

ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

(POL3C11)



STUDY MATERIAL
THIRD SEMESTER

M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE
(2019 Admission onwards)

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Study Material

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POL3C11 :

ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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MODULE 1

POST COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

THE END OF COLD WAR

Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the power of Soviet Union in 1985. As a dedicated reformer, Gorbachev introduced the policies of ‘Glasnost’ and ‘Perestroika’ in the Soviet Union. Glasnost means openness of Soviet society and it meant a greater willingness on the part of Soviet officials to allow western ideas and goods into the USSR. Perestroika symbolized Gorbachev’s campaign for restructuring and revitalizing the soviet economy. This was also an attempt towards greater liberalization of economic policies. It was an initiative that allowed limited market incentives to Soviet citizens. Gorbachev believed that these changes would be enough to spark the sluggish Soviet economy. The unraveling of the Soviet Bloc began in Poland in June 1989. Despite previous Soviet military interventions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland itself, Polish voters elected a noncommunist opposition government to their legislature. The world watched this with anxious eyes, expecting the Soviet tanks to Poland for preventing the new government from taking power

Gorbachev, however refused to act. Eastern European communist dictatorships fell one by one. The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 led to the unification of the two parts of Germany

and the beginning of the end of communist bloc. Communist regimes were ousted in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. On Christmas Day, the brutal Romanian dictator Nicolai Ceausescu and his wife were executed on live television. Yugoslavia threw off the yoke of communism only to dissolve quickly into a violent civil war.

Demands for freedom soon spread to the Soviet Union. The Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence. Talks of similar sentiments were emerged in Ukraine, Caucasus, and the Central Asian states. Self-determination for Eastern Europe was one thing, but Gorbachev intended to maintain the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union. In 1991, he proposed a Union Treaty giving greater autonomy to the Soviet Republics, while keeping them under central control.

That summer, a coup by conservative hardliners took place. Gorbachev was placed under house arrest. Meanwhile, Boris Yeltsin, the leader of the Russian Soviet Republic demanded the arrest of the hardliners. The army and the public sided with Yeltsin and the coup failed. Though Gorbachev was freed, he was left with little legitimacy. In December 1991 Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Russia itself declared independence and the Soviet Union was dissolved. Gorbachev was a president without a country.

Americans were pleasantly shocked, but shocked nonetheless at the turn of events in the Soviet bloc. No serious discourse on any diplomatic levels in the USSR addressed the likelihood of a Soviet collapse. Republicans claimed the credit

of winning the Cold War. They believed the military spending policies of the Reagan-Bush years forced the Soviets to the brink of economic collapse. Democrats argued that containment of communism was a bipartisan policy for 45 years begun by the Democrat Harry Truman. Others pointed out that no one really won the Cold War. The United States spent trillions of dollars arming themselves for a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union that fortunately never came. Regardless, thousands of American lives were lost waging proxy wars in Korea and Vietnam. Most Americans found it difficult to get used to the idea of no Cold War. Since 1945, Americans were born into a Cold War culture that featured McCarthyian witch-hunts, backyard bomb shelters, space race, missile crisis, detente, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Star Wars defense proposal. Now the enemy was beaten, but the world remained unsafe. In many ways, facing one superpower was simpler than challenging dozens of rogue states and renegade groups sponsoring global terrorism. Americans hoped against hope that the new world order of the 1990s would be marked with the security and prosperity to which they had become accustomed.

The Cold War: The Atomic Age

The containment strategy also provided the rationale for an unprecedented arms buildup in the United States. In 1950, National Security Council Report known as 'NSC-68' had echoed Truman's recommendation that the country use military force to 'contain' communist expansionism anywhere it seemed to be occurring. To that end, the report called for a

four-fold increase in defense spending. In particular, American officials encouraged the development of atomic weapons like the ones that had ended World War II. Thus began a deadly 'arms race'. In 1949, the Soviets tested an atom bomb of their own. In response, President Truman announced that the United States would build an even more destructive atomic weapon: the 'hydrogen bomb', or 'super-bomb.'

As a result, the stakes of the Cold War were perilously high. The first H-bomb test, in the 'Eniwetok atoll' in the Marshall Islands, showed just how fearsome the nuclear age could be. It created a 25-square-mile fireball that vaporized an island, blew a huge hole in the ocean floor and had the power to destroy half of Manhattan. Subsequent American and Soviet tests spewed poisonous radioactive waste into the atmosphere

The ever-present threat of nuclear annihilation had a great impact on American domestic life as well. People built bomb shelters in their backyards. They practiced attack drills in schools and other public places. The 1950s and 1960s saw an epidemic of popular films that horrified movie-goers with depictions of nuclear devastation and mutant creatures. In these and other ways, the Cold War was a constant presence in Americans' everyday lives.

The Cold War Extends to Space

Space exploration served as another dramatic arena for Cold War competition. On October 4, 1957, a Soviet R-7 intercontinental ballistic missile launched 'Sputnik' (Russian for 'traveler'), the world's first artificial satellite and the first

man-made object to be placed into the Earth's orbit. Sputnik's launch came as a surprise, and not a pleasant one, to most Americans. In the United States, space was seen as the next frontier, a logical extension of the grand American tradition of exploration, and it was crucial not to lose too much ground to the Soviets. In addition, this demonstration of the overwhelming power of the R-7 missile—seemingly capable of delivering a nuclear warhead into US air space—made gathering intelligence about Soviet military activities particularly urgent.

In 1958, the US launched its own satellite, 'Explorer I', designed by the US Army under the direction of space scientist Werner von Braun, and that came to be known as the Space Race. In the same year, President Dwight Eisenhower signed a public order creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), a federal agency dedicated to space exploration, as well as several programs seeking to exploit the military potential of space. Still, the Soviets were one step ahead, launching the first man into space in April 1961.

After Alan Shepard became the first American man in space, President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) made the bold public claim that the US would land a man on the moon by the end of the decade. His prediction came true on July 20, 1969, when Neil Armstrong of NASA's Apollo 11 mission, became the first man to set foot on the moon, effectively winning the Space Race for the Americans. US astronauts came to be seen as the ultimate American heroes, and earth-bound men and women seemed to enjoy living vicariously through them.

Soviets, in turn, were pictured as the ultimate villains, with their massive, relentless efforts to surpass America and prove the power of the communist system.

The collapse of Cold War

As soon as he took office, President Richard Nixon (1913 -1994) began to implement a new approach to international relations. Instead of viewing the world as a hostile, 'bi-polar' place, he suggested the use diplomacy instead of military action to create more poles. He encouraged the United Nations to recognize the communist Chinese government and, after a visit there in 1972, began to establish diplomatic relations with Beijing. At the same time, he adopted a policy of 'detente'-'relaxation'– towards the Soviet Union. In 1972, he and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev (1906 - 1982) signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which prohibited the manufacture of nuclear missiles by both sides and took a step toward reducing the decades-old threat of nuclear war.

Despite Nixon's efforts, the Cold War heated up again under President Ronald Reagan (1911-2004). Like many leaders of his generation, Reagan believed that the spread of communism anywhere threatened freedom everywhere. As a result, he worked to provide financial and military aid to anti-communist governments and insurgent groups around the world. This policy, particularly as it was applied in the developing countries like Grenada and El Salvador, was known as the 'Reagan Doctrine'.

In response to severe economic problems and growing political ferment in the USSR, Premier Mikhail Gorbachev took office in 1985 and introduced two policies that redefined Russia's relationship to the rest of the world: 'Glasnost' or political openness, and 'Perestroika' or economic reform. Soviet influence in Eastern Europe waned. In 1989, every other communist state in the region replaced its government with a noncommunist one. In November of that year, the Berlin Wall the most visible symbol of the decades long Cold War was finally destroyed, just over two years after Reagan had challenged the Soviet premier in a speech at Brandenburg Gate in Berlin: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall, by 1991, the Soviet Union itself had fallen apart"

POST COLD WAR PERIOD AND ITS IMPACTS ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s changed the foreign policy equation radically. It has been replaced by a multi-polar world, in which the United States is the dominant military power, but finds itself among competing power centers in Europe, China, India and Russia, with radical change occurring in the Middle East and North Africa, potential conflicts with Iran, and the threat of global terrorism a reality since the tragedies of 9-11 (terrorist attack in US).

So while this is a world still defined by anarchy, it is not a world that appears to sit on the edge of some version of World War III. The issues that define foreign policy may have more to do with resource allocation and environmental protection than with negotiating a nuclear standoff. So the end

of the Cold War coincided and perhaps accelerated the rise of other organizations who are now players in the field of international relations. While some of these institutions grew out of the end of World War II, their role in the world perhaps been magnified since the 1990s.

International Institutions

Even as the Cold War dragged on, the nations of the world created international forums for attempting to address disputes between nations. World War I, the war to end all wars, as it was known at the time, prompted the victors to create an international organization known as the League of Nations. At its peak, it included 58 nations, and created a number of forums for addressing political and economic issues. It lasted from 1919 to 1939, and suffered immediately from the failure of the United States to join.

Following the end of the war, however, the nations gathered to try it again, creating the United Nations in 1945. The UN, headquartered in New York City, declared its support in its Charter for a broad range of human rights, and attempted to provide a multilateral forum for talking things out. Although every member state gets one vote, a certain number of decisions must be funneled through the 15-member Security Council, which consists of five permanent members, including the US, France, China, Russia and the United Kingdom. The other 10 members are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms, to ensure that each region of the globe to be represented on the council.

The five permanent members have veto power, and can block the action of the council. The Security Council's permanent membership is a symbolic representation as a world power. One suggestion has been to add Brazil, India, Germany and Japan (G- 4) as permanent members, plus perhaps one African state and one Arab state. The existing permanent members haven't exactly jumped on that bandwagon, as doing so would reduce their power on the council. The US supports adding Japan and India and the Chinese oppose Japan. Great Britain and France have supported the entire G-4.

The UN includes an International Court of Justice, which has been used to settle the disputes between nations. It has 15 justices elected by the UN General Assembly for nine year tenure. The Security Council has the ability to enforce its decisions, however the permanent members may also veto the decision. Consequently, the court has acted with mixed success. In 1984, for example, the court ruled that US efforts in Nicaragua in fact violated international law; the US ignored the decision.

Other international organizations have had some impact globally, particularly in economic areas. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have attempted to spur economic developments and eradication of poverty, with decidedly mixed results. Critics abound on both the left and the right. Conservative critics say that they waste too much money. But in the view of liberal and left critics it simply helps to cement the economic dominance of the western world. Sometimes they fund projects, such as wastewater treatment

projects around the world, while at other times, they support efforts, like digging a canal to flood a seasonal river in Africa to produce fish in the desert. Similarly, the World Trade Organization (WTO), which is basically a forum for resolving trade disputes and for encouraging free trade, is neither all good nor all bad. The world is peppered with regional organizations, ranging from the European Union (EU) to the Organization for African Unity (OAU).

The EU is particularly noteworthy. It grew out of the end of World War II, beginning with a customs union to ease trade between Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. From there it grew into trade agreements over coal and steel, to the European Common Market, and finally to the EU in 1993. Now it has 27 member states in a political and economic union. EU have an elected parliament with the ability to make some common law for the entire group, and a common currency, the Euro. Travel and trade over national borders is greatly eased and crossing from one EU state to another is now little more complicated than crossing from one US state to another.

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, have 10 member states and focuses on promoting economic development and shared expertise and resources. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a relic of the Cold War. Originally it was created to prevent the Soviet aggression in Europe, it remains a mutual defense pact between the US, Canada and much of Europe. An attack on one member of NATO is regarded as an attack on all, so that the US response

to 9-11 was in fact a NATO response.

Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-governmental organizations or NGOs as they are often known, are essentially groups of citizens, often multiple nationalities, who work together and try to achieve social change on a global scale. So in one way they are international interest groups, lobbying for change with the governments of the world. But they are groups who take action, working for the better treatment for political prisoners (Amnesty International), better health care (Doctors Without Borders), or better access to clean water (Rotary International and Water Aid) etc.

Multinational Corporations

The largest companies on the earth now span the globe. McDonald's has restaurants in 100 countries; Wal-Mart and its French counterpart, Carrefour, can be found around the world. Ford Company builds cars in the US, Canada and Europe. General Motors models are produced in both Detroit and Shanghai. Airbus is attempting to circumvent competition with Boeing by building a plant in the US and Toyota, Nissan and Honda have built cars in both the US and Japan for nearly 30 years.

The changes in the global power structure and resulting developments produced by the last war, underwent several subtle but definitely big and formidable new changes in the last decade of the 20th century. In particular, after 1987, rapid changes began characterizing the relations among nations. The

Cold War came to an end. The Warsaw Pact dissolved like a natural death. The collapse of the erstwhile USSR became a reality. In place of the erstwhile USSR, Russia emerged as the successor state. There emerged a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) i.e. an association of nine independent republics of erstwhile USSR. Russia had nuclear weapons and yet it came to be a weak power. Domestic political uncertainty and economic dependence upon the USA and other western countries kept it weak. The USA became the sole surviving super power.

UNIPOLARISM AND ITS IMPACTS ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

The factors which led to Unipolarity in international politics are the following;

1. The end of cold war in international relations
2. The disintegration of the USSR
3. The liberalization of Eastern European countries.
4. The economic dependence of Russia and other republics of the erstwhile USSR upon American and western economic aid.
5. The emergence of the USA as the sole surviving Super Power in the Post-Cold War world. The dominant role that the USA played in the Gulf War and willingness of almost all the major nations to support the US policies and moves in the United Nations; the strength gained by it due to the end of Cold War; weakness of Russia and inability of other states to challenge the US power; its

ability to expand and control NATO even after the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact; its increased control over the UN Security Council decisions; and its continued military, economic, industrial and technological superiority, all combined to strengthen the US power in world politics. As a result of these Unipolarity came to characterize the international system. Decision-making at the global level started for reflecting the increased US role in world politics.

6. The increased role of the United States of America in peace-keeping operations in the post-Gulf War world.
7. The universal acceptance of the principles of democracy, decentralization, market economy, globalization, denuclearization, demilitarization and development gave rise to ideological unipolarism in the world. It gave strength to the emergence of unipolarity in the international power structure.
8. The demolition of Berlin Wall and the unification of East Germany with West Germany into United Germany compelled Germany to concentrate upon the need for consolidation of its internal socio-economic system and unity. German economy came under pressure resulting from the need to achieve the economic development of its East German counter parts.
9. Japan continued to be a major economic power in the world. It, however, kept up its decision to abstain from developing its military power. For some time, it found

herself getting involved in an economic cold war with the USA. However, it tried hard to avoid it and hence was not really keen to challenge the US power in international relations.

10. China as a surviving communist power found herself almost isolated. It also adopted economic liberalization, but found the path quite difficult. It tried to mend its fences with India, Vietnam, Russia and Japan. It engaged in attempts aimed at withstanding all pressures in favor of political liberalism. It began developing trade relations with the USA. But at the same time kept on fearing the western attempts at the export of political liberalism. After having secured Hong Kong it wanted to get back Taiwan. Under the circumstances, China was also not prepared to challenge the US power in world politics.
11. In the post-cold war world, NAM was not fully successful in reviving its traditional role in world politics. The end of cold war, which was followed by the disintegration of the USSR produced several big changes in the international system. These changes came at a time when NAM was being headed by a self-destroying Yugoslavia which was struggling to meet internal pressures resulting from the policies of Islamic lobby within the NAM.
12. In the Post-Cold War and Post-Gulf War era of international relations, the UN role, particularly its conflict-resolving and peace-keeping role got invigorated. It reflected from the fact that it began

simultaneously undertaking peace-keeping operations in different parts of the globe. However, along with this, it also reflected an increasing US dominance on its decision making.

Almost all the UN Security Council decisions on Iraq, Libya, Bosnia, Serbia Human Rights, NPT, CTBT, issue of nuclear free zones and the UN vote on Zionism, reflected the growing US dominance over the United Nations. Several scholars even went to the extent of observing that the “UNO was behaving as the ‘USO’.

With its status as the sole surviving super power in the world, the USA gained a new vitality and strength in the international system. No other major international actors like Japan, Germany, France, Russia, China, European Union, NAM and even the United Nations had the ability to act as a major check upon the US power. Ideological unity of the world gave an additional boost to the role of the USA in international relations. The ability of the USA to secure an indefinite extension of NPT on 11 May, 1995, despite opposition from the NAM and the Third World, reflected the US domination of international system. The issue of CTBT also reflected US dominance over international decision making. Unipolarity or unipolarism, therefore, emerged as a new reality of post-cold war international relations.

EMERGENCE OF NEW COLD WAR - ORIGIN, EVOLUTION AND IMPACTS

Over the past decade, researchers and political writers

around the world have tried to understand the nature of the mounting tensions between the US and the west on the one side and Russia China and some other powers on the other side. For most scholars of the liberal school, the tensions between the US and its allies and the raising powers were unavoidable deviations from the general trend of the latter's integration in to the liberal international order.

Edward Lucas in his famous book "The New Cold War" clearly analyzed the emerging trends of new cold war. The 'New Cold War' against Russia, is something of a misnomer, because it differs from the original version against the USSR. In that it's already a hot war, which started in Ukraine as being the key proxy-state for the American Government's chief foreign-policy aim of defeating Russia; and it's a war that is very bloody and widely lied-about in both the US and Europe. But that is discussed in Russia as if it were somehow the result of mere errors by Western powers, when in fact all of the Western leaders knew from this was intended to be a lynching of Russia, and the EU have been going along with this aim because the US aristocracy have the interests of European aristocrats in mind and not only their own.

The new cold war is a more complex and broader phenomenon than the clash between Russia and the west over Ukraine, or even the more general problems of European security arms control and other issues on which observers usually focus. Structurally, cold war II is a manifestation of the confrontation between the west and the non-West that is taking shape with in the frame work of Greater Eurasia, the 'Belt and

Road' initiative and BRICS,

The complexity as well as the main challenge of the new cold war lies in the fact that it lacks a rigid ideological confrontation that could lend its structure and that it occurs during a fundamental shift in the global balance of power. The Western pole had already weakened to some extent by 2010, and that process continued today a second pole in nonwestern Eurasia is emerging and establishing its institutions.

At the same time, the actual and potential conflicts within each pole make overall confrontation less stable and predictable than the 'classic' bipolar confrontation of the second half of the 20th century. The relative weakening of the Western pole and its desire to slow down or stop the emergence of a new power center in Eurasia is the main cause of international instability. This has resulted in a certain strategic frivolity-a problem that it appears will only increase with time. Under these circumstances, other great powers, Russia and China will have to prepare for the worst and take the responsibility for international stability in their own hands. This policy should not take the form of a unilateral filling of the vacuum that might result from a possible U S withdrawal from certain geographical and political areas of activity. Russia and China need to form and serve as the center of an international structure that would neutralize and to a certain extent, structure the negative effects of U S policy, acting as an external stabilizer of their actions in the international arena-as occurred in a more extreme form during the original "cold war". In practice this would require them to take tough

positions and even confront the U S directly on certain sensitive international issues.

IMPACTS

One: The European economy gets even worse:

Russia is not a huge economic success, relying too heavily on natural resources. But it is still the eighth biggest economy in the world and it is right on Europe's doorstep. EU-Russia trade had grown from \$90 billion 10 years ago to \$335 billion now. That has helped European companies at a time when their domestic market has been struggling. Exports to Russia account for 0.6% of European gross domestic product. It is not a huge amount, but at the margin it is important. If sanctions are imposed, and trade barriers go up, that is going to suffer and the European economy will suffer with it.

Two: Energy prices will rise:

Europe is heavily reliant on Russian oil and gas. As much as 40% of Germany's gas comes from that one country, and 50% of Austria's. Even if there is not an outright ban, the rest of the world is certainly going to start reducing its reliance on Russia. If supply goes down, the price will go up and that is one of the most solid laws of economics. Geopolitical turmoil in the Middle East in the 1970s created the oil shock of that decade. East-West conflict could do the same 40 years later with the same catastrophic consequences.

Three: The Russian economy declines:

Vladimir Putin has done nothing for the Russian economy, relying instead on natural resources controlled by his

crises to keep the country afloat. Growth was already flagging and was forecast at only 1.5% for this year not nearly enough for an emerging market. Sanctions and visa bans are only going to worsen and that is bad for the global economy in itself emerging markets such as Russia that are meant to be leading global growth but it will create yet more turmoil. Poor countries are unstable, and that means more trouble ahead.

Four: Defense spending will rise:

Since the end of the Cold War, all Western nations have steadily reduced their defense spending. For example. When the Berlin Wall came down, Britain was spending 4% of GDP on defense. Now it is less than 3%. That may sound a modest shift, but one percentage of GDP represents a lot of money. If Russian territorial aggression has to be contained, then that is inevitably going to have risen. Defense spending helped expand economies during the last Cold War. The trouble that comes at a time when deficits are already vast, and governments can't afford to spend more.

Five: More Quantitative Easing:

A big drop in global holdings of US Treasuries since the Crimea crisis started and the speculation is that Russian money has headed somewhere and it can't be frozen. In a tense, divided world, money doesn't flow as easily as it does in a peaceful one. But without foreign inflows, governments in nations such as the US, the UK and now Japan can't finance themselves.

MODULE II

MAJOR TRENDS IN THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF AMERICA, RUSSIA, CHINA AND JAPAN

AMERICA

After the World War II, the US developed the containment policy to check the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union. This policy was to exert economic, political and military pressure. The major trends included the following. The first trend was concluding an armistice. In 1953, a ceasefire agreement was made to declare an established border between the North and South Korea. Similarly, an armistice was triggered by the uncertainty felt by the Soviet Union and the rising military of China. The second trend was the fullest and massive retaliation. John Dulles argued that it was immoral to use containment policy and proposed liberation. The massive retaliation emphasized on the use of the nuclear warfare threat to prevent the aggression of the Communists.

The third trend was the CIA and foreign intervention. The Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947. Its function is to gather intelligence for the government. Eisenhower and Dulles used the CIA to influence politics of the world. For instance, when the prime minister of Iran, Mohammed Mossadegh cut the relationship with Great Britain, the CIA was used to remove him from power. The fourth trend was the re-election and foreign crisis. Republicans

denominated Eisenhower in 1956 and supported his Moderate Republicans. The policy meant that there would be reduced intervention by the government and balanced budgets. Similarly, the Moderate Republicanism advocated for internationalist rather than having an isolationist foreign policy. Fifth, the Suez war entailed the control of the Suez Canal by Nasser. The NATO alliance was almost destroyed due to the attack on Egypt by Israel, Britain, and France. The cease-fire in Suez crisis meant that the British and French had to withdraw from the Suez Canal.

The push for global economic reform

A multilateral economic institution in which Benelux countries have a greater voting share than China cannot expect to play a central role in the global economic order of the 21st century. One of the largest shareholders in all these institutions, the US should be leading the way in bringing about change, which could define its foreign policy strategy in the years ahead.

Changing security landscape

It's not just the economic landscape that has changed but the security one has too. After decades of relative peace, at least compared with previous generations, the past couple of years have seen cross-border aggression in Europe, tensions between regional powers in the South China Sea, and an increased Islamic terror threat.

In the past, the responsibility for navigating these challenges would have fallen to the US. But, according to the

white paper, defense budget cuts mean this might no longer be possible. As a result of budget cuts, America's ability to continue to play this vital role in all these threats is increasingly in question. These changes won't just affect US foreign policy: "Given the role that the US plays in providing the underlying security that allows the liberal world order to function and flourish, continuing down this path not only threatens US security, but also the order itself, the white paper warns.

America's energy revolution

Once the world's largest net oil importer, the US is today the world's largest producer of oil and gas. It is an energy revolution and it has big implications on US foreign policy. Energy security is not only an achievable goal for US policy; it is close to reality and should affect the way in which the United States engage with the rest of the world. This revolution was an opportunity to reinforce relationships with European and Asian allies, allowing them to lose their dependence on other sources of energy. Market forces will decide where the physical supply of gas goes, but even without direct supply of gas to a given country, the growing production of gas in the US can exert a profound and positive impact on allied economies in Europe and Asia.

The private sector

America's most valuable foreign policy asset is not its economic potential or its military capacity. Far more influential is its role as a cultural leader. More than ever,

people want to send their children to US universities and the states want to create their own Silicon Valley. But unlike its other areas of influence, these are more difficult for the US government to control. These soft assets of education, innovation and entrepreneurship are not controlled by Washington but, rather, reside in complex networks of private actors. The US government can work with the private sector to capitalize on this soft power and that will determine the shape of its foreign policy for years.

DONALD TRUMPS Concern Immigration

The two most important issues on this subject are the illegal immigration of Mexicans into the United States and the immigration, legal or otherwise, of Muslims. Donald Trump seems to want to limit immigration generally seeing it as largely not worth the amount of resources needed to oversee operations. Trump attacks Hillary Clinton's wish to increase the naturalization of immigrants, especially illegal immigrants and Syrian refugees. Donald Trump sees the illegal immigration of Mexicans into the United States as a harbinger of increasing crime rates and drug importation. Trump attacks the Mexican government for sending the worst sorts of people into the country: drug traffickers, criminals, ruffians, rapists, etc. Trump also sees the legal immigration of Muslims as a problem for the United States. The immigrants coming from countries like Iraq and Syria have little documentation, and it's impossible to determine their risk to the nation. They will lead their children to violent extremism. Trump argues for a 'pause' in Muslim immigration from countries plagued by Islamic

extremism until the US can guarantee the peaceful intentions of said immigrants.

Stopping ISIS and Islamic Terror

In dealing with terrorism, Trump suggests using tactics similar to the containment policy that the United States used against the ideology of communism in the Cold War. Trump proposed a ban on Muslim immigration to the United States, or most recently, a ban on immigration from countries that have a history of radical Islam. Trump claims it is currently impossible to tell whether immigrants being admitted are Islamic radicals, or whether their children will become radicals. He sees the possibility of immigrants' children adopting extremist Islamic views as a reason to ban migration. Trump says this Muslim ban will only be temporary.

America First: New Foreign Policy Direction

Donald Trump describes his foreign policy with the slogan 'America First'. According to Donald Trump 'America First is a brand-new modern term. He never related it to the past. While some argue that Donald Trump's views are isolationist, John Haines prefers the term 'detached primacy' to describe the difference between Trump's views and true isolationism.

Nuclear Proliferation

Trump's basic position on nuclear proliferation is that America and its friends should improve their nuclear capacity, while US enemies should not. In Trump's address to the Iowa Freedom Summit, he describes the modernization of the US

nuclear arsenal as a ‘game changer’. Trump views such weapons as powerful tools in making deals with other countries.

Military

Trump’s position on the military is to continue investment in American defense, but decrease other countries’ reliance on US protection. Rebuilding and defending other countries is decreasing their ability to defend America and improve the economy. Several policy goals are outlined by Trump in order to increase the military power of the United States. In terms of waging war, Trump believes that the US must be assured of victory before they enter a conflict. The shadow of the failure of the Iraq war is the primary motivation for this belief. Trump believes that waging war should be done with caution

SEVEN TRENDS IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Trend 1

Russian foreign policy on its western borders will be defensive and not offensive. Contrary to the fears and phobias of Eastern Europe, there will be no military steps against the new NATO members. Air, sea and cyber incidents will happen again. But the threat here is escalation resulting from an accidental collision, not a pre-planned operation. Defense spending is in line with ‘Russian aggression’. Military activity on either side of the border will be seen as a provocation and an element of ‘hybrid warfare’. The two sides will mirror each other in that respect.

Trend 2

Any attempt by the West to penetrate the post-Soviet space militarily or economically will be perceived in Russia as hostile and disproportionate. Whereas such intrusion was once diluted by partnership, it is now viewed unequivocally as a zero-sum game. This seen as an arena of geopolitics, not partnership. The problem is exacerbated by the inherent weakness of many post-Soviet states. Even without conspicuous outside interference, they could still fall into crisis. Such crisis could provoke yet more rivalry between Russia and the West, both of which will try to take advantage of its consequences.

Russia and the West are both hostage to the fragility of the post-Soviet space. Russia will try to solve the problem for itself by enhancing alliances with the more stable countries in the region and engaging with the weaker ones (for example, through the institutions such as the Eurasian Economic Union). Paradoxically the West can benefit from the success of these alliances. The other members (especially Kazakhstan and Belarus) are bound to play a major role in them. This will help to 'average out' their respective positions in international affairs and create a new structure of relations based firmly on partnership.

Trend 3

The key doctrinal idea of Russian foreign policy will be to check the spread of anarchy, avert the collapse of statehood, and preserve governmental control. This idea will run to

counter the theory of democratization as the guarantor of stable development. Russia will build situational or even long-term alliances with other regional and global players around this idea, which might be successfully used for the domestic audience. Russia could assume the role of leader in the area of global conservative politics, pursuing cautious, pragmatic change as per the specifics of each particular state.

Trend 4

Russia is becoming a more active military-political player outside its own territory. However, this activity will be selective and targeted due to limited resources. Besides Syria, a possible point of Russian intervention could be the implementation of treaty obligations in Central Asia, especially in the event of a terrorist threat posed by militants not based in Afghanistan. Such an intervention would be carried out by highly mobile units with active air support.

Trend 5

Russia will take measures to develop new regional and international institutions such as the BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). But the functionality and workability of these institutions remains an open question. Russia will have to find optimal mechanisms of interaction with the major non-Western players even though none intends to sever ties with the West and form an overtly anti-Western coalition. Russia itself will maintain and develop economic relations with the West in the knowledge that business on both sides has already factored the risks of political crisis into its

plans and projects. Russia is not about to tumble out of the world economy and become an outcast. The country's relatively weak economic positions will be offset by political strength. In this context, attempts to strengthen the role of the United Nations and the country's own place in the organization will be another feature of Russian foreign policy.

Trend 6

Russia is keen to maintain a dialogue with the United States in the field of strategic stability. But this dialogue is likely to go hand in hand with the development of strategic weapons on both sides. The Ukraine crisis has set an extremely negative precedent for the politicization of dialogue within the framework of such fundamental treaties as INF and START. This precedent will have a negative impact on future dialogue.

Trend 7

The economy and public expectations about economic modernization are set to become increasingly important elements of Russian foreign policy. The 'external threat card' cannot be played repeatedly, which means that government and business will be forced to take radical steps to improve the performance of the Russian economy in the eyes of society. The crisis offers an opportunity to implement reforms that would be impossible in a climate of stability. Such changes are necessary for the new stage of Russia's relations with foreign partners. Even during the best of times, Russia's economic health is often an impediment to developing political ties. Economic reform should open up new resources for growth,

although the process face major risks. The ability of the state to guarantee the rule of law and breathing room for private initiative is one of the key conditions for successful reform. Today, Russia and other players face processes beyond their control. Religious radicalism, migration and disintegration of statehood are only a small part of the picture. Sooner or later, everyone will be affected, and both Russia and the West will have to coordinate their policies and act together. The recent crisis provides an opportunity to reset the parameters of Russia's relations with its partners.

TRENDS IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

After the successful conclusion of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, Beijing played a formidable role to host another significant event in November 2014. Largely escaping the world's attention this time, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) convened a high-level foreign policy conference which gave clear indications of the direction of China's diplomacy. At this meeting, attended by the entire Politburo, Standing Committee, State Councilors, members of key party organs as well as leading diplomats and officials, XiJinxing underscored that while China 'should be keenly aware of the protracted nature of contest over the international order', it should be cognizant that the 'direction of reform of the international system remains unchanged' More importantly, as Xi emphasized, China should aim towards a 'more enabling international environment' for its peaceful development.

These statements indicate an emerging and deliberate

Chinese strategy to reshape or influence the extant of global order more to suit its national interests. Coupled with China's attempts to win the support and participation of other states to its diplomatic initiatives such as the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, suggest that new nuanced patterns in Chinese foreign policymaking have emerged following the 18th Party Congress. These include but are not limited to subtle shifts in Beijing's strategic thinking; an Omni-directional peripheral policy that is increasingly 'rebalancing' westwards; an evolving and more 'flexible' brand of Chinese foreign policy assertiveness; a more sophisticated approach towards the handling of its maritime disputes; and new attitudes and ideas towards global governance. The international conditions are constantly changing, China's ability to respond and adjust to these conditions using a combination of strategic flexibility and diplomatic resilience deserves greater attention and scrutiny.

It is with the above context in mind that put together a special issue with Asian Security dedicated to the motive of China's recalibration of its foreign policy since the ascension to power of Xi Jinping. Such a theme will be of particular interest to the scholarly policy community for a number of reasons .Intellectual contribution for a start, while it has become increasingly convenient to link changes in Beijing's behavior to the leadership style of Xi Jinping, there remains a lack of dedicated literature that parses, analyses, and explains the recalibration of Chinese foreign policy since the CCP's 2012 leadership renewal. First, they may provide clues to the

overall contours and trajectory of China's diplomacy under Xi, a leader who is expected to remain in office until 2022, at least. Second, they can serve as a reference point to comparatively assess China's current policies with those of the previous regime. In fleshing out these changes and continuities, may lead to better understanding of the key sources and drivers of change in China's foreign policymaking. Third, these insights speak to the larger story of China's rise and may help more light on Beijing's putative resolve to reclaim its historic role as the world's leading power, a question with profound implications for the region and the world. The 2012 survey regarding the ascendancy of defense diplomacy among regional security actors, which reviewed the rise in the subtler use of military power and its concomitant impact within the larger context of the regional security landscape.

Today, with China's strategic approach shifting markedly away from 'keeping a low profile' to 'striving for achievement' pay more attention to the emerging new patterns in Chinese diplomacy. Sufficient changes in China's foreign policymaking (both subtle and patent) have taken place to warrant an extended and focused investigation. These trends may well foretell the longer-term substance and shape of China's foreign policy under the Xi regime. Articles as an upshot of an S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies conference on assessing new developments in Chinese diplomacy, bring together a menu of articles that suggest growing evidence of a nuanced recalibration of China's foreign

policy orientation towards one which is more ambitious, more pro-active, more 'instrumentalist', and less inhibitive of risk-taking. In many respects, these articles are also about addressing the issue of how China's growing international stature has coincided with what has been perceived by some as Beijing's newly assertive foreign policy posture.

TRENDS IN JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY

I. Current State of the World for Japan

Major changes are underway in the international community of today. First of these challenges is the globalization of economy and society. Second is the remarkable advancement and increasing power of military forces. Third is the rapid expansion of the Chinese economy. In all of these developments there are opportunities and potential threats to Japan and to other countries of Asia. Japan investigate and seek responses to these challenges. For Japan's foreign policy in its development from now, Japan formulate clear strategies as a state, which have been lacking so far. The basis of all strategy is 'national interest'. First among the basic national interests of Japan is to maintain peace and security. Japan change its thinking about international peace activities so that its own actions would conform to international norms. Second is to support the free trade system. Japan should establish a network of bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs), to supplement the WTO system. Third, Japan protects freedom, democracy and human rights. It is Japan's duty as well to demonstrate a consistent commitment to the protection of these values. Fourth, Japan actively promote people to

people exchange and development of human resources, through exchanges in academia, culture and education.

II. Regional Issues for Japan

1. The United States of America

The United States is the most important country for Japan. Security system is the central theme of Japan US relationship. Japan undertake a comprehensive reexamination of its relationship with the United States focusing on security. The reexamination exercise would lead to further enhancement of the Japan-U.S. relationship. If this work is not undertaken, the rifts between the allies will grow from barely tangible to substantial, and confidence in the alliance among the two nations could be shaken. It is not unusual that the policy priorities of Japan and the US should be different at times. It is impossible that the Japan-US relationship will become like the one between the UK and the US. Now the economic tensions are relaxed between the two countries, policy coordination should be pursued.

2. China

The relationship with China is the most important theme in Japan's foreign policy at the outset of the 21st century. For both countries, the relationship is one that interweaves 'cooperation and coexistence' with 'competition and friction'. It is important that politics is not brought in too much to the economic aspects of the Japan-China relationship. Japan should assimilate China's 'vitality'. The only solution to the hollowing out of Japanese industry due to Japanese direct

investment in China is Japan itself becoming an attractive, high-value added manufacturing economy. China's military buildup can pose a serious threat to Japan and other countries of the region. Japan should make strenuous demands for transparency from the Chinese side as regards China's burgeoning military budget. As regards Official Development Assistance (ODA) to China, Japan must define aid recipients narrowly so that the assistance can gain the understanding of the Japanese people more easily. The problem of history and the Japan's relationship with Taiwan are recurring sources of discord in the Japan-China relationship. As regards the history problem, both Japan and China while drawing lessons from history, it is time they liberated themselves from an 'enchantment with history' and aimed for a future oriented relationship. Since the normalization of the relationship between the People's Republic of China and Japan, tremendous changes have taken place on Taiwan. It is natural that the Japan-Taiwan relationship should undergo certain change as well.

3. Korean peninsula

(1) South Korea (Republic of Korea)

ROK is Japan's most important strategic partner in the region, sharing with the three basic systems of democracy, market economy and an alliance with the United States. The sharing of these basic systems is bringing the values and national interests of the two countries closer together. The next goal for Japan-ROK relations is the signing of an FTA. This should serve as the core for the achievement of a

comprehensive economic partnership and a new sense of community that it fosters will be important. Japan and ROK can serve as the hub for an expanding network of democratic and market-economy countries in East Asia and the Pacific.

(2) North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

There will be no normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea until North Korea itself resolves many problems that it has caused: abductions, development of nuclear weapons and missiles, spy boats, narcotics smuggling etc. The resolution of these problems would bring peace, which would lead to greater prosperity for East Asia as a whole. North Korea itself needs to make substantial efforts, if it is to become a member of the international community. Japan's objective is not to overturn the regime in North Korea but to gradually change the nature of its political and economic systems.

4. East Asia and the Pacific

(1) ASEAN

Stability in ASEAN is extremely significant for Japanese security. There are, however, large disparities within the ASEAN region and the course for Japan is to engage in dialogue with the ASEAN 5 first, and then seek the application of those results to the expanded ASEAN group. Economic partnership with ASEAN should be pursued in such a way that it will encourage increased integration of the region. Japan should pursue the 'East Asian community initiative' referred by Prime Minister Koizumi's Singapore speech. Japan should

make important contributions to ASEAN in education, human resources development and the promotion of democracy.

(2) Canada and Australia

Located along the Pacific Ocean, Japan, Canada and Australia have much in common strategically. Japan should consider developing common policies with Canada and Australia in some areas. Japan should view its relationship with these two countries strategically and in a different light from the G8 and should incorporate them into its diplomatic assets.

5. South Asia

This region is important from a security standpoint as the one region in the world most likely to see nuclear conflict. There is potential for economic complementation between India and Japan in areas like IT. Japan needs to be aware of India's strengths and utilize them to boost Japan's own economic vitality. If Pakistan collapses, it could lead to proliferation of nuclear and missile technologies, and also increase terrorism. The conflict over Kashmir has global repercussions. Japan should make an effective contribution to the resolution of this conflict.

6. Middle East and Central Asia

Japan should engage in 'Middle East silk road diplomacy' to promote the following agenda: 1) elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, 2) elimination of the threat of international terrorism, 3) energy security from Gulf countries, 4) 'soft power' support for an end to the Israel-

Palestine conflict 5) expanding relations with Iran. In the Middle Eastern peace process, Japan should make a strong demarche to both Israel and Palestine in an attempt to bring them back on the road to peace.

7. Russia

Japan-Russia relations are at an important turning point, with Russia itself undergoing vast political changes. Japan should engage in a fundamental review of its Cold War policy towards Russia and indeed it cannot leave relations with Russia. Russia provides an area where there are still large possibilities for Japanese foreign policy. Russia itself seeks closer ties with Japan. Russia is now an open society in which public opinion has a strong role to play. Japan should make bold moves to strengthen the communication on pipeline, initiate Track II dialogue and discuss territorial issues with Russia from a wide range of perspectives.

8. Europe

The EU is moving steadily towards becoming one of the world's largest quasi-states. The development of the EU should be regarded highly in the context of world history. In the new world order, Japanese foreign policy will require strong partners. It is the EU that can reasonably be expected to be a partner in several of these cases. Japan should study how best to cooperate with the EU and its strategy for the EU over the long term.

9. Latin America

Japan has no negative legacies in Latin America; this is

a region where it can make use of its abilities and capacities without constraint. However, Japan's presence in Latin America has been steadily declining since the nineties. Japan should expand economic cooperation for Latin America, with a view to sign FTAs with Mercosur and other Latin American countries.

10. Africa

In the view of Japan maintenance of democracy and good governance in Africa is essential for world stability and prosperity. Aid to Africa should not look for short-term returns but should be seen as a part of international activities to maintain peace and order in the world. It will be important to develop TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development).

11. United Nations

Japan would not sit at the Security Council for six years. There has been no progress in its strategy to obtain a permanent seat in the Security Council or in its efforts to have the 'former enemy clauses' deleted. However, the United Nations functions to maintain world peace and stability are extremely important. It would be difficult for sovereign states on their own to perform the United Nations peace keeping and peacebuilding functions. Japan should provide all the cooperation to the United Nations to ensure a better future for the organization

MODULE III

ARMS RACE AND DISARMAMENT

DIFFERENT STAGES OF ARMS RACE

An arms race denotes a rapid increase in the quantity or quality of instruments of military power by rival states in peacetime. The first modern arms race took place when France and Russia challenged the naval superiority of Britain in the late nineteenth century. Germany's attempt to surpass Britain's fleet spilled over into World War I, while tensions after the war between the United States, Britain and Japan resulted in the first major arms-limitation treaty at the Washington Conference. The buildup of arms was also a characteristic of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union, though the development of nuclear weapons changed the scenario.

Over the past century, the arms race metaphor has assumed a prominent place in public discussion of military affairs. But even more than the other colorful metaphors of security studies, balance of power, escalation, and the like it may cloud rather than clarify understanding of the dynamics of international rivalries.

An arms race denotes a rapid, competitive increase in the quantity or quality of instruments of military or naval power by rival states in peacetime. What it connotes is a game with a logic of its own. Typically, in popular depictions of arms races, the political calculations that start and regulate the pace of the game remain obscure. As Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.,

has noted, ‘The strange result is that the activity of the other side, and not one’s own resources, plans, and motives, becomes the determinant of one’s behavior.’ and what constitutes the ‘finish line’ of the game is the province of assertion, rather than analysis. Many participants have claimed that the likelihood of war increases as the accumulation of arms proceeds peace.

A close examination of the historical evidence reveals a different picture. Political purposes almost always drive and govern arms races. It is common for a major race to be initiated by a state interested in changing the political status quo. In some cases, the response of states content with the status quo is swift and resolute, but in other cases it is constrained by domestic political or economic considerations or diverted by diplomatic calculations. The course of an arms race has frequently exacerbated a sense of rivalry and occasionally even determined the timing of a war; but most often it has ended in a political settlement between rivals or in a decision by one side to moderate its buildup.

The first competitive buildup in which contemporaries used the arms race metaphor seems to have been the naval rivalry in the late nineteenth century, in which France and Russia challenged Britain in the context of acute tensions over colonial expansion. The British responded with a determination to remain masters of the seas. The ultimate result was not war, but rather an Anglo-French political settlement in 1904 and an Anglo-Russian rapprochement in 1907 against the background of a rising German threat.

The German challenge to Britain in the early twentieth century involved the most famous naval arms race of all. As the post Bismarck political leadership decided that Germany must become a world power, Admiral von Tirpitz was able to justify building a large German battle fleet. When the British finally responded, the upshot was a competition that fit an action-reaction model more closely than any other arms race. The Germans in the end could not keep up, because of domestic difficulties in raising taxes and pressures to give greater priority to spending on the army. Though the naval arms race did poison Anglo-German relations, it was the actions of the German army, not the German navy that ultimately produced war in 1914.

A third major naval arms race, involving the United States, Britain, and Japan, erupted at the end of World War I. It was fueled by Japanese efforts to expand their political influence in East Asia and by an American attempt to gain greater political leverage over Britain. This was a race that, for financial reasons, none of the participants wanted to run very far. It ended at the Washington Conference of 1921- 1922 with the first major arms-limitation treaty ever and a new political settlement for East Asia.

In fact, an arms race among European armies had some part in the outbreak of World War I. In the July crisis of 1914, German chancellor Theobald von Bethmann- Hollweg took greater risks in brinkmanship than he might have otherwise done, because of a presumption that Russia's stepped up efforts to improve its military capability meant Germany

would be in a stronger position to win a war in 1914 than later.

Similarly, Adolf Hitler was in a rush to attack France in 1940 and the Soviet Union in 1941, partly because of the dynamics of an arms race that he had started in the 1930s. Held back by domestic financial constraints, Britain and France had lagged behind. But they and Germany's other adversaries, had accelerated their rearmament in the late 1930s and Hitler moved forward his program of conquest lest the German lead to be overtaken.

Japan, too, succumbed to 'now or never' calculations in 1941. Its naval leaders appreciated that the Japanese navy had gained a lead over the US Pacific Fleet in every class of warship, but that a massive American naval program begun in 1940 would leave them far behind by 1943. Coupled with the effects of an American oil embargo against Japan, this playing out of the dynamics of an arms race helped to prompt an attack on the United States in December 1941. But in this case, as in the two European wars, hegemonic political ambitions fueled the conflict.

Leads and lags in an arms race against a background of a hegemonic struggle characterized the Cold War as well, but the deterrent effect of weapons of mass destruction made 'now or never' calculations much less tempting for the superpowers of the nuclear age. The arms competition between the United States and the Soviet Union did not fit an action-reaction model very well. For domestic political and economic reasons, the United States was slow to rearm in the late 1940s even as it perceived hegemonic ambitions on the part of the Soviets.

After the United States did great increase in its nuclear and conventional arms during the Korean War, the Soviet leadership for its own domestic reasons made only a partial response. When from the mid-1960s the Soviets undertook the most massive peacetime military buildup in history, the United States chose to disengage somewhat from the race. Not until after 1979 did it reassess its posture. The new qualitative improvements embodied in the last American arms spurt of the Cold War made Soviet military leaders nervous and helps to explain why they were willing in the mid1980s to accept the new ideas promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev in hopes of raising the technological level of Soviet society. The arms race that had produced the greatest anxiety among contemporaries ended in the most astonishing political settlement of the past century.

ARMS RACE A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE

The nuclear arms race threaten world peace because the weapons being created had the potential to destroy the whole world. The superpowers paranoia for one another grew as the power of the weapons created grew and multiplied further threatened world peace since any minor movement made by either power could have been misinterpreted as an attack.

However, it becomes clear that the arms race did in fact deter any form of violence between the USA and the USSR. This was due to their fear of mass destruction and that it was more a competition of ability between the two powers rather than a desire to attack their opponent. The arms race wasn't threatening, the fact that both nations had the capability to

destroy the world can be seen as enough for the arms race to have been a threat to world peace. The Culture of secrecy that developed during the arms race threatened world peace because it fueled the paranoia consuming each nation as to whether the other had military superiority. The fears concerning both powers led to assumptions being made on the other country's progress, this is evident with the profound effect the Gaither report of 1957 had on the US. The report which was commissioned just after Sputnik heightened fear that the Soviet Union had military superiority because there was a missile gap between the two nations.

Nuclear Arms Race a Threat to World Peace

The culture of secrecy and the ignition of fear it created made the arms race a threat to world peace. Additionally, the concentration of power in the hands of both nations encouraged dangerous tactics to be considered, such as, the US doctrine of 'massive retaliation' in 1954. The US was confident at this point of their nuclear superiority over the world and believed that no nation would risk a war against their nuclear based force, it used the method of brinkmanship which involved going to the brink of nuclear war.

Therefore the method was extremely provocative and if used would easily cause further hostility and conflict, especially since the USSR was adopting similar methods. An example of Brinkmanship can be seen in the Cuban Missile crisis 1962 which did arguably come to the brink of nuclear war, it's an example of how dangerous the method is since if both powers were attempting to use it wouldn't have the

desired effect of forcing the other country into submission.

Consequently it seems the arms race in the 1950's had led to over confidence for both nations to be considering such tactics which undoubtedly would have threatened world peace. However, the nuclear arms race did arguably deter both nations from participating in direct conflict due to the threat it would disrupt world peace. This concept of nuclear deterrence arose during the Korean War due to the direct conflict posed not only Korea but also the world.

To prevent nuclear escalation procedures were followed such as Stalin not becoming directly involved in the war and Truman not using nuclear weapons against China, since this would lead to Russia having to support China and an indirect nuclear conflict taking place. When evaluating the Cuban Missile Crisis it is evident that the different concepts and methods have on the outcome of nuclear threat, massive retaliation led to a quarantine in the Cuban crisis, whilst in the Korean War nuclear deterrence led to peaceful existence of both countries in opposition with no nuclear threat.

But this show that different methods being interpreted played a key role in the arms race being a threat to world peace and that it solely the nuclear arms being created. It is also clear during 1949-62 that the arms race was more of a competition between the two powers, hence 'race'. Neither concluded any form of destruction or conflict as a result of the arms race, therefore it's difficult to view the race as a threat.

It is evident that it was simply a competition since it

also involved technological and space advances, such as when Sputnik was launched in 1957, US failed in launching their own satellite Vanguard which was seen as a great failure and embarrassment for the US. The Soviet Union seemed to advance with rocket technology and in 1961, Yuri Gagarin became the first man in space. This indicates that particularly for Russia the arms race was not only about military advancements but overall technological advancements.

It illustrates that the arms race was more about being the smartest and most powerful nation rather than bringing about the others destruction and thus being a threat to the world. It appears that the arms race wasn't only about the destructive weapon but about the paranoia and the ego of the two powers. Both nations were in fierce competition with the other to be the best super power and this seemed far more important to them than actually attacking the other nation, this is clear due to both countries agreeing to nuclear deterrence and limited war.

Neither country wished to disrupt peace but simply lived in fear of the other country developing a more powerful weapon they could confront the other with, or succeeding them in space technology and thus being the better nation. Although any confrontation that had taken place rarely truly would have led to a nuclear war, there was always a slight threat that even with the most minute misinterpretation a missile could have been fired. This concern combined with the fact that both nations have the capability to destroy the world and the nuclear arms race was a threat to world peace.

PROCESS OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

Arms Control and Disarmament are major efforts to preserve international peace and security in the twentyfirst century. Its purpose is to limit the number of weapons and the ways in which weapons can be used. Two different means to achieve this goal have been disarmament and arms control. Disarmament is the reduction of the number of weapons and troops maintained by a state.

Arms control refers to treaties made between potential adversaries that reduce the likelihood and scope of imposing limitations on military capability.

Although disarmament always involves the reduction of military forces or weapons, arms control does not. In fact, arms control agreements sometimes allow for the increase of weapons by one or more parties to a treaty

Modern Arms Control Limited Test Ban Treaty

LTBT, an agreement that prohibited nuclear test explosions in the atmosphere, under water, or in space, which was signed in 1963 by the US, Britain and USSR. The 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, a superpower treaty that banned biological weapons and provided for the destruction of existing stockpiles.

The 1972 convention was the first and only example since 1945, of true disarmament of an entire weapons category. Although negotiation on a comprehensive test ban agreement that would prohibit all nuclear testing continued.

Nevertheless, in 1974, the superpowers signed the

Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT), which limits nuclear tests to explosive yields of less than 150 kilotons

SALT I and After

The STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT I and SALT II) were first undertaken in the era of detente in the early 1970s, when relations between the United States and the USSR became more amicable. SALT I led to two agreements: the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 (ABM Treaty), which eventually limited each super power to one site for anti ballistic missiles (ABMs), the missiles designed to intercept and destroy incoming missiles; and an 'interim' arms agreement limiting the number of inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM) launchers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) to those already deployed by specific dates in 1972. It also required that any modernization and replacement of ICBMs and SLBMs be on a one-for one basis and prohibited any development of new, more powerful ICBMs.

Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) -The spread of radioactive fallout resulting from atmospheric nuclear tests aroused public protests in the 1950s-led by Albert Schweitzer, Linus Pauling, and a host of 'peace groups' put pressure upon President Eisenhower to halt the testing. When a 1957 Gallup Poll revealed that sixty three percent of the American people favored banning tests, compared with 20 percent three years earlier, the president initiated the tripartite (US–British–Soviet) test ban negotiations. Eisenhower turned to technical experts to develop a verification system, a move that was to have

unexpected long-term results. With the advent of the nuclear age, even greater use was made by experts including military officers, scientists, and technical specialists in this direction.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) -The People's Republic of China's first nuclear test on 16 October 1964, focused President Lyndon B. Johnson's attention on the dangers of nuclear proliferation. In 1965 both the United States and Soviet Union responded to the UN call to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by submitting their own draft treaties to ENDC, and, after resolving a few differences, became identical by 1967. The committee's nonaligned members argued that a nonproliferation treaty must not simply divide the world into nuclear 'haves' and 'have not's, but must balance mutual obligations. Thus, to stop states from engaging in 'horizontal' proliferation (the acquisition of nuclear weapons), the nuclear powers should agree to end their 'vertical' proliferation (increasing the quantity and quality of their weapons). The nonaligned nations specified the necessary steps, in order of priority:

- (1) signing a comprehensive test ban;
- (2) halting the production of fissionable materials designed for weapons;
- (3) freezing, and gradually reducing nuclear weapons and delivery systems;
- (4) banning the use of nuclear weapons and
- (5) assuring the security of non-nuclear states.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed on 1 July 1968, after the United States and Soviet Union reluctantly agreed 'to pursue negotiations in good faith' to halt the nuclear arms race at the earliest possible date and to seek a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective

international control.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty is the cornerstone of a carefully structured regime that emphasizes the banning of nuclear tests and several other elements. The Vienna based International Energy Agency was created in 1957 as the coordinating body for Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace project to promote and safeguard peaceful uses of atomic energy. It has established a system of international safeguards aimed at preventing nuclear materials from being diverted to military uses. During 1974 and 1975, the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was established in London to further ensure nuclear materials, equipment, and technology would not be used in weapons production. Finally, nuclear weapons free zones further extended the nonproliferation effort.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) - The comprehensive test ban issue was dormant during the early years of Richard Nixon's presidency, largely so, it would not interfere with US-Soviet negotiations on strategic arms limitations. At the Moscow summit meeting with Premier Leonid Brezhnev in July 1974, the two leaders resurrected the bilateral Threshold Test Ban Treaty, under which they agreed to hold underground tests to less than 150 kilotons, restrict the number of tests to a minimum, not interfere with the other's efforts at verification, and exchange detailed data on all tests and test sites. The Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, signed by Brezhnev and President Gerald Ford in May 1976, allowed nuclear explosives under 150 kilotons to be used in a peaceful manner such as 'digging' canals.

MODULE IV

CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT- GLOBAL AND REGIONAL G 8, G 20, IMF, WTO, EUROPEAN UNION, NATO, ASEAN, SAARC.

G 8

G 8 is an economic grouping of highly industrialized countries in the international system. They are the wealthiest countries in the world. It includes USA, UK, Germany, Italy, France, Japan, Russia and Canada. The leaders of these countries take in turns to be the president of G 8. The leader of the host country acts as the president of that year. G 8 members are the most powerful countries in the international community. Its aim is to tackle global problems by discussing big issues and planning the necessary actions to tackle these issues. The leaders of these countries meet every year in a different member country.

G 8 stands for the interconnections between the three components of the so called ‘triangle of knowledge’ that is education ,scientific research and technological innovation from a sustainable development perspective, identifying risks and opportunities both for the industrialized countries as well as the developing and low income countries.

The first G 8 summit was held in France in 1975 and at that time it was a grouping of six major countries and that was known as G 6. It was formed because of the big worldwide

money troubles in the early 1970s. That prompted the United States of America to form this kind of an economic grouping. In 1975 the heads of this six state governments agreed to meet every year. The G 6 was made up of USA, UK, Germany, Italy, Japan and France. In 1976 Canada joined in this economic grouping and it became G 7. It came to be known as G 8 when Russia joined in this grouping in 1998. Russia has been suspended in 2014 due to the annexation of Ukraine.

Since 2014 in effect G 8 comprises seven nations and European Union. The European Union has been represented with in the G8 since 1980s but originally could not host or chair the G 8 summits. The 40th summit was the first summit that the European Union was able to host and chair the summit.

In 2012 the G 8 nations composed 50.1% of global nominal GDP and 40.9% of global GDP. In each calendar year the responsibility of hosting the G8 summit is rotating among the member states in the following order France, USA, UK, Russia, Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada. The holder of the presidency sets the agenda and host the summit for that year and determines the ministerial meeting. Both France and UK have expressed the desire to expand the group by including five developing countries like Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa. These countries have participated as guests in G 8 meetings and sometime it is called as G8 + 5. The 42nd G 7 summit held on May 26-27 2016 at the Shima kanko hotel in Japan. The participants are USA, UK, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Canada and European Union. The 43rd G7 summit was

held on May 26-27 2017 in Taormina, Sicily, Italy. The 44th G 7 summit was held on 8-9 June 2018, in La Malbaie, Quebec, and Canada. This was the sixth time since Canada hosted the meeting. Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau, French president Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Italian prime minister Paolo Gentiloni, Japan Prime minister Shinzo Abe, US president Donald Trump, British prime minister Theresa May were the leaders of the last 44th G 7 summit held in 2018.

G 20

The Group of Twenty (G20) is an international forum for the governments and central bank governors from 20 major economies. It consists 19 individual countries and the European Union. USA, UK, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India ,Indonesia, Italy ,Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey are the 19 individual countries in the G 20. The European Union is represented by the European Commission and the European Central Bank. The main purpose of G 20 is the systematic bring together of important industrialized and developing economies to discuss key issue in the global economy. Cancun in Mexico is the headquarters of G 20.

G 20 was founded in 1999 with the aim of studying, reviewing and promoting high level discussion of policy issues pertaining the promotion of international financial stability. It seeks to address the issues that go beyond the responsibilities of any one organization. Collectively G 20 economies have 85% of Gross World Product, 80% world trade and it consists

2/3 world population. This informal group also hosts separate meetings of finance ministers and central bank governors. G 20 summits have been held annually.

G 20 is a post second world war initiative aimed at the international co-ordination of economic policy in connection with IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization. G 20 was superseded by G33 and G 22. The inaugural meeting of G 20 took place on 15-16 December 1999 in Berlin. Canadian Finance Minister Paul Martin was the first chairman and German finance minister Hans Eichel hosted the inaugural meeting of G 20.

Though the G 20 primary focus is global economic governance, the theme of its summits vary from year to year. For example the theme of 2006 G 20 summit was ‘building and sustaining prosperity’. The issues discussed includes domestic reforms to achieve sustained growth, global energy resources, community markets, reform of the World Bank, IMF and the impact of demographic changes due to world population. South Africa hosted the G 20 summit in 2007 and it was chaired by South African finance minister Trevor A Manuel. Brazil hosted the G 20 summit in 2008 and its finance minister Guido Manteca was the chairperson of this summit. In this summit Brazil proposed dialogue on competition in financial markets, clean energy, economic development and fiscal elements of growth and development.

IMF, Its Objectives, Structure and Functions

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an

international organization headquartered in DC. Consisting of 189 countries working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, and promote high employment, sustainable economic growth and to reduce poverty around the world. It was formed in 1945 at the Bretton Woods Conference primarily by the ideas of Harry Dexter White and John Maynard Keynes. It came into formal existence in 1944 with 29 member countries with the goal of reconstructing the international payment system. It now plays a central role in the management of balance of payments difficulties and international financial crises. Countries contribute funds to a pool through a quota system from which countries experiencing balance of payments problems can borrow money. IMF works to improve the economies of its member countries. The organization's objectives stated in the Articles of Agreement are; to promote international monetary co-operation, international trade, high employment, exchange-rate stability, sustainable economic growth, and making resources available to member countries in financial difficulty.

IMF Structure

Board of Governors

The Board of Governors consists of one Governor and one alternate Governor for each member country. Each member country appoints its two Governors. The Board normally meets once a year and is responsible for electing or appointing Executive Directors to the Executive Board. While the Board of Governors is officially responsible for approving quota increases, Special Drawing Right allocations, the

admittance of new members, compulsory withdrawal of members, and amendments to the Articles of Agreement and By- Laws. In practice it has delegated most of its powers to the IMF's Executive Board

The Board of Governors is advised by the International Monetary and Financial Committee and the Development Committee. The International Monetary and Financial Committee has 24 members and they monitor the developments and the transfer of resources to developing countries. The Development Committee has 25 members and advises on critical development issues and on financial resources required to promote economic development in developing countries. They also advise on trade and environmental issues

Executive Board

24 Executive Directors make up the Executive Board. The Executive Directors represent all 189 member countries in a geographically based roster. Countries with large economies have their own Executive Director, but most countries are grouped in constituencies representing four or more countries

Managing Director

The IMF is led by a Managing Director, who is the head of the staff and serves as Chairman of the Executive Board. The Managing Director is assisted by a First Deputy Managing Director and three other Deputy Managing Directors. Historically the IMF's Managing Director has been European and the president of the World Bank has been from

the United States. In 2011 the world's largest developing countries, the BRIC nations, issued a statement declaring that the tradition of appointing a European as Managing Director undermined the legitimacy of the IMF and called for the appointment to be merit based.

The current Managing Director (MD) and Chairman of the International Monetary Fund is noted French lawyer and former politician, Christine Lagarde, who has held the post since 5 July 2011. She is the Chairman of the 24-member Executive Board. The Managing Director appointed her to a second renewable five-year term in February 2016, effective July 5, 2016. The Managing Director is the chief of the IMF's 2,700 employees from 147 countries. She supervises four Deputy Managing Directors.

The IMF Governance Structure begins with the IMF Governing Board which sets direction and policies. Its members are the finance ministers or central bank leaders of the member countries. They meet each year in conjunction with the World Bank. The International Monetary and Financial Committee meets twice a year. These committees review the international monetary system and make recommendations.

Objectives

Survey Global Conditions: The IMF has the rare ability to look into and review the economies of all its member countries. As a result, it has its finger on the pulse of the global economy better than any other organization. It provides the

World Economic Outlook, the Global Financial Stability Report, and the Fiscal Monitor each year. It also deals with regional and country specific assessments. It uses this information to determine which countries need to improve their policies. Hence, the IMF can identify which countries threaten global stability. The member countries have agreed to listen to the IMF's recommendations because they want to improve their economies and remove these threats.

Advice Member Countries: Since the Mexican peso crisis of 1994–95 and the Asian crisis of 1997–98, the IMF has taken a more active role to help countries to prevent financial crises. It develops standards that its members should follow.

Provide Technical Assistance and Short-term Loans: The IMF provides loans to help its members to tackle balance of payments problems, stabilize their economies, and restore sustainable growth.

Surveillance of the global economy: The IMF is mandated to oversee the international monetary and financial system and monitor the economic and financial policies of its member countries. This activity is known as surveillance and facilitates international co-operation. Since the demise of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates in the early 1970s, surveillance has evolved largely by way of changes in procedures rather than through the adoption of new obligations. The responsibilities changed from those of guardian to those of overseer of members' policies. The Fund typically analyses the appropriateness of each member country's economic and financial policies for achieving

orderly economic growth, and assesses the consequences of these policies for other countries and for the global economy.

Structural adjustment

Some of the conditions for structural adjustment of IMF can be summarized as follows;

- Cutting expenditures, also known as austerity.
- Focusing economic output on direct export and resource extraction,
- Devaluation of currencies,
- Trade liberalization, or lifting import and export restrictions,
- Increasing the stability of investment (by supplementing foreign direct investment with the opening of domestic stock markets),
- Balancing budgets and not overspending,
- Removing price controls and state subsidies,
- Privatization of all or part of state owned enterprises,
- Enhancing the rights of foreign investors
- Improving governance and fighting corruption.

World Trade Organization

WTO is an international organization established to supervise and liberalize world trade. The WTO is the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was created in 1947. By the late 1980s there were calls for a

stronger multilateral organization to monitor trade and resolve trade disputes. Following the completion of the Uruguay Round (1986–94) of multilateral trade negotiations, the WTO began operations on January 1, 1995.

Objectives and Operation

The WTO has six key objectives:(1) to set and enforce rules for international trade, to provide a forum for negotiating and monitoring further trade liberalization, (3) to resolve trade disputes, (4) to increase the transparency of decision-making processes, (5) to cooperate with other major international economic institutions involved in global economic management (6) to help developing countries benefit from the global trading system.

The rules embodied in both the GATT and the WTO serve at least three purposes. First, they attempt to protect the interests of small and weak countries against discriminatory trade practices of large and powerful countries. The WTO's most-favored-nation and national- treatment articles stipulate that each WTO member must grant equal market access to all other members and domestic and foreign suppliers must be treated equally. Second, the rules require members to limit trade only through tariffs and to provide market access not less favorable than specified in their schedules. Third, the rules are designed to help governments resist lobbying efforts by domestic interest groups seeking special favors. Although some exceptions to the rules have been made, their presence and replication in the core WTO agreements were intended to ensure that the worst excesses would be avoided. By this

bringing greater certainty and predictability to international markets, it was thought that the WTO would enhance economic welfare and reduce political tensions.

Resolution of trade disputes

The GATT provided an avenue for resolving trade disputes, a role that was strengthened substantially under the WTO. Members are committed not to take unilateral action against other members. Instead, they are expected to seek recourse through the WTO's dispute-settlement system and to abide by its rules and findings. The procedures for dispute resolution under the GATT have been automated and greatly streamlined and the timetable has been tightened.

Trade-policy reviews

The WTO also seeks to increase awareness of the extent and effects of trade-distorting policies, a goal that it accomplishes through annual notification requirements and through a policy-review mechanism. Notices of all changes in members' trade and trade-related policies must be published and made accessible to their trading partners. For many developing countries and countries whose economies were formerly centrally planned, this requirement was a major step towards more transparent governance. The WTO reviews the trade policies of the world's four largest traders (the European Union, the United States, Japan, and China) once every two years, the policies of the 16 next largest traders once every four years, and the policies of all other traders once every six or more years.

European Union

European Union is an international organization comprising 28 European countries having common economic, social, and security policies. Originally confined to Western Europe, the EU undertook a robust expansion into central and Eastern Europe in the early 21st century. The EU's members are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The EU was created by the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force on November 1, 1993. The treaty was designed to enhance European political and economic integration by creating a single currency (EURO), a unified foreign and security policy, and common citizenship rights and by advancing cooperation in the areas of immigration, asylum, and judicial affairs. The EU was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2012, in recognition of the organization's efforts to promote peace and democracy in Europe.

ORIGIN

The EU represents one in a series of efforts to integrate Europe since World War II. At the end of the war, several western European countries sought closer economic, social, and political ties to achieve economic growth and military security and to promote a lasting reconciliation between France and Germany. To this end, in 1951 the leaders of six countries—Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the

Netherlands, and West Germany signed the Treaty of Paris, in 1952 and formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The ECSC created a free-trade area for several key economic and military resources: coal, coke, steel, scrap, and iron ore. To manage the ECSC, the treaty established several supranational institutions: a High Authority to administrate, a Council of Ministers to legislate, a Common Assembly to formulate policy, and a Court of Justice to interpret the treaty and to resolve related disputes. A series of further international treaties and treaty revisions based largely on this model led eventually to the creation of the EU.

The European Economic Community

On March 25, 1957, the six ECSC members signed the two Treaties of Rome that established the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC created a common market that featured the elimination of most barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and labor, the prohibition of most public policies or private agreements that inhibit market competition, a common agricultural policy (CAP), and a common external trade policy.

Like the ECSC, the EEC established four major governing institutions: a commission, a ministerial council, an assembly, and a court. To advise the Commission and the Council of Ministers on a broad range of social and economic policies, the treaty created an Economic and Social Committee. In 1965 members of the EEC signed the Brussels Treaty, which merged the commissions of the EEC and

Euratom and the High Authority of the ECSC into a single commission. It also combined the councils of the three organizations into a common Council of Ministers. The EEC, Euratom, and the ECSC collectively referred to as the European Communities later became the principal institutions of the EU.

The Commission (officially known as the European Commission) consists of a permanent civil service directed by commissioners. It has had three primary functions: to formulate community policies, to monitor compliance with community decisions, and to oversee the execution of community law. Initially, commissioners were appointed by members to renewable four-year terms, which were later extended to five years. The Commission is headed by a president, who is selected by the heads of state or heads of government of the organization's members. In consultation with member governments, the president appoints the heads of the Directorate-Generals, which manage specific areas such as agriculture, competition, the environment, and regional policy.

The main decision-making institution of the EEC and the European Community (as the EEC was renamed in 1993) and the EU has been the Council of the European Union (originally the Council of Ministers), which consists of ministerial representatives. The composition of the council changes frequently, as governments send different representatives depending on the policy area under discussion. All community legislation requires the approval of the council. The president of the council, whose office rotates among

council members every six months, manages the legislative agenda. Council meetings are chaired by a minister from the country that currently holds the presidency. The exception to this rule is the Foreign Affairs Council, which, since the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, is under the permanent supervision of the EU high representative for foreign affairs and security policy.

The Common Assembly, renamed the European Parliament in 1962, originally consisted of delegates from national parliaments. Beginning in 1979, members were elected directly to five-year terms. The size of members' delegations varies depending on population. The Parliament is organized into transnational party groups based on political ideology e.g., the Party of European Socialists, the European People's Party, the European Federation of Green Parties, and the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party. Until 1987 the legislature served only as a consultative body, though in 1970 it was given joint decision-making power (with the Council of Ministers) over community expenditures.

The European Court of Justice (ECJ) interprets community law, settles conflicts between the organization's institutions, and determines whether members have fulfilled their treaty obligations. Each member selects one judge, who serves a renewable six-year term; to increase efficiency, after the accession of 10 additional countries in 2004 the ECJ was allowed to sit in a 'grand chamber' of only 13 judges. Eight impartial advocates general assist the ECJ by presenting opinions on cases before the court. In 1989 an additional court,

the Court of First Instance, was established to assist with the community's increasing caseload. The ECJ has established two important legal doctrines. First, European law has 'direct effect,' which means that treaty provisions and legislation are directly binding on individual citizens, regardless of whether their governments have modified national laws accordingly. Secondly, community law has 'supremacy' over national law in case of conflict.

Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed on eight August 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand by signing the Bangkok Declaration to promote political and economic cooperation and regional stability. Brunei joined in 1984, shortly after its independence from the United Kingdom, and Vietnam joined ASEAN as its seventh member in 1995. Laos and Burma were admitted into full membership in July 1997. ASEAN celebrated its 30th anniversary in 1997. Cambodia became ASEAN's tenth member in 1999. Jakarta in Indonesia is the headquarters of ASEAN. Economic development for socio cultural development and to ensure regional peace and security are the main objectives of ASEAN. The creation of ASEAN was motivated by a common fear of communism and the thirst for economic development. One vision, one identity and one community is the motto of ASEAN.

ASEAN covers a land area of 4.4 million square kilometers and that is 3% of the total land area of the earth. ASEAN member countries have a combined population of

approximately 625 million people and that is 8.8 of total world population. In 2015 ASEANs nominal GDP had grown to more than 2.6 Trillion US Dollar. If ASEAN were a single entity it would rank as the seventh largest economy in the world. ASEAN shares land borders with India, China, Bangladesh, East Timor and maritime borders with India, China and Australia.

PURPOSE

1. To accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development of the region.
2. To promote regional peace and stability.
3. To promote collaboration and mutual assistance on matters of common interest
4. To provide assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities.
5. To collaborate for the better utilization of agriculture and industry to raise the standard of living of the people.
6. To promote south East Asian studies
7. To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international organizations with similar aims and purposes

THE ASEAN WAY

The ASEAN WAY is the official regional anthem of the ASEAN. The lyrics were written by Payom Valaiphathra and the music composed by Kittikhun Sod Prasert and Sampo Triudom. The ASEAN way is in the language of English and it

reflects the ASEAN dignity, cooperation, solidarity, diverse culture and ethnicity. It was accepted by a panel of judges consisting 10 Asian judges and 3 non ASEAN judges from China Japan and Australia. ASEAN way refers a methodology or an approach to solve the issues related to the cultural norms of south East Asia. It is a form of informal and cooperative interaction among ASEAN members. It is a working process that utilize compromises, consensus, consultation in the informal decision making process. It is a non-conflictual way of addressing problems through consensus.

THREE PILLERS OF ASEAN

1 ASEAN Political Security Community

APSC promotes political stability, democracy and good governance among the member countries. It also stands for the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms to enhance political development. Under the APSC specific actions are to be undertaken by the member states to protect and to promote human rights including the rights of the migrant workers, the rights of women, and children and to provide awareness to civil society organizations and the public about the great value of human rights.

APSC prevents armed confrontation between the member states on the bases of territorial disputes. The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was established in 1994 to coordinate the security measures of member states. It stands for the establishment of a cohesive, peaceful and resilient region with shared responsibility for comprehensive security. It stands for

preventing traffic in women and children and for counter terrorist activities.

2 ASEAN Economic Community

ASEAN Economic Community is concerned with the socio economic development of the region. ASEAN has focused on creating Free Trade Area (FTA) for investment, labor and services. The US and China has already moved fast to negotiate FTAs with ASEAN. India signed FTAs with two ASEAN members Singapore and Thailand. ASEAN Economic Community stands for equitable economic development, competitive economic region, integration in to the global economy and the stable economic development of the member countries on a global level

3 ASEAN Socio Cultural Community

ASEAN Socio Cultural Community deals with the socio cultural development of the region. This community stands for building a socially responsible ASEAN Community for sharing and caring the entire region to fill the gap among the member states. It ensures the equitable access of human resources. It gives priority to the health care of vulnerable groups. This is in tune with the Right to Development by the UN General Assembly on fourth December 1986. The three main objects of ASEAN Socio Cultural Community are;

1. Advancing and prioritizing education
2. Investing in human resource and development
3. Promotion of decent work.

The ASEAN Declaration in 1967, considered ASEAN's founding document, formalized the principles of peace and cooperation to which ASEAN is dedicated. The ASEAN Charter entered into force on 15 December 2008. With the entry of ASEAN Charter, ASEAN established its legal identity as an international organization and took a major step in its community building process. Each pillar has its own Blueprint approved at the summit level and together with the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI) Strategic Framework and IAI Work Plan Phase II (2009-2015), they form the Roadmap for and ASEAN Community 2009-2015.

ASEAN commands far greater influence on Asia-Pacific trade, political, and security issues than its members could achieve individually. This has driven ASEAN's community building efforts. This work is based largely on consultation, consensus, and cooperation. US relations with ASEAN have been excellent since its inception. The United States became a Dialogue Partner country of ASEAN in 1977. Dialogue partners meet regularly with ASEAN at the working and senior levels to guide the development of our regional relations. In July 2009, Secretary Clinton signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) which has greatly enhanced US political relations with ASEAN.

Every year following the ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, ASEAN holds its Post- Ministerial Conference (PMC) to which the Secretary of State is invited. In 1994, ASEAN took the lead in establishing the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which now has 27 members.

ASEAN PLUS THREE

ASEAN PLUS THREE refers the intention of ASEAN members to improve the existing ties with China, Japan and South Korea. This was followed by the East Asia Summit which included the ASEAN plus three countries as well as India China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand.

Treaty of Amity and Co operation

The treaty of amity and cooperation in South East Asia was signed at the first ASEAN summit on 24th February 1976. Its main principles are;

1. Mutual respect for their independence, sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and national identity of all member states
2. The right of every state to lead its national existence free from external interference, subversion or coercion.
3. Noninterference in the internal affairs of one another
4. settlement of disputes through peaceful means
5. Renunciation of the threat or use of force
6. Effective cooperation among themselves

South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation

SAARC an organization of South Asian nations, founded in 1985 and dedicated to economic, technological, social, and cultural development emphasizing collective self-reliance. Its seven founding members are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan

joined the organization in 2007. Meetings of heads of state are usually scheduled annually and the meetings of foreign secretaries, twice annually. Headquarters is in Kathmandu, Nepal. The stated areas of cooperation are agriculture; education, culture, sports; health, population, child welfare; the environment and meteorology; rural development, tourism; transport; science and technology; communications; women in development; and the prevention of drug trafficking and drug abuse.

SAARC is the regional intergovernmental organization and geopolitical union of nations in South Asia like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. SAARC comprises 3% of the world's area, 21% of the world's population and 3.8% (US\$2.9 trillion) of the global economy. SAARC was founded in Dhaka on 8 December 1985. Its secretariat is based in Kathmandu, Nepal. The organization promotes development of economic and regional integration. It launched the South Asian Free Trade Area in 2006. SAARC maintains permanent diplomatic relations at the United Nations as an observer and has developed links with multilateral entities, including the European Union.

Secretariat

The SAARC Secretariat was established in Kathmandu on 16 January 1987 and was inaugurated by the King of Nepal. The SAARC Secretariat is supported by following Regional Centers established in the Member States to promote regional co-operation. These Centers are managed by Governing

Boards comprising representatives from all the Member States, SAARC Secretary-General and the Ministry of Foreign/External Affairs of the host government. The Director of the Centre acts as Member Secretary to the Governing Board which reports to the Programming Committee.

SAARC has six Apex Bodies they are;

- SAARC Chamber of Commerce & Industry (SCCI)
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARCLAW)
- South Asian Federation of Accountants (SAFA)
- South Asia Foundation (SAF)
- South Asia Initiative to End Violence Against Children (SAIEVAC)
- Foundation of SAARC Writers and Literature (FOSWAL) Amjad Hussain B Sial is the current Secretary General of SAARC

SAFTA

The SAFTA Agreement was signed on 6 January 2004 during Twelfth SAARC Summit held in Islamabad, Pakistan. The Agreement entered into force on 1 January 2006, and the Trade Liberalization Programme commenced from 1 July 2006. Under this agreement, SAARC members will bring their duties down to 20 percent by 2009. Following the Agreement coming into force the SAFTA Ministerial Council (SMC) has been established comprising the Commerce Ministers of the Member States. In 2012 the SAARC exports increased

substantially to US\$ 354.6 billion from US\$ 206.7 billion in 2009. Imports too increased from US\$ 330 billion to US\$602 billion over the same period. But the intra-SAARC trade amounts to just a little over 1% of SAARC's GDP.

SAFTA was envisaged to gradually move towards the South Asian Economic Union, but the current intra-regional trade and investment relation are not encouraging and it may be difficult to achieve this target. The SAARC intra-regional trade stands at just five percent on the share of intra-regional trade in overall trade in South Asia. Similarly, foreign direct investment is also dismal. The intra-regional FDI flow stands at around four percent of the total foreign investment.

NATO

NATO is an alliance of 28 countries bordering the North Atlantic Ocean. It includes Canada, the United States, Turkey, and most members of the European Union. NATO is an acronym for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The United States contributes three-fourths of NATO's budget. During the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump said other NATO members should spend more on their military. Only four countries reach the targeted spending of two percent of gross domestic product. They are the United States, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Estonia.

At the July 11, 2018, NATO summit, President Trump requested that NATO nations to rise up their spending to 4 percent of GDP. The United States spends 4.5 percent, or \$886 billion in military spending divided by \$19.9 trillion in US

GDP.Trump also criticized Germany for asking the United States to protect it from Russia while import in natural gas from it.

Trump also accused NATO of being obsolete. He argued that the organization focuses on defending Europe against Russia instead of combating terrorism. Member countries worry that Trump's criticism of NATO and praise of Russia's leader, Vladimir Putin, mean that they can no longer rely on the United States as an ally in case of an attack.

PURPOSE

NATO's mission is to protect the freedom of its members. Its targets include weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and cyber-attacks. At its July 11, 2018, meeting, NATO is expected to approve new steps to contain Russia. These include two new military commands, expanded cyber war fare and counterterrorism efforts, and a new plan to deter Russian aggression against Poland and the Baltic States. Trump agreed to these measures. On July 8, 2016, NATO announced it would send up to 4,000 troops to the Baltic States and eastern Poland. It increased air and sea patrols to shore up its eastern front after Russia's attack on Ukraine.

On November 16, 2015, NATO responded to the terrorist attacks in Paris. It called for a unified approach with the European Union, France, and NATO. That's because France did not invoke NATO's Article 5. That would be a formal declaration of war upon the Islamic state group. France preferred to launch air strikes on its own. Article 5 states, ‘an

armed attack upon one shall be considered an attack upon them all.’

The only time NATO invoked Article 5 was after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. It responded to US requests for help in the War in Afghanistan. It took the lead from August 2003 to December 2014. At its peak, it deployed 130,000 troops. In 2015, it ended its combat role and began supporting Afghan troops.

NATO's protection does not extend to members' civil wars or internal coups. On July 15, 2016, the Turkish military announced it had seized control of the government in a coup. But Turkish President Recep Erdogan announced early on July 16 that the coup had failed. As a NATO member, Turkey would receive its allies' support in the case of an attack. But in case of a coup, the country will not get allied help.

NATO's secondary purpose is to protect the stability of the region. In those cases, it would defend non-members. On August 28, 2014, NATO announced it had photos proving that Russia invaded Ukraine. Although Ukraine is not a member, it had worked with NATO over the years. Russia's invasion of Ukraine threatened nearby NATO members.

As a result, NATO's September 2014 summit focused on Russia' aggression. President Putin vowed to create a ‘New Russia out of Ukraine's eastern region. President Obama pledged to defend countries such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. NATO itself admits that ‘Peacekeeping has become at least as difficult as peacemaking.’ As a result, NATO is

strengthening alliances throughout the world. In the age of globalization, transatlantic peace has become a worldwide effort.

Member Countries

NATO's 28 members are: Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Each member designates an ambassador to NATO. They supply officials to serve on NATO committees. They send the appropriate official to discuss NATO business. That includes a country's president, prime minister, foreign affairs minister or head of the department of defense. On December 1, 2015, NATO announced its first expansion since 2009. It offered membership to Montenegro. Russia responded by calling the move a strategic threat to its national security.

Alliances

NATO participates in three alliances. They expands its influence beyond its 28 member countries. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council helps partners to become NATO members. It includes 23 non-NATO countries that support NATO's purpose. It began in 1991. The Mediterranean Dialogue seeks to stabilize the Middle East. Its non-NATO members include Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia.

The Istanbul Cooperation Initiative works for peace throughout the larger Middle East region. It includes four members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. They are Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. It began in 2004. NATO cooperates with eight other countries in joint security issues. There are five in Asia. They are Australia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mongolia, and New Zealand. There are two in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

NATO and the Cold War

During the Cold War, NATO's mission expanded to prevent nuclear war. After West Germany joined NATO, the communist countries formed the Warsaw Pact alliance. That included the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. In response, NATO adopted the 'Massive Retaliation' policy. It aimed to use nuclear weapons in the case of an aggression towards the Warsaw pact. NATO's deterrence policy allowed Europe to focus on economic development. It didn't have to build large conventional armies.

The Soviet Union continued to build its military presence. When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, it was due to economic as well as ideological reasons. After the USSR dissolved in the late 1980s, NATO's relationship with Russia thawed. In 1997, they signed the NATO-Russia Founding Act to build bilateral cooperation. In 2002, they formed the NATO-Russia Council to partner on shared security issues.

The collapse of the USSR led to unrest in its former

satellite states. NATO got involved when Yugoslavia's civil war became genocide. NATO's initial support of United Nations naval embargo led to the enforcement of a no-fly zone. Violations then led to a few airstrikes until September 1999. That's when NATO conducted a nine day air campaign that ended the war. By December of that year, NATO deployed a peace keeping force of 60,000 soldiers. That ended in 2004 when NATO transferred this function to the European Union.

MODULE V

UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war was the main motivation for creating the United Nations, whose founders lived through the devastation of two world wars. Since its creation, the UN has often been called upon to prevent disputes from escalating into war, or help to restore peace when armed conflict break out and to promote lasting peace in societies emerging from wars.

Security Council

Over the decades, the UN has helped to end numerous conflicts, often through actions of the Security Council, the organ with primary responsibility, under the United Nations Charter, the maintenance of international peace and security. When a complaint concerning a threat to peace is brought before it, the Council's first action is usually to recommend to the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council itself undertakes investigation and mediation. It may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary General to do so or to use his good offices. It may set forth principles for a peaceful settlement.

When a dispute leads to fighting, the Council's first concern is to bring to an end as soon as possible. On many occasions, the Council has issued ceasefire directives which

have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities. It also deploys United Nations peacekeeping operations to help to reduce tensions in troubled areas, keep opposing forces apart and create conditions for sustainable peace after settlements have been reached. The Council may decide on enforcement measures, economic sanctions (such as trade embargoes) or collective military action.

General Assembly

According to the UN Charter, the General Assembly can make recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament, and for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among nations. The General Assembly can also discuss any question relating to international peace and security and make recommendations, if the issue is not currently being discussed by the Security Council.

Secretary-General

The Charter empowers the Secretary General to ‘bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security’. One of the most vital roles played by the Secretary General is the use of his ‘good offices’ publicly and in private that draw upon his independence, impartiality and integrity to prevent international disputes arising, escalating or spreading.

Conflict Prevention

The main strategies for preventing disputes from escalating into conflict, and for preventing the recurrence of conflict, are preventive diplomacy and preventive disarmament. Preventive diplomacy refers to action taken to prevent disputes arising or from escalating into conflicts, and to limit the spread of conflicts when they occur. It may take the form of mediation, conciliation or negotiation.

Preventive diplomacy

Early warning is an essential component of prevention, and the United Nations carefully monitors developments around the world to detect threats to international peace and security, thereby enabling the Security Council and the Secretary General to carry out preventive action. Envoys and special representatives of the Secretary General are engaged in mediation and preventive diplomacy throughout the world. In some trouble spots, the mere presence of a skilled envoy can prevent the escalation of tension. This work is often undertaken in cooperation with regional organizations.

Preventive disarmament

Complementing preventive diplomacy is preventive disarmament, which seeks to reduce the number of small arms in conflict-prone regions eg; Liberia, Sierra Leone, Timor etc. This has entailed demobilizing combat forces, as well as collecting and destroying their weapons as part of an overall peace agreement. Destroying yesterday's weapons prevents their use in tomorrow's wars.

Preventing Genocide and Responsibility to Protect

Prevention requires apportioning responsibility and promoting collaboration between concerned States and the international community. The duty to prevent and halt genocide and mass atrocities lies first and foremost with the State, but the international community has a role that cannot be blocked by the invocation of sovereignty. Sovereignty no longer exclusively protects States from foreign interference, it is a charge of responsibility where States are accountable for the welfare of their people. This principle is enshrined in article 1 of the Genocide Convention and embodied in the principle of ‘sovereignty as responsibility’ and in the concept of the Responsibility to Protect.

The Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide acts as a catalyst to raise awareness of the causes and dynamics of genocide, to alert relevant actors where there is a risk of genocide, and to advocate and mobilize for appropriate action. The Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect leads the conceptual, political, institutional and operational development of the Responsibility to Protect. The efforts of their Office include alerting relevant actors to the risk of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity, enhancing the capacity of the United Nations to prevent these crimes, including their incitement

UN AND DEVELOPMENT

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The Headquarters of UNDP is in New York City.

UNDP advocates for change and connects countries to knowledge, experience and resources to help the people to make a better life. It provides expert advice, training and grants support to developing countries, with increasing emphasis on assistance to the least developed countries. It promotes technical and investment cooperation among nations. The status of UNDP is that of an executive board within the United Nations General Assembly. The UNDP Administrator is the third highest- ranking official of the United Nations after the United Nations Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General

To accomplish the SDGs and encourage global development, UNDP focuses on poverty reduction, prevention of HIV/AIDS, democratic governance, energy and environment, social development, crisis prevention and recovery. UNDP also encourages the protection of human rights and the empowerment of women in all of its programs.

The UNDP Human Development Report Office also publishes an annual Human Development Report (since 1990) to measure and analyze developmental progress. In addition to a global Report, UNDP publishes regional, national, and local Human Development Reports. UNDP is funded entirely by voluntary contributions from member nations. The organization operates in 177 countries, where it works with local governments to meet development challenges and develop local capacity. Additionally, the UNDP works internationally to help countries to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals.

Functions

Democratic governance

UNDP supports national democratic transitions by providing policy advice and technical support, improving institutional and individual capacity within countries, educating people and advocates for democratic reforms, promoting negotiation and dialogue, sharing successful experiences from other countries and locations. UNDP also supports existing democratic institutions by increasing dialogue, enhancing national debate, and facilitating consensus on national governance programs.

Poverty reduction

UNDP helps countries to develop strategies to combat poverty by expanding access to economic opportunities and resources, linking poverty programs with countries' larger goals and policies and ensuring a greater voice for the poor. It also works at the macro level to reform trade, encourage debt relief and foreign investment and to ensure the poorest of the poor to benefit from globalization. On this ground, UNDP sponsors developmental pilot projects, promotes the role of women in development and coordinates efforts between governments, NGOs, and outside donors.

Crisis prevention and recovery

UNDP works to reduce the risk of armed conflicts or disasters and promote early recovery after crisis have occurred. UNDP works through its country offices to support local government in assessment, capacity development, coordinated

planning, policy and standard setting. Examples of UNDP risk reduction programs include efforts to control small arms proliferation, strategies to reduce the impact of natural disaster and programs to encourage the use of diplomacy and prevent violence. Recovery programs include disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, demining efforts, programs to reintegrate displaced persons, restoration of basic services, and transitional justice systems for countries recovering from warfare.

Environment and energy

As the poor are disproportionately affected by environmental degradation and lack of access to clean, affordable water, sanitation and energy services, UNDP seeks to address environmental issues in order to improve developing countries' abilities to develop sustainably, increase human development and reduce poverty. UNDP works with countries to strengthen their capacity to address global environmental issues by providing innovative policy advice and linking partners through environmentally sensitive development projects that help poor people to build sustainable livelihoods. UNDP's environmental strategy focuses on effective water governance including access to water supply and sanitation, access to sustainable energy services, Sustainable land management to combat desertification and land degradation, conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity and policies to control emissions of harmful pollutants and ozone depleting substances.

Sustainable Development Goals Goal 1: No Poverty

(End poverty in all its forms everywhere).

Extreme poverty has been cut by more than half since 1990. Still, more than 1 in 5 people live on less than the target figure of US\$1.25 per day. That target may not be adequate for human subsistence, however some suggest it may be necessary to raise the poverty line figure to as high as \$5 per day. Poverty is more than the lack of income or resources. People live in poverty if they lack basic services such as healthcare, security, and education. They also experience hunger, social discrimination, and exclusion from decision making processes.

Goal 2: Zero Hunger

(End hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition, and to promote sustainable agriculture)

Goal 2 states that by 2030 we should end hunger and all forms of malnutrition. This would be accomplished by doubling agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers (especially women and indigenous people), by ensuring sustainable food production systems and by progressively improving land and soil quality. Agriculture is the single largest employer in the world, providing livelihoods for 40% of the global population. It is the largest source of income for poor rural households

Goal 3: Good Health and wellbeing of the People

(Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages)

Significant strides have been made in increasing life

expectancy and reducing some of the common killers associated with child and maternal mortality. Between 2000 and 2016, the worldwide under-five mortality rate decreased by 47 percent (from 78 deaths per 1,000 live births to 41 deaths per 1,000 live births) still, the number of children dying under age five is extremely high: 5.6 million in 2016 alone.

Goal 4: Quality Education

(Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all)

Major progress has been made in access to education, specifically at the primary school level, for both boys and girls. Still, at least 22 million children in 43 countries will miss out on pre-primary education unless the rate of progress doubles. Access does not always mean quality of education or completion of primary school. 103 million youth worldwide still lack basic literacy skills, and more than 60 percent of those are women. Target 1 of Goal 4 is to ensure that, by 2030, all girls and boys complete free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education.

Goal 5: Gender Equality

According to the UN, "gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision making processes will nurture sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large. 143 countries

guaranteed equality between men and women in their constitutions as of 2014. However, another 52 had not taken this step. In many nations, gender discrimination is still woven into the fabric of legal systems and social norms.

Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation

The first three targets relate to drinking water supply and sanitation. Worldwide, 6 out of 10 people lack safely managed sanitation services, and 3 out of 10 lack safely managed water services. Safe drinking water and hygienic toilets protect people from disease and enable societies to be more productive economically. Attending school and work without disruption is critical to successful education and successful employment. Therefore, toilets in schools and work places are specifically mentioned as a target to measure

Goal 7: Affordable and Clean Energy

(Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all)

Targets for 2030 include access to affordable and reliable energy while increasing the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix. This would involve improving energy efficiency and enhancing international cooperation to facilitate more open access to clean energy technology and more investment in clean energy infrastructure.

Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth

(Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all)

By 2030, the target is to establish policies for sustainable tourism that will create jobs. Strengthening domestic financial institutions are essential to economic development. The Enhanced Integrated Framework for Trade Related Technical Assistance to Least Developed Countries is mentioned as a method for achieving sustainable economic development.

Goal 9: Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure

Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation. The manufacturing of high products contributes 80 percent to total manufacturing output in industrialized economies but barely 10 percent in the least developed countries.

Goal 10: Reducing Inequalities

(Reduce income inequality within and among countries)

One target is to reduce the cost of exporting goods from least developed countries. ‘Duty-free treatment’ has expanded. As of 2015, 65 percent of products coming from the least developed countries were duty free, as compared to 41 percent in 2005.

Goal 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

(Make the cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable)

The target for 2030 is to ensure access to safe and affordable housing. The indicator named to measure progress towards this target is the proportion of urban population living

in slums or informal settlements. Between 2000 and 2014, the proportion fell from 39 percent to 30 percent. However, the absolute number of people living in slums went from 792 million in 2000 to an estimated 880 million in 2014

Goal 12: Responsible Consumption and Production

(Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns)

The targets of Goal 12 include using eco-friendly production methods and reducing the amount of waste. By 2030, national recycling rates should increase, as measured in tons of material recycled.

Goal 13: Climate Action

Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts by regulating emissions and promoting developments in renewable energy

Goal 14: Life below Water

(Conserve and sustainable use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development)

Oceans cover 71 percent of the Earth's surface. They are essential for making the planet livable. Rainwater, drinking water and climate are all regulated by ocean temperatures and currents. Over 3 billion people depend on marine life for their livelihood. Oceans absorb 30 percent of all carbon dioxide produced by humans

The oceans contain more than 200,000 identified species, and there might be thousands of species that are yet to be discovered. Oceans are the world's largest sources of

protein. Marine pollution has reached shocking levels; each minute, 15 tons of plastic are released into the oceans

Goal 15: Life on Land

Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss. This goal articulates targets for preserving biodiversity of forest, desert, and mountain ecosystems, as a percentage of total land mass. Goal 15 calls for more attention to prevent invasion of introduced species and more protection of endangered species.

Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions

Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. Reducing violent crime, sex trafficking, forced labor, and child abuse are clear global goals. The International Community values peace and justice and calls for stronger judicial systems that will enforce laws and work towards a more peaceful and just society. By 2017, the UN could report progress on detecting victims of trafficking

Goal 17: Partnerships for the Goals

Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development by increasing international cooperation. Developing multi stakeholder partnerships is essential to achieve these goals.

PEACE KEEPING OPERATIONS OF UNITED NATIONS

United Nations peace keeping operations are a vital instrument employed by the international community to ensure international peace and security. The first UN peacekeeping mission was established in 1948, when the Security Council authorized the deployment of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Since then, there have been more than 70 UN peacekeeping operations around the world.

Over 70 years, UN peacekeeping has evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts and a changing political landscape. Born at the time when Cold War rivalries frequently paralyzed the Security Council, UN peacekeeping goals were primarily limited to maintaining ceasefires and stabilizing situations on the ground, so that efforts could be made at the political level to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. UN peacekeeping expanded in the 1990s, as the end of the Cold War created new opportunities to end civil wars through negotiated peace settlements. A large number of conflicts were brought to an end, either through direct UN mediation or by the efforts of others acting with UN support.

The assisted countries in this category included Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, Tajikistan, and Burundi. As the decade drew to a close, continuing crises led to new operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, Timor,

Sierra Leone and Kosovo. In the new millennium, peacekeepers have been deployed to Liberia, Darfur, South Sudan, Haiti, and Mali.

The conflicts of today, while fewer in number, are deeply rooted. For example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur, and South Sudan today, are in a second or third wave of conflict. Many of them were complicated by regional dimensions. In fact, some two-thirds of peacekeeping personnel today are deployed in the midst of ongoing conflict, where peace agreements are shaky or absent. Conflicts today are also increasingly intensive, involving determined armed groups with access to sophisticated armaments and techniques.

The nature of conflict has also changed over the years. Originally developed as a means of dealing with inter-State conflict, over time UN peacekeeping has been increasingly applied to intra-State conflicts and civil wars. Although the military remain the backbone of most peacekeeping operations, today's peacekeepers undertake a wide variety of complex tasks; helping to build sustainable institutions of governance, human rights monitoring and security sector reform, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants and demining.

Peace building

Within the United Nations, peace building refers to efforts to assist countries and regions in their transitions from war to peace and to reduce a country's risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities for

conflict management and laying the foundations for sustainable peace and development.

Building lasting peace in war-torn societies is among the most daunting of challenges for global peace and security. Peace building requires sustained international support for national efforts across the broadest range of activities monitoring ceasefires, demobilizing and reintegrating combatants, assisting the return of refugees and displaced persons, helping organize and monitor elections of a new government, supporting justice and security sector reform, enhancing human rights protections and fostering reconciliation after past atrocities.

Peace building involves action by a wide array of organizations of the UN system, including the World Bank, regional economic commissions, NGOs and local citizens' groups. Peace building has played a prominent role in UN operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Kosovo, Liberia and Mozambique, as well as more recently in Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq, Sierra Leone and Timor-Leste. An example of inter- state peace building has been the UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Recognizing that the United Nations needs to better anticipate and respond to the challenges of peace building, 2005 World Summit approved the creation of a new Peace building Commission. In the resolutions establishing the Peace building Commission, resolution 60/180 and resolution 1645 (2005), the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council mandated it to bring together all relevant actors to

advise on the proposed integrated strategies for post conflict peace building and recovery; resources and help to ensure predictable financing for these activities, to develop best practices in collaboration with political, security, humanitarian and development actors. The resolutions also identify the need for the Commission to extend the period of international attention on post-conflict countries and where necessary, highlight any gaps which threaten to undermine peace building. The General Assembly and Security Council resolutions establishing the Peace building Commission also provided for the establishment of Peace building Fund and Peace building Support Office

PEACE AND SECURITY ISSUES BEFORE UN

Women and Children in Conflict

In contemporary conflicts, as much as 90 percent of casualties are among civilians, most of them are women and children. Women in war torn societies can face specific and devastating forms of sexual violence, which are sometimes deployed systematically to achieve military or political objectives. Moreover, women continue to be poorly represented in formal peace processes, although they contribute in many informal ways to conflict resolution.

However, the UN Security Council has recognized the inclusion of women and gender perspectives in decision-making can strengthen prospects for sustainable peace. This recognition was formalized in October 2000 with the unanimous adoption of resolution 1325 on women, peace and

security. The landmark resolution specifically addresses the situation of women in armed conflict and calls for their participation at all levels of decision making on conflict resolution and peace building.

Peaceful uses of outer space

The United Nations works to ensure that outer space is used for peaceful purposes and that the benefits from space activities are shared by all nations. This concern with the peaceful uses of outer space began soon after the launch of Sputnik the first artificial satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 and has kept pace with advances in space technology. The United Nations has played an important role by developing international space law and by promoting international cooperation in space science and technology.

Adapting to new conflicts

Today's conflicts pose complex challenges for the organization. It includes;

- Fortifying our capacity to build political solutions to existing threats and emerging challenges;
- Ensuring that the State and institution building strengthen legitimacy through the inclusion and attention to grievances
- Upholding the organization's impartiality
- Making effective use of the Secretary General's good offices through mediation support.

The United Nations must go beyond reacting to events

and build anticipatory relationships with national and regional partners to prevent conflict. Prevention requires addressing the root causes of conflict across the three pillars of the United Nations: peace and security, human rights and inclusive development.

Youth, peace and security

Recent Security Council resolutions have spearheaded a growing focus on harnessing young people's contribution to sustaining peace. The ongoing progress study on youth, peace and security is documenting the positive contribution of young women and men through in- depth consultations with youth. Further research needs to be done to better understanding of the implications of technology on growing youth unemployment and how technology can be harnessed in youth education.

Preventive diplomacy and mediation

United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy in Central Asia is committed to offer his good offices to facilitate negotiations on transnational water resources. Special Representative for Central Africa continues to promote inclusive political dialogue and provide good offices in Gabon, the Congo, Chad and Cameroon. The peacekeeping operation for the Central African Republic is working with the African Union to implement the African Initiative for Peace and Reconciliation, including measures to prevent intercommunal violence.

Engagement in preventing and ending grave violations

against children can constitute an entry point for dialogue and mediation. State and non-State parties have pursued commitments to end grave violations against children. Together with the United Nations Children's Fund and others, the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict supports the implementation of the May 2016 agreement between the Government of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, People's Army on the separation of children associated with the armed group, as an observer and guarantor.

Democratic transitions and elections

The importance of accompanying electoral processes with preventive diplomacy was demonstrated over the year. In Ghana, the good offices of Special Representative for West Africa and the Sahel were critical in bringing about a peaceful denouement to electoral tensions. Coordination with regional and international actors, particularly the Economic Community of West African States, was central to avoid violence. In Afghanistan, the United Nations supported key reforms to strengthen the electoral process, including the election of three women to the election commission. The conclusion of the electoral process in Haiti in early 2017, with the support of the United Nations, paved the way for the return to constitutional normalcy and political stability.

Crisis management

The United Nations mission in the Central African Republic has intervened on many occasions to prevent

communal violence from spiraling out of control, averting major massacres. The mission in South Sudan has struggled to protect civilians against a backdrop of intensified hostilities between the parties to the conflict and an array of crippling obstructions erected by national authorities. The deployment of a regional protection force has generated minimal progress in improving the situation because of a lack of government cooperation. The United Nations mission is protecting and sustaining hundreds of thousands of people every day. Multiple discussions within and statements by the Security Council, the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development have failed so far to produce a clear way forward for a cessation of hostilities and a revitalization of the political process.

Sustaining peace

General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on sustaining peace have expanded the notion of peacebuilding. Previously seen as a purely post conflict endeavor, peacebuilding aims to prevent the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of violence in order to sustain peace throughout a conflict. The Secretariat is supporting the Peacebuilding Commission's working methods to bring together Member States, regional and sub -regional organizations, civil society and international financial institutions to address a broad range of country-specific, cross-border and regional situations. In the Central African Republic and Mali, the United Nations began developing community engagement strategies to build local capacity and prevent and

mitigate intercommunal tension and conflict.

Partnerships

In Somalia, Darfur, the Central African Republic and Mali, UN cooperation with the African Union created a history of innovative and adapted solutions. Our partnerships are among the most valuable preventive tools of the United Nations. Effective partnerships are among the most valuable preventive tools available to the United Nations, whether with Governments, non-governmental organizations or the private sector. In Central Asia, it is working closely with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization on a range of issues, including addressing the threats of terrorism, violent extremism and drug trafficking. In Southern Africa, the United Nations supported national mediation training conducted by the Southern African Development Community. Our close cooperation with the European Union was further strengthened, particularly in Mali, the Central African Republic and Somalia and have worked together in key political processes across Africa and the Middle East.

Conflict Prevention and Peacemaking

The United Nations uses the political tools of preventive diplomacy and mediation to help nations to prevent and resolve conflicts peacefully. United Nations envoys are dispatched to areas of tension around the world to assist in defusing crises and brokering negotiated settlements to conflicts. The UN Secretary General may exercise his or her 'good offices' to facilitate the resolution of the conflict. Steps

taken publicly and in private, drawing upon his independence, impartiality and integrity, to prevent international disputes from arising, escalating or spreading.

Disarmament

In 2010, world military expenditures exceeded to 1.5 trillion US dollars. The need for a culture of peace and for significant arms reduction worldwide has never been greater. This applies to all classes of weapons from nuclear weapons to conventional firearms and landmines. Since the birth of the United Nations, the goals of multilateral disarmament and arms limitation have been deemed central to the maintenance of international peace and security. These goals range from reducing and eventually eliminating nuclear weapons, destroying chemical weapons and strengthening the prohibition against biological weapons, halting the proliferation of landmines, small arms and light weapons. These efforts are supported by a number of key UN instruments. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the most universal of all multilateral disarmament treaties, came into force in 1970. The Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force in 1997, the Biological Weapons Convention in 1975. The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty was adopted in 1996, however it has not yet entered into force. The 1997 Mine-Ban Convention came into force in 1999.

Counter Terrorism

Countering the scourge of terrorism in the interest of all

nations and the issue has been on the agenda of the United Nations for decades. Almost no week goes by without an act of terrorism taking place somewhere in the world, indiscriminately affecting innocent people who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Eighteen universal instruments against international terrorism have been elaborated within the framework of the United Nations system relating to specific terrorist activities.

A global strategy to counter terrorism was agreed in September 2006 which marks the first time that all Member States of the United Nations have agreed to a common strategic and operational framework to fight terrorism. The Strategy forms a basis for a concrete plan of action to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, to prevent and combat terrorism, to take measures to build state capacity to fight terrorism, to strengthen the role of the United Nations in combating terrorism and to ensure the respect of human rights while countering terrorism.

Organized Crime

Transnational organized crime takes many forms from trafficking drugs, firearms and even people to money laundering and corruption. Today organized crime has diversified, global and reached macro-economic proportions, so that it constitutes a threat to global peace and security.

MODULE VI

CONFLICTS AND CHALLENGE

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Terrorism is fundamentally an attack on the state. It may be described as an act of violence committed against innocent people to create fear with an underlying political motive. The terrorist groups deliberately create bomb blasts and violence targeting the civilians and the administrative system. Hijacking planes, planting bombs in trains, cafes, markets, bus stands, railway stations and other crowded places are the common methods of terrorists targeting massive massacre. So the terrorists are criminals and not the so-called freedom fighters.

The use of terrorism to further a political cause has accelerated in recent years. Modern terrorism largely came into being after the Second World War with the rise of nationalist movements in the old empires of the European powers. These early anti-colonial movements recognized the ability of terrorism to both generate publicity for the cause and influence global policy. Bruce Hoffman, director of the Centre of Security Studies at Georgetown University writes that, ‘The ability of these groups to mobilize sympathy and support outside the narrow confines of their actual ‘theaters of operation’ thus taught a powerful lesson to similarly aggrieved peoples elsewhere, who now saw in terrorism an effective means of transforming hitherto local conflicts into

international issues' This development paved the way for international terrorism in the 1960s

The attacks of 11 September 2001, known as 9/11, marked a turning point in world history and the beginning of the 'War on Terror'. The attacks are estimated to have killed 3000 people making it the deadliest terrorist incident in human history. The subsequent War on Terror led to the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. It reveals that terrorism pre-9/11 was concentrated in Latin America and Asia, but shifted to the Middle East post- 9/11--Peru, Chile and El Salvador completely disappear from the top 10. More than a quarter of all terrorist attacks between 9/11 and 2008 took place in Iraq.

The deadliest terrorist attacks in history, the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center, were the result of plane hijackings. Yet aviation terrorism has a long history and its development marks the beginning of international terrorism. On 22 July 1968, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) hijacked Israeli El Al Flight 426 from London to Tel Aviv via Rome. They diverted the flight to Algiers where they held the Israeli hostages for several days while they negotiated the release of Arab prisoners in exchange for the hostages. Once the terms were agreed the hostages were released with no fatalities.

The success of this early hijacking made it an increasingly popular weapon of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). In 1976 Zehdi Terzi, the first PLO representative to the United Nations, stated that the 'first

several hijackings aroused the consciousness of the world and awakened the media and world opinion much more and more effectively than 20 years of pleading at the United Nations’

The war on terror

One major consequence of the rise of international terrorism, particularly Islamic extremist groups, has been the global War on Terror. The War on Terror, which began in 2001, has so far seen the full scale invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as other operations in Yemen, Pakistan and Syria.

An important question is whether the global campaign against terrorism, known as the War on Terror, may lead to reverse effect of making causes for terrorism. Richard Clarke, a counter-terrorism expert worked in the US National Security Council between 1992–2003, was highly critical of the Bush administration's counter-terrorism strategy and the decision to invade Iraq Clarke writes: ‘Far from addressing the popular appeal of the enemy that attacked, Bush handed that enemy precisely what it wanted and needed, proof that America was at war with Islam, that we were the new Crusaders come to occupy Muslim land’.

The internet has become a central tool for terrorists, largely replacing print and other physical media. It has allowed terrorist organizations to costless communication of their messages and aims to the world, allowing them to recruit new members, coordinate global attacks and better evade surveillance. The terrorist group known as the Islamic State

(also, ISIS and ISIL) are the first to harness the power of the internet and social media. Their well-organized online propaganda campaign has been recruit thousands of foreign fighters.

The increasing use of the internet was noted by Bruce Hoffman in 'Inside terrorism' as early as 2006. He argues that 'terrorists are now able to bypass traditional print and broadcast media via the Internet, through inexpensive but professionally produced and edited videotapes, and even with their own dedicated 24/7 television and radio news stations. The consequences of these developments are far-reaching as they are still poorly understood, having already transformed the ability of terrorists to communicate without censorship or other hindrance and thereby attract new sources of recruits, funding etc.

Causes of Terrorism

Denial of social justice, Political instability, Economic exploitation, Imbalances in opportunity structure, Social imbalances and regional disparities, Political insurgency, Institutional erosion, Extreme poverty and unemployment, Unequal distribution of resources, Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Deprivation of fundamental rights, Political instability, Extremism and sectarianism, Illiteracy and ignorance, Rise of religious fundamentalism and religious fanaticism and Rise of Jihad etc.

Characteristics of terrorism

Deliberate Planning, Create fear and Terror, Hit the

target, Infuse uncertainty and anxiety, Achievement of interest and objective and No limited boundaries etc.

Impacts of Terrorism

Economic setbacks, Trust deficit, Social intolerance, Racial discrimination, Deterioration of law and order, Curse of Human rights violations, Social isolation, Endangering the integrity of the country, Social ferment and confusion, Affects national image and identity, Mass killing and destitute, Atmosphere of uncertainty and anxiety, Suicide Bombing, Deterioration of law and order and Marginalization of certain segments of society etc.

Steps to curb terrorism in India

All cities must establish a network of mohalla committees and housing societies to monitor all suspicious movements in their locality, Each city must have a dedicated police officer with strong determination and will power, ‘sting operations’ should be launched to hit the terrorists, the investigating officers should target not only the ‘Big Fish’ but also the people who help them for transportation and lodging of terrorists, coordination between various investigating agencies is very essential for catching the Fish out of water and immediate trial and severe punishments must be guaranteed to the terrorists etc.

Human Rights violations

The universal consensus on human rights is that all individuals are entitled to certain basic rights under any circumstances. These include certain civil and political rights,

the most fundamental of which is the right to life and physical safety. Human rights focus the need for justice, tolerance, mutual respect, and human dignity in all of our activity.

To protect human rights is to ensure that people receive some degree of decent, humane treatment. To violate the most basic human rights, on the other hand, is to deny individuals their fundamental moral entitlements. It is, in a sense, to treat them as if they are less than human and undeserving of respect and dignity. Examples are acts typically deemed ‘crimes against humanity’ including genocide, torture, slavery, rape, enforced sterilization or medical experimentation, and deliberate starvation. Because these policies are sometimes implemented by governments, limiting the unrestrained power of the state is an important part of international law. Underlying laws that prohibit the various ‘crimes against humanity’ is the principle of nondiscrimination and the notion that certain basic rights apply universally.

Types of Human Rights Violations

The number of deaths related to combat and the collateral damage caused by warfare are only a small part of the tremendous amount of suffering and devastation caused by conflicts. Over the course of protracted conflict, assaults on political rights and the fundamental right to life are typically widespread. Some of the gravest violations of the right to life are massacres, the starvation of entire populations, and genocide. Genocide is commonly understood as the intentional extermination of a single ethnic, racial, or religious group. Killing group members, causing them serious bodily or mental

harm, imposing measures to prevent birth, or forcibly transferring children are all ways to bring about the destruction of a group. Genocide is often regarded as the most offensive crime against humanity.

The term ‘war crime’ refers to a violation of the rules of jus in Bello (justice in war) by any individual, whether military or civilian. The laws of armed conflict prohibit attacks on civilians and the use of weapons that cause unnecessary suffering or long-term environmental damage. Other war crimes include taking hostages, firing on localities that are undefended and without military significance, such as hospitals or schools, inhuman treatment of prisoners, including biological experiments, and the purposeless destruction of property. Although clearly outlawed by international law, such war crimes are common. According to Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, it is increasingly true that ‘the main aim of conflict is the destruction not of armies but of civilians and entire ethnic groups’.

Women and girls are often raped by soldiers or forced into prostitution. For a long time, the international community has failed to address the problem of sexual violence during armed conflict. However, sexual assaults, which often involve sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation and forced pregnancy, are quite common. Such crimes are motivated in part by the long-held view that women are the ‘spoils’ of war to which soldiers are entitled. Trafficking women is a form of sexual slavery in which women are transported across national borders and marketed for prostitution. This is called ‘comfort

women' another example of institutionalized sexual violence against women during wartime. Sexual violence is sometimes viewed as a way to destroy male and community pride or humiliate men who cannot 'protect' their women. It is also used to silence women who are politically active, or simply inflict terror upon the population at large. Mass rapes may also form part of a genocidal strategy, designed to impose conditions that lead to the destruction of an entire group of people. For example, during the 1990s, the media reported that 'rape and other sexual atrocities were a deliberate and systematic part of the Bosnian Serb campaign for victory in the war' in the former Yugoslavia

Rather than simply killing off whole populations, government forces may carry out programs of torture. Torture can be either physical or psychological and aims at the 'humiliation or annihilation of the dignity of the person'. Physical torture might include mutilation, beatings and electric shocks to lips, gums and genitals. In psychological torture, detainees are sometimes deprived of food and water for long periods, kept standing upright for hours, deprived of sleep, or tormented by high-level noise.

Torture is used in some cases as a way to carry out interrogations and extract confessions or information. Today, it is increasingly used as a means of suppressing political and ideological dissent, or for punishing political opponents who do not share the ideology of the ruling group.

In addition to torture, thousands of people detained in connection with conflicts 'disappear' each year, and are

usually killed and buried in secret. Government forces 'take people into custody, hold them in secret, and then refuse to acknowledge responsibility for their whereabouts or fate.' This abduction of persons is typically intended to secure information and spread terror. In most cases, interrogations involve threats and torture, and those who are arrested are subsequently killed. Corpses are buried in unmarked graves or left at dumpsites in an attempt to conceal acts of torture and summary execution of those in custody, because people disappear without any trace, families do not know whether their loved ones are alive or dead.

Various lesser forms of political oppression are often enacted as well. Individuals who pose a threat to those in power or do not share their political views may be arbitrarily imprisoned and either never brought to trial or subject to grossly unfair trial procedures. Mass groups of people may be denied the right to vote or excluded from all forms of political participation, or measures restricting people's freedom of movement may be enforced. These include forcible relocations, mass expulsions, and denials of the right to seek asylum or return to one's home.

Political oppression may also take the form of discrimination. When this occurs, basic rights may be denied on the basis of religion, ethnicity, race, or gender. Apartheid, which denies political rights on the basis of race, is perhaps one of the most severe forms of discrimination. The system of apartheid in South Africa institutionalized extreme racial segregation that involved laws against interracial marriage or

sexual relations and requirements for the races to live in different territorial areas. Certain individuals were held to be inferior by definition, and not regarded as full human beings under the law. The laws established under this system aimed at social control and brought about a society divided along racial lines and characterized by a systematic disregard for human rights.

In addition, women are uniquely vulnerable to certain types of human rights abuses in addition to the sexual abuse mentioned above, entrenched discrimination against women is prevalent in many parts of the world and leads to various forms of political and social oppression. This includes strict dress codes and harsh punishments for sexual ‘transgressions’ which impose severe limitations on women's basic liberties. In addition, women in some regions (Africa, for example) suffer greater poverty than men and are denied political influence, education, and job training.

Human Rights Violations and Intractable Conflict

Many have noted the strong interdependence between human rights violations and intractable conflict. Abuse of human rights often leads to conflict, and conflict typically results in human rights violations. It is not surprising, then, that human rights abuses are often at the center of wars and that protection of human rights is central to conflict resolution.

Violations of political and economic rights are the root causes of many crises. When rights to adequate food, housing, employment, and cultural life are denied, and large groups of

people are excluded from the society's decision-making processes, there is likely to be great social unrest. Such conditions often give rise to justice conflicts, in which parties demand that their basic needs be met. Indeed, many conflicts are sparked or spread by violations of human rights. For example, massacres or torture may inflame hatred and strengthen an adversary's determination to continue fighting. Violations may also lead to further violence.

On the flip side, armed conflict often leads to the breakdown of infrastructure and civic institutions, which in turn undermines a broad range of rights. When hospitals and schools are closed, rights to adequate health and education are threatened. The collapse of economic infrastructure often results in pollution, food shortages, and overall poverty. These various forms of economic breakdown and oppression violate rights to self-determination and often contribute to further human tragedy in the form of sickness, starvation, and lack of basic shelter. The breakdown of government institutions results in denials of civil rights, including the rights to privacy, fair trial, and freedom of movement. In many cases, the government is increasingly militarized, police and judicial systems are corrupted. Abductions, arbitrary arrests, detentions without trial, political executions, assassinations, and torture often follow.

In cases where extreme violations of human rights have occurred, reconciliation and peacebuilding become much more difficult. Unresolved human rights issues can serve as obstacles to peace negotiations. This is because it is difficult

for parties to move towards conflict transformation and forgiveness when memories of severe violence and atrocity are still primary in their minds.

RISE OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Ethnic conflict in Srilanka-The causes of ethnic conflict cannot be generalized to fit all incidents, as the conflicts in Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland. David Lake and Donald Rothchild's argument that a group's 'collective fear of the future' is often the main cause of ethnic conflict remains the most successful framework through which to evaluate the conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka. Fear of disappearing as an ethnic group was the main catalyst for Tamil violence, in response to Sinhalese political acts designed to limit Tamil involvement in business, economics and higher education. Laws introduced to attack Tamil culture added to this fear, and a communal fear of 'dying out' thus became reason to fight for an independent nation.

However, this was not the case in Northern Ireland: the conflict did not arise as a result of Protestants curbing cultural freedoms of Catholics, instead the issue of civil rights were more prominent. The existence of the Republic of Ireland assured Catholics in Northern Ireland that the Irish Catholic culture would not be lost, in contrast to the Tamil (and formerly Sinhalese) fear of cultural extinction. Instead, the conflict was a result of a prolonged period of Catholics suffering civil injustice and economic disadvantage. As Stefan Wolff argues, ethnic conflicts have both underlying and proximate causes, the former including 'necessary conditions

for the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence'. The ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka and Northern Ireland had similar underlying causes brought about from structural, economic and social, and cultural and perceptual factors. Ethnic minorities in both cases were the victims.

Ethnic Conflict in Burma

The root of the problem is that each religion lives in a certain area and these areas do not get along with each other. This causes a lot of fighting, which is why this conflict has not found a resolution. There are approximately nine ethnic groups in Burma, they include: the Bamar, Shan, Kayin, Rakhin, Mon, Kayah, and Kachin. In order to understand what a country would be dealing with if they were to annex Burma, it is important to understand each group stands and the region they live.

Nigeria: Ethnic Conflict

The past reveals the problems of Nigeria has had for several decades, some of which have not disappeared but seem to get progressively worse. It has been established that a country with abundant ethnicity does not mean that it is fated to be in conflict. Nigeria is not such country because it does have many various ethnicities, as well as other contributing factors such as a weak state. This can be traced back to the fact that the British constructed Nigeria with poor infrastructure. It has now been independent since 1960, but has had to face many problems.

The Palestinian Israeli Conflict

Wars are horrific events that take place between groups

of people in the same or different countries often causing psychological damage. The Palestinian Israeli conflict is an ongoing combat amongst two nations with different ideals. There is a lot of psychological reasoning behind the actions of these different ethnicities. In one hand Palestinians cannot tolerate the existence of Israelis in their territories similarly Israelis are intolerant of Palestinians. In psychology fundamental attribution error, conformity and prejudice contribute to the ways the Palestinians and Israelis perceive the rivalry between their countries.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is the process of integration of the global economy under the overall frame work of the World trade Organization. It is a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations driven by international trade and investment and aided by information technology. It is a process of international integration arising from the inter change of world views, ideas, products, concepts etc. Drastic changes in the field of science and technology accelerated the process of globalization. The rise of telegraph and its modern offspring internet and mobile phones have been the major factors of globalization. It is a process of integration to create a 'global village' Globalization ensures free flow of capital, information, technology, knowledge, labors, services, education etc. Globalization enhanced the efficiency in information system and communication technology. It increased the global standardization of products, trade, production, finance

distribution, marketing, management etc. Large scale globalization began in the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century. The concept of Globalization is a very recent term and it has achieved its current meaning in the 1970s. In 2000 IMF identified four basic aspects of globalization They are the following;

- 1 Trade and transactions
- 2 Capital and investment movements
- 3 Migration and movement of people.
- 4 Dissemination of knowledge.

Dimensions of Globalization

According to Manfred Steger, Professor of Global studies at the University of Hawaii identify the four dimensions of globalization. They are the following;

Political Dimension

Globalization affects the concept of state ‘sovereignty’. According to Jean Bodin ‘sovereignty is the supreme power of the state over its citizens and subjects unrestrained by law’. Permanence, exclusiveness, comprehensiveness, indivisibility, inalienability, absoluteness, universality, unity, imprescriptibility and originality are the characteristic of sovereignty. The removal of the boundaries of the state challenge the concept of state sovereignty. The states will lose their identity through the process of globalization. Due to the radical changes in the field of science and technology and in the field of communication network make the borders irrelevant. For e.g. if the United States ban internet pornography that would be applicable to all states because the

internet is borderless. Similarly no state can protect its citizens from global warming climate change ozone depletion or other environmental disasters. For e.g. the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster in Russia affected lakhs of people in Europe because the radioactive clouds travelled across Europe without considering the borders of Russia.

Globalization affects the concept of ‘nationalism’. It is linked with common history, culture, language, flags, symbols or rituals. Nationalism binds the people to their country irrespective of all diversities. But at present ‘internationalism’ emerged in the place of nationalism.

Globalization undermines’ national identity’. Now identifications are based on transnational loyalties. For e.g. in ‘Globalized Islam’ Olivier Roy has shown that members of many Muslim movements find their source of identity and solidarity in a global Muslim community connected electronically and not territorially. These Muslims may be the citizens of different states but their source of identity is their religious membership. In this globalized era such non territorial identities are also reflected in global movements focused on gender, race, social class or sexual orientation, e.g.; Trans Gender identity.

Economic Dimension

The roots of New International Economic System can be traced back to the end of Second World War and the Bretton wood agreement. Bretton wood is a small New Hampshire town where the victors met in 1944 to establish the

bases of a worldwide economic order to prevent such devastating economic crisis such as the Great Depression. In order to monitor the world economy three international economic institutions were created.

- 1 IMF –to oversee international monetary system.
- 2 The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), later renamed as World Bank to provide loans for developing countries.
- 3 The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), later renamed as the World Trade Organization(WTO) to look after the multi-lateral trade agreements

The influence of IMF World Bank and World Trade Organization over the developing countries of the world especially in the third world countries is increasing as a result of globalization. These three international organizations have a dominant role in the international economy. The economic exploitation of the third world countries and the expansion of neo colonialism are the ultimate aim of these agencies. The multinational corporations are investing their huge capital in developing countries through this process. The capitalistic countries can easily dominate and exploit the domestic economy of the developing and under developed countries. The emergence of e-commerce accelerates the process of ‘economic imperialism’ and ‘hyper capitalism’.

3 Cultural Dimension

Cultural Dimension of Globalization means the

extensiveness, intensiveness, velocity and impact of cultural flows, transmission of symbols, ideas, and information's, tastes, products etc. on a global scale. Most modern developments in the field of science and technology facilitates the cultural diffusion and to create a global consciousness. The three major trends in cultural globalization are;

1 Cultural Globalization as sameness

Cultural globalization is a process through which most cultures are progressively became the same mostly through the spread of western culture and its main characteristic is the spread of 'consumerism'. This culture is spread through the medias. Large number of world population now have the facility to receive electronically and digitally transmitted information's and through this they were integrated in to the world culture dominated by the United States of America.

2 Cultural Globalization as particularism

Particularism means define culture on the bases of identity and solidarity in a very narrow and local manner. By undermining the cultural monopoly of the nation state globalization has fostered the emergence of local and tribal culture as well as the transnational products. This phenomenon has occurred in many places such as Mexico where the indigenous population of the Chiapas state started a revolutionary movement in 1993 to gain their cultural political and economic autonomy from the Mexican state. This has happened in France Spain etc.

Particularism has also taken the form of religious

fundamentalism especially in Christianity and Islam. It is against modernity and the spread of modern, western consumer culture. Fundamentalists stand for turning back and they find their identity not on the nation or local community but in the world community of believers who share the views of Al Qaeda.

3 Cultural globalization as Hybridity

It means the merging and blending of different cultures to create new and original cultural products that spread globally. Global migration and global tourism accelerates the process of cultural hybridity. As a result of global tourism western countries have created ‘Pleasure Peripheries’ that is the areas where specific population from western countries can spend their leisure time, displacing local cultures for luxury hotels staffed with English speaking people. Global tourism gives legitimacy to hybrid cultures.

4 Ecological Dimension:

Ecological dimension of globalization includes global warming, climate change, drastic changes in the biodiversity, population growth, access to food, the gap between the rich and the poor, air pollution, sound pollution, land pollution, water pollution, disappearance of grasslands etc.

Meaning, Features and advantages of Multinational Companies (MNCs)

A multinational company is one which is incorporated in one country (called the home country); but whose operations extend beyond the home country and which carries on business

in other countries (called the host countries) in addition to the home country. It must be emphasized that the headquarters of a multinational company are located in the home country. Neil H. Jacoby defines a multinational company as follows: “A multinational corporation owns and manages business in two or more countries”. A multinational corporation is known by various names such as: global enterprise, international enterprise, world enterprise, transnational corporation etc.

Some popular examples of multinationals are given below:

Foreign Multinational	Indian Affiliate/Subsidiary
Bata Corporation	Bata India
Cadbury	Cadbury India
Coca-Cola Corporation	Coca Cola India
Unilever	Hindustan Lever
Timex	Timex Watches
Colgate Palmolive	Colgate India
Pepsi Corporation	Pepsi India
Philips	Philips India
Sony Corporation	Sony India
Suzuki	Maruti Suzuki
GEC	GEC Alsthom
ABB	ABB India

Features of Multinational Corporations Following are the salient features of MNCs:

1 Huge Assets and Turnover:

Because of operations on a global basis, MNCs have

huge physical and financial assets. This also results in huge turnover (sales) of MNCs. In fact, in terms of assets and turnover, many MNCs are bigger than national economies of several countries.

2 International Operations through a Network of Branches:

MNCs have production and marketing operations in several countries; operating through a network of branches, subsidiaries and affiliates in host countries.

3 Unity of Control:

MNCs are characterized by unity of control. MNCs control business activities of their branches in foreign countries through head office located in the home country. Managements of branches operate within the policy framework of the parent corporation.

4 Mighty Economic Power:

MNCs are powerful economic entities. They keep on adding to their economic power through constant mergers and acquisitions of companies in host countries.

5 Advanced and Sophisticated Technology:

Generally, an MNC has at its command advanced and sophisticated technology. It employs capital intensive technology in manufacturing and marketing.

6 Professional Management:

An MNC employs professionally trained managers to handle huge funds, advanced technology and international business operations.

7 Aggressive Advertising and Marketing:

MNCs spend huge sums of money on advertising and marketing to secure international business. This is, perhaps, the biggest strategy of success of MNCs. Because of this strategy, they are able to sell whatever products/services, they produce/generate.

8 Better Quality of Products:

An MNC has to compete on the world level. It, therefore has to pay special attention to the quality of its products.

Advantages and Limitations of MNCs:

Advantages of MNCs from the Viewpoint of Host Country:

1 Employment Generation:

MNCs create large scale employment opportunities in host countries. This is a big advantage of MNCs for countries; where there is a lot of unemployment.

2 Automatic Inflow of Foreign Capital:

MNCs bring in much needed capital for the rapid development of developing countries. In fact, with the entry of MNCs, inflow of foreign capital is automatic. As a result of the entry of MNCs, India has attracted foreign investment with several million dollars.

3 Proper Use of Idle Resources:

Because of their advanced technical knowledge, MNCs are in a position to properly utilize idle physical and human

resources of the host country. This results in an increase in the National Income of the host country.

4 Improvement in Balance of Payment Position:

MNCs help the host countries to increase their exports. As such, they help the host country to improve upon its Balance of Payment position.

6 Technical Development:

MNCs carry the advantages of technical development in host countries. In fact, MNCs are a vehicle for transference of technical development from one country to another. Because of MNCs poor host countries also begin to develop technically.

7 Managerial Development:

MNCs employ latest management techniques. People employed by MNCs do a lot of research in management. In a way, they help to professionalize management along latest lines of management theory and practice. This leads to managerial development in host countries. 8 End of Local Monopolies:

The entry of MNCs leads to competition in the host countries. Local monopolies of host countries either start improving their products or reduce their prices. Thus MNCs put an end to exploitative practices of local monopolists. As a matter of fact, MNCs compel domestic companies to improve their efficiency and quality. In India, many Indian companies acquired ISO-9000 quality certificates, due to fear of competition posed by MNCs.

9 Improvement in Standard of Living:

By providing super quality products and services, MNCs help to improve the standard of living of people of host countries.

10 Promotion of international brotherhood and culture:

MNCs integrate economies of various nations with the world economy. Through their international dealings, MNCs promote international brotherhood and culture; and pave way for world peace and prosperity.

Limitations of MNCs from the Viewpoint of Host Country:

1 Danger for Domestic Industries:

MNCs, because of their vast economic power, pose a danger to domestic industries; which are still in the process of development. Domestic industries cannot face challenges posed by MNCs. Many domestic industries have to wind up, as a result of threat from MNCs. Thus MNCs give a setback to the economic growth of host countries.

2 Repatriation of Profits:

(Repatriation of profits means sending profits to their country).

MNCs earn huge profits. Repatriation of profits by MNCs adversely affects the foreign exchange reserves of the host country; which means that a large amount of foreign exchange goes out of the host country.

3 No Benefit to Poor People:

MNCs produce only those things, which are used by

the rich. Therefore, poor people of host countries do not get, generally any benefit, out of MNCs.

4 Danger to Independence:

Initially MNCs help the Government of the host country, in a number of ways; and then gradually start interfering in the political affairs of the host country. There is, then, an implicit danger to the independence of the host country in the long-run.

5 Disregard of the National Interests of the Host Country:

MNCs invest in most profitable sectors; and disregard the national goals and priorities of the host country. They do not care for the development of backward regions; and never care to solve chronic problems of the host country like unemployment and poverty.

6 Misuse of Mighty Status:

MNCs are powerful economic entities. They can afford to bear losses for a long while, in the hope of earning huge profits-once they have ended local competition and achieved monopoly. This may be the strategy of MNCs to wipe off local competitors from the host country.

7 Careless Exploitation of Natural Resources:

MNCs tend to use the natural resources of the host country carelessly. They cause rapid depletion of some of the non-renewable natural resources of the host country. In this way, MNCs cause a permanent damage to the economic development of the host country.

8 Selfish Promotion of Alien Culture:

MNCs tend to promote alien culture in host country to sell their products. They make people forget about their own cultural heritage. In India' MNCs have created a taste for synthetic food, soft drinks etc. This promotion of foreign culture by MNCs is injurious to the health of people also.

9 Exploitation of People, in a Systematic Manner:

MNCs join hands with big business houses of host country and emerge as powerful monopolies. This leads to concentration of economic power only in a few hands. Gradually these monopolies make it their birth right to exploit poor people and enrich themselves at the cost of the poor working class.

Transnational Corporations

Transnational Corporations are businesses that operate across international borders, though most of them have their headquarters in the USA, Europe and Japan. There were about 7000 TNCs operating in 1970, but the charity Christian Aid estimates that this figure has now increased to about 63, 000 with about 690, 000 subsidiaries which operate in almost every sector of the economy and almost every country in the world today.

The key characteristics of TNCs are:

- They seek competitive advantaged and maximization of profits by constantly searching for the cheapest and most efficient production locations across the world

- They have geographical flexibility, they can shift resources and operations to any location in the world
- A substantial part of their workforce is located in the developing world, but often employed indirectly through subsidiaries.
- TNC assets are distributed worldwide rather than focused in one or two countries, for example, 17 of the top 100 TNCs have 90% of their assets in a different country from their head office.
- TNCs are economically very wealthy and thus potentially more powerful than many of the world's nation states.
- Transnational corporations may not be loyal to all of the countries they operate in, and look to maintain their own interests. In other words, they're mainly concerned about what's best for them even if it's at the expense of the other country's values or standards.
- Transnational corporations avoid high tariffs involved in importing when they set up in foreign countries. This allows a corporation to cut costs, but it's not always in the most honest way.
- They reduce costs by using foreign labor at a cheaper price than they would in their home country.
- They block competition by acquiring businesses. If they purchase foreign companies, they will not have as much competition.
- They may have political influence over some

governments. This means that they may use their power to convince some governments to support their practices.

- They can create a loss of jobs in their home country.
- They can minimize taxes. The IRS has to study transnational companies very thoroughly to make sure that they are paying taxes correctly.

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