

3 CHAPTER

International Historical Context and World History for International Relations During the Cold War

After reading the chapter, the reader will be able to develop an analytical understanding on the following:

- The nature of the post-war settlement in Europe
- Yalta Conference and Potsdam Conference
- The world events leading towards institutionalization of the Cold War
- Case study: Russia making an East European satellite state system and the Iron Curtain
- Existence of Poland and Polish question at Yalta and Potsdam
- Case study: The Issue of Greece—Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan
- Case study: Czech crisis and assertion of Communism—Gottwald and Beneš crisis
- Case study: Division of Germany, Berlin airlift and formation of the NATO
- Establishment of the Berlin Wall—The new symbol of institutionalisation of the Cold War
- European Economic Community and the Treaty of Rome, 1957
- Charles de Gaulle and Gaullism—The manifestation of new nationalism in France
- Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1963 and steps towards disarmament
- Integration in East Europe—Communist Information Bureau, Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and Warsaw Treaty Organization
- The Treaty of San Francisco, 1951 and alliance with Japan
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- Russia shooting down the spy plane U-2 of the USA and end of Détente
- The revival of arms race, Cold War and crisis in Indo-China, US Vietnam war and Cuban missile crisis
- Case study: The US and crisis in Indo-China and US –Vietnam War
- The end of Détente and coming of Brezhnev, SALT-I and SALT-II, Brezhnev Doctrine

- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan-1979 and Cold War 2.0
- Coming of Gorbachev, Glasnost, Perestroika, collapse of USSR and end of Cold War 1989
- Case study: Poland from Stalin to Lech Walesa
- Case study: Hungary under USSR to József Antall, Jr.
- Case study: German unification and fall of Berlin Wall
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- Analysis of the modern period
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- The rise of the concept of alternative sovereignty and Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

POST-WAR SETTLEMENT AND THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF COLD WAR

As the WW–II ended, the victorious powers met at the Crimean’ resort of Yalta and organised a conference. The conference came to be known as Yalta Conference. One of the most notable and successful achievements of the Yalta Conference was the establishment of the United Nations (UN). The two stickiest issues at Yalta were of Poland and Germany. Let us understand the Polish and German issues through two distinct cases. The study of Poland and Germany along with issues of Greece and Czechoslovakia will help us understand the institutionalisation of the Cold War after Yalta and Potsdam.



Russia Making an East European Satellite State System and Iron Curtain

Actors: Joseph Pilsudski (Head of the Socialist Party of Poland); Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov (Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR), Joachim von Ribbentrop (Nazi foreign minister), Harry S. Truman (US President).

Treaties: Treaty of Riga, 1921 and Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact.

Poland existed as an independent state till 1795. However, after 1795, the Polish territory was divided into parts by Russia, Austria and Prussia. The Poles kept on fighting for independence till World War–I. After the WW–I, Poland managed to get West Prussia back from Germany, thereby enabling Poland to have access to the sea. After the 1921 war between Poland and Russia, Poland, through the Treaty of Riga (1921) got a huge territory in the East near the Russian border. As the World War–II progressed, and Germans attacked Poland in 1939, Britain and France helped Poland in its fight against Germany. At the end of WW–II, Germany was expelled out of Poland. During the WW–II period, there was a government in Poland which existed in exile in London. It certainly wanted to be back in Poland after WW–II. But before the commencement of WW–II, Stalin had also reached an understanding with Hitler

about the fate of Poland. Stalin, through his foreign minister Molotov, had concluded the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact that assured Russia and Germany non-aggression from each other. However, Hitler violated the pact to use Poland as a base to attack Russia. As per the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact, Hitler had allowed Russia to exercise control over East Poland (the area Russia had prior to Treaty of Riga 1921). But after the WW–II, Russia was determined to ensure that Poland is not used by any European State against Russia. Stalin knew this was possible only if Poland becomes a part of the Russian sphere of influence. At the Yalta conference, Stalin was determined to ensure the above. After WW–II, even before the government of Poland in exile in London could establish its rule, Russia had already established a pro-Russia government in Lublin city in East Poland. France and Britain knew that Stalin held the key to the East but still could not just allow Stalin a free hand. They could not possibly allow a Polish takeover by Russia without focussing on ‘self-determination’ of the Polish people (the key idea that dominated the policies of the European nation states since WW–II). The British and the French urged Russia to create a provisional government for the time being with democratic elements from the Polish government in exile and later allow for fresh elections. By advocating this, Britain and France played safe and could even convince their constituencies back home that they upheld democracy in Poland. As far as Russia was concerned, it certainly could not allow Polish aggression. Russians continued to strengthen their position and eventually recaptured territories they had lost, before Treaty of Riga in 1921. This aggressive tactic of USSR irked the USA as it became all the more suspicious with rising Communist influence in Europe. Russians used the same policy for installing Communist regimes in Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Albania, heightening the fears of the West and cementing the divisions in the East leading to Churchill announcing an ‘Iron Curtain’ in Europe separating the East (Communist) to that of West (Capitalist). The Russian attempt in establishing a sphere of influence in the Eastern European states happened after the Potsdam conference (July 1945).



The Issue of Greece—Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan

Greece was under the control of Germany till 1944. The British, after the WW–II, began to assist Greece in setting up a monarchy. Russia was not keen upon witnessing the development. Some communists in Greece began to make attempts to overthrow the monarchy. Witnessing this development, the USA under President Harry Truman, began to assert that America would be a supporter of the free people who would resist any subjugation by outside powers. Called the Truman Doctrine, this came to be known as the principle that the US should give support to countries or peoples threatened by Soviet forces or Communist insurrection. First expressed in 1947 by US President Truman in a speech to Congress seeking aid for Greece and Turkey, the doctrine was seen by the Communists as an open declaration of the Cold War. The USA began to pump enormous amounts of money to assist Greece, which ended in the restoration of the monarchy and through this, a peaceful victory over USSR involving no violence, with the situation in Greece preventing an attempted overthrow by Communists. The US, after the issue in Greece, managed to

successfully shed off its isolationist policy and now began to curtail the rise of Communism. In June 1947, the US announced the economic component of the Truman Doctrine called the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was also called the European Recovery Plan and was aimed at providing economic aid and support to Western Europe to hasten their recovery from the devastating WW-II.

Czech Crisis and the Assertion of Communism—Gottwald and Beneš Crisis

The situation in 1946 was that in Czechoslovakia had a communist Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald and a non-communist President, Edvard Beneš. Initially, Beneš wanted Czechoslovakia to act as a bridge between East and West Europe. Since Gottwald was a communist, he refused aid from the USA under the Marshall Plan. Since elections were due in 1948, just before the elections, the communists did undertake a military coup. The elections finally took place in May 1948, but due to the military coup, all non-communist leaders had resigned leaving only communists to fight the elections. The May elections led to Gottwald becoming the President. This alarmed the West and they became fearful of the rising tide of communism.

Division of Germany, Berlin Airlift and Formation of the NATO

The conference at Yalta and Potsdam had divided Germany and Berlin into four parts. Three parts were under the USA, France and Britain, broadly known as West Germany and other part was under the USSR, called East Germany. The western part consolidated its position and underwent faster economic recovery, while eastern part remained mired in poverty. The escalation of the crisis happened in June, 1948. The western part decided to introduce a new currency in West Berlin. Russia became extremely upset at this. Since West Berlin was located almost 110 km deep within the Russian territory, Russia ordered a blockade of all rail, road and canals between West Berlin and West Germany. The Russians were of the view that this would compel the Western powers to withdraw from West Berlin, but instead, the move backfired for Soviet as the British, French and Americans organised airdropping of essential commodities to West Berlin to prevent it from starvation. Finally, in 1949, Stalin lifted the blockade and this came as a big blow to the USSR as its failure to achieve anything concrete had become apparent. After the Berlin blockade and airlift, in the west, the German Federal Republic was formed, which elected Konrad Adenauer as its head, while in East, the German Democratic Republic. The west cemented a security alliance in 1949 with formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), which included the major West European states. The US learned a hard lesson and came out of its isolationism to contain communism. The Truman doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the formation of the NATO were steps in this regard.

The Cold War of containment of communism not only got institutionalised but also spread to Korea and Vietnam in Asia. But the establishment of East and West German

states only increased their antagonism. Attempts to unify Germany failed as, for Adenauer, integration of West Germany inside the ambit of the US and Western culture and values was more important than the unification, while for East Germany and Stalin, to prevent movement of people from East to West was more important. Thus it ended up in the attempt of East Germany in 1961 to erect a Berlin Wall which became a symbol of the Cold War till its final collapse in 1989 leading to German unification in 1990.

Meanwhile, with the economic aid begotten under the Marshall Plan, Western Europe began integration. In 1951, France, West Germany, Italy and Benelux nations established the European Coal and Steel Company which later on manifested in 1957 under the Treaty of Rome for the establishment of a European Economic Community. In France, Charles de Gaulle had his own unique vision of a strong Europe based on the idea of an association of strong nations and not a Europe dominated by the US or by Britain. Through his refusal to allow a NATO weapon shield in France and refusal to sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty, 1963, he kept the Anglo-US dominance under check by strengthening relations with West Germany.

Gaullism (the nationalist and elitist approach of Charles de Gaulle, characterized by conservatism, national pride, the idea of France as a 'strong state' and advocacy of centralised government) kept English dominance under check, and he also tried to recognise the diplomatic relations with China in 1964 which the USA has not done post-WW-II. Thus, if Western Europe was undergoing tremendous economic integration, the East Europe, the Satellite of Russia, had different instruments. The Russians firstly responded to the Marshall Plan as dollar imperialism and in 1947 established the Cominform, also called the Communist Information Bureau. The Cominform was a mechanism developed by the USSR to tighten its grip on satellite states of East Europe by undertaking industrialisation, collectivisation and centralised control. In 1947, the USSR also announced Molotov Plan, which was a plan for economic integration under COMECON (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance). With the coming of a communist regime in China, Russia and China concluded a treaty. This spread of Communism to the East made the US look east as well. The expanding US influence in East Asia compelled Russia in 1955 to create a new Warsaw Pact on the lines of the NATO.

By the time the WW-II ended, the US had inflicted heavy damage on Japan, especially through the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The events, as they unfolded from 1947 till 1950, the most important being the agreement concluded between China and Russia and China emerging as a communist state, made the US realise the importance of Japan. In 1951, the US and Japan entered into a Treaty of San Francisco making these two allies of each other. The US desperately needed a base for operations aiming to contain communism in the East. Japan, after cementing an alliance with the US, received tremendous economic support for economic recovery and gave US the needed base for the East.



The Crisis in the Korean Peninsula

Korea was under Japanese control since 1910. As Japan lost WW-II, Russia and the US decided to divide Korea into two parts along the 38th Parallel. The northern part

was to come under Russian influence while southern part under American influence. The UN had ordered free and fair elections in both parts of Korea. The US was confident that as 2/3rd population lived in the South, the population would vote against communism. The results led to the control of Syngman Rhee in South and Kim II in North. In June 1950, the Northern part, with backing of USSR and China, invaded the South. The US saw this as a deliberate attempt to spread communism and intervened and supported the southern part. In the meantime, through UN intervention, the crisis came to an end. The 38th Parallel was reasserted as a line of demarcation. By now, the US realised the need to contain communism.

After the Korean crises, the US formed multiple alliances with states in South East and East Asia on one side and South Asia and Middle East on the other. The US also established SEATO and CENTO. The focus of SEATO was to incorporate Pakistan, which would act as a base to keep an alliance that would get cemented due to SEATO, and would prove to be of great significance for India.

In the meantime, in 1953, Joseph Stalin died, leading to the rise of Nikita Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in Russia. On the other hand, in USA, Truman embarked upon a policy of de-Stalinisation. The prime intention of Khrushchev was to relax the strained relationships between US and USSR and provide a conducive environment for talks. Khrushchev began to diplomatically assert a peaceful existence as, for Khrushchev, peaceful coexistence with the West seemed like a real possibility.

Not only did Khrushchev work for a detente, but also eased up relations amongst satellite states. The idea of peaceful coexistence was successful to the extent where Nikita Khrushchev paid a visit to the US in 1959 and even discussed disarmament at Camp David. But even when at the political level, some relaxation was observed, the arms race continued. The US installed missiles (Jupiter and Thor series) in Turkey, which in turn aggravated Russia. The detente almost ended in 1960 when Russia ended up shooting a U-2 spy plane in the Russian territory. This was followed by US-Vietnam war (1961) and Cuban missile crisis that brought the Cold War back in full force. Let us have a look at these two cases.



US and the Crisis in Indo–China and the US–Vietnam War

The entire area region of Indo–China comprises of what is called as Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The Indo–China area was under French colonial control. Between 1946 to 1954, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam defeated the French forces and gave them a final blow in 1954 at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. A subsequent Geneva conference was organised which declared Laos and Cambodia to be independent of the French control while Vietnam was to be divided into two parts along the 17th Parallel. As per the Geneva conference, an election was planned in Vietnam. The elections were to be held in the year of 1956. In the North, a government was formed by Ho Chi Minh. But the US was not happy with this. Ho Chi Minh had had a Russian influence. He had established a state on Soviet lines. The US got was concerned that this again

signalled the widespread popularisation and acceptance of communism as a political philosophy, and perceived this as a repetition of the events happened in Korea. In South Vietnam, the US, through a referendum (not election as envisaged by Geneva conference) installed a Roman Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem. The ruler Ngo Dinh Diem became extremely brutal en route to asserting his supremacy. The population in south was majorly Buddhists. They wanted Soviet and Chinese style reforms. The ruler crushed all their demands. There was a situation of civil war in the South Vietnam. The US envisaged the civil war as being instigated by North Vietnam led by Ho Chi Minh. Also, in South, in the meanwhile, a National Liberation Front was formed which began to fight Ngo Dinh. Fearing that this dissenting Front is supported by Ho Chi Minh, the US increased its economic and military aid to Ngo Dinh. The people of South resorted to guerrilla tactics (by forming groups called Vietcong). The US retaliated militarily in the Northern territory. But nothing worked in US favour as the Vietcong and North Vietnam launched a severe counter-offensive. Sensing a defeat, the US, in 1968, suspended all military operations and organised a peace conference in Paris. A diplomatic engagement began and finally, by January 1973, the US war engagement came to an end, paving the way for the creation of a united Vietnam. The US made a crucial mistake in confusing Vietnam's nationalism with communism.



Cuban Missile Crisis

America and Spain fought a war in 1898. Since the war, Cuba had been under American control. At the onset of the Cold War, America had a proxy in Cuba called Fulgencio Batista, who was gradually growing unpopular. There were a lot of American businesses in Cuba that flourished. Taking advantage of the weakened rule of Batista, Fidel Castro, on 26th July 1953, led an attack on the Moncada army barracks. He was imprisoned for this assault. By the time he was released, Batista's rule dwindled as it faced financial bankruptcy. Thus, there was a vacuum to be filled. This was undertaken successfully by Castro. One thing to be kept in mind was that Cuba, at the time of the power transition, did not witness a civil war. As Castro strengthened his rule, he initiated the programme of nationalisation of property owned by US business houses. Castro gave the logic of sovereignty and nationalism to justify his move. The US retaliated by closing down its markets for import of sugarcane from Cuba. A lot of Cubans were affected due to this. Some even left Cuba for the US to settle in Florida. As the economy of Cuba got badly hit, Castro domestically fuelled nationalism and internationally requested help from Russia. Perceiving this, the then-US President Kennedy gave the task of solving Cuban menace to CIA. The CIA drew up a plan of using Cuban exiles in Florida to be airdropped on Cuban beaches (Bay of Pigs). The idea was that exiles would be dropped on the beaches, and as per the plan they would intermingle with the Cuban population to create unrest for Castro.

The basic assumption was that CIA thought that Castro did not enjoy popular support of the Cuban people. The plan was executed. The exiled Cubans were dropped in Bay of Pigs. Within a span of three days the local Cubans overpowered them. The exiled Cubans requested help from CIA. The US did not help them as they

were not prepared for something like this. Observing the matter thus unfolding, Nikita Khrushchev decided to defend the small range missiles in Cuba, since this would not only defend Cuba, but also ensure his presence in Cuba, which would be at a proximate destination to launch attacks on the US on the East Coast. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) got photographic evidence of sites of Russians creating missile launching sites in Cuba, after which the US ordered quarantine and a blockade for incoming Russian ships and began to scan for nukes. Russia, in the meanwhile, backed out. Diplomatically, a huge nuclear crisis was averted. The Russian aim seems to have been to teach the US how it feels to have missiles near them (recollect US had stationed Jupiter and Thors in Turkey). The issue concluded by the acceptance of the US not to militarily invade Cuba and the subsequent removal of its missiles from Turkey. Both US and USSR realised how quickly a small issue like Cuba could have escalated conflicts. They took a step towards disarmament namely, the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty.

These two crises, Vietnam and Cuba, convinced the US to explore non-military solutions. Even Russia realised that the arms race was not leading them anywhere. Even steps like SALT-I and SALT-II were taken by Khrushchev's successor, Leonid Brezhnev, through the active pursuance of the Brezhnev Doctrine to keep the East European satellites in check broadly continued the detente of Khrushchev. The detente post Cuba received a setback with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and this led to the second Cold War again.

COLLAPSE OF USSR AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR

In 1985, after the death of Leonid Brezhnev, Gorbachev assumed power. He belonged to the group of reformists. He understood that while it remained a continuous closed economy of a suppressive regime over satellite states, USSR would always be a state with restricted growth. It is not that he wanted to do away with communism, but he wanted a communist state with a more democratic and human face. He initiated the *glasnost*—allowing the press the rights to criticise government actions, which, since the era of Stalin, had been prohibited. He allowed citizens a voice through press and encouraged an open society. For economic reforms, he initiated *Perestroika*. The reforms he initiated were step by step and slow, but they began to have far-reaching effects on society. The *Glasnost* he initiated received tremendous response from the satellite states since it gave the satellite states the much needed vent to speak out. But as the reforms he initiated badly affected the economy, disenchantment against the government grew. The satellite states saw a weak central control and began to assert independence (*glasnost* was one of the mediums). The communist model began to collapse and eventually political power was handed over by Gorbachev to Boris Yelstin in 1991. This marked an end to communism in Russia. The satellites asserted independence. A special analysis of Poland, Hungary, Germany and Czech will enhance our understanding here.



Poland from Stalin to Lech Walesa

The story goes back to Stalin. Stalin was an authoritarian leader and did not allow

any liberty to the satellite states. In 1956, he imprisoned Wladyslaw Gomulka for being a supporter of Josip Broz Tito (the leader of Yugoslavia) who had a lot of disagreement with Stalin over the communist model to be followed and ended up in establishing his own alternative form of communism (though Stalin did not press hard as Tito enjoyed people's support). Khrushchev paid a visit to Yugoslavia and even encouraged his communism, but ultimately his appreciation and visit to Yugoslavia created a severe dent in USSR and China relations. In 1956, when Khrushchev eyed Poland, the first thing he did was that he released Gomulka and allowed him a liberal rule till the time he was willing to respect and support Russia in deciding the foreign policy of Poland. By 1981, the head of Poland was Wojciech Jaruzelski, who succeeded Tito. He did make attempts to improve the economic condition of Poland but failed. Witnessing an economic failure, a solidarity movement (a form of trade union) emerged which organised a lot of strikes in Poland. Finally, Jaruzelski in 1989, decided to change the constitution allowing the solidarity movement to be headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki to be a political party. In December 1990, after the collapse of the USSR, the new solidarity leader Lech Walesa completed the transition of Poland to an independent state and became its President.

Hungary under USSR to József Antall, Jr.

Hungary saw a lot of political change till 1989. When Stalin came to power, he imprisoned a leader János Kádár and replaced him with Rakosi. Rakosi became the Hungarian head of state but when Khrushchev came to power, he replaced Rakosi with Imre Nagy. Rakosi continued to interfere in the affairs of Hungary and gradually overthrew Rakosi and re-emerged as a leader. Imre Nagy now advocated an end to Hungarian participation in the Warsaw Pact. Russia did not allow this, and ordered his removal. Now Imre Nagy was executed and János Kádár was released and he became the head of the state. Kádár continued to rule till 1988 but lost his grip on the economy. By 1990, a New Democratic Forum was able to win elections and József Antall, Jr. was elected as the new Hungarian PM.

German Unification and Fall of Berlin Wall

We have already made mention of the division of Germany, the blockade and the airlift. The thaw came in 1989 when Gorbachev paid a visit to West Germany. The ruler in West was Helmut Kohl and in East was Erich Honecker (since 1971). At the time of Gorbachev, the Protestant Church in the West supported New Forum as an opposition party to remove communist rule. Erich Honecker was removed and replaced by Egon Krenz. As the Soviet Union collapsed, on 9th November 1989, the protestors pulled down the Berlin Wall and decided to unify Germany. In December 1990, fresh elections were organised and Helmut Kohl knitted an alliance of CDU/CSU parties over the socialists and emerged as the first Chancellor of the United Germany.

Communist Romanticism in Czech

The Czech territory was controlled by Antonin Novotny. It was in 1968 that Novotny was replaced by Alexander Dubcek. Dubcek had his own ideas of communism with a human face. He tried bringing on his reforms. But, in Russia we had Brezhnev. He was not as keen on reforms and freedom to satellite states as was Khrushchev. Brezhnev was in favour of maintaining strong control over East Europe. Thus, to keep the Czech under control and the ambitions of Dubcek in check, Brezhnev ordered invasion of Czechoslovakia. It is during this invasion that he outlined his Brezhnev Doctrine asserting that if any society emerged as a threat to the Soviets, then Soviet would not shy away from intervention and this intervention was to be justified on grounds of National interests. As a Soviet foreign policy, the Brezhnev Doctrine was first and most clearly outlined by S. Kovalev in a September 26, 1968, *Pravda* article, entitled *Sovereignty and the International Obligations of Socialist Countries*. Post the Czech invasion, Dubcek was replaced by Gustav Husak who ruled Czechoslovakia till 1987. It was only after the Collapse of Soviet Union that a velvet revolution happened in Czech and Vaclav Havel became the new head of the state.

The era of Gorbachev ended with 15 satellite states of Soviet Union demanding and asserting independence. Gorbachev was succeeded by Boris Yelstin who gave the economy the much-needed boost and after the expiry of two terms, Boris Yelstin handed over power to Vladimir Putin. The Putin era has made Russia emerge again on the top and as a power player in the world again.

FINAL ANALYSIS OF THE MODERN PERIOD

From our discussion it is clear that modern and contemporary societies exist in the form of nation states where nation states are the core actors in IR. The modern states operate on the logic of sovereignty where any form of outside intervention in management of domestic affairs of the state is not welcome. These sovereign states are headed by sovereign masters and these states conduct official communication with other states through an instrument called diplomacy. The nation states at the international level operate as per international law. In the eighteenth century, the international law aimed at maintenance of balance of power. The statecraft as an instrument has gradually evolved and, since the decline of feudalism, the other power contenders like the Pope and barons have paved way for strong monarchies. These monarchies, along with professional diplomats and treaties, maintained the balance of power, with the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) finally settling the religious question and declaring the balance of power to be the core instrument of harmony. The period from 1648 to 1776 witnessed the decline of Ottoman Empire and rise of the British, and Russian empires. The states did interact with each other in this period but primarily with an intention to ensure systemic balance.

The American Revolution ended up making the US as a superpower in the twentieth century while the French Revolution asserted that sovereignty rests with the people and

not the ruler. This assertion by the French Revolution had a serious consequence as it unleashed a force of national self determination which resonated all over Europe till World War-II. But, another consequence of the French Revolution was that after the defeat of Napoleon, witnessing his expansionary urge in the revolution period, the Europeans decided to ensure that no European nation should be allowed to disturb the balance of the system. The culmination of the French Revolution again saw an institutional attempt to maintain the balance of power through the Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe did bring peace in Europe but it also legitimised the domination of Europeans in Africa and Asia. The Concert of Europe was replaced by the League of Nations in 1919 which became the first universal international body. The League of Nations shifted the entire concept of maintenance of peace with a focus on collective security as it was widely believed that balance of power was one of the causes of war. The more important point here was that the League was based on a wider membership by inviting non-European nations which the concert had not.



Since the end of the Cold War, globalisation as a force has been unleashed. It has deeply impacted the multiple dimensions of states envisaged. Since globalisation is affecting general decision making of states, a new force has been unleashed, arguing for a new definition of sovereignty. For example, today, the idea of sovereignty being forwarded is for a state to be responsible for protecting its citizens and if a state fails to protect its citizens, the principle of non-intervention (as envisaged by traditional sovereignty) is to be read as international responsibility to protect. The basic idea here is that if a country fails to protect its citizens, and the UN Security Council is convinced that the sovereignty of the people is violated then international players have a responsibility to intervene and protect citizens of that state. This principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) was recently the doctrine used in justifying intervention in Libya in 2011.