' -that is, possible use of nuclear weapons -to deter communist expansion, supported the French in Vietnam against nationalist forces led by communist leader Ho Chi Minh.

A defence pact setting up the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was signed on 8 September 1954 by the US, Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) was established by the US with Britain, Iran, Iraq (withdrew in 1958), Pakistan and Turkey in order to knit together the countries bordering the vulnerable southern border of the USSR. The Soviet Union and PRC did not attempt to replicate the Warsaw Pact in Asia but each stepped across the Western line of containment by conducting an active diplomacy of political support, trade, economic assistance, and arms supplies with various neighbouring and/or nonaligned states such as Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, and North Vietnam.

Cuban Missile Crisis

The most dangerous crisis of the Cold War took place in October 1962 over the issue of Soviet missiles placed in the Caribbean island of Cuba. There a popular revolution led by Fidel Castro had displaced the military regime of Fulgencio Batista in January 1959 and US backed attempts by Cuban émigrés to overthrow Castro had failed.

The Soviet post-Stalin leader Nikita Khrushchev decided to protect Cuba against American invasion by positioning nuclear missiles in Cuba. The US President John F. Kennedy reacted in anger to their discovery by a reconnaissance aircraft on 10 October 1962, demanding removal of the missile bases and ordering a naval blockade of Cuba on 18 October.

No other episode of the Cold War has received such microscopic scrutiny from historians and re-enactments by prominent participants of the time, partly because every facet of American-Soviet competition intersected in it: conflicting ideologies, the nuclear arms race, relations with allies and newly independent states, domestic political linkages with foreign policy, public and private diplomacy exemplified in United Nations leaders, neither of whom could afford to publically step down.

By mid-November the crisis was over. Soviet missiles were withdrawn from Cuba and some months later American Jupiter missiles were withdrawn from Turkey; Castro remained in power and threats of open invasion were ruled out; Kennedy won a victory with dignity and without war; the Soviet Union was not humiliated. Most importantly, both sides were shocked by realization of their own vulnerability and moved towards avoiding direct confrontation in areas of peripheral interest and framing rules for conducting the nuclear arms race such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1972.

Vietnam War

American involvement in the Vietnam War began in support of an anti-Communist but weak South Vietnam facing insurgency backed by communist North Vietnam in the early 1960s. A central security premise of US policy in Asia at the time was 'domino theory' that the toppling of one non-communist government inevitably would lead to successive falls and expanding communism.

A major US bombing campaign from the air in the mid and late 1960s was accompanied by the introduction of larger number of

American combat troops on the ground, where they were bogged down in a quagmire of guerilla warfare, and an enlargement of the war zone into Cambodia and Laos. Vocal opposition to the Vietnam War within the US and its allies, as well as strategic considerations about détente with the Soviet Union, led US President Nixon to make a dramatic rapprochement with China in 1971-72 and extract American troops from Vietnam in 1973.

A reunification of Vietnam by the communist North followed soon after in 1975. The US underwent considerable self-questioning and loss of confidence in the mid-1970s and earlier bipartisan consensus on national security policies was fractured.

Cold War in Third World

Some events in Third World, such as the assertiveness of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1973 and after, the growth of the Non Aligned Movement, conflict within the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and the Islamic Revolution in Iran of 1979, militated against Western interests for the US led block. These events occurred without direct Soviet participation but, Soviets also intervened in some other areas of world. The Soviet Union used the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' to justify military intervention to protect a communist (or leftist) government outside its own borders-as in Czechoslovakia in 1979.

American reactions, and the election of Republican Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, ushered in a 'New Cold War' of proxy conflict fought by government forces and Islamicist Mujahedin in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua between Sandinista government forces and right-wing 'contras', and in El Salvador and other Central American countries between right-wing governments and left-wing guerilla fighters.

Nuclear Arm Race

An integral part of the Cold War was the nuclear arms race, primarily between the US and the USSR. In 1942, after the US had entered World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the Manhattan Project, a costly

programme with several locations and many scientists and engineers, to build nuclear reactors and fabricate an atomic weapon as soon as possible and before Germany could do so. Project Y headed by Robert Oppenheimer at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, New Mexico, successfully tested one such device at Alamogordo on 16 July 1945 when he saw "a thousand suns".

The USSR tested its first atomic weapon on 26 August 1949.

US did not long retain its nuclear monopoly, and after the Soviet Union, others too tested and produced their own nuclear weapons: Britain in 1952, France in 1959, China in 1964, Israel probably and in secret in 1968, India in 1973 though it did not weaponize until after 1998, and Pakistan in 1998 or possibly in 1987. Iraq, Iran and North Korea also have been widely suspected of having nuclear weapons ambitions and possible capability.

Neither superpower explicitly ruled out use of nuclear weapons—indeed their status as superpowers as well as their respective doctrines of national security rested heavily on their possession and threatened use of nuclear weapons - and the numbers of nuclear warheads of different kinds they produced multiplied exponentially to total over 60,000 at the height of the Cold War. Even after both had agreed to strategic arms limitations and reductions in the 1980s and 1990s, their arsenals remain formidable.

Arm Race

International hostility and conflicts over spheres of influence suffice to begin and maintain high levels of military spending, domestic influences, American and Soviet nuclear doctrines are some of the factors that led to an arms race during the Cold War.

In the first decade of the Cold War the US relied on its air and nuclear superiority to counter Soviet conventional and ground superiority in Europe and threatened 'massive retaliation' against any attempted change in

the status quo. In the 1960s it relied on 'flexible response' and the creation of an invulnerable 'second strike' capacity based on a triad of air, land and sea based missiles aimed at a range of targets including cities to 'deter' any possible 'first strike' by the Soviet Union.

In the 1970s the US aimed for stability in the status quo through arms control negotiations and détente. In the 1980s US engaged in a military build-up that included deployment of intermediate range missiles in Europe to reassure Western Europe of American commitment to its defence, and a new Strategic Defence Initiative, what Reagan called 'Star Wars'.

The New Cold War of the 1980s intensified danger not only because of heightened conflict in Asia, Africa, and Central America, but because of the introduction of new and more lethal nuclear weapons into superpower arsenals and the deployment of some in Europe, as well as Reagan's proposed Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) that threatened stability of the 1972 ABM Treaty by taking the arms race into space.

MAD and 'deterrence'

The theory of 'deterrence' -itself a term capable of flexible interpretation but based on the assumption of two roughly comparable hostile powers with common conceptions of what constituted 'rational action' -was central to American strategic doctrine throughout. More than deterrence by possession of nuclear weapons, what kept the Cold War from becoming hot was Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).

US and USSR moved toward arms control measures beginning with the Partial Test Ban Treaty (banning atmospheric tests) signed on 5 August 1963. Arms control negotiations were extended exercises in bargaining and conflict management, not efforts to bring about disarmament or conflict resolution.

The major bilateral nuclear weapon treaties signed by US and the USSR/Russia are as follows:

May 1972	Anti-Ballistic Treaty
	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I)
July 1974	Threshold Test Ban Treaty
June 1979	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II)
December 1987	Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty
July 1991	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I)
January 1993	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II)

Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Measures were undertaken to prevent and check that type of 'horizontal' proliferation, notably the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) negotiated over three years and opened for signature by states on 1 July 1968 with an initial validity of 25 years. With 135 initial and 187 current signatories, the NPT is the largest multilateral treaty on record and was indefinitely extended in 1995. The NPT specifically defines a nuclear-weapon state (NWS) as one that had manufactured and exploded a nuclear device before 1 January 1967. (This definition is the main reason for India being opposed to treaty).

Increasingly stringent limitations have been placed on trade and transfers of any materials or technologies that could be used for military purposes by suppliers, groups such as the Zangger Committee and the Nuclear Supplies Group founded in the 1970s, the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) of 1987 and the Warsaw Guidelines of 1992. Domestic legislation and vigorous surveillance in some countries since the 1970s, notably in the US, raise very high barriers to transfers of doubtful materials and technologies, and "counter proliferation" tactics devised to discourage potential proliferators.

In September 1996 a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) was opened for signature and negotiation for a multilateral treaty on a cutoff of production of fissile material for nuclear

weapons was in process.

The CTBT required the 44 states, judged to be nuclear capable to sign and ratify it before coming into force; India objected to being numbered one of the 44 and did not sign, and though President Clinton signed in 1999 the US Senate did not ratify the treaty. India, and Pakistan, openly tested nuclear weapons in May 1998 and moved toward their deployment; US pressures on them to "roll back" their programmes failed.

At the heart of the proliferation dilemma, however, is the issue of equity. The NPT created a hierarchy of states, privileging the NWS on condition that they sincerely move toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. Their failure to do so and their adoption of counter-proliferation measures (including development of new types of nuclear weapons) raised suspicions that they wanted a perpetual freeze of hierarchy.

Disintegration Of USSR

Brezhnev was succeeded after his death in 1982, by men of his own generation, first by Yuri Andropov, who died in February 1984, and then by Konstantin Chernenko, who died in March 1985. Neither had the time nor energy to attempt internal reform or external initiatives.

Gorbachev simultaneously launched three campaigns and conducted them personally. One was externally directed to establish good relations with world leaders, especially in the West beginning with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and to restructure relations with other Socialist states on the basis of independence rather than the Brezhnev Doctrine of intervention. Gorbachev's state visit to Washington D.C. in December 1987 was a public relations triumph for him and the beginning of a personal rapport with then Vice-President George Bush.

Another campaign was to promote the idea of perestroika -meaning reform and an all-embracing modernization so as to improve economic performance and living conditions of the people-among Soviet officials and the public during his many tours around the country. And a third campaign was also internal, to introduce

glasnost -meaning openness-in sharing information with the frequently alienated intelligentsia. Gorbachev's diplomacy assisted by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, brought an end to the Cold War.

Power struggle between the US and USSR played out by proxy on all continents but most of all in the arms race. Gorbachev's economic reforms moving the Soviet Union away from its state controlled 'command' model toward a mixed and even a market economy obviously diminished ideological conflict, as did his public advocacy of universal 'democratic' values.

Collapse Begins

Elections in Poland brought Solidarity to power in place of the Communist Party. Hungary embraced a multiparty system and opened its border with Austria in May 1989. The regimes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and later Romania collapsed.

On the night of 8 November the crises came to a head with huge crowds gathering at the Berlin Wall and tearing parts of it down with their hands; the checkpoints to West Berlin were opened to allow for an exodus. The future of Germany, in one or in two states, was a difficult question to resolve. Gorbachev met FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl for the first time in October 1988 when they both agreed in Moscow to promote links between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Finally, skilful diplomacy resulted in all accepting a re-united Germany within NATO, at the same time renouncing forever possession of WMDs and formally committed to "good neighbourliness, partnership and cooperation."

The Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania exploded in resentment against Russians, were tacitly helped in their drive for independence by the US, which had always refused to recognize them as part of the USSR. Corruption in Uzbekistan led to an insurrection there in 1986, followed by troubles in Kazakhstan and throughout the Trans-Caucasian region including Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, and later Chechnya.

The Soviet Union was officially dissolved in

December 1991, replaced in name by the Commonwealth of Independent States. Fourteen new states became members of the United Nations.

Troubling 90s: 'humanitarian crises'

Yugoslavia, a conglomerate state created by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, had survived the death of its unifying leader Josip Broz Tito in May 1980 but faced intensifying tensions between the more and the less economically developed republics and shrinking resources fueled animosity among different ethnic and religious groups. Croatia and Slovenia declared independence in 1991 and Slobodan Milosevic became leader of a nationalistic Serbia determined to build a 'Greater Serbia' out of the remaining units of multi-ethnic Yugoslavia at the cost of minority groups, including the Muslims of Bosnia and the Albanians of Kosovo.

Atrocities that came to be called 'ethnic cleansing' led to military conflict, expressions of international alarm, and an inadequate United Nations intervention in Bosnia in 1991-92 that was replaced by a NATO force in late 1995. Neither of two (UN and NATO) could restore peace or prevent massacres and population transfers that resulted in an ethnically-partitioned Bosnia reflected in the final Dayton peace agreement. Further conflict flared in Kosovo and US led-NATO forces conducted 11 weeks of air strikes on Serbia and its capital on Serbia and its capital Belgrade in 1999 before stationing peace keeping troops in Kosovo. Yugoslavia suffered from Western Europe's economic slow down and unemployment in the 1980s.

The Bosnian horrors viewed on international television were equaled or exceeded by 'humanitarian crises' in various parts of Africa, particularly in Rwanda in 1994 when the Hutu massacred the Tutsi people. The issue of protecting human rights received increasing international attention in the aftermath of the Cold War and the Tiananmen Square event in China, with non-governmental organizations playing important roles in the effort.

Bi-Polar to Uni-Polar World

Polarity is a descriptive term that illustrates

the structure of the system through a portrayal of the concentration of hard power capabilities in the system. The three main variations in polarity are unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity. However it is important to recognise that even within each type of polarity there exists variation. For example, John Mearsheimer has distinguished between balanced multipolarity and unbalanced multipolarity.

Charles Krauthammer and Robert Kagan are what might be called unipolar unilateralists. They see the distribution of power in the international system as essentially unipolar. They also embrace unilateral policies as the means by which the United States must protect its interests and act for the greater good of humanity.

Nye acknowledge some elements of multipolarity in the international system. He argues that international relations has become a three level game involving military, economic and so-called soft power, with the US enjoying unipolar dominance only on the first level. Any unipolar imbalance can only be momentary, as competing power centres inevitably rise and seek to counterbalance the dominant power. Mearsheimer also argues that US policy must be unilateralist for the simple reason that all great powers pursue essentially unilateral policies.

Unipolarity implies neither the absence of all politics among great powers nor the absence of all power balancing among lesser powers nor certainly the resolution of all global problems. It does not mechanistically determine a specific strategy on the part of the major powers. It simply creates incentives for strategies that diminish if not eliminate two major problems that bedeviled international systems of the past: struggles for global primacy and competitive balancing among the major powers.

Unipolarity is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the status of global hegemony. Samuel Huntington has proposed that changes in post-Cold War international politics reflects a uni-multipolar system with one superpower and several major powers. It has been argued that the waning of 'American hegemony' has given rise to the regional power centres of Europe and East Asia. However, despite the

devolution of US power globally, the shift towards multipolarity is several decades from now.

For close to five decades the antagonism between the United States and the erstwhile Soviet Union determined the ebb and flows of international power politics with their proxy nations being witness to civil and military conflict, especially in Asia and Africa. The consequences of the Cold War, it can be premised, are still visible in the changing international order.

In the absence of effective UN or EU action the US took the lead in Bosnia and Kosovo. An image of the US a 'hyper power', the 'indispensable power', gained currency in the 1990s when it was the only remaining super-power, but also triggered expressions of preference by many world leaders for a multipolar international system.

In a widely cited essay Christopher Layne argues that America's unipolar moment will be short-lived, as smaller states will inevitably balance against it, leading to a new multipolar era. For neo-realists, unipolarity is the least stable of all structures because any great concentration of power threatens other states and causes them to take action to restore a balance. Other commentators suggest that a large concentration of power works for peace, and they doubt that US preponderance is fragile and easily negated by the actions of other states.

The power of the US is not unlimited, but it is unprecedented. The US accounts for 60 per cent of all defence spending among the world's major powers. It also accounts for 40 per cent of economic production, 40 per cent of technology production and 50 per cent of total research and development expenditures.

Calleo and Kupchan see the European Union (EU) as evolving into a great power counterpart of the US, one that is neither weak nor necessarily a threat to US interests. Calleo sees a stronger EU as the natural partner of a chastened and more modest US in building a "cooperative multilateral system.

Balance-of-threat theory was advanced by Stephan Walt. In this he points to the durability of the 'unipolar movement'. Walt suggests that

the balancing behavior of states may be overcome, provided that the foreign policy of the dominant state is moderate and is seen by other states as preferable to the rivalry of a multipolar world. Similarly, Mastanduno proposes that, "unipolarity will not be preserved forever, but balance-of-threat theory implies that it may be sustainable for a meaningfully longer period than balance-of-power theorists anticipate.

Coral Bell and Michael Mastanduno argue that the durability of unipolarity rests on balance-of-threat theory. Balance-of-threat theory proposes that states will not balance a dominant power if its behavior is perceived as benign and non-threatening. Following this, a dominant power is supported if it exercises its power to promote shared interests and institutions that subvert anarchy and competition. In contrast, states that exercise unfettered power and engage in predatory behavior are likely to trigger balancing coalitions.

US officials have sought to preserve US preponderance through efforts to convince countries like Japan and Germany to remain partial great powers, and to integrate potential great powers like Russia and China into an American led new world order.

Balance-of-power theory, developed most explicitly by Kenneth Waltz, argues that unipolarity will be transformed into multipolarity by the early decades of the twenty-first century. In Waltz's analysis he draws on the historical behavior of states to moderate asymmetries of power among nations and to balance what he terms "American hegemony."

The extent to which the international system remains unipolar depends on the exercise of US power. The US has sought to legitimise its primacy in political-military matters through a combination of 'benign hegemony' and 'multilateral rule-making' rather than forceful unilateralism. To maintain its primacy in international affairs, the US has followed the prescriptions of balance-of-threat theory in promoting limited American hegemony. But recent adventurism and unilateral actions in name of 'War On Terror' are indications that US

hegemony will be questioned and confronted by rapid changes.

Future Ahead

World Power structure was altered for a long time to come in 1991 with the end of the Cold War when the Soviet Union acknowledged defeat, disbanded itself, and passed on the undisputed leadership of the world to the USA, the sole super power, or hyper power now.

A great power system of colonial powers was replaced by a superpower system of the Cold War; this has now gone on to the hyper power leadership and domination of the USA in the post-Cold War era. This is a measure of the integration of the world and of the international system with it. The future is as ever uncertain; but it is especially uncertain because the leadership position of the USA cannot be eternal.

It is not that warfare and devastation will come to an end with the presence of the global policeman in the form of the US hyper power. But the nature of the wars will presumably change to the more local or the more focused, or both, and remain as destructive as they have been during the Cold War; but the scale of destruction may not be of the same order of magnitude as in the World Wars. For example, after the Cold War, the US has launched into wars and campaigns against "Islamic fundamentalism" and "terrorism", both of which are global in their reach; but they are also more pin-pointed than the World Wars.

Nobody can doubt that the 21st century will be an Asian century. Rise of Asia is concluded surmise of multiple streams that are criss- crossing the whole world. Three biggest contenders in the emerging power game are China, Japan and India. An increasingly assertive China, rising hard line politics in Russia, rekindling samurai spirit of Japan, a Power aspiring India and shift of Economic power to Asia are some of the major streams of present day geo-politics. Where and how the US dominated world order will give way to an egalitarian and democratic world order is to be seen.



First Asian-African Conference is regarded as a precursor to NAM. This conference was held at Bandung, Indonesia, in April 1955 among high representatives of 29 states to consider problems of common interest and discuss ways and means of reaching fuller cooperation.

The first conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held at Belgrade in September 1961 and issued a passionate appeal to the US and USSR to "suspend their recent war preparations" and "resume negotiation for a peaceful settlement" of outstanding differences between them.

NAM had a strong link with decolonization. Decolonization led to many effects in functioning of modern world politics. NAM was one such creature that emerged in wave of powerful national freedom struggles which were very critical of domination by any extra national power. Another immediate effect was to widen the agenda of the international system, especially that of the United Nations General Assembly of which the newly independent states were members, to include subjects of interest to them such as decolonization, racial equality, and economic development. Another effect was to alter the functioning of the international system somewhat, away from the realpolitik of power play toward norms of equity, international law, universal participation and legitimization of collective action by the UN.

NAM is Not Neutrality or Neutralization

Nonalignment was always different from neutrality or neutralization, because nonalignment was a freely chosen position and not imposed by others as in the case of neutralization. Nonaligned states never claimed to be strictly equidistant from the two super powers and tolerated cynical allegations of manipulating

Cold War rivalries for their own benefit. Nehru often explained that nonalignment demanded an active participation in the international arena and not the passive withdrawal of a neutral.

Six-continent initiative launched by Argentina, India, Greece, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania on behalf of NAM, calling for a worldwide moratorium on the testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

NIEO

At a special session of the General Assembly in 1974, a Programme for Action for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) was adopted. Ideas of similar nature were earlier aired at NAM summit in Lusaka 1970.

The reforms demanded under NIEO fell under five main heads as follows; Reforms in the terms of trade and pricing for primary products and commodities, and better access to the markets of the advanced industrial countries through preferences; Reforms in the major international economic institutions, especially the International Monetary Fund, to benefit developing countries; Recognition of the growing problem of Third World debt and measures to alleviate it; Greater economic assistance and technology transfers to developing countries; Recognition of sovereign rights to direct national economic policy and control the activities of Multi-National Corporations.

NAM: a SWOT analysis

Most weaknesses of NAM stemmed from the diversity of its members. Members were drawn from every continent and therefore lacking the common perspectives. NIEO was weakened by victory of conservative leaders with hard ideology in the West, especially

Margaret Thatcher in Britain and Ronald Reagan in the US. It was certainly a setback to the cause of international social justice. At the same time, Nonalignment was again denigrated as 'immoral' and 'anti-American'. Even NAM countries' ability and willingness to implement the NIEO charter within their own countries was correspondingly weak.

Lack of means was a ready explanation for the paucity of South-South cooperation. But even when financial means were available, as from petro-dollars generated by successive oil-price hikes, they were directed more toward arms purchases and investments in the West.

The weaknesses of NAM stemmed from the administrative, diplomatic, economic, financial, institutional, and political weakness of the individual members themselves. These were most evident in cases of civil conflict that racked most of Africa, and of conflict among member states, such as between Iran and Iraq for years of bitter war during 1980-1988, and perennial disputes between Pakistan and India, that NAM could neither prevent nor seriously attempt to mediate. NAM still lacks the mechanisms and power to resolve conflicts.

The strengths of NAM arose from the courageous efforts of its founding leaders to approach questions of international peace and security from the point of view of the larger good of humanity, to provide representatives of distanced and newly independent states opportunities for free discussion of issues and interaction with each other.

INDIA AND THE COLD WAR

As a leader of NAM, India's response to the ongoing Cold War was two-fold: At one level, it took particular care in staying away from the two alliances. Second, it raised its voice against the newly decolonised countries becoming part of these alliances. India's policy was neither negative nor passive. As Nehru reminded the world, nonalignment was not a policy of 'fleeing away'. On the contrary, India was in favour of actively intervening in world affairs to soften Cold War rivalries. India tried to reduce the differences between the alliances

and thereby prevent differences from escalating into a full-scale war. Indian diplomats and leaders were often used to communicate and mediate between Cold War rivals such as in the Korea War in the early 1950s.

It is important to remember that India chose to involve other members of the non-aligned group in this mission. During the Cold War, India repeatedly tried to activate those regional and international organisations, which were not a part of the alliances led by the US and USSR. Nehru reposed great faith in 'a genuine commonwealth of free and cooperating nations' that would play a positive role in softening, if not ending, the Cold War.

Non-alignment was not, as some suggest, a noble international cause which had little to do with India's real interests. A non-aligned posture also served India's interests very directly, in at least two ways:

First, non-alignment allowed India to take international decisions and stances that served its interests rather than the interests of the superpowers and their allies.

Second, India was often able to balance one superpower against the other. If India felt ignored or unduly pressurized by one superpower, it could tilt towards the other. Neither alliance system could take India for granted or bully it.

India's policy of non-alignment was criticised on a number of counts. Here we may refer to only two criticisms:

First, India's non-alignment was said to be 'unprincipled'. In the name of pursuing its national interest, India, it was said, often refused to take a firm stand on crucial international issues. Second, it is suggested that India was inconsistent and took contradictory postures. Having criticised others for joining alliances, India signed the Treaty of Friendship in August 1971 with the USSR for 20 years. This was regarded, particularly by outside observers, as virtually joining the Soviet alliance system. The Indian government's view was that India needed diplomatic and possibly military support during the Bangladesh crisis and that in any case the

treaty did not stop India from having good relations with other countries including the US.

Non-alignment as a strategy evolved in the Cold War context. With the disintegration of the USSR and the end of the Cold War in 1991, non-alignment, both as an international movement and as the core of India's foreign policy, lost some of its earlier relevance and effectiveness. However, nonalignment contained some core values and enduring ideas. It was based on a recognition that decolonised states

share a historical affiliation and can become a powerful force if they come together. It meant that the poor and often very small countries of the world need not become followers of any of the big powers, that they could pursue an independent foreign policy. It was also based on a resolve to democratise the international system by thinking about an alternative world order to redress existing inequities. These core ideas remain relevant even after the Cold War has ended.

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Redrawal of National Boundaries and Decolonization

The world has been completely transformed during the years since the end of the Second World War in 1945. Its political map has also changed. The influence and the dominations which a few European imperialist powers exercised in the prewar years became things of the past. A large number of nations in Asia and Africa which had been suffering under colonial rule emerged as independent nations. Together, they have become a major factor in the world. The United States had emerged as the biggest power after the First World War. The Soviet Union also emerged as a mighty power after the Second World War, in spite of the terrible devastation that she suffered during the war. Before the Second World War, the Soviet Union was the only country. In the world which professed socialism. After the war, a number of other countries joined her.

The two world wars, fought within a brief period of about 30 years, resulted in the loss of millions of human lives. The danger of a new world war which would destroy human life altogether created a new awareness of the need for establishing lasting peace. Peoples and nations made efforts in this direction by promoting mutual relations based on friendship and cooperation. They also created many new institutions and agencies for the purpose.

However, in spite of these efforts the period after the Second World War has been full of stresses and strains. It has seen many conflicts and wars in which hundreds of thousands of people have been killed even though the world has escaped a large-scale conflagration.

Since the late 1980s, further changes have taken place in some parts of the world. Some of the consequences of the Second World War and, in some cases, even of the First World War have been undone during the past five years. During this period, some of the issues which dominated

the world and some of the forces and factors which shaped the world for about four decades after the war have become irrelevant. The 'threat of communism' which had been a major factor in determining the policies of many countries since the Russian Revolution and, even more so, after the Second World War is no longer an issue. Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe have collapsed. The Soviet Union has broken up into 15 independent States. Many other changes have taken place the world over and it is possible to think of the period from the late 1980 as the one marking the beginning of a new phase in the history of the world after the Second World War.

During the war, the major Allied nations had held many conferences and had issued declarations stating the principles which would form the bases of peace. The first major declaration had been issued by Britain and USA in 1941. It stated that Britain and the United States would not seek any territory. It also supported the right of every people to have the form of government of their choice. Early in 1942 was issued, as mentioned before, the United Nations Declaration. This Declaration supported the one issued by Britain and USA earlier. Another declaration stated that all the Chinese territories taken by Japan would be restored to her. In 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, leaders of Britain, USA and the Soviet Union, respectively, met at Teheran. They declared their resolve to "banish the scourge and terror of war and to create a world in which all peoples may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences".

Yalta Conference

Early in 1945 when Germany was on the

verge of defeat, the heads of the three big nations met at Yalta in the Soviet Union. Here they agreed on a number of issues such as how to deal with Germany and the non-German territories which had been liberated from Germany.

The Yalta Conference also took the decision to set up a new organisation to replace the League of Nations.

Birth of United Nations

Subsequently, a conference was held at San Francisco, USA, from 25 April 1945. The conference was attended by 50 nations. On 26 June the conference adopted the United Nations Charter under which a new world organization was set up. This was the United Nations Organization which was based on the principle of "the sovereign equality of all peace loving states". The purposes of the United Nations Organization were to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations and to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

To carry out these objectives, six principal organs of the United Nations Organization (now referred to as the United Nations or simply the UN) were created. These were:

1. the General Assembly composed of all the members of the UN;
2. the Security Council composed of five permanent members, viz. the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, and six others to be elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years. The Security Council was made primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and security (The number of nonpermanent members was subsequently raised from six to ten);
3. the Economic and Social Council of 18 members to promote "respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all"
4. the Trusteeship Council

5. the International Court of Justice

6. the Secretariat with a Secretary General appointed by the General Assembly as its head.

A number of specialized agencies of the UN were also created such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labour Organization (ILO) (this body had been created after the First World War), etc. It was realized that unless all the permanent members of the Security Council, who were at that time the biggest powers, were agreed, no course of action for the maintenance of peace and security could be effective. Hence it was provided that any decision of the Security Council must have the support of all five permanent members. The setting up of the United Nations was one of the most important consequences of the Second World War.

The Potsdam Conference

Another major conference of the heads of government of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union was held at Potsdam (near Berlin) from 17 July to 2 August 1945. The declaration issued by this conference mentioned the main aims of the Allies with regard to Germany which had already surrendered. Germany had been partitioned into four zones, each under the control of Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. The declaration stated that the aim of the Allied occupation of Germany was to bring about the complete disarmament of Germany, to destroy the Nazi Party and to prepare conditions for the creation of a democratic Germany. It was also decided to set up an international tribunal to bring to trial persons who had committed crimes against humanity. Decisions were also taken regarding the border between Poland and Germany, and the transfer of the northern part of East Prussia to the Soviet Union and the southern part to Poland. The various conferences held during and after the war influenced the political developments after the war.

EUROPE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR:- REDRAWAL OF BOUNDARIES.

Many countries in Europe had been liberated from German occupation by the Soviet armies. These countries were Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

The Communist parties and other antifascist parties in these countries had played an important role in the struggle against German occupation of these countries. By the end of 1948, the governments of all these countries were dominated by the Communist parties. In Albania and Yugoslavia, the struggle against German occupation had, been led by the Communist parties of these countries. In these countries too Communist parties formed the governments. The establishment of the Communist parties' rule in these countries was a significant development after the Second World War. Up to the Second World War, the only country in Europe, and the world, ruled by a Communist party was the Soviet Union. Now a large number of European countries were ruled by Communist parties. In these countries, other political parties were either not allowed to exist or had only a nominal presence. The political power was exclusively in the hands of the Communist parties.

The presence of Soviet troops in these countries ensured the continuance of the Communist parties' monopoly of power. Sometimes, the Soviet troops were used to suppress movements which opposed the domination of Communist parties. Within the Communist parties themselves, differences over policies were not allowed and the power within, the Communist parties became concentrated in a few hands. As in the Soviet Union, dissent even within the ruling parties was not tolerated and many veteran communists were shot or sentenced to long periods of imprisonment after fake trials. Sometimes these countries were branded as 'satellites' of the Soviet Union. The Communist party of Yugoslavia was the only ruling Communist Party which refused to be dominated by the Soviet Union. But at the same time, the government of Yugoslavia did not allow other political parties to function.

Germany

Within a little more than four years after the end of the Second World War, certain developments took place which resulted in the division of Germany. The four powers — Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union which were in occupation of four different zones of Germany followed different policies in dealing with the social, economic and political problems in their respective zones. In the British, French and American zones, the economic development continued on capitalist lines. The two major parties in these zone, were the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party. In 1948, Britain, France and the United States decided to merge the three zones under their control which were in West Germany and form a separate government there. In September 1949 these zones were united and a separate state in West Germany called the Federal Republic of Germany with its capital at Bonn came into being.

In East Germany which was under Soviet occupation, the policies pursued were different from those that had been followed in the western zones. Lands were distributed among peasants and all the major industries were taken over from private hands and made the property of the state. In 1946 the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in the Soviet zone of Germany merged to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In October 1949, the Soviet zone became a separate state called the German Democratic Republic. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany became the ruling party in the German Democratic Republic. Thus Germany came to be divided into two states, each following its own pattern of social, economic and political development. The division of Germany into two independent states, which lasted for over four decades, was a major consequence of the Second World War.

The division of Germany had been a source of tension in Europe and a major factor in the Cold War. East Berlin was the capital of East Germany (German Democratic Republic or GDR) while West Berlin which was located within the GDR territory was treated as a part of West

Germany (Federal Republic of Germany or FRG).

In 1961, the GDR authorities built a wall between East and West Berlin to prevent East Germans from going away to West Berlin.

The building of the wall became a further source of tension in Europe. The process of ending communist rule in GDR and of the reunification of Germany began in 1989 when the Berlin Wall was opened and political parties which were outside the control of the communist party (called the Socialist Unity Party) were allowed to function. In early 1990 elections were held and a new government came to power. On 3 October 1990, the division of Germany was ended and a unified Germany again emerged.

France and Italy: rise of communism

In other parts of Europe also, important political changes took place. The Communist parties of France and Italy had played an important role in the resistance movements in these countries. They had emerged as powerful parties at the end of the war.

In the first government formed in France after the war, the Communist Party of France was represented. However, it quit the government in 1947 because of differences over economic policies and over the question of independence for the countries comprising IndoChina. The French government was trying to reestablish its rule over IndoChina which the Communist Party opposed.

In the Italian government, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party were an important force. In 1946, monarchy was abolished and Italy became a republic. In 1947 the Christian Democratic Party came to power and the Communist Party quit the government. However, even though the Communist and Socialist parties were out of the government in these two countries, they were together a powerful force in the politics of the two countries. For many years, in both these countries, the socialist parties became the ruling parties either alone or in alliance with other parties. The Communist parties, however, were almost throughout the period after 1948 kept out of the

government. In recent years, while the Italian Communist Party —it is now called the Democratic Party of the Left—has remained a powerful force, the influence of the French Communist Party has declined.

Britain: Rise of Labour Party

In Britain, the elections were held in July 1945. The Conservative Party whose leader Winston Churchill had been the Prime Minister during the war lost and the Labour Party came to power. India won her independence during this period. During the Labour Party's rule many significant changes took place in the economy of the country. Many important industries such as coal mines and railways were nationalized. Steps were taken to provide social security to the people, and to build a welfare state in Britain. In 1951, the Conservative Party was returned to power and the Labour Party became the ruling party in 1964. Thus, neither of these parties remained in power for long and both of the parties were more or less equally matched. Only in recent years, there seems to have been a decline in the influence of the Labour Party.

The political system in most countries of Western Europe was based on the parliamentary form of government. Their economies had suffered a serious setback, and it affected their international position. Gradually through their own efforts and with massive American aid, these countries were soon on the way to rebuild their economies. However, the domination that these countries exercised over the world before the First World War and to a lesser extent after that had declined. The period after the Second World War saw the rapid decline of their empires.

Eastern Europe

Many changes of great historical importance have taken place in the Soviet Union and in countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The most significant of these has been the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ending of the communist regimes there and in other countries of Europe. In 1956, three years after the death of Stalin, the Communist Party of

Soviet Union had denounced the excesses and crimes committed by Stalin. From 1985, many important reforms began to be introduced in the political system of the Soviet Union with a view to promoting political democracy. There was free and open discussion on every issue and curbs on the freedom of thought and expression were lifted.

Reforms in economy were also initiated to end the stagnation that had set in and to improve the living conditions of the people. The importance of these reforms was recognized the world over. The hold of the Communist Party over the political life of the country was loosened and other political parties were allowed to function.

Fall of USSR

In the meantime, there was a demand for greater autonomy by the republics which constituted the Soviet Union. Some republics wanted to become independent. Attempts were made to frame a new treaty which would provide greater autonomy to the republics and at the same time preserve the Union. However, in August 1991, there was an attempt to stage a coup by some leaders of the Communist Party. Though the coup collapsed, the Soviet Union began to break up. Many republics declared their independence. On 25 December 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev, who was the President of the Soviet Union during this period and had initiated the reforms mentioned earlier, resigned and the Soviet Union formally ceased to exist. In place of the Soviet Union which had been a major influence on world historical development for about seven decades, there emerged 15 independent republics. Though the rule of the communist parties has ended in all these republics, many of them are faced with serious political and economic problems. There are also many problems between the republics although 12 of them have formed a loose federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States. Equally important changes have taken place in those countries of Europe which were ruled by communist parties. There had been outbursts of resentment in some of these countries against

Soviet control and against the Soviet supported communist governments since the 1950s. There were occasions when Soviet troops were used to suppress the unrest in these countries. The changes in the Soviet Union affected these countries directly. There were mass upheavals in all these countries in the late 1980s. By 1989, Soviet control over them came to an end. The monopoly of political power enjoyed by the communist parties in these countries was ended. There were free elections and new governments were formed. It is notable that these far reaching changes took place in most countries without the use of violence. In some countries, leaders who had misused their position for personal gain and power were tried and jailed. Many communist parties — no longer ruling parties in their countries — expelled some of their former leaders who had committed excesses when they were in power. In one country, Romania, the Communist Party leader who for about 15 years had been the virtual dictator was executed. The Warsaw Pact, the military alliance which was headed by the Soviet Union and of which the communist ruled states of Europe were members, was dissolved in 1991.

Retreat of Socialism

The collapse of the Soviet Union and of communist governments in Europe has been a major factor in ending the Cold War. It has also been seen as marking the retreat of socialism. It can, however, be said that the system which was built in these countries was only a distorted version of the socialist ideal and that social justice which was fundamental to that ideal has become a part of the consciousness of the people the world over.

The changes in Eastern and Central Europe, as in the former Soviet Union, have not been without problems, both economic and political.

- Czechoslovakia had emerged as a new state after the First World War has broken up into two independent states — the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.
- In unified Germany, there have been many instances of violence by neo Nazis against immigrants

Bosnia

Developments of a tragic nature have taken place in Yugoslavia in recent years. Yugoslavia which had emerged as a state after the First World War was ruled by a communist party since the end of the Second World War. The communist government of Yugoslavia had kept itself free from the Soviet Union almost from the beginning. Yugoslavia was one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement. She was a federation of six republics. In four of these republics, the rule of the communist parties came to an end in 1990. By 1992, Yugoslavia broke up into five independent states —the new state of Yugoslavia comprising

1. Serbia and Montenegro,
2. Croatia,
3. Macedonia,
4. Slovenia
5. Bosnia-Herzegovina

However, the problems of Yugoslavia did not end with its breakup. A large party of Bosnia-Herzegovina is under the control of Serbians and Croats. A bloody war has been going on between Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Muslims, particularly between the latter two, causing terrible sufferings to the people.

While these developments have taken place in one part of Europe, in another, Western, part (including Germany), there had been a move towards European unity. It consists in creating a Europe without borders, with a common currency and unrestricted movement of goods and people and ultimately a political union with a common parliament. Some steps have already been taken in this direction. It may, however, be remembered that the concept of European unity at present excludes all East European countries and some others.

WEST ASIA & AFRICA: DECOLONIZATION & INDEPENDENCE

WEST ASIA INDEPENDENCE

Syria and Lebanon

As in other parts of Asia, there was an

upsurge for freedom in West Asia also immediately after the Second World War. After the war, the French tried to restore their authority over Syria and Lebanon but, in the face of opposition from the people of these countries and the world opinion, they were forced to withdraw. Both Syria and Lebanon became independent by the end of 1946.

There was an upsurge in all the Arab countries at this time and the 1950s saw their emergence as independent nations. Some countries which had been nominally free asserted their independence. There were also movements to overthrow the outdated political systems which existed in some countries. All these led to conflicts and, in some cases, prolonged wars between the Arab countries and the imperialist powers. The period saw the growing power of Arab nationalism which led to efforts by the Arab people and governments to come together to face and solve common problems. The Arab League was formed comprising all the Arab states.

However, before many of the Arab countries could gain their independence, a development took place in West Asia which was to become a source of tension and lead to many wars in the years to come. This was the creation of the state of Israel.

Israel

Palestine, as has been mentioned before, had become a British mandate in 1919. The British troops again occupied the country in 1945. Palestine was inhabited by Arabs and Jews. A movement called the Zionist movement claimed that Palestine was the homeland of all the Jews, wherever they may be living, and should be restored to them. The persecution which the Jews in Europe had suffered for centuries had culminated in the Nazi Germany's policy of exterminating them. Millions of Jews were killed in Germany and in those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany. The terrible tragedy had won them the sympathy and support of the world.

The British in Palestine had permitted some Jews from outside Palestine to settle there. The

Zionists had, meanwhile, been campaigning for a Jewish state there. This had complicated the freedom movement in Palestine the majority of whose inhabitants were Arabs. In 1947 the United Nations passed a resolution according to which Palestine was to be divided into an Arab state and a Jewish state. However, in 1948, the British withdrew their troops from Palestine and soon after the state of Israel was proclaimed. This led to a war between the Arab states and Israel. The Arab states were defeated in the war.

The creation of Israel became a source of tension in West Asia. The Arab states refused to recognize her as a legitimate state. The policies pursued by the government of Israel further added to the bitterness. About 900,000 Arabs were forced to leave their homes and lands in Palestine and were rendered homeless. They found shelter in various refugee camps in Arab states. Most countries of Asia and Africa condemned the Israeli government's treatment of the Arabs of Palestine and for following racist policies. In 1956, Israel joined Britain and France in invading Egypt. Later there were other wars between Israel and the Arab states as a result of which Israel occupied large parts of the territories of other Arab states.

These territories include the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and the West Bank. More than a million Palestinians live in the occupied territories. In spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, Israel refuse to vacate Arab territories and restore the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, many of whom live as refugees in various Arab states. In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed to fight for the establishment of a Palestinian state. It enjoys the status of a member-state of the Non-Aligned Movement. Recently an agreement was signed between the government of Israel and the PLO. Under this agreement, the PLO recognized the state of Israel and the government of Israel agreed to give the Palestinians autonomy in some areas presently under Israeli occupation.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

With the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, almost every part of Africa had been conquered by European imperialist powers by the end of

the nineteenth century. After the First World War, the only change that took place there was the transfer of the former German colonies in Africa to the victorious Allied powers. However, the period after the First World War saw, as in Asia, a resurgence of nationalist movements in Africa. After the Second World War, the disintegration of the colonial rule in Africa began. The achievement of independence by North African countries has been mentioned already. The countries of southern Africa began to gain their independence after the mid 1950s. Within two decades, almost every country in Africa, with the exception of South Africa and South-West Africa (Namibia), became independent.

The freedom movements in Africa, as in other parts of the world, were the consequence of the growth of nationalism and the increasing resentment against the exploitation and oppression by the colonial countries. The international situation further strengthened these movements. The Second World War had resulted in the general weakening of imperialism. It had also shattered the myth of the invincibility of some major colonial powers in Africa such as France and Belgium which had suffered defeat in Europe during the war. The collapse of colonialism in Asia within a few years after the war also had a tremendous impact on freedom movements in Africa. The question of Africa's freedom gradually became one of the major issues in the world.

Egypt: Naseer

After the First World War, Egypt had become a British 'mandate'. However, under the pressure of the nationalist movement, Egypt had been declared independent in 1922, though British troops continued to remain there. After the Second World War, the demand for the withdrawal of British troops gained strength. There were serious clashes between the Egyptians and the British soldiers in which hundreds of Egyptians were killed. The discontent was also directed against the king of Egypt who had been installed by the British. The discontent against the British and the king led to a revolution in 1952 when the Egyptian army under the

leadership of Lt.Colonel Gamal Abdal Naseer and General Muhammad Naguib overthrew the monarchy and declared Egypt a republic. The new Egyptian government demanded the withdrawal of British troops and they were withdrawn in June 1956.

The government of Egypt under the leadership of Col Nasser began the economic reconstruction of the country. Egypt refused to be aligned with the United States and the latter stopped the sale of arms to Egypt. Egypt, however, began to receive military and economic aid from the Soviet Union. In 1956, Egypt announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal which had been under the control of Britain and France. Three months later, Israel, Britain and France, according to a plan, invaded Egypt. The aggression committed against Egypt led to worldwide protests. The countries of Asia voiced their vehement condemnation of the invasion. There were massive protest demonstrations against the British government inside Britain also. The Soviet Union warned the aggressor countries that unless they withdrew from Egypt, she would send her forces to crush the aggressors. Almost every country in the world, including the United States, denounced Britain, France and Israel in the United Nations. The universal condemnation of aggression led to the withdrawal of British and French forces from Egypt. The ending of aggression strengthened further the unity of Asian and African countries in general and of Arab countries in particular. It also showed the growing strength of the countries which had won their independence only a few years ago. The Suez War also added to the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union as a friend of the peoples who were trying to assert their independence.

Libya: Gaddafi

Libya came under Italian rule in 1911. During the Second World War, some of the most ferocious battles between German and British troops were fought in Libya. At the end of the war, the country was occupied by Britain and France. In 1951, Libya became independent with a monarchical form of government. From

1960 she became one of the largest petroleum producing countries in the world and as a result some sections of Libyan society grew very rich while the majority of the population remained extremely backward. The king did not permit any opposition to his rule. The United States built one of its strongest air bases on Libyan territory. In 1969, a group of army officers captured power and soon after abolished the monarchy. The new government proclaimed that it would give primacy to the unity and solidarity of the Arab people.

Algeria

The 1950s saw the emergence of a number of independent nations in North Africa. However, the independence was preceded by years of struggle against the imperialist countries which wanted to retain their colonial possessions. As in Indo China, the French returned to Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria. However, in 1956 Tunisia and Morocco won their independence.

The North African country which had to wage the longest and the hardest battle for freedom was Algeria. She had been conquered by France as early as 1830 though it had taken France another four decades to fully establish her rule there. As in Indo China, the struggle against French rule in Algeria had a long history behind it. In 1954 the nationalist organisation of the people of Algeria called the FLN (National Liberation Front) gave a call for an armed struggle against the French rule. Armed clashes resulted in thousands of casualties on both sides. By 1958, the Algerian nationalists had organized a large army of their own and proclaimed the formation of a government of the republic of Algeria. The war in Algeria had serious consequences inside France. It created political instability in France. The Communist Party of France along with many other French leaders had been supporting the cause of Algerian independence. However, many sections in the French army were under the influence of the French settlers in Algeria who were opposed to any negotiations with the Algerian leaders over the question of independence. In 1958, General de Gaulle became the President

of France. He conceded the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and opened negotiations with the leaders of the FLN.

This policy was opposed by some sections of the French army in Algeria, who revolted against de Gaulle and even made attempts to assassinate him. However, the revolt was suppressed. On 1 July 1962, a referendum was held in Algeria and the people of Algeria voted almost unanimously for independence. On 4 July 1962 Algeria became an independent republic. The independence of Algeria had been won at the cost of over 140,000 Algerian lives.

Ghana

The first country in southern Africa to gain independence was Ghana. There was a powerful kingdom of Ghana in West Africa during the eighth to the twelfth centuries. The British had conquered a part of this region to which they gave the name Gold Coast. The most prominent leader of the people of the Gold Coast colony was Kwame Nkrumah, who in 1949 had organized the Convention People's Party. A strong trade union movement had also emerged in Gold Coast. The Convention People's Party and the trade unions joined together to demand independence from Britain. However, most of their leaders were arrested and attempts were made to suppress the demand for freedom. After 1950, the British government started introducing certain constitutional reforms. Under pressure from the People's Party which had won a resounding victory in elections, the British government agreed to the independence of Gold Coast. The new independent state which came into being on 6 March 1957 called itself Ghana, after the name of the old West African kingdom. The part of Togoland which had been under British control also joined Ghana.

Guinea

The next country to achieve her independence was the French colony of Guinea in West Africa. In 1958, while embroiled in the war in Algeria, France held a referendum in her colonies which had been grouped together as French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The people of Guinea voted for complete

independence and Guinea was proclaimed a republic on 2 October 1958.

The achievement of independence by Ghana and Guinea gave additional confidence to the freedom movements in other parts of Africa and accelerated the pace of achievement of independence by other nations. The promotion of the cause of African freedom was a major objective of India's foreign policy from the time India won her independence. India's struggle for freedom had also been a source of inspiration to African nationalists.

The year 1960 is generally regarded as the Africa Year. In that year, seventeen countries in Africa gained their independence. These included all the French colonies in French West Africa and Equatorial Africa, Nigeria and Congo (formerly Belgian Congo, now called Zaire).

Between 1961 and 1964, a number of countries in East and Central Africa also became independent. These were Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Rwanda and Burundi.

Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) also gained their independence.

Kenya: Mau Mau rebellion

The freedom movement in Kenya was led by Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union. In 1952, a revolt by peasants had broken out. This is known as the Mau Mau rebellion. It was directed against the seizure of land by the British colonial authorities. To suppress the rebellion, 15,000 Kenyans were killed and about 80,000 sent to concentration camps. Jomo Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1953 on the charge of supporting the Mau Mau rebellion. Having failed to suppress the freedom movement, Britain had to give in and Kenya became independent in 1963.

Many of the newly independent countries of Africa faced serious problems during the years following their independence. The imperialist powers tried their best to maintain their hold over their former colonies by direct intervention and by creating dissensions. In Congo, for instance, Belgium, with the help of

some other countries and the mercenaries from various countries, brought about the secession of the rich province of Katanga. On the appeal of Patrice Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, United Nations troops were sent to bring about the withdrawal of foreign troops and mercenaries. However, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated and the country thrown into chaos for a number of years.

Portuguese Colonies

Before the end of the 1960s, almost entire Africa, with the exception of Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, and South Africa, SouthWest Africa and Rhodesia, had become free. Powerful freedom movements had started in the Portuguese colonies. They had organized their liberation forces and had secured the help of many countries in their struggle for freedom. In April 1974, the Portuguese army, which had been mainly used to suppress the freedom struggles in the colonies, overthrew the 50 year old dictatorship in Portugal with the support of the people. The communists, socialists and other radical elements in the armed forces and the new government of Portugal were opposed to the continuation of the Portuguese rule in Africa. They entered into negotiations with the freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies and by 1975 all the former Portuguese colonies in Africa became independent. Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) became independent in April 1980.

South Africa: Apartheid

South Africa — Union of South Africa since 1910 and Republic of South Africa since 1961 —has been an independent country in the sense that she was not ruled from another country. The government of South Africa was, however, among the most oppressive regimes in the world in the twentieth century. It was under the exclusive control of the white minority practicing the worst form of racism. Under the system of apartheid established in South Africa, all people were classified and separated on the basis of race. Each group had to live in a separate area. There were separate schools and

universities, separate theatres, separate shopping centres, separate coaches in trains for whites and blacks and others. The teams for sports also were formed on the basis of race. Marriage between persons belonging to different races was a criminal offence. There were restrictions on movement from one place to another. The best lands in the country were under the control of the whites who had all the economic and Political power. The non-whites had no vote and no say in the governance of the country. The system of apartheid was used to maintain the rule of the white minority over about 80 per cent of the population which comprised black and coloured people as well as people of Indian origin. This system, in the name of separation of the races, denied human rights to the majority of the population.

It may be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi had started the fight against racial discrimination in South Africa long before he became a leader of the freedom movement in India.

Demonstrators protesting against apartheid laws were massacred at Sharpeville in South Africa, 22 March 1960. The main organization of the South African people which led the movement for ending the rule of the white minority and establishing a nonracist democratic South Africa was the African National Congress (ANC). It was set up in 1910. The movement against the obnoxious system of apartheid was intensified in the 1950s. The government depended on the use of terror to maintain its rule. There were incidents of massacres of peaceful protestors. In 1960, the African National Congress was banned and most of its leaders were arrested. The ANC then organized its own army to fight against the racist regime.

South Africa was increasingly isolated from the rest of the world. India had been from the beginning in the forefront in support of the struggle to dismantle the apartheid regime. She was the first country in the world to sever relations with South Africa and to extend her full support to the people of South Africa. Many other countries followed the suit. The United Nations also condemned the policies of South Africa. In the 1980s some Western countries which had maintained military and economic

Nelson Mandela

From the end of the 1980s, the process of ending the system of apartheid began. The ban on the African National Congress was lifted and its leaders released. Among them was Nelson Mandela who had been in prison for 26 years and had become a symbol of the struggle against apartheid. Many apartheid laws were abolished and negotiations were started between the ANC and the South African government for framing a new constitution which would give all South Africans the right to vote. Elections in which all South Africans for the first time were given the right to vote, was held in April 1994. After these elections, a new non racist and democratic government came to power in South Africa, Nelson Mandela was elected president of the country.

Thus within the last three decades, most of Africa has become independent and the independence of the remaining parts cannot be deferred for long.

relations with South Africa also imposed sanctions against her. By the end of the 1980s, the international isolation of the South African regime was complete.

Namibia

The last country in Africa to become independent was Namibia, formerly South West Africa. It was a German colony before the First World War and was handed over to South-Africa as a 'mandate' after the defeat of Germany in that war. South Africa treated South West Africa as her colony and refused to withdraw from there in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations. The freedom movement there was led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which was formed in 1960. It gained momentum when SWAPO started a war with the help of its guerilla forces to liberate the country. It was made a member of the Non Aligned Movement. The Non Aligned Movement, the African governments and the United Nations played an important role in the success of the freedom movement in Namibia.

The war in Namibia came to an end in 1989 when South Africa agreed to a plan for the independence of the country. SWAPO won a majority of seats in the elections which were held in November 1989 and on 21 March 1990 Namibia became independent.

Rest of Africa

Many African countries have changed their names. The colonial powers had given them names which had little to do with their past history and culture. Some countries and cities had been named after colonial adventurers, for example, Rhodesia, Leopoldville, Stanleyville, etc. The African peoples are trying to overcome the damage caused to them during the colonial rule. Renaming their countries and cities after their original names is a part of their effort to reestablish and assert their independence and national identity. The need to unite in the face of common tasks and for achieving common aims led to the emergence of the unity of all African states. These aims included the safeguarding of their independence and to help the liberation movements in those countries in Africa which were still fighting for their independence. The most significant step taken in this direction was the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

World after 1990

In spite of the many positive changes that have taken place in recent years, the world in the 1990s is not without tensions and conflicts. While the danger of war involving the use of nuclear weapons has ended, or at least receded, there has been no reduction in the arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. Their very existence is a source of threat to the survival of humankind. Similarly, with the end of the Cold War, whether the world has moved, irreversibly, to a period of detente and, much more importantly, cooperation is still to be seen. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States became the only super power in the world. While the Warsaw Pact has been dissolved, NATO, the military bloc headed by the United States, has continued to exist. There have been misgivings that the present situation

would make it possible for the United States, the only super power now, to dictate to others.

The world in the 1990s, with all its problems, is a very different place to live in compared with any preceding age. People the world over have a much greater say in shaping their destiny than ever before. For the first time in human history, the creation of One World has become a possibility in which all peoples would cooperate with one another and would contribute their best to enrich their own lives and of the entire humankind.

ASIAN COUNTRIES: DECOLONIZATION & INDEPENDENCE

The growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa occurred at a rapid pace in 19th century. The period after the Second World War saw the emergence of most countries of Asia and Africa as independent nations. One country after another in these continents became independent. They won their independence through long and hard struggles against colonial powers. To some countries independence came only after long and bitter armed struggle, to others without much bloodshed but not without a long period of strife. Generally, the colonial powers were not willing to give up their hold on the colonies and left only when they found that it was not possible to maintain their rule any more; During the Second World War, many imperialist countries had been ousted from their colonies, but after the war they tried to reestablish their rule. For some time they succeeded in doing so but were ultimately forced to withdraw.

The achievement of independence was the result primarily of the struggles of the peoples of the colonies. However, the changes in the international climate which followed the Second World War helped the peoples struggling for independence. Imperialism as a whole had been weakened as a result of the war. The economies of many imperialist countries had suffered. Forces within the imperialist countries which were friendly with the peoples struggling for independence also had grown powerful. Freedom and democracy were the major aims for which the Allies had fought against the fascist countries and these aims had been made

the basis for arousing peoples all over the world against fascism. The fulfillment of these aims could no longer be confined only to Europe, as had been done after the First World War. In many colonies which fascist countries had occupied by ousting the older colonial powers, the freedom movements had played an important role in the struggle against fascist occupation. For example, Japan had to face the resistance of the freedom movements in the countries of East and South East Asia which she had occupied. It was not easy to restore the rule of the former colonial powers over these countries.

Another major international factor which facilitated the end of imperialism was the emergence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as a major force. These countries were inimical to imperialism and often gave aid and support to the freedom movements in the colonies. Similarly, the movements of socialism which had grown powerful the world over, including in the colonial countries, also supported the movements of freedom in the colonies.

The entire international context in which the freedom movements were launched had changed after the Second World War. At the international forums, particularly at the United Nations, the cause of the independence of colonies began to gain popularity. The international opinion was clearly against the continuation of imperialism. Imperialist countries resorted to various means to maintain their rule. They tried to create divisions in the freedom movements. They resorted to the use of terror. In some countries they tried to install governments which were nominally free but were in fact their puppets. However, most of the freedom movements were able to defeat these methods of disruption.

An important role in the achievement of independence by the countries of Asia and Africa was played by the unity which freedom movements in various countries achieved. The freedom movement in one country supported the freedom movements in other countries. The role of countries which had achieved their independence was very crucial in this regard.

These countries supported the cause of those peoples who were still under colonial rule at the United Nations and other international forums. They also gave active help to the freedom movements. India played a crucial role in promoting the cause of freedom in Asia and Africa. Besides the movements in the colonies for independence, there were also movements in Asian and African countries to oust outdated political systems, to modernize the social and economic systems and to assume control over the resources of one's country which had remained under foreign control even after freedom. These movements expressed the resolve of the peoples of Asia and Africa to become fully independent as well as to launch programs of rapid social and economic development. Within two decades of the end of the Second World War, the political map of Asia and Africa had been completely changed.

India

Within a few years after the Second World War, a large number of Asian countries became independent. One of the first to win her independence was India. India had, however, been partitioned and along with India, another independent state, Pakistan, also came into being (Pakistan broke up in 1971 when her eastern part —now Bangladesh—became independent). The independence of India was of great importance in the history of freedom movements in Asia and Africa. The policies pursued by the government of independent India under the leadership her first Prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, helped in strengthening the freedom movements in other countries and in hastening the achievement of independence by them.

Burma

Burma, renamed Myanmar recently, achieved her independence from Britain a few months after India became independent. In 1944, the Antifascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) had been formed in Burma. Its aim was to resist the Japanese invasion of Burma and to win independence for Burma. After the war, the British tried to restore their rule over Burma.

This led to the intensification of the movement for freedom. In the course of the struggle, many leaders of the Burmese freedom movement were assassinated. However, Britain was forced to agree to the demand for freedom and Burma became independent on 4 January 1948.

Indonesia

After the defeat of Japan, Sukarno, one of the pioneers of the freedom movement in Indonesia, proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. However, soon after the British troops landed there in order to help the Dutch to restore their rule. The government of independent Indonesia which had been formed by Sukarno resisted the attempt to reestablish colonial rule. There were demands in many countries of the world to put an end to the war which had been started in Indonesia to restore the Dutch rule. In Asian countries, the reaction was particularly intense. The leaders of the Indian freedom movement demanded that Indian soldiers, who had been sent to Indonesia as a part of the British army should be withdrawn. After India became free, she convened a conference of Asian nations in support of Indonesia's independence. The conference met in New Delhi in January 1949 and called for the complete independence of Indonesia. The resistance of the Indonesian people and the mounting pressure of world opinion and Asian countries compelled Holland to set the leaders of Indonesian people free. On 2 November 1949, Holland recognized the independence of Indonesia.

Chinese Revolution

The unity between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China which had been built under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen for the complete independence and unification of China. This unity had been broken after the death of Sun Yat-Sen and a civil war started in China between the Kuomintang under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communist Party of China, whose most important leader was Mao Zedong. After the Japanese invasion of China, the two parties and their armies cooperated for some time to resist

the Japanese aggression. However, the conflicts between the two never ceased. The Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-Shek was a party which mainly represented the interests of capitalists and landlords. The Communist Party, on the other hand, was a party of workers and peasants. In the areas under Communist Party's control, the estates of landlords had been expropriated and the land distributed among the peasants. Because of the policies pursued by the Communist Party, it gradually had won over millions of Chinese people to its side. The Communist Party had also organized a huge army called the People's Liberation Army (PLA). After the defeat of Japan and the driving out of the Japanese forces from China, the civil war again broke out. The government of the United States gave massive aid to Chiang Kai-Shek, but by 1949 his armies were completely routed. With the remnants of his troops, Chiang Kai-Shek went to Taiwan (Formosa), an island which had been occupied by Japan after she had defeated China in 1895.

On 1st October 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong came to power.

The victory of the Communist revolution in China was a world shaking event. The most populous country in the world had come under communist rule. Besides the socialist countries of Europe, there were now two mighty powers in the world — the Soviet Union and China — which were ruled by communist parties. Imperialism was further weakened in Asia as a result of the Chinese revolution.

The establishment of the People's Republic of China was a defeat for the United States. She refused to recognize the government of China for over two decades. According to the United States, the legal government of China was that of Chiang Kai-Shek in Taiwan (Formosa). Because of the US attitude, the most populous country in the world was denied even membership of the United Nations for over two decades.

For many years, friendly relations existed between India and China. Together, the two

countries played a very important role in the freedom movements of the peoples of Asia and Africa and in bringing about the unity of the Asian and African nations. However, towards the end of the 1950s, the foreign policy of the Chinese government began to change. In 1962, China committed aggression against India which dealt a severe blow not only to the friendship between India and China but also to the unity of Asian African nations. China's relations with the Soviet Union also began to deteriorate. She supported Pakistan against India over various issues. After 1970, her relations with the United States began to improve. She was admitted to the United Nations and is now one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC).

There were many turmoil in the political and economic life of China after the establishment of communist rule there. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1975, many changes have taken place in the economic policies of the country. These are aimed at modernizing the economy. For this, foreign companies and foreign capital have been invited and are playing an important role. Many practices which were at one time considered basic to the concept of socialism have been given up. There have also been changes in China's foreign policy. There has been an improvement in China's relations with India. In the political life of China, however, there has been little change and it continues to be under the exclusive control of the Communist Party. The demand for democracy voiced by students and others some years ago was suppressed.

The Korean War

Korea, came under Japanese rule in 1910. After Japan's defeat in the Second World War, she was divided into two zones, the northern zone under Soviet occupation and the southern zone under American occupation, to bring about the surrender of Japanese troops. The aim was to make Korea an independent state. However, as in the case of Germany in Europe, two different governments in Korea were formed in 1948. Rhee was an anti communist and wanted an alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek to prevent the

spread of communism. Both the states organized their armies and there were frequent clashes between them. In 1948, the Soviet troops withdrew from Korea followed by the American troops who withdrew in 1949. Both the governments of Korea favoured unification of the country but there was no meeting ground between them.

In June 1950 war broke out between North and South Korea. The Chinese revolution had already taken place and the United States feared further expansion of communism in this area. The United States sent troops to support South Korea in the war. Troops from some other countries aligned with the United States also fought in Korea. These troops fought as the troops of the United Nations because the Security Council of the United Nations had passed a resolution condemning North Korea and had asked members of the United Nations to aid South Korea. After the entry of the American forces in the war, the Chinese forces also entered the war and the situation took a very serious turn. There was a real danger of another world war breaking out, as by this time the Soviet Union also had acquired atomic bombs. However, though the war in Korea raged for three years, it did not turn into a world war. The armistice was signed in 1953 Korea remained divided into two separate states. India played a very important role in bringing the war in Korea to an end. Even though the war was confined to Korea, hundreds of thousands of people were killed, including over 142,000 Americans.

The Korean war added to the danger of another world war. It also worsened the tensions in the world and led to the intensification of the Cold War.

Vietnam Partition

One of the most heroic battles for freedom was fought by the people of Vietnam. This country along with Laos and Cambodia comprised Indo China which had come under French colonial rule. After the French government surrendered to Germany, many parts of Indo China were occupied by Japan. The movement for the freedom of Indo China from French rule had started many years earlier.

The greatest leader of the people of Vietnam was Ho Chi Minh. He had been engaged in organizing the communist and the nationalist movements in Vietnam since soon after the end of the First World War. The Vietnamese people under Ho Chi Minh's leadership resisted the Japanese occupation and organized a people's army called the Viet Minh. By the time the Second World War ended, the Viet Minh controlled a large part of Vietnam. In August 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed with Ho Chi Minh as President. However, the British troops as well as the troops of Chiang KaiShek arrived in Vietnam in the pretext of completing the surrender of Japanese troops there. In October 1945, the French troops also arrived with the aim of restoring French rule. In 1946, the French army started fighting against the Viet Minh. They also set up a government with Bao Dal, who had headed the puppet government under Japan earlier, as the ruler. The war between the Viet Minh and France continued for eight years. In 1954, the French forces suffered a severe blow at the hands of the Viet Minh as a result of the heavy Viet Minh attack at the fortress of Dien-Bien-Phu. The French defeat at Dien-Bien-Phu has become famous because a people's army without any sophisticated weapons defeated the army of a powerful imperialist country. The debacle at Dien-Bien-Phu compelled the French government to start negotiations with the government of Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In July 1954 an international conference was held at Geneva. It was agreed to partition Vietnam temporarily into North Vietnam and South Vietnam and to hold elections all over Vietnam within two years to unify the country under a single government.

Cambodia and Laos, the other two countries of Indo-China were made independent.

Vietnam War

With the partition of Vietnam, another phase in the freedom movement in Vietnam began. The government that was established in South Vietnam, with the support of the United States, refused to abide by the decisions of the Geneva conference with regard to the holding of elections and the unification of Vietnam. It

came to be increasingly regarded as being under the control of the United States which was opposed to the unification of Vietnam under the leadership of the communist party. In the early 1960s, uprisings broke out in South Vietnam against the government there. This was followed by the massive military intervention of the United States in Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of American troops were sent there with some of the most advanced weaponry to suppress the popular uprising. The war continued for a number of years. The South Vietnamese people led by the National Liberation Front carried on guerilla warfare. They had the support of North Vietnam. The American troops carried the war into North Vietnam. Incalculable damage was done to Vietnam as a result of the heavy bombings by American forces. The American troops also used weapons of bacteriological warfare. Vast areas of Vietnam were devastated and hundreds of thousands of people killed. The American forces also suffered heavy casualties.

The United States was almost completely isolated in the world over the war in Vietnam. Besides the opposition to this war by scores of governments, there was a worldwide movement of protest against the U.S. government and of solidarity with the people of Vietnam. The only movement of this kind had emerged in the 1930s in support of the Republican cause in the Spanish Civil War and against Germany and Italy who were actively helping the fascists in Spain. The opposition to the war grew in the United States itself on an unprecedented scale. Thousands of Americans refused to be drafted in the U.S. army and many American soldiers deserted. No other single issue had united millions of people all over the world as the war in Vietnam. However, the U.S government continued the war even though it was clear that she could not win it.

Early in 1975, the war took a decisive turn. The armies of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam swept across the country routing the American supported troops of the government of South Vietnam. In January 1973, the American troops had begun to withdraw from Vietnam. During the war in

Vietnam, 58,000 of them had lost their lives. By 30 April 1975, all the American troops had withdrawn and the capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, was liberated. North and South Vietnam were formally united as one country in 1976. The city of Saigon was renamed Ho Chi-Minh City after the great leader of the Vietnamese people who had died a few years earlier in 1969.

The emergence of Vietnam as a united and independent nation is an historic event in the history of the world. A small country had succeeded in winning her independence and unification in the face of the armed opposition of the greatest power in the world. The help given to Vietnam by the socialist countries, the political support extended to her by a large number of Asian and African countries, and the solidarity expressed by the peoples in all parts of the world had helped in bringing victory to the people of Vietnam.

Cambodia: Khmer Rouge

The war in Vietnam had also spread to Cambodia. In 1970, the government of Prince Narodom Sihanouk was overthrown and a puppet government was installed there. The troops of the USA and South Vietnam had carried the war to Cambodia on the ground that the Vietnamese were receiving their supplies from bases in Cambodia. By the time the United States withdrew from the war in 1975, a party which called itself Khmer Rouge had taken control of Cambodia under the leadership of Pol Pot. The government of Pol Pot established a regime of terror in Cambodia and started following a policy of genocide against its own people. The estimates of people murdered by the Khmer Rouge vary from one to three million. In 1979, Pol Pot's government was overthrown with the help of Vietnamese troops. However, the war in Cambodia continued as the Khmer Rouge still had some areas under its control inside the country. It also operated from across the border with Thailand. In the meantime, three groups, including the Khmer Rouge and the group led by Narodom Sihanouk, came together in opposition to the government in Cambodia which was supported by Vietnam.

Peace was restored in Cambodia recently.

The United Nations brought the various warring factions together and an agreement was signed under the auspices of the United Nations. The Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia. In 1993, elections were held and a coalition government was formed. The Khmer Rouge, however, remained outside the government and its troops continued their armed attacks in some parts of the country.

SRI LANKA- Within a few months of India's independence, Sri Lanka (Ceylon) also became free in February 1948.

THAILAND- Thailand had been occupied by Japan and after the defeat of Japan became independent.

PHILIPPINES- During the war, Japan had driven out the American forces from the Philippines. In 1946, the government of the United States agreed to the independence of the Philippines

MALAYASIA- In Malaya British rule had been reestablished after the war. In 1957, Malaya (now Malaysia) became an independent nation.



Disintegration of USSR

In December of 1991, as the world watched in amazement, the Soviet Union disintegrated into fifteen separate countries. Its collapse was hailed by the west as a victory for freedom, a triumph of democracy over totalitarianism, and evidence of the superiority of capitalism over socialism. The United States rejoiced as its formidable enemy was brought to its knees, thereby ending the Cold War which had hovered over these two superpowers since the end of World War II. Indeed, the breakup of the Soviet Union transformed the entire world political situation, leading to a complete reformulation of political, economic and military alliances all over the globe.

What led to this monumental historical event? In fact, the answer is a very complex one, and can only be arrived at with an understanding of the peculiar composition and history of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was built on approximately the same territory as the Russian Empire which it succeeded. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the newly-formed government developed a philosophy of socialism with the eventual and gradual transition to Communism. The state which the Bolsheviks created was intended to overcome national differences, and rather to create one monolithic state based on a centralized economical and political system. This state, which was built on a Communist ideology, was eventually transformed into a totalitarian state, in which the Communist leadership had complete control over the country.

However, this project of creating a unified, centralized socialist state proved problematic for several reasons. First, the Soviets underestimated the degree to which the non-Russian ethnic groups in the country (which comprised more than fifty percent of the total population of the Soviet Union) would resist assimilation into a Russianized State. Second,

their economic planning failed to meet the needs of the State, which was caught up in a vicious arms race with the United States. This led to gradual economic decline, eventually necessitating the need for reform. Finally, the ideology of Communism, which the Soviet Government worked to instill in the hearts and minds of its population, never took firm root, and eventually lost whatever influence it had originally carried.

By the time of the 1985 rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's last leader, the country was in a situation of severe stagnation, with deep economic and political problems which sorely needed to be addressed and overcome. Recognizing this, Gorbachev introduced a two-tiered policy of reform. On one level, he initiated a policy of glasnost, or freedom of speech. On the other level, he began a program of economic reform known as perestroika, or rebuilding. What Gorbachev did not realize was that by giving people complete freedom of expression, he was unwittingly unleashing emotions and political feelings that had been pent up for decades, and which proved to be extremely powerful when brought out into the open. Moreover, his policy of economic reform did not have the immediate results he had hoped for and had publicly predicted. The Soviet people consequently used their newly allotted freedom of speech to criticize Gorbachev for his failure to improve the economy.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union began on the peripheries, in the non-Russian areas. The first region to produce mass, organized dissent was the Baltic region, where, in 1987, the government of Estonia demanded autonomy. This move was later followed by similar moves in Lithuania and Latvia, the other two Baltic republics. The nationalist movements in the Baltics constituted a strong challenge to

Gorbachev's policy of glasnost. He did not want to crack down too severely on the participants in these movements, yet at the same time, it became increasingly evident that allowing them to run their course would spell disaster for the Soviet Union, which would completely collapse if all of the periphery republics were to demand independence.

After the initiative from Estonia, similar movements sprang up all over the former Soviet Union. In the Transcaucasus region (in the South of the Soviet Union), a movement developed inside the Armenian-populated autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabagh, in the Republic of Azerbaijan. The Armenian population of this region demanded that they be granted the right to secede and join the Republic of Armenia, with whose population they were ethnically linked. Massive demonstrations were held in Armenia in solidarity with the secessionists in Nagorno-Karabagh. The Gorbachev government refused to allow the population of Nagorno-Karabagh to secede, and the situation developed into a violent territorial dispute, eventually degenerating into an all-out war which continues unabated until the present day.

Once this "Pandora's box" had been opened, nationalist movements emerged in Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Byelorussia, and the Central Asian republics. The power of the Central Government was considerably weakened by these movements; they could no longer rely on the cooperation of Government figures in the republics.

Finally, the situation came to a head in August of 1991. In a last-ditch effort to save the Soviet Union, which was floundering under the impact of the political movements which had emerged since the implementation of Gorbachev's glasnost, a group of "hard-line" Communists organized a coup d'etat. They kidnapped Gorbachev, and then, on August 19 of 1991, they announced on state television that Gorbachev was very ill and would no longer be able to govern. The country went into an uproar. Massive protests were staged in Moscow, Leningrad, and many of the other major cities of the Soviet Union. When the coup organizers

tried to bring in the military to quell the protestors, the soldiers themselves rebelled, saying that they could not fire on their fellow countrymen. After three days of massive protest, the coup organizers surrendered, realizing that without the cooperation of the military, they did not have the power to overcome the power of the entire population of the country.

After the failed coup attempt, it was only a few months until the Soviet Union completely collapsed. Both the government and the people realized that there was no way to turn back the clock; the massive demonstrations of the "August days" had demonstrated that the population would accept nothing less than democracy. Gorbachev conceded power, realizing that he could no longer contain the power of the population. On December 25, 1991, he resigned. By January of 1992, by popular demand, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. In its place, a new entity was formed. It was called the "Commonwealth of Independent Republics," and was composed of most of the independent countries of the former Soviet Union. While the member countries had complete political independence, they were linked to other Commonwealth countries by economic, and, in some cases, military ties.

Now that the Soviet Union, with its centralized political and economic system, has ceased to exist, the fifteen newly formed independent countries which emerged in its aftermath are faced with an overwhelming task. They must develop their economies, reorganize their political systems, and, in many cases, settle bitter territorial disputes. A number of wars have developed on the peripheries of the former Soviet Union. Additionally, the entire region is suffering a period of severe economic hardship. However, despite the many hardships facing the region, bold steps are being taken toward democratization, reorganization, and rebuilding in most of the countries of the former Soviet Union.

Contemporary issue of Russia and Ukraine

The two neighboring countries have been intertwined for over 1,000 years of tumultuous history. Today, Ukraine is one of Russia's biggest

markets for natural gas exports, a crucial transit route to the rest of Europe, and home to an estimated 7.5 million ethnic Russians — who mostly live in eastern Ukraine and the southern region of Crimea. (All told, about 25 percent of Ukraine's 46 million people claim Russian as their mother tongue.) Russia lacks natural borders like rivers and mountains along its western frontier, so "its leaders have traditionally seen the maintenance of a sphere of influence over the countries around it as source of security. That's especially true of Ukraine, which Russia regards as its little brother.

Independent Ukraine

After both Ukraine and Russia terminated the union several acute disputes formed. The former one was the question of the Crimea which the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic had administered since 1954. This however was largely resolved in an agreement that allowed for Crimea to remain part of Ukraine, provided its Autonomous Republic status is preserved.

The second major dispute of the 1990s was the city of Sevastopol, with its base of the Black Sea Fleet. Unlike the rest of the Crimea peninsula, the city of Sevastopol carried a special status within the Soviet Union. During the fall of the Soviet state the city along with the rest of Ukraine participated in the national referendum for independence of Ukraine where 58% of its population voted for the succession of the city in favour of the Ukrainian state, yet the Supreme Soviet of Russia voted to reclaim the city as its territory in 1993 (a vote unrecognised by Boris Yeltsin, at the time the Russian parliament and president were at a political stand-off). After several years of intense negotiations, in 1997 the whole issue was resolved by partitioning the Black Sea Fleet and leasing some of the naval bases in Sevastopol to the Russian Navy until 2017.

Another major dispute became the energy supply problems as several Soviet-Western Europe oil and gas pipelines ran through Ukraine. Later after new treaties came into effect, the enormous debts of Ukraine to Russia were paid off by transfer of several Soviet weaponry and nuclear arsenals that Ukraine

inherited, to Russia such as the Tu-160 bombers. During the 1990s both countries along with other ex-Soviet states founded the Commonwealth of Independent States and large business partnerships came into effect.

While Russian share in Ukraine's exports declined from 26.2 percent in 1997 to around 23 percent in 1998-2000, the share of imports held steady at 45-50 percent of the total. Overall, between one third and one half of Ukraine's trade was with the Russian Federation. Dependence was particularly strong in energy. Up to 70-75 percent of annually consumed gas and close to 80 percent of oil came from Russia. On the export side, too, dependence was significant. Russia remained Ukraine's primary market for ferrous metals, steel plate and pipes, electric machinery, machine tools and equipment, food, and products of chemical industry. It has been a market of hope for Ukraine's high value-added goods, more than nine tenths of which were historically tied to the Russian consumer. Old buyers gone by 1997, Ukraine had experienced a 97-99 percent drop in production of industrial machines with digital control systems, television sets, tape recorders, excavators, cars and trucks. At the same time, and in spite of the postcommunist slowdown, Russia came out as the fourth-largest investor in the Ukrainian economy after the USA, Netherlands, and Germany, having contributed \$150.6 million out of \$2.047 billion in foreign direct investment that Ukraine had received from all sources by 1998.

Although disputes prior to the Ukrainian presidential election, 2004 were present including the speculations regarding accidental shooting down of a Russian airliner by the Ukrainian military and the controversy with the Tuzla Island, relations with Russia under the latter years of Leonid Kuchma improved. In 2002 the Russian Government participated in financing the construction of the Khmelnytsky and the Rivne nuclear power plants. [17] However, after the Orange Revolution several problems resurfaced including a gas dispute, and Ukraine's potential NATO membership.

The overall perception of relations with Russia in Ukraine differs largely on regional

Here's some key information about the region:

Located on the Black Sea

The Crimean Peninsula extends into the Black Sea, all but an island except for a narrow strip of land in the north connecting it to the mainland. On its eastern shore, a finger of land reaches out almost to Russia. Russia plans to build a bridge across the strait.

With an area of 27,000 square kilometers (10,000 square miles), it is slightly smaller than Belgium. It is Ukraine's only formally autonomous region, with Simferopol as its capital. Sevastopol has a separate status within Ukraine.

It's best known in the West as the site of the 1945 Yalta Conference, where Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill sealed the postwar division of Europe.

History

Crimea was absorbed into the Russian empire along with most of ethnic Ukrainian territory by Catherine the Great in the 18th century. Russia's Black Sea naval base at Sevastopol was founded soon afterwards.

More than half a million people were killed in the Crimean War of 1853-56 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, which was backed by Britain and France. The conflict reshaped Europe and paved the way for World War One.

In 1921, the peninsula, then populated mainly by Muslim Tatars, became part of the Soviet Union. The Tatars were deported en masse by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the end of World War Two for alleged collaboration with the Nazis.

Why Crimea is part of Ukraine

Crimea only became part of Ukraine when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev gave the peninsula to his native land in 1954. This hardly mattered until the Soviet Union broke up in 1991 and Crimea ended up in an independent Ukraine. Despite that, nearly 60 percent of its population of 2 million identify themselves as Russians.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, there have been periodic political tussles between over its status between Moscow and Kiev.

Population

Around 2 million. Ukraine's 2001 census showed around 58 percent were ethnic Russian, 24 percent ethnic Ukrainian and 12 percent Tatars, who support the new pro-Western government in Kiev.

Economy

Crimea's temperate climate makes it a popular tourist destination for Ukrainians and Russians, especially Yalta, where the Soviet, U.S. and British victors of World War Two met in 1945 to discuss the future shape of Europe.

It accounts for three percent of Ukraine's gross domestic product, with 60 percent of its own output made up by services. The land is intensely farmed, with wheat, corn and sunflowers the main crops. Extra water supplies are brought by canal from Ukraine's Dnieper River.

There are chemical processing plants and iron ore is mined in Kerch. Ukraine has two grain terminals in Crimea - in Kerch and in Sevastopol. According to UkrAgroConsult, these have exported 1.6 million tons of grain so far this season or 6.6 percent of Ukraine's total exports.

The black sea fleet

On Crimea's southern shore sits the port city of Sevastopol, home to the Russian Black Sea Fleet and its thousands of naval personnel. Russia kept its half of the Soviet fleet, but was rattled in 2009 when the pro-Western Ukrainian President Viktor Yushchenko warned that it would have to leave the key port by 2017.

Shortly after pro-Russian Viktor Yanukovich was elected president in 2010, he agreed to extend the Russian lease until 2042 in exchange for discounts on Russian gas supplies. Russia fears that Ukraine's new pro-Western government could evict it.

Russia's Black Sea base in Sevastopol gives Moscow access to the Mediterranean. Ukraine's fleet, carved out of the same Soviet fleet as Russia's, is also based there.

The Tatars

The 1991 fall of the Soviet Union also brought the return of the Crimean Tatars, the native hosts of the land that fell to Russia under Catherine the Great in the 18th century. They were brutally deported in 1944 under Stalin.

The Crimean Tatars, who now make up about 12 percent of its population, have sided with the anti-Yanukovich protesters in Kiev who drove his government from power.

factors. Many Russophone eastern and southern regions, which are also home to the majority of the Russian diaspora in Ukraine welcome closer relations with Russia. However further central and particularly western regions (who were never a part of Imperial Russia) of Ukraine show a less friendly attitude to the idea of a historic link to Russia and the Soviet Union in particular.

In Russia, there is no regional breakdown in the opinion of Ukraine, but on the whole, Ukraine's recent attempts to join the EU and NATO were seen as change of course to only a pro-Western, anti-Russian orientation of Ukraine and thus a sign of hostility and this resulted in a drop of Ukraine's perception in Russia (although Ukrainian President Yushchenko reassured Russia that joining NATO it is not meant as an anti-Russian act. This was further fuelled by the public discussion in Ukraine of whether the Russian language should be given official status and be made the second state language. During the 2009 gas conflict the Russian media almost uniformly portrayed Ukraine as an aggressive and greedy state that

wanted to ally with Russia's enemies and exploit cheap Russian gas.

Further worsening relations were provoking statements by both Russian and Ukrainian politicians. The status of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol remains a matter of disagreement and tensions.

Crimean Crisis

The Crimean peninsula, the main flashpoint in Ukraine's crisis, is a pro-Russia part of Ukraine, separated from the rest of the country geographically, historically and politically. It also hosts Russia's Black Sea Fleet. Ukraine has accused Russia of invading it.

On 17 December 2013 Russian President Vladimir Putin agreed to lend Ukraine 15 billion dollars in financial aid and a 33% discount on natural gas prices. The treaty was signed amid massive, ongoing protests in Ukraine for closer ties between Ukraine and the European Union. Critics pointed out that in the months before the 17 December 2013 deal a change in Russian customs regulations on imports from

Ukraine was a Russian attempt to prevent Ukraine to sign an Association Agreement with the European Union.

The 2014 Crimean crisis is unfolding in the autonomous region of Crimea, Ukraine, in the aftermath of the 2014 Ukrainian revolution, in which the government of President Viktor Yanukovich was ousted. Protests were staged by groups of mainly ethnic Russians who opposed the events in Kiev and wanted close ties or integration with Russia, in addition to expanded autonomy or possible independence for Crimea. Other groups, including Crimean Tatars, protested in support of the revolution.

On 27 February, armed men wearing masks seized a number of important buildings in Crimea, including the parliament building and two airports. They destroyed almost all phone and internet service between Crimea and the rest of Ukraine. Under siege, the Supreme Council of Crimea dismissed the autonomous republic's government and replaced chairman of the Council of Ministers of Crimea, Anatolii Mohyliov with Sergey Aksyonov. Kiev accused Russia of intervening in Ukraine's internal affairs, while the Russian side officially denied such claims. On 1 March, the Russian parliament granted President Vladimir Putin the authority to use military force in Ukraine, following a plea for help from unofficial pro-Moscow leader, Sergey Aksyonov. On the same day, the acting

president of Ukraine, Oleksandr Turchynov decreed the appointment of the Prime Minister of Crimea as unconstitutional. He said, "We consider the behavior of the Russian Federation to be direct aggression against the sovereignty of Ukraine!"

On 11 March, the Crimean parliament voted and approved a declaration on the independence of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol from Ukraine, as the Republic of Crimea, with 78 votes out of 100 in favor. Crimeans voted in a referendum to rejoin Russia on 16 March. The Republic of Crimea declared its independence from Ukraine the next day, started seeking UN recognition, and requested to join the Russian Federation. On the same day, Russia recognized Crimea as a sovereign state.

On March 27, the U.N. General Assembly passed a non-binding Resolution 68/262 that declared the Crimean referendum invalid and the incorporation of Crimea into Russia illegal. There has been huge opposition against Russian move from US and its western allies. Russia is also suspended from G8.

But with its intervention in Crimea, Russia is sending a clear message to the US and its western allies that the unipolar world order is not viable anymore and the rules of engagement have to be changed.

