

**ADDITIONAL TEXTBOOK
FOR CLASS XII**

POLITICAL SCIENCE



**Government of Kerala
Department of General Education**



State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT) Kerala

2023

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Jana-gana-mana adhinayaka, jaya he
Bharatha-bhagya-vidhata
Punjab-Sindh-Gujarat-Maratha
Dravida-Utkala-Banga
Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga
Uchchala-Jaladhi-taranga
Tava subha name jage,
Tava subha asisa mage,
Gahe tava jaya gatha.
Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he
Bharatha-bhagya-vidhata
Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he,
Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he

PLEDGE

India is my country. All Indians are my brothers and sisters.

I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage.
I shall always strive to be worthy of it.

I shall give respect to my parents, teachers, and all elders, and treat everyone with courtesy.

To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

prepared by

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Dear learners,

As learners of Social Sciences, internalising the principles of democracy, secularism and humanism is of cardinal importance in making learning organic and meaningful. Developing and strengthening democratic values help one adhere to higher ideals such as social responsibility and commitment. The publishing of Additional Textbooks was necessitated by the omission of some pertinent areas from the content in History, Economics, Sociology and Political Science textbooks, prescribed for Class XI and XII. The purpose of this additional textbook is primarily to bridge the gap created by the deletion of certain topics and also to make you get familiarised with the values and ideals embedded in what has been removed. The sections incorporated herein have been meticulously chosen in strict accordance with the directives of the Kerala State School Curriculum Steering Committee. I hope this venture will be highly beneficial for you, enabling you to make learning meaningful and fruitful.

Dr Jayaprakash R K
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- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 1.1 'Partition and the Martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi' should be read as a part of Chapter 1 - 'Challenges of Nation Building'-Topic-Partition, Displacement and Rehabilitation-Mahatma Gandhi's sacrifice in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 2.1 'Major Outcomes of Five Year Plans', 2.2 'Limitations of Five Year Plans' and 2.3 'The Green Revolution' should be read as a continuation of Chapter 3 - 'Politics of Planned Development' - Topic-Early Initiatives in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 3.1 'Arguments in favour of the Declaration of Emergency', 3.2 'Arguments against the Declaration of Emergency' and 3.3 'What happened during Emergency?' should be read as a continuation of Chapter 6 - 'The Crisis of Democratic Order' - Topic-Declaration of Emergency, before the Lessons of Emergency in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 4 - Popular Movements in India should be read as a separate chapter before Chapter - 7 'Regional Aspirations' in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Content 5 'Gujarat Riots' should be read as the continuation of Chapter 8 - 'Recent Developments in Indian Politics' - Topic - Communalism, Secularism, Democracy in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 6 'Era of Cold War' should be read as a separate chapter in 'Contemporary World Politics' before Chapter - 1 'The End of Bipolarity' in NCERT textbook.
- ▶ Additional Textbook Contents 7 'The US Hegemony' should be read as a separate chapter in 'Contemporary World Politics' after Chapter - 1 'The End of Bipolarity' in NCERT textbook.

1. MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE QUESTION OF PARTITION

1.1 *Partition and the Martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi*

The success of India's anti-colonial struggle, the increasing demand for decolonisation at the global level and the decline of Britain as a military and economic power led to the emergence of India as an independent nation in 1947. However, at the dawn of independence, India was threatened by the prospects of a potential disintegration of the country along religious lines. The insistence on the formation of Pakistan as well as the demand to declare India as a Hindu nation challenged the possibility for shaping a united India. Despite his best efforts, Gandhiji was unable to prevent the partition. However, Gandhiji refused to adopt a hostile attitude towards Pakistan and continued to persuade Indian government to adopt a more cordial approach towards Pakistan, a position which offended different extremist groups. They tried to persuade Gandhiji from holding a soft position towards the interests of Pakistan. But, Gandhiji continued to hold his position, eventually leading to his assassination on 30th January, 1948. Gandhiji's martyrdom was a watershed moment as it turned the country upside

down. The communal fire that was spreading across the nation suddenly came to an end. Hindu-Muslim communities started to work towards reducing tensions across the country. The government also started intervening by clamping down on organisations such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

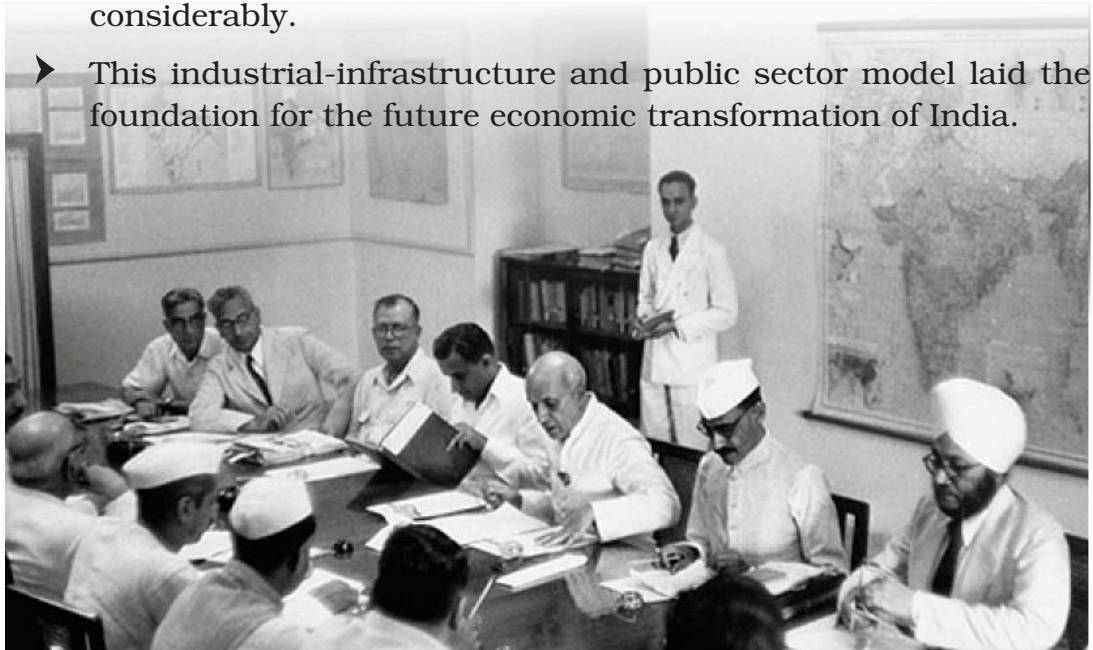


Gandhi visiting Noakhali

2. EVALUATING THE FIVE YEAR PLANS

2.1 Major Outcomes of Five Year Plans

- The Five Year Plans envisaged key developmental projects such as the construction of the Hirakud and Bhakranangal Dams with the intention to increase irrigation and generate electricity to transform the field of agriculture.
- Land Reforms were implemented with the purpose to address the problem of economic disparity. Similarly, Colonial Zamindari system was abolished to prevent the concentration of wealth on certain classes of people. These policies diminished the influence of landlords on state politics in India.
- Consolidation of agricultural land was initiated so as to increase agricultural production.
- Heavy and strategic industries were established in the public sector which included steel plants, oil refineries, defence production and the manufacturing sector.
- Transport and Communication infrastructure was advanced considerably.
- This industrial-infrastructure and public sector model laid the foundation for the future economic transformation of India.



Jawaharlal Nehru chairing a meeting of the Planning Commission

2.2 Limitations of Five Year Plans

- ▶ Defects within the implementation of land reforms prevented its benefits from reaching the farmers. For example, the upper limit imposed on agricultural land to be held by an individual was easily bypassed by land owners through transferring the land to their relatives.
- ▶ Protection guaranteed to the tenants from eviction was not effectively implemented.
- ▶ Land reforms were intended to abolish 'Landlordism' by decreasing the concentration of land, redistribution of the land to the landless poor and economical empowerment of the rural population. However, the faulty implementation of ceiling laws as well as the lack of political will at the state level, facilitated landlords to hold influence within state politics.
- ▶ Despite various agricultural reforms, the production of food grains failed to match the demographic demands of India. Besides, the Indo-China War in 1962 and Indo-Pak War in 1965, droughts, monsoon failure etc. led to a major food crisis, which forced India to import wheat from the USA.

Kerala's Development Experience

Kerala presented a unique developmental experience. Unlike other states and the overall national experience, Kerala achieved some milestones even while working within the boundaries set by the centralised Five Year Plans. The state achieved a longer life expectancy, high literacy rate, low infant mortality and female mortality, established an effective Public Distribution System, land reforms, access to healthcare and welfare pensions, despite weak industrial development and low per capita income. This was possible owing to the embracement of a participatory model of public action as well as decentralised planning. The Kerala Model of Development was actualised by the successful implementation of land reforms, active involvement of civil society organisations, particularly women, as well as popular campaigns such as the Total Literacy Programme, People's Plan Campaign which ensured mass involvement at the level of planning and implementation of various policies.

2.3 The Green Revolution

The Green Revolution was initiated to overcome the severe food crisis of 1960s. The focus shifted from expanding agriculture in non-agriculture areas to intensive farming based on High Yielding Variety seeds (HYV seeds), irrigation facilities, introduction of machines such as tractor, manures, pesticides, as well as fertilisers which were provided by the government at subsidised rates. Besides, the government gave guarantees to buy the agricultural produce at a floor price. Green revolution succeeded in bringing moderate increase in agricultural yield, especially in wheat production. In this process, the state's focus shifted from small scale farmers to large scale farmers which diminished the future prospects of land reforms. The success of Green Revolution was limited to states such as Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh. The Green

Revolution strengthened the prevailing class of rural landlords in these states, who increasingly wielded more influence on state politics. The

The White Revolution

The White Revolution was conceived by Dr Varghese Kurien, also known as the Milkman of India. The revolution began in Anand, Gujarat with the establishment of Anand Milk Union Limited or AMUL. It was a co-operative movement composed of more than half a million milk producers in Gujarat. The objective of the revolution was rural development and poverty alleviation via women empowerment. Following the success of AMUL, Operation Flood was inaugurated in 1970. The programme intended to abolish middlemen and assured a stable income to milk producers and thereby uplift rural areas.



M S Swaminathan and Norman Borlaug

emergence of a new class of rich peasants subsequently led to rural tensions between landlords, middle peasants as well as landless peasants leading to the rise of Leftist politics in many states.

3. DEBATING EMERGENCY

The aftershocks of the Emergency raised concerns and initiated debates not only regarding the relevance of Emergency but also the working of Indian democracy. These debates could be summarised as follows

3.1 Arguments in favour of the Declaration of Emergency

The ruling government under Indira Gandhi sought to use Democracy itself as a justification for the Declaration of Emergency. The government tended to paint the anti-corruption protest as a ploy to destabilise the Union government and hence Emergency was seen as a necessity to save the nation from plunging into chaos. Prior to its declaration, several issues were cited for its justification. This includes a looming economic crisis, students' protests, nationwide agitation and strikes, etc. Additionally, the supporters of government argued that there was an international conspiracy against the unity of India. All these protests alongside the Opposition's activities were dubbed as being obstructive in nature, creating internal disturbance, destabilising the elected government and derailing development. Thus, the Declaration of Emergency was cited as a credible option to overcome this tide of crisis.

3.2 Arguments against the Declaration of Emergency

Critics argued that India had a very long tradition of protests and agitations and people have the right to protest against anti-people policies within a democratic system. Further, the student movements in Gujarat and Bihar were

Custodial death of Rajan

At the crack of dawn on the 1st March 1976, Rajan, a final year student of Regional Engineering College, Kozhikode was arrested along with another student Joseph Chali. Prof. T V Eachara Warriar, father of Rajan, tried to trace Rajan's whereabouts after the arrest. But owing to the restrictions imposed by the Emergency, he was unable to find out details. After the lifting of Emergency, Eachara Warriar filed a **Habeas Corpus** before the Kerala High Court that led to the uncovering of facts behind the arrest and subsequent custodial death of Rajan. While Eachara Warriar's struggle revealed the arbitrary nature of Rajan's arrest as well as brutal use of force by the State agencies against its own citizenry, it also pointed at the dictatorial potential within India's democratic structure.



mostly peaceful and non-violent. None of the arrested people were involved in any kind of vandalism or anti-national activities as argued by the government. The Home Ministry did not express any concern over the agitation in terms of being anti-national. Hence, there was no legal or moral ground for the Declaration of Emergency. Instead, the declaration needs to be seen as an attempt by the government to contain the growing anti-corruption movement and the subsequent anti-government attitude. In fact, the threat was not to the country but to the Prime Minister and hence, the declaration of Emergency was unethical as it was only a strategy to save the government.

3.3 What happened during the Emergency?

The declaration of Emergency was justified by the government as a necessary step towards restoring law and order. Additionally, the Indira government publicised it as an action to restore efficiency of government and implement pro-poor welfare programmes such as the twenty-point programme which included various measures such as land reforms, land redistribution, review of agricultural wages, workers' participation in management, eradication of bonded labour, etc.

Detractors of Emergency contested the justifications put forward by the Indira government. They pointed out that most of these promises made by the government remained unfulfilled. They also questioned the use of preventive detention on a large scale. In all, 676 opposition leaders were arrested. These criticisms were further cemented by the findings of the Shah Commission. The Shah Commission estimated that nearly one lakh eleven thousand people were arrested under preventive detention laws. Severe restrictions were put on the Press. There were more serious allegations regarding the exercise of governmental power by people who held no official position. For instance, Sanjay Gandhi, the Prime Minister's younger son, did not hold any official position at that time, but his role in the demolitions of slums and forced sterilisation in Delhi became controversial.

Demolitions in Turkman Gate Area, New Delhi

The Delhi Turkman Gate area demolition refers to the infamous, forced demolition of shanties and slums located in the Turkman Area of Delhi which were relocated to the barren areas across the Yamuna. The authorities forcibly tried to displace the residents of the area. The forced displacement also included forced sterilisation. Following the opposition from the locals, the police resorted to violence to suppress agitations.

The Shah Commission

In 1977, the Janata Government appointed a commission headed by Justice J C Shah to inquire into the excesses and atrocities committed during the Emergency period. The findings of the commission include excessive use of Preventive Detention, arrest of political leaders of the opposition, unlawful restrictions put on the Press and disruption of power to prevent the publication of newspaper.

4. RISE OF POPULAR MOVEMENTS

4.1 Popular Movements in India

The Popular movements in India emerged during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. These movements were a cross section of the global uprisings around the world during this period and were part of the New Social Movement wave. In the Indian context, the movements which emerged could be broadly divided into party-based movements and non-party movements. Party-based movements included movements which were influenced by a definite political ideology or auspices of a political party. For example, the Naxalite movement of late 1960s was influenced by the political ideology of Maoism, whereas a non-party movement such as the Narmada Bachao Andolan was a people's initiative rather than one supported by a political party. Despite these differences, both the party based and the non-party movements have addressed political, social, cultural and economic issues. Popular movements in India have intervened in issues related to different spheres such as environment, agriculture, dalits and women.

Naxalbari Movement

The Naxalbari Movement in India was a revolutionary movement which emerged during the late 1960s in the village of Naxalbari, located in the state of West Bengal. It was a significant event in the history of Indian Communism and had a profound impact on India's political landscape. A faction which broke away from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) led by a group of radical leaders such as Charu Majumdar advocated a more militant approach. Inspired by Maoism, they believed in the idea of overthrowing the Indian state through armed rebellion.

The primary focus of the movement was to resolve the agrarian distress among the rural poor and tribals. The movement led to several armed struggles and violent clashes between the Naxals and the police in and around the Naxalbari region. The initial success of the movement inspired similar upheavals in other parts of India such as Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, etc. Overall, Naxalbari movement left its mark on Indian politics. It influenced the nature of class-based political outfits, encouraged land reforms and threw limelight on the theme of social justice. However, it failed to address the question of agrarian distress and economic inequality comprehensively.

4.2 Chipko Movement

The Chipko Andolan was the pioneering environment movement in India. It emerged in 1973 in the present state of Uttarakhand. The movement tried to address multiple issues. The villagers were dependent on the forest for their livelihood. The forest department deprived this by denying permission to cut down the ash trees. At the same time, the government gave the same to a sports manufacturer leading to indiscriminate cutting down of trees. Opposing the government's move, the movement demanded that no forest exploiting contracts shall be sanctioned to outsiders. The movement also demanded that the government should provide material for small industries and maintain a balance between ecology and development. The movement further highlighted economic issues of landless forest workers demanding minimum wage and also that the locals should have control over natural resources. Thus, the movement showcased the disastrous consequences of tree felling such as ecological degradation, soil erosion, landslides and more importantly the livelihood of forest dwelling communities. Chipko movement employed the Gandhian mode of peaceful protests and tree hugging tactics to raise awareness regarding the issue. The movement was led by activists such as Chandi Prasad Bhat and Sunder Lal Bahuguna.



Chipko activists hugging trees

4.3 Narmada Bachao Andolan

The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) was an environmental protection movement that emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The movement began as a protest against the Sardar Sarovar Project in Gujarat and Narmada Sagar Project in Madhya Pradesh across River Narmada and its tributaries. The proposed project included the construction of 30 big dams, 135 medium-sized dams and around 3000 small dams that spread across three states namely Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The project aimed to provide electricity, irrigation for agricultural purpose and solve water scarcity.

Medha Patkar, the leader of NBA argued that the project would adversely affect the farmers as well as the tribal population as it would drown 245 villages and displace around 2.5 lakh villagers. It would also have a serious impact on the ecological balance as the construction of numerous dams would drown vast areas of forestland. The movement attracted worldwide attention through its mode of struggles. The movement was successful in ensuring rehabilitation and fair compensation for the displaced. However, despite the concerns raised by NBA and global environmentalists, the project was completed. Overall, the Narmada Bachao Andolan succeeded in highlighting the ecological cost incurred by large development projects such as the Sardar Sarovar and the relevance of the need for a more inclusive and sustainable models of development.



Jalagamadhi protest by the activists of NBA

4.4 Bharatiya Kisan Union

The Bharatiya Kisan Union was one of the prominent Farmers' movements in India. Established in 1987 by Mahendra Singh Tikait, the movement aimed to address the issues and concerns of farmers. This includes the demand for a fair price for agricultural products, loan waivers, irrigation facilities, loan subsidy, reduction in the cost of farming equipment and other inputs, reforming of trade and marketing policies so as to protect farmers' interests, pension for farmers, higher floor price for sugarcane and wheat, abolition of restriction on the inter-state movement of farm produce and electricity at subsidised rates. Over the years, BKU has organised several rallies, sit-ins, demonstrations and



Tikait leading BKU protest

jail bharo (courting imprisonment) agitations bringing the challenges faced by farmers and agricultural workers before the policy makers and the general public. For example, in 1988 the BKU mobilised nearly 20,000 farmers in the city of Meerut to protest against the increase in electricity rates. They camped for three weeks around the District Collectorate and succeeded in securing their demands. BKU gained significant attention during the Farmers' Protest in 2020-21. The protest was primarily against the Indian Agricultural Acts, 2020 which were intended to comprehensively overhaul the agricultural sector. The movement drew massive support from various sections of the society and attracted global attention. The BKU played a crucial role in the movement by mobilising farmers, organising protests and gathering public opinion against the Act across India.

4.5 Anti - Arrack Movement

The anti-arrack movement in India was a significant movement that emerged in late 20th century leading to the empowerment of women in

rural areas. One of the prominent movements among them took place at Dubagunta in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh. The movement originated from the discussions that emerged during the Adult Literacy Drive. The protest was against the sale and consumption of arrack, a locally brewed alcoholic beverage. The movement provided an avenue for women to collectively raise their concern and assert their rights. The movement also sought to address the adverse effects of alcoholism on families, especially issues such as dowry, domestic violence, focusing on the physical, psychological and economic well-being of women and children. The movement has provided a platform for women to engage with the political system and demanded policy changes and legal reforms to regulate or ban arrack.

The Right to Information

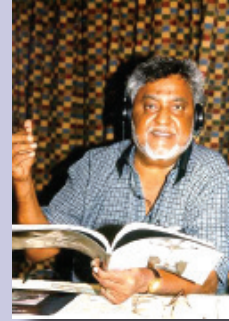
The Government of India passed the Right to Information Act (RTI Act) in 2005. The RTI was the outcome of a prolonged struggle spearheaded by a mass based movement named the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), Rajasthan. The movement began in Bhim Tehsil of Rajasthan as a demand for records of famine relief work and accounts of labourers. The villagers demanded access to all documents related to the wage paid as part of different construction works, exercising their right to information. The movement was fruitful as they could force an amendment in the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act, permitting the public to access certified copies of Panchayat documents. The Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan formed the National Council for People's Right to Information in Delhi, in 1996, demanding a Right to Information Act at the national level.

4.6 Dalit Panthers

The Dalit Panthers was a militant socio-political movement which emerged from the state of Maharashtra in 1972 to protest against caste based inequalities. Led by Namadeo Dhasal and other first generation dalit graduates, the Dalit Panthers strongly protested against caste based inequalities by mobilising Dalits and other marginalised. The movement provided a common platform for Dalit writers, educated Dalit youth and other sympathisers to articulate the experiences of caste oppressions through mediums of autobiographies, novels, stories, poems etc. Dalit Panthers drew from the anti-caste writings of Dr B R Ambedkar. They were also inspired by the Black Panther Party of the USA, and adopted their

Namdeo Dhasal

Turning their backs to the sun, they journeyed through centuries.
 Now, now we must refuse to be pilgrims of darkness.
 That one, our father, carrying carrying the darkness is now bent;
 Now, now we must lift the burden from his back.
 Our blood was spilled for this glorious city
 And what we got was the right to eat stones
 Now, now we must explode the building that kisses the sky!
 After a thousand years we were blessed with sunflower giving
 fakir; Now, now, we must like sunflowers turn our faces to the sun.



English translation by Jayant Karve and Eleanor Zelliott of Namdeo Dhasal's Marathi poem in 'Golpitha'.

ideology of self-defence, self-determination and pride in identity. The Dalit Panthers demanded the abolition of caste oppression, effective implementation of reservation and policies for ensuring social justice. To achieve their objectives, Dalit Panthers resorted to mass action. As a result of their agitations, the government passed a comprehensive law in 1989 penalising anti-Dalit atrocities.

4.7 Impact of Popular Movements

Popular Movements are part of democratic politics. Popular movements emerged as an attempt to overcome the limitations of Party politics as the electoral politics failed to incorporate and address the socio-political, environmental, livelihood concerns of the common people. Popular movements have provided representation to diverse sections of people and their demands. Furthermore, it saved India's democratic system itself by accommodating the popular discontent. These movements have made people aware of their democratic rights across different fields. Popular movements have led to the formulation of new modes of articulation and strategies of mobilisation, broadening the very foundations of Indian Democracy through participation of masses. However, critics argue that popular movements have certain limitations such as disrupting the functioning of government, delaying the decision making process and destabilising the routines of democracy.

5. GUJARAT RIOTS

Gujarat Riots refer to the large scale violence that took place in Gujarat in February-March 2002, following an incident that happened at Godhra railway station. Suspecting a conspiracy of the Muslims in setting fire to the coach of a train carrying Karsevaks from Ayodhya which killed 57 people, there was a break out of violence against Muslims. This violence lasted for one month, killing nearly 1100 persons, mostly Muslims. The National Human Rights Commission condemned the state government failures in controlling the riots, providing relief to the victims and prosecuting the perpetrators of the violence. The Election Commission of India postponed the Gujarat Assembly elections due to this incident. The incident warns us the dangers involved in using religious sentiments for political purpose, since it stands as a threat to democracy.



GUJARAT IS BURNING

Former MP's family among 70 dead

IT Correspondent
Ahmedabad, February 28

MORE THAN 70 people were killed and several injured as Gujarat reported incidents of stabbing, rioting, arson, looting and police firing on Thursday, a day after four bogies of the Sabarmati Express carrying kar sevaks from Ayodhya were set on fire in Godhra killing 58 people.

The Cabinet Committee on Security put the Army on stand-by in the riot-hit zones.

Over 26 towns statewide have been put under indefinite curfew. Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) activists who had called for statewide bands on Thursday to protest the killing of the kar sevaks, attacked several Muslim-populated areas of the state and set fire to Muslim-owned properties.

Over 50 of those killed were in Ahmedabad. And 19 of them were relatives of former Congress MP Eshan Jaffrey who himself was killed. They died when the building they lived in was set on fire in Meghninagar. In an earlier incident, 17 Muslim slum-dwellers were also burned alive.

The Work Board office in Gandhinagar was burnt down in the riot.



BACKLASH: A truck on fire in Ahmedabad.

ple of mosques being attacked by VHP activists. Six buses and a truck were also set on fire.

Police arrested 700 people — 80 in Godhra, including two councillors — in connection with Wednesday's attack.

Two persons died and at least six were injured when police opened fire to disperse a rampaging mob in Ahmedabad on Thursday afternoon. Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi has ordered a judicial inquiry of the attack. He said the police should be held responsible for the attack on the

CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

6. THE ERA OF COLD WAR

6.1 Emergence of Cold War

In 1945, the Allied Powers (Britain, France, USSR, USA) defeated the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan), ending the Second World War (1939-45). The ending of the World War was marked by the USA dropping two atom bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, causing Japan to surrender. The atomic bombing was also intended to stop the USSR from making any military or political gain in Asia and elsewhere and to show that USA was the supreme power in international politics. The failure of the Axis Powers, the economic and military decline of France and Britain, the heavy destruction that occurred in Europe and other parts of the world, all helped USA and USSR to become the super powers of the world. Thus, the end of Second World War also saw the end of friendship and alliance between the USA and the USSR and the beginning of a new war i.e., the Cold War.

6.2 Bipolar Politics

The USA and its western European allies sought to strengthen their bond and used the policy of containment against the Soviet influence and formed a military alliance named NATO in 1949. The Soviet



Union countered NATO with the Warsaw Pact in 1955. The alliance system led by the two super powers caused the division of the world into two power blocs – the Socialist bloc under the leadership of the USSR and the Capitalist bloc under the USA. The emergence of two power blocs point to the existence of a bipolar political order. The division mainly affected Europe. The western European countries sided with the USA, while the eastern European countries joined the Soviet

camp. The USA also formed alliance systems such as the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

6.3 Non Aligned Movement (NAM)

At the same time, the newly decolonised countries of Asia and Africa decided not to join either power blocs. They formed a third pole called the Non Aligned Movement (NAM). The founding fathers of NAM were India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nazar, Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito, Indonesia's Sukarno and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. The first NAM summit was held at Belgrade in 1961. The main objective behind the formation of NAM was promoting cooperation among newly decolonised countries of Asia and Africa and to act as a mediator between the two power blocs during the Cold War to maintain peace and stability.



NAM Leaders

COLD WAR- TIME LINE

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1947 | American President Harry Truman's Doctrine about the containment of Communism |
| 1947-52 | Marshall Plan: US aid for the reconstruction of the Western Europe |
| 1948-49 | Berlin blockade by the Soviet Union and the airlift of supplies to the citizens of West Berlin by the US and its allies |
| 1950-53 | Korean War; division of Korea along the 38th Parallel |
| 1954 | Defeat of the French by the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu, Signing of the Geneva Accords, Division of Vietnam along the 17th Parallel, Formation of SEATO |
| 1954-75 | American intervention in Vietnam |
| 1955 | Signing of the Baghdad Pact, later CENTO |
| 1956 | Soviet intervention in Hungary |
| 1961 | US-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, Construction of the Berlin Wall |
| 1962 | Cuban Missile Crisis |
| 1965 | American intervention in the Dominican Republic |
| 1968 | Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia |
| 1972 | US President Richard Nixon's visit to China |
| 1978-89 | Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia |
| 1979-89 | Soviet intervention in Afghanistan |
| 1985 | Gorbachev becomes the President of the USSR; begins the reform process |
| 1989 | Fall of the Berlin Wall; mass protests against governments in Eastern Europe |
| 1990 | Unification of Germany |
| 1991 | Disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War era |

Courtesy : NCERT Textbook, 2013

Arms Control Treaties

LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY (LTBT)

Banned nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Signed by the US, UK and USSR in Moscow on 5 August, 1963, entered into force on 10 October, 1963.

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

Allows only nuclear weapon states to keep nuclear weapons and stops others from acquiring them. For the purposes of the NPT, a nuclear weapon state is one, which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to 1 January, 1967. So there are five nuclear weapon states: US, USSR (later Russia), Britain, France and China. Signed in Washington, London, and Moscow on 1 July, 1968. entered into force on 5 March, 1970. Extended indefinitely in 1995.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS I (SALT-I)

The first round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks began in November 1969. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and the US President Richard Nixon signed the following in Moscow on 26 May, 1972 --a) Treaty on the limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM Treaty); and b) Interim Agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms, entered into force on 3 October, 1972.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS II (SALT-II)

The second round started in November 1972. The US President Jimmy Carter and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the Treaty on the limitations of strategic offensive arms in Vienna on 18 June, 1979.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY I (START-I)

Treaty signed by the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and the US President George Bush (Senior) on the reduction and limitations of strategic offensive arms in Moscow on 31 July, 1991.

STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY II (START-II)

Treaty signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the US President George Bush (Senior) on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms in Moscow on 3 January, 1993.

Courtesy : NCERT Textbook, 2013

6.4 Conflicts during Cold War

The Cold War also led to several crises in world politics. The Korean crisis, Berlin blockade, Congo crisis, Vietnam and Afghanistan wars and the Suez Canal issue were some among them. Among these the most significant event was the Cuban Missile Crisis in which the two Super powers came face to face. In 1962, to protect the Communist



Nikita Khrushchev, Fidel Castro, John F Kennedy

regime of Cuba under Fidel Castro from an imminent US invasion, Nikita Khrushchev, the premier of the USSR, decided to convert Cuba into a military base. The USSR placed nuclear missiles in Cuba targeting the USA. Three weeks after this development, the USA became aware of the nuclear threat. American President John F Kennedy ordered a naval blockade to Russian ships bringing the world to a brink of war with Soviet Union. The whole world became nervous because of the possibility of a nuclear war between the two super powers. After a negotiation both sides decided to avoid war.

New International Economic Order (NIEO)

New International Economic Order (NIEO): The non allied countries were categorised as the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Economic development was necessary for maintaining independence of these newly independent countries. But they remain dependent on the developed countries. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) produced a report in 1972 entitled 'Towards a New Trade Policy for Development'. Firstly, the report proposed that the LDCs should exercise control over their natural resources which were being exploited by the western countries. Secondly, the LDCs will get access to western markets to sell their products. Thirdly, the developed world should reduce the cost of technology and finally the LDCs should get greater role in international economic institutions.

7. THE US HEGEMONY

7.1 Period of Unipolarity

The disintegration of Soviet Union was an unexpected one. After the collapse of the USSR, the USA remained the sole super power in global politics. The US hegemony began in 1991 after the Soviet power vanished from the international scene. The USA became the unquestioned leader of the world after the fall of the USSR. The US showed its hegemony in the world through various interventions. Let's examine the process of the US domination over the world in detail.

7.2 The First Gulf War

In August 1990, Iraq attacked Kuwait and occupied it. The UN tried to convince Iraq and asked to withdraw its forces from Kuwait. The diplomatic attempt by the UN failed and thus resulted in a war. The coalition forces from 34 countries led by the US fought and defeated Iraq. It is known as the First Gulf war named as 'Operation Desert Storm'.

7.3 The Clinton Years

Bill Clinton became the President of the US in 1992 and remained in power for eight years. His government focused on soft issues like promotion of democracy, climate change and world trade rather than hard politics. A significant military action during Clinton years was the 1998 'Operation Infinite Reach', a series of Cruise Missile Strikes on Al Qaeda terrorist targets in Sudan and Afghanistan in response to the attack on US embassies at Nairobi in Kenya and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania.

7.4 The 9 /11 and the Global War on Terror

The 9 /11 attacks, a series of airline hijackings and suicide attacks on September 11, 2001 by Al-Qaeda terrorists, killed nearly 3000 people. The US response to 9 /11 was very serious. The US, under the leadership of George W Bush declared a 'Global War on Terror' and as a part of it launched 'Operation Enduring Freedom' against Al-Qaeda and Taliban regimes in Afghanistan.

7.5 The Second Gulf War

'Operation Iraqi Freedom' was the attack of the US along with other 40 countries on Iraq on 19th March, 2003 to prevent Iraq from developing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs). The US lost over 3000 military personnel, whereas 50,000 Iraqi civilians lost their lives.

7.6 Hegemonic status of the USA

The word 'hegemony' means leadership or predominance of one state or social group over others. This dominance may be in political, economic, cultural or military spheres. We can identify three major areas which provide a hegemonic status to USA in world politics.

- i. **Hard Power** - The first meaning of hegemony relates to military power. It is because of the formidable military power, superiority in terms of military technology, a huge military budget which is more than the combined military budget of the next 12 powers down the line, that has made the US to hold a hegemonic position on the global stage. Furthermore, a large portion of military expenditure of the US goes to research and development for the technological advancement of the military. This superiority in terms of budgetary allocation and technology, allows the US to reach any target on the globe accurately at any time, thereby neutralising all kinds of threats.
- ii. **Structural Power** - It refers to the dominance of USA in world economy. As an economic hegemon, the USA has tried to protect its interests by instituting a favourable economic structure at the global level. USA's role as an economic hegemon also includes its responsibility in providing global public goods. Public goods means those goods that can be consumed by an individual without reducing the amount of goods available for someone else. Fresh air, roads etc. are example of public goods. The best example of global public goods is sea-lanes of communication (SLOCs) and virtual goods such as the internet. The Internet technology was developed in the 1950s as part of USA's military research. Another typical example of USA's structural hegemony can be seen in

the establishment of Master's Degree in Business Administration or MBA, with the first Business school being the Wharton at the University of Pennsylvania in 1881 and the first MBA course being introduced around 1900. American MBA has an exceptional value at the global level. It is important to remember that the economic predominance of USA is inseparable from its structural power.

- iii. **Soft Power**- Here, hegemony implies dominance over the world not only in military and economic fronts, but also on cultural and ideological grounds. This kind of hegemony is only possible through manufacturing consent. Manufacturing consent refers to the dominant class or country winning the consent of the dominated classes by persuading the dominated classes in a manner favourable to the ascendancy of the dominant classes across all spheres of life - social, political, cultural and economic. Such hegemony also includes setting an American way of life as a standard which the needs to be followed by the rest.

7.7 Limitations of the US hegemony

Despite the hegemonic status enjoyed by the US, there are several constraints to it. Firstly, there exists structural constraints owing to the separation of powers imposing restrictions on the executive branch of American government. Secondly, open nature of the American society has generated a public opinion questioning the unrestrained intervention in world politics. Thirdly, the international system of market economy and particularly organisations like NATO has placed restrictions on the imposition of the US hegemony.

Exercises

1. Who is known as the Milkman of India?
2. Name the main leaders of the Chipko movement.
3. Name the leader of the Narmada Bachao Andolan.

4. Match the following
 - a) First Gulf War
 - b) Global War on Terror
 - c) Second Gulf War
 - a) Operation Enduring Freedom
 - b) Operation Iraqi Freedom
 - c) Operation Desert Storm
5. List out the major outcomes of Five Year Plans.
6. Evaluate the limitations of Five Year Plans.
7. Describe the major impacts of Green Revolution.
8. Appraise Narmada Bachao Andolan as an environment movement.
9. Explain the issues involved in Chipko movement.
10. List out the major demands raised by BKU.
11. Write a brief note on Dalit Panthers Movement.
12. Trace out the link between Anti-arrack movement and women empowerment.
13. Evaluate the impact of popular movements on democratic politics in India.
14. Compare arguments in favour of and against the Declaration of Emergency in India.
15. Write a short note on the Cuban Missile crisis.
16. What is bipolar politics?
17. Evaluate the different aspects of American hegemony.
18. List out the factors limiting American hegemony.

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