

Political Process in Third World

Clayton Nichols



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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Role of the International Organisms in the Globalization Process

The tendency of economic globalization has its roots in the trauma of the the depression before World War II. American political elites (Council on Foreign Relations) became very careful to ensure that nothing similar will be repeated. Globalization can be seen as a means or system of acceptance and adherence to global problems of mankind. The following global issues are considered pressing for mankind:

- The food crisis and underdevelopment,
- Huge military expenses,
- Inflation and financial - monetary crises
- Energy and raw materials,
- Rapid Population Growth and Environmental degradation.

In the vision the United Nations, the globalization of these issues over mankind is based on the uniqueness of the world economy and it is linked to the fact that they occur in almost all countries containing technical, social economical, political and ecological mutual elements that cause propagation in the chain of the effects that need combined efforts to be

solved. Globalization does not work by itself, but through economical - financial policies. These policies, as any subjective factors, can accurately reflect reality or may deviate from it. Those who develop and apply these policies can only be major economical and financial power centers of the world created by these organizations to serve their interests (FMI, BM, OMC, etc.) United Nations (UN) with specialized international institutions responsible for different segments of the globalization process must act democratically, with transparency, accountability, impartiality and respect for the law.

In this paper we present some critical points of view regarding the measures and actions of these institutions and also proposals to reform them. Effectiveness of actions taken by the UN is not at the level expected by the member countries. Many developing countries consider that the UN can aspire to become global legislator (Arbitrator of globalization), which can impose a new world order. Many economic problems necessary for the world wait to be solved after various global problems.

World Trade Organization did not solve the problem of agricultural protectionism. Nordic countries in their policies block access to their markets to products originating in Southern countries. Also, the problem is aggravated by the agricultural excess of developed countries. Coping with the globalization will not be possible by increasing national protectionism.

Reforming the IMF requires modernizing and adoption of financial assistance and must be correlated with a new vision of the conditions imposed on debtor countries, because a misguided policy will deepen the national economic problems. Differences between U.S. and EU should not be ignored.

Contemporary globalization – Conceptual determinations

In the current context, the contemporary economy is approached as a block. States cannot exist in isolation, cannot live outside the network of relationships which are established at all levels. Therefore the world economy must be viewed as a system, as a whole composed of smaller or larger parts, more or less developed.

Economic globalization that characterizes today's economy, results mainly from transnational corporations and the large enthusiasm of resurgence regionalism obvious in Europe and in other parts of the world.

The term “globalization” has been developed to outline the realities of our world, namely: the internationalization of markets for goods and services and the emergence and proliferation of multinational companies concerned with the development of comprehensive financial, manufacturing, marketing and management.

Globalization is the second largest component of the contemporary world economy, after establishing the new economic order. From the perspective of the first dimension,

the new paradigm of economic order, involves shaping the two trends: business's globalization and revolutionizing the information technology.

The term "new economy" is often met, nowadays in economical studies. One of the most popular definition is: "the new economy is a broad concept that describes an economy where both the final product and its intermediate phases consists in information and where digital information, offers a worldwide access to all information available at one time. These new technologies are designed to potentiate the efficiency of conventional and traditional business practices and to facilitate the emergence of new processes and products.

The main characteristics of the new economy ire about cooperation and competition, the need for focusing on the customer needs, but also increasing consumption of human intelligence and creativity that results in a higher added value, new jobs, the reduction of resource consumption, growth of labor productivity.

Analyzing the new world order we cannot overlook the occult side of this reality that brings in the spotlight the military and economic actions of the main power centers (the "Group Bildelberg", "Illuminati", "Masonry") that use the instruments of the global financial institutions, imposing their own rules in order to dominate humanity.

In other news, new world order is the intersection of three contemporary phenomena: globalization, information revolution and the economic war.

"Globalization" is a term first introduced in a (Webster) dictionary in the year 1961; 30 years later it became part of the daily language as an obsessive word.

Professor Dinu Marin defines the concept of globalization as "the process of functioning of the global economy, which, in the global society, has become able to create global decision structures meant to solve global problems". 10 myths have appeared in relation to this process, which the critics have transformed into reality. Richard D. Mc. Carmich formulated the following globalization myths:

- It is a conspiracy of the transnational corporations against the small countries;
- It concentrates the power over the market in the hands of those who direct a small number of huge corporations;
- The evil genius of globalization is the information technology;
- Globalization means "companies escaping the control of the law";
- Globalization determines the decrease in the number of jobs;
- Globalization undermines cultural diversity;
- Through globalization, the work conditions standards decrease, resulting in the workers being turned into a sort of slaves;
- Globalization destroys the environment;

Globalization involves the prosperity of the multinational companies at the expense of the consumers and of the small companies. The American Initiative on behalf of the economic globalization has been built on two premises:

- Preservation of the existing capitalist system in the U.S., allowing the access to a lot of resources and global markets.
- The spread of the American economic model (consumer-oriented market economy) worldwide.

A fundamental problem of the contemporary society is the report national - international in the economic field. Globalization is seen as a moment (stage) in the process of globalization in which the main actor is the multinational company, so as an expansion in the international market of production factors, greater mobility of the capital, a considerable increase in international investment and financial flows.

Globalization is profitable for multinational corporations who integrate in their own networks international production systems. Ensuring the economic development moves to a new level "the global market economy" while the insurance of the well-being of nations remains the same within the national area.

Globalization of world economy seems to carry on without rules in the last 20 years. The global unilateralism affirmed in the U.S. in its foreign policy immediately after the collapse of the

Berlin wall worried the elites in the former socialist countries, now members of the European Union.

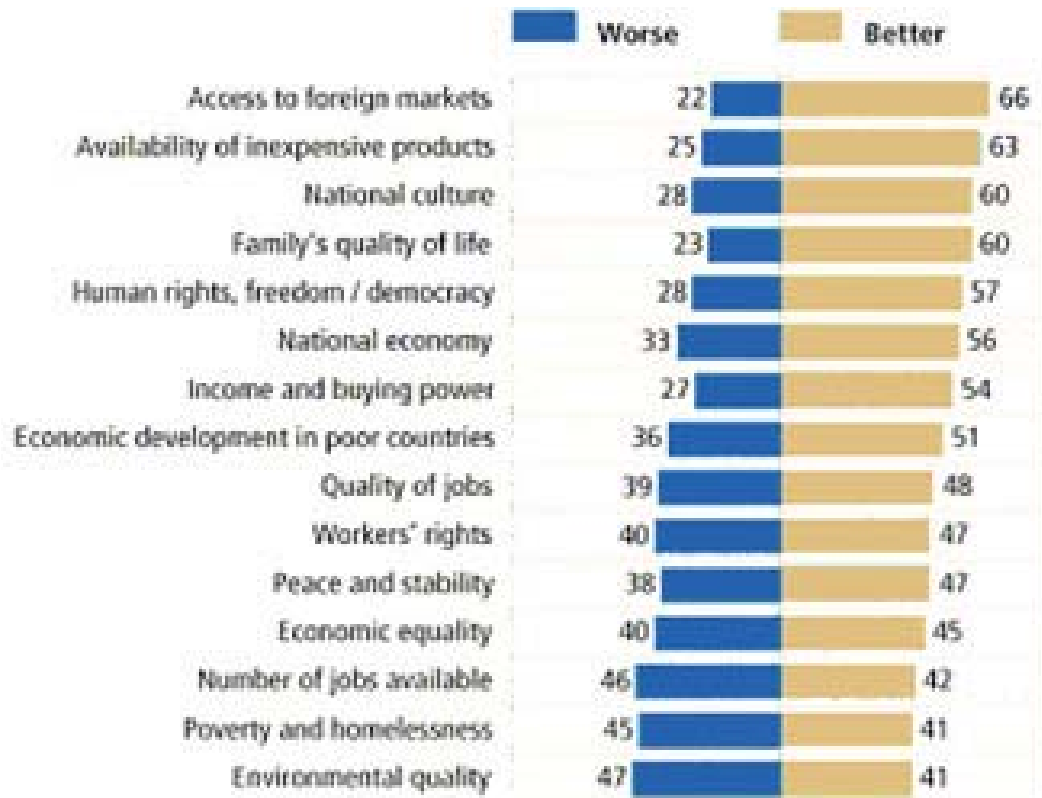
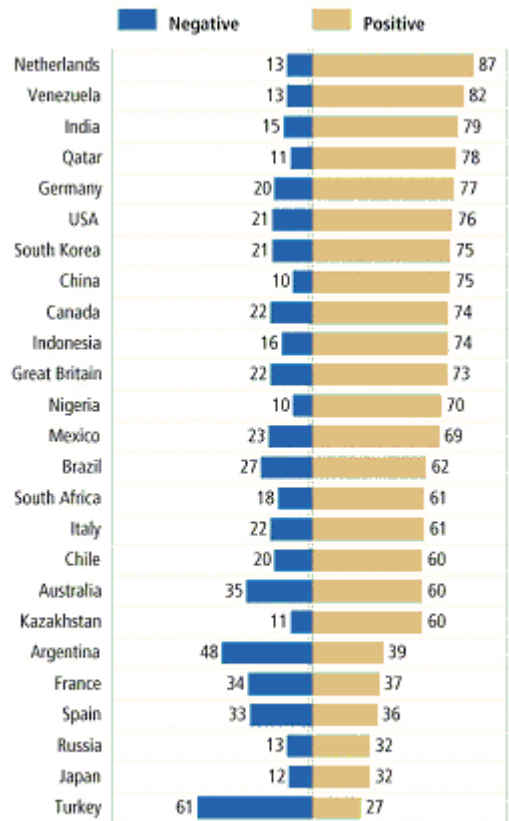


Figure :Effect on globalization

It is necessary that developing countries emerge in order to implement measures to mitigate the negative effects of a harsh globalization without rules that can generate planetary crisis, social anarchy. Large multinational corporations see the State as a barrier to globalization as an anachronic economic actor and not as a regulatory authority and organisms of social cohesion.

State must remain the main actor on the world stage, as globalization is not only an alibi for the various forms of imperialism. The State must remain the place where democracy is exercised, the pillar of social cohesion and solidarity.



*Globalization was defined as the increased trade between countries in goods and services and investment

Figure :Effects of globalizations on Respondent and family

Also, globalization is not compatible with sustainable development. Globalization deepens the gap between the rich and the poor.

Globalization is a complex phenomenon, raising a large number of problems as soon as we try to find and give it a unanimously accepted definition. So, in time, the scientists

and the public's opinion did not reach a common definition. This is why we will continue by presenting a few definitions given to this term:

- “A process of surmounting limitations created by history. For this reason, it is synonymous with erosion (but not with disappearance) of the sovereignty of nation states and depicts a “detachment” of the market economy from moral norms and institutionalized connections between the societies (Elmar Altvater);
- The “quantitative and qualitative intensification of the transactions that go over the limit imposed by frontiers, concomitantly to their spatial expansion” (Ulrich Menzel);
- “An increased interdependence and integration of the different world economies”. (Johannes Varwick);
- The “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. (Anthony Giddens);
- “The largest economic and social shift since the Industrial Revolution”(Dirk Messner/ Frany Huscheler);
- “A process of increase in the number of connections between societies and problem domains” (Johannes Varwick);
- “The unchaining of the world market powers and the weakening of the state's economic power” (Schumann Martin);

“The dynamics of globalization is driven by economic forces, but its most important consequences can be seen in politics” (Klaus Muller).

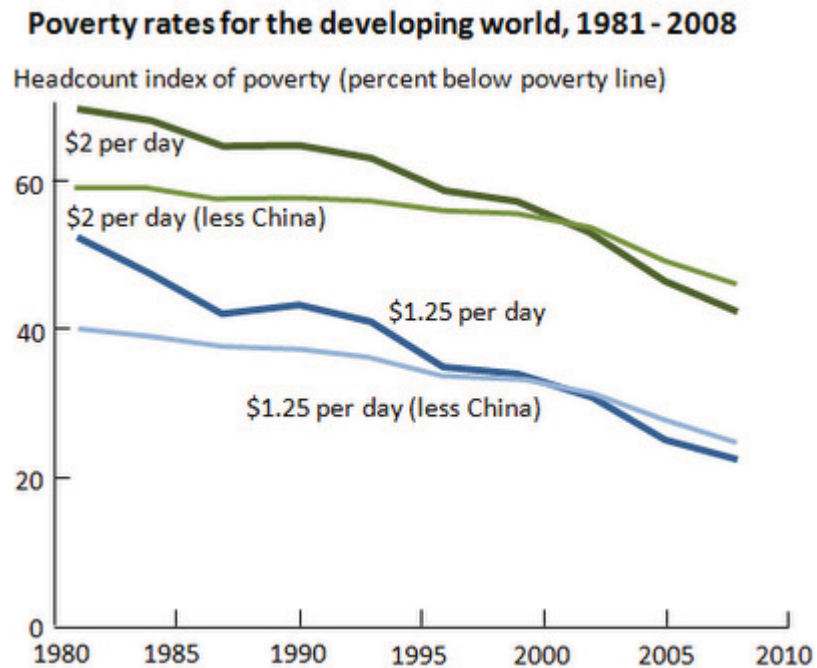


Figure :Poverty rates for the developing world, 1981 – 2008

The evolution of globalization

In our opinion, the globalization can be defined as a process of increasing interdependence of nation states by the growth of transnational ties in various spheres of economical, political, social and cultural life. So, the basic criterion of defining globalization is the increasing interdependence in the various sectors of the socio-political and economical life. The concept of interdependence takes a variety of meanings depending on the motivations of those who employ it. For us, interdependence is a mutually advantageous relationship between companies in different countries and / or national economies in a well defined legal framework.

Robert Gilpin defines this term as "a mutual dependence, though not equal", not accepting many of the so-called political

and economical consequences. So, the benefits of interdependence are sometimes expressed by zero-sum or nonzero sum.

When we talk about the evolution of globalization we think about the presentation of the most significant moments in the history of this phenomenon. What could the evolution of globalization refer to?

In general economic terms, we could say that its purpose is the analysis of the history of the interstate commerce growth, based on stable institutions authorizing certain organisms to exchange goods more easily.

The first globalization era is often considered to be the period when gold defined the economic standard. Relying on the post-1815 British expansion and the goods exchange for cash, this first stage developed along with the industrialization.

David Ricardo and J.B. Say are among those who, through their works, provided the theoretical framework needed for the expansion of this incipient period of globalization. In their works on comparative advantage and the general law of the markets, the two authors uphold the idea that countries will trade efficiently and that the imbalances between demand and offer on the market will only be transitory and will adjust themselves.

About 150 years ago, David Ricardo considered that the comparative advantage is an application of the principle of

specialization and exchange between firms, regions, nations. In his opinion each individual, firm, region or nation will have to win if they specialize in the production of those goods and services costing little and if they exchange them for products costing more. From a chronological perspective, the globalization process appears as follows:

Stage 1 – it is comprised between 1400 and 1750, being called “the primary stage”, and witnesses geographic discoveries, colonization and the appearance of transcontinental trading exchanges.

Stage 2 – the interval 1750-1880, also known as the “incipient stage”; it is characterized by the formation of unitary states and the development of trading relations and the signing of the first agreements in the domain of international trading relations.

Stage 3 – comprised between 1880 and 1925, it is also called “the stage of development” when the manufactured production developed, the means of transport evolved, the international trading as well as the population migration intensified and the multinational organizations took shape.

Stage 4 - 1920 – 1927 when the great state powers crystallize and the worldwide organizations and institutions develop.

Stage 5 started at the end of the 20th century, being characterized by the intensification of regionalization and

integration, but also by the strong development of multinational corporations.

“The first globalization era” is divided into two distinct stages:

The first stage lasts until the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. The second stage begins after 1930, lasting until the Second World War.

After the Second World War, a second globalization age has been outlined. During this period, globalization was guided by negotiations, during a first stage under the stipulations of the GATT (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) (Kegley, 2006).



Figure :What is Globalization & What Are Its Benefits?

This stage is much more “aggressive” than the first, if we analyze the world organisms appeared immediately after 1949, when three great international economic organizations took

shape: FMI, BIRD and GATT. During the present period, globalization is developing under the influence of three categories of factors:

- The increase of the international exchange area through the integration of new states from South America, Central and Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia.
- The development of exchanges, especially in the domain of services.
- The globalization of the organizations able to integrate their activities, especially their research-development, supply and trading, on a world scale.

Globalization is a complex process, which, as one can see from what has been previously outlined, has manifested its symptoms beginning a very long time ago. In his work "Lexus and the Olive Tree", Friedman approaches globalization as that form of war that replaced the Cold War. Both the Cold War and globalization are systems characterized by a unifying feature, actually diametrically opposite for each of them, and by a symbol: the wall in the case of the Cold War and the web for globalization. In the case of the Cold War, the unifying feature was the division in time, while for globalization this feature is unification. In 1975, the Cold War reached its climax: only 8 % of the world countries had liberal, democratic regimes, characterized by freedom of the market, and the direct foreign investments were, according to the World Bank, of \$23 billion.

In 2009, the countries with a full democracy represented 18 %, those with a degraded democracy - 29 %, hybrid regimes - 21

% and the rest were authoritarian regimes. In contradiction with the Cold War, globalization has its own dominant culture, concretized in the ample extension of Americanization. Some economists divide the history of mondialisation into three stages:

- The internationalization related to the development of the goods and services exports flows;
- The transnationalization of the direct investment flows and the implantation of the large organizations abroad;
- The implementation of the world production and information networks, leading to a better combination and rationalization of the corporate activity in the worldwide economic area.

So, by the beginning of the 20th century, globalization became chronic, engulfing more and more states of the contemporary world. In the year 2000, the classification of the most globalized economies, established according to the A.T. Kearney index, situates the following states on the first ten places:

**Table :Top 10 most globalized economies in 2000,
according to the A. T. Kearney index**

No.	Country
1	Singapore

2	Ireland
3	USA
4	Great Britain
5	New Zealand
6	Italy
7	Portugal
8	Israel
9	France
10	Australia

According to the Globalization Index elaborated by Ernst & Yang, in collaboration with the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) in the year 2010, Hong-Kong is the economy with the highest globalization level from a number of 60 states under analysis.

Singapore, the holder of the First Prize in 2009, is on the third place, while Ireland moved from the third position to the second, during just one year. The place of Spain is unchanged, by comparison to the previous year, while Romania occupies the 30th position, being defeated by Bulgaria but in front of Italy, which holds the 31st rank, and in front of Greece, which is situated on the 35th position. This index measures and tracks down the performance of the 60 largest world economies in relation to diverse indexes from the following categories: openness to the exterior, movement of capital, technology and idea exchange, labor force mobility and cultural integration.

In the modern globalization era, beside the classification of the most globalized countries, there is also a hierarchy of the most globalized cities. In order to establish the positions in this top, five criteria are analyzed for each city in turn, namely: economical activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience and juridical cooperation.

On the level of the year 2010, the first positions were occupied, in order, by: New York, London and Tokyo. Except for these, on the first ten positions, there were: Paris, Hong-Kong, Chicago, Los Angeles, Singapore, Seoul and Sydney. We can notice that four out of the ten most globalized cities are situated in Asia. As far as the cities of Europe are concerned, Moscow was situated on the 25th place, being preceded by London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Madrid, Vienna, Stockholm, Frankfurt and Zurich. The outline of the contemporary globalization is largely shaped by the economical-financial crisis that has affected the

entire world, with few exceptions. In this situation, globalization no longer appears as a phenomenon either so implacable or so irreversible or so American. In 2008, Thomas Friedman said, of course talking about the USA, that “we no longer need a financial salvation package, we need moral salvation”.

We need to reestablish the basic balance between our markets, morals and regulations. I do not want to kill the wild spirit required to move capitalism forward, but I do not want to be torn apart by it either. Sure, there are some globalization aspects that are irreversible, such as the transnationality of technologies or communications.

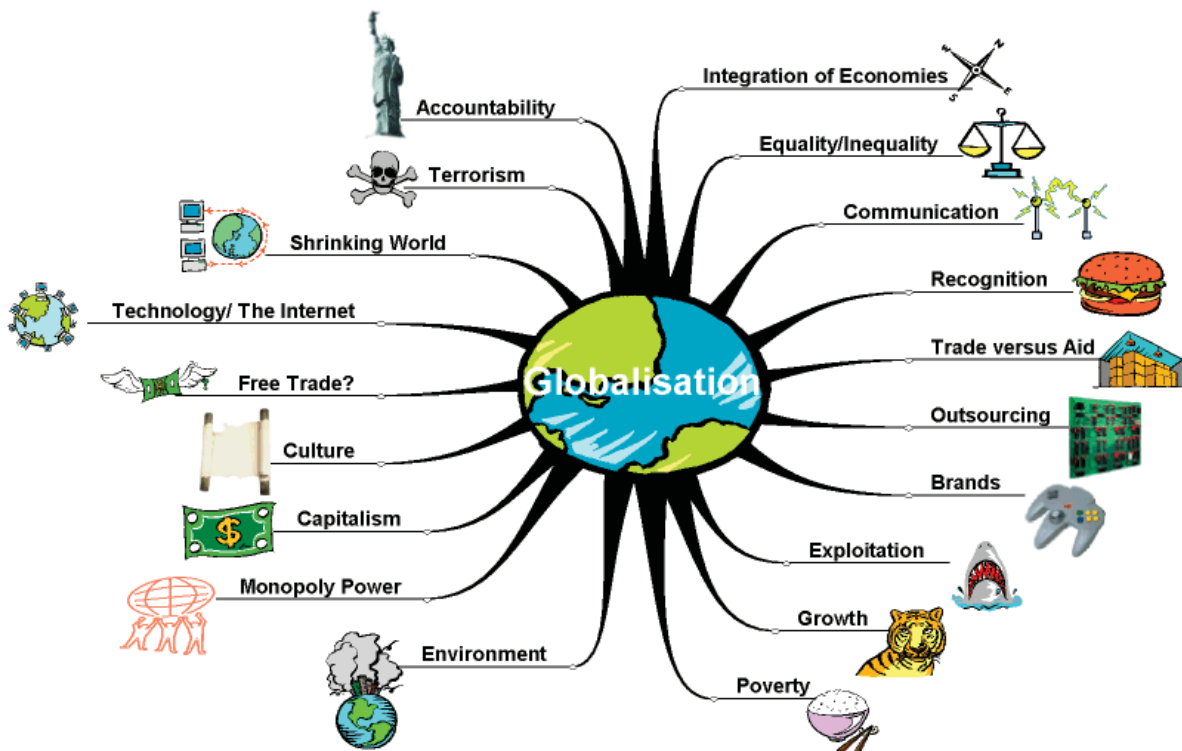


Figure: Globalization map

Yet, there are also reversible aspects, of an economic and cultural nature. What Asia brings now to the forefront in these realities are models containing different rules, confirming once again the syntagm “cash is king“. China is more stable than the USA, and the jobs, the production and the revenues are here now.

The IMF and the WB policies in the context of the globalization of the contemporary economy

As shown in the last 20 years, globalization has brought to the countries of the world more disadvantages than advantages. For example:

- unfair distribution of benefits of globalization, the number of losers being greater than the number of winners;
- undermining the national sovereignty by passing the control of national economies of the countries from the hands of governments in the hands of powerful states, global corporations and international organizations;

deepening regional and global instability as a result of economic crisis transmission from one country to another.

The main connections of the global economy with the international monetary-financial system result from the operational credit-financing operations, discount operations and liquidities regulation operations. The IMF and the WB group are notorious international financial-monetary

authorities, built on the basis of global-scale concession, called to govern the dynamics and balance of the international financial monetary system.

The lack of cohesion in the political decisions worldwide and the difficulty of the global cooperation approach given by the heterogeneity of the actors involved led the two organisms to go further and further from the reason of their creation, arriving by the end of the 20th century not just outside the dialogue with the system of the United Nations, but also outside the dialogue with parallel organisms and even with its own members.

The institution of the International Monetary Fund was created in 1945 through the provisions of the Bretton Woods agreement, as a specialized financial-monetary organism of the United Nations System, responsible at first for the good functioning of the Gold Exchange Standard.

The main responsibilities assumed by its status refer to:

- The promotion of an international monetary cooperation and the goal of assuring a harmonious evolution in the international trade;
- The promotion of a stable exchange rate system, while respecting the engagements assumed by its members;
- Permanent assistance concerning the establishment and the coherent functioning of the multilateral payment system established among its members;

- Maintaining the climate of trust in the policies of the institution, by permanently availing temporary resources to the members in order to balance the current balances of payments;

Preventing and diminishing the negative effects determined by the unbalances able to affect the fund members' international balances of payments.

The central pillar of the World Bank Group, namely BIRD (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) was created in 1945 simultaneously with the IMF and became functional in 1947. The initial goal of BIRD was to support the post-war reconstruction and later on to promote the development of its member states.

The World Bank is oriented towards economic assistance programs, development programs, and structural adjustment programs meant to fight poverty.

In relation to the World Bank, the IMF represents the primordial institution as specialization and responsibility sphere in connection to the international financial monetary system – by its configuration and the arbitration of its functional architecture.

The IMF's main functions concern the specific processes of cooperation, assistance, information, supervision and intervention concerning the institutions of the international monetary-financial system.

Gradually, as both of these institutions got involved increasingly and steadily in finding solutions to reduce the debts of the developing countries, their activities partially overlapped.

So, in time, the World Bank shifted its attention from financing projects to the program for economic reform; the IMF gave more attention to the structural reform along with its traditional activity concerning the adjustment of the balance of payments.

So, the main directions of action of the two institutions refer to the mechanisms of macroeconomic stabilization and to their direct involvement in international economic problems.

The confusions related to the delimitation of responsibilities between IMF and the World Bank until 1999 are notorious. Following the IMF's repeated failures to stabilize the crisis in SE Asia (1997) and the crisis in Russia (1998), the specialized political economic forums have drawn an alarm signal about the mismanagement of their responsibilities, considering at a certain moment even the choice of their dissolution.

The insufficient or even defective involvement of these two international organisms into the global problems has drawn criticism and reform recommendations. The IMF is called to support - from the position of analyst and consultant - the macroeconomic condition in relation to the quality of the monetary regime and the structure of the balance of national

payments from the perspective of the monetary and budgetary policy of its member states.

The IMF is criticized for its market fundamentalism and the absolutization of its monetary network, the administrative recipe for all the countries with different problems that have appealed to the financial aid instruments. The IMF has given more attention to the aspects related to inflation, balance of payments, exchange rate policies, neglecting the aspects related to the real political, economical and social indicators.

The low interest concerning the negative economic and social effects of the application of the principle of conditionalities worsened the effects felt by the member states in the process of globalization of the capital flows. Today, the developing countries no longer trust the policies and the strategies of the international institutions.

Beyond the specific functional laws of the market economy, in the approach of the IMF or WB policies there are multiple variables encompassing all the five essential dimensions of the national regional or international balance, namely: the economic plan, the monetary-financial plan, the social plan, the political plan and the cultural one.

It has been noticed that the countries that assumed eventual sanctions by acting against the measures required by the IMF managed to rehabilitate their economy much faster (e.g.:

Malaysia), compared to other countries that were technically subordinated to the monetarist networks of the IMF.

The financial crisis of Asia (1997-1998) began with the crisis of Thailand and then it generalized to all the countries in the region.

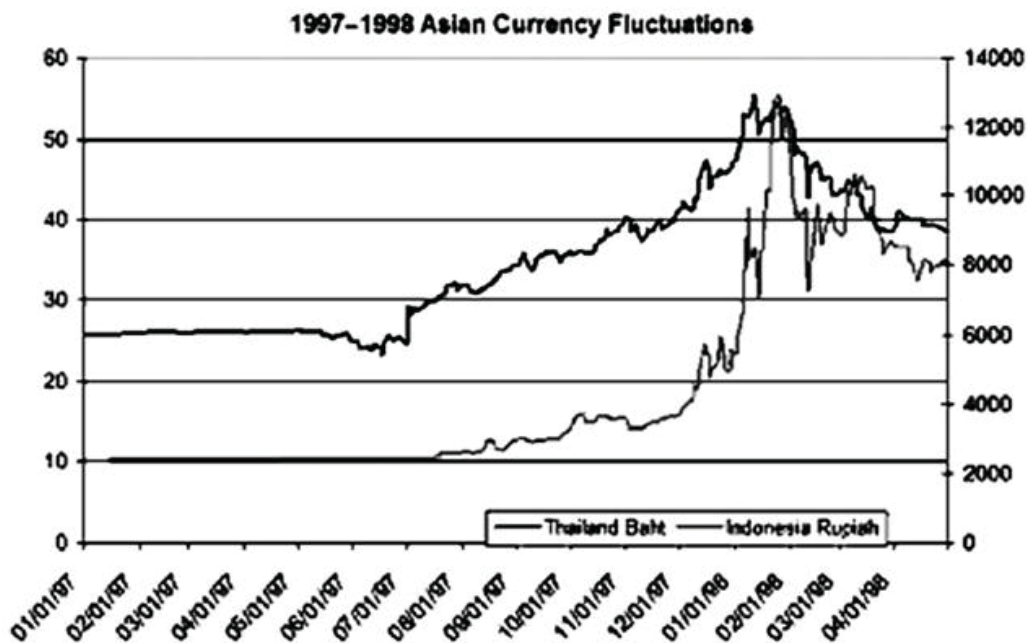


Figure :Asian Crisis Price Action

The basic cause of this crisis is also the crediting expansion, which led to the development of certain entrepreneurship programs. The effects were some of the most difficult for these countries, for instance: Korea's GDP in 1998 decrease to 33% of the GDP of the year 1997 and in Indonesia the GDP / inhabitant went down by 44% in 1998 compared to the previous year. Some specialists analyzed the losses appeared following the financial crises, beginning with the year 1980

and until 2002 (the crisis in Japan). The losses were quantified as ratio of the respective country's GDP.

Table :Cost of the financial crises

Country	Year	Cost (% GDP)
Argentina	1980 -1982	55%
Argentina	1995	2%
Mexico	1995 – 1997	14%
Brazil	1995 – 2000	5 – 10%
Chile	1981 – 1983	41%
Cote d'Ivoire	1988 – 1991	25%
China	1990	47%
Indonesia	1997 – 1999	50 – 60%
Korea	1997 – 1999	15%

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Thailand	1997 - 1999	24%
Malaysia	1997 - 1999	10%
Philippines	1998 - 2000	7%
Russia	1998	5 - 7%
Spain	1971 - 1985	17%
Finland	1991 - 1993	8 - 10%
Norway	1998 - 1992	4%
Sweden	1991 - 1993	4 - 5%
USA	1984 - 1991	5 - 7%
Japan	1990 - 2002	17 - 20%
Israel	1971 - 1983	30%

The years 2000 culminate with the greatest financial crisis in the economic history, more serious by far than the well-known

1929 crisis. The actual crisis, which began in 2007, in the USA, is a subject of controversy as far as the causes of its appearance are concerned: this topic was debated quite a lot, and the different potential causes highlighted by the specialists of the economic, political and social environment, theorists and practitioners, were submitted to a detailed analysis.

Starting from the idea according to which the losses non-recorded by a nation will be found on the level of a third winning country, the world economy needs a promoter of equitable productive grounds and specific legislations concerning the output and the comparative advantage.

At present, the financial market has the following features:

- The capital market acquires the most important role in the general picture of the international financial market, and it is closely connected to the international currency market;
- The international financial economy has detached itself from the real economy. Money as a symbol of fortune and as an instrument for payments has value in itself and is traded as such. The positive consequences of this evolution is the birth of new financial assets, the creation of new jobs, while the negative consequences consist in the fact that the symbolical economy may evolve aberrantly, its crises triggering the occurrence of crises in the real economy as well;

- The domination of the market by the great institutional investors (mutual funds, retirement and insurance companies);
- The increasingly volatile interest and exchange rates often lead to the increase of the financing cost;
- There has been a shift from an economy of indebtedness to a speculative economy, dominated by the primacy of the financing of speculative operations. The volume of the speculative operations represents about 90% of the total volume of the financial operations;
- The financial markets of different financial products are intricately interconnected, the specialists being faced with serious difficulties when it comes to understanding the multitude of connections presented among them and to evaluate the effects triggered;

In the international financial system, there is a high aggregated risk. The IMF and the World Bank have contributed to deepening the dependency of the underdeveloped states of the world economy, and then to opening their economies to the corporatist colonization.

“There are, normally, two ways of making money without producing value; one is creating debts and the other is overbidding the assets’ value. The world financial system uses both of these ways to make money without producing any value”.

Joseph Stiglitz, an Economics Nobel laureate, has criticized the IMF programs. The IMF country networks have failed. In the East, Poland has respected its contract, and now it is doing

bad. The same has happened to the Romanians, mentioning that they were not consistent in respecting the stand-by agreements. The IMF prescription condemns the patients to crisis. The IMF along with the World Bank and the WTO are poor globalization managers.

It is the poor countries that have to bear the troubles. Governments need the IMF for a good image on the international capital markets, but also in order to balance their budgetary deficit. The program claimed by the IMF pursues: privatization, liberalization of the capital markets, price liberalization and trade liberalization. Using the conditions imposed by the World Bank to grant credits, governments rush to privatize the companies to the national disadvantage, but with personal advantages.

Multinational corporations can buy local industries cheaply, benefiting of: fiscal facilities, free areas, small salaries, and end up by totally controlling certain economic branches. As far as the foreign capital is concerned, it is oriented towards estate and currency speculations, and at the appearance of the slightest sign of economic crisis it withdraws, affecting the global economy (for example, the crisis in Mexico).

Price liberalization means blowing up the prices for foods and public utilities. In the case of trade liberalization, local producers are forced to compete, to their disadvantage, with international producers. In some countries, trade liberalization has triggered bankruptcy and unemployment.

“Huge world corporations control and manage the world’s money, technology and markets, acting only based on profit, without taking into account any human, national and local considerations”.

During the last more than two years, the world has gone through the most significant economic and financial crisis in its history. The globalization process has not been stopped; on the contrary, it has taken forms and features induced by today’s world phenomena, especially as most developed countries are in a more difficult situation compared to the emerging countries, which have continued to go through a period of economic growth.

So, in the year 2012, globalization can be regarded as an “orphan” cause, to a certain extent, as the governments have set as a priority the national interests over the international ones. We will witness the developed countries’ repeated attempts to recuperate their losses of economic and political power.

The emerging countries will desire stronger positions in a new economic and political world order, positions able to correlate their wish to reality, increased access to global decisions with their economic and financial power accumulated during the last few years.

Recent opinions have asked for an “improved multilateralism”, as IMF and a World Bank acquired “renewed” statuses. Walking

out from the crisis will require extremely high financial resources, and the solutions of the IMF or of other international financial institutions could become more efficient only if these organisms avail themselves of enough resources in the long run.

If the world were to realize a transition from the crumbling institutions of the Bretton Woods system towards a more stable international order, then the problems discussed as fundamental themes in the international political economy should obligatorily be solved. "In the future the key issue for the IMF and the World Bank needs to be the acceptance of the fact that they play an inevitable political role." Neither is a technocracy without engagements. They both need to improve their openness and transparency, and they both have to become more responsible towards the poor countries, which represent their main clients.

Although countries are obviously unequal in what concerns power, globalization has to bring benefits both to the poor countries and to the rich ones, and the international financial institutions will be despised and irrelevant if they do not become responsible in front of all their members.

The role of the World Trade Organization in the globalization process

The WTO has gone too far encouraging the trade liberalization, which triggered the incapacity to get the labor and

environmental norms to be respected, determining the countries to lift their protectionist barriers.

The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) mechanism for developing countries and the changes proposed by the EU in this respect have not functioned. Through their agricultural policies, the rich countries block the access on their markets for the products coming from the poor countries. This represents a hindrance for the latter.

For many poor countries, agriculture represents one of the few domains in which their enterprises are competitive (Fellous, 2006). Over 50 developing countries realize $\frac{1}{4}$ of their GDP out of their exports of agricultural products. Lacking the possibility to export agricultural products on the European, American, Japanese markets, these poor countries have few chances of having recourse to the technology imports that are so necessary for their development.

The issue of agricultural protectionism has been aggravated by the agricultural excedents of the rich countries. The artificial European excedents put pressure on the international markets, contribute to the decrease of the prices of the agricultural products and consequently reduce the earnings of these developing countries.

In these countries, where hundreds of millions of people have an income under 1 Euro/day, the consequences of a cut in the exports' prices can make the difference between life and death.

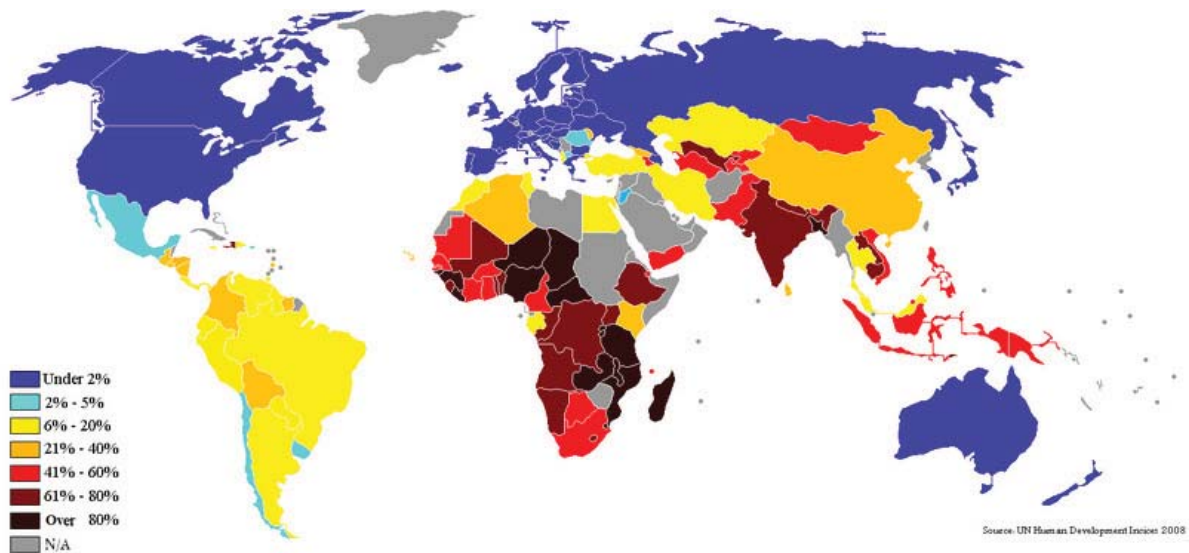


Figure :Percentage population living on less than \$2 per day

There is a flagrant contradiction between the official declarations putting at the forefront the need to help the poor countries and these countries' agricultural policies. For the developing economies, the WTO has triggered nothing else but negative consequences. So far, the WTO has not attained the fundamental goals put down in its status, namely to increase prosperity for all its members and to realize full employment.

On the contrary, in the North-South relations, WTO has favored the neocolonialist tendencies of its rich members, allowing for an unprecedented richness transfer from the poorest countries to the richest countries.

The USA conceived and promoted the trade liberalization system, yet they had recourse to protectionism when their own interests were at stake. While strong economies have recourse to protectionism for one product or the other depending on

their specific interests, the developing economies are forced to open without conditions, bearing the consequences.

The developing countries realize that they need to react together and are able to resist the decisions that are detrimental to their interests. Some countries that have reacted within the WTO are: Brazil, Mexico, India, Egypt, South Africa.

Many of the provisions of the WTO agreements are presented as necessary to assure the efficient functioning of the competitive markets.

However, the WTO did nothing to limit the capacity of the transnational corporations to use their economic power to eliminate their competitors using unjust means, forming strategic alliances with their rivals to share production facilities, technology and markets. The WTO has requested the government's intervention for the protection of the corporate monopoly rights on information and technology.

Extremely dangerous is the extension by means of the WTO of the right to international protection for patents, genetic materials, including seeds and natural medicines. The corporatist colonialism is by no means a consequence of some inescapable historical forces. It is the consequence of conscious options based on the pursuit of an elitist interest.

This elitist interest has been closely allied to the corporatist one in the promotion of the economic deregulation and

globalization. Trade globalization has become possible due to the liberalization of the circulation of goods worldwide and to the rapid development in communications and informatics.

The development of the trading capacity needs to be supported by the rich countries using debt reduction and technology transfer policies. The trading rules should allow the developing and poor countries to protect certain sectors of their national economy. The developing countries need concrete national policies, giving them the opportunity to participate to the development of the external trade, access to credits and a favorable taxation system.

After the Second World War, the successive rounds of certain economic negotiations from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) led to an important decrease of the tariff-related barriers and to the development of the world trade. Later on, the balance between the forces of liberalization and those of the economic nationalism began to deteriorate; towards the middle of the 1970s, the economic nationalism managed to lean the balance in the direction contrary to the trade liberalization and the growth slowed down.

In the 1980s, the extension of protectionism affected more and more the nature of the trading system and the international location of the production worldwide.

The WTO replaced the GATT on 01.01.1995. Its main goal is the liberalization of the international trade, by abolishing the

tariff and non-tariff obstacles to trading. The WTO is the only organization establishing the rules of operation in international trading and has adopted the GATT's fundamental principles. These principles are:

- Non-discriminating commerce:
- The most favored nation; treating the others equally;
- National treaty; equal treatment for nations and foreigners
- A freer trade by means of negotiations and of "progressive liberalization".
- The possibility to consolidate the bonds when the countries decide to open their markets for goods and services.

Developing a fair competition based on a system of norms meant to acquire a free, fair competition, free of distorts (misrepresentations).Economic growth and development by supporting economic reforms.The power of negotiation of each of the 135 WTO member states finally depends on their importance, and that is why the three biggest economic powers, USA, EU and Japan can impose their goals and their will.

The WTO agreements, which were negotiated and signed by most of the countries taking part in the world trade, constitute the WTO core. These documents establish fundamental juridical norms that have to be "transparent" and "predictable".

The WTO agreements are intense and complex because they refer to juridical texts that approach a large array of activities, such as:

- agriculture;
- textiles;
- banking services;
- telecommunications;
- public contracts;
- industrial norms;
- rules concerning food health;
- intellectual property.

Disagreements are solved in the WTO by means of an impartial procedure, based on a convened juridical ground. When a contestation concerning a local or national law is brought before the WTO, the parties to the dispute present the case during a secret hearing in front of a commission made up of three experts in the domain of trading (generally jurists).

The burden of proof is placed upon the defendant. He has to show that the respective law does not constitute a trading restriction, according to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (WTO). If a commission decides that an internal law is a violation of the WTO rules, it can recommend that the accused country change its law or face financial penalties, trading sanctions or both.

The states trying to provide a preferential treatment to local investors at the expense of the foreign ones or which do not

protect the rights of intellectual property of the foreign companies can face charges. National interests are no longer valid grounds for the national laws under the WTO regime. The interests of the international trade, which are first of all the interests of the transnational corporations, go to the forefront.

The world standards concerning health and food security in the WTO are elaborated by a group known as Codex Alimentarius Commission, or CODEX. The critics of CODEX have noticed that it is profoundly influenced by the industry and it tends to balance the standards by lowering them.

The United Nations' directions of action

The eradication of the world poverty and the reduction of the great gaps between the world's rich and the world's poor have become the crucial problems of this century, representing the source of the most dangerous political, economic and social conflicts possible, which can endanger the international stability. The solution to these problems does not have to do only with the allotment of more material and financial resources.

The world economy has grown at unprecedented paces during the last 50 years, the global world product increasing seven times over, yet global poverty has not decreased and the gaps continue to grow even deeper.

The main cause are the rules governing the market functioning, which have always generated and permanently

generate social polarization – the accumulation of the richness in the hands of a minority and the perpetuation of the poverty for the largest part of the masses. This rule has functioned nationally even since the incipient stage of the primitive capital accumulation and has now extended on a planetary level, in the context of the globalization of the world economy.

Remedies are necessary therefore to limit these effects of the market. Nationally, it is the states' role to promote such remedies. An example of efficient measures has been given by the West European states, which have promoted, after the Second World War, the concept of social market economy and have realized the social European model.

The problem is the following: who should promote such remedies on the level of the world economy?! The UN and its specialized institutions have not availed themselves of such tools. These issues have also been debated during several world summits because they have become present preoccupations of the world community.

In the spring of 2002 at the Monterey summit dedicated to the financing of the programs meant to fight against poverty, the French president Jacques Chirac launched the proposition of the creation of a UN Economic and Social Security Council to deal with such problems.

Supporting the essence of this proposal, but taking into account the difficulties related to its promotion, which would

suppose the modification of the UN Charter, we have proposed the use of the existing institutions, namely the transformation of the ECOSOC (Economic and social council), which is a consultative UN organ, into a coordinating organism, which together with the IMF, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the International Labor Organization, should constitute a Forum entrusted with the mission to elaborate a strategy promoting certain remedies for the functioning of the world market, introducing commercial and fiscal rules in favor of the developing countries and pursuing the goal of reducing in time the worldwide economic and social development gaps.

In the activity of the United Nations Organization, the economic issues have acquired a special importance, attaining proportions never foreseen by the Charter.

The economic function of the UN concomitantly comprises debates, studies, the conceptualization and the determination of the main directions in the domain of the world economy. At the same time, the institutional framework meant for international economic collaboration has amplified and the decision-making methods have improved.

At the UN, as well, there is a tendency to promote the concept of globalism, which designates the need to approach the world economy problems using an overall vision, in a world of continued increase of the economic independence in which the realization of a collective economic security is becoming a must.

The national sovereignty and the non-interference in the internal affairs of States are consecrated in the international law and in the international organization. The international law and the international organization constitute an important part of the political reality because they influence the way in which States behave. States are interested in the international law for two reasons: anticipation and legitimacy.

Can globalization be implemented without the creation of supranational coordinating organisms? Some analysts, among which John Kenneth Galbraith, answer affirmatively to this question; they form the sovereignists' camp, while others answer negatively to this question, forming the supranationalists' trend.

What mankind needs today is not just any globalization, but a globalization with a human face, namely one in which the benefits of globalization should be divided equitably among nations internationally and among people nationally.

In order to set globalization on the values of equity and social justice, what is needed is reforms and new rules of conduct in the global governance organizations, IMF, WB and WTO.

The world economy is faced with the first recession of the globalization era. "Today, there is no similar system supervising the world globalization process. We have global governance, without having a global government. In exchange, for the last 50 years, we have had a system of institutions

such as WB, IMF and WTO, which are responsible for different segments of the process, development, trade, financial stability. The way in which these economic organizations are led comes from the way in which they developed throughout the years: non-democratically, non-transparently, depending on the great interests, at the expense of the poor countries”.

The governments accuse globalization for the loss of the national sovereignty triggered by the unrestrained growth of the force of the financial markets and of the multinational companies.

The problem raised at present is related to the reform of the international organizations, so as to serve not only the rich and the developed industrialized countries, but also the poor and the less developed countries.

The IMF and the World Bank were at the center of the major economic problems of the last two decennia, which also include the financial crises and the transition of the former communist states to the market economy. In its relations to a particular country, the IMF was conceived so as to limit itself to the macroeconomic issues: state budget deficit, monetary policy, inflation, trade deficit, contract-related policy for credits coming from external sources.

The World Bank was meant to deal with structural problems – what the government of the respective country spent money on,

the country's financial institutions, the labor force market, trading policies.

We can certainly affirm that not only did the IMF not fulfill its initial mission of promoting global stability, but it also did not have any more success either in the new missions it undertook, such as the coordination of the former communist countries' transition to the market economy.

The WTO needs to adopt decisions having for a goal the facilitation of the penetration on the international market of certain firms from the developing countries which have potential and prove that they have the capacity to align themselves to certain standards imposed by the international organizations for a determined period of time.

In order for this goal to become reality, it is necessary that the WTO along with the other international organizations should plead for the adoption and implementation of decisions in favor of the Southern countries, such as the allotment of non-reimbursable funds and loans under more advantageous conditions, giving specialized technical assistance in order to instruct managers for an efficient resource allotment and for the adoption of policies and strategies allowing the attainment of the proposed goals.

In this sense, the developed countries should provide the developing countries with effective technologies and equipments under advantageous conditions, should assure the

necessary specialized technical and financial assistance so that the countries of the South may be capable of exploiting the raw materials that they have and of using the abundant and relatively cheap labor force available.

The economic policies elaborated in Washington by the international economic institutions and their application in the developed countries were not adequate for the countries going through the first stages of their development or through their transition. Most of the advanced industrialized countries have created solid economies for themselves by selectively protecting some of their activity branches until they were strong enough to face the competition of the foreign companies.

The worldwide practice has demonstrated that obliging a developing country to open its market to import products that would compete with those realized by certain branches of its national economy triggered disastrous social and economic consequences. Jobs systematically went missing, the poor farmers of the developing countries simply could not face the competition of the products supported by strong subventions coming from Europe or the USA, before the industry and agriculture of these countries were able to develop and create new jobs.

Because of the IMF's insistence that the developing countries should continue to apply restrictive monetary policies, the interest rates reached levels that made it impossible to create new jobs, even under the most favorable conditions. Because

trade liberalization was realized before taking the necessary social protection measures, those who lost their jobs became poor, while those who did not lose their jobs had a strong feeling of insecurity.

So, much too often, liberalization was followed not by the promised economic growth but by the increase of poverty. The decisions of a certain institution normally reflect the conceptions and the interests of those who make them.

The disappointment related to actions undertaken under the guidance of the IMF has grown as the poor of Indonesia, Morocco or Papua-New Guinea benefit of increasingly lower subventions for fuel and food, those of Thailand see the AIDS spreading because of the health expense cuts imposed by the IMF, and the families of many developing countries, having to pay the schooling of their children as part of the so-called "cost recovery" programs, choose not to send them to school anymore.

One might wonder if the IMF is really needed today. It is the UN that should be conceived so as to help the countries develop their interactions, should facilitate these interactions and should make them function efficiently in a multilateral system.

A constantly divergent dimension in the discussions on the notion of system reform refers to the centralization-decentralization dilemma. The realization of the international

cooperation tasks on the scale and magnitude demanded by the Charter, in such diverse domains would not have been possible on a centralized level. The international action in the economic and social domains depends on the active participation and complementary action of the national authorities in each domain. They can operate by means of a direct association with the international partners, so decentralization is an objective need. The role of the international organizations in the occurrence of financial stability consists in:

- Operating prudently in promoting the liberalization of capital;
- Describing conditions for its acceptance by individual countries;
- Avoiding too restrictive macroeconomic policies and structural adjustment policies that have not proved their efficiency;
- Ending the global monopoly of the International Monetary Fund.

The UN has an indispensable role in preventing and mitigating the consequences of the conflicts, not just by its actions in the strict sphere of the peace-keeping operations or other military and security actions but also by all its others preoccupations, such as the promotion of sustainable development, the respect for human rights and the development of the international law.

The UN does not only have to pursue the increase of its own role in this direction, but it also needs to stimulate the

mobilization of the resources of the international financial institutions in common projects.

Unfortunately, at present one cannot speak about the existence of a world organization able to significantly reduce the inequalities between the countries of the North and the countries of the South, governing according to its own rules, without being influenced by the governments of the most industrialized countries.

We need important reforms of the existing world organizations or even the disappearance of the existing ones and the creation of new institutions able to apply the laws objectively, to adopt decisions, strategies and plans, serving the interests of the whole world and not just the interests of the main industrialized countries, able to “listen” to the problems of each country in turn, to adopt specific measures for each of them, to find solutions as adequate and as close to reality as possible. The pressures exerted by globalization on the economy and on the lives of the people of our planet are felt more and more intensely.

At the same time, we should “transform the terrible economic crisis into an opportunity of launching a new era of sustainability”. Development and sustainability are the goals of the “model of capitalism of the 21st century”.

The United Nations Environment Program has developed a new concept: A Green New Deal (UNEP, 2008), representing a

program of public investments in infrastructure and technology, by means of which the countries can assure the rehabilitation of their economy, can keep the unemployment rate under control and, in the long run, can obtain competitive advantages.

In other words, everything that was considered true until now has become outdated. The state's strong intervention is not the only way to overcome the financial crisis, yet with a new practice of the concept of sustainable development, it should become reality.

The sustainable development concept was created more 22 years ago and it has been accepted and adopted in almost all the international institutions.

A fact that should not be forgotten is that the European Union, the main promoter of the environmental protection measures, renewed its sustainable development strategy in 2006, its main instruments being: the institution for regulation and modernization, a new fiscal philosophy and an improved subvention structure.

Moreover, the end of 2008 brought forth the adoption of the European economic restoration plan, aiming to "create jobs in the EU in the short run and in the long run, providing the first engine that creates advantage and brings benefits in terms of economic growth, energy security and environment" (European Commission, 2009).

The increasing unemployment, social polarization, corruption and violence, even in the context of economic growth and maximization of the great companies' profits, trigger deregulations on a world scale, which maintain a condition of insecurity and distrust concerning tomorrow.

More and more of the countries that sold their public enterprises to the private sector and deregulated their market have become the property of the great multinational groups. They dominate entire countries in the South, and they use these countries in order to exert their pressure in the international forums and to obtain the political decisions that are the most favorable to their interests.

These economic globalization phenomena and this concentration of capitals both in the South and in the North, destroy social cohesion. In the context of globalization, the national economies have to survive by avoiding the destruction of their balances. Resources should be used in an economical and non-polluting way, primarily valorizing the local ones.

Each state should harmoniously integrate its local cultural and artisanal traditions in projects of zonal and regional development and should affirm its identity according to its natural resources potential, to its productive capacity, and its cultural matrix, valorizing the trumps available to it.

Another aspect would be the acute need to regulate the interstate economic relations, to organize an institutional

cooperation tool able to contribute to a balanced evolution of the world economy.

Third World

The term "Third World" arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. The United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Western European nations and their allies represented the "First World", while the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam and their allies represented the "Second World".

This terminology provided a way of broadly categorizing the nations of the Earth into three groups based on political and economic divisions. Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the term Third World has decreased in use. It is being replaced with terms such as developing countries, least developed countries or the Global South. The concept itself has become outdated as it no longer represents the current political or economic state of the world and historically poor countries have transited different income stages.

The Third World was normally seen to include many countries with colonial pasts in Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Asia. It was also sometimes taken as synonymous with countries in the Non-Aligned Movement. In the dependency theory of thinkers like Raúl Prebisch, Walter Rodney, Theotônio dos Santos, and Andre Gunder Frank, the Third World has also

been connected to the world-systemic economic division as "periphery" countries dominated by the countries comprising the economic "core".

Due to the complex history of evolving meanings and contexts, there is no clear or agreed-upon definition of the Third World. Some countries in the Communist Bloc, such as Cuba, were often regarded as "Third World".

Because many Third World countries were economically poor and non-industrialized, it became a stereotype to refer to developing countries as "third world countries", yet the "Third World" term is also often taken to include newly industrialized countries like Brazil, China and India now more commonly referred to as part of BRIC. Historically, some European countries were non-aligned and a few of these were and are very prosperous, including Austria, Ireland, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland.

French demographer, anthropologist and historian Alfred Sauvy, in an article published in the French magazine *L'Observateur*, August 14, 1952, coined the term Third World (French: *Tiers Monde*), referring to countries that were unaligned with either the Communist Soviet bloc or the Capitalist NATO bloc during the Cold War. His usage was a reference to the Third Estate, the commoners of France who, before and during the French Revolution, opposed the clergy and nobles, who composed the First Estate and Second Estate, respectively. Sauvy wrote, "This third world ignored, exploited,

despised like the third estate also wants to be something." He conveyed the concept of political non-alignment with either the capitalist or communist bloc.

Related concepts

The "Three Worlds Theory" developed by Mao Zedong is different from the Western theory of the Three Worlds or Third World. For example, in the Western theory, China and India belong respectively to the second and third worlds, but in Mao's theory both China and India are part of the Third World which he defined as consisting of exploited nations.

Third Worldism is a political movement that argues for the unity of third-world nations against first-world influence and the principle of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs. Groups most notable for expressing and exercising this idea are the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Group of 77 which provide a base for relations and diplomacy between not just the third-world countries, but between the third-world and the first and second worlds. The notion has been criticized as providing a fig leaf for human rights violations and political repression by dictatorships.

Since 1990, this term has been redefined to make it more correct politically. Initially, the term "third world" meant that a nation is "under-developed". However, today it is replaced by the term "developing." The world today is more plural, and so the third world is not just an economic state. These nations

have overcome many setbacks and are now developing rapidly. Thus, this categorization becomes anachronistic in a diverse society..

Great Divergence and Great Convergence

Many times there is a clear distinction between First and Third Worlds. When talking about the Global North and the Global South, the majority of the time the two go hand in hand. People refer to the two as "Third World/South" and "First World/North" because the Global North is more affluent and developed, whereas the Global South is less developed and often poorer.

To counter this mode of thought, some scholars began proposing the idea of a change in world dynamics that began in the late 1980s, and termed it the Great Convergence. As Jack A. Goldstone and his colleagues put it, "in the twentieth century, the Great Divergence peaked before the First World War and continued until the early 1970s, then, after two decades of indeterminate fluctuations, in the late 1980s it was replaced by the Great Convergence as the majority of Third World countries reached economic growth rates significantly higher than those in most First World countries".

Others have observed a return to Cold War-era alignments (MacKinnon, 2007; Lucas, 2008), this time with substantial changes between 1990–2015 in geography, the world economy and relationship dynamics between current and emerging world

powers; not necessarily redefining the classic meaning of First, Second, and Third World terms, but rather which countries belong to them by way of association to which world power or coalition of countries — such as G7, the European Union, OECD; G20, OPEC, N-11, BRICS, ASEAN; the African Union, and the Eurasian Union.

Most Third World countries are former colonies. Having gained independence, many of these countries, especially smaller ones, were faced with the challenges of nation- and institution-building on their own for the first time. Due to this common background, many of these nations were "developing" in economic terms for most of the 20th century, and many still are. This term, used today, generally denotes countries that have not developed to the same levels as OECD countries, and are thus in the process of developing.

In the 1980s, economist Peter Bauer offered a competing definition for the term "Third World". He claimed that the attachment of Third World status to a particular country was not based on any stable economic or political criteria, and was a mostly arbitrary process.

The large diversity of countries considered part of the Third World — from Indonesia to Afghanistan — ranged widely from economically primitive to economically advanced and from politically non-aligned to Soviet- or Western-leaning. An argument could also be made for how parts of the U.S. are more like the Third World.

The only characteristic that Bauer found common in all Third World countries was that their governments "demand and receive Western aid," the giving of which he strongly opposed. Thus, the aggregate term "Third World" was challenged as misleading even during the Cold War period, because it had no consistent or collective identity among the countries it supposedly encompassed.

Development aid

During the Cold War, unaligned countries of the Third World were seen as potential allies by both the First and Second World. Therefore, the United States and the Soviet Union went to great lengths to establish connections in these countries by offering economic and military support to gain strategically located alliances (e.g., the United States in Vietnam or the Soviet Union in Cuba). By the end of the Cold War, many Third World countries had adopted capitalist or communist economic models and continued to receive support from the side they had chosen. Throughout the Cold War and beyond, the countries of the Third World have been the priority recipients of Western foreign aid and the focus of economic development through mainstream theories such as modernization theory and dependency theory.

By the end of the 1960s, the idea of the Third World came to represent countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that were considered underdeveloped by the West based on a variety of characteristics (low economic development, low life

expectancy, high rates of poverty and disease, etc.). These countries became the targets for aid and support from governments, NGOs and individuals from wealthier nations. One popular model, known as Rostow's stages of growth, argued that development took place in 5 stages (Traditional Society; Pre-conditions for Take-off; Take-off; Drive to Maturity; Age of High Mass Consumption). W. W. Rostow argued that Take-off was the critical stage that the Third World was missing or struggling with. Thus, foreign aid was needed to help kick-start industrialization and economic growth in these countries.

Perceived "End of the Third World"

Since 1990 the term "Third World" has been redefined in many evolving dictionaries in several languages to refer to countries considered to be underdeveloped economically and/or socially. From a "political correctness" standpoint the term "Third World" may be considered outdated, which its concept is mostly a historical term and cannot fully address what means by developing and less-developed countries today. Around the early 1960s, the term "underdeveloped countries" occurred and the Third World serves to be its synonym, but after it has been officially used by politicians, 'underdeveloped countries' is soon been replaced by 'developing' and 'less-developed countries,' because the prior one shows hostility and disrespect, in which the Third World is often characterized with stereotypes. The whole 'Four Worlds' system of classification has also been described as derogatory because

the standard mainly focused on each nations' Gross National Product. While the Cold War Period ends and many sovereign states start to form, the term Third World becomes less usable. Nevertheless, it remains in popular use around the world, as it has grown to refer to not just lower levels of development but also something of low quality or in other ways deficient.

The general definition of the Third World can be traced back to the history that nations positioned as neutral and independent during the Cold War were considered as Third World Countries, and normally these countries are defined by high poverty rates, lack of resources, and unstable financial standing. However, based on the rapid development of modernization and globalization, countries that were used to be considered as Third World countries achieve big economic growth, such as Brazil, India, and Indonesia, which can no longer be defined by poor economic status or low GNP today.

The differences among nations of the Third World are continually growing throughout time, and it will be hard to use the Third World to define and organize groups of nations based on their common political arrangements since most countries live under diverse creeds in this era, such as Mexico, El Salvador, and Singapore, which they all have their own political system. The Third World categorization becomes anachronistic since its political classification and economic system are distinct to be applied in today's society. Based on the Third World standards, any region of the world can be categorized into any of the four types of relationships among

state and society, and will eventually end in four outcomes: praetorianism, multi-authority, quasi-democratic and viable democracy. However, political culture is never going to be limited by the rule and the concept of the Third World can be circumscribed.

Chapter 2

Inter-War Period and Political Issues

WORLD WAR I

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 established 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 Pašić, and the other through the radical nationalist chief of Military Intelligence, Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević, recognized through his codename Apis. In that month, due to Colonel Dimitrijević's intrigues, King Peter dismissed Pašić's government.

The Russian Minister in Belgrade intervened to have Pašić's government restored. Pašić, 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 Pašić 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.

Domestic Political Factors

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 inaccessible 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.

Russian Interests in Balkans and Ottoman Empire

The largest Russian goals incorporated strengthening its role as the protector of Eastern Christians in The Balkans (such as the Serbians). Although Russia enjoyed a booming economy, rising population, and big armed forces, its strategic location was threatened through an expanding Turkish military trained through German experts by the latest technology. The start of the war renewed attention of old goals: expelling the Turks from Constantinople, extending Russian dominion into eastern Anatolia and Persian Azerbaijan, and annexing Galicia. These conquests would assure Russian predominance in the Black Sea.

Technological and Military Factors

In Excess of through Christmas

Both sides whispered, and publicly stated, that the war would end soon. The Kaiser told his troops that they would be, "...house before the leaves have fallen from the trees," and one German officer said he expected to be in Paris through Sedantag, in relation to the six weeks absent. Germany only stockpiled sufficient potassium nitrate for gunpowder for six months. Russian administrators likewise expected to be in Berlin in six weeks, and those who suggested that the war would last for six months were measured pessimists. Von Moltke and his French counterpart Joseph Joffre were in the

middle of the few who expected an extensive war, but neither adjusted his nation's military plans accordingly. The new British Secretary of State for War Lord Kitchener was the only leading official on either face to both anticipate a extensive war ("three years" or longer, he told an amazed colleague) and act accordingly, immediately structure an army of millions of soldiers who would fight for years.

Some authors such as Niall Ferguson argue that the belief in a swift war has been greatly exaggerated since, the war. He argues that the military planners, especially in Germany, were aware of the potential for an extensive war, as shown through the Willy-Nicky telegraphic correspondence flanked by the emperors of Russia and Germany. He also argues that mainly informed people measured a swift war unlikely. Though, it was in the belligerent governments' interests to convince their populaces, by ability propaganda, that the war would be brief. Such a message encouraged men to join the offensive, made the war look less serious, and promoted common high spirits.

Primacy of the Offensive and War through Timetable

Military theorists of the time usually held that seizing the offensive was very significant. This theory encouraged all belligerents to strike first to gain the advantage. This attitude shortened the window for diplomacy. Mainly planners wanted to begin mobilization as quickly as possible to avoid being caught on the suspicious.

Some historians assert that mobilization schedules were therefore rigid that once it was begun, they could not be cancelled without huge disruption of the country and military disorganization and therefore diplomatic overtures mannered after the mobilizations had begun were ignored. The Tsar ordered common mobilization canceled on July 29 despite his chief of staff's objections that this was impossible. A same cancellation was made in Germany through the Kaiser on August 1 in excess of the similar objections, although in theory Germany should have been the country mainly firmly bound through its mobilization schedule. Barbara Tuchman offers another explanation in the *Guns of August*-that the nations involved were concerned in relation to the falling behind their adversaries in mobilization. War pressed against every boundary. Suddenly dismayed, governments struggled and twisted to fend it off. It was no use. Mediators at frontiers were reporting every cavalry patrol as a deployment to beat the mobilization gun. Common staffs, goaded through their relentless timetables, were pounding the table for the signal to move lest their opponents gain an hour's head start. Appalled on the brink, the chiefs of state ultimately responsible for their country's fate attempted to back absent, but the pull of military schedules dragged them forward.

Schlieffen Plan

Germany's strategic vulnerability, sandwiched flanked by its allied rivals, led to the growth of the audacious (and incredibly expensive) Schlieffen Plan. It aimed to knock France instantly

out of contention, before Russia had time to rally its gigantic human reserves. It aimed to accomplish this task within 6 weeks. Germany could then turn her full possessions to meeting the Russian threat. Although Count Alfred von Schlieffen initially conceived the plan before his retirement in 1906, Japan's defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 discovered Russia's organizational weakness and added greatly to the plan's credibility. The plan described for a rapid German mobilization, sweeping by the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Belgium, into France. Schlieffen described for overwhelming numbers on the distant right flank, the northernmost spearhead of the force with only minimum troops creation up the arm and axis of the formation as well as a minimum force stationed on the Russian eastern front.

Schlieffen was replaced through Helmuth von Moltke, and in 1907-08 Moltke adjusted the plan, reducing the proportional sharing of the forces, lessening the crucial right wing in favour of a slightly more suspicious strategy. Also, judging Holland unlikely to grant permission to cross its borders, the plan was revised to create a direct move by Belgium and an artillery assault on the Belgian municipality of Liège. With the rail rows and the unprecedented firepower the German army brought, Moltke did not anticipate any important protection of the fortress.

The significance of the Schlieffen Plan is that it forced German military planners to prepare for a pre-emptive strike when war was deemed unavoidable. Otherwise Russia would have time to

rally and crush Germany with its huge army. On August 1, Kaiser Wilhelm II briefly became influenced that it might be possible to ensure French and British neutrality and cancelled the plan despite the objections of the Chief of Staff that this could not be done and resuming it only when the offer of a neutral France and Britain was withdrawn.

It seems that no war planners in any country had prepared effectively for the Schlieffen Plan. The French were not concerned in relation to the move. They were confident their offensive would break the German center and cut off the German right wing moving by Belgium. They also expected that an early Russian offensive in East Prussia would tie down German forces.

British Security Issues

In explaining why neutral Britain went to war with Germany, Paul Kennedy, in *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914*, claimed that it was critical for war that Germany become economically more powerful than Britain, but he downplayed the disputes in excess of economic deal imperialism, the Baghdad Railway, confrontations in Eastern Europe, high-charged political rhetoric and domestic pressure-groups. Germany's reliance time and again on sheer power, while Britain increasingly appealed to moral sensibilities, played a role, especially in seeing the invasion of Belgium as a necessary military tactic or a profound moral crime. The German invasion of Belgium was not significant because the

British decision had already been made and the British were more concerned with the fate of France. Kennedy argues that through distant the largest cause was London's fear that a repeat of 1870-when Prussia and the German states smashed France-would mean Germany, with a powerful army and navy, would manage the English Channel, and northwest France. British policy makers insisted that would be a catastrophe for British security.

Specific Measures

Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)

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-lived 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 Karađorđević 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.

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 15.1 per cent of its active male population, Austria-Hungary

lost 17.1 per cent, and France lost 10.5 per 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. The 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.

Bolshevik Renunciation of Special Privileges in the Neighbouring Countries

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 \$eat 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 liberation 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

Cold War Period

The Rationale of Disarmament

The concept of disarmament has originated from an understanding that weapons are the source of tension which at times makes wars. The stock piling of arms instills mutual fear and hostility into interstate relations. It is being argued that in order to stop wars or hostilities and to develop trust flanked by the states, the weapons, which are measured to be the root of all these evils, is required to be eliminated.

Disarmament is necessary for maintaining peace and progress of the human culture. The rising stockpiles of armaments, continuing enlargement of the armed forces and the rising investment for research and growth of the weapon technology of the world pose fresh threats to peace and growth of the human race. The invention and growth of nuclear weapons have posed the threat of total annihilation of the human race in the event of another world war. All these have made the people more conscious in relation to the disarmament because only the elimination of these weapons can ease the tension in the world and remove the fear of any world wide holocaust. The invention and growth of sophisticated military technology has made all countries vulnerable. None can be self-enough in protection. It is impossible for any single country to defend

itself from the attack of any other country. Therefore disarmament is the only method to create the world safe. The rising investment in the military industry is also consuming money and useful possessions which otherwise could be diverted to the growth sectors. In the context of the rising poverty in big sections of the world, the rising investment in military industry can further augment the poverty and accentuate the social tension in every community of the world. The vast expenditure in the protection sector can only be stopped or decreased if the disarmament at least of incomplete kind is achieved.

Disarmament Agreements and Treaties

In the wake of the Second World War efforts for disarmament increased. Immediately after the war, the USA put forward a proposal, named as the Baruch Plan. In response to the US plan, the USSR came out with the Gromyko Plan which was diametrically opposed to the Baruch Plan. After the failure of these plans, more plans were proposed through both the sides. In 1955 the USA proposed the Open Skies Plan. It was also rejected. The plans and proposals therefore distant advocated through the dissimilar powers were therefore intended that the proposer's monopoly in excess of its weapons remained frozen indefinitely. In 1950's both the USA and the USSR were placed under new administration. In USA Dwight Eisenhower came in power following presidential election in 1952 and in the USSR due to Stalin's death a new leadership appeared. Besides, the USSR acquired the capacity of creation of nuclear

weapons. It brought the USSR close to the nuclear capacity of the USA. These growths created the method to achieve some success in disarmament.

In 1963 an agreement was signed. It has banned the nuclear tests in the atmosphere (in outer legroom and under water). In 1967 another agreement was signed to stop the deployment of the nuclear weapon in outer legroom. Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed in 1968. The treaty has banned the acquisition of nuclear power capacity through non-nuclear nations. The treaty was not signed through a few countries including India. India has termed the treaty as discriminatory. In 1971 another treaty was brought into the world book of statute, which has banned the deployment of nuclear arms in sea bed and ocean floor. In 1972 the convention on banning the biological weapons was held. SALT-I and SALT-II were signed in 1972 and 1979 respectively. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) began in early 1970's flanked by the USA and the USSR. The First ALT agreement was signed in 1972. It is a treaty limiting the stockpiling of the Antiballistic Missile systems (ABM). The negotiations for SALT-II had started in 1974 and ended in 1979 with the signing of the agreement through the USA and the USSR. As per the conditions, the high contracting states agreed to destroy a portion of the arms in their arsenals. Though, the treaty has remained non-ratified. The American senate did not ratify the treaty. But it was implemented without official sanctions. Another non-ratified treaty is the threshold Test Ban Treaty which was signed in 1974 through the USA and the USSR. It

prohibited all tests with a yield of 150 kilotons. In 1987 the Intermediate Range Nuclear forces (INF) was signed flanked by the USA and the USSR. The Treaty sanctioned for the destruction of intermediate range land-based nuclear weapons, stocked through both countries. All these agreements however have not made the world free from deadly weapons; have registered some progress towards the desired goal of disarmament.

Concept of Peace

Peace is an eternal desire of a human being. It is measured to be one of the highest values of life. The quotations like "Peace at any price", "The mainly disadvantageous peace is bigger than the mainly presently war." "Peace is more significant than all justice." "I prefer the mainly unjust peace to the justice war that was ever waged." "There never was a good war or bad peace." Illustrate -how valuable peace has been. The New Testament defines peace as absence of dissension, violence of war. Peace is also measured as concord, harmony, agreement flanked by the two or more, tranquility, quiet, etc. Peace is contrary to antagonistic hostilities, violence, or war. Peace is freedom from or the cessation of war. It is a state of freedom from war.

A big number of peace concepts, proposals, and plans have been put forward therefore distant for the realization of the everlasting peace-an eternal dream of the human being. In order to achieve peace several plans have been contemplated.

Proposals for establishing federations of states, signing of treaties flanked by and in excess of nations and people, setting up of courts of arbitration, reforming the legal organization and several other proposals have therefore distant been advocated. The concept of peace changes in response to the change in the context and characters of the ages. In medieval Europe the concept of peace was recognized with the slogan of the unification of the Christian world against the invasions of the 'infidels'. The concept of peace was given communal orientations. Throughout the similar era a few scholars of course talked in relation to the secular peace. In the subsequent ages the peace concept became more secular and acquired universal contents. In the wake of the industrial revolution in England peace was demanded because it was establish to be helpful for the growth of capitalist community. In the years of Revolution the French people gave dissimilar orientation to the concept of peace. Cause and vital human rights became the contents of the concept of peace. With the emergence of national states the thought of federation of states or nations and the organization of arbitration in international relations started coming to the fore.

When the wars began to be measured as patriotic acts and accordingly people were I being mobilized to fight in the wars, people started becoming aware of the necessity for peace. Peace now became the people's concern. In 19th century peace societies and movements began to approach up and international peace conferences and institutions were founded for the first time. With the birth of I Marxism and Marxist

movements in mid 19th century a new approach took birth in the peace movement. It is being propagated that peace can be achieved only by the vital social transformation of the community. A classless community is only capable to set up peace. Today we have two concepts of peace, which are offered to each other-Bourgeois concept and Marxist concept.

Peace Movements

The publication of Saint-Simon's "The Reorganization of European Community" coincided with the basis of the peace societies. The first peace community was founded in the United States. Europe followed the suit. Early peace societies were occupied in the debates in excess of the issues like presently and unjust wars require of violence, colonialism, etc. Debates slowly arose in excess of the subjects such as linking peace with social issues, like the slavery, the emancipation of women, universal education and other human rights.

The national peace societies slowly felt require of international movement. From mid 19th century international peace conferences began to be held. These international congresses debated in excess of the issues of establishing world organization of nations and of setting up of the international court of arbitration to solve the clash. These peace congresses also discussed the questions of freedom of the colonial peoples.

The individualists came out with the concept that peace would be achieved through implementing the principle of free deal in

the middle of the states. Though, all these institutions and the peace movements were dominated through liberal democrats who passed several radical decisions but failed to implement any of the decisions.

In 1870, the followers of Marxism recognized the first International (The International Working Men's association). The Marxists believe that the transformation of community is the principal substance of the working class movement and the transformed community can only guarantee the world peace.

The state International passed a historic settlement which states that:

- "The burden of war is borne largely through the working class, in as much as war does not only deprive the workers of the means of existence but compels them to shed one another's blood. Armed peace paralyses the forces of manufacture, asks the workers nothing but useless labour peace, which it is the first requisite of common well-being, necessity be consolidated through a new order of things which shall no longer recognize in community and subsistence of two classes, one of which is exploited through another."

The inception of the Marxist peace movement added a new dimension in the ongoing peace movement and rested the leadership of the movement from the idealist leaders of the movement. Through the beginning of the 20th century, a big number of peace societies had appeared on the international

arena. But these societies failed to stop the breaking out of the First World War in 1914. Throughout the war, mainly of the peace societies gave up their idealistic universal stand and responded to the nationalist call. After the War, new proposals, and plans like Lenin's Decrees on peace, President Wilson's Fourteen Points, etc., were placed before the world. But the Second World War could not be stopped. The Second World War was mainly horrifying and mainly murderous weapon, the atom bomb was used in the war for the first time. The war has left a horrifying impact on the people of the world. The war ended with the beginning of a new age named as Nuclear Age. The new age gave birth to new fears and also dangers of total destruction of the civilization if the nuclear war ever broke out. Therefore the fears of nuclear war provide birth to new peace concepts, new debates and new movements.

In dissimilar countries of the world the Council urbanized the organizational network. These institutions propagated the ideals of world peace. The writers, philosophers, artists of world fame joined this movement. Even Burtrand Russel the well-known novelist cum philosopher also joined this movement. But the United States went on condemning the emerging peace movement in the post world war era as the ploy of the USSR and the communists.

Despite the condemnation, the movement spread for and wide in the world. Now there are many peace institutions, which are not only propagating the ideals of peace, they have also added an academic dimension to the movement through encouraging

research and identifying the troubles and other linked issues. Several institutions are working as the think tank for the peace movement.

India, and Peace Movements and Disarmament

India is a peace loving nation. It achieved independence from centuries old British colonial rule by peaceful non-violent movements. India has an extensive custom of peace and apathy towards war of any type. Ashoka the Great renounced the use of weapon and abandoned the principles of war. This is one of the earliest examples of disarmament. Till the arrival of the Europeans in India, the Kings had fought wars and battles. But these battles did not affect the lives and properties of the general citizens. Pursuing the custom of peace, India at the extremely dawn of its independence declared peace as the cornerstone of its policies. In 1954 India took the initiative to ban the nuclear tests. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru proposed at the U.N. a standstill agreement in respect of the atomic tests. He knew that the total destruction of the existing weapons was not possible, therefore he wanted to stop the tests therefore that there might not be further escalation of nuclear weapons. Several countries of the world supported the view, but the large powers hardly paid any heed to the proposal. Though, the proposal set the ball of disarmament in motion and countries in the UN became vocal in support of peace and disarmament. Consequently from early 1960s new initiatives towards the direction of disarmament started.

India and NPT

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was concluded in 1967, kept open for signature in 1968 and was promulgated in 1970 for an era of 25 years. The NPT has been extended unconditionally and indefinitely through its Review and Extension Conference held in New York from 17th April to 12th May, 1995. The 1995 Conference has not suggested any transform, alteration, or modification of its provisions. The Conference even has not produced any review document. 178 states signed the treaty and 13 countries including India did not sign the NPT.

The NPT seems to be a pious effort to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapon technology. Its contents, though, bear ample evidences to set up the information that the five nuclear states who are also the veto-wielding permanent members of the Security Council, intend to monopolize the nuclear technology and to set up their hegemony in excess of the world. The NPT demands that the present non-nuclear states and the states which are on the threshold of acquiring the nuclear capacity necessity stop the research and creation of nuclear weapons. India objected to such a treaty calling it discriminatory. India has categorically declared that it will not sign the Treaty in its present form because its indefinite extension only serves to perpetuate its discriminatory characteristics which have created a division flanked by the nuclear "haves" and "have nots".

India and CTBT

The concept of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was mentioned in the NPT. The CTBT has been intended to realize the objective of common and complete nuclear disarmament. The CTBT in present form, though, is not designed to create the weapon free world free from nuclear weapons. It would neither actually reduce the number of nuclear weapons, nor decrease the present offensive capabilities of the nuclear weapon states. The treaty asks the non-nuclear states not to go for testing of nuclear devices therefore preventing them from emerging as nuclear capable states. It has no provision for reducing the nuclear capabilities of the weapon states. Like the NPT, the CTBT too wants to divide the world into nuclear haves and have-nots. India has, so, not signed the CTBT.

After the CTBT was ratified in 1996, negotiations on another treaty to cut off fissile material manufacture have started in January, 1997. The proposed Fissile Material manufacture Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) seeks to put a cut-off point in the sphere of fissile material manufacture. India has refused to be a party in the FMCT. It has opposed the treaty on the similar grounds that India put forward while opposing the NPT and the CTBT. In information all the three treaties have been intended in a method that the nuclear weapon states can manage the nuclear technology and uphold their hegemony in excess of the world. These treaties will not deter the weapon states to sharpen and improve their technology. Because they have reached a level, now they can further improve their technology by computer

and other indoor tests which have not been banned. They are also not willing to destroy the existing weapons within a time frame. These treaties, so, are not in a location to eliminate the nuclear weapons leading to common and complete disarmament.

Cold War

The Cold War, often dated from 1947 to 1991, was a continued state of political and military tension flanked by powers in the Western Bloc, dominated through the United States with NATO in the middle of its allies, and powers in the Eastern Bloc, dominated through the Soviet Union beside with the Warsaw Pact.

This began after the success of their temporary wartime alliance against Nazi Germany, leaving the USSR and the US as two superpowers with profound economic and political differences. A neutral faction arose with the Non-Aligned Movement founded through Egypt, India, and Yugoslavia; this faction rejected association with either the US-led West or the Soviet-led East.

The Cold War was therefore named because the two biggest powers-each possessing nuclear weapons and thereby threatened with mutual assured destruction-never met in direct military combat. Instead, in their thrash about for global power they occupied in ongoing psychological warfare and in regular indirect confrontations by proxy wars. Cycles of

comparative calm would be followed through high tension which could have led to world war. The tensest times were throughout:

- The Berlin Blockade (1948-1949),
- The Korean War (1950-1953),
- The Suez Crisis (1956),
- The Berlin Crisis of 1961,
- The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962),
- The Vietnam War (1959-1975),
- The Yom Kippur War (1973),
- The Soviet war in Afghanistan (1979-1989),
- The Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 (1983), and
- The "Able Archer" NATO military exercises (1983).

The clash was expressed by military coalitions, strategic conventional force deployments, long aid to client states, espionage, huge propaganda campaigns, conventional and nuclear arms races, appeals to neutral nations, rivalry at sports measures, and technical competitions such as the Legroom Race. The US and USSR became involved in political and military conflicts in the Third World countries of Latin America, Africa, the Transitional East, and Southeast Asia. To alleviate the risk of a potential nuclear war, both sides sought relief of political tensions by détente in the 1970s.

In the 1980s, the United States increased diplomatic, military, and economic pressures on the Soviet Union, at a time when the communist state was already suffering from economic

stagnation. In the mid-1980s, the new Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev introduced the liberalizing reforms of perestroika and glasnost. Pressures for national independence grew stronger in Eastern Europe, especially Poland. They reached a breaking point when Gorbachev refused to use Soviet troops to support the faltering government of East Germany in late 1989. Within weeks all the satellite states broke free from Moscow in a peaceful wave of revolutions (there was some violence in Rumania). The pressures escalated inside the Soviet Union, where Communism fell and the USSR was formally dissolved in late 1991. The United States remained as the world's only superpower. The Cold War and its measures have left an important legacy, and it is often referred to in popular civilization, especially in media featuring themes of espionage and the threat of nuclear warfare.

Origins

At the end of World War II, English author and journalist George Orwell used cold war, as a common term, in his essay "You and the Atomic Bomb", published October 19, 1945, in the British newspaper Tribune.

Contemplating a world livelihood in the shadow of the threat of nuclear warfare, Orwell wrote:

- "For forty or fifty years past, Mr. H. G. Wells and others have been warning us that man is in danger of destroying himself with his own weapons, leaving the ants or some other gregarious species to take in

excess of. Anyone who has seen the ruined municipalities of Germany will discover this notion at least thinkable. Nevertheless, looking at the world as an entire, the drift for several decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the reimposition of slavery. We may be heading not for common breakdown but for an epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity. James Burnham's theory has been much discussed, but few people have yet measured its ideological implications-that is, the type of world-view, the type of beliefs, and the social structure that would almost certainly prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of "cold war" with its neighbours."

In *The Observer* of March 10, 1946, Orwell wrote that "[a]fter the Moscow conference last December, Russia began to create a 'cold war' on Britain and the British Empire." The first use of the term to define the post-World War II geopolitical tensions flanked by the USSR and its satellites and the United States and its western European allies is attributed to Bernard Baruch, an American financier and presidential advisor. In South Carolina, on April 16, 1947, he delivered a speech (through journalist Herbert Bayard Swope) saying, "Let us not be deceived: we are today in the midst of a cold war." Newspaper reporter-columnist Walter Lippmann gave the term wide currency, with the book *The Cold War*; when asked in 1947 in relation to the source of the term, he referred it to a French term from the 1930s, *la guerre froide*.

Backdrop of Cold War

There is conflict in the middle of historians concerning the starting point of the Cold War. While mainly historians trace its origins to the era immediately following World War II, others argue that it began towards the end of World War I, although tensions flanked by the Russian Empire, other European countries and the United States date back to the transitional of the 19th century.

As a result of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (followed through its withdrawal from World War I), Soviet Russia establish itself in accessible in international diplomacy. Leader Vladimir Lenin stated that the Soviet Union was bounded through a "hostile capitalist encirclement", and he viewed diplomacy as a weapon to stay Soviet enemies divided, beginning with the establishment of the Soviet Comintern, which described for revolutionary upheavals abroad. Subsequent leader Joseph Stalin, who viewed the Soviet Union as a "socialist island", stated that the Soviet Union necessity see that "the present capitalist encirclement is replaced through a socialist encirclement."

As early as 1925, Stalin stated that he viewed international politics as a bipolar world in which the Soviet Union would draw countries gravitating to socialism and capitalist countries would draw states gravitating towards capitalism, while the world was in a era of "temporary stabilization of capitalism" preceding its eventual collapse.

Several measures before the Second World War demonstrated the mutual distrust and suspicion flanked by the Western powers and the Soviet Union, separately from the common philosophical challenge the Bolsheviks made towards capitalism. There was Western support of the anti-Bolshevik White movement in the Russian Civil War, the 1926 Soviet funding of a British common workers strike causing Britain to break relations with the Soviet Union, Stalin's 1927 declaration of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries "receding into the past," conspiratorial allegations throughout the 1928 Shakhty illustrate trial of a intended British- and French-led coup d'état, the American refusal to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933 and the Stalinist Moscow Trials of the Great Purge, with allegations of British, French, Japanese and Nazi German espionage. Though, both the US and USSR were usually isolationist flanked by the two world wars.

The Soviet Union initially signed a non-aggression pact with Germany. But after the German Army invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the Soviet Union and the Allied powers shaped an alliance of convenience. Britain signed a formal alliance and the United States made an informal agreement. In wartime, the United States supplied both Britain and the Soviets by its Lend-Lease Programme. Though, Stalin remained highly defensive and whispered that the British and the Americans had conspired to ensure the Soviets bore the brunt of the fighting against Nazi Germany. The Western Allies had deliberately delayed opening a second anti-German front in

order to step in at the last moment and shape the peace resolution. Therefore, Soviet perceptions of the West left a strong undercurrent of tension and hostility flanked by the Allied powers.

End of World War II (1945-47)

Wartime Conferences Concerning Post-War Europe

The Allies disagreed in relation to the how the European map should seem, and how borders would be drawn, following the war. Each face held different ideas concerning the establishment and maintenance of post-war security. The western Allies desired a security organization in which democratic governments were recognized as widely as possible, permitting countries to peacefully resolve differences by international institutions.

Given the Russian historical experiences of frequent invasions and the immense death toll (estimated at 27 million) and the destruction the Soviet Union continued throughout World War II, the Soviet Union sought to augment security through dominating the internal affairs of countries that bordered it.

Throughout the war, Stalin had created special training centers for Communists from dissimilar countries therefore that they could set up secret police forces loyal to Moscow as soon as the Red Army took manage. Soviet mediators took manage of the media, especially radio; they quickly harassed

and then banned all self-governing civic organizations, from youth groups to schools, churches and rival political parties. Stalin also sought sustained peace with Britain and the United States, hoping to focus on internal reconstruction and economic development.

The Western Allies were divided in their vision of the new post-war world. Roosevelt's goals - military victory in both Europe and Asia, the attainment of global American economic supremacy in excess of the British Empire, and the making of a world peace organization - were more global than Churchill's, which were largely centered on securing manage in excess of the Mediterranean, ensuring the survival of the British Empire, and the independence of Eastern European countries as a buffer flanked by the Soviets and the United Kingdom.

In the American view, Stalin seemed a potential ally in accomplishing their goals, whereas in the British approach Stalin emerged as the greatest threat to the fulfillment of their agenda. With the Soviets already occupying mainly of Eastern Europe, Stalin was at an advantage and the two western leaders vied for his favours.

The differences flanked by Roosevelt and Churchill led to many separate deals with the Soviets. In October 1944, Churchill traveled to Moscow and agreed to divide the Balkans into respective spheres of power, and at Yalta Roosevelt signed a separate deal with Stalin in regard of Asia and refused to support Churchill on the issues of Poland and the Reparations.

Further Allied negotiations regarding the post-war balance took lay at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, albeit this conference also failed to reach a firm consensus on the framework for a post-war resolution in Europe. In April 1945, President Roosevelt died and was succeeded through Harry S. Truman, who distrusted Stalin and turned for advice to an elite group of foreign policy intellectuals. Both Churchill and Truman opposed, in the middle of other things, the Soviets' decision to prop up the Lublin government, the Soviet-controlled rival to the Polish government-in-exile in London, whose relations with the Soviets were severed.

Following the Allies' May 1945 victory, the Soviets effectively engaged Eastern Europe, while strong US and Western allied forces remained in Western Europe.

In Allied-engaged Germany, the Soviet Union, United States, Britain and France recognized zones of job and a loose framework for parceled four-power manage.

The 1945 Allied conference in San Francisco recognized the multi-national United Nations (UN) for the maintenance of world peace, but the enforcement capability of its Security Council was effectively paralyzed through individual members' skill to use veto power. The UN was essentially converted into an inactive forum for exchanging polemical rhetoric, and the Soviets regarded it approximately exclusively as a propaganda tribune.

Potsdam Conference and Defeat of Japan

At the Potsdam Conference, which started in late July after Germany's surrender, serious differences appeared in excess of the future growth of Germany and Eastern Europe.

Moreover, the participants' mounting antipathy and bellicose language served to confirm their suspicions in relation to the each other's hostile intentions and entrench their positions. At this conference Truman informed Stalin that the United States possessed a powerful new weapon.

Stalin was aware that the Americans were working on the atomic bomb and, given that the Soviets' own rival programme was in lay, he reacted to the news calmly. The Soviet leader said he was pleased through the news and expressed the hope that the weapon would be used against Japan. One week after the end of the Potsdam Conference, the US bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Shortly after the attacks, Stalin protested to US officials when Truman offered the Soviets little real power in engaged Japan.

Beginnings of the Eastern Bloc

Throughout the opening levels of World War II, the Soviet Union laid the basis for the Eastern Bloc through directly annexing many countries as Soviet Socialist Republics that were initially ceded to it through Nazi Germany in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

These incorporated:

- Eastern Poland (included into two dissimilar SSRs),
- Latvia (which became the Latvian SSR),
- Estonia (which became the Estonian SSR),
- Lithuania (which became the Lithuanian SSR),
- Section of eastern Finland (which became the Karelo-Finnish SSR) and
- Eastern Romania (which became the Moldavian SSR).

The Eastern European territories liberated from the Nazis and engaged through the Soviet armed forces were added to the Eastern Bloc through converting them into satellite states, such as East Germany, the People's Republic of Poland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Albania.

The Soviet-approach regimes that arose in the Bloc not only reproduced Soviet command economies, but also adopted the brutal ways employed through Joseph Stalin and Soviet secret police to suppress real and potential opposition. In Asia, the Red Army had overrun Manchuria in the last month of the war, and went on to inhabit the big swathe of Korean territory situated north of the 38th similarity.

As section of consolidating Stalin's manage in excess of the Eastern Bloc, the NKVD, led through Lavrentiy Beria, managed the establishment of Soviet-approach secret police systems in the Bloc that were supposed to crush anti-communist

resistance. When the slightest stirrings of independence appeared in the Bloc, Stalin's strategy matched that of relation with domestic pre-war rivals: they were removed from power, put on trial, imprisoned, and in many instances, executed.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was concerned that, given the enormous size of Soviet forces deployed in Europe at the end of the war, and the perception that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was unreliable, there lived a Soviet threat to Western Europe.

Preparing for a "New War"

In February 1946, George F. Kennan's "Extensive Telegram" from Moscow helped to articulate the US government's increasingly difficult row against the Soviets, and became the foundation for US strategy towards the Soviet Union for the duration of the Cold War. That September, the Soviet face produced the Novikov telegram, sent through the Soviet ambassador to the US but commissioned and "co-authored" through Vyacheslav Molotov; it portrayed the US as being in the grip of monopoly capitalists who were structure up military capacity "to prepare the circumstances for winning world supremacy in a new war".

On September 6, 1946, James F. Byrnes delivered a speech in Germany repudiating the Morgenthau Plan and warning the Soviets that the US designed to uphold a military attendance in Europe indefinitely. As Byrnes admitted a month later, "The

nub of our programme was to win the German people [...] it was a battle flanked by us and Russia in excess of minds [...]"

A few weeks after the release of this "Extensive Telegram", former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill delivered his well-known "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri. The speech described for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviets, whom he accused of establishing an "iron curtain" from "Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic".

Beginnings of the Cold War (1947-53)

Cominform and the Tito-Stalin Split

In September 1947, the Soviets created Cominform, the purpose of which was to enforce orthodoxy within the international communist movement and tighten political manage in excess of Soviet satellites by coordination of communist parties in the Eastern Bloc. Cominform faced an embarrassing setback the following June, when the Tito-Stalin split obliged its members to expel Yugoslavia, which remained Communist but adopted a non-aligned location.

Containment and the Truman Doctrine

Through 1947, US president Harry S. Truman's advisers urged him to take immediate steps to counter the Soviet Union's

power, citing Stalin's efforts (amid post-war confusion and collapse) to undermine the US through encouraging rivalries in the middle of capitalists that could precipitate another war. In February 1947, the British government announced that it could no longer afford to fund the Greek monarchical military regime in its civil war against communist-led insurgents.

The American government's response to this announcement was the adoption of containment, the goal of which was to stop the spread of communism. Truman delivered a speech that described for the allocation of \$400 million to intervene in the war and unveiled the Truman Doctrine, which framed the clash as a contest flanked by free peoples and totalitarian regimes. Even however the insurgents were helped through Josip Broz Tito's Yugoslavia, US policymakers accused the Soviet Union of conspiring against the Greek royalists in an attempt to expand Soviet power.

Enunciation of the Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of a US bipartisan protection and foreign policy consensus flanked by Republicans and Democrats focused on containment and deterrence that weakened throughout and after the Vietnam War, but ultimately persisted thereafter. Moderate and conservative parties in Europe, as well as social democrats, gave virtually unconditional support to the Western alliance, while European and American Communists, paid through the KGB and involved in its intelligence operations, adhered to Moscow's row, although dissent began to seem after 1956.

Other critiques of consensus politics came from anti-Vietnam War activists, the CND and the nuclear freeze movement.

Marshall Plan and Czechoslovak Coup d'état

In early 1947, Britain, France and the United States unsuccessfully attempted to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union for a plan envisioning an economically self-enough Germany, including a detailed accounting of the industrial plants, goods and infrastructure already removed through the Soviets. In June 1947, in accordance with the Truman Doctrine, the United States enacted the Marshall Plan, a pledge of economic assistance for all European countries willing to participate, including the Soviet Union.

The plan's aim was to rebuild the democratic and economic systems of Europe and to counter perceived threats to Europe's balance of power, such as communist parties seizing manage by revolutions or elections. The plan also stated that European prosperity was contingent upon German economic recovery. One month later, Truman signed the National Security Act of 1947, creating a unified Department of Protection, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and the National Security Council (NSC). These would become the largest bureaucracies for US policy in the Cold War.

Stalin whispered that economic integration with the West would allow Eastern Bloc countries to escape Soviet manage, and that the US was trying to buy a pro-US re-alignment of

Europe. Stalin so prevented Eastern Bloc nations from getting Marshall Plan aid. The Soviet Union's alternative to the Marshall plan, which was purported to involve Soviet subsidies and deal with Eastern Europe, became recognized as the Molotov Plan (later institutionalized in January 1949 as the Comecon).

Stalin was also fearful of a reconstituted Germany; his vision of a post-war Germany did not contain the skill to rearm or pose any type of threat to the Soviet Union.

In early 1948, following reports of strengthening "reactionary elements", Soviet operatives executed a coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, the only Eastern Bloc state that the Soviets had permitted to retain democratic structures.

The public brutality of the coup shocked Western powers more than any event up to that point, set in a motion a brief scare that war would happen and swept absent the last vestiges of opposition to the Marshall Plan in the United States Congress.

The twin policies of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan led to billions in economic and military aid for Western Europe, Greece, and Turkey. With US assistance, the Greek military won its civil war.

The Italian Christian Democrats defeated the powerful Communist-Socialist alliance in the elections of 1948. At the similar time there was increased intelligence and espionage action, Eastern Bloc defections and diplomatic expulsions.

Berlin Blockade and Airlift

The United States and Britain merged their western German job zones into "Bizonia" (January 1, 1947, later "Trizonia" with the addition of France's zone, April 1949). As section of the economic rebuilding of Germany, in early 1948, representatives of a number of Western European governments and the United States announced an agreement for a merger of western German regions into a federal governmental organization. In addition, in accordance with the Marshall Plan, they began to re-industrialize and rebuild the German economy, including the introduction of a new Deutsche Spot currency to replace the old Reichsmark currency that the Soviets had debased.

Shortly thereafter, Stalin instituted the Berlin Blockade (June 24, 1948 - May 12, 1949), one of the first biggest crises of the Cold War, preventing food, materials and supplies from arriving in West Berlin. The United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other countries began the huge "Berlin airlift", supplying West Berlin with food and other provisions.

The Soviets mounted a public relations campaign against the policy transform. Once again the East Berlin communists attempted to disrupt the Berlin municipal elections (as they had done in the 1946 elections), which were held on December 5, 1948 and produced a turnout of 86.3per cent and an overwhelming victory for the non-Communist parties. The results effectively divided the municipality into East and West

versions of its former self. 300,000 Berliners demonstrated and urged the international airlift to continue, and US Air Force pilot Gail Halvorsen created "Operation Vittles", which supplied candy to German children. In May 1949, Stalin backed down and lifted the blockade.

In 1952, Stalin repeatedly proposed a plan to unify East and West Germany under a single government chosen in elections managed through the United Nations if the new Germany were to keep out of Western military alliances, but this proposal was turned down through the Western powers. Some sources dispute the sincerity of the proposal.

NATO beginnings and Radio Free Europe

Britain, France, the United States, Canada, and eight other western European countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty of April 1949, establishing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). That August, the first Soviet atomic device was detonated in Semipalatinsk, Kazakh SSR. Following Soviet refusals to participate in a German rebuilding attempt set forth through western European countries in 1948, the US, Britain and France spearheaded the establishment of West Germany from the three Western zones of job in April 1949. The Soviet Union proclaimed its zone of job in Germany the German Democratic Republic that October.

Media in the Eastern Bloc was an organ of the state, totally reliant on and subservient to the communist party, with radio

and television institutions being state-owned, while print media was generally owned through political institutions, mostly through the regional communist party. Soviet propaganda used Marxist philosophy to attack capitalism, claiming labour use and war-mongering imperialism were inherent in the organization.

Beside with the broadcasts of the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America to Eastern Europe, a biggest propaganda attempt begun in 1949 was Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, specialized to bringing in relation to the peaceful demise of the Communist organization in the Eastern Bloc. Radio Free Europe attempted to achieve these goals through serving as a surrogate house radio station, an alternative to the controlled and party-dominated domestic press. Radio Free Europe was a product of some of the mainly prominent architects of America's early Cold War strategy, especially those who whispered that the Cold War would eventually be fought through political rather than military means, such as George F. Kennan.

American policymakers, including Kennan and John Foster Dulles, acknowledged that the Cold War was in its essence a war of ideas. The United States, acting by the CIA, funded an extensive list of projects to counter the communist appeal in the middle of intellectuals in Europe and the developing world. The CIA also covertly sponsored a domestic propaganda campaign described Crusade for Freedom.

In the early 1950s, the US worked for the rearmament of West Germany and, in 1955, secured its full membership of NATO. In May 1953, Beria, through then in a government post, had made an unsuccessful proposal to allow the reunification of a neutral Germany to prevent West Germany's incorporation into NATO.

Chinese Civil War and SEATO

In 1949, Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army defeated Chiang Kai-shek's United States-backed Kuomintang (KMT) Nationalist Government in China, and the Soviet Union promptly created an alliance with the newly shaped People's Republic of China. Chiang and his KMT government retreated to the island of Taiwan. Confronted with the communist revolution in China and the end of the American atomic monopoly in 1949, the Truman administration quickly moved to escalate and expand the containment policy. In NSC-68, a secret 1950 document, the National Security Council proposed to reinforce pro-Western alliance systems and quadruple spending on protection.

United States officials moved thereafter to expand containment into Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in order to counter revolutionary nationalist movements, often led through communist parties financed through the USSR, fighting against the restoration of Europe's colonial empires in South-East Asia and elsewhere. In the early 1950s (an era sometimes recognized as the "Pactomania"), the US formalized a series of

alliances with Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines (notably ANZUS in 1951 and SEATO in 1954), thereby guaranteeing the United States a number of extensive-term military bases.

Korean War

One of the more important impacts of containment was the outbreak of the Korean War. In June 1950, Kim Il-Sung's North Korean People's Army invaded South Korea. Joseph Stalin "intended, prepared, and initiated" the invasion, creating "detailed [war] plans" that was communicated to the North Koreans.

To Stalin's surprise, the UN Security Council backed the protection of South Korea; however the Soviets were then boycotting meetings in protest that Taiwan and not Communist China held a permanent seat on the Council. A UN force of personnel from South Korea, the United States, the United Kingdom, Turkey, Canada, Australia, France, South Africa, the Philippines, the Netherlands, Belgium, New Zealand and other countries joined to stop the invasion.

In the middle of other effects, the Korean War galvanized NATO to develop a military structure. Public opinion in countries involved, such as Great Britain, was divided for and against the war. Several feared an escalation into a common war with Communist China, and even nuclear war. The strong opposition to the war often strained Anglo-American relations.

For these causes British officials sought a speedy end to the clash, hoping to unite Korea under United Nations auspices and withdrawal of all foreign forces.

Even however the Chinese and North Koreans were exhausted through the war and were prepared to end it through late 1952, Stalin insisted that they continue fighting, and the Armistice was approved only in July 1953, after Stalin's death. North Korean leader Kim Il Sung created a highly centralized and brutal dictatorship, just as himself unlimited power and generating a formidable cult of personality. In the South, the American-backed strongman Syngman Rhee ran a significantly less brutal but corrupt regime. After Rhee was overthrown in 1960, South Korea fell under an era of military rule that lasted until the re-establishment of a multi-party organization in 1987.

Crisis and Escalation (1953-62)

Khrushchev, Eisenhower, and De-Stalinization

In 1953, changes in political leadership on both sides shifted the dynamic of the Cold War. Dwight D. Eisenhower was inaugurated president that January.

Throughout the last 18 months of the Truman administration, the American protection budget had quadrupled, and Eisenhower moved to reduce military spending through a third while continuing to fight the Cold War effectively.

After the death of Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev became the Soviet leader following the authentication and execution of Lavrentiy Beria and the pushing aside of rivals Georgy Malenkov and Vyacheslav Molotov. On February 25, 1956, Khrushchev shocked delegates to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party through cataloguing and denouncing Stalin's crimes. As section of a campaign of de-Stalinization, he declared that the only method to reform and move absent from Stalin's policies would be to acknowledge errors made in the past.

On November 18, 1956, while addressing Western ambassadors at a reception at the Polish embassy in Moscow, Khrushchev used his well-known "Whether you like it or not, history is on our face. He later claimed that he had not been talking in relation to the nuclear war, but rather in relation to the historically determined victory of communism in excess of capitalism. In 1961, Khrushchev declared that even if the USSR was behind the West, within a decade its housing shortage would disappear, consumer goods would be abundant, and within two decades, the "construction of a communist community" in the USSR would be completed "in the largest".

Eisenhower's secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, initiated a "New Seem" for the containment strategy, calling for a greater reliance on nuclear weapons against US enemies in wartime. Dulles also enunciated the doctrine of "huge retaliation", threatening a severe US response to any Soviet aggression. Possessing nuclear superiority, for instance, allowed

Eisenhower to face down Soviet threats to intervene in the Transitional East throughout the 1956 Suez Crisis.

Warsaw Pact and Hungarian Revolution

While Stalin's death in 1953 slightly relaxed tensions, the situation in Europe remained an uneasy armed truce. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 occurred shortly after Khrushchev arranged the removal of Hungary's Stalinist leader Mátyás Rákosi. In response to a popular uprising, the new regime formally disbanded the secret police, declared its intention to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and pledged to re-set up free elections. The Soviet army invaded. Thousands of Hungarians were arrested, imprisoned and deported to the Soviet Union, and almost 200,000 Hungarians fled Hungary in the chaos. Hungarian leader Imre Nagy and others were executed following secret trials.

From 1957 by 1961, Khrushchev openly and repeatedly threatened the West with nuclear annihilation. He claimed that Soviet missile capabilities were distant larger to those of the United States, capable of wiping out any American or European municipality. Though, Khrushchev rejected Stalin's belief in the inevitability of war, and declared his new goal was to be "peaceful coexistence". This formulation customized the Stalin-period Soviet stance, where international class thrash about meant the two opposing camps were on an inevitable collision course where communism would triumph by global war; now, peace would allow capitalism to collapse on its own, as well as

giving the Soviets time to boost their military capabilities, which remained for decades until Gorbachev's later "new thinking" envisioning peaceful coexistence as an end in itself rather than a form of class thrash about.

The measures in Hungary produced ideological fractures within the Communist parties of the world, particularly in Western Europe, with great decline in membership as several in both western and communist countries felt disillusioned through the brutal Soviet response. The communist parties in the West would never recover from the effect the Hungarian Revolution had on their membership, a information that was immediately established through some, such as the Yugoslavian politician Milovan Djilas who shortly after the revolution was crushed said that "The wound which the Hungarian Revolution inflicted on communism can never be totally healed".

America's pronouncements concentrated on American strength abroad and the success of liberal capitalism. Though, through the late 1960s, the "battle for men's minds" flanked by two systems of social organization that Kennedy spoke of in 1961 was mainly in excess of, with tensions henceforth based primarily on clashing geopolitical objectives rather than ideology.

Berlin Ultimatum and European Integration

Throughout November 1958, Khrushchev made an unsuccessful effort to turn all of Berlin into an self-governing,

demilitarized "free municipality", giving the United States, Great Britain, and France a six-month ultimatum to withdraw their troops from the sectors they still engaged in West Berlin, or he would transfer manage of Western access rights to the East Germans.

Khrushchev earlier explained to Mao Zedong that "Berlin is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to create the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin." NATO formally rejected the ultimatum in mid-December and Khrushchev withdrew it in return for a Geneva conference on the German question.

More broadly, one hallmark of the 1950s was the beginning of European integration—a fundamental through-product of the Cold War that Truman and Eisenhower promoted politically, economically, and militarily, but which later administrations viewed ambivalently, fearful that an self-governing Europe would forge a separate détente with the Soviet Union, which would use this to exacerbate Western disunity.

Competition in the Third World

Nationalist movements in some countries and areas, notably Guatemala, Indonesia and Indochina were often allied with communist groups, or perceived in the West to be allied with communists. In this context, the United States and the Soviet Union increasingly competed for power through proxy in the Third World as decolonization gained momentum in the 1950s and early 1960s; additionally, the Soviets saw continuing

losses through imperial powers as presaging the eventual victory of their ideology. Both sides were selling armaments to gain power.

The United States made use of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to do absent with a string of inhospitable Third World governments and to support allied ones. In 1953, President Eisenhower's CIA implemented Operation Ajax, a covert operation aimed at the overthrow of the Iranian Prime Minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh. The popularly elected and non-aligned Mosaddegh had been a Transitional Eastern nemesis of Britain since, nationalizing the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951. Winston Churchill told the United States that Mosaddegh was "increasingly turning towards communism." The pro-Western shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, assumed manages as an autocratic monarch. The shah's policies incorporated the banning of the communist Tudeh Party and common suppression of political dissent through SAVAK, the shah's domestic security and intelligence agency.

In Guatemala, a CIA-backed military coup ousted the left-wing President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in 1954. The post-Arbenz government-a military junta headed through Carlos Castillo Armas-repealed a progressive land reform law, returned nationalized property belonging to the United Fruit Company, set up a National Committee of Protection against Communism, and decreed a Preventive Penal Law against Communism at the request of the United States.

The non-aligned Indonesian government of Sukarno was faced with a biggest threat to its legitimacy beginning in 1956, when many local commanders began to demand autonomy from Jakarta. After mediation failed, Sukarno took action to remove the dissident commanders. In February 1958, dissident military commanders in Central Sumatera (Colonel Ahmad Hussein) and North Sulawesi (Colonel Ventje Sumual) declared the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia-Permesta Movement aimed at overthrowing the Sukarno regime.

They were joined through several civilian politicians from the Masyumi Party, such as Sjafruddin Prawiranegara, who were opposed to the rising power of the communist Partai Komunis Indonesia party. Due to their anti-communist rhetoric, the rebels received arms, funding, and other covert aid from the CIA until Allen Lawrence Pope, an American pilot, was shot down after a bombing raid on government-held Ambon in April 1958. The central government responded through launching airborne and seaborne military invasions of rebel strongholds Padang and Manado. Through the end of 1958, the rebels were militarily defeated, and the last remaining rebel guerilla bands surrendered through August 1961.

In the Republic of the Congo, newly self-governing from Belgium since, June 1960, the CIA-cultivated President Joseph Kasa-Vubu ordered the dismissal of the democratically elected Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and the Lumumba cabinet in September; Lumumba described for Kasa-Vubu's dismissal

instead. In the ensuing Congo Crisis, the CIA-backed Colonel Mobutu quickly mobilized his forces to seize power by a military coup d'état.

In British Guiana, the leftist People's Progressive Party (PPP) candidate Cheddi Jagan won the location of chief minister in a colonially administered election in 1953, but was quickly forced to resign from power after Britain's suspension of the still-dependent nation's constitution. Embarrassed through the landslide electoral victory of Jagan's allegedly Marxist party, the British imprisoned the PPP's leadership and maneuvered the organization into a divisive rupture in 1955, engineering a split flanked by Jagan and his PPP colleagues. Jagan again won the colonial elections in 1957 and 1961; despite Britain's shift to a reconsideration of its view of the left-wing Jagan as a Soviet-approach communist at this time, the United States pressured the British to withhold Guyana's independence until an alternative to Jagan could be recognized, supported, and brought into office.

Worn down through the communist guerrilla war for Vietnamese independence and handed a watershed defeat through communist Vietminh rebels at the 1954 Battle of ?i?n Biên Ph?, the French carried a negotiated abandonment of their colonial stake in Vietnam. In the Geneva Conference, peace accords were signed, leaving Vietnam divided flanked by a pro-Soviet administration in North Vietnam and a pro-Western administration in South Vietnam at the 17th similarity north. Flanked by 1954 and 1961, Eisenhower's

United States sent economic aid and military advisers to strengthen South Vietnam's pro-Western regime against communist efforts to destabilize it.

Several emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America rejected the pressure to choose sides in the East-West competition. In 1955, at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia, dozens of Third World governments resolved to keep out of the Cold War. The consensus reached at Bandung culminated with the making of the Belgrade-headquartered Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. Meanwhile, Khrushchev broadened Moscow's policy to set up ties with India and other key neutral states. Independence movements in the Third World transformed the post-war order into a more pluralistic world of decolonized African and Transitional Eastern nations and of growing nationalism in Asia and Latin America.

Sino-Soviet Split, Legroom Race, ICBMs

The era after 1956 was marked through serious setbacks for the Soviet Union, mainly notably the breakdown of the Sino-Soviet alliance, beginning the Sino-Soviet split. Mao had defended Stalin when Khrushchev attacked him after his death in 1956, and treated the new Soviet leader as a superficial upstart, accusing him of having lost his revolutionary edge. For his section, Khrushchev, disturbed through Mao's glib attitude towards nuclear war, referred to the Chinese leader as a "lunatic on a throne".

After this, Khrushchev made several desperate attempts to reconstitute the Sino-Soviet alliance, but Mao measured it useless and denied any proposal. The Chinese-Soviet animosity spilled out in an intra-communist propaganda war. Further on, the Soviets focused on a bitter rivalry with Mao's China for leadership of the global communist movement.

On the nuclear weapons front, the United States and the USSR pursued nuclear rearmament and urbanized extensive-range weapons with which they could strike the territory of the other. In August 1957, the Soviets successfully launched the world's first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and in October, launched the first Earth satellite, Sputnik. The launch of Sputnik inaugurated the Legroom Race. This culminated in the Apollo Moon landings, which astronaut Frank Borman later called as "presently a battle in the Cold War."

Cuban Revolution and the Bay of Pigs Invasion

In Cuba, the July 26 Movement seized power in January 1959, toppling President Fulgencio Batista, whose unpopular regime had been denied arms through the Eisenhower administration.

Diplomatic relations flanked by Cuba and the United States sustained for some time after Batista's fall, but President Eisenhower deliberately left the capital to avoid meeting Cuba's young revolutionary leader Fidel Castro throughout the latter's trip to Washington in April, leaving Vice President Richard Nixon to conduct the meeting in his lay. Eisenhower's officials

were not certain as to whether Castro was a communist, but hostile towards the Cubans' efforts to decrease their economic reliance on the United States. Cuba began negotiating arms purchases from Eastern Europe in March 1960.

In January 1961, presently prior to leaving office, Eisenhower formally severed relations with the Cuban government. In April 1961, the administration of newly elected American President John F. Kennedy mounted an unsuccessful CIA-organized ship-borne invasion of the island at Playa Girón and Playa Larga in Las Villas Province—a failure that publicly humiliated the United States. Castro responded through embracing Marxism-Leninism, and the Soviet Union pledged to give further support.

Berlin Crisis of 1961

The Berlin Crisis of 1961 was the last biggest incident in the Cold War concerning the status of Berlin and post-World War II Germany. Through the early 1950s, the Soviet approach to restricting emigration movement was emulated through mainly of the rest of the Eastern Bloc. Though, hundreds of thousands of East Germans annually immigrated to West Germany by a "loophole" in the organization that lived flanked by East and West Berlin, where the four occupying World War II powers governed movement.

The emigration resulted in a huge "brain drain" from East Germany to West Germany of younger educated professionals,

such that almost 20 per cent of East Germany's population had migrated to West Germany through 1961. That June, the Soviet Union issued a new ultimatum challenging the withdrawal of Allied forces from West Berlin. The request was rebuffed, and on August 13, East Germany erected a barbed-wire barrier that would eventually be expanded by construction into the Berlin Wall, effectively closing the loophole.

Cuban Missile Crisis and Khrushchev Ouster

Continuing to seek methods to oust Castro following the Bay of Pigs Invasion, Kennedy and his administration experimented with several methods of covertly facilitating the overthrow of the Cuban government. Important hopes were pinned on a covert programme named the Cuban Project, devised under the Kennedy administration in 1961.

In February 1962, Khrushchev learned of the American plans concerning Cuba: a "Cuban project"-approved through the CIA and stipulating the overthrow of the Cuban government in October, perhaps involving the American military-and yet one more Kennedy-ordered operation to assassinate Castro. Preparations to install Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba were undertaken in response.

Alarmed, Kennedy measured several reactions, and ultimately responded to the installation of nuclear missiles in Cuba with a naval blockade and presented an ultimatum to the Soviets. Khrushchev backed down from a confrontation, and the Soviet

Union removed the missiles in return for an American pledge not to invade Cuba again. The Cuban Missile Crisis (October-November 1962) brought the world closer to nuclear war than ever before. It further demonstrated the concept of mutually assured destruction that neither superpower was prepared to use their nuclear weapons, fearing total global destruction via mutual retaliation. The aftermath of the crisis led to the first efforts in the nuclear arms race at nuclear disarmament and improving relations, although the Cold War's first arms management agreement, the Antarctic Treaty, had approach into force in 1961.

In 1964, Khrushchev's Kremlin colleagues supervised to oust him, but allowed him a peaceful retirement. Accused of rudeness and incompetence, he was also credited with ruining Soviet agriculture and bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war. Khrushchev had become an international embarrassment when he authorized construction of the Berlin Wall, a public humiliation for Marxism-Leninism.

"Second Cold War" (1979-85)

The term second Cold War refers to the era of rigorous reawakening of Cold War tensions and conflicts in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Tensions greatly increased flanked by the biggest powers with both sides becoming more militaristic. Diggins says, "Reagan went all out to fight the second cold war, through supporting counterinsurgencies in the third

world." Cox says, "The intensity of this 'Second' Cold War was as great as its duration was short."

Soviet War in Afghanistan

In April 1978, the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) seized power in Afghanistan in the Saur Revolution. Within months, opponents of the communist government launched an uprising in eastern Afghanistan that quickly expanded into a civil war waged through guerrilla mujahideen against government forces countrywide. The Pakistani government provided these rebels with covert training centers, while the Soviet Union sent thousands of military advisers to support the PDPA government. Meanwhile, rising friction flanked by the competing factions of the PDPA - the dominant Khalq and the more moderate Parcham - resulted in the dismissal of Parchami cabinet members and the arrest of Parchami military administrators under the pretext of a Parchami coup. Through mid-1979, the United States had started a covert programme to assist the mujahideen.

In September 1979, Khalqist President Nur Muhammad Taraki was assassinated in a coup within the PDPA orchestrated through fellow Khalq member Hafizullah Amin, who assumed the presidency. Distrusted through the Soviets, Amin was assassinated through Soviet Special Forces in December 1979. A Soviet-organized government, led through Parcham's Babrak Karmal but inclusive of both factions, filled the vacuum. Soviet troops were deployed to stabilize Afghanistan under Karmal in

more substantial numbers, although the Soviet government did not anticipate doing mainly of the fighting in Afghanistan. As a result, though, the Soviets were now directly involved in what had been a domestic war in Afghanistan.

Carter responded to the Soviet intervention through withdrawing the SALT II treaty from the Senate, imposing embargoes on grain and technology shipments to the USSR, and challenging an important augment in military spending, and further announced that the United States would boycott the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. He called the Soviet incursion as "the mainly serious threat to the peace since, the Second World War".

Reagan and Thatcher

In January 1977, four years prior to becoming president, Ronald Reagan bluntly stated, in a conversation with Richard V. Allen, his vital expectation in relation to the Cold War. "My thought of American policy towards the Soviet Union is easy, and some would say simplistic," he said. "It is this: We win and they lose. What do you think of that?" In 1980, Ronald Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, vowing to augment military spending and confront the Soviets everywhere. Both Reagan and new British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher denounced the Soviet Union and its ideology. Reagan labeled the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and predicted that Communism would be left on the "ash heap of history".

Through early 1985, Reagan's anti-communist location had urbanized into a stance recognized as the new Reagan Doctrine-which, in addition to containment, formulated an additional right to subvert existing communist governments.

Besides continuing Carters' policy of supporting the Islamic opponents of the Soviet Union and the Soviet-backed PDPA government in Afghanistan, the CIA also sought to weaken the Soviet Union itself through promoting political Islam in the majority-Muslim Central Asian Soviet Union. Additionally, the CIA encouraged anti-communist Pakistan's ISI to train Muslims from approximately the world to participate in the jihad against the Soviet Union.

Polish Solidarity Movement and Martial Law

Pope John Paul II provided a moral focus for anti-communism; a visit to his native Poland in 1979 stimulated a religious and nationalist resurgence centered on the Solidarity movement that galvanized opposition and may have led to his attempted assassination two years later.

In December 1981, Poland's Wojciech Jaruzelski reacted to the crisis through imposing a era of martial law. Reagan imposed economic sanctions on Poland in response. Mikhail Suslov, the Kremlin's top ideologist, advised Soviet leaders not to intervene if Poland fell under the manage of Solidarity, for fear it might lead to heavy economic sanctions, on behalf of a catastrophe for the Soviet economy.

Soviet and US Military and Economic Issues

Moscow had built up a military that consumed as much as 25 percent of the Soviet Union's gross national product at the expense of consumer goods and investment in civilian sectors. Soviet spending on the arms race and other Cold War commitments both caused and exacerbated deep-seated structural troubles in the Soviet organization, which saw at least a decade of economic stagnation throughout the late Brezhnev years.

Soviet investment in the protection sector was not driven through military necessity, but in big section through the interests of huge party and state bureaucracies dependent on the sector for their own power and privileges. The Soviet Armed Forces became the main in the world in conditions of the numbers and kinds of weapons they possessed, in the number of troops in their ranks, and in the sheer size of their military-industrial foundation. Though, the quantitative advantages held through the Soviet military often concealed regions where the Eastern Bloc dramatically lagged behind the West.

Through the early 1980s, the USSR had built up a military arsenal and army surpassing that of the United States. Soon after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, president Carter began massively structure up the United States military. This buildup was accelerated through the Reagan administration, which increased the military spending from 5.3 percent of GNP

in 1981 to 6.5 percent in 1986, the main peacetime protection buildup in United States history.

Tensions sustained intensifying in the early 1980s when Reagan revived the B-1 Lancer programme that was canceled through the Carter administration, produced LGM-118 Peacekeepers, installed US cruise missiles in Europe, and announced his experimental Strategic Protection Initiative, dubbed "Star Wars" through the media, a protection programme to shoot down missiles in mid-flight.

With the backdrop of a buildup in tensions flanked by the Soviet Union and the United States, and the deployment of Soviet RSD-10 Pioneer ballistic missiles targeting Western Europe, NATO decided, under the impetus of the Carter presidency, to deploy MGM-31 Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe, primarily West Germany. This deployment would have placed missiles presently 10 minutes' striking aloofness from Moscow.

After Reagan's military buildup, the Soviet Union did not respond through further structure its military because the enormous military expenses, beside with inefficient intended manufacturing and collectivized agriculture, were already a heavy burden for the Soviet economy. At the similar time, Saudi Arabia increased oil manufacture, even as other non-OPEC nations were raising manufacture. These growths contributed to the 1980s oil glut, which affected the Soviet Union, as oil was the largest source of Soviet export revenues.

Issues with command economics, oil prices decreases and big military expenditures slowly brought the Soviet economy to stagnation.

On September 1, 1983, the Soviet Union shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, a Boeing 747 with 269 people aboard, including sitting Congressman Larry McDonald, when it violated Soviet airspace presently past the west coast of Sakhalin Island close to Moneron Island -an act which Reagan characterized as a "massacre". This act increased support for military deployment, overseen through Reagan, which stood in lay until the later accords flanked by Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. The Able Archer 83 exercise in November 1983, a realistic simulation of a coordinated NATO nuclear release, has been described mainly dangerous moment since, the Cuban Missile Crisis, as the Soviet leadership keeping a secure watch on it measured a nuclear attack to be imminent.

US domestic public concerns in relation to the intervening in foreign conflicts persisted from the end of the Vietnam War. The Reagan administration accentuated the use of quick, low-cost counter-insurgency tactics to intervene in foreign conflicts.

In 1983, the Reagan administration intervened in the multisided Lebanese Civil War, invaded Grenada, bombed Libya and backed the Central American Contras, anti-communist paramilitaries seeking to overthrow the Soviet-aligned Sandinista government in Nicaragua. While Reagan's

interventions against Grenada and Libya were popular in the United States, his backing of the Contra rebels was mired in controversy. Meanwhile, the Soviets incurred high costs for their own foreign interventions. The Kremlin sent almost 100,000 troops to support its puppet regime in Afghanistan, leading several outside observers to dub the war "the Soviets' Vietnam". Though, Moscow's quagmire in Afghanistan was distant more disastrous for the Soviets than Vietnam had been for the Americans because the clash coincided with a era of internal decay and domestic crisis in the Soviet organization.

A senior US State Department official predicted such an outcome as early as 1980, positing that the invasion resulted in section from a "domestic crisis within the Soviet organization.... It may be that the thermodynamic law of entropy has... caught up with the Soviet organization, which now looks to expend more power on basically maintaining its equilibrium than on improving itself. We could be seeing a era of foreign movement at a time of internal decay".

Final Years (1985-91)

Gorbachev Reforms

Through the time the comparatively youthful Mikhail Gorbachev became Common Secretary in 1985; the Soviet economy was stagnant and faced a sharp fall in foreign currency earnings as a result of the downward slide in oil

prices in the 1980s. These issues prompted Gorbachev to investigate events to revive the ailing state.

An ineffectual start led to the conclusion that deeper structural changes were necessary and in June 1987 Gorbachev announced an agenda of economic reform described perestroika, or restructuring. Perestroika relaxed the manufacture quota organization, allowed private ownership of businesses and paved the method for foreign investment. These events were designed to redirect the country's possessions from costly Cold War military commitments to more productive regions in the civilian sector.

Despite initial skepticism in the West, the new Soviet leader proved to be committed to reversing the Soviet Union's deteriorating economic condition instead of continuing the arms race with the West. Partly as a method to fight off internal opposition from party cliques to his reforms, Gorbachev simultaneously introduced glasnost, or openness, which increased freedom of the press and the transparency of state organizations. Glasnost was designed to reduce the corruption at the top of the Communist Party and moderate the abuse of power in the Central Committee. Glasnost also enabled increased get in touch with flanked by Soviet citizens and the western world, particularly with the United States, contributing to the accelerating détente flanked by the two nations.

Thaw in Relations

In response to the Kremlin's military and political concessions, Reagan agreed to renew talks on economic issues and the scaling-back of the arms race. The first was held in November 1985 in Geneva, Switzerland. At one level the two men, accompanied only through an interpreter, agreed in principle to reduce each country's nuclear arsenal through 50 percent. A second Reykjavík Summit was held in Iceland. Talks went well until the focus shifted to Reagan's proposed Strategic Protection Initiative, which Gorbachev wanted eliminated. Reagan refused. The negotiations failed, but the third summit in 1987 led to a breakthrough with the signing of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). The INF treaty eliminated all nuclear-armed, ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges flanked by 500 and 5,500 kilometers (300 to 3,400 miles) and their infrastructure.

East-West tensions rapidly subsided by the mid-to-late 1980s, culminating with the final summit in Moscow in 1989, when Gorbachev and George H. W. Bush signed the START I arms manage treaty. Throughout the following year it became evident to the Soviets that oil and gas subsidies, beside with the cost of maintaining huge troops stages, represented a substantial economic drain. In addition, the security advantage of a buffer zone was recognized as irrelevant and the Soviets officially declared that they would no longer intervene in the affairs of allied states in Eastern Europe.

In 1989, Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan and through 1990 Gorbachev consented to German reunification, the only alternative being a Tiananmen scenario. When the Berlin Wall came down, Gorbachev's "General European House" concept began to take shape.

On December 3, 1989, Gorbachev and Reagan's successor, George H. W. Bush, declared the Cold War in excess of at the Malta Summit; a year later, the two former rivals were partners in the Gulf War against Iraq.

East Europe Breaks Absent

Through 1989, the Soviet alliance organization was on the brink of collapse, and, deprived of Soviet military support, the Communist leaders of the Warsaw Pact states were losing power. Grassroots institutions, such as Poland's Solidarity movement, rapidly gained ground with strong popular bases. In 1989, the Communist governments in Poland and Hungary became the first to negotiate the organizing of competitive elections. In Czechoslovakia and East Germany, mass protests unseated entrenched Communist leaders. The Communist regimes in Bulgaria and Romania also crumbled, in the latter case as the result of a violent uprising. Attitudes had changed sufficient that US Secretary of State James Baker suggested that the American government would not be opposed to Soviet intervention in Romania, on behalf of the opposition, to prevent bloodshed.

The tidal wave of transform culminated with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, which symbolized the collapse of European Communist governments and graphically ended the Iron Curtain divide of Europe. The 1989 revolutionary wave swept crossways Central and Eastern Europe peacefully overthrew all the Soviet-approach communist states: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, Romania was the only Eastern-bloc country to topple its communist regime violently and execute its head of state.

Soviet Republics Break Absent

In the USSR itself, glasnost weakened the bonds that held the Soviet Union jointly and through February 1990, with the dissolution of the USSR looming, the Communist Party was forced to surrender its 73-year-old monopoly on state power. At the similar time freedom of press and dissent allowed through glasnost and the festering "nationalities question" increasingly led the Union's component republics to declare their autonomy from Moscow, with the Baltic states withdrawing from the Union entirely.

Soviet Dissolution

Gorbachev's permissive attitude towards Eastern Europe did not initially extend to Soviet territory; even Bush, who strove to uphold friendly relations, condemned the January 1991 killings in Latvia and Lithuania, privately warning that economic ties would be frozen if the violence sustained. The

USSR was fatally weakened through a failed coup and a rising number of Soviet republics, particularly Russia, who threatened to secede from the USSR. The Commonwealth of Self-governing States, created on December 21, 1991, is viewed as a successor entity to the Soviet Union but its purpose was to "allow a civilized divorce" flanked by the Soviet Republics and is comparable to a loose confederation. The USSR was declared officially dissolved on December 25, 1991.

Aftermath

Following the Cold War, Russia cut military spending dramatically. The capitalist reforms culminated in a recession more severe than the US and Germany had experienced throughout the Great Depression.

The aftermath of the Cold War continues to power world affairs. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the post-Cold War world is widely measured as unipolar, with the United States the sole remaining superpower.

The Cold War defined the political role of the United States in the post-World War II world: through 1989 the US held military alliances with 50 countries, and had 526,000 troops posted abroad in dozens of countries, with 326,000 in Europe (two-thirds of which in west Germany) and in relation to the 130,000 in Asia (largely Japan and South Korea). The Cold War also marked the apex of peacetime military-industrial complexes, especially in the USA, and big-level military

funding of science. These complexes, however their origins may be establish as early as the 19th century, have grown substantially throughout the Cold War. The military-industrial complexes have great impact on their countries and help shape their community, policy and foreign relations.

Military expenditures through the US throughout the Cold War years were estimated to have been \$8 trillion, while almost 100,000 Americans lost their lives in the Korean War and Vietnam War. Although the loss of life in the middle of Soviet soldiers is hard to estimate, as a share of their gross national product the financial cost for the Soviet Union was distant higher than that incurred through the United States.

In addition to the loss of life through uniformed soldiers, millions died in the superpowers' proxy wars approximately the globe, mainly notably in Southeast Asia. Mainly of the proxy wars and subsidies for regional conflicts ended beside with the Cold War; interstate wars, ethnic wars, revolutionary wars, as well as refugee and displaced persons crises have declined sharply in the post-Cold War years.

The aftermath of Cold War clash, though, is not always easily erased, as several of the economic and social tensions that were exploited to fuel Cold War competition in sections of the Third World remain acute. The breakdown of state manage in a number of regions formerly ruled through Communist governments has produced new civil and ethnic conflicts, particularly in the former Yugoslavia. In Eastern Europe, the

end of the Cold War has ushered in an period of economic development and an augment in the number of liberal democracies, while in other sections of the world, such as Afghanistan, independence was accompanied through state failure.

Chapter 4

Disarmament in the Press and War Politics

Differing Approaches to Monitoring and Verification

In many regions of the world-particularly since, the end of the Cold War- the nature of the relationships between civil society and governments has been changing. This has been reflected in the growth of non-governmental organizations worldwide. Ten years ago, the United Nations estimated that there were nearly 29,000 international NGOs in existence and since, then research indicates that the number of NGOs has continued to increase apace. In certain issue areas, this growth in NGO numbers has coincided with a perceived increase in the influence that NGOs can and do exert upon governments. Indeed much research has highlighted the important roles NGOs have played in promoting and influencing the negotiation of a wide variety of international agreements on issues of global concern whether they be on the environment, public health, human rights or debt, trade and development.

In the field of human rights, for example, NGOs have played important roles in developing proposals, and promoting and building government support for a number of international

agreements, processes and bodies such as the UN Convention Against Torture, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the International Criminal Court. Even in the more sensitive areas of arms control and disarmament, there have been some important NGO achievements, most notably the successful signing of a global treaty to ban anti-personnel mines in 1997. In recent years, NGOs have done much to highlight the devastation wrought by conventional weapons-particularly small arms and light weapons-and to promote national, regional and international governmental action on this issue, culminating in an ongoing global campaign-Control Arms-for an Arms Trade Treaty to control conventional arms transfers. While such NGO campaign and advocacy work has, by its very nature, received widespread attention, NGOs are also increasingly involved in the implementation of international agreements, sometimes directly and sometimes through assistance to states. In this regard, one area of NGO activity that has not been adequately studied has been the crucial role played by the NGO community in monitoring, and in some cases verifying, international agreements. Indeed, non-governmental monitoring, sometimes referred to as "citizens' reporting", "inspection by the people" or "civil society monitoring", has become an important element in the international community's evaluation of how effectively states implement their treaty obligations on a wide range of issues.

This chapter will examine the roles that NGOs currently play in monitoring international agreements, particularly those covering arms control and disarmament issues, by reviewing a

number of case studies of organizations and networks currently active in the field. The chapter will then explore how such activities can be developed in the future. However, a short descriptive overview of monitoring and verification in the context of arms control and disarmament is provided first.

In terms of international relations, verification can be defined as "a process covering the entire set of measures aimed at enabling the parties to an agreement to establish that the conduct of the other parties is not incompatible with the obligations they have assumed under that agreement". In 1995, a UN verification panel defined verification as "a process in which data is collected, collated and analysed in order to make an informed judgement as to whether a party is complying with its obligations". The fundamental function of verification is to gather facts, which subsequently can be assessed against some standard.

Guido Den Dekker has broken down this process into three fundamental stages:

- Assessment;
- Fact-finding; and
- Review.

Verification sets very high demands on the impartiality, objectivity and professionalism of any organization-specifically those UN and other intergovernmental organizations tasked and empowered to verify international treaties and other multilateral agreements. In 1988 the UN General Assembly

endorsed a set of 16 principles to ensure efficient and effective verification. These have been regularly reviewed and endorsed subsequently, most recently in 2004. These principles formulate two important requirements that any verification arrangement should fulfil:

- It must be able to produce "clear and convincing evidence" of compliance or non-compliance; and
- It must produce this evidence in a timely fashion.

In terms of arms control and disarmament, verification is often a highly legalistic process to determine whether States Parties to a treaty are in compliance with the provisions of that treaty. For certain arms control treaties, verification is undertaken by a specific named international verification body that has been established by the States Parties to that treaty, while for other agreements verification is undertaken by the states themselves.

Given the extremely serious potential consequences of a failure to discover covert cheating of certain arms control agreements or of delivering a "false positive" determination, verification bodies will often be given extensive powers and resources by the States Parties to those treaties.

Sometimes these powers will extend, for instance, to undertaking intrusive on-site inspections or remote sensing with satellite technology. The nature of the verification body and the intrusiveness of the verification permitted can vary considerably.

Besides being dependent upon the treaty itself, it is often related to the nature of the arms system being controlled or prohibited and its importance to national and international security. In certain circumstances the verification body may undertake some but not all of the steps outlined by Dekker for a complete verification process. Effective verification often requires the cooperation of the States Parties.

It is not likely that a verification process lacking cooperative elements will be particularly successful. For example, direct communication with a state under investigation and direct observation on the ground are essential elements of any verification regime. Observation- which for instance is necessary to corroborate a governmental declaration-requires access to the state. Only a cooperative state is likely to allow access.

It has been noted by the International Atomic Energy Agency that the effectiveness of its verification regime to a large degree is dependent on the effectiveness of national systems of accountancy and control, and on the degree of cooperation afforded by those systems.

To facilitate cooperation from States Parties, the verification regime itself needs to be objective, impartial and non-discriminatory. Indeed, freedom from the influence of other parties and autonomy in decision-making are key factors in providing a guarantee of trust, credibility and transparency in the working of the verification regime.

To support a conclusion of non-compliance, data must be collected, audited and assessed in a principled and careful manner, preferably in a process where subjective determinations are kept to a minimum. Of course NGOs are potentially able to do this quite efficiently. However, there is a risk that, in certain cases, the "progressive" mandate of an NGO may compromise its credibility as a neutral verification body in the eyes of certain states. The danger of this is greater if the NGO has a strong campaigning or advocacy agenda running in parallel with its monitoring and verification activities. Monitoring is a somewhat wider concept. It can be described as "efforts to detect, identify and measure developments and activities of interest".

Monitoring is often used with the purpose of finding indications of certain behaviour. Importantly, monitoring does not need to focus on finding evidence that necessarily must match a legal standard. Neither does it need to focus on a certain suspicious occurrence or incident. Instead, monitoring efforts can focus on finding information that helps paint a picture of overall government compliance, even though the information in itself does not have direct relevance to the question of whether a state has breached an international obligation. In addition, a monitoring mechanism can monitor states that are not parties to a certain agreement. Often, monitoring forms the first stage of the verification process. Although verification is primarily undertaken by inter-governmental organizations charged to do so under the specific

treaty being verified, for certain issues, examples can be found of successful de facto civil society verification.

For instance, in the human rights field, well-resourced and respected international organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International operate stringent monitoring, review and assessment procedures that, using the above-mentioned definitions, fall very close to verification and are recognized as such by many in the international community. Furthermore, although not the subject of this paper, it should be noted that there are examples of profit-driven verification companies operating outside the governmental sector. For instance, the SGS is a multinational inspection, verification, testing and certification company with some 43,000 employees and about 1,000 offices and laboratories around the world. The company was founded in 1878 as a French shipment inspection house. Today, the company provides services relevant to verification in areas such as agriculture, consumer testing, environment, trade assurances, industry, life sciences, minerals and oil, gas and chemicals. These services include inspection, testing and certification. However, when it comes to arms control and disarmament, research indicates that NGO activities largely fall into the monitoring category. It is difficult to find examples of non-governmental organizations that carry out formal verification, something corroborated by a recent study by the Canadian Centre for Treaty Compliance.

In a previous Verification Research, Training and Information Centre study of NGO monitoring of international agreements,

the authors, Meier and Tanner, divided NGO interaction with the official treaty verification regime into three parts:

- Official interaction-as part of a formal international verification mechanism;
- Quasi-official interaction-loosely linked to official mechanisms; and
- Informal interaction-outside of official verification mechanisms.

Such sub-divisions are by their nature imprecise and fluid. An unofficial monitoring process over time can acquire enough prestige and respect to become used by states, relevant IGOs and treaty-implementation mechanisms as a semi-official monitoring process. However, with such caveats aside, the categories are useful in helping to describe the possible roles that NGOs presently play and can play in future monitoring of arms control and disarmament agreements.

Official Involvement In Monitoring International Agreements

In a number of issue areas, such as the environment, NGOs have been able to establish formal links with the international treaty organizations that carry out official verification, or take part in aspects of such verification themselves. However, such relationships are rare in the field of arms control and disarmament where the extent of NGO input into the official monitoring process is often restricted to the delivery of statements at meetings of State Parties.

Examples of such NGO reporting can be seen at the Review Conferences of the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Although NGOs are often allotted several hours or more to deliver their reports, the utility of this as a tool for feeding into monitoring processes is limited at best. An NGO may be able to highlight individual compliance concerns but is rarely given time to give an in depth overview required for comprehensive monitoring reporting. Furthermore the attention and weight given by states to NGO statements at such conferences can vary considerably.

Although formal agreements between an NGO and the relevant international treaty organization in the arms control and disarmament field are rare, there is precedence for such interaction. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and the Preparatory Commission for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons exchanged letters establishing rules for sharing unclassified information. The exchange of letters was repeated after the Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force in 1997. More developed formal interaction between IGOs, states and NGOs has taken place with regard to issue areas impinging upon arms control and disarmament. An example of this is the so-called Kimberley process.

The Kimberley Process

Global Witness is one of several NGOs that conduct technical monitoring and verification in respect to "conflict diamonds". Monitoring activities are conducted under the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme. This is a joint agreement involving governments, the international diamond industry and civil society actors to stem the flow of diamonds sold in order to fund international armed conflict and civil war. The Certification Scheme has enjoyed strong support from the UN Security Council. The accord is a political agreement. It is not binding as a matter of international law. Under the scheme, each country must certify all rough diamond exports as conflict-free and must only allow rough diamond imports from other participating countries that are certified as conflict-free.

The initiative centres on trade controls and minimum certification standards. Some of the diamond trade associations have developed checklists outlining actions that members should take to implement self-regulation. As of November, participating states had passed relevant legislation. One important component of the system is the Kimberley Process Certificate issued by designated authorities in exporting countries. This is a forgery-resistant document, which identifies a shipment of rough diamonds as complying with the requirements of the Certification Scheme. How does Kimberley Process monitoring and verification work in practice? Participating states submit annual reports on the implementation of the certification scheme to a working group

on monitoring, of which Global Witness is a member. This group determines whether the report provides adequate information on the implementation of the scheme and whether the information contained in the report raises any significant issues that may require follow-up by the working group or the wider Kimberley Process. The working group follows an agreed methodology.

The national report forms the basis of the evaluation. Each member of the working group then assesses the report by filling out an agreed "standard matrix". The chair of the working group collates the individual assessments into a "consolidated matrix". The working group may, based on the consolidated matrix, ask the state to clarify aspects of its initial report. The annual reports, together with the clarifications, are collated into a summary assessment. In this assessment, the working group may note that further clarification would be useful. It also notes where clarification questions have been adequately answered. The process is supplemented by "review visits".

These visits are voluntary and are carried out with the agreement of the host state. Visits are to be carried out in an "analytical, expert and impartial manner". The purpose of the visit is not to gather information relating to compliance or non-compliance, but rather to focus on "helping participants meet the requirements of the scheme, while identifying weaknesses where they exist and ensuring that serious compliance issues are taken up by the Kimberley Process as appropriate." The

process has been characterized by transparent behaviour, with no reported cases of participants having "sought to hide or falsify implementation practices or documentation". The self-assessment of the working group on monitoring suggests that the process has been able to live up to the requirement of objectivity and impartiality.

Quasi-Official Involvement in Monitoring International Agreements

Landmine Monitor

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines established Landmine Monitor in June 1998. Landmine Monitor's mission is to monitor and report on implementation of and compliance with the 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction. It is the first attempt to create a systematic and global non-governmental monitoring network for APMs. While Landmine Monitor has no official status under the treaty, nor is it formally recognized by the treaty implementation bodies, it does work closely with governments and is funded in large part by them. Landmine Monitor is a comprehensive, annual publication often numbering more than 1,000 pages. Its reports cover every aspect of treaty implementation and compliance. It also presents information

on the antipersonnel mine problems and policies in all countries, including non-states parties, as well as thematic issues.

It is normally tabled at the annual conference of States Parties to the Mine Ban Treaty, the first report being presented to the First Meeting of State Parties in Mozambique, in May 1999. Its findings carry considerable weight. Alleged State Party violators are named, as are signatories that have violated the spirit of the agreement, and unusually non-state parties that would be in violation had they signed the treaty. In September 2001, at the Third Conference of States Parties, Landmine Monitor accused one State Party, Uganda, along with six signatories of having used APMs.

More recently, in 2005 it accused several non-party states—specifically Georgia, Myanmar, Nepal and Russia—of using APMs. Although Landmine Monitor does not claim that it is a formal monitoring mechanism or a technical verification regime, it has gained such respect and trust through the quality of its research and analysis that it has become the de facto monitoring mechanism for the Mine Ban Convention. ICBL, Human Rights Watch and the other key organizations producing the Monitor have sought to ensure the quality of the research through the careful choice of contributing researchers and organizations, stringent fact checking and review processes and a standardization of research methodology—which is detailed in Landmine Monitor's research manual. The manual is designed to address questions related to, among

other things, relevant research standards, key terminology and research coordination. Even a brief review of the manual suggests that the Landmine Monitor team employs sound research methods. For example, the researchers should pursue at least three independent sources for each fact. The researchers are encouraged to doubt the reliability of the sources and to maintain an open mindset during fact collection.

During fieldwork, the researchers are requested to be completely transparent with the examined state in regards to the purpose of the fact collection. If one fact cannot be solidly confirmed, the researchers must appraise the reliability of their source. Important sources of information include interviews with government officials, the local population, community-based organizations, refugees, mine survivors, humanitarian aid organizations, church groups, ex-soldiers and journalists.

The researchers are also encouraged to use a wide range of public documents, seeking out primary sources wherever possible. These include materials from the UN Mine Action Service, and agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund, the UN Development Programme, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs, as well as regional organizations and governments. Data is also collected and collated from bodies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, non-governmental demining organizations, commercial demining

companies and national mine action centres. Despite the potential weaknesses sometimes inherent in a system which incorporates the collection and analysis of open source material, Landmine Monitor has over the years succeeded in collecting a large amount of information on state compliance with the Mine Ban Convention. While this inevitably remains an imperfect monitoring system in some respects, it is certainly preferable to the absence of any system and has had an important impact on the Convention's implementation.

Informal Involvement In Monitoring International Agreements

Most NGO monitoring of international arms control and disarmament agreements is completely outside the formal verification system of the treaty. Such independent monitoring processes are often based upon the systematic collection and evaluation of open source information.

Examples of NGOs providing regular and comprehensive information on treaty compliance include the SIPRI Yearbook, and the CBW Conventions Bulletin produced by the Harvard Sussex Programme on Chemical and Biological Weapons. There are certain processes that, although currently informal, may in time grow to become quasi-formal as states grow to trust them and make greater use of the results obtained. A good example of a relatively new civil society monitoring process that has gained considerable respect from states is the Red Book produced by the Biting the Bullet project.

The Red Book

The illicit trafficking, proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons is associated with enormous numbers of deaths and injuries worldwide. There are an estimated 300,000 people killed by SALW every year and over one million injured by these weapons. There are an estimated 600 million or more SALW in existence today. They are legally traded for use by government armed forces, police and civilians under licence. However, some of these state-sanctioned small arms transfers have been to military, security or police forces that have used such weapons for human rights violations or breaches of international humanitarian law. SALW have also fallen into the hands of criminals, terrorists and warlords, though diversion from the legal trade, theft from legal stores or through illicit manufacture. In July 2001, a UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects was agreed by the international community. The Programme of Action, although politically binding and not a legal treaty, is the most comprehensive international instrument that relates to controlling SALW.

The PoA sets out a range of minimum standards, commitments and measures to be taken by states in areas such as the import, export and transit of SALW, the enforcement of UN Security Council embargoes, the regulation of arms brokering activities, stockpile management and the marking and tracing of SALW. It also contains references to issues such as the

disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of excombatants, and the impact of small arms on development. However, although the PoA also contains a range of commitments relating to information exchange and transparency, there has been little systematic implementation of these commitments, with the levels of such information exchange and transparency varying across SALW issues. The only substantial global information exchange that has so far taken place has been the production of national reports on PoA implementation produced for the Biennial Meetings of States and the Review Conference. As of September 2006, 137 states had submitted at least one national report on PoA implementation to the UN Department of Disarmament Affairs. Electronic versions of many of these national reports are available from the UN DDA web site. However it should be noted that the scope and regularity of these reports have varied considerably. UNIDIR, together with its research partners, has produced two detailed analyses of this reporting at the request of governments.

These examinations have determined that reporting has increased and improved overall, but that there remains significant scope for further improvement. While some states have used such reporting and the BMS process to share detailed information on systems and standards in place, and some have identified areas in which assistance is needed, overall the character of information exchange is still uneven, and the utility of information provided has varied. In 2003, in an attempt to fill the monitoring gap, the *Biting the Bullet*

initiative-comprised of Bradford University, International Alert and Saferworld-together with the International Action Network on Small Arms, published the first comprehensive and detailed examination of progress towards implementing the PoA. This "Red Book" was followed by two similar, but more detailed publications, released in 2005 and 2006. The 2006 Red Book, which built on the findings of its 2003 and 2005 predecessors, attempted to outline and assess progress towards implementation of the PoA at the local, national, regional and international levels. It drew on a wide range of primary and secondary sources gathered from over 180 countries.

The Red Book aimed to:

- Provide a resource for states, regional and international organisations, civil society groups, experts and citizens by: providing a broad, detailed and reliable empirical overview of progress towards implementing the PoA and associated national, regional and international commitments across all regions of the world since, 2001 ... illustrating experiences and identifying and analysing lessons learned in each of the regions

The research was primarily conducted by a research team from Biting the Bullet in cooperation with over 100 members of IANSA and other experts from around the world. Project partner organizations and independent analysts were commissioned to research and provide the information used to prepare some national case studies and regional analyses. This

was supplemented by further research, secondary data and the expertise of Biting the Bullet and IANSA members. The authors explained that considerable efforts were taken to verify facts and assessments contained in the Red Book. Efforts were made to contact as many governments as possible to invite them to provide relevant information in addition to that provided in their periodic reports on PoA implementation to the UN. However, the 2006 report does not claim to provide a complete picture of implementation. The authors explain that there have been several factors that prevent this, apart from limited project resources.

These include:

- A lack of transparency in many countries, which made it difficult to conduct research on certain aspects of implementation. The authors state that in some cases verification of information was extremely problematic.
- The wide scope of the PoA, which provides significant opportunities for different interpretations of what constitutes implementation-focused action.
- Implementation of the PoA has been an ongoing process-the Biting the Bullet report was completed in May 2006 and by the time it was published in July 2006, a number of countries had produced updates in time for the 2006 Review Conference.

However, despite these qualifications, the Red Book series has been a very important contribution to the process of implementation of the PoA and a significant resource for

governments, international organizations and civil society. Another civil society process worthy of mention is that of the Bio-weapons Prevention Project. The BWPP is a global civil society initiative established in 2002. It tracks governmental and other behaviour that is pertinent to compliance with international biological weapons treaties and other agreements, especially those that outlaw hostile use of biotechnology. Its role is particularly important given the lack of monitoring and verification provisions in the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the subsequent failure of the international community to agree a Verification Protocol.

The project works to reduce the threat of biological weapons by monitoring and reporting throughout the world. In this regard, BWPP supports and is supported by a global network of partners. By July 2006, BWPP had some 54 NGO partners that can contribute to the collection and compilation of open source information on BTWC implementation as well as on relevant industry and research developments. The BWPP promotes its research via an annual Bioweapons Report and a searchable online database, the Bioweapons Monitor. These, together with other ad hoc reports produced by the BWPP secretariat or its members, are available on the BWPP web site. Arms control and disarmament agreements are intimately connected with the defence and security of states. The tendency of many states has usually been to seek to limit the degree of intrusiveness of all forms of external monitoring or verification whether conducted by other states or IGOs, and most particularly when carried out by NGOs. However, as can be seen from the case

studies in this chapter, comprehensive non-governmental monitoring and even de facto verification is possible in certain circumstances. At the heart of such initiatives has been the development of trust between the States Parties and the NGO community, which itself has followed from government recognition and confidence in the independence and expertise of the relevant NGOs. There are certain steps that can be taken now to increase the effectiveness of unofficial NGO monitoring of arms control and disarmament treaties and to explore the greater use of such NGO-derived information by the relevant treaty regimes.

A previous VERTIC study analysing non-governmental monitoring of international agreements across the environment and arms control arenas, noted that such NGO monitoring has been most effective when:

- NGOs coordinate their monitoring activities internationally;
- NGOs have good access to official declarations and other relevant information;
- there is a clear legal basis for interaction between official verification mechanisms and non-governmental actors or the official verification mechanisms provide a role for NGOs; and
- international organizations and States Parties are open to NGO contributions.

Building upon this study and the findings of VERTIC's current review, we believe that the following initiatives may prove

fruitful avenues for enhancing the quality and scope of NGO monitoring of arms control and disarmament agreements.

Securing A Stable Financial Base For Ngo Monitoring And Verification

One relatively simple measure that would do much to strengthen existing NGO monitoring and allow further development of such activities would be the establishment of a stable budgetary foundation for the relevant non-governmental organizations. Financial stability would allow NGOs to recruit, train and retain skilled professionals with relevant monitoring and verification knowledge and experience. Adequate and secure funding would potentially allow NGOs to support all the steps in the monitoring and verification process from information gathering, through fact checking and analysis of the raw research data, to undertaking a compliance determination-thereby ensuring stability and development of these procedures and the building up of long-term contacts with relevant government officials and civil society actors. States that have expressed support or appreciation for a certain NGO-driven monitoring mechanism should consider establishing monetary mechanisms to support this work.

Direct financial contributions by states can be viewed as potentially compromising to NGO impartiality, so stringent mechanisms need to be introduced to preserve NGO independence and objectivity. One possible solution could be the establishment of a multilateral fund that would channel

funds from states, or other donors to specific NGO monitoring and verification processes for a certain treaty. The workings of such a fund would need to be fully transparent, ideally being made public in an annual report as well as being reported regularly to all the States Parties to the treaty.

Facilitating Ngo Access To Relevant State Monitoring Expertise, Training And Resources

International NGO monitoring activities such as Landmine Monitor and the Red Book rely, to varying degrees, on informal networks of local researchers to conduct primary research and fact collection. Arguably, this can lead to a certain degree of unevenness in the quality and quantity of the collected information and also potentially lead to possible bias and inconsistency in the consequent analysis and final report. Greater NGO access to governmental or inter-governmental verification professionals-possibly seconded to the NGO-or through NGO attendance at national or international verification training centres may well improve the professionalism of the organization or network considerably. In certain circumstances it may be possible for national governments, regional organizations or international organizations to provide the NGO with access to verification and monitoring information, technology or other resources to facilitate research, for example limited use of satellite information. If such support is offered and accepted, mechanisms would need to be established to preserve the

impartiality of the NGO and to verify the research data that arises from such governmental sources.

Mechanisms To Ensure Objectivity And Reliability Of Ngo Monitoring

NGOs must establish stringent operational control mechanisms to safeguard NGO objectivity and the impartiality of their monitoring processes. In terms of the primary research and information collection and collation, NGOs need to ensure standardization of procedures, reinforced by training of paid and unpaid researchers. Processes to ensure the veracity of information obtained should be instituted, ranging from basic fact checking, use of multiple sources, internal review processes and external peer review processes. Where practicable, NGOs should be transparent as to their research and editorial methodology, for example publishing their guidelines for field researchers, as in the case of Landmine Monitor. Those NGOs engaged in advocacy and campaigning, as well as research, need to ensure that their monitoring and verification work is completely separated from their campaign activities.

This separation safeguards against the organization's advocacy agenda influencing or appearing to influence the conduct or results of its monitoring work. Such a separation may also encourage greater state cooperation in the organization's monitoring activities. To combat allegations of partiality and inconsistency in monitoring of treaty implementation, NGOs

should give consideration to undertaking comprehensive reviews of the activities of all state parties, not just the so-called "problem states". Comprehensive coverage may also lead to the uncovering of activities of concern previously unknown because research had not been concentrated on other states. The aim of universal geographical coverage may well not be feasible for a single NGO and may require the development of, or support from, a network of researchers and NGOs across the world. Landmine Monitor and the Red Book are two successful examples of this.

If such a research network or coalition is established, the standardization of research methodologies and establishment of stringent review processes becomes even more important. Ideally, an NGO treaty monitoring system should review the entirety of States Parties obligations under that treaty rather than be restricted to a narrow range of treaty articles.

Such a process would also allow the information to be more readily utilized by relevant international treaty organizations and fed into the treaty review structure. However, as recently reported by the Canadian Centre for Treaty Compliance, explicit, systematic comparison with treaty requirements in an article-by-article fashion is rare. If such universal coverage is not possible given limited resources or NGO mandate priorities, then it is important that the NGO be clear about which specific articles it does monitor and be consistent in monitoring these obligations over time.

Developing Greater Interaction Between Ngos And Relevant Igos

While it is important that NGOs and international organizations maintain their autonomy and focus on their relative strengths, overall monitoring and verification of treaties may well be strengthened if there is a greater interaction between the two communities.

This could be facilitated by international organizations becoming more transparent to civil society, for instance by allowing NGOs greater access to data and information that international organizations have collected or have been provided with by states. The international organizations could also be more receptive to, and develop better channels for, NGOs to supply them with information.

For such interaction to be successful will require that NGOs maintain the highest standards of professionalism and integrity when researching, analysing and using information, respecting confidentiality and working with regard to the mandates of the relevant IGOs.

Depending on the mandate of the international organization, it may be possible to establish clearer rules for interaction between NGOs and the IGO. In some situations it may be possible to formalize these arrangements in agreements detailing the rights and obligations of both sides.

Facilitating Greater Ngo Access To State Territory And Activities

While some progress has been made to improve contact and build relationships among governments and NGOs, there still are a number of societies-particularly in the developing world-that remain suspicious of NGOs and oppose their involvement in treaty monitoring. In particular, they oppose NGO monitoring activities on their territories. It is therefore important for those NGOs carrying out such monitoring activities to develop a common understanding with the state whose territory or activities they intend to monitor.

Misunderstandings between the NGO and the state on the nature and scope of the monitoring and the use to which the information will be put can lead to a breakdown in relations. In the worstcase scenario, misunderstandings can lead to open disagreement between the NGO and the state, resulting in the state restricting or interfering with NGO activities, even detaining NGO members and ejecting and banning the NGO from its territory. Such situations can be avoided, or at least ameliorated, through greater transparency and clarity of intentions and processes from both sides. One possible mechanism to aid such clarity is by the exchange of "memoranda of understanding" between the NGO and the state. Such documents create an informal or formal foundation on which the subsequent activities of the NGO can rest. The

memoranda can also establish legally binding rights and obligations for the NGO and the state respectively.

Enhancing And Formalizing Ngo Involvement In Official Monitoring And Verification Processes

In the longer term for certain treaties, particularly those lacking adequate monitoring or verification systems, the international community should give consideration to developing a role for specific NGO monitoring activities, allowing them to feed into the existing formal treaty review processes.

The extent of such NGO involvement would be dependent on a range of factors, including:

- The defence and security implications of the weapons system under consideration;
- The specific nature of the control regime, for instance whether the particular weapons system is prohibited, such as with antipersonnel landmines;
- The extent and effectiveness of existing IGO monitoring and or verification regimes;
- The relationship and degree of trust between States Parties and the NGO community; and
- The level of NGO expertise on how to verify states' compliance with the norm in question.

Such a formalization of the relationships between NGOs and States Parties and IGOs would have potential benefits for all the actors and could do much to strengthen existing

monitoring and verification processes. For IGOs, the greater formalization of relations with NGOs could well strengthen and lead to the further development of existing fruitful partnerships. Given the mandate constraints that a number of IGOs face, such formalization may allow IGOs greater freedom to allot resources and personnel to joint monitoring operations with the NGO. Such formalization may also allow the IGO to use the information provided by the NGO as the basis for further verification activities, increasing the likelihood that the IGO would detect breaches of compliance. For NGOs, their involvement in the formal process would give their organizations and their research findings increased legitimacy and credibility among States Parties-potentially leading to NGO-highlighted breaches of compliance being more readily acted upon by states.

Furthermore, NGO involvement in a formalized treaty monitoring process may lead to NGOs being accorded greater cooperation by all States Parties, for instance with regard to access to relevant sites, facilities and individuals. In time, this could in turn lead to a more official granting of rights and powers to the NGO. For states, as well as benefiting from potentially more efficient and effective treaty monitoring and verification processes, a formalization of NGO involvement in treaty monitoring would mean that such NGO activities would be clearly defined and their limits established. The activities of such NGOs would become more predictable for the state, and concerns about national security should be consequently reduced. The development of such formalized mechanisms

would likely be a stepwise process, as trust is built between the various actors and the benefits for all are recognized. However, in the present political climate, it is admittedly difficult to envision a world where states would agree to surrender to non-governmental organizations, even to a limited degree, any of the sovereignty that they extend to intergovernmental organizations. Indeed today there are even difficulties in preserving the existing international verification organizations and ensuring that they are properly resourced, allowed to operate without restrictions and that their findings and recommendations are respected and acted upon by the international community.

Final Thoughts

Traditionally, when multilateral policy makers in arms control and disarmament have focused on verification of international agreements, they have framed these undertakings in terms of formalized international regimes and institutions. Verification efforts by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and the work of UN Security Council mandated verification commissions in Iraq are diverse examples of these kinds of approaches. Meanwhile, civil society involvement in comprehensive monitoring of international arms control and disarmament regimes is a relatively recent phenomenon and with a range of ramifications that have still to be fully considered by multilateral policy makers.

Such NGO activity is not specific to arms control and disarmament, but appears to be reflective of broader trends in civil society efforts to influence international behaviour including in human rights, international humanitarian law and the environment.

Some of these NGO initiatives have been innovative, flexible and effective, strengthening the relevant control regimes to the benefit of all. Other examples have not been so successful, possibly due to a lack of NGO resources or relevant expertise, or because cooperation was not forthcoming from the governmental community.

In this chapter, we do not argue that NGO monitoring activities are a solution that can always substitute well for official monitoring and verification. However, we do believe that NGO engagement with, contribution to and involvement in official processes should be given greater consideration by policy makers.

For, in the appropriate circumstances, such NGO activities can add value to existing monitoring or verification regimes, as in the case of the Kimberley Process, or help to fill a monitoring gap, as in the case of ICBL's Landmine Monitor. This chapter aims to encourage multilateral policy makers' to think about new ways in which they can encourage, facilitate and benefit from appropriate NGO involvement in the monitoring and verification of arms control and disarmament agreements. It may be by sharing experience on effective methodology, or by

discussing functional arms control areas where NGO monitoring could be practical and politically acceptable. Policy makers could also think about ways to work in partnership with NGOs, as appropriate. Indeed, NGOs may have roles to play that are more flexible, innovative, cheaper and perhaps even more effective than governments can achieve themselves.

Emergence of the Third World

Features of the Third World State

The term Third World arose throughout the Cold War to describe countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO (with the United States, Western European nations and their allies on behalf of the First World), or the Communist Bloc (with the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and their allies on behalf of the Second World). This definition provided a method of broadly categorizing the nations of the earth into three groups based on social, political, and economic divisions. Due to several of the Third World countries being very poor, it became a stereotype such that people commonly refer to undeveloped countries as "third world countries," often used in a pejorative method. In excess of the last few decades, the term 'Third World' has been used interchangeably with the Global South and Developing Countries to define poorer countries that have struggled to attain steady economic growth.

Third World countries comprises mainly of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Some European countries were section of

the non-aligned movement and a few were and are extremely wealthy, including Switzerland and Austria. In the therefore-described dependency theory of thinkers like Raul Prebisch, Theotonio dos Santos, and Andre Gunder Frank, the Third World has also been linked to the world economic division as "margin" countries in the world organization that is dominated through the "core" countries. Due to the intricate history of evolving meanings and contexts, there is no clear or agreed upon definition of the Third World and the term is now less popular than it was throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Third World vs. Three Worlds

The "Three Worlds Theory" urbanized through Mao Zedong is dissimilar from the Western theory of the Three Worlds or Third World. For instance, in the Western theory, China and India belong respectively to the second and third worlds, but in Mao's theory both China and India are sections of the Third Non-Aligned World.

Third Worldism

Third Worldism has been defined as "the thought, popular in the middle of Third World autocrats and several American and French leftists in the late 60s and 70s that-contrary to orthodox Marxism's view that the Western working class would deliver the world from the tyranny of capital... Third World elites were the privileged historical actor."

History

A number of Third World countries are former colonies. With the end of imperialism, several of these countries, especially smaller ones, were faced with the challenges of nation and institution-structure on their own for the first time. Due to this general backdrop, several of these nations were "developing" in economic conditions for mainly of the 20th century, and several still are. This term, used today, usually denotes countries that have not... urbanized to the similar stages as OECD countries, and are therefore in the procedure of developing. In the 1980s, economist Peter Bauer offered a competing definition for the term Third World. He claimed that the attachment of Third World status to a scrupulous country was not based on any stable economic or political criteria, and was a mostly arbitrary procedure. The big variety of countries that were measured to be section of the Third World, from Indonesia to Afghanistan, ranged widely from economically primitive to economically advanced and from politically non-aligned to Soviet- or Western-leaning.

An argument could also be made for how sections of the U.S. are more like the Third World. The only feature that Bauer establish general in all Third World countries was that their governments "demand and receive Western aid," the giving of which he strongly opposed. Therefore, the aggregate term Third World was challenged as misleading even throughout the Cold War era because it had no constant or communal identity in the middle of the countries it supposedly encompassed.

Recently the term Majority World has started to be used since, mainly people of the world live in poorer and less urbanized countries.

Foreign Aid and Growth

Throughout the Cold War, unaligned countries of the Third World were seen as potential allies through both the First and Second World. So, the United States and the Soviet Union went to great lengths to set up connections in these countries through offering economic and military support in order to gain strategically situated alliances (e.g. United States in Vietnam or Soviet Union in Cuba). Through the end of the Cold War, several Third World countries had adopted capitalist or communist economic models and sustained to receive support from the face they had chosen. During the Cold War and beyond, the countries of the Third World have been the priority recipients of Western foreign aid and the focus of economic growth by mainstream theories such as Modernization Theory and Dependency Theory.

Through the end of the 1960s, the thought of the Third World came to symbolize countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that were measured underdeveloped through the West based on a diversity of aspects (low economic growth, low life expectancy, high rates of poverty and disease, etc.). These countries became the targets for aid and support from governments, NGOs, and individuals from wealthier nations. One popular model, recognized as Rostow's levels of

development, argued that growth took place in 5 levels (Traditional Community; Pre-circumstances for Take-off; Take-off; Drive to Maturity; Age of High Mass Consumption). W. W. Rostow argued that Take-off was the critical level that the Third World was missing or struggling with. Therefore, foreign aid was needed to help kick start industrialization and economic development in these countries.

Though, despite decades of getting aid and experiencing dissimilar growth models (which have had extremely little success), several Third World countries' economies are still dependent on urbanized countries and are deep in debt. There is now a rising debate in relation to the why Third World countries remain impoverished and underdeveloped after all this time.

Several argue that current ways of aid are not working and are calling for reducing foreign aid (and so dependency) and utilizing dissimilar economic theories than the traditional mainstream theories from the West. Historically, growth and aid have not accomplished the goals they were meant to and currently the global gap flanked by the rich and poor is greater than ever.

In excess of the last few decades, global population development has mainly been focused in Third World countries (which often have higher birth rates than urbanized countries). As populations expand in poorer countries, rural people are flocking to municipalities in a long urban migration that is

resulting in the making of huge shanty cities and slums a lot of times there is a clear distinction flanked by First and Third Worlds. When talking in relation to the Global North and the Global South, the majority of the time the two goes hand in hand. People refer to the two as 'Third World/South' and 'First World/ North'; because in theory the Global North is supposedly more affluent and urbanized, whereas the Global South is less urbanized and oftentimes more poor.

Colonialism and Patterns of National Liberation Movements

Reasons of Decolonization

The following are all the largest causes of why decolonization occurred:

- The Atlantic Charter
 - The Atlantic Charter was a document produced in 1941 that entailed the goals of the Allied powers if they should win World War Two
- One of the provisions of that charter was that all people had the right to self determination. In other languages, all peoples/nations had the right to govern themselves
- Aftermath of World War Two
 - Britain and France had presently been in a war for the past 6 years

- One of them was taken in excess of
- The other was being threatened to be taken in excess of since, 1940 (Britain)
- Both were in debt and both military's were exhausted
- Not the right time to be fighting wars with your colonies
- Colonies Disgruntled after World War Two
 - Several of these colonies gave possessions and man power to their colonial possessions throughout World War Two because they idea they would achieve their independence if they helped because that was what they were promised in the Atlantic Charter and through their Colonial rulers
- Colonial Nationalism
 - These colonies wanted their independence and were willing to do what it took until they received it
- Emergence of Two New Super Powers
 - After World War Two, the United States and the Soviet Union appeared as the two superpowers of the world
- Both had one item in general, they were both against colonial rule
- Put pressure on colonial powers to end their colonial rule

Decolonization Procedure

Decolonization is the undoing of colonialism, the unequal relation of polities whereby one people or nation establishes and maintains dependent Territory (courial governments) in

excess of another. It can be understood politically (attaining independence, autonomous house rule, union with the metropole or another state) or culturally (removal of pernicious colonial effects.) The term refers particularly to the dismantlement, in the years after World War II, of the Neo-Imperial empires recognized prior to World War I during Africa and Asia.

The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization has stated that in the procedure of decolonization there is no alternative to the colonizer's allowance of self-determination, but in practice decolonization may involve either non-violent revolution or national liberation wars through the native population. It may be intramural or involve the intervention of foreign powers acting individually or by international bodies such as the United Nations. Although examples of decolonization can be establish as early as the writings of Thucydides, there have been many particularly active periods of decolonization in contemporary times. These are the breakup of the Spanish Empire in the 19th century; of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires following World War I; of the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Belgian, and Italian colonial empires following World War II; of the Russian Empire successor union following the Cold War; and others.