

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (EPS-07)

Tutor Marked Assignment

Course Code: EPS-07

Assignment Code: Asst./TMA/2016-17

Total Marks: 100

Answer all questions in each category. Try to write the answers in your own words.

A) DCQ: Answer in about 600 words each.

1. Examine the meaning and scope of international relations.
OR
Explain the essential features of Fascism. 20
2. Critically examine the causes and the events that led to the First World War.
OR
Explain the importance of national interest in foreign policy making. 20

B) MCQ: Answer in about 300 words each.

3. Explain the concept of cold war.
OR
Explain the evolution and functioning of the non-aligned movement. 12
4. Critically examine the different phases of the Cold War.
OR
Explain the impact of the nuclear arms race in the post-war period. 12
5. Briefly explain India's peace movement and disarmament policy.
OR
Explain the different types of international terrorism. 12
6. Explain the evolution and importance of regional organisations in International Relations.
OR
Briefly explain the changing role of the United Nations in the post-cold war period. 12

C) SCQ: Write short notes of about 100 words each on the following.

7. The relevance of the Organization of African Unity
OR
Principle of self-determination 6
8. Concept of Power
OR
New World Order 6

ASSIGNMENT SOLUTIONS GUIDE (2016-2017)

E.P.S.-7

International Relations

Disclaimer/Special Note: These are just the sample of the Answers/Solutions to some of the Questions given in the Assignments. These Sample Answers/Solutions are prepared by Private Teachers/Tutors/Authors for the help and guidance of the student to get an idea of how he/she can answer the Questions given in the Assignments. We do not claim 100% accuracy of these sample answers as these are based on the knowledge and capability of Private Teacher/Tutor. Sample answers may be seen as the Guide/Help for the reference to prepare the answers of the Questions given in the assignments. As these solutions and answers are prepared by the private teacher/tutor so the chances of error or mistake cannot be denied. Any Omission or Error is highly regretted though every care has been taken while preparing these Sample Answers/Solutions. Please consult your own Teacher/Tutor before you prepare a Particular Answer and for up-to-date and exact information, data and solution. Student should must read and refer the official study material provided by the university.

Answer all questions in each category. Try to write the answers in your own words.

(A) DCQ: Answer in about 600 words each.

Q. 1. Explain the essential features of Fascism.

Ans. Fascism: The term *fascismo* was brought into popular usage by the Italian founders of Fascism, Benito Mussolini and the Neo-Hegelian philosopher Giovanni Gentile. It is derived from the Italian word *fascio*, which means “bundle” or “union”. Fascism is a totalitarian nationalist ideology that is primarily concerned with perceived problems associated with cultural, economic, political, and social decline or decadence. It seeks to solve such problems by achieving a millenarian national rebirth by exalting the nation or race as well as promoting cults of unity, strength and purity. Fascism was more a programme of action than an ideology. It emerged mainly as a reaction against injustice alleged to have been done to Italy and Germany. Fascism is against the principles of democracy, socialism, and even individualism.

The term Fascism has been derived from Italian word Fascio which means a bundle of wood which indicates discipline and unity. Fascism does not represent an ideology rather it is based on reality, it was based on certain programmes of action adopted in Italy by the fastest party leader Mussolini and Nazist party leader Hitler in Germany. The basic objective of Fascism was restoration of lost glory and honour of the Nation through Military power and potential.

Essential Features of Fascism:

1. Fascist advocated aggressive Nationalism as they wanted to make Italy as powerful as she was during ancient roman empire, according to them State and Nation are the ultimate moral beings.
2. Fascism believed in dictatorship of one national leader and were against parliamentary democracy.
3. Fascism believes in totalitarian state.
4. It believes in violence, force and imperialism.
5. Fascism opposes internationalism or world order.
6. It believes in the nation-state and was opposed to socialism and communism.

Fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain

Italy was on the side of England and France during the World War I (1914-1918). Therefore, she had to suffer a great loss at the hands of Germany and Austria. Under the secret treaty of London, England agrees to give Italy sufficient money and a large territory, but when England became victorious in the war, she completely ignored the claims of Italy. Italy faced a great loss in the First World War. Therefore, there was a great resentment among its people. Secondly, there was a widespread discontentment in Italy because after the war, retrenchment took place in army. Production was falling because the communists were instigating the workers to resort to strike in order to bring in Communism. Thirdly, there was indiscipline in all walks of life in Italy. Fourthly, the democratic government,

which was established in Italy after the World War, could not solve any of her problems satisfactorily. In such a situation Mussolini established his Fascist Party in March, 1919.

In Germany and in Spain groups with similar ideas and programmes of action came to power. In 1930, Nazism under the leadership of Adolph Hitler came to power in Germany, it advocated re-armament, war and revision of peace treaties and were against League of Nations Parliamentary Democracy and peaceful settlement of disputes. Similar adventurism were noticed in some other European countries like in France in 1935-36 condition prevailed for the emergence of dictatorship in Belgium, a Fascists group led by Degrelle introduced violence and vulgarity in public life. In Romania a Fascist party known as the Iron God was found under the leadership of the Corleliu Codreanu. In 1937 in Poland, the government was organised in the fascist model. In Spain the civil war which went on for nearly three years ended in 1939 with decisive victory for the Fascists under the leadership of General Franco, thus, Spain join the Fascist camp of Italy and Germany.

Mussolini–From Socialist to Fascist

Benito Mussolini was born in 1893 was initially influenced by his fathers socialist views. For some time he kept on propagating Socialism. By 1915, he gave up his socialist ideas and demanded for Italian entry in the war which broke out in 1914. He became a strong critic of the peace treaties. As a result he organised the Fascist party for securing Justice for Italy and getting rid of socialist, communist and the weak government.

Causes of the Rise of Fascism in Italy

Italy entered the war on 23 May 1915. Towards the final stages of War Italians made a notable contribution to the allied victory. But Italy discovered that the cost of war was far more exacting than they had anticipating. Even her economic losses were also disturbing. As a result their last hope was the Paris peace conference. They expected to get all the promised territories but that did not happened as Wilson’s idealism stood in the way of realisation of her dreams. They were even being denied of Fiume. Gabriele Annunzio, an Italian Poet organised a coup of young man voluntaries and capture Fiume. Giolitti, the new Prime Minister of Italy concluded the treaty at Repallo in 1920 with Yugoslavia and returned Fiume to it. This action of Giolitti became an important cause of the rise of Fascism. Another important cause was the Albanian problem, because after the war Italy wanted to rule Albania as a mandated territory but the Paris conference did not accepted this demand, thirdly, economic situation of Italy was also chaotic as un-employment, budget deficit and prices of essential commodities were increasing rapidly. Parliamentary democracy failed to solve the problems. Communism provoked general unrest in the Italian society and economy. It was in this background that Benito Mussolini seized power and established the Fascism regime in Italy.

Neo-fascism in Italy

Neo-fascism is a post-World War II ideology that includes significant elements of fascism. The term *neo-fascist* may apply to groups that express a specific admiration for Benito Mussolini and Italian fascism or any other fascist leader/state. Neo-fascism usually includes nationalism, anti-immigration policies or, where relevant, nativism anti-communism, and opposition to the parliamentary system and liberal democracy. Allegations that a group is neo-fascist may be hotly contested, especially if the term is used as a politic epithet. Some post-World War II regimes have been described as neo-fascist due to their authoritarian nature, and sometimes due to their fascination with fascist ideology and rituals. Neo-fascist movements are more straight-forwardly right-wing than the pre-WWII movements, and have become intertwined with the radical right.

Q. 2. Critically examine the causes and the events that led to the First World War.

Ans. The First World War which lasted for more than four years broke out in 1914, initially it was confined to Europe but sooner it spread to other parts of the world. The world experienced an unprecedented holocaust. Established dynasties collapsed, Europe lost its glory and America emerged as the new super power, leading the new world. The war changed the entire scenario; it was responsible for generating new ideologies, founded new institutions and gives birth to new leaderships in the world.

Causes

The war broke out in the wake of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Hapsburg throne. He was assassinated on 28 June 1914. However, it was not only cause which led to the First World War. Since the France-German War of 1870 many political and economic developments took place in the international arena. There arose economic rivalries, disputes over colonies and the conflicting alliance system in Europe.

Economic Rivalries

Most of the European powers throughout the last quarter of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century had been locked in tariff wars and competition for overseas markets. There were tariff wars between Italy, France, Russia, Austria, Serbia and Germany. There arose a stiff competition between Germany and Great Britain in overseas markets. These competitions have far reaching political repercussions, resulting in unending tensions between these states. Germany emerged as economic super power pushing behind Britain.

Colonial Disputes

In order to ensure protected market for their surplus capital and industrial products, the European powers got involved in conflicts for overseas colonies. Germany was one of the leading country in this race as it has emerged as the super economic power. Apart from Britain and Germany other major powers were engaged in the scramble for dependencies in the year's preceding the First World War. There were collisions in Africa and in Asia between the European powers for colonies.

Conflicting Alliance Systems

The struggle for colonies between antagonistic powers led to the formation of conflicting alliances. Germany signed the dual alliance with Austria-Hungary in 1879. This alliance became the triple alliance in 1882, when Italy joined Austria-Hungary and Germany, seeking their support in her struggle for colonies against France. In order to form counter alliance France and Russia entered into an entente in 1893. This entente was aimed at countering the triple alliance and also containing Britain, against whom both France and Russia had outstanding disputes over the colonies. Later on the Anglo-French entente 1904 was signed and then the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907 was formalised which transformed into triple entente. This division of Europe into two conflicting alliances aggravated colonial rivalries.

Rising Nationalist Aspirations

The growing spirit of nationalism and the right of self-determination among the people of the colonies aroused and as the result the French people in Alsace- Lorraine became hostile to German rule over their territory. Italians, Romanians, and the Slavic people living within the Austro-Hungarian Empire awakened and initiated demands for self-determination. However, these nationalist aspirations were suppressed by their rulers which resulted in to revolutionary movements. Many secret radical and militant organisations sprang up in different places in the Balkan region. One such organisation called Black Hand was responsible for hatching the conspiracy to kill Archduke Francis Ferdinand.

The Outbreak of the War

After the assassination of the Archduke, on 23 July 1914, Austria issued a stiff ultimatum to Serbia. The ultimatum included the demand for apologies, suppression of anti-Austrian movements, and participation of Austrian officials in the enquiry for fixing responsibility of the murder. Serbia refused to include Austrian officials for conducting an inquiry. As a consequence Austria declared war against Serbia on 28 July 1914. Russia joined in favour of Serbia which brought Germany into war. The German strategy to attack France by vanquishing Belgium annoyed Britain; as such Britain also declared war. Thus war broke out on full scale consisting of two blocs Austria-Hungary and Germany on one side and France, Britain, and Russia on the other.

Sequence of Events of the War

European Phase of the War: The First World War which lasted till the beginning of 1917 was fought over European issues and was basically a European affair. In a German strategy to end the war, the German forces attacked France. However, they could not sustain this victory. A deadlock resulted between the warring parties and the war took heavy casualties both in terms of man and material. On the Russian and the Balkans fronts there had been decisive battles Turkey joined the central powers and closed the supply line to Russia through sea routes. The combined Austro-German armies inflicted humiliating defeats upon the Russian forces, which led to the decline of the Tsarist Empire. Bulgaria also joined the central powers and enhanced their strength and capabilities. The central powers won important victories and the whole area from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf came under their control.

In February the central powers launched attack against the allies, so that they can dictate peace terms to the allies for terminating the war. This strategy failed and Germany suffered from heavy losses. America intervened in war in favour of the allies and as such war entered into a global phase.

Global Phase of the War

The successful conclusion of the Russian revolution and the American intervention into the war changed the entire complexion of the war. Instead of an European affair it was a world affair. Different ideologies came to forefront in the war, for example, Russian revolution unleashed revolutionary ideology whereas the USA wanted to make the world safe for peace and democracy. President Wilson declared his fourteen point's programme which included open covenants of peace, removal of barriers to international trade, reduction of arrangements, freedom of the seas, right to self-determination, besides many others.

End of the War

Participation of USA enhanced the strength and capabilities of the allies. As such the central powers had no hope of getting fresh supplies to continue war. Consequently they surrendered one by one during the later half of the 1917. Thus, the war ended with the victory of the allied powers.

(B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 3. Explain the concept of cold war.

Ans. The term cold war refers to a state of hostility between nations without actual fighting. It envisaged an era of neither peace nor war between the Soviet Union and the United States. The concept stands for struggle for supremacy waged by the nations through propaganda, economic measures, and political manoeuvres. It is a conflict between the two ideologies— capitalism and socialism.

Origin

There is no unanimity among the scholars regarding the date of origin of cold war. Some scholars place it to the 1917 Russian revolution, which gave birth to a new system called the socialist system, opposed to the exploitative capitalist system. After the emergence of this new socialist system the whole of the capitalist system got terror stricken and rallied together to crush its roots as soon as possible. In the Second World War when Germany attacked the USSR, violating the non-aggression pact, the USSR joined the allied powers and made a great contribution in the success of the Allied powers. After the war USSR emerged as one of the super powers and the Allied powers could not hide their fear and hatred against the USSR. The USA emerged as the second super power and as such the world was drifted towards the cold war.

Spread of the Cold War

Although the struggle of power between communist and capitalist countries started with the disagreement of Germany; it increased to Europe and extended towards other parts of the world throughout the decades of 1950 and 1960. With both ideologies determined to stop each other, there were some dangerous events in Europe where ideology clashed; yet luckily, no nuclear threat was used, only military warfare. Nevertheless, with communists determined to seek the “expansion of communism” around the world, and “secure” the USSR, the Cold War stretched towards other regions of the globe where the clashes of ideologies led to dangerous confrontation; highly more volatile than in Europe as it involved the use of potential military warfare and the possibility of a nuclear war. In Europe, the main disagreements came within Germany and Hungary. In Germany, the first dangerous event was the Berlin blockade in June 1948. It stopped in 1949 when Stalin admitted its defeat changing the Soviet-American relations. The possible threat that Stalin demonstrated brought insecurity to west Europeans who desired security from communism that led to the establishment of NATO in April 1949. To counter-rest the NATO, the Warsaw Pact was established by socialist countries in May 14, 1955, Hungary, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland and the Soviet Union were the founding members. They pledge to defend each other if one member was attacked. This divided the capitalist and the west in a dangerous situation that if one country attacked the other in result, they would create a 3rd World War.

The Berlin Crisis (1958 to 1961) was another dangerous situation in which Khrushchev announced that the USSR no longer recognise the rights of the western powers. In 1960 an American U-2 spy plane was shot down inside Russia which ruined the Summit Conference in Paris. In March 1961, Soviet aircraft interfered with traffic in the air corridors. Khrushchev suggested Kennedy that they should withdraw from Berlin, about 200,000 refugees a year escaped from East to West Berlin and over 3 million escaped. In refusal to get out the Berlin Wall was erected in August 1961. It was a 28 mile-long monstrosity. On the other hand, in other regions of the globe the clash of ideologies led to dangerous confrontation resulting in proxy wars such as the Korean and Vietnam War. The Korean

War was a result of the agreement of the USA and the USSR to divide the country in two sides along the 38th parallel. This was later followed by the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. That was done as a reaction to the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, where up to 5,000 people died.

In conclusion, the early stages in the cold war and the events in Europe were dangerous situation that led to a build-up of tension, however they were less dangerous than the situation in other parts of the world such as the Korean War and Vietnam War which resulted in the death of thousands of people, lost generations and gave a path to the Bay of Pigs which resulted in more deaths and the path to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 which was the peak point in the dangerous events as it nearly activates a nuclear war and was evaded by very little.

Cold War in the Far-East

Although the cold war originated in Europe but it soon speeded to the Far-East. In China Communist Revolution became successful in 1949. Chiang Kai Shek though got full support from the USA fail to withstand the Communist attack. But the success of the Communists in China was a great set-back to the USA which had been following the policy of containment of communism world over. The USA along with its western Allies signed the peace treaty with Japan. The treaty reduced Japan to almost a dependent of the USA and made Japan the main base in the Far-East. The Communist led army consolidated its position in North Korea and the anti-communist, pro-west forces captured South Korea. In 1950, a Civil war between North Korea (supported by China) and South Korea (supported by the U.S.) broke out. The country was divided along the 38th parallel and reached to the Yalu river which separates China from Korea. Immediately the North Korean army drove away the invaders. The War, however, continued for another two years.

Q. 4. Explain the impact of the nuclear arms race in the post-war period.

Ans. In the quest for a qualitatively more destructive weapon was the greatest motivating factor in bringing the world a step closer to war, be it the First World War or the Second World War. After 1945, the arms race became the greatest living threat to life. The difference lies only in one single qualitative step in the arms race, and the step was the creation of the atomic or nuclear bomb in 1945. Thus, from 1945 the arms race remained no longer conventional, rather it acquired a nuclear character.

Nuclear Arms Race in the Third World and South Asia

The nuclear arms race had its impact on the Third World. The quest of the German Bomb fueled the American 'Manhattan Project' initially, and as the Second World War came to a close, it was the Soviet ideological and military power manifest in the occupation of Eastern Europe that really put Americans firmly on the track of nuclear bomb making. However, at that time the Allies needed the Soviet Communists to destroy fascist Germany, Italy and Japan. Stalin's intelligence agencies were well aware of the secret American nuclear programme and at Potsdam, his suspicions were confirmed when President Roosevelt informed Stalin of a secret weapon. This knowledge fueled the Soviet desire to build the bomb at a feverish pace to counter the threat from capitalist west. The bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, though not really necessary were also a veiled threat to Soviets of the American resolve. These events in a way led to the nuclear arms race. After 1949, when Communist China emerged under Mao, it is believed that the Chinese through Soviet help (prior to Sino-Soviet split) too got the nuclear capability and tested in 1964. China was considered a Third World state and one can see how the ideological and political nature of nations deeply affected their decision to develop a nuclear capability.

Acquisition of Nuclear Capability by China and start of Arms Race in South Asia

The acquisition of nuclear capability of China in 1964 signalled the beginning of a nuclear arms race in South Asia.

India, Pakistan and the Nuclear Arms Race

The nuclear arms race in South Asia, however, was not of India's making. It rather came after the massive defeat India suffered at Chinese hands in 1962, which hit our whole defence and foreign policy. This followed by the news of Chinese exploding the nuclear device in 1964 shook the Indian political and military establishment and they decided to develop India's nuclear capability. The decision was also influenced, perhaps, by the Chinese collusion with Pakistan in the 1950s prior to the 1962 war. It brought home to the Indian strategists the real possibility of Chinese and Pakistanis joining hands against India. After 1962, there was, thus, no looking back and the nuclear arms race reached South Asia. India conducted the first Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) in 1974. The South Asian region, is definitely a zone of nuclear competition with India consciously 'keeping its option open' and not exercising

its capability. This is expressed in its refusal to sign both the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty in the 1995, Review Conference had the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on 24th September, 1996.

'Domino Theory' in South Asia

The South Asian case amply demonstrates the 'Domino Theory' which fuels nuclear arms race or any arms race. First, it was the German threat to Europe which made the US to go for the bomb. Then, the Soviet threat made US go in for the bomb again. The bombings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki led Soviets to acquiring the bomb. The common threat to world communism led to Soviets helping the new communist state of China in 1949 with nuclear technology which helped China to conduct a nuclear test in 1964. The Soviets, however, had refused to give nuclear weapon design to China, which became the cause of Sino-Soviet rift. The Indian defeat in 1962 and Pakistan's collusion with the Chinese led the Indians to develop the nuclear capability by 1974. The Indian explosion coupled with successive defeats in wars with India led the Pakistanis onto the bomb. The case of other third world countries, acquiring the bomb in similar; e.g. the Iraqi and Iranian nuclear programme.

General Complexion of Arms Race in South Asia

Overall one can say that the third world nuclear arms race is definitely a product of the nuclear arms race in the first world and the many conflicts within the Third World sustain it. The cold war military alliance system helped this process. Now, after the collapse of Soviet Union and the massive reduction prior to it and after it in Western nuclear arsenals, nuclear peace has been brought to the world in the sense that we aren't always 'living on the edge' of a nuclear holocaust. However, the non-resolution of conflicts in the Third World, e.g. Indo-Pak conflicts, Arab-Israeli conflict is a definite reason for the continuance of nuclear arms race in the Third World.

Q. 5. Briefly explain India's peace movement and disarmament policy.

Ans. India is a peace loving nation. It achieved independence from centuries old British colonial rule through peaceful non-violent movements. *Ashoka* the Great renounced the use of weapon and abandoned the principles of war. This is one of the earliest examples of disarmament. India at the very dawn of its independence declared peace as the cornerstone of its policies. In 1954, India took the initiative to ban the nuclear tests. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed at the U.N. a standstill agreement in respect of the atomic tests. This proposal set the ball of disarmament in motion and countries in the U.N. became vocal in support of peace and disarmament. Consequently from early 1960s new initiatives towards the direction of disarmament started.

India and NPT

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, also Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT or NNPT) is a treaty to limit the spread of nuclear weapons, opened for signature on July 1, 1968. There are currently 189 countries party to the treaty, five of which have nuclear weapons: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and the People's Republic of China (the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council).

Only four recognised sovereign states are not parties to the treaty: India, Israel, Pakistan and North Korea. India, Pakistan and North Korea have openly tested and are presumed to possess nuclear weapons. Israel has had a policy of opacity regarding its own nuclear weapons programme. North Korea acceded to the treaty, violated it, and later withdrew.

The treaty was proposed by Ireland, and Finland was the first to sign. The signing parties decided by consensus to extend the treaty indefinitely and without conditions upon meeting in New York City on May 11, 1995. The NPT consists of a preamble and eleven articles. Although the concept of "pillars" appears nowhere in the NPT, the treaty is nevertheless sometimes interpreted as having three pillars: non-proliferation, disarmament, and the right to peacefully use nuclear technology.

'The NPT appears to be a pious attempt to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapon technology. Its contents, however, bear ample evidences to establish the fact that the five nuclear states who are also the veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, intend to monopolise the nuclear technology and to establish their hegemony over the world. The NPT demands that the present non nuclear states, and the states which are on the threshold of acquiring the nuclear capability must stop the research and making of nuclear weapons. India objected to such a treaty calling it discriminatory. India has categorically declared that it will not sign the Treaty in its present form because its indefinite extension only serves to perpetuate its discriminatory aspects which have created a division between the nuclear "haves" and "have nots".

India and CTBT

The concept of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was mentioned in the NPT. The CTBT has been planned to realise the objective of general and complete nuclear disarmament. The CTBT in present form, however, is not intended to make the weapon free world free from nuclear weapons. It would neither actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons, nor decrease the present offensive capabilities of the nuclear weapon states. The treaty asks the non-nuclear states not to go for testing of nuclear devices thus preventing them from emerging as nuclear capable states. It has no provision for reducing the nuclear capabilities of the weapon states. Like the NPT, the CTBT too wants to divide the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. India has, therefore, not signed the CTBT. After the CTBT was ratified in 1996, negotiations on another treaty to cut-off fissile material production have started in January, 1997. The proposed Fissile Material Production Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) seeks to put a cut-off point in the sphere of fissile material production. India has refused to be a party in the FMCT. It has opposed the treaty on the same grounds that India put forward while opposing the NPT and the CTBT. In fact all the three treaties have been planned in a way that the nuclear weapon states can control the nuclear technology and maintain their hegemony over the world. These treaties will not deter the weapon states to sharpen and improve their technology. Because they have reached a stage, now they can further improve their technology through computer and other indoor tests which have not been banned. They are also not willing to destroy the existing weapons within a time frame. These treaties, therefore, are not in a position to eliminate the nuclear weapons leading to general and complete disarmament.

Q. 6. Briefly explain the changing role of the United Nations in the post-cold war period.

Ans. The U.N. was established on 24 October 1945. The study of the U.N. system is important for various reasons out of the many international organisations that have been established after the Second World War. It has been the most important because of its significant influence on the world politics. Secondly, it has survived its existence and in the process of reforming itself to face the future. It has attempted to resolve international social, economic and humanitarian problems.

The role of the U.N. can be examined briefly under two sections: the Cold War and the Post Cold War period.

The Cold War Period

During the Cold War period the U.N. could not perform its basic function of ensuring peace across the world. The security council was often dead locked due to the misuse of veto power by its members for instance during the period of 1945-85 the US exercised the veto power 58 times and the Soviet Union used it 117 times. The security council could not deal with many crises situation due to the veto problem e.g, such as the Korean crisis (1950), Palestine question, Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir, Suez crisis (1956), Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956), the Congo crisis (1960-64). In order to overcome the problem of the veto power the General Assembly went into action under the authority of the famous Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950 which enabled it to meet within 24 hours notice and recommend action to maintain the peace and security in troubled areas.

The Post Cold War Period

The first five years after the Cold War witnessed more crisis situation, beginning with the Iraq-Kuwait crisis, the U.N. had to deal with many intra-state ethnic conflicts and Civil Wars. After the end of the Cold War more than 20 U.N. peace-keeping operations have been launched. Such peace-keeping functions were quite successful as the forces were mainly drawn from NAM countries. Thus, the Post Cold War scenario has made the U.N. members to rediscover the reverence the U.N. to threatening peace and security.

Some Accomplishments and Shortcomings

Cooperation from its members has made the U.N. to achieve success in many years following our some of the accomplishments of the U.N.

1. One of the greatest achievements of the U.N. is its role in the field of decolonisation. It gave inspiration to the millions of African and Asian people, who were under colonial rule to claim the right of self-determination and independence.
2. In the fields of human rights, the U.N. has played a significant role. It has a comprehensive list of norms or standards of human rights. Which are defined in U.N. conventions, declarations and covenants.
3. International law has been formalised through the U.N. in the first 50 years of its existence. It has made major contributions towards expanding the rule of law among nations through the codification of international law.

4. 1980 the World Health Organisation (WHO), a specialized agency, proclaimed the total eradication of small pox from the world, as a result of 13 years WHO global programme.
5. In 1991 the heads of WHO and UNICEF certified the immunisation of 80% of the world's children against six killer diseases—Polio, tetanus, whooping cough, diphtheria and tuberculosis.
6. The UNDP has made significant efforts to bring about social and economic progress all over the world by working with the Governments of Developing countries to carry out projects in various sectors, such as Agriculture, industry and education.
7. Currently the U.N. is providing humanitarian assistance like food shelter, medical-aid and education to 24 million refugees' world wide through the UNHCR.

Shortcomings

The constraints and limitations under which it operates have contributed towards some of its failure. One of the most important operational problems of the U.N. has been the use of the veto power by the permanent members of the Security Council. Another important problem that the U.N. is facing is the financial crisis, which begins from the 1980s. The crisis began with the decision of the US president to withhold its approved contribution on the ground that the US government disapproved certain U.N. programmes.

(C) SCQ: Answer the following in about 100 words each.

Q. 7. The relevance of the Organization of African Unity.

Ans. The Organisation of African Unity was established in 1963 in Addis Abeba. From 32 independent Member States in 1963, the independent Member States of Africa are now 53. The OAU is entering from political liberalisation to phase two by focusing on the economic integration. It has, therefore, a new mandate and new responsibilities which will by no means make it abandon its political character and its resolve to sustain peace and security in the continent which are crucial for the socio-economic development process.

Purposes and Principles

The following purposes and principles are stated in OAU charter adopted in 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The OAU objectives are stated in Article II of the CHARTER as follows:

1. to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
2. to co-ordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
3. to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
4. to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
5. to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Organs of the AU

The Assembly: Composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the Union.

The Executive Council: Composed of Ministers or Authorities designated by the Governments of Members States. The Executive Council is responsible to the Assembly.

The Commission: Composed of the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson, eight Commissioners and Staff members; Each Commissioner shall be responsible for a portfolio.

The Permanent Representatives' Committee: Composed of Permanent Representatives of Member States accredited to the Union. The Permanent Representatives Committee is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.

Peace and Security Council (PSC): By decision AHG/Dec 160 (xxxvii) of the Summit of Lusaka, July 2001, a decision was made for the creation within the African Union of the Peace and Security Council. The Protocol establishing the PSC is in the process of ratification.

Pan-African Parliament: A Pan-African Parliament, and organ to ensure the full participation of African peoples in governance, development and economic integration of the Continent. The protocol relating to the composition, powers, functions and organisation of the Pan-African Parliament has been signed by Member States and is in the process of ratification.

ECOSOCC: The Economic, Social and Cultural Council, an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of the Member States of the Union. The statutes determining the functions, powers, composition

and organisation of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council have been prepared and will be submitted to Maputo Summit.

The Court of Justice: A Court of Justice of the Union shall be established. The statutes defining the composition and functions of the Court of Justice have been prepared and will be submitted to the Assembly in Maputo.

Role and Activities: The OAU does not have an impressive record of resolving regional, political, economic or refugee problems as many African states have experienced civil wars and guerilla fighting. However, the OAU has some accomplishments to mention firstly in 1965 in the area of economic and social cooperation it and the U.N. economic commission for Africa has signed an agreement for mutual cooperation on a continuing basis to facilitate economic and social development in Africa, secondly, in 1981 it adopted the African charter on human people's rights which entered into the force in 1986.

Q. 8. Concept of Power

Ans. What is Power: Power is the most central concept of international politics. It has been defined as the ability of the state to make its will prevail and to enforce respect and command obedience from other states. Morgenthau has described all politics as struggle for power. Kautilya interpreted power as the possession of strength derived from three elements namely knowledge, military might and velour. Robert Dahl explained power by saying: A has power over B, to the extent that it can get B to do something that B otherwise cannot do. However, the quantum of power varies for example USA has more power than India, similarly, India has perhaps more power than Nepal and Indonesia.

Power has three important ingredients; They are: Force, influence and authority. Thus power is the combination of authority (voluntary compliance) influence (compliance through persuasion) and force use of coercive methods).

Elements of Power

The elements of power may be broadly divided between tangible and intangible elements; elements of power may also be classified as of quantitative and qualitative value.

Tangible elements: Population, geography, natural resources, raw-materials, technology are tangible, and can, to some extent, be assessed in quantitative terms.

State with large **population** is regarded as a powerful country because it has a strong armed forces and it has vast manpower to be utilised for various economic activities. But if we analyse that during the nineteenth century China had much less power as compared to less populated state of Britain we will find that a less populous state can also be more powerful if its population is healthy, well informed, skilled and unified.

Territory is the second important element of the power. It is often believed that a country which is larger in size is more powerful because it has vast area for agricultural production, and to have industrial growth. But there are examples that countries which are smaller in size are more powerful to those who have vast areas, for example, Israel is a small country but she has even acquired nuclear capability whereas, Canada with its frozen waters and Brazil with its jungles have never been great powers.

Climate of a country also influences its power. It has a direct effect on the health and energy of the people. It is not the coincidence that all of the major powers are located in the temperate zones. Continuous extreme of heat and cold are alike unfavourable for energy, productive capacity and national strength.

The possession of **Natural resources** such as uranium, oil, various minerals add to the power of the state.

Military strength is related to the conventional notion that power is backed by the military force. It can be measured in terms of funds expended for defence and security purposes.

Intangible elements of power are those which contribute in a most crucial way to the overall capability of the sovereign states. It includes leadership, bureaucratic – organisational efficiency, type of government, societal cohesions, etc. Although such elements cannot be measured or concretely specified they are critical in terms of overall power of a sovereign state.

Measurement of Power

Ray S Cline has suggested a very useful method of measurement of power. He has suggested a formulae for measurement of power though it may not give us exact results. If PP is perceived power it can be measured as under;

$PP = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)$ here C means critical mass, which includes population and territory ; E stands for economic capability, M stands for military capability, S stands for Strategic purpose and W means will to pursue

national strategy. Whereas C, E and M are tangible, S & W are intangible elements, thus, Cline places very important value on strategic purpose and the will to pursue that purpose. According to Robert Dahl A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B could not otherwise do, but even this formulae is far from satisfactory and measurement of power remains a very difficult exercise.

Methods of Exercising Power

There are generally four methods employed in the exercise of power. These are persuasion, reward, punishment and force. Persuasion is the easiest of the four methods, for example, country A tries to influence the behaviour of country B by persuading the latter to change its decision. Infact most of the times, diplomacy is based on it. Another method of exercise of power is offer or reward. In this attempt is made to influence the behaviour of other state by promise of reward which may be economic, political or material. The third method of power is punishment, it may take various forms like stoppage of economic or military aid, or even a threat or such a withdrawal amounts to punishment. Lastly when the threat of punishment is actually carried out, it is called use of force.

Management of Power

In a world of uneven powers, each nation tries to manage power according to its own advantage and in its favour. Broadly two strategies are followed **Balance of power and Collective security.**

Balance of power implies existence of a rough equilibrium of power among various nations, which means power, should be more or less equally shared by different states. No nation can live in isolation. A large number of nations with varying degree of power exist and each nation tries to maximise its power. To achieve this end various nations forms groups so that no single nation or other group of nations become strong enough to dominate others. The power of one group is balanced by the other opposing group. A balance of power can be brought through one or more of the following ways. One is amassing of armaments in order to increase military power and to secure advantage. Alliances are concluded to secure a just and favourable balance of power. Alliances are generally concluded by two or more nations for the protection and promotion of common interests. And the nature and the duration of the alliance will depend on the relative strength of those interests. Furthermore, in order to secure preponderance of power, nations often try to seize territory. Besides, a nation may acquire and maintain power by setting up the buffer state between two large and unfriendly countries. Intervention is another method of ensuring a favourable balance of power. It happens when a big power tries to regain a lost ally or take a new ally by intervening in the internal affairs of the smaller country and set up friendly government over there. At times laughing third party plays a vital role to secure better balance of power. A third party uninterested in rivalry between two nations or two power blocs may help a weaker nation to secure a better balance of power.

Collective Security The concept of collective security was evolved with a view to check aggression and to provide security to all the nations. According to Schwarzenberger, collective security is the machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against the established international order. Under this system security becomes the concern of all the nations and they take care collectively of the security of each of them as though their own security were at stake. The concept of collective security implies 'security' as the goal and 'collective' as the means. Some of the basic assumptions of the collective security are:

First, it assumes that in any armed combat all nations will agree on which combatant is the aggressor.

Secondly, all the nations are equally interested in stopping aggression from whatever source it comes.

Thirdly, all nations are free and able to join in action against an aggressor.

Fourthly, the combined power of the collectivity will be great enough to overwhelm the aggressor.

Finally, knowing that an overwhelming power stands ready to be used against it, the aggressor nation will either sheath its sword or go down in defeat.

The system of collective security operates through a system of international organisation—the League of Nations and the United Nations. Collective defence is an arrangement through alliance system. In this situation an opponent is identified in advance and others are committed only against that one enemy. It is not one for all, and all for one.