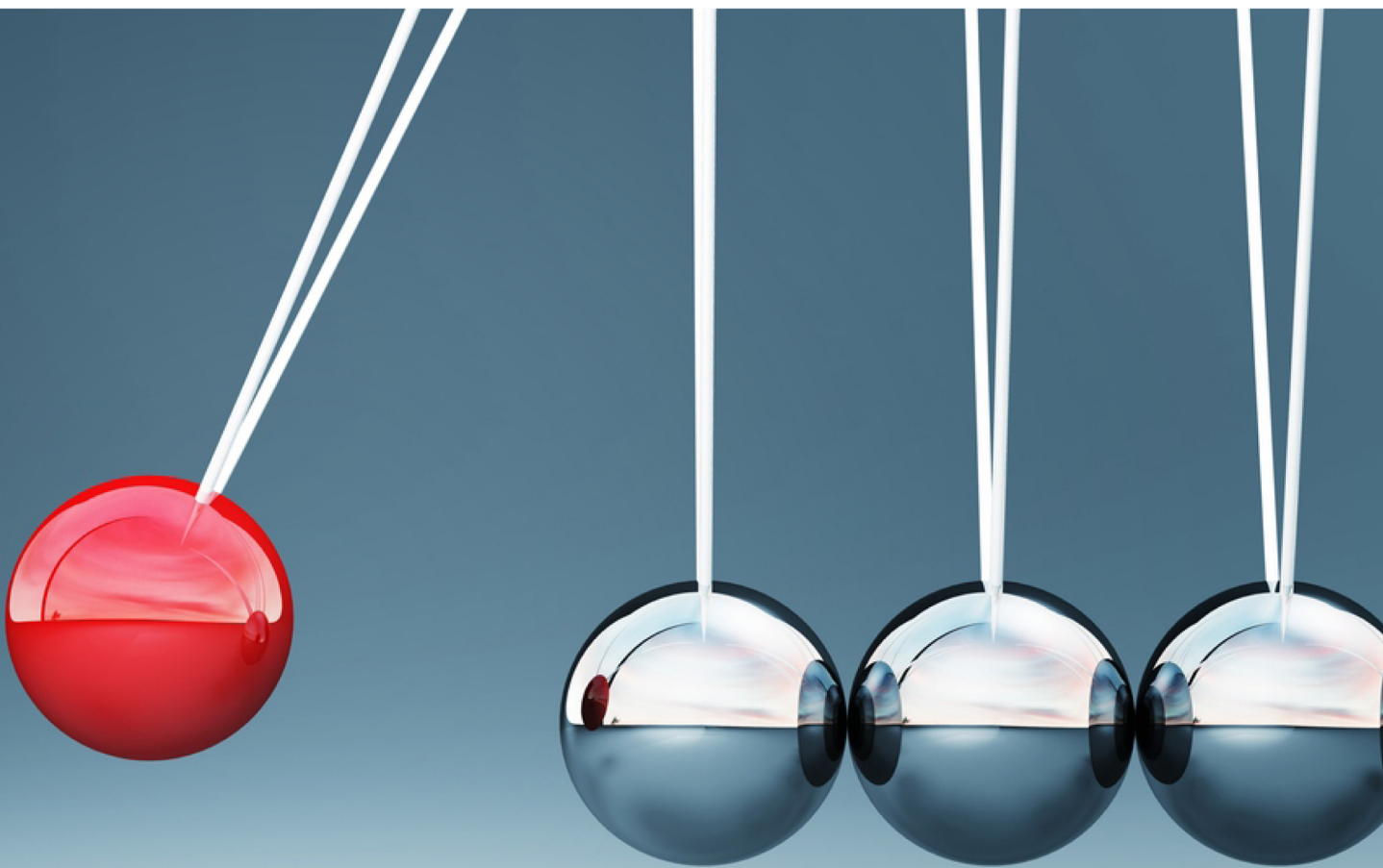# Balance of Power in International Relations

Merle Cross

BALANCE OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

Understanding the International Relations

International Relations (IR) (occasionally referred to as International studies (IS), although the two conditions are not perfectly synonymous) is the revise of relationships flanked by countries, including the roles of:

- States, inter-governmental institutions (IGOs),
- International non-governmental institutions (INGOs),
- Non-governmental institutions (NGOs) and
- Multinational corporations (MNCs).

It is both an academic and public policy field, and can be either positive or normative as it both seeks to examine as well as formulate the foreign policy of scrupulous states. It is often measured a branch of political science, but a significant sector of academia prefer to treat it as an interdisciplinary field of revise. Characteristics of international relations have been studied for thousands of years, since, the time of Thucydides, but IR became a separate and definable discipline in the early 20th century.

Separately from political science, IR draws upon such diverse meadows as technology; engineering; economics, history,

international law, philosophy, geography, social work, sociology, anthropology, criminology, psychology, gender studies, and cultural studies/ culturology. It involves a diverse range of issues including but not limited to: globalization, state sovereignty, international security, ecological sustainability, nuclear proliferation, nationalism, economic growth, global fund, terrorism, organized crime, human security, foreign interventionism, and human rights. The history of international relations can be traced thousands of years ago; Barry Buzan and Richard Little, for instance, believe the interaction of ancient Sumerian municipality-states, starting in 3,500 BC, as the first fully-fledged international system.

The history of international relations based on sovereign states is often traced back to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, a stepping stone in the growth of the contemporary state system. Prior to this, the European medieval system of political power was based on a vaguely hierarchical religious order. Contrary to popular belief, Westphalia still embodied layered systems of sovereignty, especially within the Holy Roman Empire. More than the Peace of Westphalia, the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 is idea to reflect an emerging norm that sovereigns had no internal equals within a defined territory and no external superiors as the ultimate power within the territory's sovereign borders.

The centuries of roughly 1500 to 1789 saw the rise of the self-governing, sovereign states, the institutionalization of diplomacy and armies. The French Revolution added to this the new thought that not princes or an oligarchy, but the citizenry of a state, defined as the nation, should be defined as sovereign. Such a

state in which the nation is sovereign would thence be termed a nation-state.

The term republic increasingly became its synonym. An alternative model of the nation-state was urbanized in reaction to the French republican concept through the Germans and others, who instead of giving the citizenry sovereignty, kept the princes and nobility, but defined nation-statehood in ethnic-linguistic conditions, establishing the rarely if ever fulfilled ideal that all people speaking one language should belong to one state only. The similar claim to sovereignty was made for both shapes of nation-state.

The scrupulous European system supposing the sovereign excellence of states was exported to the Americas, Africa, and Asia via colonialism and the "standards of culture". The modern international system was finally recognized by decolonization throughout the Cold War. Though, this is somewhat in excess of-simplified. While the nation-state system is measured "contemporary", several states have not included the system and are termed "pre-contemporary".

Further, a handful of states have moved beyond insistence on full sovereignty, and can be measured "post-contemporary". The skill of modern IR discourse to explain the relations of these dissimilar kinds of states is disputed. "Stages of analysis" is a method of looking at the international system, which comprises the individual stage, the domestic state as a unit, the international stage of transnational and intergovernmental affairs, and the global stage.

IR theory, though, has an extensive custom of drawing on the work of other social sciences. The use of capitalizations of the "I" and "R" in International Relations aims to distinguish the academic discipline of International Relations from the phenomena of international relations. Several cite:

- Sun Tzu's The Art of War (6th century BC),
- Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War (5th century BC),
- Chanakya's Arthashastra (4th century BC), as the inspiration for realist theory, with Hobbes' Leviathan and
- Machiavelli's The Prince providing further elaboration.

Likewise, liberalism draws upon the work of Kant and Rousseau, with the work of the former often being cited as the first elaboration of democratic peace theory. However modern human rights is substantially dissimilar than the kind of rights envisioned under natural law, Francisco de Vitoria, Hugo Grotius and John Locke offered the first accounts of universal entitlement to sure rights on the foundation of general humanity. In the twentieth century, in addition to modern theories of liberal internationalism, Marxism has been a basis of international relations.

Revise of IR

Initially, international relations as a separate field of revise were approximately entirely British-centered. IR only appeared as a formal academic 'discipline' in 1918 with the founding of the first

'chair' in IR - the Woodrow Wilson Chair at Aberystwyth, University of Wales, from an endowment given through David Davies, became the first academic location specialized to IR. This was rapidly followed through establishment of IR at US universities and Geneva, Switzerland. In the early 1920s, the London School of Economics' department of International Relations was founded at the behest of Nobel Peace Prize winner Philip Noel-Baker, and was the first institute to offer a wide range of degrees in the field. Furthermore, the International History department at LSE, urbanized as primarily focused on the history of IR in the early contemporary, colonial and Cold War periods.

The first university entirely specialized to the revise of IR was the Graduate Institute of International Studies, which was founded in 1927 to form diplomats associated to the League of Nations, recognized in Geneva some years before. The Graduate Institute of International Studies offered one of the first Ph.D. degrees in international relations. Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service is the oldest international relations faculty in the United States, founded in 1919. The Committee on International Relations at the University of Chicago was the first to offer a graduate degree, in 1928.Now Universities in USA;UK; Europe; India; Australia; Canada; Africa; Russia offer Graduate; Post-Graduate and PhD degrees in IR.

Epistemology and IR Theory

IR theories can be roughly divided into one of two epistemological camps: "positivist" and "post-positivist". Positivist theories aim to

replicate the ways of the natural sciences through analyzing the impact of material forces.

They typically focus on characteristics of international relations such as state interactions, size of military forces, balance of powers *etc.* Post-positivist epistemology rejects the thought that the social world can be studied in an objective and value-free method. It rejects the central ideas of neo-realism/liberalism, such as rational choice theory, on the grounds that the scientific way cannot be applied to the social world and that a 'science' of IR is impossible. A key variation flanked by the two positions is that while positivist theories, such as neo-realism, offer causal explanations, post-positivist theories focus instead on constitutive questions, for example what is meant through 'power'; what creates it up, how it is experienced and how it is reproduced. Often, post-positivist theories explicitly promote a normative approach to IR, through considering ethics. This is something which has often been ignored under 'traditional' IR as positivist theories create a distinction flanked by 'facts' and normative judgements, or 'values'. Throughout the late 1980s and the 1990s, debate flanked by positivists and post-positivists became the dominant debate and has been called as constituting the Third "Great Debate".

Positivist Theories of *Realism*

Realism focuses on state security and power above all else. Early realists such as E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau argued that states are self-interested, power-seeking rational actors, who

seek to maximize their security and chances of survival. Cooperation flanked by states is a method to maximize each individual state's security. Likewise, any act of war necessity is based on self-interest, rather than on idealism. Several realists saw World War II as the vindication of their theory.

It should be noted that classical writers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Theodoure Roosevelt, are often cited as "founding fathers" of realism through modern self-called realists. Though, while their work may support realist doctrine, it is not likely that they would have classified themselves as realists in this sense. Political realism believes that politics, like community in common, is governed through objective laws that have their roots in human nature. To improve community, it is first necessary to understand the laws through which community lives.

The operation of these laws being impervious to our preferences, persons will challenge them only at the risk of failure. Realism, believing as it does in the objectivity of the laws of politics, necessity also consider in the possibility of developing a rational theory that reflects, though imperfectly and one-sidedly, these objective laws. It believes also, then, in the possibility of distinguishing in politics flanked by truth and opinion-flanked by what is true objectively and rationally, supported through proof and illuminated through cause, and what is only a subjective judgement, divorced from the facts as they are and informed through prejudice and wishful thinking. The placement of Realism under positivism is distant from unproblematic though. E.H. Carr's 'What is History' was a deliberate critique of

positivism, and Hans Morgenthau's aim in 'Scientific Man vs. Power Politics' - as the title implies - was to demolish any conception that international politics/power politics can be studied scientifically.

Liberalism/Idealism/Liberal Internationalism

Liberal international relations theory arose after World War I in response to the inability of states to manage and limit war in their international relations. Early adherents contain Woodrow Wilson and Norman Angell, who argued vigorously that states mutually gained from cooperation and that war was therefore destructive as to be essentially futile.

Liberalism was not established as a coherent theory as such until it was collectively and derisively termed idealism through E. H. Carr. A new adaptation of "idealism" that focused on human rights as the foundation of the legitimacy of international law was advanced through Hans Köchler.

Neo-liberalism

Neo-liberalism seeks to update liberalism through accepting the neo-realist presumption that states are the key actors in international relations, but still maintains that non-state actors (NSAs) and intergovernmental institutions (IGOs) matter. Proponents such as Maria Chattha argue that states will cooperate irrespective of comparative gains, and are therefore concerned with absolute gains. This also means that nations are; in essence, free to create their own choices as to how they will go

in relation to the conducting policy without any international institutions blocking a nation's right to sovereignty.

Neo-liberalism also contains an economic theory that is based on the use of open and free markets with little, if any, government intervention to prevent monopolies and other conglomerates from forming. The rising interdependence during and after the Cold War by international systems led to neo-liberalism being defined as institutionalism, this new section of the theory being fronted through Robert Keohane and also Joseph Nye.

Regime Theory

Regime theory is derived from the liberal custom that argues that international systems or regimes affect the behaviour of states. It assumes that cooperation is possible in the anarchic system of states; indeed, regimes are through definition, instances of international cooperation.

While realism predicts that clash should be the norm in international relations, regime theorists say that there is cooperation despite anarchy. Often they cite cooperation in deal, human rights, and communal security in the middle of other issues.

These instances of cooperation are regimes. The mainly commonly cited definition of regimes comes from Stephen Krasner. Krasner defines regimes as "systems possessing norms, decision rules, and procedures which facilitate a convergence of expectations." Not all approaches to regime theory though are

liberal or neo-liberal; some realist scholars like Joseph Greico have urbanized hybrid theories which take a realist based approach to this fundamentally liberal theory.

International Community Theory

International community theory, also described the English School, focuses on the shared norms and values of states and how they regulate international relations. Examples of such norms contain diplomacy, order, and international law. Unlike neo-realism, it is not necessarily positivist. Theorists have focused particularly on humanitarian intervention, and are subdivided flanked by solidarists, who tend to advocate it more, and pluralists, who lay greater value in order and sovereignty. Nicholas Wheeler is a prominent solidarist, while Hedley Bull and Robert H. Jackson are possibly the best recognized pluralists.

Social Constructivism

Social constructivism encompasses a broad range of theories that aim to address questions of ontology, such as the structure-and-agency debate, as well as questions of epistemology, such as the "material/ideational" debate that concerns the comparative role of material forces versus ideas. Constructivism is not a theory of IR in the manner of neo-realism, but is instead a social theory which is used to bigger explain the actions taken through states and other biggest actors as well as the identities that guide these states and actors. Constructivism in IR can be divided into what Hopf calls 'conventional' and 'critical' constructivism. General to all diversities of constructivism is an interest in the role that

ideational forces play. The mainly well-known constructivist scholar, Alexander Wendt noted in a 1992 article in International System that "anarchy is what states create of it". Through this he means that the anarchical structure that neo-realists claim governs state interaction is in information a phenomenon that is socially constructed and reproduced through states.

For instance, if the system is dominated through states that see anarchy as a life or death situation then the system will be characterized through warfare. If on the other hand anarchy is seen as restricted then a more peaceful system will exist. Anarchy in this view is constituted through state interaction, rather than carried as a natural and immutable characteristic of international life as viewed through neo-realist IR scholars.

Critical Theory

Critical international relations theory is the application of 'critical theory' to international relations. Proponents such as Andrew Linklater, Robert W. Cox, and Ken Booth focus on require for human emancipation from States. Hence, it is "critical" of mainstream IR theories that tend to be state-centric.

Marxism

It creates the assumption that the economy trumps other concerns; allowing for the elevation of class as the focus of revise. Marxists view the international system as an integrated capitalist system in pursuit of capital accumulation. Therefore, the era of colonialism brought in sources for raw materials and

captive markets for exports, while decolonialization brought new opportunities in the form of dependence.

Connected in with Marxist theories is dependency theory and the Core-Margin Model, which argue that urbanized countries, in their pursuit of power, appropriate developing states by international banking, security and deal agreements and unions on a formal stage, and do therefore by the interaction of political and financial advisors, missionaries, relief aid workers, and multinational corporations on the informal stage, in order to integrate them into the capitalist system, strategically appropriating under-valued natural possessions and labour hours and fostering economic and political dependence.

Marxist theories receive little attention in the United States where no important Socialist party has flourished. It is more general in sections of Europe and is one of the more significant theoretic contributions of Latin American academia to the revise of global networks.

Leadership Theories

- *Interest Group Perspective:* Interest Group theory posits that the driving force behind state behaviour is sub-state interest groups. Examples of interest groups contain political lobbyists, the military, and the corporate sector. Group theory argues that although these interest groups are constitutive of the state, they are also causal forces in the exercise of state power.

- *Strategic Perspective:* Strategic perspective is a theoretical approach that views individuals as choosing their actions through taking into explanation the anticipated actions and responses of others with the intention of maximizing their own welfare.

- *Inherent Bad Faith Model in International Relations and Political Psychology:* The "inherent bad faith model" of information processing is a theory in political psychology that was first put forth through Ole Holsti to explain the connection flanked by John Foster Dulles' beliefs and his model of information processing. It is the mainly widely studied model of one's opponent. A state is presumed to be implacably hostile, and contra-indicators of this are ignored. They are dismissed as propaganda ploys or signs of weakness. Examples are John Foster Dulles' location concerning the Soviet Union, or Israel's initial location on the Palestinian Liberation System.

Poststructuralist Theories

Post-structuralism explores the deconstruction of concepts traditionally not problematic in IR, such as 'power' and 'agency' and examines how the construction of these concepts forms international relations.

The examination of 'narratives' plays an significant section in poststructuralist analysis, for instance feminist poststructuralist work has examined the role that 'women' play in global

community and how they are constructed in war as 'innocent' and 'civilians'. Examples of post-positivist research contain:

- Feminisms ("gendering" war)
- Post colonialism (challenges the Euro-centrism of IR)
- Post-realism (focuses on IR theory as scientific and political rhetoric)

Concepts in International Relations

In decision creation in international relations, the concept of conjuncture, jointly with freedom of action and excellence are significant elements. Decision makers' necessity takes into explanation the set of international circumstances in taking initiatives that would make dissimilar kinds of responses.

Systemic Stage Concepts

International relations are often viewed in conditions of stages of analysis. The systemic stage concepts are those broad concepts that describe and shape an international milieu, characterized through anarchy.

Power

The concept of power in international relations can be called as the degree of possessions, capabilities, and power in international affairs. It is often divided up into the concepts of difficult power and soft power, difficult power relating primarily to coercive power, such as the use of force, and soft power

commonly covering economics, diplomacy, and cultural power. Though, there is no clear dividing row flanked by the two shapes of power.

Polarity

Polarity in international relations refers to the arrangement of power within the international system. The concept arose from bipolarity throughout the Cold War, with the international system dominated through the clash flanked by two superpowers, and has been applied retrospectively through theorists. Though, the term bipolar was notably used through Stalin who said he saw the international system as a bipolar one with two opposing powerbases and ideologies. Consequently, the international system prior to 1945 can be called as multi-polar, with power being shared in the middle of Great powers.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 had led to what some would call unipolarity, with the United States as a sole superpower. Though, due to China's sustained rapid economic development combined with the respectable international location they hold within political spheres and the power that the Chinese Government exerts in excess of their people, there is debate in excess of whether China is now a superpower or a possible candidate in the future. Many theories of international relations attract upon the thought of polarity.

The balance of power was a concept prevalent in Europe prior to the First World War, the idea being that through balancing power blocs it would make continuity and prevent war. Theories of the

balance of power gained prominence again throughout the Cold War, being a central mechanism of Kenneth Waltz's Neo-realism. Here, the concepts of balancing and bandwagonning are urbanized.

Hegemonic continuity theory also draws upon the thought of polarity, specifically the state of unipolarity. Hegemony is the preponderance of power at one pole in the international system, and the theory argues this is a stable configuration because of mutual gains through both the dominant power and others in the international system. This is contrary to several neo-realist arguments, particularly made through Kenneth Waltz, stating that the end of the Cold War and the state of unipolarity is an unstable configuration that will inevitably transform. This can be expressed in power transition theory, which states that it is likely that a great power would challenge a hegemon after a sure era, resulting in a biggest war. It suggests that while hegemony can manage the occurrence of wars, it also results in the making of one. Its largest proponent, A.F.K. Organski, argued this based on the occurrence of previous wars throughout British, Portuguese, and Dutch hegemony.

Interdependence

Several advocate that the current international system is characterized through rising interdependence; the mutual responsibility and dependency on others. The role of international systems, and widespread acceptance of a number of operating principles in the international system, reinforces ideas that relations are characterized through interdependence.

Dependency

Dependency theory is a theory mainly commonly associated with Marxism, stating that a set of core states use a set of weaker margin states for their prosperity. Several versions of the theory suggest that this is either an inevitability, or use the theory to highlight the necessity for transform.

Systemic Apparatus of International Relations

- Diplomacy is the practice of communication and negotiation flanked by representatives of states. To some extent, all other apparatus of international relations can be measured the failure of diplomacy. Keeping in mind, the use of other apparatus are section of the communication and negotiation inherent within diplomacy. Sanctions, force, and adjusting deal regulations, while not typically measured section of diplomacy, are actually precious apparatus in the interest of leverage and placement in negotiations.
- Sanctions are generally a first resort after the failure of diplomacy, and are one of the largest apparatus used to enforce treaties. They can take the form of diplomatic or economic sanctions and involve the cutting of ties and imposition of barriers to communication or deal.
- War, the use of force, is often idea of as the ultimate tool of international relations. A widely carried definition is that given through Clausewitz, with war being "the continuation of politics through other

means". There is a rising revise into 'new wars' involving actors other than states. The revise of war in International Relations is sheltered through the disciplines of 'War Studies' and 'Strategic studies'.

- The mobilization of international shame can also be idea of as a tool of international relations. This is attempting to alter states' actions by 'naming and shaming' at the international stage. This is mostly done through the big human rights NGOs such as Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch. A prominent use of was the UN Commission on Human Rights 1235 procedure, which publicly exposes state's human rights violations. The current Human Rights Council has yet to use this Mechanism

- The allotment of economic and/or diplomatic benefits. An instance of this is the European Union's enlargement policy. Candidate countries are allowed entry into the EU only after the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria.

The Changing Nature of International Security

In international relations, languages play a significant role in determining how academics and policy makers view the world and create decisions on issues of great concern. The term "international security" is possibly the mainly salient phrase in demonstrating the importance of semantics, as it is imbued with a sense of urgency and significance. As Adrian Hyde-Price points out, securitizing an issue means removing it from the regular political discourse and "signal[ling] require for it to be addressed

urgently and with exceptional means". For much of modern history, and certainly since, World War II, the concept and revise of international security has been equated with the use of force flanked by nations, with a scrupulous focus on the role of great powers. This reflected the view that international security involved the territorial integrity of nations and the greatest threat to such territorial integrity was posed through wars flanked by states, and particularly flanked by great powers.

Throughout and since, the 1980s, this account became increasingly questioned in conditions of who or what should be secured, the nature of international threats, and the kind of responses that were subsequently warranted to manage these threats. New conceptions of international security arose to incorporate, inter alia, dissimilar actors, dissimilar shapes of threats, and dissimilar responses. Analysts, activists, and policy makers promoted these new definitions because of the perceived shortcomings of traditional notions of international security. The new formulations of international security seemingly rectified the troubles raised through the narrow conception of the traditional definition. Though, as this article will demonstrate, these new security definitions are still plagued through their own difficulties and challenges. As a result, there has been somewhat of a vindication of the traditional notion that international security should be primarily concerned with violence towards states, as it demonstrates merit when contrasted against the troubles of the new shapes of international security.

This article will contrast the benefits and drawbacks of both the traditional and contemporary definitions in order to show that

neither gives an enough conception of international security. Rather, the article will put forward an integrated definition that incorporates the benefits and rejects the drawbacks of both traditional and contemporary conceptions of international security. The analysis will begin with an examination of the fundamentals of the phrase "international security." The article will then define how the new definitions arose in response to the troubles posed through the old conception. Following this, there will be a discussion of the subsequent troubles with the new definitions and the corresponding benefits that traditional notions of international security bring to bear. The article will conclude through arguing that although these new understandings of international security present advantages, they raise issues that are not always equivalent to international security. It is necessary to conceptualize "international security" in a manner that neither subsumes all environmental or human troubles under an international security rubric, nor limits international security to warfare alone. Instead, as the article will argue, an integrated definition focuses on the impact of threats rather than the nature or the source of the threat itself.

Fundamentals of the Phrase "International Security"

Security is an elusive subject for revise. Adrian Hyde-Price describes how some academics argue it cannot be defined in any "objective" method, and that any problem can become a security issue once it has been securitized through policymakers. Security, then, manifests itself tautologically: any problem that is labeled security is in information a security concern. Though, as Hyde-Price then points out, this creates the security field entirely

reactive to what policy makers deem a security threat, removing any self-governing analytical value. Such definitions of international security cannot, so, help to guide or inform policy, and although it may be of theoretical interest, this article will instead focus on the more objective definitions of security that can be used for academic and policy analysis.

In his article "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" Roland Paris gives a vital but nevertheless useful definition: "a 'security threat' connotes some kind of menace to survival". The dilemma lies in interpretation, as there are three biggest characteristics to the definition. First, there is a "menace to survival;" security is in relation to the threats and even threat perception. Second, security involves a referent substance or unit of analysis, in that the "menace" poses a threat to someone and is also posed through someone. For example, an attack through one state against another is a classic international security threat. Finally, discussions in relation to the security often contain the means to close the referent substance from the threat, therefore a third region of debate is in excess of the best response to a security threat.

The expansion of "international security" is consequently characterized through a shift in thinking with respect to the referent substance, the threat to security, or the means to give security. This shift is often achieved through adding adjectives to the term "security." For example environmental security shifts focus from military to environmental threats; human security shifts focus from the state to individuals as the referent substance; communal security shifts focus from unilateral to

cooperative responses. Traditional definitions can therefore be viewed as the basis from which modernists expanded the concept of international security. The first two regions of debate form the crux of much of the international security debate, although the third aspect also has a role.

The first debate focuses on the "threat" itself. Proponents of new conceptions of security uphold that the security definition necessity be broadened to incorporate new threats - environmental degradation, for instance - that were previously relegated to other meadows for analysis. Richard H. Ullman gives one broad definition, stating that a threat is an "action or sequence of measures that... threatens drastically and in excess of a comparatively brief span of time to degrade the excellence of life for the inhabitants of a state". Mohammed Ayoob relates security to vulnerability and threats, maintaining that there exists a continuum of "vulnerability," and troubles become vulnerabilities when they "threaten to have political outcomes that affect the survivability of states". Human security similarly moves the discourse beyond traditional threats facing the state towards human or individual-centric threats. Although the exact definition of human security is contested, it was born out of a 1994 United Nations Growth Programme statement and contained seven security elements: economic, food, health, environmental, physical harm, society, and political. Traditionalists disagree with these broad notions of threats, arguing that military force is the primary threat and other issues, such as the environment and poverty, should only be measured as potential secondary reasons of insecurity but not an international security issue per se.

In addition to conflict in excess of what constitutes a proper threat for inclusion in the definition of international security, referent objects are often vaguely called and are therefore the focus of the second debate. While individuals, societal groups, and states all seem as focal referent objects in modern writings on international security, traditional notions of security, however they approach in several guises, can be usually understood as the "military defence of state interests and territory". It became the norm to view the state as the primary unit of analysis, and as a result, the notion of protecting the territorial integrity of the state became the end in and of itself. Therefore, as Nicholas Thomas and Wiillian T. Tow point out, the state is the primary focus of analysis and action; a state faces a threat from another state, and it is the state that primarily responds. Yet the purpose of state security is, at its vital stage, designed to protect the people within that state. Alternatively, new conceptions of security - human security in scrupulous - have measured the individual to be the unit of analysis. The consequence is that there is no agreement in excess of what constitutes the proper referent substance for international security.

Beyond the referent substance and the threat, there is also a third conflict, which exists in excess of the proper response to any given threat. In conditions of responses, "security has two dimensions: avoiding war and structure peace". In essence, when the referent substance can reduce its vulnerability to a threat, its security is thereby increased. This can be achieved in two methods. First, the substance can concentrate on the negative dimension through eliminating the threat directly, by political, economic, military, or other means. The second way focuses on

structure the positive dimension, where the substance reduces its vulnerability to a threat through raising its capability to deter or prevent a threat from posing a direct risk. Deciding which to pursue is in some methods tied to the threat under consideration. In his review article, "The Security Problematic of the Third World" Mohammed Ayoob describes how traditionalists have placed the emphasis mainly on by military capability to reduce vulnerability, whereas several advocates of new formulations of security instead focus on non-military responses. In 2003, for example, there was a debate in the middle of academics and policymakers whether invasion or diplomatic and other pressures was the best response to the potential threat of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Furthermore, new security definitions often promote a cooperative response to threats. And as J. Ann Tickner argues, there are some threats to the global system that cannot be solved through territorial defence.

Because traditional notions of security focused on the use of force flanked by great powers, the focus of international security studied throughout the Cold War was naturally on superpower clash and nuclear war. With the end of the Cold War, analysts began to argue that the subject of international security "had to be recast to reflect the changing nature of clash". As Mats Berdal notes, internal conflicts came to control the security agenda for two causes. The largest cause is basically because of the augment in incidence of internal clash; few conflicts today are international in the sense that all the combatants are state actors. Though, he also points out that the international society is becoming more involved in intrastate clash. Indeed, as evidenced through interventions in Somalia and ex post facto

acceptance of the NATO intervention in Kosovo, the Security Council itself has adopted a broader understanding of the international peace and security agenda.

Simultaneously, a view arose that "the new security agenda is increasingly collected of more intangible and diffuse risks and challenges". With this shift in focus, there has been a concurrent shift towards analyzing the social circumstances that reason these new conflicts.

Lawrence Freedman expands on this thought, pointing out that this shift towards the analysis of root reasons of clash is in information sensible even to traditionalists, because there will always be a wider context to the use of force. Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Sean M. Lynn-Jones define how interdisciplinary approaches are a key aspect of international security studies. Though, traditionalists limit psychological, economic, sociological, and other meadows to analyzing characteristics of the traditional threat: war. Therefore, for traditionalists, economics is only significant insofar as it affects the likelihood of war, and typically that flanked by great powers.

Analysts and advocates further appealed for the expansion of international security to believe the big number of individuals trapped in suffering. This occurred because "the end of the Cold War generated a biggest re-evaluation of normative and policy assumptions... [of] what made people 'close'". This appeal occurred mainly because with the end of the Cold War, there seemed to be legroom in the academic as well as policy arena to believe non-military troubles facing the world. The result was

that issues such as access to food, a clean environment, and economic welfare increasingly became issues of concern for international security studies. These matters first became significant as state security threats in their own right, as analysts pointed out that these threats could exacerbate existing tensions and therefore spark clash. Further, there was a rising sense of a global consciousness that the international society - and the West in scrupulous - was morally compelled to assist those individuals suffering in other nations. The recent shift towards new methods of thinking in relation to the security arose because of the troubles associated with the traditional concept of security. There are four troubles with the old notion of security and five merits to the new definition's response to these troubles. The first problem with the old definition is that in focusing on the state as the unit of analysis, it does not allow for an analysis of threats posed through the state itself to the people within that state. The problem with this is that citizens are often directly threatened through the state in which they reside. Therefore, the first benefit of the broader definition is that human security allows for an analysis of the harm that a state can do to its own citizens. Moreover, Barry Blechman highlights the information that although defence of the state is significant for human welfare, it is not an enough guarantor of individual well-being. Indeed, as Tickner discusses in the context of the Cold War, traditional notions of security were at odds with the insecurity of those citizens who, firstly, existed with the threat of nuclear destruction, and secondly felt adverse impact from the amount of possessions expended on nuclear weaponry. Through focusing on the individual stage, human security therefore incorporates territorial defence while similarly paying heed to other threats

facing people. Human security therefore points out that even however states may be "close," the individuals that reside within them are not always likewise close.

The second problem with conventional understandings of international security is the focus on the external nature of a threat. Because they use states as their unit of analysis, traditionalists seem at the threat constituted through other states. They therefore fail to believe insecurity that emanates from within a state, such as that caused through political repression. Moreover, although traditionalists point to external threats from other states, mainly of the world is not immediately threatened through such concerns. The rest of the world is instead more concerned with internal conflicts and threats to community such as "indiscriminate violence, illegal immigration, drug relation, and organized crime". These have been, though, mainly measured domestic issues through the traditionalists. As a second merit, then, the new definitions of security endorse thoughts of all threats, whether they originate from within the threatened state's borders, such as displaced persons or terrorism, or transcend borders themselves, such as environmental concerns. Indeed, much of the human security analysis has been focused on the detrimental role that human insecurity can have in states neighbouring the host of the problem. Likewise, the third merit to new definitions is that they are not limited to interstate violence. Paris points out that the notion of human security appeared from the criticism that the traditional notion of security was too narrow for modern thoughts. As Tickner explains, in the developing world, several threats originate from within the state, and not externally from

another state. Furthermore, proponents of environmental security argue that not only can its decline at times lead to clash, but the more common impact is a "downward pull on economic performance and, so, on political continuity".

A third drawback to traditional definitions is its lack of focus on longer term or potential threats, such as HIV/AIDs and health security. New definitions, particularly human security, incorporate such threats, therefore providing a fourth merit in that they allow for an appreciation of threats that do not immediately pose acute distress. Paris explains that although some threats, such as environmental ones, are only projected, advocates uphold that they need immediate attention in order to prevent them from becoming actual threats. Further, analysts such as Jessica Tuchman-Mathews and Laurie Garrett have demonstrated that non-military threats, such as environmental and health issues, can pose threats and produce enormous costs. Similarly significant in conditions of understanding the origins of future threats, particularly for Western states, is the information that threats "are now more likely to emanate from some far turbulence". The subsequent argument, then, is that it is significant for Western states to pay more attention to sub-state troubles in other countries as they could provide rise to serious threats in the future. Directing attention to these non-military issues via a security label is therefore significant, given that often such thoughts are ignored unless they present an immediate and evident danger.

Traditional definitions retain a fourth problem in their thoughts of proper responses, where they have tended to focus on

enhancing unilateral military capabilities. This is mainly well recognized in conditions of the policy of mutually assured destruction throughout the Cold War, whereby the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics strove to attain sufficient nuclear armaments to ensure that in the event of an attack, each would retain enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other. The result of an attack through one would so be total annihilation of both. Another merit to focusing on individuals and non-military threats, then, is the information that the analysis of a proper response generally comprises alternatives. Indeed, as Hyde-Price points out, several have argued that given globalization and the "new" threats, states alone are no longer best able to deal with threats.

Troubles with the New Definition

Despite the diversity of benefits that these new definitions of security bring, they have also presented a novel set of challenges and troubles. Indeed, despite the motivations behind an expansion of the phrase, analysts soon began to question where limitations would be drawn flanked by those troubles that belong under domestic policy, and those threats that need attention in conditions of international security policy. This has resulted in the re-emergence of advocates for traditional notions of security who give five critiques of modernist definitions, and thereby support a return to traditional idea.

The first accusation leveled at proponents of the new interpretations of international security focuses on human security, and the information that the term is often vaguely

defined. The lack of a clear definition is partly because human security proponents cannot agree as to whether all troubles facing individuals should be incorporated or whether there should be some cut off flanked by "growth" and "security," neither of which is well-defined. The vague definition is due to the information that the phrase has brought jointly activists of varying issues, and a narrowing of the definition would likely create it hard for such a diverse coalition to function as an entire. Though, the resulting definition can conceptually encompass virtually anything that can be construed as discomforting to an individual, and "if human security means approximately anything, then it effectively means nothing". It is hard for policymakers to assess the comparative importance of each aspect of human security, and as a field of revise, the concept loses analytical value once it has broadened to such a point of inclusiveness. Without "clear criteria for specifying what is, and what is not, a security problem... an expanded definition of security will lose its intellectual coherence". Some proponents have therefore taken on traditional notions that use a narrower concept, where violence is the key threat. A general consequence has therefore been the narrowing of the human security field to encompass only violent threats to individuals.

The narrowing of human security has in information been taken one step further, whereby human security is defined to incorporate only those threats to individuals that result in threats that transcend borders. For example, a refugee flow that destabilizes an area, such as the Great Lakes area in the mid 1990s, would constitute a human security threat. Though, this gave rise to the second critique of the new understanding of

security, which originated as a complaint through some human security proponents, who claim that such a definition has returned to the focus on the state as the referent substance. A third problem with the new understanding of security is that the majority of the new threats are hard to measure in conditions of their actual impact. Hyde-Price emphasizes how such troubles are mainly potential threats rather than actual threats. Both environment and health threats constitute prime examples, as it is hard to prove that they can be the exclusive, or even primary, reason of a clash.

A fourth critique arose because the new versions of international security were often borne out of a belief that the world had become a comparatively safer lay, which allowed for the focus to shift towards non-military threats. Yet it is hard to argue that military threats facing states have disappeared from the international scene. Freedman further points out that if analysts have too much of a focus on non-military threats facing non-state actors then there is the potential to develop complacency towards analyzing the aggressive nature of states under anarchy. As aggressiveness and anarchy are still characteristics of the current international order, conventional military threats are still relevant to security studies. This is particularly the case considering that although the external threat of territorial integrity may not be an imminent threat to the West, it continues to be an extremely real threat in several other sections of the world. Moreover, a comparatively short amount of time as passed since, the end of the Cold War, and given the recent war in Iraq and local tensions, particularly in the Transitional East, South Asia, and East Asia, it looks rather short-sighted to assume that

external threats of international aggression have dissipated entirely. Finally, as Thomas and Tow talk about, another problem with modern threats is that they have no originating enemy. In other languages, the value to traditional conceptions of security was that the threat was pre-meditated and originating from a specific source. How can non-traditional threats, such as the environment, be neutralized without an "enemy?" This speaks to the superior difficulty that once such troubles are characterized as threats, military solutions are immediately measured, given that for much of contemporary history security threats had a military aspect that required a military response. Consequently, when troubles are "securitized," policymakers will tend to reach for a military solution. Freedman further argues that this is the result of forcing non-military troubles into an analytical framework that was constructed to deal with military threats. International Relations (IR), is closely related with many disciplines. These contain History, Political Science, Law, Economics, and Geography. What is the utility of the revise of IR as a separate subject'? You know that no country in the World can live in separation. Even when means of transportation and communication were primitive or much less urbanized than today, sovereign states did interact with each other. They cooperated at times, and had frequent conflicts which often led to wars. Relations in the middle of those states were usually studied through Historians and Political Scientists. Diplomatic History was generally studied for understanding relations in the middle of sovereign states. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, revolution in the means of travel and communication has not only changed the nature of international relations, but made its revise essential for every enlightened person.

We are today livelihood in an interdependent state-system. It is essential for all of us to have a clear thought of what is happening in the world. Political measures are significant, but even economic growths, deal, commerce and activities of actors like multinational corporations are no less important. We live in an age of rising international cooperation. So, not only do the activities of the United Nations and its numerous agencies affect all the nations and their peoples, but local institutions like the European Union, South Asian Association of Local Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the System of African Unity (OAU) also play significant roles in our lives. International terrorism has been a concern for the humankind and economic systems like the World Bank and the World Deal System (WTO) affect international relations. The revise of International Relations has so become highly useful and enlightening for students and others alike. Beginning with the revise of law and diplomatic history, the scope of international relations has steadily expanded. With rising complexity of contacts flanked by nations, the revise of international institutions and systems attracted the attention of scholars. The outbreak of the Second World War gave a strong incentive to region studies and strategic aspect of foreign policy. This led to efforts to understand bigger the dynamics of national liberation struggles and anti-colonial movements. The basis of the United Nations throughout the war encouraged thinking in relation to the post-war restructuring of the relations in the middle of nations. The revise of cooperation became significant even as the revise of clash remained central. The immediate aftermath was marked through a constructive outlook. This is reflected in titles of books like Swords and Ploughshares written through In is

Claude. New topics like ideology and disarmament assumed unprecedented importance in the period of cold war. Therefore did the system of alliances and regionalism. Modern international relations embrace the entire gamut of diplomatic history, international politics, and international system, and international law and region studies. Script in relation to the contents of international relations, a few decades back, Palmer Perkins had said that the then international relations were a revise of "the world society in transition." This conclusion is mainly true even today. The transition has not reached a terminal point.

While the underlying factors of international relations have not changed, the international environment has changed and is still changing. The state system is undergoing modifications; a technical revolution h s taken lay in an extremely large method; new states of Asia and Africa are playing increasingly significant roles. India, in scrupulous, is in a location to assert and take a rigid stand, as in 1696 on the question of signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). There is also a "revolution of growing expectations." "The focus is still the nation-state system and inter-state relations; but the actions and interactions of several institutions and groups have also to be measured."

The scope of international relations at the end of the twentieth century has become extremely huge indeed. The world has virtually become a "global village", as interdependence of states has increased manifold. Economic relations flanked by states, the role of international systems like the World Bank, International

Monetary Finance and the World Deal System today powers economic action all in excess of the world. The United Nations and its several agencies are occupied in numerous socio-economic and political activities. International terrorism is a reason of serious concern for the human subsistence. Therefore, the scope of international relations has become huge, and, besides international politics, it embraces several other inter-state activities as well.

Approaches

There are several approaches to the revise of international relations. The traditional or classical approach treated History as the laboratory from which meaningful conclusions could be drawn.

Two of the largest schools of the traditional approach are Realism and Idealism. Whereas the Realism School considers the thrash about for power as the central point of all international relations, the Idealism School believes in the inherent goodness of man. Realists like Morgenthau do not attach much importance to means, or morality.

For them national interest is the aim that necessity be served with the help of power. The idealists, on the other hand, feel that the ideal of world peace is attainable with the help of cause, education, and science. In recent years, Neo-Realism has emerged as another approach to the revise of international relations.

Traditional Approaches: Realism, Idealism, and Neo-Realism

The two mainly significant variants of the traditional approach of international relations are Realism and Idealism. Taking inspiration from Kautilya and Machiavelli, the leading twentieth century realists George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau argued that the thrash about for power is the central point of all international relations. Individuals consider that others are always trying to attack and destroy them, and so, they necessity be continuously ready to kill others in order to protect themselves. This vital; human instinct guides the States as well. Therefore, the realists argue that rivalry and strife in the middle of the nations in some form or the other are always present. Presently as self:- interest guides the individual's behaviour, likewise national interest also guides the foreign policy of nation-states. Sustained clash is the reality of international relations and realists attribute this to the thrash about for power. Therefore, national interest, as defined in conditions of power, is the only reality of international relations. The realists do not attach much significance to means, for them national interest is the end, and it necessity be promoted at all costs.

Hans J. Morgenthu's influential book "Politics in the middle of Nations" accepted the torch of realism distant and wide. For the realists, sharing of powers in the middle of states is all that is there to explain in IR. Given a scrupulous sharing of power, the realists claim that, it is possible to explain both the aspects of

the system and the-behaviour of the individual states. The idealists firmly consider that the essential goodness of human nature will eventually pre ail and that a new world order would emerge which would be marked through the absence of war, in excellence and tyranny. This new world order would be brought in relation to the through the use of cause, education and science. Idealism presents a picture of future international relations free from power politics, violence, and immorality. Idealism argues that an international system commanding respect of nation-states would pave the method for a world free of conflicts and war. Therefore, the crucial point on which the realists and idealists sharply differ is the problem of power. St. Simon, Aldous Huxley, Mahatma Gandhi and Woodrow Wilson are in the middle of the prominent idealists. Morality is vital for them as they aim at international peace and cooperation.

An analysis of Realism and Idealism will illustrate that both have their validity provided they provide up their extremism. The approach that takes a transitional location flanked by "idealistic utopianism" and "cynical realism" is described Eclecticism. It has been called as a sort of synthesis of the 'pessimism of realism' and 'optimism of idealism'. Eclecticism tries to use the best in both realism and idealism. The former has been called through Quincy Wright as a representative of short-run national policies whereas idealism symbolizes extensive-term policies of internationalism. Realists have been described 'Children of darkness' and idealists the 'children of light'. Niebuhr regards the children of darkness as evil and wicked and the children of light as virtuous. But, on the foundation of another criterion, he says, the realists are wise as they understand the power of self-

will, and the idealists are foolish because they underestimate the risk of anarchy in the international society. Both have something to learn from this.

Neo-Realism, also recognized as 'Structural Realism' is one of the current approaches to the revise of international relations. Waltz, Grieco, Keohane and Joseph Nye are in the middle of the prominent neo-realists. Neo-Realists consider that might is right in a system which is essentially Hobbesian (full of strife) in nature. The great powers are occupied in permanent rivalry. The structure has, more or less, remained one of anarchy however the prominent actors have been changing. The term 'structure' has been referred to "how the actors in a system stand in relation to each other." The present structure being anarchical, one discovers powerful states are mainly interested in trying to prevent others from improving comparative capabilities. Keohane and Nye add that with the rising role of non-state actors the structure has become even more intricate and unpredictable. In short, neo-realism believes that the nation-states still remain the mainly significant actors in world politics: behaviour of the states can be explained rationally; states seek power and calculate their interests in conditions of power.

Though, the neo-realist add, the international system is characterized through anarchy and emerging 'multi-centric' activities emanating from sources other than state. This complexity is further compounded through international terrorism, religious war-fares, rising incidence of civil wars and emerging competitive multinational corporations. In the post-cold war years, international arena has assumed a new form. Nation-

states are being threatened through divisive and secessionist movements. Several of the conflicts have assumed deadly proportions. "Prevention has become a buzz word in the middle of diplomats seeking to stem anarchy in Africa the Balkans, the new states of the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere." In 1992, for instance, out of 30 conflicts crossways the world as several as 29 were military actions taking lay inside states. One can refer to such examples to illustrate that more military actions are being taken recourse to inside states rather than outside and in the middle of them. The ethnic clash in erstwhile Yugoslavia, insurgency within Afghanistan, the clash in Iraq concerning Kurds, chaotic circumstances inside Somalia, the clash in Sri Lanka, Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) related clash in Pakistan and terrorist activities in northern Indian States of Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab, are some of the ongoing military or paramilitary actions within nation-states. In the post-cold war conflicts, 90 per cent of casualties have been of civilians, not of the soldiers. Therefore, neo-realism stresses the thrash about for power not only flanked by states but also intra-state struggles in an 'anarchic' world.

It will not be out of lay here to mention that at a socio-political stage, domestic determination of foreign policy options was not a significant consideration with the realists who preferred states to remain confined to diplomatic, military and strategic sources of power. The post-cold war realists consider that peace was made possible in the world throughout the cold war era owing to stable bipolarity, balance of terror and a belief that nuclear war could be suicidal.

With the end of the cold war, the realists hope for lasting peace to result out of the rules of conduct to be enforced through the United States which has virtual monopoly of powers. Realism today recognizes the role of the United Nations, International Monetary Finance and World Deal System yet they are still measured to be subordinate to the wishes of the powerful states.

The realists do not want proliferation of nuclear weapons therefore that monopoly of the American power is maintained in that sector. Therefore, realists still consider in promotion of national interest as expressed by State power. Despite international institutions, regimes and non-state actors, power continues to control international relations, the realists still uphold.

It may be of interest to students to note that Realism and Neo-realistic approaches are mostly confined to, IR studies in USA and Europe.

Both stress on state power systems and inter-state relations. A significant variation flanked by the two is, though, one of degree and focus. Neo-realism in IR differs from Realism through virtue of its lesser concern with the diplomatic, military and strategic sources which uphold or disturb the balance of power and more pre-job with the political and economic concerns which require to be addressed for a sustainable international system. Mainly of the neo-realists so have been students of international political economy. IR studies began focusing on the developing countries after neo-realistic approach came to vogue. They are more concerned with issues of dependence and growth as against the

state-centered approaches espousing the reason of "hegemonic continuity". As behaviouralists like Prof. James Rosenau often complained, concerned Third World students of IR often tend to be attracted to "dependency theory". This perspective posits that the Third World has been historically exploited through rich nations of the urbanized West.

Behavioural/Scientific Approaches of International Politics

Behavioural approaches to revise of IR are often claimed through their western adherents to be scientific because they are based on quantitative calculations. They made us more aware of the intricate nature of conflicts and provided several precious insights into decision-creation. The ultimate objective of the behaviouralist scholars is to develop a common theory of international relations. The traditional approach was rooted mainly in Political Science and drew heavily from Law, History and Philosophy. With the help of the behavioural approach, a discipline of international relations is at last beginning to emerge which is devoted to behavioural studies in IR. There are many theories which may be lumped jointly under scientific/behavioural approach. Some like Systems Theory are more comprehensive than others like Bargaining and Game Theories.

System Theory

A system is defined as a set of elements interacting with each other. Another significant characteristic of the system is that it

has a frontier which separates it from the environment, the latter though, powers the system in its operations. Usually speaking, a system may be either natural or mechanical or social. The social system itself may be related either to "community, or economy, or politics, or international systems." The common concept of an international system, and of international systems, shaped the foundation of work for several 'biggest scholars, Karl W. Deutsch and Raymond Aron being in the middle of the mainly prominent. As Aron observed, there has never been an international system including the entire of the planet. But in the post-war era, "for the first time, humanity is livelihood one and the similar history, and there has appeared some type of global system". It is greatly heterogeneous but not to an extent that scholars may fail to hold them jointly in a discipline. As a matter of information, Stanley Hoffman's working definition of the discipline was enough. "An international system", just as to Hoffman "is a pattern of relations flanked by the vital units of world politics which is characterized through the scope of the objectives pursued through these units and of the tasks performed in the middle of them, as well as through the means used in order to achieve those goals and perform those tasks".

In the middle of others, Prof. Morton Kaplan is measured the mainly influential in the systems theorizing of IR. He presented a number of real and hypothetical models of global political system. His six well recognized models were:

- Balance of power system,
- Loose bipolar system,
- Tight bipolar system,

- Universal actor system,
- Hierarchical system, and
- Unit Veto system.

The first two are historical realities; the remaining four are hypothetical models. Although Kaplan did not say that his six systems were likely to emerge in that order, yet it was expected that the Super Power being extremely powerful, non-aligned countries were Likely to lose their status and become sections of one or the other power blocs, leading to a tight bipolar world.

With the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991, the erstwhile bipolarity phenomenon ended. While the United States appeared more powerful than other countries, several countries like Germany and Japan also appeared as biggest economic powers. Therefore, depending upon how one analyses the emerging global order, it may be characterized as a unipolar or a multipolar world. The present situation does not though fall strictly within any one of the six-models of Morton Kaplan which are called briefly below:

- *The Balance of Power System:* This system prevailed in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this system some powerful states seek to uphold equilibrium of power individually or in alliance. Generally there is a 'balancer'-a state which assists anyone who is likely to become weaker than others therefore that balance is not disturbed.
- *The Loose Bipolar System:* This was the situation throughout the days of cold war politics. Despite

bipolar division of the global power scene, some countries refused to align with either block. They hang loose in an otherwise stratified global order. Examples: Non-aligned countries (NAM).

- *The Tight Bipolar System:* Think of a situation where the international actors like NAM countries are forced to align with either block, the result is-one of the tight bipolar system.

- *The Universal Actor System:* In this system, an international system or actor commanding universal allegiance becomes the centre of power. Whether large or small, all states will accept the superiority of a universal actor like the United Nations. Therefore, without giving up their sovereignty, nation-states will strengthen the United Nations and usually abide through its decisions. This may eventually pave the method for a world government.

- *The Hierarchical International System:* In this system one country will become therefore powerful that all other states will be virtually dictated to through that one Supreme Power. This situation may be called as a 'Unipolar World Model'. The U.N. may still exist, but there will be no true non-aligned country and even the U.N. will not have sufficient power.

- *The Unit Veto System:* Morton Kaplan's Unit Veto System in international context resembles the 'state of nature' as defined through Thomas Hobbes. Each state will be the enemy of every other state, because approximately all the countries will possess nuclear

weapons. Therefore, all the international actors will be capable of by nuclear weapons against their enemies.

These six models were later complemented through Kaplan himself through some other models. Meanwhile, other scholars have also suggested some other models. Therefore, Couloumbis and Wolfe endorse Kaplan's six models, but add three more.

These three are:

- Multi-bloc (or interregional) model,
- The national-fragmentation (or multipolar) model, and
- The post-nuclear war model.

Game Theory

Game theory attempts to give models for learning world politics, especially in highly competitive situations when outcomes of the actions are hard to expect. This has led scholars to make the game theory for a more scientific revise of the calculation of probabilities in an uncertain situation. Game theory was created approximately in one shot with the publication of Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour through the mathematician John von Neumann and the economist Oskar Morgenstern. Karl Deutsch and Martin Shubik are in the middle of influential theorists who followed them. However the economists were the first to adapt it to their purpose in recent years it has been applied to several other meadows with appropriate modifications. In its simplest adaptation, the game theory is the model of a zero sum game which describes the situation of clash/competition in

which one party's total loss is exactly equal to the other adversary's total gain. This explains the name-the sum total of gain and loss is zero. For the revise of IR, game theory model though is a multiparty non-zero-sum game. This is because as J.K. Zawodny reminds us, "we necessity recognize that some kinds of international conflicts today can be resolved only through situation in which neither face loses and in which sometimes both sides may win." As you necessity has already understood, in accessible, totally self-governing states, are not affected through what other states do. They though are affected and interact by mutual dependence for some benefits. States play games to have maximum gains out of such a situation of inter-dependence.

The two mainly significant types of game that have been suggested are the "Chicken Game" and the game of "Prisoner's Dilemma". In the chicken game situation two car drivers are going in the transitional of the road towards each other from the opposite sides. Unless one of them stops on the face and provides method to the other, there is a possibility of serious accident which may even result in the death of one or both the drivers Any one who provides, method to the other will suffer a loss of reputation but accident will be avoided. Nations often face such a situation. Usually, none wants to suffer loss of reputation. The underlying thought of chicken game is that in spite of not being able to know the intention of its opponent, a country's foreign policy-makers can adopt such a course as would ensure its own interest only if it does not mind the other country also benefiting from that course of action. A country standing on its prestige may suffer heavy losses.

The situation in prisoner's dilemma is dissimilar. A nation, like a prisoner, often faces dilemma without having the slightest thought of its opponent's intentions. In this model two persons, charged with murder, are kept in two cells and they can neither see nor talk to each other. The prison-in-charge tells both of them apart that if one of them confesses to murder, and the other does not, the one who confesses will not only be set free but rewarded, and the other prisoner will be hanged. If none of them confesses, both will be freed but without reward. But if both of them confess, they both would be given serious punishment. The game suggests that everyone wants reward or advantage, but may land in serious situation as it does not know the mind of the other.

Integration Theory

The theory is associated with the names of Charles Kegley and Wittkopf. They rejected the realist view of human nature. They argue that human beings have diverse create-ups, and that human action is based on voluntary choice convinced through environment. The liberals reject the view that international relations are anarchic. They argue that the international system today is based on transnational interactions which make regions of interdependence. Societies and governments are being knit jointly through rising cultural homogeneity and economic and social interdependence. Several international agencies and regimes like the World Deal System promote integration: The Liberals emphasize the rising role of non-state actors like NGOs, local institutions etc, in promoting local and global interdependence.

The liberals do not accept the view that the world has become unipolar. They feel that in the post-cold war years the world is moving in the direction of multi-polarity. At the similar time there is rising inter-state cooperation to reduce mistrust and tension in order to promote peace. Global interdependence has led to a rising concern in the middle of all governments in relation to the nuclear proliferation, global recession, ozone depletion, climatic changes and AIDS. These general concerns indicate interdependence and require for the scholars to analyze these troubles in the context of integration.

The liberals, so, insist on the revise of these and other institutions. They consider that expanding the U.N. System promotes inter dependence. To sum up: the liberal concern for interdependence is related to multi-polarity in the post-cold war era.

Dependency Approach

Where the realists argued for 'hegemonic continuity' and the liberals for Interdependence in the middle of the states, concerned scholars of the Third World though always argued that the largest foundation for the modern, international relationships should be establish in their 'under-growth'. It has not been a large formal theory but the 'dependency approach' which originated from Latin America challenged the dominant myth that the solutions for the ills of the underdevelopment in the Third World place in following the contemporary, realist prescriptions from the West.

In the field of international relations, scholars from the Dependency School argued that:

- The present circumstances of dependence in the margin mainly are due to the past use through urbanized countries that from in the 'core' now,
- Relations in the middle of nations so are essentially asymmetrical and
- Such an asymmetry is not merely confined to State-to-State relationships (because international relations/ transactions involve a host of ties in the middle of groups and classes flanked by, within and crossways the nations).

Arguments centered approximately structures of dependence-both of the past and the present and emphasis was laid on factors and forces which were not of primary concern for either the realists or the neo-realists or even the liberals. Inspired mainly through Marxian powers, politics in the middle of nations has been measured mainly as an expression of global forces and currents of growth in all their unevenness during history that continues by the present also. Profs. F.H. Cardoso, Raul Prebisch and his colleague, Andre Gunder Frank are some of the famous names associated with this approach which is enjoying widespread appeal even in the middle of the Western scholars.

The Feminist Approach

As the name suggests, this 1s a-recent but influential approach which believes that international relations are competitive,

power-oriented and exploitative largely because of male power in politics. The argument is that international relations would be more balanced and effective if women were given their due share in politics by many methods. Liberal feminists consider that education, political mobilization and pressure to transform will bring in relation to the desire results. But radical feminists feel that capitalism is the largest reason of gender in excellence and so, adoption of socialism will hasten the procedure of gender equality, which in turn will ensure peace in the world. It is argued that it is man's gender bias imposed through western philosophy also which requires to be overcome. Therefore, the feminist theory traces all troubles of international relations to gender in excellence and power through men. Critics though point out that gender differences are natural, rooted in biology, and it is not men but the community in which we grow which is to be addressed for remedies. Cynthia Enloe and Spike Peterson are in the middle of some significant names associated with the Feminist Approach.

Chapter 2

Inter-War Period and International Relations

Domestic Political Factors

The reasons of World War I, which began in central Europe in late July 1914, incorporated intertwined factors, such as the conflicts and hostility of the four decades leading up to the war. Militarism, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism played biggest roles in the clash as well. The immediate origins of the war, though, place in the decisions taken through statesmen and generals throughout the Crisis of 1914, casus belli for which was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife through Gavrilo Princip, an irredentist Serb. The crisis came after an extensive and hard series of diplomatic clashes flanked by the Great Powers (Italy, France, Germany, the British Empire, the Austria-Hungarian Empire, and Russia) in excess of European and colonial issues in the decade before 1914 that had left tensions high. In turn these diplomatic clashes can be traced to changes in the balance of power in Europe since, 1867. The more immediate reason for the war was tensions in excess of territory in the Balkans. Austria-Hungary competed with Serbia and Russia for territory and power in the area and they pulled the rest of the Great Powers into the clash by their several alliances and treaties. Although the chain of measures unleashed

through the assassination triggered the war, the war's origins go deeper, involving national politics, cultures, economics, and a intricate web of alliances and counterbalances that had urbanized flanked by the several European powers since, 1870. Some of the mainly significant extensive term or structural reasons are: the development of nationalism crossways Europe, unresolved territorial disputes, an complex organization of alliances, the perceived breakdown of the balance of power in Europe, convoluted and fragmented governance, the arms races of the previous decades, previous military scheduling, imperial and colonial rivalry for wealth, power and prestige, and economic and military rivalry in industry and deal - *e.g.*, the Pig War flanked by Austria and Serbia. Other reasons that came into play throughout the diplomatic crisis that preceded the war incorporated misperceptions of intent (*e.g.*, the German belief that the United Kingdom would remain neutral) and delays and misunderstandings in diplomatic communications.

The several categories of explanation for World War I correspond to dissimilar historians' overall ways. Mainly historians and popular commentators contain reasons from more than one category of explanation to give a rounded explanation of the reasons of the war. The deepest distinction in the middle of these accounts is flanked by stories that see it as the inevitable and predictable outcome of sure factors, and those that define it as an arbitrary and unfortunate mistake.

In attributing reasons for the war, historians and academics had to deal with an unprecedented flood of memoirs and official documents, released as each country involved tried to avoid

blame for starting the war. Early releases of information through governments, particularly those released for use through the "Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War" were shown to be partial and biased. In addition some documents, especially diplomatic cables flanked by Russia and France, were establish to have been doctored. Even in later decades though, when much more information had been released, historians from the similar civilization have been shown to approach to differing conclusions on the reasons of the war.

In November 1912, Russia was humiliated because of its inability to support Serbia throughout the Bosnian crisis of 1908 or the First Balkan War, and announced a biggest reconstruction of its military.

On November 28, German Foreign Secretary Gottlieb von Jagow told the Reichstag (the German parliament), that "If Austria is forced, for whatever cause, to fight for its location as a Great Power, then we necessity stand through her." As a result, British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey responded through warning Prince Karl Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London, that if Germany offered Austria a "blank cheque" for war in the Balkans, then "the consequences of such a policy would be incalculable." To reinforce this point, R. B. Haldane, the Germanophile Lord Chancellor, met with Prince Lichnowsky to offer an explicit warning that if Germany were to attack France, Britain would intervene in France's favour.

With the recently announced Russian military reconstruction and sure British communications, the possibility of war was a leading

topic at the German Imperial War Council of 8 December 1912 in Berlin, an informal meeting of some of Germany's top military leadership described on short notice through the Kaiser. Attending the conference were Kaiser Wilhelm II, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz-the Naval State Secretary, Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, the Chief of the German Imperial Naval Cabinet (Marinekabinett), Common von Moltke-the Army's Chief of Staff, Admiral August von Heeringen-the Chief of the Naval Common Staff and Common Moriz von Lyncker, the Chief of the German Imperial Military Cabinet. The attendance of the leaders of both the German Army and Navy at this War Council attests to its importance. Though, Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg and Common Josias von Heeringen, the Prussian Minister of War, were not invited.

Wilhelm II described British balance of power principles "idiocy," but agreed that Haldane's statement was a "desirable clarification" of British policy. His opinion was that Austria should attack Serbia that December, and if "Russia supports the Serbs, which she evidently does...then war would be unavoidable for us, too," and that would be bigger than going to war after Russia completed the huge modernization and expansion of their army that they had presently begun. Moltke agreed. In his professional military opinion "a war is unavoidable and the sooner the bigger". Moltke "wanted to launch an immediate attack".

Both Wilhelm II and the Army leadership agreed that if a war were necessary it were best launched soon. Admiral Tirpitz, though, asked for a "postponement of the great fight for one and

a half years" because the Navy was not ready for a common war that incorporated Britain as an opponent.

He insisted that the completion of the construction of the U-boat foundation at Heligoland and the widening of the Kiel Canal were the Navy's prerequisites for war. As the British historian John Röhl has commented, the date for completion of the widening of the Kiel Canal was the summer of 1914. However Moltke objected to the postponement of the war as unacceptable, Wilhelm sided with Tirpitz. Moltke "agreed to a postponement only reluctantly."

Historians more sympathetic to the government of Wilhelm II often reject the importance of this War Council as only showing the thinking and recommendations of those present, with no decisions taken. They often cite the passage from Admiral Müller's diary, which states: "That was the end of the conference. The result amounted to nothing." Certainly the only decision taken was to do nothing.

Historians more sympathetic to the Entente, such as British historian John Röhl, sometimes rather ambitiously interpret these languages of Admiral Müller (an advocate of launching a war soon) as saying that "nothing" was decided for 1912-13, but that war was decided on for the summer of 1914. Röhl is on safer ground when he argues that even if this War Council did not reach a binding decision-which it clearly did not-it did non-etheless offer a clear view of their intentions, or at least their considerations, which were that if there was going to be a war, the German Army wanted it before the new Russian armaments programme began to bear fruit. Entente sympathetic historians

such as Röhl see this conference, in which "The result amounted to nothing," as setting a clear deadline for a war to begin, namely the summer of 1914.

With the November 1912 announcement of the Russian Great Military Programme, the leadership of the German Army began clamoring even more strongly for a "preventive war" against Russia. Moltke declared that Germany could not win the arms race with France, Britain and Russia, which she herself had begun in 1911, because the financial structure of the German state, which gave the Reich government little power to tax, meant Germany would bankrupt herself in an arms race. As such, Moltke from late 1912 onwards was the leading advocate for a common war, and the sooner the bigger. During May and June 1914, Moltke occupied in an "approximately ultimative" demand for a German "preventive war" against Russia in 1914.

The German Foreign Secretary, Gottlieb von Jagow, accounted on a discussion with Moltke at the end of May 1914:

- "Moltke called to me his opinion of our military situation. The prospects of the future oppressed him heavily. In two or three years Russia would have completed her armaments. The military superiority of our enemies would then be therefore great that he did not know how he could overcome them. Today we would still be a match for them. In his opinion there was no alternative to creation preventive war in order to defeat the enemy while we still had a chance of victory. The Chief of the Common Staff so proposed that I should

conduct a policy with the aim of provoking a war in the
close to future."

The new French President Raymond Poincaré, who took office in
1913, was favourable to improving relations with Germany. In
January 1914 Poincaré became the first French President to dine
at the German Embassy in Paris. Poincaré was more interested in
the thought of French expansion in the Transitional East than a
war of revenge to regain Alsace-Lorraine. Had the Reich been
interested in improved relations with France before August 1914,
the opportunity was accessible, but the leadership of the Reich
lacked such interests, and preferred a policy of war to destroy
France. Because of France's smaller economy and population,
through 1913 French leaders had mainly carried that France
through itself could never defeat Germany.

In May 1914, Serbian politics were polarized flanked by two
factions, one headed through the Prime Minister Nikola Paši?,
and the other through the radical nationalist chief of Military
Intelligence, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevi?, recognized through
his codename Apis. In that month, due to Colonel Dimitrigjevic's
intrigues, King Peter dismissed Paši?'s government.

The Russian Minister in Belgrade intervened to have Paši?'s
government restored. Paši?, however he often talked tough in
public, knew that Serbia was close to-bankrupt and, having
suffered heavy casualties in the Balkan Wars and in the
suppression of a December 1913 Albanian revolt in Kosovo,
needed peace. Since, Russia also favoured peace in the Balkans,
from the Russian viewpoint it was desirable to stay Paši? in

power. It was in the midst of this political crisis that politically powerful members of the Serbian military armed and trained three Bosnian students as assassins and sent them into Austria-Hungary.

German Domestic Politics

Left-wing parties, especially the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) made big gains in the 1912 German election. German government at the time was still dominated through the Prussian Junkers who feared the rise of these left-wing parties. Fritz Fischer famously argued that they deliberately sought an external war to distract the population and whip up patriotic support for the government. Russia was in the midst of a big-level military build-up and reform that they completed in 1916-17. Other authors argue that German conservatives were ambivalent in relation to the war, worrying that losing a war would have disastrous consequences, and even a successful war might alienate the population if it were lengthy or hard.

French Domestic Politics

The situation in France was quite dissimilar from that in Germany as going to war emerged to the majority of political and military leaders to be a potentially costly gamble. It is undeniable that forty years after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine a huge number of French were still angered through the territorial loss, as well as through the humiliation of being compelled to pay big reparation to Germany in 1870. The diplomatic alienation of France orchestrated through Germany prior to World War I

caused further resentment in France. Nevertheless, the leaders of France established Germany's strong military advantage against them, as Germany had almost twice as much population and a bigger equipped army. At the similar time, the episodes of the Tangier Crisis in 1905 and the Agadir Crisis in 1911 had given France a strong indication that war with Germany could be inevitable if Germany sustained to oppose French colonial expansionism.

More than a century after the French Revolution, there was still a fierce thrash about flanked by the left-wing French government and its right-wing opponents, as socialists like Jean Jaurès pushed for peace against nationalists like Paul Déroulède who were inclined to go to war. Recent social reforms created a climate of insecurity which some right-wing politician's idea could be resolved through the nationalistic spirit of war. France in 1914 had never been therefore wealthy and influential in Europe since, 1870, nor its military therefore strong and confident in its leaders, emboldened through its success in North Africa and the overall pacification of its huge colonial empire. Indeed, if France had attempted for more than forty years to appease bellicose Germany, a majority of the Frenchmen now whispered it could face the German threat with more tranquility than before. The Entente Cordiale with Great Britain signed in 1904 seemed to last, being aided through mutual interests abroad and strong economic ties. Russia had fled the triple crown alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary because of disagreements with Austria-Hungary in excess of policy in the Balkans. Russia also hoped that big French investments in its

industry and infrastructures coupled with a significant military partnership would prove themselves profitable and durable.

France ultimately perceived it could fight Germany and effort to gain back the German-speaking provinces of Alsace-Lorraine. It is significant to note though, that France never could have permitted itself to initiate a war with Germany, as its military pact with Great-Britain was only purely suspicious. The misperception that Germany wouldn't, as prepared through the Schlieffen Plan invade neutral Belgium, would discover itself lethal to the suspicious French military doctrine on the eve of the first worldwide clash.

Changes in Austria

In 1867, the Austrian Empire fundamentally changed its governmental structure, becoming the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. For hundreds of years, the empire had been run in an essentially feudal manner with a German-speaking aristocracy at its head. Though, with the threat represented through an emergence of nationalism within the empire's several component ethnicities, some elements, including Emperor Franz Joseph, decided that a compromise was required to preserve the power of the German aristocracy. In 1867, the Ausgleich was agreed on, which made the Magyar (Hungarian) elite in Hungary approximately equal partners in the government of Austria-Hungary.

This arrangement fostered a tremendous degree of dissatisfaction amongst several in the traditional German ruling classes. Some

of them measured the Ausgleich to have been a calamity because it often frustrated their intentions in the governance of Austria-Hungary. For instance, it was very hard for Austria-Hungary to form a coherent foreign policy that suited the interests of both the German and Magyar elite.

During the fifty years from 1867 to 1914, it proved hard to reach adequate compromises in the governance of Austria-Hungary, leading several to search for non-diplomatic solutions. At the similar time, a form of social Darwinism became popular in the middle of several in the Austrian half of the government. This thinking emphasized the primacy of armed thrash about flanked by nations, and require for nations to arm themselves for an ultimate thrash about for survival.

As a result, at least two separate strains of idea advocated war with Serbia, often unified in the similar people.

Some reasoned that relation with political deadlock required that more Slavs be brought into Austria-Hungary to dilute the power of the Magyar elite. With more Slavs, the South Slavs of Austria-Hungary could force a new political compromise in which the Germans could play the Magyars against the South Slavs. Other variations on this theme lived, but the essential thought was to cure internal stagnation by external conquest.

Another fear was that the South Slavs, primarily under the leadership of Serbia, were organizing for a war against Austria-Hungary, and even all of Germanic culture. Some leaders, such

as Conrad von Hötzendorf, argued that Serbia necessity be dealt with before it became too powerful to defeat militarily.

A powerful contingent within the Austro-Hungarian government was motivated through these considerations and advocated war with Serbia extensive before the war began. Prominent members of this group incorporated Leopold von Berchtold, Alexander von Hoyos, and Johann von Forgách. Although several other members of the government, notably Franz Ferdinand, Franz Joseph, and several Hungarian politicians did not consider that a violent thrash about with Serbia would necessarily solve any of Austria-Hungary's troubles, the hawkish elements did exert a strong power on government policy, holding key positions.

Samuel R. Williamson has accentuated the role of Austria-Hungary in starting the war. Influenced Serbian nationalism and Russian Balkan ambitions were disintegrating the Empire, Austria-Hungary hoped for a limited war against Serbia and that strong German support would force Russia to stay out of the war and weaken its Balkan prestige.

International Relations

Imperialism

Some scholars have attributed the start of the war to imperialism. Countries such as the United Kingdom and France accumulated great wealth in the late 19th century by manage of deal in foreign possessions, markets, territories, and people. Other empires, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia all

hoped to do therefore as well in economic advantage. Their frustrated ambitions, and British policies of strategic exclusion created tensions. In addition, the limits of natural possessions in several European nations began to gradually alter deal balance, and create national industries seek new territories rich in natural possessions. Commercial interests contributed considerably to Anglo-German rivalry throughout the scramble for tropical Africa.

This was the scene of sharpest clash flanked by sure German and British commercial interests. There have been two partitions of Africa. One involved the actual imposition of political boundaries crossways the continent throughout the last quarter of the 19th century; the other, which actually commenced in the mid-19th century, consisted of the therefore-described 'business' partition. In southern Africa the latter partition followed rapidly upon the discoveries of diamonds and gold in 1867 and 1886 respectively. An integral section of this second partition was the expansion in the interior of British capital interests, primarily the British South Africa Company and mining companies such as De Beers. After 1886 the Witwatersrand goldfields prompted feverish action in the middle of European as well as British capitalists. It was soon felt in Whitehall that German commercial penetration in scrupulous constituted a direct threat to Britain's sustained economic and political hegemony south of the Limpopo. Amid the expanding web of German business on the Rand, the mainly contentious operations were those of the German-financed N.Z.A.S.M. or Netherlands South African Railway Company, which possessed a railway monopoly in the Transvaal.

Rivalries for not presently colonies, but colonial deal and deal routes urbanized flanked by the emerging economic powers and the incumbent great powers. Although still argued differently just as to historical perspectives on the path to war, this rivalry was illustrated in the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, which would have given German industry access to Iraqi oil, and German deal a southern port in the Persian Gulf. A history of this railroad in the context of World War I has arrived to define the German interests in countering the British Empire at a global stage, and Turkey's interest in countering their Russian rivals at a local stage. As stated through a modern 'man on the ground' at the time, Jastrow wrote, "It was felt in England that if, as Napoleon is said to have remarked, Antwerp in the hands of a great continental power was a pistol leveled at the English coast, Bagdad and the Persian Gulf in the hands of Germany (or any other strong power) would be a 42-centimetre gun pointed at India." On the other face, "Public opinion in Germany was feasting on visions of Cairo, Baghdad, and Tehran, and the possibility of evading the British blockade by outlets to the Indian Ocean." Britain's initial strategic exclusion of others from northern access to a Persian Gulf port in the making of Kuwait through treaty as a protected, subsidized client state showed political recognition of the importance of the issue. If outcome is revealing, through the secure of the war this political recognition was re-accentuated in the military attempt to capture the railway itself, recounted with perspective in a modern history: "On the 26th Aleppo fell, and on the 28th we reached Muslimieh, that junction on the Baghdad railway on which longing eyes had been cast as the nodal point in the clash of German and other ambitions in the East." The Treaty of Versailles explicitly removed all German ownership thereafter,

which without Ottoman rule left access to Mesopotamian and Persian oil, and northern access to a southern port in British hands alone.

Rivalries in the middle of the great powers were exacerbated starting in the 1880s through the scramble for colonies, which brought much of Africa and Asia under European rule in the following quarter-century. It also created great Anglo-French and Anglo-Russian tensions and crises that prevented a British alliance with either until the early 20th century. Otto von Bismarck disliked the thought of an overseas empire, but pursued a colonial policy to court domestic political support. This started Anglo-German tensions since, German acquisitions in Africa and the Pacific threatened to impinge upon British strategic and commercial interests. Bismarck supported French colonization in Africa because it diverted government attention and possessions absent from continental Europe and revanchism. In spite of all of Bismarck's deft diplomatic maneuvering, in 1890 he was forced to resign through the new Kaiser (Wilhelm II). His successor, Leo von Caprivi, was the last German Chancellor who was successful in calming Anglo-German tensions. After his loss of office in 1894, German policy led to greater conflicts with the other colonial powers.

The status of Morocco had been guaranteed through international agreement, and when France attempted to greatly expand its power there without the assent of all the other signatories Germany opposed it prompting the Moroccan Crises, the Tangier Crisis of 1905 and the Agadir Crisis of 1911. The intent of German policy was to drive a wedge flanked by the British and

French, but in both cases produced the opposite effect and Germany was in accessible diplomatically, mainly notably lacking the support of Italy despite Italian membership in the Triple Alliance. The French protectorate in excess of Morocco was recognized officially in 1912.

In 1914, there were no outstanding colonial conflicts, Africa essentially having been claimed fully, separately from Ethiopia, for many years. Though, the competitive mentality, as well as a fear of "being left behind" in the competition for the world's possessions may have played a role in the decisions to begin the clash.

Web of Alliances

A loose web of alliances approximately the European nations lived (several of them requiring participants to agree to communa protection if attacked):

- Treaty of London, 1839, in relation to the neutrality of Belgium
- German-Austrian treaty or Dual Alliance
- Italy joining Germany and Austria in 1882
- Franco-Russian Alliance
- The "Entente Cordiale" flanked by Britain and France, which left the northern coast of France undefended, and the separate "entente" flanked by Britain and Russia that shaped the Triple Entente

This intricate set of treaties binding several players in Europe jointly before the war sometimes is idea to have been misunderstood through modern political leaders.

The traditionalist theory of "Entangling Alliances" has been shown to be mistaken; The Triple Entente flanked by Russia, France and the United Kingdom did not in information force any of those powers to rally because it was not a military treaty.

Mobilization through a comparatively minor player would not have had a cascading effect that could rapidly run out of manage, involving every country. The crisis flanked by Austria-Hungary and Serbia could have been a localized issue. This is how Austria-Hungary's declaration of war against Serbia resulted in Britain declaring war on Germany:

- *June 28, 1914:* Serbian irredentists assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- *July 23:* Austria-Hungary, following their own secret enquiry, sends an ultimatum to Serbia, containing many extremely severe demands. In scrupulous, they gave only forty-eight hours to comply. Whilst both Great Britain and Russia sympathized with several of the demands, both agreed the timescale was distant too short. Both nevertheless advised Serbia to comply.
- *July 24:* Germany officially declares support for Austria's location.
- *July 24:* Sir Edward Grey, speaking for the British government, asks that Germany, France, Italy and

Great Britain, "who had no direct interests in Serbia, should act jointly for the sake of peace simultaneously."

- *July 25:* The Serbian government replies to Austria, and agrees to mainly of the demands. Though, sure demands brought into question her survival as a self-governing nation. On these points they asked that the Hague Tribunal arbitrate.

- *July 25:* Russia enters an era preparatory to war and mobilization begins on all frontiers. Government decides on an incomplete mobilization in principle to begin on July 29.

- *July 25:* Serbia mobilizes its army; responds to Austro-Hungarian démarche with less than full acceptance; Austria-Hungary breaks diplomatic relations with Serbia.

- *July 26:* Serbia reservists accidentally violate Austro-Hungarian border at Temes-Kubin.

- *July 26:* Russia having agreed to stand aside whilst others conferred, a meeting is organised to take lay flanked by ambassadors from Great Britain, Germany, Italy and France to talk about the crisis. Germany declines the invitation.

- *July 27:* Sir Edward Grey meets the German ambassador independently. A telegram to Berlin after the meeting states, "Other issues might be raised that would supersede the dispute flanked by Austria and Serbia...as extensive as Germany would work to stay peace I would stay closely in touch."

- *July 28:* Austria-Hungary, having failed to accept Serbia's response of the 25th, declares war on Serbia. Mobilisation against Serbia begins.
- *July 29:* Russian common mobilization is ordered, and then changed to incomplete mobilization.
- *July 29:* Sir Edward Grey appeals to Germany to intervene to uphold peace.
- *July 29:* The British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Edward Goschen, is informed through the German Chancellor that Germany is contemplating war with France, and furthermore, wishes to send its army by Belgium. He tries to close Britain's neutrality in such an action.
- *July 30:* Russian common mobilization is reordered at 5:00 P.M.
- *July 31:* Austrian common mobilization is ordered.
- *July 31:* Germany enters an era preparatory to war.
- *July 31:* Germany sends an ultimatum to Russia, challenging that they halt military preparations within twelve hours.
- *July 31:* Both France and Germany are asked through Britain to declare their support for the ongoing neutrality of Belgium. France agrees to this. Germany does not respond.
- *August 1:* King George V of Great Britain personally telegraphs Tsar Nicholas II of Russia.
- *August 1:* French common mobilization is ordered.
- *August 1:* German common mobilization is ordered.
- *August 1:* Germany declares war against Russia.
- *August 1:* The Tsar responds to the king's telegram, stating, "I would gladly have carried your proposals

had not the German ambassador this afternoon presented a note to my Government declaring war."

- *August 2:* Germany and The Ottoman Empire sign a secret treaty. entrenching the Ottoman-German Alliance

- *August 3:* Germany, after France declines its demand to remain neutral, declares war on France. Germany states to Belgium that she would "treat her as an enemy" if she did not allow free passage of German troops crossways her lands.

- *August 3:* Britain, expecting German naval attack on the northern French coast, states that Britain would provide "...all the defence in its powers."

- *August 4:* Germany invades Belgium just as to the customized Schlieffen Plan.

- *August 4 (midnight):* Having failed to receive notice from Germany assuring the neutrality of Belgium, Britain declares war on Germany.

- *August 6:* Austria-Hungary declares war on Russia.

- *August 23:* Japan, honouring the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, declares war on Germany.

- *August 25:* Japan declares war on Austria-Hungary.

Note: French Prime Minister Rene Viviani merely replied to the German ultimatum that, "France will act in accordance with her interests." Had the French agreed to remain neutral, the German Ambassador was authorized to enquire the French to temporarily surrender the Fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a guarantee of neutrality. Several of the direct origins of World War I can be seen in the results and consequences of the Franco-Prussian

War. This clash brought the establishment of a powerful and dynamic Germany, causing what was seen as a displacement or unbalancing of power: this new and wealthy nation had the industrial and military potential to threaten Europe, and particularly the already recognized European powers. Germany's nationalism, its natural possessions, its economic strengths, and its ambitions sparked colonial and military rivalries with other nations, particularly the Anglo-German naval arms race.

A legacy of animosity grew flanked by France and Germany following the German annexation of sections of the formerly French territory of Alsace-Lorraine. The annexation caused widespread resentment in France, giving rise to the desire for revenge, recognized as revanchism. French sentiments wanted to avenge military and territorial losses, and the displacement of France as the pre-eminent continental military power. French defeat in the war had sparked political instability, culminating in a revolution and the formation of the French Third Republic. Bismarck was wary of this throughout his later years and tried to placate the French through encouraging their overseas expansion. Though, anti-German sentiment remained. A Franco-German colonial entente that was made in 1884 in protest of an Anglo-Portuguese agreement in West Africa proved short-existed after a pro-imperialist government under Jules Ferry in France fell in 1885.

France quickly recovered from its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. France paid its war remunerations and began to build its military strength again. Bismarck allowed the thought that Germany was scheduling a preventative war against France to be

leaked by a German newspaper therefore that this recovery could not be realized. Though, the Dreikaiserbund sided with France rather than with Germany, forcing Bismarck to back down.

Austrian-Serbian Tensions and Bosnian Annexation Crisis

On night flanked by June 10/11 1903, a group of Serbian administrators assassinated unpopular King Alexander I of Serbia. The Serbian parliament elected Peter Kara?or?evi? as the new king of Serbia. The consequence of this dynastic transform had Serbia relying on Russia and France rather than on Austria-Hungary, as had been the case throughout rule of Obrenovi? dynasty. Serbian desire to relieve itself of Austrian power provoked the Pig War, an economic clash, from which Serbia eventually came out as the victor. Austria-Hungary, desirous of solidifying its location in Bosnia-Herzegovina, annexed the provinces on October 6, 1908. The annexation set off a wave of protests and diplomatic maneuvers that became recognized as the Bosnian crisis, or annexation crisis. The crisis sustained until April 1909, when the annexation received grudging international approval by amendment of the Treaty of Berlin. Throughout the crisis, relations flanked by Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, and Russia and Serbia, on the other, were permanently damaged. After a swap of letters outlining a possible deal, Russian Foreign Minister Alexander Izvolsky and Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Alois Aehrenthal met privately at Buchlau Castle in Moravia on September 16, 1908. At Buchlau the two agreed that Austria-Hungary could annex the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria-Hungary engaged and

administered since, 1878 under a mandate from the Treaty of Berlin. In return, Austria-Hungary would withdraw its troops from the Ottoman Sanjak of Novibazar and support Russia in its efforts to amend the Treaty of Berlin to allow Russian war ships to navigate the Straits of Constantinople throughout times of war. The two together agreed not to oppose Bulgarian independence.

While Izvolsky moved gradually from capital to capital vacationing and seeking international support for opening the Straits, Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary moved swiftly. On October 5, Bulgaria declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire. The after that day, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. On October 7, Austria-Hungary announced its withdrawal from the Sanjak of Novi Pazar. Russia, unable to obtain Britain's assent to Russia's Straits proposal, joined Serbia in assuming an attitude of protest. Britain lodged a milder protest, taking the location that annexation was a matter regarding Europe, not a bilateral issue, and therefore a conference should be held. France fell in row behind Britain. Italy proposed that the conference be held in Italy. German opposition to the conference and intricate diplomatic maneuvering scuttled the conference. On February 20, 1909, the Ottoman Empire, acquiesced to the annexation and received ?2.2 million from Austria-Hungary.

Austria-Hungary began releasing secret documents in which Russia, since, 1878, had repeatedly stated that Austria-Hungary had a free hand in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novibazar. At the similar time, Germany stated it would only continue its active involvement in negotiations if Russia carried

the annexation. Under these pressures, Russia agreed to the annexation, and persuaded Serbia to do the similar. The Treaty of Berlin then was amended through correspondence flanked by capitals from April 7 to April 19, 1909, to reflect the annexation.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913)

The Balkan Wars in 1912-1913 increased international tension flanked by Russia and Austria. It also led to a strengthening of Serbia and a weakening of Turkey and Bulgaria, who might otherwise have kept Serbia in check, therefore disrupting the balance of power in Europe in favour of Russia.

Russia initially agreed to avoid territorial changes, but later in 1912 supported Serbia's demand for an Albanian port. An international conference was held in London in 1912-1913 where it was agreed to make a self-governing Albania, though both Serbia and Montenegro refused to comply. After an Austrian, and then an international naval demonstration in early 1912 and Russia's withdrawal of support Serbia backed down. Montenegro was not as compliant and on May 2, the Austrian council of ministers met and decided to provide Montenegro a last chance to comply and, if it would not, then to resort to military action. Though, seeing the Austrian military preparations, the Montenegrins requested the ultimatum be delayed and complied.

The Serbian government, having failed to get Albania, now demanded that the other spoils of the First Balkan War be reapportioned and Russia failed to pressure Serbia to back down. Serbia and Greece allied against Bulgaria, which responded with

a pre-emptive strike against their forces beginning the Second Balkan War. The Bulgarian army crumbled quickly when Turkey and Romania joined the war.

The Balkan Wars strained the German/Austro-Hungarian alliance. The attitude of the German government to Austrian requests of support against Serbia was initially both divided and inconsistent. After the German Imperial War Council of 8 December 1912, it was clear that Germany was not ready to support Austria-Hungary in a war against Serbia and her likely allies.

In addition, German diplomacy before, throughout, and after the Second Balkan War was pro-Greek and pro-Romanian and in opposition to Austria-Hungary's increasingly pro-Bulgarian views. The result was tremendous damage to Austro-German relations. Austrian foreign minister Leopold von Berchtold remarked to German ambassador Heinrich von Tschirschky in July 1913 that "Austria-Hungary might as well belong 'to the other grouping' for all the good Berlin had been".

In September 1913, it was learned that Serbia was moving into Albania and Russia was doing nothing to restrain it, while the Serbian government would not guarantee to respect Albania's territorial integrity and suggested there would be some boundary modifications. In October 1913, the council of ministers decided to send Serbia a warning followed through an ultimatum: that Germany and Italy be notified of some action and asked for support, and that spies be sent to statement if there was an actual withdrawal. Serbia responded to the warning with defiance

and the Ultimatum was dispatched on October 17 and received the following day. It demanded that Serbia evacuate Albanian territory within eight days. Serbia complied, and the Kaiser made a congratulatory visit to Vienna to attempt to fix some of the damage done earlier in the year.

The conflicts demonstrated that a localized war in the Balkans could alter the balance of power without provoking common war and reinforced the attitude in the Austrian government. This attitude had been developing since, the Bosnian annexation crisis that ultimatums were the only effective means of influencing Serbia and that Russia would not back its refusal with force. They also dealt catastrophic damage to the Habsburg economy.

Aftermath Health and Economic Effects

No other war had changed the map of Europe therefore dramatically. Four empires disappeared: the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian. Four dynasties, jointly with their ancillary aristocracies, all fell after the war: the Hohenzollerns, the Habsburgs, the Romanovs, and the Ottomans. Belgium and Serbia were badly damaged, as was France, with 1.4 million soldiers' dead, not counting other casualties. Germany and Russia were likewise affected.

The war had profound economic consequences. Of the 60 million European soldiers who were mobilized from 1914 to 1918, 8 million were killed, 7 million were permanently disabled, and 15 million were seriously injured. Germany lost 15.1per cent of its active male population, Austria-Hungary lost 17.1per cent, and

France lost 10.5per cent. In relation to the 750,000 German civilians died from starvation caused through the British blockade throughout the war. Through the end of the war, famine had killed almost 100,000 people in Lebanon. The best estimates of the death toll from the Russian famine of 1921 run from 5 million to 10 million people. Through 1922, there were flanked by 4.5 million and 7 million homeless children in Russia as a result of almost a decade of devastation from World War I, the Russian Civil War, and the subsequent famine of 1920-1922. Numerous anti-Soviet Russians fled the country after the Revolution; through the 1930s, the northern Chinese municipality of Harbin had 100,000 Russians. Thousands more emigrated to France, England, and the United States.

In Australia, the effects of the war on the economy were no less severe. The then Prime Minister Hughes wrote to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, "You have assured us that you cannot get bigger conditions. I much regret it, and hope even now that some method may be establish of securing agreement for challenging reparation commensurate with the tremendous sacrifices made through the British Empire and her Allies." Australia received ?5,571,720 war reparations, but the direct cost of the war to Australia had been ?376,993,052, and, through the mid-1930s, repatriation pensions, war gratuities, interest and sinking finance charges were ?831,280,947. Of in relation to the 416,000 Australians who served, in relation to the 60,000 were killed and another 152,000 were wounded.

Diseases flourished in the chaotic wartime circumstances. In 1914 alone, louse-borne epidemic typhus killed 200,000 in

Serbia. From 1918 to 1922, Russia had in relation to the 25 million infections and 3 million deaths from epidemic typhus. Whereas before World War I Russia had in relation to the 3.5 million cases of malaria, its people suffered more than 13 million cases in 1923. In addition, a biggest influenza epidemic spread approximately the world. Overall, the 1918 flu pandemic killed at least 50 million people.

Lobbying through Chaim Weizmann and fear that American Jews would encourage the USA to support Germany culminated in the British government's Balfour Declaration of 1917, endorsing making of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. A total of more than 1,172,000 Jewish soldiers served in the Allied and Central Power forces in World War I, including 275,000 in Austria-Hungary and 450,000 in Czarist Russia.

The social disruption and widespread violence of the Revolution of 1917 and the ensuing Russian Civil War sparked more than 2,000 pogroms in the former Russian Empire, mostly in the Ukraine. An estimated 60,000-200,000 civilian Jews were killed in the atrocities.

In the aftermath of World War I, Greece fought against Turkish nationalists led through Mustafa Kemal, a war which resulted in a huge population swap flanked by the two countries under the Treaty of Lausanne. Just as to several sources, many hundred thousand Pontic Greeks died throughout this era.

Peace Treaties and National Boundaries

After the war, the Paris Peace Conference imposed a series of peace treaties on the Central Powers. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles officially ended the war. Structure on Wilson's 14th point, the Treaty of Versailles also brought into being the League of Nations on 28 June 1919. In signing the treaty, Germany acknowledged responsibility for the war, and agreed to pay enormous war reparations and award territory to the victors. The "Guilt Thesis" became a controversial explanation of later measures in the middle of analysts in Britain and the United States. The Treaty of Versailles caused enormous bitterness in Germany, which nationalist movements, especially the Nazis; exploited with a conspiracy theory they described the Dolchstosslegende (Stab-in-the-back legend). The Weimar Republic lost the former colonial possessions and was saddled with accepting blame for the war, as well as paying punitive reparations for it. Unable to pay them with exports (as a result of territorial losses and postwar recession), Germany did therefore through borrowing from the United States. Runaway inflation in the 1920s contributed to the economic collapse of the Weimar Republic, and the payment of reparations was suspended in 1931 following the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and the beginnings of the Great Depression worldwide.

Austria-Hungary was partitioned into many successor states, including Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, mainly but not entirely beside ethnic rows. Transylvania was shifted from Hungary to Greater Romania. The details were contained in the Treaty of Saint-Germain and the Treaty of

Trianon. As a result of the Treaty of Trianon, 3.3 million Hungarians came under foreign rule. Although the Hungarians made up 54per cent of the population of the pre-war Kingdom of Hungary, only 32per cent of its territory was left to Hungary. Flanked by 1920 and 1924, 354,000 Hungarians fled former Hungarian territories attached to Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The Russian Empire, which had withdrawn from the war in 1917 after the October Revolution, lost much of its western boundary as the newly self-governing nations of Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland were carved from it. Bessarabia was re-attached to Greater Romania, as it had been a Romanian territory for more than a thousand years. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated, and much of its non-Anatolian territory was awarded to several Allied powers as protectorates. The Turkish core was reorganized as the Republic of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire was to be partitioned through the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920. This treaty was never ratified through the Sultan and was rejected through the Turkish republican movement, leading to the Turkish Independence War and, ultimately, to the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne.

Bolshevik Revolution Its Impact

The October Revolution spread a new message of hope and liberation for the toiling peoples all in excess of the world and the peoples of the colonies. It was a message of liberation from all shapes of use-national, social, economic and political. This was reflected in a series of declarations, legal pronouncements

and diplomatic initiatives of the new Bolshevik government. The Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People adopted in the third All Russian Congress of Soviets in January 1918, reaffirmed an inflexible determination to deliver mankind from wars and to achieve at all costs a democratic peace in the middle of nations, without annexation or indemnities, on the principle of self-determination of nations. The declaration proclaimed Soviet State's "…….. Complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois culture, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia in the colonies in common, and in the small countries."

The new Soviet state took a determined stand against the prevailing organization of international relations in which war and colonization were organic components. Instead; the thought of a presently and democratic peace and the establishment of an organization of international relations based on common democratic principles was advocated fie renunciation of secret diplomacy was a necessary corollary of Soviet international diplomacy.

Peace Initiatives of the Bolshevik Government

The Decree on Peace, one of the first biggest acts of the new Soviet State, proclaimed the abolition of secret diplomacy and in accordance with this law, the Soviet foreign ministry published the previous secret treaties signed through the Tsarist state (Russian emperors were described Tsars), including the Anglo-Russian secret treaty and convention of 1907 on "demarcation" of

spheres of interests of both the Powers England and Russia in. the Transitional East; agreement to carve up Turkey flanked by the above two and France concluded in 1916 *etc.*

The refusal of the Entente Powers (the ultimate victorious powers in the First World War) to negotiate a common peace resolution, forced Soviet Russia to enter into peace talks with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria (the other camp in the war). The Soviet proposal incorporated six points: no forcible, annexation of territories engaged throughout the war; restoration of political independence to nations vanquished throughout the war, freedom of choice to the national minorities to either remain within a state or become self-governing by a referendum; safeguarding of the rights of the national minorities in a state through special legislation protecting their national civilization and whenever possible, administrative autonomy; renunciation of war indemnities; and solution of colonial troubles in accordance with the first four principles. However imperialist Germany rejected the Soviet proposals and imposed humiliating peace conditions on the latter, Lenin still agreed to sign the Peace Treaty of Breast-Litovsk on Germany's conditions despite strong opposition within the Bolshevik party and government. Lenin firmly whispered that war is detrimental to the interests of the toiling people. The thought of national sovereignty and excellence ran by the theory and practice of Soviet foreign policy, which aimed at reshaping international relations on democratic principles. The emergence of the first socialist state inspired formally self-governing small states, colonies and semi-colonies to thrash about for and defend their sovereignty against depression and encroachment through imperialist powers. In the

procedure of evolving a new organization of international relations, the Soviets attached special significance to relations with the Eastern Countries based on the principles of equality, mutual respect and friendship. The Soviet state was willing to provide them friendly assistance in their thrash about against 'imperialism. Despite its hard economic situation, the new socialist state rendered not only political and moral but also Ṣeat material support to countries such as Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran and others. In June 1919, the Soviet government abolished all special privileges for Russian nationals in Iran, renounced all concessions and manage in excess of Iran's state revenue, and handed in excess of to Iran without challenging any compensation, the banks, the railways, highways and port facilities on Iran's Caspian coast and other property which had belonged to Tsarist Russia. A treaty of friendship with Iran was signed in February, 1921 (the first equal treaty flanked by Iran and a European power), guaranteeing Iran's independence and security of her borders with the Soviet state. Likewise, a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed with Turkey, which received generous, economic, financial and military aid from the Soviet state. A Soviet Afghan treaty was signed in Spring 1921 through which interest-free loans were given to the latter and Soviet specialists were assigned to work there.

Rise and Development of Communist and Worker's Movement

The October revolution not only had a great impact on the liberation movements in the colonies, it also paved the method for the rise and development of the communist and workers'

movement in the East. To unite several communist groups, parties and movements, to popularize Marxist-Leninist theory and to talk about the debate strategies and tactics of uniting with other nationalist non-communist forces against imperialism, a Communist International was shaped in Moscow in 1919. The ideal that was embodied in the formation of the International was the unity of the working class in the urbanized West and the oppressed peoples of the colonies in their general thrash about against imperialism. The Communist International became the coordinating centre of revolutionaries the world in excess of. The problem of a united anti-imperialist front engaged a central lay in the Comintern's theoretical and practical activities on the national and colonial question. The thought of the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces, in other languages the unity flanked by forces of socialism and the national libration movement crystallized at the second congress of the Comintern in 1920.

Given the repressive nature of the colonial regimes, several communist parties of the Eastern countries were famed in the Soviet Russia under the auspices of the Comintern. Turkish communists were the first to organize a communist party in Soviet Russia, followed through Iranian, Chinese and the, Koreans. The first group of Indian communists, was shaped in October 1920 following the arrival in Tashkent of Indians who had attended the second congress of the Comintern. On the initiative of M.N. Roy and H. Mukherjee this group of seven people proclaimed itself the Communist party of India.

Chapter 3

International Issues and Development Revolution in Communication Technology

In telecommunications and computer networking, a communication channel, or channel, refers either to a physical transmission medium such as a wire, or to a logical relationship in excess of a multiplexed medium such as a radio channel. A channel is used to convey an information signal, for instance a digital bit stream, from one or many senders (or transmitters) to one or many receivers. A channel has a sure capability for transmitting information, often considered through its bandwidth in Hz or its data rate in bits per second.

Communicating data from one site to another need some form of pathway or medium. These pathways, described communication channels, use two kinds of media: cable (twisted-pair wire, cable, and fibre-optic cable) and broadcast (microwave, satellite, radio, and infrared). Cable or wire line media use physical wires of cables to transmit data and information. Twisted-pair wire and coaxial cables are made of copper, and fibre-optic cable is made of glass. In information theory, a channel refers to a theoretical channel model with sure error aspects. In this more common

view, a storage device is also a type of channel, which can be sent to (written) and received from (read). A channel can be modeled physically through trying to calculate the physical procedures which vary the transmitted signal. For instance in wireless communications the channel can be modeled through calculating the reflection off every substance in the environment. A sequence of random numbers might also be added in to simulate external interference and/or electronic noise in the receiver.

Statistically a communication channel is generally modeled as a triple consisting of an input alphabet, an output alphabet, and for each pair (i, o) of input and output elements a transition probability p(i, o). Semantically, the transition probability is the probability that the symbol o is received given that i was transmitted in excess of the channel.

Statistical and physical modeling can be combined. For instance in wireless communications the channel is often modeled through a random attenuation (recognized as fading) of the transmitted signal, followed through additive noise. The attenuation term is a simplification of the underlying physical procedures and captures the transform in signal power in excess of the course of the transmission. The noise in the model captures external interference and/or electronic noise in the receiver. If the attenuation term is intricate it also describes the comparative time a signal takes to get by the channel. The statistics of the random attenuation are decided through previous measurements or physical simulations. Channel models may be continuous channel models in that there is no limit to how precisely their

values may be defined. Communication channels are also studied in a discrete-alphabet setting. This corresponds to abstracting a real world communication organization in which the analog->digital and digital->analog blocks are out of the manage of the designer. The mathematical model consists of a transition probability that identifies an output sharing for each possible sequence of channel inputs. In information theory, it is general to start with memory less channels in which the output probability sharing only depends on the current channel input. A channel model may either be digital (quantified, *e.g.* binary) or analog. In a digital channel model, the transmitted message is modeled as a digital signal at a sure protocol layer. Underlying protocol layers, such as the physical layer transmission technique, is replaced through a simplified model. The model may reflect channel performance events such as bit rate, bit errors, latency/delay, delay jitter, *etc.* Examples of digital channel models are:

- Binary symmetric channel (BSC), a discrete memory less channel with a sure bit error probability
- Binary bursty bit error channel model, a channel "with memory"
- Binary erasure channel (BEC), a discrete channel with a sure bit error discovery (erasure) probability
- Packet erasure channel, where packets are lost with a sure packet loss probability or packet error rate
- Arbitrarily varying channel (AVC), where the behaviour and state of the channel can transform randomly

Analog Channel Models

In an analog channel model, the transmitted message is modeled as an analog signal. The model can be a linear or non-linear, time-continuous or time-discrete (sampled), memory less or dynamic (resulting in burst errors), time-invariant or time-variant (also resulting in burst errors), baseband, pass band (RF signal model), real-valued or intricate-valued signal model. The model may reflect the following channel impairments:

- Noise model, for instance
- Additive white Gaussian noise (AWGN) channel, a linear continuous memory less model
- Stage noise model
- Interference model, for instance cross-talk (co-channel interference) and inter symbol interference (ISI)
- Distortion model, for instance a non-linear channel model causing inter-modulation distortion (IMD)
- Frequency response model, including attenuation and stage-shift
- Group delay model
- Modeling of underlying physical layer transmission techniques, for instance a intricate-valued equivalent baseband model of modulation and frequency response
- Radio frequency propagation model, for instance
- Log-aloofness path loss model
- Fading model, for instance Rayleigh fading, Ricean fading, log-normal shadow fading and frequency selective (dispersive) fading

- Doppler shift model, which combined with fading results in a time-variant organization
- Ray tracing models, which effort to model the signal propagation and distortions for specified transmitter-receiver geometries, terrain kinds, and antennas
- Mobility models, which also reasons a time-variant organization

Kinds of Communications Channels

- Digital (discrete) or analog (continuous) channel
- Baseband and pass band channel
- Transmission medium, for instance a fibre channel
- Multiplexed channel
- Computer network virtual channel
- Simplex communication, duplex communication or half duplex communication channel
- Return channel
- Uplink or downlink (upstream or downstream channel)
- Broadcast channel, unicast channel or multicast channel

New Communications Technologies

In the post war era there are two significant technological growths that have had a profound impact on the communications. One is the growth of communication satellites and the other is the digital revolution. Although the use of communication satellites had begun in the 1960s, it was only in the 1980s that their full potential came to be realized. Combined

with the digital telecommunications, satellites have increased the reach of the existing media through enabling the trans-border transfer of data, voice, picture. Communications based on satellite technology became a reality with the dawn of the legroom period 1957. Although the former Soviet Union was the first to lay satellites in orbit it was the United, States that took the lead in utilizing communication satellites for civilian and military purposes. A communication satellite is situated in relation to the 36,000 km high in the orbit. From this height its beams can cover one third of the earth's surface. A satellite can interconnect any number of stations that lie under its antenna, recognized as footprint. All the points under its beam are of the similar distances from the satellite. Hence, we say that the satellite is insensitive to aloofness. Since, the mid-1960, the International Telecommunications Satellite Organisation, a satellite consortium, has approach to control the intercontinental telecommunications. Its counterpart in the former socialist countries was the Internationals Organisation of Legroom Communications INTERSPUTNIK which was founded in 1971.

Other satellite consortiums have also been recognized to meet the specific necessities. For instances, there is the International Maritime Satellite Organisation founded in 1979 to meet the communication necessities in excess of the seas. There are also local consortiums ~o meet the communication necessities of specific areas such as the ARABSAT and ASIA VISION. In addition, many countries have launched their own satellite's to meet the domestic telecommunication necessities. In the 1980s, private satellite systems have appeared to break the monopoly of the INTELSA T in satellite services.

Advances in electronics and digital devices are the other growths that have led to a revolution in communications. Simply information -can be transmitted in excess of any telecommunications medium in two methods: analog or digital. The analog transmission uses an electrical signal to symbolize the voice, picture, or data to be sent. When the voice is loud the signal is strong, and when it is soft, the signal is weak. Virtually all the worlds' telecommunications channels started as analog devices. Today they are rapidly being replaced through digital technology. In digital communication, the information is translated into discrete binary digits (zeros and ones) recognized as bits.

These bits can be transmitted unambiguously and saved exactly as transmitted. Computers are linked to each other to transfer digital data. Telephone rows that carry analog data are being used to send 'digital computer data through attaching a modem to the computer to convert analog information into digital. In the modem telephone organization, conversations are converted into digital form and transmitted through wire or optical fibre. The computer is the driving force behind the current digital revolution. Today there is a worldwide trend towards digital devices. As a result there is a drive to make 'integrated digital network' which will eventually merge previously separate communications network into new, high capability systems that contain telephone, telegraph, tele-text, fax, data, and video.

These new communication technologies, principally the satellite and digital networks have revolutionized communications in the recent years. The speed and capability of communications

technologies has outpaced our wildest expectations. As aloofness and terrain become meaningless in -the satellite age and as the digital revolution spurs networking of communication devices, there is no longer a clear demarcation flanked by several national and international networks. These have no doubt profound implications for the international organization. National sovereignty and the flow of information, that have a bearing on the international political procedure. Although these two issues are related they are two separate issues. On both these issues there are dissimilar perception flanked by the advanced nations of the North and the newly emergent developing nations of the South.

Communication and National Sovereignty

New communication technologies pose many troubles for the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty traditionally refers to a country's right to protect its borders form military aggression; to preserve its natural wealth and possessions; and to choose its political, social, economic and cultural systems without interference through another state. From this conception of sovereignty flows the principle of 'information sovereignty'-that nations enjoy the full rights of sovereignty and territorial integrity in the regions of communication and information. Though, the new communication and information technologies of message manufacture, dissemination and reception do not respect national boundaries. This has given rise to a host of issues that affect national sovereignty-controlling the flow of information, growth of national communication facilities *etc.* Let us analyze the issue of sovereignty generated through satellite

technology through taking two kinds of satellites direct broadcasting satellites and remote sensing satellites.

From their invention in the early 1960s, direct broadcasting satellites have raised the issues of national sovereignty. A communication satellite placed in the GSO can cover one third of the earth's surface. In other languages, whether designed or not, broadcasting signals from satellite spill in excess of in to the territories of other nations. Its footprint (the geographical region sheltered through the signal) can never be formed exactly to fit the designed coverage region. In this context some argue that a country should be protected from unwanted signals. Direct television broadcasting through satellites from one country to another without the prior consent of the getting state is a violation of national sovereignty, a threat to national economies and national cultures. On the other hand, industrialized countries which lead in satellite technologies have argued that any regulation of direct broadcast satellites is a thereat to the freedom of information. This location is strongly advocated through the United States.

Satellite technologies also gave rise to controversies related to the access of slots in outer legroom. Air legroom law allow a state to exercise sovereignty in excess of its air legroom, whereas the prevailing legroom law doctrines allow countries to explore and use outer legroom, the moon, and other celestial bodies on a foundation of excellence without national appropriation through claim of sovereignty. Outer legroom law and airspace law are therefore diametrically opposed both in principle and practice. Moreover, there has no satisfactory solution to the issue of

identifying the -point at which the airspace ends and outer legroom begins. The threshold flanked by airspace and outer legroom is widely held to be the Van Karman row-the point to which states traditionally may claim sovereignty; in excess of the air above their territory. Beyond this row just as to this view, state sovereignty ends.

This definition has not been without controversy. Geo-stationary communication satellites are ideally situated at a height of 36,000 Ian in excess of the equator. Countries situated nearer to the equator are at a vantage point to receive satellite signals by a comparatively thin layer of atmosphere. But the geo-stationary orbit (GSO) is limited through the information that satellites in his orbit cannot be parked secure to each other and there are a rising number of countries and corporations interest in satellite services. In 1976, nine countries situated on the equator adopted the Bogota Declaration, which stated that the geo-stationary orbit is a natural resource of the equatorial states and is thereby subject to their sovereignty. These countries insist that no substance could be placed in the GSO without their approval. These countries fear that the GSO is limited and may not be accessible for them through the time they are ready to use it. This location has, though, been disputed through the two leading legroom faring countries, the: United States and the former Soviet Union.

In information, today there are four biggest positions on sovereignty in excess of the GSO. The first advocated primarily through the United States, considers that the GSO should be allocated on a "first-approach, first-served" foundation. A second

location, represented through the then Soviet Union, advocates the 'Van Karman principle', that is that there should be a clear demarcation point flanked by outer legroom and aerospace, set at a specific altitude above sea stage. Airspace below that frontier would be sovereign property. Above that limit it would be outer legroom to which all would have free access. The third approach, defended largely through the developing countries, calls for global prior allocation of both orbital positions and frequencies. They favour establishing an international regime to guarantee equal access. Finally, we have the equatorial countries view, which also supports require for prior allocation; but because of their geographical location claim preferential rights.

The question of sovereignty was also raised through another class of satellites-the earth observation or remote sensing satellites. These satellites detect, measure, and examine substances or objects on earth form orbit. There is little doubt that data gained in this method can -augment the political and economic power of the 'sensing' nation in excess of the 'sensed' nation. Knowledge of likely oil-deposits, crop yields or failures, and mineral deposits' can help governments and corporations create bigger plans for the domestic and create more informed bids on the international markets. Since, international law grants absolute sovereignty national governments sovereignty in excess of their natural possessions, the issue here is whether a nation should have absolute sovereignty in excess of information concerning those possessions. To whom does the information belong when America's LANDSAT, the French MARK, India's IRS or some another commercial remote sensing satellite detects oil or significant mineral deposits in some sections of Asia or Africa?

The country whose possessions are being sensed is not aware of the subsistence of these possessions or that information. A country or a corporation owing and utilizing the remote-sensing satellite may know more in relation to the country than the country does itself. Data obtained through these ways through these ways might give these countries and private firms with vital economic data which is not accessible to the regional authorities. Some developing countries, such as Brazil have so opposed the use of remote sensing techniques or other advanced sensing techniques without prior consent. These countries fears have not been assuaged through a policy of unlimited availability of remote sensing satellite date. These fears have been compounded through the information that a huge majority of these countries basically do not have the trained personnel to interpret the remotely sensed data even if the data in made accessible to them.

This debate finally resulted in the United Nations adopting the Principles Relating to Remote Sensing of the Earth from Outer Legroom in 1986, the first internationally established principles guiding the conduct of remote sensing satellites. Through this treaty, sensed nations have given up the demand for prior consent before data dissemination. But the principles guarantee the sensed access to all data. In recent years, the debate on remote sensing satellites has been enlivened through the use of these systems through the international news agencies and commercial networks. Since, the inception of the legroom age, the two leading legroom powers, the United States and Soviet Union had utilized satellites based sensing techniques to monitor the movement and deployment of military weapons through each other. They have also been used to verify the compliance of arms

manage agreements. In the 1980s, the monopoly of highly classified satellites of the governments in monitoring nuclear and missile activities was broken when international news agencies and commercial networks began by remotely sensed data. In the United States, television viewers saw LANDSAT pictures of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster nuclear disaster days before the Soviets acknowledged that the accident had eyen occurred. ABC news used the LANDSAT images to reveal that Iran had deployed Chinese made 'silkworm' missiles. This is bound to have important bearing on the future trends in international political procedures.

Disparities in Communication

The communication revolution has not benefited all of human type equally. There are enormous and ever rising disparities flanked by these who have information and those who lack information. These differences exist within countries and flanked by genders. They exist flanked by municipalities and the rural face. They exist flanked by the rich countries and the poor countries. In other languages, presently as there is an economic division flanked by nations, one can identify the division flanked by the information-rich and the information-poor of the world. In information, information abundance is a reality only for an exclusive club of nations and elite within those nations:

For more than a century, the North Atlantic news agencies divided the world into spheres of powers. Roads, ocean routes, transoceanic cables, telegraph, and radio frequencies followed colonial routes. One of the mainly persistent criticisms of news

flows has been that the leading four transnational news agencies-Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Agence France Press (AFP) and Routers-manage the bulk of the news flow. As we saw even today, with satellites, television, fibre optics, and computer communications, much of the information continues to flow beside the North Atlantic axis. There is a one method flow of cinema, television programming from the large exporting countries to the rest of the world. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), whose largest purpose is to promote the reason of peace through rising understanding in the middle of nations by education and research, from its inception in 1945 has focused its attention on the growth of communication infrastructure in member states. In the early 1950s the United Nations established that "self-governing domestic information enterprise (in developing countries) should be given facilities and assistance in order at they may be member states. In the early 1950s the United Nations established that "self-governing domestic information enterprise (in developing countries) should be given facilities and assistance in order that they may be enabled to contribute to the spread of information, to the growth of national civilization and to international understanding". It described for the elaboration of a concrete programme and plan of action in this respect. In the 1960s, UNESCO surveyed communication technologies world wide and concluded that the disparities flanked by the urbanized and developing countries was widening and that these disparities made free circulation of news and information a one-method flow rather than a real swap. In the 1970s the developing countries gathered forces to demand a restructuring of the international information order. The Non-Aligned Movement, consisting of

nations and liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and on behalf of in excess of two-thirds of the humanity, spearheaded the demand for a new international information order.

New International Information Order

The demand for a new information order appeared in the context of the debate on the new "international economic order. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), seeking to promote the values of excellence interdependence, growth oriented towards the people rather than capital and technology, harmony with the environment, respect for human rights, and satisfaction of the vital human requires had urbanized the concept of New International Economic Order (NIEO). In order to correct the imbalances and distortions in the prevailing economic relations flanked by the North and South, the NAM described for bigger conditions of deal with the industrialized nations and more regional manage in excess of productive assets such as capital, labour, and technology. It also described for greater deal in the middle of developing nations, greater investments through the industrialized countries, and greater participation of the developing countries in the world economic organizations. The issue was debated in the United Nations which in 1974 passed the Declaration of an International Economic Order.

The demand for a New Information Order was an outgrowth of the values inherent in the NIEO debate. As the non-aligned nations accentuated, one order was meaningless without the other. Communication was an antecedent and engine to economic

action. At the Aligers summit meeting in 1973, the NAM described for the "reorganization of existing communication channels, which region legacy of the colonial past". Thereafter the demand for a new information order gathered momentum in tandem with the demand for NIEO. The New Delhi Declaration on Decolonization of Information in 1976 succinctly put forward the case for balanced flow of information therefore:

- The present global information flows are marked through seri6us inadequacy and imbalance. The means of communication information are concentrated in a few countries. The great majority of countries are reduced to being passive recipients of information which is disseminated from a few centers.

- This situation perpetuates the colonial period of dependence and power. It confines judgements and decisions on what should be recognized, and how it should be made recognized, into the hands of a few.

- Presently as political and dependence are legacies of a colonialism, therefore is the case of dependence in the field of information which in turn retards the attainment of political and economic development.

- In a situation in which the means of information are control and monopolized through a few, freedom of information really comes to mean the freedom of a few to propagate information in the manner of their choosing and the virtual denial to the rest of the right to inform and be informed objectively and accurately.

Not content with a mere critique, the NAM also launched two concrete efforts aimed at redressing the imbalances in the world's information flows. In 1975 the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool was initiated to give news and information not generally establish in western news services. In 1977, NAM organized the Broadcasting Institutions of the Non-Aligned Countries to ensure dissemination of broadcast information in and from non-aligned countries. It was at the Colombo summit meeting that the NAM unequivocally stated for the first time, that "a new international order in the meadows of information and mass communications is· as vital as a new international economic order". It was mainly as a result of the NAMs efforts to obtain the Decolonization of information that in 1978 UNESCO recognized an International Commission for the Revise of Communication Troubles, popularly recognized as the MacBride Commission after its chairman Sean MacBride. The commission's statement, Several Voices, One World, was presented at the 1980 Common Conference. The MacBride commission strongly advocated the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) and especially focused on the democratization of communication. It described for reducing' commercialism in communications and accentuated the media's role in aiding oppressed people to gain grater freedom; independence, access to information, and right to expression. The commission also envisioned an expanded role for UNESCO in implementing these recommendations.

Though, the call for a new international information order' encountered strong resistance from the Western governments. The press and publishing lobbying groups in these countries opposed the new information order on the premise that would

lead to government manage. They particularly objected to the article stating that "States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their' jurisdiction". The United was particularly unhappy that UNESCO's programmes Limited the power and participation of private sector in the growth of national communications of the developing nations. The United States withdrew from the UNESCO in 1984 saying that its programmes endangered the free flow of information and free market. It claimed that the Soviet threat hung in excess of the future operations of the UNESCO and that freedom of press was in danger. A year later, Britain also withdrew from the UNESCO.

The withdrawal of the US resulted in the information and communication issue being shifted to the back burner at the UNESCO. Despite some sparks of action, the information debate was mainly squashed through the US action. The 1985 Common Conference in a conciliatory tone declared that the establishment of a new world information and communication order should be 'seen as an evolving and continuous procedure'. In the following years all significant issues of the new information order such as global news, the right to communicate, or national communication policies receded into the backdrop.

The Present Information and Communication Order

A new information order has taken shape but not the one envisaged through the non-aligned nations. It is' an order of the advanced countries of the North. While several nations of the South languish in the pre-electric age, the urbanized nations

have moved into the post-industrial or information age, The primary orientation of their economies is towards service rather than manufacturing activities. The knowledge industry predominates' in these economies. These economies are shifting their manufacturing bases to the less urbanized countries where the cost of labour is comparatively cheap. Economies are receiving inextricably intertwined. But this interdependence facilitated through the communication technologies masks the rising divide flanked by the North· and South which has widened even more. Believe the following:

- Approximately the world each day, more than 8500 newspapers publish in excess of 575 million copies. The urbanized countries explanation for 70 per cent of total newspaper manufacture. Although developing countries, with three quarters of the worlds population own in relation to the one-half of the worlds daily newspapers, they can control only 30 per cent of the worlds newspaper output. On in excess of 60 countries, there are no common interest newspapers or only a single newspaper is published.

- Book manufacture has increased dramatically approximately the world. But more books are published and exported through the urbanized countries than through the developing countries. The rising demand for scientific, technological, and educational books and the shortage of printing paper needs mainly developing countries to import rising quantities of books from the countries of the West. Though, the flow of books from the developing countries to the urbanized world

remnants slight. Essentially, the flow of books flanked by the two groups is a one-method flow of books flanked by the two groups is a one-method flow, with rising concentration of the publishing industry in a few multinational corporations. The United States, Great. Britain and Germany are in the middle of the main exporters of books.

- In the manufacture of cinematic films, developing countries produce a little more than the urbanized countries. India leads the world in the manufacture of films. But United States while not the main producer is the main exporter. Beside with France, Great Britain and Germany, it accounts for 80 to 90 per cent of all exported films.

- There are disparities in the sharing of radio and television receivers. The number of receiver per 1000 inhabitants in the urbanized world was 1,006 and 485 in 1988 while in the developing countries it was 173 and 44. These statistics do not reflect the information that hundreds of radio transmitters in the third world are actually repeaters for signals originating in the urbanized world or the heavy dependence imported television programming, primarily from United States. or to a much 'lesser extent, Europe and Japan.

- Today there are almost 200 communications satellites in the geo-synchronous orbit. Of these, in excess of 90 per cent are launched through the urbanized countries. The United States and the Commonwealth of Self-governing States, have the main satellite networks, including domestic civilian and world wide military

communication network. With only 15 per cent of the worlds population. they use more than 50 per cent of the geo-stationary orbit.

- Through the end of the 1980s, the number of telephone rows in service in the urbanized countries was 350 million, as compared to 60 million in the developing world. Ten urbanized countries, with 20 per cent of the world's population, accounted for approximately three quarters of all telephone rows. The United States had as several telephone rows as all of Asia. More significant, the telephone technology in the developing countries is still primitive and expensive when compared with the urbanized countries.

- In excess of 90 per cent of the worlds computers are establish in 15 of the world mainly economically advanced countries. International computer communications is accessible in more than one hundred countries. But it needs three vital preconditions: a reliable universal electrical supply, noise-free and interference-free telephone rows, and reliable maintenance services. All these are lacking in mainly sections of the world.

In the 1980s nations of the South experience several improvements in communications, but the disparity flanked by the North and the South sustained to grow. Although some progress has been made in creation developing countries concerns heard, the current flow of information is more unbalanced today than it was ever before, Further although some transactional mass media have improved their coverage of the

South, images of these countries are still distorted. Market and commercial forces have been the largest driving forces behind the current technical growths in the region of communications and information. In the 1970s, commercial interests played a significant role in the weakening of institutional and governmental controls in the United States. In the 1980s several European nations have deregulated their communication and information sectors allowing greater participation of the private sector in information manufacture and dissemination. These market forces have their own political power and in several countries complement government policies that view electronic information industries as vital to the nation's economic well being. As we noted earlier, these forces have played a significant role in scuttling the growth of a new information order as envisaged through the developing countries. With the national economies receiving intertwined and with the emergence of world-wide communication and information networks, today there are greater pressures on the developing nations to deregulate their economies and information sectors.

Partly as a result of the rising communication in the middle of and flanked by people approximately the world, and partly because of the market forces another ominous growth is taking lay-the rising concentration and trans-nationalization of media. A handful of vast conglomerates have begun to control the world's flow of information and communication. If the present trends continue through the end of the present century less than a dozen corporate giants are expected to manage mainly of the world's significant newspapers, magazines, books, broadcast stations, movies, recordings and videocassettes. These corporate

giants exert a homogenizing power in excess of ideas, civilization, and commerce. This threatens the right to information to the extent that there will be no diverse sources to choose from and further there will be limited access for those citizens who wish to reach others.

Impact of Communication Technologies on International Politics

The impact of communication revolution heralded through communication satellites, digital and computer systems on international politics are presently beginning to be felt. While predicting the exact impact of the new communication technologies is tricky, one item is certain" The well-known ground is rapidly shifting. Approximately all societies have become porous. Due to the convergence of key technologies, national governments are losing manage in excess of their national communications. Satellites create non-sense of traditional geography and notions of aloofness; cable multiplies the regional delivery systems and sucks ' in far signals; and computers procedure and transfer information to each other. As nations loose manage in excess of message manufacture, dissemination, and reception, as a result'" of the transnational character of the communication technologies and procedures, nations are faced with new threats-vulnerability to disruption and technological failures.

A new type of global society is emerging with non-state actors such as transnational corporations and non-governmental institutions (NGO's) playing a significant role. Communication

revolution had played a significant role in the rise of these actors into prominence. Previously in accessible from one another, NGO's 'are becoming global actors, with the augment in their power and capability to communicate. Playing a prominent role at the United Nations and other world forums, NGO's and citizen advocacy groups are taking up issues like environment defence, disarmament, human rights, consumer rights *etc.* issues and troubles whose level confounds regional and national solutions. There is some proof to suggest the emergence of a fledging global civil community, that is section ·of our communal lives that is neither market nor government but is therefore often inundated through them.

Communication technologies are also facilitating the emergence of a world public opinion, another proof of the emergence of global civil community. World opinion has shaped approximately two kinds of troubles; widespread national troubles, such as underdevelopment, hunger, social inequalities, and the power crisis; and troubles that are global in scope, such as growth, environment, disarmament, and human rights. Political leaders are increasingly paying attention not only to the traditional house and human rights. Political leaders are increasingly paying attention not only to the traditional house and foreign public opinion but the opinion expressed through the world at big. In the pre electronic ages, political leaders whispered they could manage house and foreign public opinion. The news media rarely quoted from editorial or opinion pieces that seem abroad. But today improved communication technologies, jointly with sophisticated sampling techniques, now create it possible for governments and the news media to know precisely what foreign

publics think. Governments often tailor their actions to foreign publics as well as their own.

International Terrorism

Nature of International Terrorism

As terrorism is a world wide phenomenon, any related act involves many nations thereby creation the procedure a complicated one. An essential precondition of international terrorism calls for international linkages flanked by terrorist organisations and groups. Their use of violence at times creates their goals and objectives obscured. These groups though swap equipments, involve themselves in combine operation scheduling, avail the benefits of each others training regions and support each other from the administrative and logical points of view. The terrorists in information considers the world as a level where their troubles, intentions and imaginations are made public. 'They have no regard for their national boundaries. They belong to one country, achieve their training in some other country, get their finances and operate in some other dissimilar countries. Technical advancements have introduced new types of weapons and explosives in the meadows of terrorism. Moreover the entry of criminals on an individual plane and the mergence of criminal gangs have changed the character of terrorism from being a politically motivated one to a criminally motivated one which comparatively is more dangerous.

Kinds of International Terrorism

Terrorism are of varied types no matter at which stage it operates. They are:

- Discriminate and Indiscriminate Terrorism: This distinction is based on the activities undertaken through the terrorists. The former can be easily comprehended as discriminate terrorists attack their obvious enemies. All their victims are either combatants or potential belligerents. Such terrorism therefore has an element of justification. The latter is always hard to understand as in it people are indiscriminately attacked. Innocent public may be perceived as legitimate targets because they happen to be at the sight of the attack. The reason of such an attack is hard to determine as it has no justification behind it.
- Right wing terrorism and Left wing Terrorism: The former involves themselves in pro-government activities and are reactionary in nature. The latter emerge from the intellectual class of the community and have a strong desire to move the economy in the right direction. Some of them may address one scrupulous problem and adopt terror related ways to publicize their reason and hence, gain a sympathetic hearing.
- Nationalists and separatists: Such terrorists are imbued with a sense of nationhood and want their state or territory to be returned back therefore that their land is established as a self-governing entity in the

pages of history. The desire what they perceive to be originally belonging to them.

Pattern of Global Terrorism

Terrorism has been prevalent during history, engulfing all areas of the globe. Use of terrorist techniques through factions against regimes is an age old phenomenon. It can be traced to the Roman emperors who used such means to discourage any threat to their rule. Significantly sufficient, the modern wave of global terrorism received a biggest boost in the late 1960's from the similar region. Terror was openly sponsored throughout the French Revolution in order to instill a revolutionary fervour in the middle of the people. Slowly the supporters of anarchism in Russia, the United States and means to bring in relation to the revolutionary political and social transform. From 1865 to 1905 the scene of global terrorism was therefore restricted to these countries where prime official were killed through anarchists guns or bombs.

The twentieth century brought in relation to the revolutionary changes in the techniques and use of terrorism. Technical up graduation gave the terrorists a new mobility and lethality. Political movement of all shades of the political spectrum began to use such tactics. In information totalitarian regimes of Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and the Soviet Union under Stalin virtually adopted terrorism as their State policy however they did not acknowledge it publicly. In these States such techniques like torture and execution were accepted out without legal restrictions to create people fearfully adhere to their policies and ideologies. Mao introduced a reign of terror on a much wider level

than Stalin. Iran too experienced a stage of terror and counter-terror throughout the regimes of Reze Shah and Khomeine when executions and mass murders were accepted out on big level. Likewise Spain too experienced violence of numerous types' terrorist, leftist state sponsored and the like.

Terrorism is usually recognized with attempts made through individuals or groups to destabilize or overthr9w existing political organizations. At the global stage terrorism has been used in anti-colonial conflicts whether through both the sides or through one face (Algeria and France), it has been used through groups of dissimilar religious denominations (Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland), in conflicts flanked by two national groups in excess of possession of contested homeland (Palestinians and Israel) and also in disputes flanked by revolutionary forces and recognized governments (Iran, Indonesia, Argentina *etc.*) With advancement in the means of communication and media the public impact of any terrorist act gets wide coverage thereby bringing the event directly to millions of viewers worldwide that in turn becomes aware of the grievances or political goods of the terrorists. Modem day terrorism sometimes pursue unrealistic goals thereby loosing popular support and alienating themselves form the political mainstream. A~ such they resort to such violent acts like hijackings, bombings, kidnappings *etc.* The mainly prominent terrorist groups of the latter twentieth century contain the Baader-Meinh of Gang of West Germany, Italy's Red Brigades, France's Direct Action, al-Fatat and other Palestinian institutions and the like international collaboration is an essential characteristic of modem day global terrorism. The terrorists operating on a global level are today establishing

linkages worldwide and are basing their connections on religion, race or political ideology. Sometimes terrorist groups are trained financed and equipped through agencies of countries other than those where they operate. The incidence of terrorism therefore has grown alarmingly. Some countries particularly the super powers are today by the instrument of terror and violence to pursue their foreign policy goals. Therefore the largest sponsor of global terrorism the large powers that have no regard for international frontiers, creation terrorism a preventing phenomenon.

Terrorism has assumed dissimilar shapes in dissimilar countries beside with it the response of the -lawful government of the concerned countries have also been varied. In Federal Germany detail analysis and classification of offences are accepted out and the aspects of terrorists are worked out.

Moreover in this country police action against terrorism has become highly organized with each thing of terrorist information being automatically connected to a sophisticated radio network. In France terrorism has taken the form of war and the Government is creation use of computerized records to register and revise terrorist crimes. Terrorist activities in Britain are largely accepted out through the banned organization described the Irish Republican Army. This body was the culmination of age old hatred of Irish Roman Catholics against the injustice meted out through the Protestant majority in Britain. Shaped in 1919 it continues to carry out such activities as murders arson and such other acts sometimes in a small measure and sometimes in a small manner but it goes to the credit of British democracy that

instead of resorting to illegal shootings and torture of the terrorist, it has dealt with the crisis with extraordinary stringent legislation, a supportive judiciary and the public.

Today terrorism has become a lethal weapon for initiating a procedure of destabilization. It owes its origin to a few evil men who laid down the vital tenets for terrorist activities and initiated a trial of blood and violence. The mainly noted in the middle of them was Carlos, who originally hailed from Venezuela. Also recognized as the Jackel he is universally regarded as the chief protagonist of terrorists. He codified the aims of terrorists and the means of achieving them and enumerated a test of abilities to be acquired through terrorists. He posed a challenge to governments approximately the globe till he met his death. In excess of the years a clear distinction could be drawn flanked by politically motivated and criminally motivated terrorism. The shaped terrorizes people to exhort money to uphold their groups. They have both foreign support and internal popular sympathy. The latter is motivated through criminal pecuniary gain and is led through criminal gangs who specialize in kidnap and ransom. The former is hard to curb because of popular sympathy but the latter can be checked effectively through efficient policing and intelligence work.

Urban Terrorism

Urban Terrorism, is the targeted use of terrorism in urban populations in order to reason the mainly harm, injury, death, or property damage. Since, urban regions have significantly higher

population densities than rural regions, targeting those regions can maximize the effect of the terrorist attack.

Examples

A diversity of ways for committing urban terrorism have been employed in recent history including car bombs, explosive vests, and in the case of the September 11 attacks, hijacked airplanes.

February 26, 1993 World Deal Center Bombing

On February 26, 1993, at 12:17 p.m., a Ryder truck filled with 1,500 pounds (680 kg) of explosives, planted through Ramzi Yousef, detonated in the underground garage of the North Tower.

The blast opened a 100 foot (30 m) hole by five sublevels with the greatest damage occurring on stages B1 and B2 and important structural damage on stage B3. Six people were killed, in excess of 1,000 were injured and 50,000 other workers and visitors were left gasping for air within the 110 story towers. Several people inside the North Tower were forced to walk down darkened stairwells that contained no emergency lighting, some taking two hours or more to reach safety. Yousef fled to Pakistan after the bombing but was arrested in Islamabad in February 1995, and was extradited back to the United States to face trial. Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman was convicted in 1996 for involvement in the bombing and other plots. Yousef and Eyad Ismoil were convicted in November 1997 for their carrying out the bombing. Four others had been convicted in May 1994 for their involvement in the 1993 bombing. Just as to a presiding judge, the conspirators' chief aim

at the time of the attack was to destabilize the north tower and send it crashing into the south tower, toppling both landmarks.

September 11, 2001 Attacks

The September 11 attacks (often referred to as September 11th or 9/11) were a series of coordinated suicide attacks through al-Qaeda. On that morning, 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners. The hijackers intentionally crashed two of the airliners into the Twin Towers of the World Deal Center in New York Municipality, killing everyone on board and several others working in the structures. Both structures collapsed within two hours, destroying surrounding structures and damaging others. The hijackers crashed a third airliner into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, presently outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into a field close to Shanksville in rural Pennsylvania after some of its passengers and flight crew attempted to retake manage of the plane, which the hijackers had redirected towards Washington, D.C. in an attempted attack on the United States Capitol Structure. There were no survivors from any of the flights.

The death toll of the attacks was 2,995, including the 19 hijackers. The overwhelming majority of casualties were civilians, including nationals of in excess of 70 countries. In addition, there is at least one secondary death-one person was ruled through a medical examiner to have died from lung disease due to exposure to dust from the World Deal Center's collapse.

Rural Terrorism

Rural terrorist movements can also be described rural guerrilla movements. This is because rural terrorists operate from the forest or the jungles and have a rural backdrop largely. These organize popular support in the rural regions and terrorize anyone who do not support or cooperate with them. They develop their organization in impoverished cities and involves in uprisings when the appropriate time comes.

Development of Rural Terrorism

Rural terrorism is not a new phenomenon. Rural populations are extremely precious to terrorist attacks because defence of rural populations is hard and expansive. Village officials and police administrators live under threat therefore they follow a policy of live-and-let-live with the terrorists. The prime targets of rural terrorism are rural affluence regions (for instance the drug producing regions of Peru, Colombia, *etc.*), people in villages at work in the meadows or on the roads or in any in accessible regions, water supplies of the rural regions (as they are vulnerable to contamination), and the infrastructure which is again subjected to sabotage. Hand-held guided missiles and machine guns which are heavy is particularly used through the rural terrorists. Vulnerable premises in rural terrorism range from in accessible army or police posts to big installations, oil refineries, air meadows and villages which are defended. Because of extensive delay before help can approach, in accessible guards who protect installations are the mainly vulnerable for attacks.

As such village security men necessity be equipped with surveillance and alarm systems if such attacks are to be stopped.

The mainly favourite technique of the rural terrorists used since, the 1940's is the road mines detonated through the pressure of the wheel of a passing vehicle, because rural roads are largely made of dirt, or oil-bound sand. Road bombs and impoverished explosives are other such weapons.

In spite of such weapons at their disposal the rural terrorists discover it hard to control the rural regions which need regular with the villages which again creates the task hard because visitors in rural regions do not remain unnoticed, a information which can be made use of through intelligence agencies. In ordinary conditions the army or the police bigger armed and with bigger opportunities for training have the advantage in excess of the rural guerrilla units. But adverse is the case· when the rural terrorists take the initiative either in an ambush or in a surprise attack. The problem though is to predict the movements of the terrorists which needs god intelligence and the best source of it is human sources. Security forces in the rural regions necessity build up the confidence of the rural people in their own security and convince them of the final defeat of the terrorists therefore that they cooperate in providing information. If such confidence is build up that their average of life will steadily improve if stable government is maintained, the villages and other rural folk will be less likely to be aroused through political activists to use or support violence.

Rural Terrorist Activities in Asia and Africa

The rural terrorists in Asia and Africa follow the Maoist revolution and strategy of deploying cadres to organize popular support in the remote regions and thereafter terrorizing anyone who do not cooperate with them. It mainly cases these terrorists have secure linkages with large criminal gangs generally financed through drug trafficking. One significant aspect of the rural terrorist heritage is that refugees from internal clash or oppression are often trained in the neighbouring countries to go back and serve as terrorists. The Indians did this to train a guerrilla force to assist their invasion of Bangladesh in 1971. Some notable instances of countries where rural terrorism has been widespread are in Asia and Africa.

Throughout the latter section of 1970's Cambodia was subjected to the mainly vicious regime of government terrorism ever recorded. A Chinese oriented Communist Party forcibly recognized its rule in 1975 and let loose a reign of terror. A million people were killed and all manifestation of urban culture were gutted. In 1978 the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and subjected the people with a threat of insurgency. Cambodia suffered thirteen years of civil war till the year 1991. Likewise in Philippines two largest guerrilla groups have been operated since, 1970sthe Maoist New People's Army (NPA) and the Muslim secessionist group (MNLF) and are fighting for a self-governing Islamic state in the Southern islands of the country. MNLF have thousands of armed guerrillas and is supported through Iran, Libya and sometimes through sympathetic Muslims in the neighbouring territory of east Malaysia facing strong resistance

from the Christian majority in the regions of their operation their strength has declined. The NP A continues to spread terror through assassinating regional officials, police administrators and soldiers. They are financed almost through extortions from large businesses and their cadres are in rural regions, are organized, and exercise discipline through terror in the villages. In excess of the years NPA has fragmented but several of its members continue to operate as armed criminal gangs.

Sri Lanka has also been plagued through insurgencies since, 1983. Commercial massacres in the North were initiated through the Tamil Tigers (L TIE) and insurgency in the south was begun through a radical Sinhalese nationalist movement, the people's Liberation Front (NP). Through 1989 the government forces captured or killed the whole NP leadership through mounting a ruthless offensive however the Tigers have lost their initial strength because of heavy casualties in the course of encounters with the government forces, their fanatical members continue to thrive, as such terrorism in Sri Lanka continues. Terrorism in India is seen in the context of communal violence including that flanked by Hindus and Muslims, separatist violence through Gurkhas, Nagas and others. Sikh violence's and terrorism is largely concentrated in the urban regions but it extends to massacres of Hindus in the villages and buses. That terrorism has flourished throughout communal frenzies is borne through the explosion of violence in Uttar Pradesh in 1992 December. In Bombay Hindus looted Muslim shops and the horrible procedure of ethnic cleansing went on in hundred. Afghanistan, Central Asia and Kurdistan have also been experiencing the scourge of rural terrorism. Terrorism in these regions is dependent on their

rocky mountainous terrain and their tribal structure. Tribesmen engage themselves in terrorist activities as they want to free themselves from the regular armies of governments. As such the war remain focused on manage of rural roads from which the regular armies pass. Though, a more serious threat in this area comes from the ambitions of the large neighbouring powers who in order to extend their power support terrorist group in these regions. The procedure of ethnic cleansing in these regions also continues.

Sudan, Somalia and Southern Africa also has been experiencing terrorist movements. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, a terrorist organization dominates half of Sudan particularly in the southern section of the country. However shaped in 1983, it split into two factions, seeking independence for southern Sudan and the other seeking a federal Sudanese government. Continuing terrorist warfare is suppressed through the army and police. Somalia has also been experiencing chaos since, 1991. After twenty one years of dictatorial Communist rule, a coup was organized through Common Mohamed Aideed on behalf of the United Somali Congress (USC). This was followed through an immediate split flanked by Aideed and Ali Mahdi whom the USC had appointed President of Somalia. These two groups had their own private armies which consisted gangs of young men, in vehicles mounted with machine-guns and rocket launchers who looted food supplies in the countryside. However intervention through US troops and UN troops have made attempts to solve the problem but the warlords continue to fight and they have expressed contempt for the peace maker. Angola and Mozambique achieved independence from Portugal in 1975 but their new

governments were opposed through terrorist movements - UNIT A and RENAMO who controlled substantial amounts of territory and occupied in intimidating the villagers or tribesmen. Irrespective of attempts made through the ANC to improve the situation in South Africa violence and terrorism continues to hold their method thereby hampering political progress.

Rural Terrorist Activities in Latin America

The ongoing violence and terrorism in the Latin American countries like Colombia and Peru is because of the drug cartels that fund terrorist activities. Sendero Luminoso's (SL) rural guerrilla organization and techniques in Peru operate in the shanty cities and has foundation in the rural regions where coca is grown. It is a violent body and engages in terrorizing the people with public mutilations and executions. Colombia, one of the mainly politically stable democratic systems in Latin America has been constantly plagued through violence, financed through the international drug deal. The two largest terrorist organisations of Colombia are Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia and the National Liberation Army.

The former is a nation wide rural group and has an open political front. The latter largely operates in the oil-producing regions in North-East Colombia and its aim is largely to drive out the foreign oil companies. Even today drug money continue to flow into the country and there is no sign of the violence subsiding. El Salvador has also suffered from immense casualties because of terrorists who have resorted to the business of kidnapping for extorting money and from time to time terrorist bodies have tried

to bring down governments as well. Violent clash for years have weakened the economy but no respite looks to be in sight for the people of El Salvador because the ex-terrorists and members of terrorist bodies always resort to the use of gun to resolve any dispute. It is important to note that the financiers of terrorism in Colombia and Peru particularly are the drug addicts of the US and other European countries. As such these countries should create serious attempts to prevent their own drug addicts from buying it therefore that farmers are discouraged to grow coca in the Latin American countries and therefore save itself from the menace of terrorism.

The mainly significant term is 'nation' upon which the entire concept of ethno-nationalism revolves. 'Nation' writes Columbus and Wolfe, is a concept denoting a general ethnic and cultural identity shared through a 'single people'. It can be defined as a group of people who feel themselves to be a society bound jointly through ties of history, civilization and general ancestry. That is nation is ethnically homogeneous. Nations which are urbanized by scrupulous historical procedure, spread in excess of centuries have 'objective aspects' which may contain a territory, a language, a religion, or a general descent and 'subjective' aspects essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it.

Nationalism

In easy languages, nationalism is largely the felling of unity and loyalty prevalent in the middle of the people of nation. Such a feeling seeks to defend and promote or in other languages, it can

be defined as 'a state condition of mind feature of sure people with a homogeneous civilization, livelihood jointly in a secure association in a given territory and distribution a belief in distinctive subsistence and a general destiny. Here, it is significant to mention that the thought of nationalism and the ideal of nation state were not necessarily based on ethnicity. Rather they stressed the voluntary coming jointly of people in a state with shared civilization. Yet in modem times, especially in the twentieth century ethnicity has approach to be predominant. The aspirations of smaller ethnic groups are raised to the consciousness of nationalism, which in turn, can rally people to demand a self-governing nation-state based on ethno-nationalism.

Ethnic Groups

A nation-state may be collected of one or more ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are those groups' that are collected of or share a distinctive and communal identity based on shared experience and cultural traits. They may describe be themselves or be defined through others, in conditions of any or all of the following traits -life methods, religious beliefs, language, physical appearance, area of residence, traditional jobs and a history of conquest and repression through culturally dissimilar people.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity or a feeling of belonging to a scrupulous ethnic group. George de Vos defines it as, consisting of the "subjective, symbolic or emblematic use through

a group if people... of any aspect of civilization, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups". Further, "Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a larger group or as a group at least equal to other groups. Ethnicity is too ethnic category what class consciousness is to class."

For the formation of an ethnic identity-a combination of factors-general descent, a socially relevant cultural/physical aspects and a set of attitudes and behaviour patterns is necessary. General descent is the mainly important factor. Separately from this, cultural attributes like religion, language, customs, social beliefs and practices *etc.* After form the foundation of identity to consolidate such an identity the members of an ethnic group necessity also share ideas, behaviour, patterns, feelings and meanings, Moreover, they should also perceive that they share a general destiny.

Meaning of Ethno Nationalism

After understanding the core languages now we can easily comprehend the meaning and concept of ethno-nationalism. Ethno-nationalism is a type of sub-nationalism based upon ethnic identity of the ethnic groups. It is as vertical division of nationalism and excludes all those people from it who do not belong to similar ethnic group. That is, it is an exclusive form of nationalism involving presently one ethnic group. For example, Muslims during the world constitute the nation. But they are further divided in two biggest ethnic groups (Shiya and Sunni)

and several smaller groups described 'Fiorkas' like Khan, Sayyed, Kureshi *etc.* Any upsurge on the foundation of scrupulous ethnic group will be described ethno-national clash. The Iran-Iraq war which lasted for eight years is an instance of ethno-national clash on the 'Shiya-Sunni' issue. In short, ethno-nationalism is the nationalism of ethnic groups such as Muslim, Kurds, Latvians, Tamils *etc.*, who describe their nation in exclusive conditions, largely on the foundation of general descent, race, civilization, history and language. Here, the word, 'general descent' is the mainly significant because merely through adoption of language and civilization on one can be included in that scrupulous ethnic group.

Ethno-nationalism transcends the boundaries of state, religion sect and class. It seeks to fragment recognized nationalities and societies and make new ones by ethnic indicators. The symbolic and cultural characteristics of ethnicity are significant in themselves and often get politicized for the promotion of communal interests. Mainly ethno-national conflicts are for a superior share of economic possessions and products and for a greater section in decision-creation procedures. Just as to Joseph Rothschild, "politicized ethnicity has become the mainly keen and potent edge of intrastate and interstate clash and it asserts itself today dialectically as the leading legitimator or delegitimating or political power."

There are two largest approaches to the understanding of the new ethnic phenomenon. The primordalist approach to ethnic identities and ethnicity considers descent as the more significant factor, for primordial loyalties can be activated more easily than

rational principles and institutions founded upon them. The other approach is variously recognized as situational, subjectivist or instrumental. Its largest emphasis is on the perception of the members of a group of being dissimilar from others and on the implication of this for that groups present status or predicament and for its pr9spects for the future. These contending approaches are an aid to the explication of issues and to the understanding of modern reality. Approximately in all the plural societies are existing, the problem of ethno-nationalism is likely to pose a threat to the unity and integrity of the state.

Sources of Clash

There have been numerous attempts to explain the reasons of the ethnic wars. One theory focuses on the role of mass passions or ancient hatred in driving ethnic violence. A second theory suggests that inter-ethnic security dilemmas are necessary for ethnic war to result, *i.e.* the fear of the ethnic groups that their interests are threatened may reason them to fiercely protect their interests. A third approach blames ethnic war on manipulation through belligerent leaders. Though, scholars, agrees that all three factor-hostile masses, belligerent leaders and inter-ethnic security dilemmas are essential for ethnic war to result. Inflict, these factors are mutually reinforcing, belligerent leaders stoke mass hostility, hostile masses support belligerent leaders and both jointly threaten other groups creating a security dilemma (a fear of extinction) in the middle of them. This may result in clash for survival or even power in the middle of several ethnic groups. It is significant to note that any ethno-national clash cannot be attributed to a single reason. Rather there is a combination of

factors which are responsible for rise of ethno-national conflicts. These can be ethnically defined grievances, demographic threats, histories of ethnic power, reciprocal fears of group extinction, defects political anarchy, *etc.* Horowitz argues that at least these six factors are present in every case of severe ethnic violence such as, former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Rwanda, Georgia, Azerbaijan, *etc.* The reason of ethno-national clash can be understood as the factors threatening the sacredly preserved and maintained cultural identity of the sure ethnic groups. Such threats strengthen the group identity rally the groups to and promote their interests.

Economic

Possibly the mainly significant source of ethno-national clash is related too the economic circumstances. Two largest factors can be recognized-first, uneven growth of the areas of a state and second, the economic discrimination perpetuated through the state itself. The uneven economic growth can further provide rise to two types of situations. First, if one or more ethnic groups become economically wealthy it may believe other ethnic groups which are comparatively backward as 'liabilities' and so may attempt to suppress or get rid of the latter. Second, if a scrupulous ethnic group remnants economically backward it may blame the other ethnic groups for its economic deprivation. In both these cases, the hatred may develop into ethnic clash.

After that, in the case of economic discrimination the state may not only deprive a scrupulous ethnic group equal· opportunities of growth as well as deny and share in economic possessions. For

example, the economic growth policies of the Iraqi government have adversely affected the economic interests of Kurds. The Mosul oil meadows are situated predominantly in the Kurdish area but Iraqi governments have uniformly refused to believe demands that a share of oil revenues be devoted to Kurdish area growth. Moreover throughout 1980's the Iraqi government devastated the rural Kurdish economy through destroying thousands of villages and forcibly relocating their residents. The policy was a response to Kurdish rebellions and support-to Iranian throughout the Iran-Iraq war.

Political Discrimination

Mainly states have ethnically interspersed populations and discriminatory policies have often provoked ethnic unrest and inter-state clash. Ethnic grievances can emerge if the ethnic groups are denied political access the right to exercise political manage in excess of the international affairs of their own area and societies. Just as to a revise 80per cent of the politicized ethnic groups recognized in 1990 existed with the consequence of historical or modern economic or political discrimination. And more than 200 of the 233 peoples recognized in the revise, had organized politically sometime flanked by 1945 to 1980 to defend or promote their communal political interests against government and other groups.

Forced Assimilation

The assimilationist policies of the state constitute a direct threat to the ethnic identity of the group and develops resentment in the

middle of the latter, which sooner or later may lead to an ethnic upsurge. Through 'assimilation' we mean when minorities are made to forsake their old communal identities and adopt the language, value and behaviours of the dominant community see, for instance, the Kurds in Turkey, who are repeatedly encouraged to assimilate into Turkish community. That is, the separate identity of the Kurds was rejected. Kurds were officially referred to as mountain Turks and were prohibited from teaching, script or publishing in Kurdish.

Historical

The sense of a separate identity and grievances that result from imperial conquest and colonial rule can persist for several generations and give the fuel for modern ethno-national movements. For example, Myanmar, (formerly recognized as Burma), an ex-British colony has been locked in ethnic, clash since, its independence in late 1940s. The clash began throughout the World War II whim nationalist belonging to majority group attacked the British colonial army, which was recruited mainly from ethnic minorities such as Karens, Chins and Kachins. Thousands had died in the ensuing thrash about and the conflicts flanked by minority people and Burma state have yet to be resolved.

Population Pressures

It refers to ethnic site, territory and environment which shape inter-group perceptions, competition and clash. It is related to the resolution pattern of the groups, groups' attachment to the

land and the connection flanked by ethnic groups and their physical settings respectively. In Bosnia, for instance, where before the collapse of Yugoslavia, all people recognized themselves as Bosnian on census and survey shapes. But after Bosnia attained statehood, there Was a transform in population resolution, the minority ethnic groups clung to boundaries that were ethnically exclusive and seemed to protect their ethnic identity. This shaped the foundation for further ethnic clash in self-governing Bosnia itself, flanked by Serbs and other minority ethnic groups. Other examples of ethnically based territorial claims which grew in excess of the years as a result of demographic factors are those of Palestinians and Kurds. Huge refuge movements further intensify demographic pressures and has the potential to spiral into local crises. Refugees may augment population density and reason environmental degradation, land competition, disease, food shortages and lack of clean water, generating clash and violence crossways borders. A current illustration is the Great Lakes area of Central Africa in which five countries (Zaire, Rwanda; Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania) are affected through the two million refugees who were displaced in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. By the refugee camps as their bases, armed. Hutu extremists have the potential not only to further destabilize Rwanda three largest target, but in varying degrees, the nearby countries as well. Another instance of nascent ethnic clash caused through refugees establish in India-Chakma refugees; Chakma refugees who are simply the citizens of Bangladesh fled to India due to starvation and military crackdown in their own country. These people settled even beyond the border regions and can be easily establish in the metropolitan municipalities - Bombay, Delhi, *etc.* Not only this

they forcibly shared the land and other economic possessions. This brought changes into the resolution pattern of the locals and created a hatred for them (Chakmas). This abhorrence was one of the biggest reasons of the Bombay riots in 1995.

Huge, Chronic and Continued Human Flight

It refers not only to the refugees the mainly identifiable human index of internal clash but to a broader pattern of people on the move in the form of exodus of ability professionals, intellectuals, artists and technicians and emigration of economically productive segments of the population such as entrepreneurs, businessmen, and traders these emigrates slowly sidelines the locals and reason frustrations in the middle of them. Therefore, the roots for an ethnic clash are laid down.

State Collapse

Another factor which contributes to ethno-national clash is the state collapse or basically political anarchy. Contrary to the popular perception which views ethnic clash as a reason of state collapse, sure scholars also consider that it is infect the other method round. "State collapse reason ethnic clash". Ethnic nationalism is the pathology of the state. The procedure starts with the deterioration of the centre. This leads to fictionalization as societal loyalties shift from the state to more traditional societies that are closer to the people and that offer psychic comfort and physical defence. The further a state disintegrates the more potential there is for the ethnic clash to spread. Almost certainly, there can be no other perfect instance of this than the

collapse of Soviet Union. With the fall of Soviet Empire and Communism pent up ethnic tensions were released. Economic collapse and removal of party discipline made possible secession on foundation ethnic identities, separately from ethnic clashes in Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Nagarno-Karabakh, *etc.*

Persistent Cleavages in the Middle of Ethnic Groups

After the first World War-the making of new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania on the ruins of Habsburg, Ottoman and Romanov empires reflected the triumph of principle of self-determination, but none of them was a nation state for all contained sizeable minorities. Further, even after all these decades cleavages flanked by several ethnic groups were persisting. For example, the former Yugoslavia was a unique multi-ethnic country with least homogeneity. The general unifying denominator was that were Slaves of the south. '"The biggest dividing factor was the religion, which was contained throughout the communist regime. There were six officially established 'Nations of Yugoslavia' Croats. Separately from nationalities there were ethnic minorities the main being the Albanian and the Hungarians concentrated in two autonomous provinces of Serbia-kosovo and Vojvodina respectively. In the middle of the ethnic groups 10 were officially established as "Nationalities of Yugoslavia". The remaining ethnic groups were classified as "Other Nationalities and Ethnic Groups". Austrians, Greeks, Jews, Germans, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Vlachs and "Others including those who preferred to classify themselves Yugoslavia". After that, taking the instance of Myanmar, it is establish that the ethnic identities are quite well urbanized and

cleavages flanked by several groups persist. In 1981, the country had a population of 35.3 million people, 28.3 million Burmans, 3.14 million Shan. 1.55 million Arakanese. 2.4 million Karen and smaller Tribal groups like Kachin, Cha, and Wa. The Shan, Arakanese, Karen, Mon, Kachin, Cha and Wa have strong ethnic identities and substantial autonomy and their bonds with the central power, even in the past were fragile and mostly national. A significant information of the international politics that ethnicity is a world-wide reality. That is, ethnic identities are widely prevalent. Said and Simmons presented the statistics of 132 states of the world. The date of these states are classified as out of 132 states, 12 states (9.1per cent) have one ethnic group of population, 25 states (18.9per cent) have one dominant ethnic group' comprising half the population. In 53 states, the population comprised of five or more important ethnic groups. Just as to Walker Connor, (1971), "pre-dominant contemporary states are multi-ethnic". He referred to the data and stated that only 12 states in the world can be called as nation-states and can be measured as free of ethnic clash, 50 states include a nation or a potential nation" (*i.e.* those with a single dominant ethnic group). It has been pointed out that the nation is a matter of self-awareness or self-consciousness and ethnicity involves subjective beliefs. Therefore, a nation is a self-conscious ethnic group.

Further, the ethnic or ethnically motivated unrest is establish as a general phenomenon in dissimilar countries respective of their variation on the stages of growth, economy, proportional ethnic composition and polity. Connor points out that in three blocks of the world, *i.e.* the First World, (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Netherland, Switzerland and United

Kingdom); the Second World (Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Laos, Romania, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, *etc.*) and the Third World (Burma, Burundi, Chad, Ethiopia, Guyana, Iraq, Kenya, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, *etc.*) experienced ethnic unrest. The ethnic identities and demands are also the degree and intensity of ethnic clash, modify with varying political, social and economic circumstances. Towards a predictive Model" have attempted to present a theoretical model of the several ethnic-national conflicts.

First state analyses the root reasons of ethnic clash, including the historical backdrop, socio-economic composition and environment that predispose a community towards fragmentation. Level 2 addresses recent 'trends of precipitating measures that lead from fragmentation to friction, such as discriminatory government policies, collapsed empires coups d'etat, or political assassinations. Preventive action would be mainly effective if it were taken at this level or before. A community is poised to go in one of the two directions as it enters the level third the transition, which can happen violently or non-violently. A violent track at this level is likely to lead a full-level clash flanked by or in the middle of the ethnic group or ethnic group or state. At this level the state transformations is underway.

It is generally in this stage that the international society is involved militarily *i.e.* for the purposes of peace enforcement or peace structure. In State 4, the state is transformed it has moved towards disorder or a new political order. If there is a violent transformation, it may result in military victory, ethnic, power, war-Lordism, or on-going clash (as in Somalia). If there is a non-

violent transformation, it may result in electrons, peaceful partition, clash settlement, and new state structures. Level 5 symbolizes the outcome, a stage that is depicted through a continuum surrounded at one end through a chaos, and at the other through constitutionalism. Obviously, there are many intermediate authoritarian or democratic outcomes, such as military rule, a one-party state/a representative federal organization. But this is not the end of the procedure. A country could more up and down the continuum, until it reaches equilibrium. Or it could revert to an earlier level, if the peace is too fragile and ten institutional cores is too weak to sustain it. This happened in the case of Angola, as 'backslide' from a non-violent to violent track, after the 1992 U.N. electrons were rejected through repel forces and the war resumed.

Importance Of Human Rights And International Politics

The importance of human rights is that everyone, supposedly, has a close and safe life. There are several rights that are incorporated in Human Rights, therefore if you want more info, seem on the Internet, you're certain to discover something. In my opinion, Psychopathic criminals and terrorists, etc, who have got solid proof against them, connecting them to a serious crime, should have there human rights taken absent from them and should rot in cell somewhere on an island in the Arctic Ocean). Also, all laws should include statements that persons can not be convicted of breaking the law or offending an individual or individuals unless it is proven that the individual has caused financial or bodily harm, only. Calling it offensive because it

doesn't agree with your philosophy or is presently distasteful to your lifestyle is not breaking the law. Human rights are commonly understood as "inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled basically because she or he is a human being." Human rights are therefore conceived as universal (applicable everywhere) and egalitarian (the similar for everyone). These rights may exist as natural rights or as legal rights, in both national and international law. The doctrine of human rights in international practice, within international law, global and local organizations, in the policies of states and in the activities of non-governmental institutions, has been a cornerstone of public policy approximately the world. The thought of human rights states, "if the public discourse of peacetime global community can be said to have a general moral language, it is that of human rights." Despite this, the strong claims made through the doctrine of human rights continue to provoke considerable skepticism and debates in relation to the content, nature and justifications of human rights to this day. Indeed, the question of what is meant through a "right" is itself controversial and the subject of sustained philosophical debate.

Several of the vital ideas that animated the human rights movement urbanized in the aftermath of the Second World War and the atrocities of The Holocaust, culminating in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris through the United Nations Common Assembly in 1948. The ancient world did not possess the concept of universal human rights. Ancient societies had "elaborate systems of duties... conceptions of justice, political legitimacy, and human flourishing that sought to realize human dignity, flourishing, or well-being entirely self-

governing of human rights". The contemporary concept of human rights urbanized throughout the early Contemporary era, alongside the European secularization of Judeo-Christian ethics. The true forerunner of human rights discourse was the concept of natural rights which emerged as section of the medieval Natural law custom that became prominent throughout the Enlightenment with such philosophers as John Locke, Francis Hutcheson, and Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, and featured prominently in the political discourse of the American Revolution and the French Revolution. From this basis, the contemporary human rights arguments appeared in excess of the latter half of the twentieth century. Gelling as social activism and political rhetoric in several nations put it high on the world agenda.

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with cause and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.-Article 1 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

The contemporary sense of human rights can be traced to Renaissance Europe and the Protestant Reformation, alongside the disappearance of the feudal authoritarianism and religious conservativism that dominated the Transitional Ages. Human rights were defined as a result of European scholars attempting to form a "secularized adaptation of Judeo-Christian ethics". Although ideas of rights and liberty have lived in some form for much of human history, they do not resemble the contemporary conception of human rights. In the ancient world, "traditional societies typically have had elaborate systems of duties...

conceptions of justice, political legitimacy, and human flourishing that sought to realize human dignity, flourishing, or well-being entirely self-governing of human rights. These organizations and practices are alternative to, rather than dissimilar formulations of, human rights". The mainly commonly held view is that concept of human rights evolved in the West, and that while earlier cultures had significant ethical concepts, they usually lacked a concept of human rights. For instance, McIntyre argues there is no word for "right" in any language before 1400. Medieval charters of liberty such as the English Magna Carta were not charters of human rights, rather they were the basis and constituted a form of limited political and legal agreement to address specific political conditions, in the case of Magna Carta later being recognized in the course of early contemporary debates in relation to the rights. One of the oldest records of human rights is the statute of Kalisz (1264), giving privileges to the Jewish minority in the Kingdom of Poland such as defence from discrimination and hate speech. The foundation of mainly contemporary legal interpretations of human rights can be traced back to recent European history. The Twelve Articles (1525) are measured to be the first record of human rights in Europe. They were section of the peasants' demands raised towards the Swabian League in the German Peasants' War in Germany.

The earliest conceptualization of human rights is credited to ideas in relation to the natural rights emanating from natural law. In scrupulous, the issue of universal rights was introduced through the examination of the rights of indigenous peoples through Spanish clerics, such as Francisco de Vitoria and

Bartolomé de Las Casas. In the Valladolid debate, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who maintained an Aristotelian view of humanity as divided into classes of dissimilar worth, argued with Las Casas, who argued in favour of equal rights to freedom of slavery for all humans regardless of race or religion. In Britain in 1683, the English Bill of Rights (or "An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown") and the Scottish Claim of Right each made illegal a range of oppressive governmental actions. Two biggest revolutions occurred throughout the 18th century, in the United States (1776) and in France (1789), leading to the adoption of the United States Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen respectively, both of which recognized sure legal rights. Additionally, the Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 encoded into law a number of fundamental civil rights and civil freedoms.

- We hold these truths to be self-apparent, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed through their Creator with sure unalienable Rights that in the middle of these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. -United States Declaration of Independence, 1776

These were followed through growths in philosophy of human rights through philosophers such as Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill and G.W.F. Hegel throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The term human rights almost certainly came into use some time flanked by Paine's The Rights of Man and William Lloyd Garrison's 1831 writings in The Liberator, in which he stated

that he was trying to enlist his readers in "the great reason of human rights".

In the 19th century, human rights became a central concern in excess of the issue of slavery. A number of reformers, such as William Wilberforce in Britain, worked towards the abolition of slavery. This was achieved in the British Empire through the Slave Deal Act 1807 and the Slavery Abolition Act 1833. In the United States, all the northern states had abolished the institution of slavery flanked by 1777 and 1804, although southern states clung tightly to the "peculiar institution". Clash and debates in excess of the expansion of slavery to new territories constituted one of the causes for the southern states' secession and the American Civil War. Throughout the reconstruction era immediately following the war, many amendments to the United States Constitution were made. These incorporated the 13th amendment, banning slavery, the 14th amendment, assuring full citizenship and civil rights to all people born in the United States, and the 15th amendment, guaranteeing African Americans the right to vote.

Several groups and movements have achieved profound social changes in excess of the course of the 20th century in the name of human rights. In Europe and North America, labour unions brought in relation to the laws granting workers the right to strike, establishing minimum work circumstances and forbidding or regulating child labour. The women's rights movement succeeded in gaining for several women the right to vote. National liberation movements in several countries succeeded in driving out colonial powers. One of the mainly influential was

Mahatma Gandhi's movement to free his native India from British rule. Movements through extensive-oppressed racial and religious minorities succeeded in several sections of the world, in the middle of them the African American Civil Rights Movement, and more recent diverse identity politics movements, on behalf of women and minorities in the United States.

The establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the 1864 Lieber Code and the first of the Geneva Conventions in 1864 laid the foundations of International humanitarian law, to be further urbanized following the two World Wars.

The World Wars, and the vast losses of life and gross abuses of human rights that took lay throughout them, were a driving force behind the growth of contemporary human rights instruments. The League of Nations was recognized in 1919 at the negotiations in excess of the Treaty of Versailles following the end of World War I. The League's goals incorporated disarmament, preventing war by communal security, settling disputes flanked by countries by negotiation and diplomacy, and improving global welfare. Enshrined in its charter was a mandate to promote several of the rights later incorporated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the 1945 Yalta Conference, the Allied Powers agreed to make a new body to supplant the League's role; this was to be the United Nations. The United Nations has played a significant role in international human-rights law since, its making. Following the World Wars, the United Nations and its members urbanized much

of the discourse and the bodies of law that now create up international humanitarian law and international human rights law.

International Defence

In the aftermath of the atrocities of World War II, there was increased concern for the social and legal defence of human rights as fundamental freedoms. The basis of the United Nations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter provided a foundation for a comprehensive organization of international law and practice for the defence of human rights. Since, then, international human rights law has been characterized through a connected organization of conventions, treaties, organisations, and political bodies, rather than any single entity or set of laws.

United Nations Charter

The provisions of the United Nations Charter provided a foundation for the growth of international human rights defence. The preamble of the charter gives that the members "reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the equal rights of men and women" and Article 1(3) of the United Nations charter states that one of the purposes of the UN is: "to achieve international cooperation in solving international troubles of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion". Article 55 gives that:

- The United Nations shall promote:
- Higher standards of livelihood, full employment, and circumstances of economic and social progress and growth;
- Solutions of international economic, social, health, and related troubles;
- International cultural and educational cooperation;
- Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Of scrupulous importance is Article 56 of the charter: "All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the attainment of the purposes set forth in Article 55." This is a binding treaty provision applicable to both the Organisation and its members and has been taken to constitute a legal obligation for the members of the United Nations. Overall, the references to human rights in the Charter are common and vague. The Charter does not include specific legal rights, nor does it mandate any enforcement procedures to protect these rights. Despite this, the significance of the espousal of human rights within the UN charter necessity not be understated. The importance of human rights on the global level can be traced to the importance of human rights within the United Nations framework and the UN Charter can be seen as the starting point for the growth of a broad array of declarations, treaties, implementation and enforcement mechanisms, UN organs, committees and reports on the defence of human rights. The rights espoused in the UN charter would be codified and defined in the International Bill of

Human Rights, composing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted through the United Nations Common Assembly in 1948, partly in response to the atrocities of World War II. Although the UDHR was a non-binding settlement, it is now measured through some to have acquired the force of international customary law which may be invoked in appropriate conditions through national and other judiciaries. The UDHR urges member nations to promote a number of human, civil, economic and social rights, asserting these rights as section of the "basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The declaration was the first international legal attempt to limit the behaviour of states and press upon them duties to their citizens following the model of the rights-duty duality.

- …Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world. -Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

The UDHR was framed through members of the Human Rights Commission, with former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt as Chair, who began to talk about an International Bill of Rights in 1947.

The members of the Commission did not immediately agree on the form of such a bill of rights, and whether, or how, it should be enforced. The Commission proceeded to frame the UDHR and accompanying treaties, but the UDHR quickly became the priority. Canadian law professor John Humphrey and French lawyer René Cassin were responsible for much of the cross-national research and the structure of the document respectively, where the articles of the declaration were interpretative of the common principle of the preamble. The document was structured through Cassin to contain the vital principles of dignity, liberty, excellence and brotherhood in the first two articles, followed successively through rights pertaining to individuals; rights of individuals in relation to each other and to groups; spiritual, public and political rights; and economic, social and cultural rights. The final three articles lay rights in the context of limits, duties and the social and political order in which they are to be realized. Humphrey and Cassin designed the rights in the UDHR to be legally enforceable by some means, as is reflected in the third clause of the preamble:

- Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected through the rule of law. -Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Some of the UDHR was researched and written through a committee of international experts on human rights, including representatives from all continents and all biggest religions, and drawing on consultation with leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi.

The inclusion of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights was predicated on the assumption that all human rights are indivisible and that the dissimilar kinds of rights listed are inextricably connected. This principle was not then opposed through any member states; though, this principle was later subject to important challenges.

The Universal Declaration was bifurcated into treaties, a Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and another on social, economic, and cultural rights, due to questions in relation to the relevance and propriety of economic and social provisions in covenants on human rights. Both covenants begin with the right of people to self-determination and to sovereignty in excess of their natural possessions. This debate in excess of whether human rights are more fundamental than economic rights has sustained to the present day.

The drafters of the Covenants initially designed only one instrument. The original drafts incorporated only political and civil rights, but economic and social rights were also proposed. The conflict in excess of which rights were vital human rights resulted in there being two covenants.

The debate was whether economic and social rights are aspirational, as contrasted with vital human rights which all people possess purely through being human, because economic and social rights depend on wealth and the availability of possessions. In addition, which social and economic rights should be recognized depends on ideology or economic theories, in contrast to vital human rights, which are defined purely

through the nature (mental and physical abilities) of human beings. It was debated whether economic rights were appropriate subjects for binding obligations and whether the lack of consensus in excess of such rights would dilute the strength of political-civil rights. There was wide agreement and clear recognition that the means required to enforce or induce compliance with socio-economic undertakings were dissimilar from the means required for civil-political rights.

This debate and the desire for the greatest number of signatories to human-rights law led to the two covenants. The Soviet bloc and a number of developing countries had argued for the inclusion of all rights in a therefore-described Unity Settlement. Both covenants allowed states to derogate some rights. Those in favour of a single treaty could not gain enough consensuses.

Chapter 4

International Treaties and International Relations

Customary International Law

In 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) were adopted through the United Nations, flanked by them creation the rights contained in the UDHR binding on all states that have signed this treaty, creating human-rights law.

Since, then numerous other treaties (pieces of legislation) have been offered at the international stage. They are usually recognized as human rights instruments. Some of the mainly important, referred to (with ICCPR and ICESCR) as "the seven core treaties", are:

- Convention on the Elimination of All Shapes of Racial Discrimination (CERD)
- Convention on the Elimination of All Shapes of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
- United Nations Convention Against Torture (CAT)
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)

- International Convention on the Defence of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW or more often MWC)

In addition to defence through international treaties, customary international law may protect some human rights, such as the prohibition of torture, genocide and slavery and the principle of non-discrimination. The Geneva Conventions came into being flanked by 1864 and 1949 as a result of efforts through Henry Dunant, the founder of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The conventions safeguard the human rights of individuals involved in armed clash, and build on the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the international society's first effort to formalize the laws of war and war crimes in the nascent body of secular international law. The conventions were revised as a result of World War II and readopted through the international society in 1949.

United Nations Organization

Under the mandate of the UN charter, and the multilateral UN human rights treaties, the United Nations (UN) as an intergovernmental body seeks to apply international jurisdiction for universal human-rights legislation. Within the UN machinery, human-rights issues are primarily the concern of the United Nations Security Council and the United Nations Human Rights Council, and there are numerous committees within the UN with responsibilities for safeguarding dissimilar human-rights treaties. The mainly senior body of the UN in the sphere of

human rights is the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The United Nations has an international mandate to:

- Achieve international co-operation in solving international troubles of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, gender, language, or religion. -Article 1-3 of the United Nations Charter

Environment And Sustainable Human Development

Sustainable growth (SD) refers to a mode of human growth in which resource use aims to meet human requires while preserving the environment therefore that these requires can be met not only in the present, but also for generations to approach. The term 'sustainable growth' was used through the Brundtland Commission which coined what has become the mainly often-quoted definition of sustainable growth: "growth that meets the requires of the present without compromising the skill of future generations to meet their own requires.".

Sustainable growth ties jointly concern for the carrying capability of natural systems with the social challenges faced through humanity. As early as the 1970s, "sustainability" was employed to define an economy "in equilibrium with vital ecological support

systems." Ecologists have pointed to The Limits to Development, and presented the alternative of a "steady state economy" in order to address environmental concerns. The concept of sustainable growth has in the past mainly often been broken out into three constituent sections: environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and sociopolitical sustainability.

More recently, it has been suggested that a more constant analytical breakdown is to distinguish four domains of economic, ecological, political and cultural sustainability. This is constant with the UCLG move to create 'civilization' the fourth domain of sustainability. In 1987, the United Nations released the Brundtland Statement, which incorporated what is now one of the mainly widely recognized definitions: "Sustainable growth is growth that meets requires of the present without compromising the skill of future generations to meet their own requires." Just as to the similar statement, the definition contains within it two key concepts:

- The concept of 'requires', in scrupulous the essential requires of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- The thought of limitations imposed through the state of technology and social organization on the environment's skill to meet present and future requires.

The United Nations 2005 World Summit Outcome Document refers to the "interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars" of sustainable growth as economic growth, social growth, and

environmental defence. Based on the triple bottom row, numerous sustainability standards and certification systems have been recognized in recent years, in scrupulous in the food industry. Famous standards contain organic, Rainforest Alliance, fair deal, UTZ Certified, Bird Friendly, and The General Code for the Coffee Society.

Indigenous peoples have argued, by several international forums such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Convention on Biological Variety, that there are four pillars of sustainable growth, the fourth being cultural. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Variety further elaborates the concept through stating that "… cultural variety is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature"; it becomes "one of the roots of growth understood not basically in conditions of economic development, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual subsistence". In this vision, cultural variety is the fourth policy region of sustainable growth.

A useful articulation of the values and principles of sustainability can be establish in the Earth Charter. It offers an integrated vision and definition of strong sustainability. The document, an ethical framework for a sustainable world, was urbanized in excess of many years after the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and launched officially in 2000. The Charter derives its legitimacy from the participatory procedure in which it was drafted, which incorporated contributions from hundreds of institutions and thousands of individuals, and from its use since, 2000 through thousands of institutions and individuals that have

been by the Earth Charter as an educational instrument and a policy tool. Economic Sustainability: Agenda 21 clearly recognized information, integration, and participation as key structure blocks to help countries achieve growth that recognizes these interdependent pillars. It emphasizes that in sustainable growth everyone is a user and provider of information. It stresses require to transform from old sector-centered methods of doing business to new approaches that involve cross-sectoral co-ordination and the integration of environmental and social concerns into all growth procedures. Furthermore, Agenda 21 emphasizes that broad public participation in decision creation is a fundamental prerequisite for achieving sustainable growth.

Sustainability is a procedure which tells of a growth of all characteristics of human life affecting sustenance. It means resolving the clash flanked by the several competing goals, and involves the simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental excellence and social equity famously recognized as three dimensions (triple bottom row) with the resultant vector being technology, hence, it is a continually evolving procedure; the 'journey' (the procedure of achieving sustainability) is of course vitally significant, but only as a means of receiving to the destination (the desired future state). Though, the 'destination' of sustainability is not a fixed lay in the normal sense that we understand destination. Instead, it is a set of wishful aspects of a future organization.

The concept has incorporated notions of weak sustainability, strong sustainability, deep ecology, and presently sustainability. "Presently sustainability" offers a socially presently conception of

sustainability. Presently sustainability effectively addresses what has been described the 'equity deficit' of environmental sustainability. It is "the egalitarian conception of sustainable growth". It generates a more nuanced definition of sustainable growth: "the need to ensure a bigger excellence of life for all, now and into the future, in a presently and equitable manner, whilst livelihood within the limits of supporting ecosystems". This conception of sustainable growth focuses equally on four circumstances: improving our excellence of life and well-being; on meeting the needs of both present and future generations; on justice and equity in conditions of recognition, procedure, procedure and outcome and on the need for us to live within ecosystem limits. Open-source appropriate technology has been proposed as an approach for reaching presently sustainable growth.

Green growth is usually differentiated from sustainable growth in that Green growth prioritizes what its proponents believe to be environmental sustainability in excess of economic and cultural thoughts. Proponents of Sustainable Growth argue that it gives a context in which to improve overall sustainability where cutting edge Green Growth is unattainable. For instance, a cutting edge treatment plant with very high maintenance costs may not be sustainable in areas of the world with fewer financial possessions. An environmentally ideal plant that is shut down due to bankruptcy is obviously less sustainable than one that is maintainable through the society, even if it is somewhat less effective from an environmental standpoint. Though, this view depends on whether one determines that it is the growth (the plant) which requires to be sustainable, or whether it is the

human-nature ecology (the environmental circumstances) in which the plant exists which should be sustainable. It follows, then, that an operational but heavily polluting plant may be judged as actually 'less sustainable' than having no plant at all.

Sustainability educator Michael Thomas Needham referred to 'Sustainable Growth' "as the skill to meet requires of the present while contributing to the future generations' requires." There is an additional focus on the present generations' responsibility to improve the future generations' life through restoring the previous ecosystem damage and resisting to contribute to further ecosystem damage.

Economics and international relations

The domain of 'economics' is fundamental to thoughts of sustainable growth, though there has been considerable criticism of the tendency to use the three-domain model of the triple bottom row: economics, environment and social. This approach is challenged to the extent that it treats the economy as the master domain, or as a domain that exists outside of the social; it treats the environment as a world of natural metrics; and it treats the social as a miscellaneous collection of extra things that do not fit into the economic or environmental domains. In the alternative Circles of Sustainability approach, the economic domain is defined as the practices and meanings associated with the manufacture, use, and management of possessions, where the concept of 'possessions' is used in the broadest sense of that word.

Ecology

The domain of 'ecology' has been hard to resolve because it too has a social dimension. Some research activities start from the definition of green growth to argue that the environment is a combination of nature and civilization. Though, this has the effect of creation the domain model unwieldy if civilization is to be measured a domain in its own right. Others write of ecology as being more broadly at the intersection of the social and the environmental-hence, ecology. This move allows civilization to be used as a domain alongside economics and ecology.

Civilization

Working with a dissimilar emphasis, some researchers and organizations have pointed out that a fourth dimension should be added to the dimensions of sustainable growth, since, the triple-bottom-row dimensions of economic, environmental and social do not look to be sufficient to reflect the complexity of modern community. In this context, the Agenda 21 for civilization and the United Municipalities and Regional Governments (UCLG) Executive Bureau lead the preparation of the policy statement "Civilization: Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Growth", passed on 17 November 2010, in the framework of the World Summit of Regional and Local Leaders-3rd World Congress of UCLG, held in Mexico Municipality. This document inaugurates a new perspective and points to the relation flanked by civilization and sustainable growth by a dual approach: developing a solid cultural policy and advocating a cultural dimension in all public policies. The Network of Excellence "Sustainable Growth in a

Diverse World", sponsored through the European Union, integrates multidisciplinary capacities and interprets cultural variety as a key element of a new strategy for sustainable growth. The Circles of Sustainability approach defines the cultural domain as practices, discourses, and material expressions, which, in excess of time, express continuities and discontinuities of social meaning.

Politics

The United Nations Global Compact Municipalities Programme has defined sustainable political growth is a method that broadens the usual definition beyond states and governance. The political is defined as the domain of practices and meanings associated with vital issues of social power as they pertain to the organisation, authorization, legitimation and regulation of a social life held in general. This definition is in accord with the view that political transform is significant for responding to economic, ecological and cultural challenges. It also means that the politics of economic transform can be addressed. This is particularly true in relation to the controversial concept of 'sustainable enterprise' that frames global requires and risks as 'opportunities' for private enterprise to give profitable entrepreneurial solutions. This concept is now being taught at several business schools including the Center for Sustainable Global Enterprise at Cornell University and the Erb Institute for Global Sustainable Enterprise at the University of Michigan.

Sustainable growth is an eclectic concept and a wide array of political views fall under its umbrella. The concept has

incorporated notions of weak sustainability, strong sustainability and deep ecology. Dissimilar conceptions also reveal a strong tension flanked by eco-centrism and anthropocentrism.

Several definitions and images (Visualizing Sustainability) of sustainable growth coexist. Broadly defined, the sustainable growth mantra enjoins current generations to take a systems approach to development and growth and to control natural, produced, and social capital for the welfare of their own and future generations.

Throughout the last ten years, dissimilar institutions have tried to measure and monitor the proximity to what they believe sustainability through implementing what has been described sustainability metrics and indices. This has engendered considerable political debate in relation to is being considered. Sustainable growth is said to set limits on the developing world.

While current first world countries polluted significantly throughout their growth, the similar countries encourage third world countries to reduce pollution, which sometimes impedes development. Some believe that the implementation of sustainable growth would mean a reversion to pre-contemporary lifestyles. Others have criticized the overuse of the term:

- "[The] word sustainable has been used in too several situations today, and ecological sustainability is one of those conditions that confuse a lot of people. You hear in relation to the sustainable growth, sustainable development, sustainable economies, sustainable

societies, sustainable agriculture. Everything is sustainable."

The concept of sustainable growth was originally synonymous with that of sustainability and is often still used in that method. Both conditions derive from the older forestry term "continued yield", which in turn is a translation of the German term "nachhaltiger Ertrag" dating from 1713. The concept of sustainability in the sense of a balance flanked by resource consumption and reproduction was though applied to forestry already in the 12th to 16th century.

- 'Sustainability' is a semantic modification, extension and transfer of the term 'continued yield'. This had been the doctrine and, indeed, the 'holy grail' of foresters all in excess of the world for more or less two centuries. The essence of 'continued yield forestry' was called for instance through William A. Duerr, a leading American expert on forestry: "To fulfill our obligations to our descendents and to stabilize our societies, each generation should sustain its possessions at a high stage and hand them beside undiminished. The continued yield of timber is an aspect of men mainly fundamental require: to sustain life itself." A fine anticipation of the Brundtland-formula.

Not presently the concept of sustainable growth, but also its current interpretations have its roots in forest management. Strong sustainability stipulates livelihood solely off the interest

of natural capital, whereas adherents of weak sustainability are content to stay consistent the sum of natural and human capital.

The history of the concept of sustainability is though much older. Already in 400 BCE, Aristotle referred to a same Greek concept in talking in relation to the household economics. This Greek household concept differed from contemporary ones in that the household had to be self-sustaining at least to a sure extent and could not presently be consumption oriented.

The first use of the term "sustainable" in the contemporary sense was through the Club of Rome in March 1972 in its epoch-creation statement on the 'Limits to Development", written through a group of scientists led through Dennis and Donella Meadows of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Describing the desirable "state of global equilibrium", the authors used the word "sustainable": "We are searching for a model output that symbolizes a world organization that is: 1. sustainable without sudden and uncontrolled collapse; and 2. capable of satisfying the vital material necessities of its entire people."

Sustainable Human Growth and the Environment

Environmental sustainability is the procedure of creation certain current procedures of interaction with the environment are pursued with the thought of keeping the environment as pristine as naturally possible based on ideal-seeking behaviour. Therefore, environmental sustainability demands that community designs activities to meet human requires while indefinitely

preserving the life support systems of the planet. This, for instance, entails by water sustainably, only utilizing renewable power, and sustainable material supplies (*e.g.* harvesting wood from forests at a rate that maintains the biomass and biodiversity).

An "unsustainable situation" occurs when natural capital (the sum total of nature's possessions) is used up faster than it can be replenished. Sustainability needs that human action only uses nature's possessions at a rate at which they can be replenished naturally. Inherently the concept of sustainable growth is intertwined with the concept of carrying capability. Theoretically, the extensive-term result of environmental degradation is the inability to sustain human life. Such degradation on a global level could imply extinction for humanity.

Economic Sustainability

The Venn diagram of sustainable growth has several versions, but was first used through economist Edward Barbier. Though, Pearce, Barbier and Markandya criticized the Venn approach due to the intractability of operationalizing separate indices of economic, environmental, and social sustainability and somehow combining them. They also noted that the Venn approach was inconsistent with the Brundtland Commission Statement, which accentuated the interlink ages flanked by economic growth, environmental degradation, and population pressure instead of three objectives. Economists have since, focused on viewing the economy and the environment as a single interlinked organization with a unified valuation methodology. Intergenerational equity

can be included into this approach, as has become general in economic valuations of climate transform economics. Ruling out discrimination against future generations and allowing for the possibility of renewable alternatives to petro-chemicals and other non-renewable possessions, efficient policies are compatible with rising human welfare, eventually reaching a golden-rule steady state. Therefore the three pillars of sustainable growth are interlink ages, intergenerational equity, and dynamic efficiency.

Arrow et al. and other economists have advocated a form of the weak criterion for sustainable growth-the requirement than the wealth of a community, including human capital, knowledge capital and natural capital not decline in excess of time. Others, including Barbier 2007, continue to contend that strong sustainability-non-depletion of essential shapes of natural capital-may be appropriate.

Economic growth has traditionally required a development in the gross domestic product. This model of unlimited personal and GDP development may be in excess of. Sustainable growth may involve improvements in the excellence of life for several but, particularly for the affluent, may necessitate a decrease in resource consumption.

Kinds of Capital

The sustainable growth debate is based on the assumption that societies require to control three kinds of capital (economic, social, and natural), which may be non-substitutable and whose consumption might be irreversible. Daly (1991), for instance,

points to the information that natural capital can not necessarily be substituted through economic capital. While it is possible that we can discover methods to replace some natural possessions, it is much more unlikely that they will ever be able to replace eco-organization services, such as the defence provided through the ozone layer, or the climate stabilizing function of the Amazonian forest. In information natural capital, social capital and economic capital are often complementarities. A further obstacle to substitutability lies also in the multi-functionality of several natural possessions. Forests, for instance, not only give the raw material for paper (which can be substituted quite easily), but they also uphold biodiversity, regulate water flow, and absorb CO_2.

Another problem of natural and social capital deterioration lies in their incomplete irreversibility. The loss in biodiversity, for instance, is often definite. The similar can be true for cultural variety. Moreover, the depletion of natural and social capital may have non-linear consequences. Consumption of natural and social capital may have no observable impact until a sure threshold is reached. A lake can, for instance, absorb nutrients for an extensive time while actually rising its productivity. Though, once a sure stage of algae is reached lack of oxygen reasons the lake's ecosystem to break down suddenly.

Market Failure

If the degradation of natural and social capital has such significant consequence the question arises why action is not taken more systematically to alleviate it. Cohen and Winn point

to four kinds of market failure as possible explanations: First, while the benefits of natural or social capital depletion can generally be privatized the costs are often externalized (*i.e.* they are borne not through the party responsible but through community in common). Second, natural capital is often undervalued through community since, we are not fully aware of the real cost of the depletion of natural capital. Information asymmetry is a third cause-often the link flanked by reason and effect is obscured, creation it hard for actors to create informed choices. Cohen and Winn secure with the realization that contrary to economic theory several firms are not perfect optimizers. They postulate that firms often do not optimize resource allocation because they are caught in a "business as usual" mentality.

Business Case

The mainly broadly carried criterion for corporate sustainability constitutes a firm's efficient use of natural capital. This eco-efficiency is generally calculated as the economic value added through a firm in relation to its aggregated ecological impact. This thought has been popularized through the World Business Council for Sustainable Growth (WBCSD) under the following definition: "Eco-efficiency is achieved through the delivery of competitively priced goods and services that satisfy human requires and bring excellence of life, while progressively reducing ecological impacts and resource intensity during the life-cycle to a stage at least in row with the earth's carrying capability." Same to the eco-efficiency concept but therefore distant less explored is the second criterion for corporate sustainability. Socio-efficiency

describes the relation flanked by a firm's value added and its social impact. Whereas, it can be assumed that mainly corporate impacts on the environment are negative (separately from unusual exceptions such as the planting of trees) this is not true for social impacts. These can be either positive (*e.g.* corporate giving, making of employment) or negative (*e.g.* work accidents, mobbing of employees, human rights abuses). Depending on the kind of impact socio-efficiency therefore either tries to minimize negative social impacts (*i.e.* accidents per value added) or maximize positive social impacts (*i.e.* donations per value added) in relation to the value added.

Both eco-efficiency and socio-efficiency are concerned primarily with rising economic sustainability. In this procedure they instrumentalize both natural and social capital aiming to benefit from win-win situations. Though, as Dyllick and Hockerts point out the business case alone will not be enough to realize sustainable growth. They point towards eco-effectiveness, socio-effectiveness, sufficiency, and eco-equity as four criteria that require to be met if sustainable growth is to be reached.

John Baden views the notion of sustainable growth as dangerous because the consequences have strange effects. He writes: "In economy like in ecology, the interdependence rule applies. In accessible actions are impossible. A policy which is not cautiously sufficient idea will carry beside several perverse and adverse effects for the ecology as much as for the economy. Several suggestions to save our environment and to promote a model of 'sustainable growth' risk indeed leading to reverse effects." Moreover, he evokes the bounds of public action which

are underlined through the public choice theory: the quest through politicians of their own interests, lobby pressure, incomplete disclosure *etc.* He develops his critique through noting the vagueness of the expression, which can cover anything. It is a gateway to interventionist proceedings which can be against the principle of freedom and without proven efficacy. Against this notion, he is a proponent of private property to impel the producers and the consumers to save the natural possessions. Just as to Baden, "the improvement of environment excellence depends on the market economy and the subsistence of legitimate and protected property rights." They enable the effective practice of personal responsibility and the growth of mechanisms to protect the environment. The State can in this context "make circumstances which encourage the people to save the environment." Some criticize the term "sustainable growth", stating that the term is too vague. For instance, both Jean-Marc Jancovici and the philosopher Luc Ferry express this view. The latter writes in relation to the sustainable growth: "I know that this term is obligatory, but I discover it also absurd, or rather therefore vague that it says nothing." Luc Ferry adds that the term is trivial through an evidence of contradiction: "who would like to be a proponent of an "untenable growth! Of course no one! The term is more charming than meaningful. Everything necessity be done therefore that it does not turn into Russian-kind administrative scheduling with ill effects." sustainable growth has become obscured through conflicting world views, the expansionist and the ecological, and risks being co-opted through individuals and organizations that perpetuate several characteristics of the expansionist model. Sylvie Brunel, French geographer and specialist of the Third World, develops in A qui

profite le développement durable (Who benefits from sustainable growth?) a critique of the foundation of sustainable growth, with its binary vision of the world, can be compared to the Christian vision of Good and Evil, an idealized nature where the human being is an animal like the others or even an alien. Nature-as Rousseau idea-is bigger than the human being. It is a parasite, harmful for the nature. But the human is the one who protects the biodiversity, where normally only the strong survive.

Moreover, she thinks that the core ideas of sustainable growth are a hidden form of protectionism through urbanized countries impeding the growth of the other countries. For Sylvie Brunel, sustainable growth serves as a pretext for protectionism and "I have the feeling that sustainable growth is perfectly helping out capitalism". The proponents of the de-development reckon that the term of sustainable growth is an oxymoron. Just as to them, on a planet where 20per cent of the population consumes 80per cent of the natural possessions, a sustainable growth cannot be possible for this 20per cent: "Just as to the origin of the concept of sustainable growth, a growth which meets the requires of the present without compromising the skill of future generations to meet their own requires, the right term for the urbanized countries should be a sustainable de-development".

For many decades, theorists of steady state economy and ecological economy have been positing that reduction in population development or even negative population development is required for the human society not to destroy its planetary support systems, *i.e.*, to date, increases in efficiency of manufacture and consumption have not been enough, when

applied to existing trends in population and resource depletion and waste through-manufacture, to allow for projections of future sustainability.

Measurability

In 2007 a statement for the U.S. Environmental Defence Agency stated: "While much discussion and attempt has gone into sustainability indicators, none of the resulting systems clearly tells us whether our community is sustainable. At best, they can tell us that we are heading in the wrong direction, or that our current activities are not sustainable. More often, they basically attract our attention to the subsistence of troubles, doing little to tell us the origin of those troubles and nothing to tell us how to solve them." Nevertheless a majority of authors assume that a set of well defined and harmonized indicators is the only method to create sustainability tangible. Those indicators are expected to be recognized and adjusted by empirical observations (trial and error).

The mainly general critiques are related to issues like data quality, comparability, objective function and the necessary possessions. Though a more common criticism is coming from the project management society: How can a sustainable growth be achieved at global stage if we cannot monitor it in any single project?

The Cuban-born researcher and entrepreneur Sonia Bueno suggests an alternative approach that is based upon the integral, extensive-term cost-benefit connection as a measure and

monitoring tool for the sustainability of every project, action or enterprise. Furthermore this concept aims to be a practical guideline towards sustainable growth following the principle of conservation and increment of value rather than restricting the consumption of possessions.

The Gulf War and power balance in international relations

The Gulf War (2 August 1990 - 28 February 1991), codenamed Operation Desert Shield (2 August 1990 - 17 January 1991), for operations leading to the buildup of troops and defence of Saudi Arabia and Operation Desert Storm (17 January 1991 - 28 February 1991) in its combat phase, was a war waged by coalition forces from 34 nations led by the United States against Iraq in response to Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

The war is also known under other names, such as the Persian Gulf War, First Gulf War, Gulf War I, Kuwait War, First Iraq War, or Iraq War before the term "Iraq War" became identified instead with the 2003 Iraq War (also referred to in the U.S. as "Operation Iraqi Freedom"). The Iraqi Army's occupation of Kuwait that began 2 August 1990 was met with international condemnation, and brought immediate economic sanctions against Iraq by members of the U.N. Security Council. U.S. President George H. W. Bush deployed U.S. forces into Saudi Arabia, and urged other countries to send their own forces to the scene. An array of nations joined the Coalition, the largest military alliance since,

World War II. The great majority of the Coalition's military forces were from the U.S., with Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom and Egypt as leading contributors, in that order. Saudi Arabia paid around US$36 billion of the US$60 billion cost.

The war was marked by the introduction of live news broadcasts from the front lines of the battle, principally by the U.S. network CNN. The war has also earned the nickname Video Game War after the daily broadcast of images from cameras on board U.S. bombers during Operation Desert Storm.

Throughout the Cold War, Iraq had been an ally of the Soviet Union, and there was a history of friction between it and the United States. The U.S. was concerned with Iraq's position on Israeli-Palestinian politics, and its disapproval of the nature of the peace between Israel and Egypt. The U.S. also disliked Iraqi support for many Arab and Palestinian militant groups such as Abu Nidal, which led to Iraq's inclusion on the developing U.S. list of State Sponsors of Terrorism on 29 December 1979. The U.S. remained officially neutral after Iraq's invasion of Iran in 1980, which became the Iran-Iraq War, although it provided resources, political support, and some "non-military" aircraft to Iraq. In March 1982, Iran began a successful counteroffensive (Operation Undeniable Victory), and the U.S. increased its support for Iraq to prevent Iran from forcing a surrender. In a U.S. bid to open full diplomatic relations with Iraq, the country was removed from the U.S. list of State Sponsors of Terrorism. Ostensibly this was because of improvement in the regime's record, although former U.S. Assistant Defence Secretary Noel Koch later stated, "No one had any doubts about [the Iraqis']

continued involvement in terrorism… The real reason was to help them succeed in the war against Iran." With Iraq's newfound success in the war, and the Iranian rebuff of a peace offer in July, arms sales to Iraq reached a record spike in 1982. When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein expelled Abu Nidal to Syria at the U.S.' request in November 1983, the Reagan administration sent Donald Rumsfeld to meet Saddam as a special envoy and to cultivate ties. By the time the ceasefire with Iran was signed in August 1988, Iraq was heavily debt-ridden and tensions within society were rising. Most of its debt was owed to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Iraq pressured both nations to forgive the debts, but they refused. The Iraq-Kuwait dispute also involved Iraqi claims to Kuwait as Iraqi territory. Kuwait had been a part of the Ottoman Empire's province of Basra, something that Iraq claimed made it rightful Iraq territory. Its ruling dynasty, the al-Sabah family, had concluded a protectorate agreement in 1899 that assigned responsibility for its foreign affairs to the United Kingdom. The UK drew the border between the two countries in 1922, making Iraq virtually landlocked. Kuwait rejected Iraqi attempts to secure further provisions in the region.

Iraq also accused Kuwait of exceeding its OPEC quotas for oil production. In order for the cartel to maintain its desired price of $18 a barrel, discipline was required. The United Arab Emirates and Kuwait were consistently overproducing; the latter at least in part to repair losses caused by Iranian attacks in the Iran-Iraq War and to pay for the losses of an economic scandal. The result was a slump in the oil price - as low as $10 a barrel - with a resulting loss of $7 billion a year to Iraq, equal to its 1989 balance of payments deficit. Resulting revenues struggled to

support the government's basic costs, let alone repair Iraq's damaged infrastructure. Jordan and Iraq both looked for more discipline, with little success. The Iraqi government described it as a form of economic warfare, which it claimed was aggravated by Kuwait slant-drilling across the border into Iraq's Rumaila oil field. At the same time, Saddam looked for closer ties with those Arab states that had supported Iraq in the war. This was supported by the U.S., who believed that Iraqi ties with pro-Western Gulf states would help bring and maintain Iraq inside the U.S.' sphere of influence.

In 1989, it appeared that Saudi-Iraqi relations, strong during the war, would be maintained. A pact of non-interference and non-aggression was signed between the countries, followed by a Kuwaiti-Iraqi deal for Iraq to supply Kuwait with water for drinking and irrigation, although a request for Kuwait to lease Iraq Umm Qasr was rejected. Saudi-backed development projects were hampered by Iraq's large debts, even with the demobilization of 200,000 soldiers. Iraq also looked to increase arms production so as to become an exporter, although the success of these projects was also restrained by Iraq's obligations; in Iraq, resentment to OPEC's controls mounted.

Iraq's relations with its Arab neighbours - in particular Egypt - were degraded by mounting violence in Iraq against expatriate groups, well-employed during the war, by Iraqi unemployed, among them demobilized soldiers. These events drew little notice outside the Arab world because of fast-moving events in Eastern Europe. The U.S. did, however, begin to condemn Iraq's human rights record, including the well-known use of torture. The UK

also condemned the execution of Farzad Bazoft, a journalist working for the British newspaper The Observer. Following Saddam's declaration that "binary chemical weapons" would be used on Israel if it used military force against Iraq, Washington halted part of its funding. A U.N. mission to the Israeli-occupied territories, where riots had resulted in Palestinian deaths, was vetoed by the U.S., making Iraq deeply skeptical of U.S. foreign policy aims in the region, combined with the U.S.' reliance on Middle Eastern energy reserves.

In early July 1990, Iraq complained about Kuwait's behaviour, such as not respecting their quota, and openly threatened to take military action. On the 23rd, the CIA reported that Iraq had moved 30,000 troops to the Iraq-Kuwait border, and the U.S. naval fleet in the Persian Gulf was placed on alert. Saddam believed an anti-Iraq conspiracy was developing - Kuwait had begun talks with Iran, and Iraq's rival Syria had arranged a visit to Egypt. Upon review by the Secretary of Defence, it was found that Syria indeed planned a strike against Iraq in the coming days. Saddam immediately used funding to incorporate central intelligence into Syria and ultimate prevented the impending air strike. On 15 July 1990, Saddam's government laid out its combined objections to the Arab League, including that policy moves were costing Iraq $1 billion a year, that Kuwait was still using the Rumaila oil field, that loans made by the UAE and Kuwait could not be considered debts to its "Arab brothers". He threatened force against Kuwait and the UAE saying "The policies of some Arab rulers are American... They are inspired by America to undermine Arab interests and security." The U.S. sent aerial refuelling planes and combat ships to the Persian Gulf in

response to these threats. Discussions in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, mediated on the Arab League's behalf by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, were held on 31 July and led Mubarak to believe that a peaceful course could be established.

On the 25th, Saddam met with April Glaspie, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, in Baghdad. The Iraqi leader attacked American policy with regards to Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates:

- "So what can it mean when America says it will now protect its friends? It can only mean prejudice against Iraq. This stance plus maneuvers and statements which have been made has encouraged the UAE and Kuwait to disregard Iraqi rights... If you use pressure, we will deploy pressure and force. We know that you can harm us although we do not threaten you. But we too can harm you. Everyone can cause harm according to their ability and their size. We cannot come all the way to you in the United States, but individual Arabs may reach you... We do not place America among the enemies. We place it where we want our friends to be and we try to be friends. But repeated American statements last year made it apparent that America did not regard us as friends."

Glaspie replied:

- "I know you need funds. We understand that and our opinion is that you should have the opportunity to

rebuild your country. But we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait... Frankly, we can only see that you have deployed massive troops in the south. Normally that would not be any of our business. But when this happens in the context of what you said on your national day, then when we read the details in the two letters of the Foreign Minister, then when we see the Iraqi point of view that the measures taken by the UAE and Kuwait is, in the final analysis, parallel to military aggression against Iraq, then it would be reasonable for me to be concerned."

Saddam stated that he would attempt last-ditch negotiations with the Kuwaitis but Iraq "would not accept death".

According to Glaspie's own account, she stated in reference to the precise border between Kuwait and Iraq, "... that she had served in Kuwait 20 years before; 'then, as now, we took no position on these Arab affairs'." Glaspie similarly believed that war was not imminent.

Invasion of Kuwait

The result of the Jeddah talks was an Iraqi demand for $10 billion to cover the lost revenues from Rumaila; the Kuwaiti response was to offer $9 billion. The Iraqi response was to immediately order the invasion. On 2 August 1990, Iraq launched the invasion by bombing Kuwait's capital, Kuwait City. At the time of the invasion, the Kuwaiti military was believed to have

numbered 16,000 men, arranged into three armored, one mechanised infantry and one under-strength artillery brigade. The pre-war strength of the Kuwait Air Force was around 2,200 Kuwaiti personnel, with 80 aircraft and forty helicopters. In spite of Iraqi saber-rattling, Kuwait didn't have its forces on alert; the army had been stood down on 19 July.

By 1988, at the Iran-Iraq War's end, the Iraqi Army was the world's fourth largest army; it consisted of 955,000 standing soldiers and 650,000 paramilitary forces in the Popular Army. According to John Childs and André Corvisier, a low estimate shows the Iraqi Army capable of fielding 4,500 tanks, 484 combat aircraft and 232 combat helicopters. According to Michael Knights, a high estimate shows the Iraqi Army capable of fielding one million men and 850,000 reservists, 5,500 tanks, 3,000 artillery pieces, 700 combat aircraft and helicopters; and held 53 divisions, 20 special-forces brigades, and several regional militias, and had a strong air defence.

Iraqi commandos infiltrated the Kuwaiti border first to prepare for the major units which began the attack at midnight. The Iraqi attack had two prongs, with the primary attack force driving south straight for Kuwait City down the main highway, and a supporting attack force entering Kuwait farther west, but then turning and driving east, cutting off Kuwait City from the country's southern half. The commander of a Kuwaiti armored battalion, 35th Armoured Brigade, deployed them against the Iraqi attack and was able to conduct a robust defence (Battle of the Bridges), near Al Jahra, west of Kuwait City. Kuwaiti aircraft scrambled to meet the invading force, but approximately 20per

cent were lost or captured. A few combat sorties were flown against Iraqi ground forces.

The main Iraqi thrust into Kuwait City was conducted by commandos deployed by helicopters and boats to attack the city from the sea, while other divisions seized the airports and two airbases. The Iraqis attacked the Dasman Palace, the Royal Residence of Kuwait's Emir, Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, which was defended by the Emiri Guard supported with M-84 tanks. In the process, the Iraqis killed Fahad Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Emir's youngest brother.

Within 12 hours, most resistance had ended within Kuwait and the royal family had fled, leaving Iraq in control of most of Kuwait. After two days of intense combat, most of the Kuwaiti military were either overrun by the Iraqi Republican Guard, or had escaped to Saudi Arabia. The Emir and key ministers were able to get out and head south along the highway for refuge in Saudi Arabia. Iraqi ground forces consolidated their control of Kuwait City, then headed south and redeployed along the Saudi border. After the decisive Iraqi victory, Saddam initially installed a puppet regime known as the "Provisional Government of Free Kuwait" before installing his cousin Ali Hassan al-Majid as Kuwait's governor on 8 August. Kuwaitis founded a local armed resistance movement following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. The Kuwaiti resistance's casualty rate far exceeded that of the coalition military forces and Western hostages. The resistance predominantly consisted of ordinary citizens who lacked any form of training and supervision. The majority of Kuwaitis who stayed in Kuwait during the Gulf War were Shias.