

CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

TEXTBOOK IN POLITICAL SCIENCE FOR CLASS XII



राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

12107 – CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

Textbook for Class XII

ISBN 81-7450-693-4

First Edition

February 2007 Phalgun 1928

Reprinted

January 2008	Pausa 1929
March 2009	Phalgun 1930
January 2010	Magha 1931
March 2013	Phalgun 1934
January 2014	Magha 1935
December 2014	Pausa 1936
January 2016	Pausa 1937
February 2017	Magha 1938
January 2018	Magha 1939
January 2019	Magha 1940
December 2019	Pausa 1941
March 2021	Phalgun 1942
December 2021	Agrahayana 1943

PD 70T RSP

© National Council of Educational Research and Training, 2007

₹ 115.00

About the cover

The stamps on the cover page are designed by the United Nations Postal Administration portraying various contemporary world issues.

Printed on 80 GSM paper with NCERT watermark

Published at the Publication Division by the Secretary, National Council of Educational Research and Training, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016 and printed at Arun Packers & Printers, C-36, Lawrence Road Industrial Area, Delhi -110 035

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

- ❑ No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.
- ❑ This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade, be lent, re-sold, hired out or otherwise disposed of without the publisher's consent, in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published.
- ❑ The correct price of this publication is the price printed on this page. Any revised price indicated by a rubber stamp or by a sticker or by any other means is incorrect and should be unacceptable.

OFFICES OF THE PUBLICATION DIVISION, NCERT

NCERT Campus
Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016 Phone : 011-26562708

108, 100 Feet Road
Hosdakere Halli Extension
Banashankari III Stage
Bengaluru 560 085 Phone : 080-26725740

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O. Navjivan
Ahmedabad 380 014 Phone : 079-27541446

CWC Campus
Opp. Dhankal Bus Stop
Panihati
Kolkata 700 114 Phone : 033-25530454

CWC Complex
Maligaon
Guwahati 781 021 Phone : 0361-2674869

Publication Team

Head, Publication Division	: Anup Kumar Rajput
Chief Editor	: Shveta Uppal
Chief Production Officer	: Arun Chitkara
Chief Business Manager	: Vipin Dewan
Editor	: Bijnan Sutar
Production Assistant	: Prakash Veer Singh

Cover and Layout Illustrations

Shveta Rao

Irfaan

Foreword

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily timetable is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory group in Social Sciences, Professor Hari Vasudevan, the Chief Advisors, Professor Yogendra Yadav and Professor Suhas Palshikar and the Advisor, Professor Kanti Bajpai for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resources Development under the Chairpersonship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G.P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution.

As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

New Delhi
20 November 2006

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

www.dreamtopper.in

Preface

Contemporary World Politics is part of the NCERT's effort to help students understand politics. Other books for students of Political Science in Classes XI and XII deal with various facets of politics — the Indian Constitution, politics in India, and political theory. *Contemporary World Politics* enlarges the scope of politics to the world stage.

The new Political Science syllabus has finally given space to world politics. This is a vital development. As India becomes more prominent in international politics and as events outside the country influence our lives and choices, we need to know more about the world outside. International affairs are discussed with great passion in India, but not always with sufficient understanding. We tend to rely on the daily newspaper, television, and casual conversation for our knowledge of how the world works. We hope this book will help students comprehend what is happening outside and India's relations with it.

Before we go any further, it is necessary to say something about why the book is titled 'world politics' rather than the more traditional 'international politics' or 'international relations'. In this world, the relationship between governments of different countries, or what we call international politics or international relations, is of course crucial. In addition, though, there are vital connections between governments, non-government institutions, and ordinary people. These are often referred to as transnational relations. To understand the world, it is not possible any longer to understand only the links between governments. It is necessary to understand what happens across boundaries also — and governments are not the only agents of what happens.

In addition, world politics includes politics within other countries, understood in comparative perspective. For instance, the chapter on events in the "second world" of the communist countries after the Cold War deals with internal developments in this region. The South Asia chapter presents the state of democracy amongst India's neighbours. This is the field of comparative politics.

The book is concerned with world politics as it is today, more or less. It does not deal with world politics through the 19th or 20th centuries. The politics of those eras is dealt with in the History textbooks. We deal with the 20th century only to the extent that it is the background to present events and trends. For instance, we begin with the Cold War because it is impossible to comprehend where we are today without an understanding of what the Cold War was and how it ended.

How should you use this book? Our hope is that this book will serve as an introduction to world politics. Teachers and students will use the book as a springboard to find out more about contemporary world politics. Each chapter will give you a certain amount of information. It will also, though, give you some useful concepts with which to understand the world: the Cold War; the notion of hegemony; international organisations; national security and human security; environmental security; globalisation; and so on.

Each chapter begins with an overview to quickly give you an idea of what to expect. Each chapter also has maps, tables, graphics, boxes, cartoons, and other illustrations to enliven your reading and to get you to reflect on world politics by provoking, challenging, or amusing you. The characters — Unni and Munni, introduced in earlier

books, reappear. They ask their innocent, often mischievous, frequently probing questions. The chapters have suggestions on group activity (“Let’s Do It Together”)—collecting materials together, solving an international problem, making you negotiate as if you were a diplomat. Then there are the “plus boxes” which provide information not so much for tests and examination questions but rather to fill out knowledge, to summarise information that would burden the text, and, sometimes, to urge you to think further about the subject. The exercises at the end of each chapter should help review materials that you have read and take you beyond what has been said in the chapter.

You will notice also that the book is filled with maps. It is difficult if not impossible to understand world politics without a sense of where various places are located, who lives next door to whom, where boundaries, rivers, and other political and geographical features are in relation to each other. We have, therefore, been quite liberal in providing maps. These maps are to help orient you, to visualise the political and geographical spaces that you read about. They are not intended to be things you have to draw and memorise for tests!

This brings us to a crucial point about how to use the book. We have made a conscious effort not to load you down with information—with names, dates, events. We have tried to keep these to a minimum. The idea is not for you to become an expert on world politics but instead to begin to grapple with the complexity and urgency of this new world around us. At the same time, should you wish to know more about world politics, you can consult the various sources mentioned separately under, “If you want to read more...”.

If the book succeeds in stimulating you, in making you ask even more questions than we have posed for you, and in making you impatient with what you have read here, then we have succeeded! We sincerely hope that you will like this book and find it engaging and useful.

We are grateful to Professor Krishna Kumar, Director, NCERT, for his support and guidance in the preparation of this book. He encouraged us in making this book as student-friendly as possible. He also patiently waited for the final draft of the book.

Contemporary World Politics would not have been possible without the valuable time and academic expertise of the members of the Textbook Development Committee. Each of the members gave us their precious time and set aside prior commitments at various junctures. Professor Sanjay Chaturvedi and Dr. Siddharth Mallavarapu deserve our special thanks for their help in selecting maps and in editing the text. We are grateful for the devotion and sincerity of Dr. M. V. S. V. Prasad, the coordinator of this textbook from the NCERT, as also Mr. Alex M. George and Mr. Pankaj Pushkar who worked day and night to ensure the quality of the text, the authenticity of the contents, and above all, the readability of this book. Ms. Padmavathi worked on all the exercises. The designer of this book, Ms. Shweta Rao, gave the book the attractive look and feel that it has. Without their unstinting and creative help, we could not have produced the book in its present form.

Kanti Bajpai
Advisor

Yogendra Yadav, Suhas Palshikar
Chief Advisors

Textbook Development Committee

CHAIRPERSON, ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR TEXTBOOKS AT THE SENIOR SECONDARY LEVEL

Hari Vasudevan, *Professor*, Department of History, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

CHIEF ADVISORS

Yogendra Yadav, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi

Suhas Palshikar, *Professor*, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, Pune

ADVISOR

Kanti P. Bajpai, *Headmaster*, The Doon School, Dehradun

MEMBERS

Alex M. George, *Independent Researcher*, Eruvatty, District Kannur, Kerala

Anuradha M. Chenoy, *Professor*, Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies, SIS, JNU, New Delhi

Madhu Bhalla, *Professor*, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi, Delhi

Navnita Chadha Behera, *Reader*, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, Delhi

Padmavathi, B.S., *Faculty*, Social Sciences, International Academy for Creative Teaching (iACT), Bangalore

Pankaj Pushkar, *Senior Lecturer*, Directorate of Higher Education (Uttarakhand), Haldwani

Sabyasachi Basu Ray Chaudhury, *Reader*, Department of Political Science, Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata

Samir Das, *Reader*, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

Sanjay Chaturvedi, *Reader*, Centre for Study of Geopolitics, Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh

Sanjay Dubey, *Reader*, DESSH, NCERT

Shibashis Chatterjee, *Lecturer*, Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, Kolkata

Siddharth Mallavarapu, *Assistant Professor*, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, SIS, JNU, New Delhi

Varun Sahni, *Professor*, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, SIS, JNU, New Delhi

MEMBER-COORDINATOR

Malla V. S. V. Prasad, *Lecturer*, Department of Education in Social Sciences and Humanities (DESSH), NCERT, New Delhi

Acknowledgements

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) acknowledges all those who contributed – directly and indirectly – to the development of this textbook.

We offer thanks to Professor Savita Sinha, *Head*, DESSH for her support. We gratefully acknowledge the efforts of the administrative staff of DESSH.

We want to record our sincere appreciation of the generous institutional support provided by the *Lokniti* programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). We would like to thank Professor Peter R. De Souza, *Director, Lokniti*, in particular.

The Council gratefully acknowledges the contribution of the following individuals and institutions: Mr. Robert W. Gray, *Chief*, United Nations Postal Administration, New York for granting approval to use UN stamps; Professor K. C. Suri for valuable inputs; Cagle Cartoons Inc. for providing copyrights of the cartoons of Andy Singer, Angel Boligan, Ares, Cam Cardow, Christo Komarnitski, Deng Coy Miel, Harry Harrison, Mike Lane, Milt Priggee, Pat Bagley, Petar Pismestrovic and Tab; Mr. Kutty (*Laughing with Kutty*), *The Hindu*, and *Pakistan Tribune* for the cartoons; cartoonist Irfaan Khan for the drawings; M/s. Cartographic Designs for providing two maps (India and its neighbours and the world map); the Parliament Library, the United Nations Information Centre, New Delhi and Gobar Times (*Down to Earth* supplements) for providing materials; and wikipedia and flickr.com (downloaded before 31 Dec 2006) for providing images.

The production of the book benefited greatly from the efforts of the Publications Department. Our special thanks to Purnendu Kumar Barik, *Copy Editor*, and Neelam Walecha, *DTP Operator*.

Request for Feedback

How did you like this textbook? What was your experience in reading or using this? What were the difficulties you faced? What changes would you like to see in the next version of this book?

Write to us on all these and any other matter related to this textbook. You could be a teacher, a parent, a student or just a general reader. We value any and every feedback.

Please write to:

Coordinator (Political Science)

DESS, NCERT, Sri Aurobindo Marg, New Delhi 110 016

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	iii
<i>Preface</i>	v
Chapter 1 The Cold War Era	1
Chapter 2 The End of Bipolarity	17
Chapter 3 US Hegemony in World Politics	31
Chapter 4 Alternative Centres of Power	51
Chapter 5 Contemporary South Asia	65
Chapter 6 International Organisations	81
Chapter 7 Security in the Contemporary World	99
Chapter 8 Environment and Natural Resources	117
Chapter 9 Globalisation	135

If You Want to Read More ...

Where can you read more on contemporary world politics? There are hundreds of thousands of sources, but here are a few suggestions. We focus here on English language sources. These are by no means the only good sources, but they are easier for Indian students to access.

Wikipedia (on the net) often has interesting entries on many of the subjects, countries, people, and events referred to in the book. Encyclopaedias such as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* are rich sources of information. There are many more advanced introductory books on world politics. Some useful and fairly contemporary ones include *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (Oxford University Press, 2004), *The Global Future: A Brief Introduction to World Politics* by Charles W. Kegley and Gregory A. Raymond (Wadsworth Publishing, 2007), *United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century* by Barry Buzan (Polity Press, 2004), *International Relations* by Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse (Longman, 2005) and *World Politics* by Peter Calvocoressi (Longman, 2001).

Among the magazines you could read regularly are *Frontline*, *India Today*, *Outlook* and *The Week*, all Indian publications. Also in India, there are more academic journals such as *China Report*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, *India International Centre Quarterly*, *India Quarterly*, *International Studies*, *Seminar*, *South Asian Survey*, *Strategic Analysis* and *World Affairs*. Outside India, there are a huge number of journals but the most popular include the following US and British journals: *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Economist*, *The National Interest*, *Newsweek* and *Time*. The American journals, *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* will give you an idea how leading US thinkers regard the world. Among the academic journals, internationally, are *Alternatives*, *Arms Control Today*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Survey*, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *China Quarterly*, *Comparative Politics*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Global Governance*, *Harvard International Review*, *India Review*, *International Affairs*, *International Journal*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *Millennium*, *Orbis*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Review of International Studies*, *Russian Review*, *Survival*, *Security Dialogue*, *Security Studies*, *Slavic Review*, *World Policy Journal*, *World Politics* and *YaleGlobal Online*.

Of course, you should get into the habit of reading the daily newspaper and keeping up with what is going on in the world. The television news channels also report regularly on world events: do watch the world unfold before your eyes!