Centre for Distance & Online Education
UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
M.A.
POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER : I **COURSE NO. POL- 102**

TITLE : INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY AND ISSUES

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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M.A Political Science under Non-CBCS
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Course Code: POL – 102

Title – International Politics: Theory and Practice

Credits: 6 (Six) Max. Marks: 100

Internal Assessment: 20 Time: 3 Hours Semester Exam: 80

Objectives of Course: This course is designed to develop the basic understanding about the international politics because the state as a subject matter of political science conducts itself in the comity of nations. It intends to help the learners to understand that complex dynamic of international politics within which the state actors operate. This aims to equip the learners with sufficient knowledge to understand that why the nation-states behaved/behave in a particular way in their external contexts. The course will inculcate foundational understanding about the nature of international power structure evolved through the different stages of history of international relations.

Learning Outcomes: This course will equip the learners with skills to understand and analyze the nature of world power structure evolved over the period of time. The modes of conflict, competition and cooperation used by the nation-states to conduct relations amongst them enable the learners to understand theory and practice of International Politics. It aim to empower the learners by educating them on the techniques of understanding, transforming and resolution of inter-state conflict and conflict amongst states. By introducing the theoretical foundations of power transition in international relations and the changing nature of power relationship which resulted into the emergence of dynamic structure of international system.

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1.4 Liberalism and Neo-liberalism: The Core Values (Complex Interdependence, Cooperation through Institutionalism)

Unit II: Major Theories

2.1 Behaviouralism and its Theories: System Theory, Game Theory, Communication Theory

2.2 Classical Realism, Neo-Realism and Neo Classical Realism

2.3 Critical Theory: Robert Cox

2.4 Marxist Theories of International Relations: Imperialism (Lenin), Hegemony (Gramsci), World Systems Core vs. Periphery (Wallerstein)

Unit III: Instruments and Strategies

3.1 National Power, Balance of Power and National Interest: Changing Dynamics

3.2 Collective Security and Collective Defence: Theory and practice

3.3 Diplomacy: Nature, Scope, Types and Importance

3.4 War and its changing Nature (Deterrence, MAD, Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), Preemptive War, Proxy War

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4.1 United Nations (Role in the Maintenance of Peace and Security, Contribution to Economic and Social Justice, UN Reforms)

4.2 International Terrorism and Human Rights

4.3 WTO and North-South Dynamics

4.4 Environmental Issues and the Global Commons

Note for the Paper Setter

- The Question Paper shall be divided into two sections. The first section will carry eight short questions of which students will be required to attempt five questions. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 200 words. Each question carrying 4 marks.
- The second section will comprise eight questions of which students will have to attempt four questions on basis of 'WITHIN UNIT' choice. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 850 to 1000 words. Each question will carry 15 marks.

Suggested Readings

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics,* OUP, 2011.

Barston, *R..Modern Dilomacy,* New York: Routledge, 2019.

Goldstein, Joshua S. and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations,* New Delhi: Pearson, 2009.

Jackson, Robert H. and Georg Sorensen, Introduction to International Relations: *Theories and Approaches,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Carlsnaes.W.. Thomas R. and Beth A. Simmoms, *Handbook of International Relations,* New Delhi: Stage, 2011.

Nicholson, Michael, *International Relations: A Concise Introduction,* New York: Macmillan, 2005.

Burchill, Scott, et.al, *Theories of International Relations,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Weber, Cynthia, *International Relations Theory A Critical Introduction,* London and New York: Routledge, 2010

Introduction

International relations, or international politics, is not merely a field of study at university but is an integral facet of our (increasingly international) day to day lives. We all live in a world where it is not possible to isolate our experiences from an international dimension. If a Indian student and American student watches Majid Majid's *Children of Heaven* (Iranian film) they are both learning about and participating in a culture different from their own. If a student flies from India to London they are subject to international air space agreements and contributing to global warming. Whether we work for an Indian Organization or International Multinational Company, or even if you work for a locally based company, all these companies will have to adhere to the international trading norms. Hence, the contemporary international relations continue to impact our lives. Studying international relations or politics enables us to better comprehend the information we receive daily from newspapers, television, radio, internet or social media.

People not only live in villages and towns, but form part of the wider networks that constitute regions, nations and states. As members of the global community, we have to be equally aware of both our rights and our responsibilities – and should be capable of engaging in important debates concerning the major issues facing the international community. Our requirement to understand the world has phenomenally increased in present times because of the growing interconnectedness not only across the regions, but socially and intellectually as well.

The syllabus of this paper is intended to cover most of the important aspects related to academic study of international relations. It is so comprehensive that it covers the disciplinary growth, methodological issues, impotent theoretical aspects, concepts and issues related to contemporary international relations.

References

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens ***The Globalization of World Politics***, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

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Alden, Chris, Sally Morphet ***The South in World Politics***, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Cooley, John K **Unholy Wars: *Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism***, London: Pluto Press, 2000.

Griffiths, Martin ***International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction***. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.

Salmon, Trevor C and Mark F Imber ***Issues in International Relations***, Second Edition, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

Kumar, Mahendra ***Theoretical Aspects of International Politics***, Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwal & Company, 1984.

Mansbach, R.W. and Rhodes, Edward ***Global Politics in a Changing World***, Third Edition, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 2006.

Jill Steans, et. el, ***An Introduction to nternational Relations Theory: Perspectives and Themes,*** Third edition. London: Pearson, 2010.

1.1 CHANGING NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF STATE SYSTEM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS:FROM EMPIRES TO NATION-STATESTO GLOBALIZATION

-V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand how the state system evolved in Europe
- Know how it has expanded to other parts of the world
- Comprehend the changes to the state system over the period
- Familiar with the globalization and its influence on state system

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

We all know that the entire population of the world is divided into separate territorial political communities, or what we call independent 'states'. All these states together form an international system that is becoming global in extent. At present there are almost 200 independent states. Every person on earth with very few exceptions not only lives in one of those countries but is also a citizen of one of them and very rarely of more than one.

Since we all inhabit one state or the other, it is easy to assume that the states are permanent features and that they have always been and will always exist. This assumption is false. We need to keep in mind that the state system is a historical institution, evolved over the period and still evolving. It has been formed by certain people at a certain time. It is a social organization. Like all social structures, the state system has advantages and disadvantages which change over time.

The state is the formal amalgamation of a community into an entity which can formulate policies and make decisions through its government, and carry out its decisions by means of compulsory measures, the law. The state differs from all other associations, as its membership is mandatory. It follows that the rules formulated by the government are binding on all persons, whether they consent to these rules or not.

THE STATE, THE BASIC UNIT OF OUR MODERN GLOBAL STATE SYSTEM, REMAINS TO BE A COMPLEX POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONCEPT OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE IN THE STUDY OF international relations. According to the classic definition of the Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States (1933) a state should possess (1) a permanent population; (2) a defined territory; (3) government capable of maintaining effective control over its territory and (4) of conducting international relations with other states.

However, in close observation we come to know that there is an enormous variation in contemporary international relations in the degree to which states meet these criteria. For example, many states struggle to maintain effective sovereign control over even part of their defined territory. Some states do not have a monopoly of control of the armed force within their frontiers and find themselves confronted by civil wars and insurgencies, which leave whole areas of their countries under the International Relations control of rebel leaders and war lords (for example, Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Colombia, Somalia, and Sudan). Despite experiencing such fundamental challenges to their sovereignty, this kind of states still receive international

recognition, sign agreements with other states, send their representatives to the United Nations and other international bodies, and enjoy the full membership of the global community of states.

Thus, the state is central to the study of international relations and will remain so in the predictable future. State policy is the most common element of analysis. States decide in going for a war, imposing trade barriers, and have an option to choose at what level to establish environmental standards. States decide on their entry into an international agreements, or not, and choose whether to abide by their provisions, or not. Thus, International Relations as a discipline is primarily concerned with what states do on the world stage and, in turn, how their actions affect other states. Hence, the State remains to be the primary unit for many theories of International Relations. Hence, both as the object and as a unit of analysis, international relations are largely about states.

1.1.2 EVOLUTION OF STATE SYSTEM

THERE WERE NO VISIBLY IDENTIFIABLE SOVEREIGN STATES BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, WHEN THEY FIRST BEGAN TO BE INSTITUTED IN WESTERN EUROPE. BUT FOR THE PAST THREE or four centuries, the state system got institutionalized across the world. The epoch of the sovereign state corresponds with the modern age of expanding power, prosperity, knowledge, science, technology, literacy, urbanization, citizenship, freedom, equality, rights, etc.

Modern state system in its true sense in Europe began with the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which marked the end of the Thirty Years War. In this section, we will first look at the pre 1648 world and then proceed towards the post-Westphalian world as well as Europe of the nineteenth century, and finally the major transitions in the twentieth century. The rationale of this historical overview is to trace significant trends related to the evolution of state and its sovereignty over a period of time.

1.1.2.1 The Pre-Westphalian World: Greece and the City-State System

The first and clear historical manifestation of a state system is that of ancient Greece. (500 BC – 100 BC). It comprised a large number of small city-states. But they were not modern sovereign states with extensive territories. The Greeks engaged in classic power politics. As the militaries of the great city-states struggled, states carried on economic relations and trade with each other to an unprecedented degree. This environment fostered the flowering of the strong philosophical tradition of Plato and Aristotle.

Rome: Governing of an Empire

Many of the Greek city-states were eventually destroyed and got incorporated into the Roman Empire (100 B.C. – 400AD) making the Roman Empire as the precursor for larger political systems. Its leaders imposed order and unity by force on a large geographic stretch—covering much of Europe, the Mediterranean portions of Asia, the Middle East, and northern Africa. After conquering different regions and diverse peoples, the Roman emperors were preoccupied with controlling various units—tribes, kingdoms, and states—within their sphere of influence and ensuring that the fluid borders of the empire remained secure from the north and east. Indeed, the word 'empire' itself emerged from the Roman experience, having the root word *imperium* in Latin. The emperors imposed different forms of government, from Roman proconsuls to local bureaucrats and administrators.

The Medieval Europe

When the Roman Empire got disintegrated in the fifth century A.D., power and authority became decentralized in Europe, but other forms of interaction flourished—travel, commerce, and communication, not just among the elites but also among traders and ordinary citizens. By 1000 A.D. three civilizations had emerged from the ruins of Rome. One among them, the Arabic civilization, had the largest geographic area, stretching from the Middle East and Persia through North Africa to the Iberian Peninsula. United under the religious and political domination of the Islamic Caliphate, the Arabic language, and advanced mathematical and technical accomplishments, the Arabic civilization was potent force. Second the Byzantine Empire located near the core of the old Roman Empire in Constantinople and united by Christianity. Third was the rest of the Europe, where with the demise of the Roman Empire, central authority went missing, languages and culture proliferated, and the networks of communication and transportation that were developed by the Romans were disintegrating.

A major part of Western Europe reverted to feudal principalities, controlled by lords and tied to fiefdoms that had the authority to increase taxes and exercise legal authority. Lords exercised control over vassals, who worked for the lords in return for the right to work on the land and acquire protection. Feudalism, which placed authority in private hands, could be seen as a response to the prevailing disorder. Power and authority were situated at different overlapping levels.

The prominent institution in the medieval period was the church; virtually all other institutions were local in origin and practice. Thus, authority was located either in Rome (or in its agents, the bishops) or in the local fiefdom. This incongruity – the desire on the part of the church for universalism versus the medieval reality of small, fragmented, diverse authorities – continued throughout the medieval period.

Power in the Christian Era of Medieval Europe

RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY	POLITICAL HIERARCHY
Pope	Emperor
Archbishops, bishops and other leading clergy	Kings and other Semi independent national rulers
Priests and other clergy	Barons and other localleaders
Ordinary Christians	People of local numerous communities

The medieval era was one of considerable confusion, disorder, conflict and violence which emanated from this lack of clear lines of territorial political organization and control. Often wars were fought between feudal and local lords and rival groups.

The Late Medieval Period: Developing Transnational Networks

After 1000 A.D., secular trends began to weaken both the churches' and local feudal lords' authority. Trade and commerce expanded into larger areas, as merchants traded along safer transportation routes. All forms of communication improved. New technology, such as water mills and wind mills, not only made daily life easier but also provided the basic infrastructure to support agrarian economies.

These economic and technological changes resulted in fundamental changes in social relations too. A new group of individuals emerged—an inter-nation business community—whose interests extended beyond its immediate region. The group acquired more cosmopolitan experiences outside the purview of the church and its teachings. The individual members developed new interests in literature, art, philosophy and history, acquiring economic wealth along the way. They believed in themselves, becoming the individualists and humanists of the Renaissance.

During the 1500s and 1600s the old Europe still remained unsettled. In some key locales such as France, Spain and England, feudalism was replaced by an increasingly centralized monarchy. These new monarchies used the armies to consolidate their power internally and conquer more territory. Other parts, of Europe were caught-up by the secular-versus-religious controversy, and Christianity itself was torn by the Catholic and Protestant split. In 1648, that controversy moved slowly its way towards resolution.

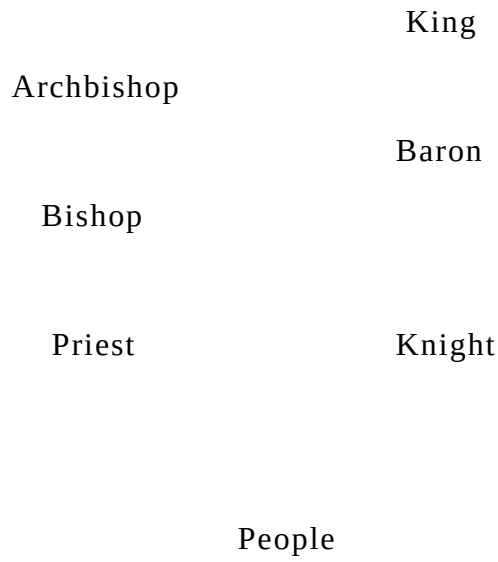
1.1.2.2 Treaty of Westphalia: Emergence of Modern State System

The Thirty Years War (1618-48) devastated Europe; the armies plundered the Central European landscape, fought battles, and survived by ravaging the civilian population. The war finally ended with the treaty of Westphalia, which not only ended the conflict but also had a profound impact on the practice of international relations. First, the Treaty of Westphalia embraced the notion of sovereignty. The Holy Roman emperor was dead. Monarchs in the West realized that religious conflicts had to be stopped, so they agreed not to fight on behalf of either Catholicism or Protestantism. Instead, the monarchs gained the authority to choose the version of Christianity for his or her people. This meant that monarchs, and not the church, had religious authority over their population. This new development emphasised the acceptance of sovereignty—that the sovereign has exclusive rights within a given territory. With the power of the pope and the emperor stripped, the notion of the territorial state was accepted.

Secondly, the newly emerged leaders had also understood the negative and violent effects of mercenaries fighting wars. Thus, after the Treaty of Westphalia, the leaders sought to establish their own permanent national militaries. The growth of such forces led to centralized control, as the state had to collect taxes to pay for these militaries and the leaders assumed absolute control over the troops, the state with a national army emerged, its sovereignty was acknowledged, and its secular base was firmly established. As a result, the state became increasingly more powerful. The Treaty of Westphalia established a core group of states that dominated the world until the beginning of the 19th century: Austria, Russia, Prussia, England, and France.

Medieval and Modern Authority

DISPERSED MEDIEVAL AUTHORITY		**CENTRALIZED MODERN AUTHORITY**
(No Sovereignty)		(Sovereignty)
Pope	Emperor	Government



What did the political change from medieval to modern essentially involve? The short answer is: it finally consolidated the provision of these values within the single framework of one unified and independent social organization: the sovereign state. In the early modern era European rulers freed themselves from the overarching religious-political authority of Christendom. They also liberated themselves from their dependence on the military power of barons and other local feudal leaders. The kings subordinated the barons and refused to comply with the Emperor and the Pope. They became protectors of state sovereignty against any internal disorder and external threat. Peasants too gradually, reduced their dependence on local feudal rulers to become the direct subjects of the King: they eventually became 'the people'.

The political change from medieval to modern thus basically involved the construction of the independent territorial state. The state captured its territory and turned it into state property, and it captured the population of that territory and turned them into subjects and later citizens. In short, territory is not only consolidated but also unified and centralized under a sovereign government. All institutions are now subordinated to state authority and public law.

The budding state system had several prominent characteristics which can be summarized as follows. First, it consisted of neighbouring states whose legitimacy and independence was mutually recognized. Second, the recognition of states did not extend outside of the European state system. For example, the political systems in Asia and Africa were not members of the state system. These political systems were regarded as politically inferior by Europeans and in due course most of them were subordinated to European imperial rule. Third, the relations between European states were subjected to international law and diplomatic practices. In other words, they were expected to observe the rules of the international game. Lastly, there was a balance of power between states which was intended to prevent any state from getting out of control and making a successful bid for hegemony which would in effect re-establish an empire over the continent.

1.1.3 EXPANSION OF THE STATE SYSTEM

One of the interesting features of the World in the Nineteenth century was while Europeans resisted empire in Europe, at the very same time they also constructed vast overseas empires by which they controlled political communities in the rest of the world. The Western states that could not dominate each other succeeded in dominating much part of the rest of the world both politically and economically. This way the external control of the non-European world by Europeans powers started in the beginning of the early modern era in the Sixteenth century, alongside the emerging of European state system. It lasted till the middle of the twentieth century, when the last non-Western peoples finally broke free of Western colonialism and acquired their political independence. The fact that Western states were never able to dominate each other but were capable of dominating almost everybody else has been vitally important in shaping the modern international system. This global dominance and supremacy of the West is important for understanding IR even today.

The first stage of the internationalization of the state system took place through the incorporation of non-Western states that could not be colonized by the West. Not every non-European country come under the political control of a Western imperial state. At the same time, the countries that escaped colonization were still obliged to accept the rules of the Western state system. The Ottoman Empire (Turkey) is one example; it was forced to accept those rules by the Treaty of Paris in 1854. Japan is another example. Similarly, China was forced to accept the rules of the European state system during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. China was not fully recognized as an independent power until 1945.

The second stage of the internationalization of the state system was brought about via anti-colonialism by the colonial subjects of Western empires. By the nineteenth

century and into the early twentieth century national sentiment was stirring within many colonial possessions, even if these claims would not come to realization until after 1945. In the nineteenth century both Italy and Germany became unified national states, and nationalist sentiment was on the rise within the Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Empires. Greece gained independence from the latter in the 1820s, and Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria followed suit later in the century. World War I gave the final blow to these Empires. As the conflict drew to a close, a number of groups claimed independent statehood, including Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland. Others such as Hungary and Turkey, which had been at the core of Empires, were also recognized as sovereign states within newly demarcated boundaries.

Just as World War I brought the European and Ottoman Empires to an end, so too World War II contributed to the collapse of colonial Empires in Asia and Africa. Claims by non-Western peoples to the right to self-determination were rejected afterWorld War I, but after 1945 they pressed their claims more vigorously. Though some colonial powers (e.g. the Dutch in what was to become Indonesia) resisted these claims, the legitimacy of this form of rule no longer held.

While it is hard to generalize about such a large number of states, these state builders faced a number of different tasks under very different conditions from the ones that were faced by the early state builders. They inherited the domestic institutions that were often inappropriate and faced with the challenge of governing the states that existed territorially and legally. Once the euphoria of independence had passed, these states encountered the problem of maintaining a legitimate central authority and, often, a lack of state capacity. As Tilly and Spruyt point out, these institutional structures came to characterize Western European states developed over a number of centuries as rulers gradually conceded authority to their subjects and refrained from overt coercion, recognizing that this would undermine their legitimacy. States that came into existence in the twentieth century entered into a very different environment, where external military support could mitigate against claims for democratic government and the need to maintain legitimacy. As the ongoing processes of democratization in many states, was fragile and contested as they are, demonstrate, institutional development on the scale of states takes time, and there is no guarantee that democratic, representative institutions will be the outcome everywhere.

In the post-Cold War era the world witnessed yet another phase of state formation as the Soviet Union collapsed, followed by the violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the peaceful ‘velvet divorce’ of the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

From this brief overview it is clear that in the recent past, the state formation has taken place under very different conditions to those of the first phase. The early state makers not only 'made' their states, as they jostled for position against one another they contributed to the creation of the international realm into which later states entered at independence. Thus, as we have seen, in the early, mid, and late twentieth century new states arrived into an increasingly more institutionalized international environment and were constituted according to dominant norms within this system. Such norms can of course be challenged or revised, as the story of the changing content of self-determination in the wake of the two World Wars and the delegitimation of colonialism demonstrates.

What this should alert us to is that while we may identify many similarities between states at the international level, we should also be sensitive to the different conditions under which they were constituted and what this means for their current functioning, both domestic and international. This is not an evolutionary argument that there is a single path that all states must pass through. On the contrary, it is a call to recognize that legal recognition as a state (or juridical sovereignty) is an important part of the story. However, states have different histories and varying capacities for empirical sovereignty, for the capacity to function effectively at the domestic as well as the international level. Understanding the relationship between states and their societies becomes important in this context as well. The issue that highlights many of these problems is breakdown of contemporary state and various forms of humanitarian intervention.

To sum up, today the state system is a global institution that affects the lives of virtually everybody whether they realize it or not. It means more than ever, today IR is a universal academic subject. It also means that international politics of the twenty-first century must accommodate a variety of states which are far more complex and different—in terms of their cultures, religions, languages, ideologies, forms of government, governance mechanisms, military capacity, technological sophistication, levels of economic development, etc.—than ever before. This marks a fundamental change in the state system and a fundamental challenge for international relations scholars to theorize.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What are the root causes of first World War?

_____

_____

_____

2. Explain the Treaty of Versailles?

_____

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3. Discuss the League of Nations and why it failed to prevent WW2?

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4. Discuss Nazi Germany under Hitler.

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_____

5. What factors led to Second World War?

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1.1.4 THE CHANGING DYNAMICS OF STATE

The concepts of state, sovereignty and territory are vital to the study and practice of international relations. For generations of scholars, the concept of state has been the principal subject and unit of analysis in international politics. The principle of sovereignty has provided one of the central bases for order in international relations, mainly in its codified form since the end of the Thirty Years War. Disputes over territory or struggles over territorial control have figured virtually in every major inter-state war of the past hundred years.

However, forms of state, meanings of sovereignty and conceptions of territoriality are neither fixed nor constant across time and place. The absolutist states of the seventeenth century are profoundly different from the liberal states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The meaning of the sovereignty of states that prevailed prior to the French Revolution bears only a limited resemblance to the application and assertions of sovereignty today. The formidably armed territorial

boundaries that separated and defined the major states of Europe throughout most of the twentieth century were fundamentally redefined within the European Union by the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Hence, one of the important challenges for scholars of international relations is to identify multiple meanings of territory, state, sovereignty and political system, and to understand their origins, comprehend the changes in meaning, analyze their interrelationships, and characterize their transformations. The purpose of this section is to illustrate important changes in the meaning of these central concepts over the course of twentieth century and to suggest some ways of thinking about them.

State and sovereignty are mutually constitutive concepts. As F.H. Hinsley reminds us, 'In a word, the origin and history of the concept of sovereignty are closely linked with the nature, the origin and the history of the state'. Through their engagement in practices of mutual recognition, states define the meaning of sovereignty for themselves and others. At the same time, the mutual recognition of claims of sovereignty is an important element in the definition of the state itself (although there is a school of thought within international law which maintains that states can exist without formal recognition by other states). Both the concepts of state and sovereignty also have territorial conceptions associated with them. The idealized, Westphalian state has discrete boundaries, and the Westphalian ideal of sovereignty stresses the principle of the sacredness of those borders.

The modern state and sovereignty have been co-determinative since their common origins as concepts and associated practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But while they have always been closely associated, they have not remained constant or been mutually constitutive in the same ways over time. That is, different forms of state have constituted different meanings of sovereignty and been associated with different conceptions of territoriality over time and across place.

The literature on the nature of the state typically differentiates between its origins and absolutist forms in the sixteenth century and the variation in its modern forms. This includes variations from the era of popular sovereignty to the nineteenth-century liberal state, the twentieth-century totalitarian state, and what some have described as the late twentieth-century 'post modern' state. Perry Anderson has recorded the origins and functions of the absolutist state, while Charles Tilly, Anthony Giddens and Michael Mann have each described the role of war in the making of the modern state. Douglass North has emphasized the critical role of

early state in the establishment and enforcement of property rights, central to the development of capitalism. The relationship between the absolutist state and the origins and functioning of the classical European balance of power system has also been examined extensively in the scholarly literature. The absolutist nature of the state in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was highly correlated with the diplomatic practices of the period, especially the ease with which diplomats and heads of state were able to settle disputes with the division, re-division and allocation of territory. This absolutist residue is a characteristic of the balance of power system that has troubled democratic leaders of the liberal state all through the twentieth century. Woodrow Wilson detested the political immorality of the balance of power system prevalent at the beginning of the twentieth century and favoured open diplomacy to secrecy, and self-determination over the 'unconscionable bartering of helpless and innocent peoples'. The tension between the frequently illiberal practices of balance of power diplomacy and the tendencies of democratic liberal states has persisted throughout the twentieth century.

It is one thing to establish changes in the form, meaning and conceptualization of the state over time, but yet another to establish its implications for our analysis and understanding of international relations. The basic affinities between the absolutist state and the operation of the classical European balance of power system have already been suggested. Martin Wight identified relationships between the emergence of other forms of state – revolutionary, democratic state forms – and the international systems that developed in later periods. More recently, Mlada Bukovansky has illustrated how the French and American revolutions produced new forms of state which challenged the dynastic principles that governed the international system during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. These were the principles that have been derived from, and in many ways continuation of, the principles associated historically with the absolutist state. However, the enlightenment ideas played a vital role in the transformation of the state and of the international political culture that was shaped and formed by state interactions.

We can also illustrate the importance of changes in the meaning of states with more contemporary examples drawn exclusively from the twentieth century. The great powers (and their imitators) were more than mere states or nation-states at the beginning of the century: they were empires. It was not until the middle of the twentieth century that the nation-state form was actually globalized, following the break-up of formal empires and the transformative process of decolonization. By the century's end, we had evidence of both 'failed' states in Africa and the emergence of a distinctly different polity (or a potential 'super state') in Europe.

Thus, while states remained central to international politics throughout the course of the twentieth century, the meaning of 'state' has not remained fixed in time or place.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, empires were the 'natural' form of state for the great powers. The British, French, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires governed most of the world, while Germany, Japan and the United States aspired for the empires of their own. According to J.A. Hobson, it was an era 'of competitive forms of imperialism'. World maps reflected empires as the principal units in territorial terms, and the language of geopolitics and imperialism tended to take the imperial state for granted. Advocates of imperial expansion, from Jules Ferry in France to Cecil Rhodes in England, asserted the economic, political and strategic benefits of imperialism, along with the moral imperative of assuming 'the selfless burden of empire'. Imperial expansion was natural and smooth, with a primacy given to the physical occupation and possession of territory. The 'hierarchy of civilizations' ensured that the world was very much a European world (with Europe on top), and there was widespread belief in the benefits to be derived from the historically progressive aggregation of political units, from nations to states to empires. Adam Watson has described this in terms of 'the worldwide expansion of European international society'.

The beginning of the twentieth century also saw the surfacing of mass politics, and increasingly, at least in some parts of the world, the emergence of mass, democratic politics. As urbanization and industrialization both advanced, labour became increasingly mobilized and eventually became a political force that generated reform movements within liberal democratic states, and revolutionary upheavals in more autocratic places like Russia and China. Similar forms of mass mobilization and proto-nationalist movements began to emerge throughout the colonial possessions of the empires by 1920s, from Africa and South Asia, to the Middle East and East Asia. It was the presence of these movements for reform and self-determination, in combination with the great world wars of the twentieth century that lead eventually to the demise of the imperial form of the twentieth-century state.

The primacy of the nation-state form is most strikingly apparent during the middle years of the twentieth century, from the 1930s through the 1970s. The 'welfare state', the 'territorial state', the 'national security state', and the 'developmental state' are all prominent constructs of the middle part of the twentieth century. The decolonization process following the Second World War distributed the nation-state form throughout the territories of the former colonial empires. By the middle of the twentieth century, virtually all the empires demised, and the world was

increasingly divided into nation-states. These new states contained more than one nation and new 'nation-building' efforts predominated.

One way to illustrate the change in the meaning of the state in the twentieth century is to examine changing norms about the legitimate role of the state, both in the economy and in the provision of security. Between the First and the Second World Wars, there was a genuine contestation between radically different alternative political forms of the state, from the welfare-nationalist state to the alternatives of the fascist state and the socialist state. Each of these three different state forms entailed substantial increases in the degree of the state's intervention in the economy. It was not until the end of the twentieth century that there were significant initiatives to reverse the degree of state economic intervention in the economy.

Another indication of the preponderance of the nation-state form at the middle of the twentieth century is contained in the Charter of the United Nations. The UN Charter is founded on the defence of the inviolable norm of non-intervention into the affairs of member nation-states, inscribed in Article II, Chapter 7 of the Charter. The United Nations as an institution has, since it's creation in 1945, been robustly associated with asserting the rights and defending the concerns of its member states. It is a greatly statist institution. Although the nation-state form was universalized during the middle part of the twentieth century, not every observer viewed this development as benign. The intense nationalism associated with the origins of the Second World War also contributed to a global search for institutions that would rise above the nation-state construct, from an interest in regional integration to the expansion of global institutions more generally.

By the end of the twentieth century, the intense state-centrism associated with its middle decades began to show the evidence of fading. Beginning with the late 1970s there were sizeable reductions in the degree and nature of state involvement in the economy. By the early 1990s this transformation was nearly universalized, as the global expansion of capitalism was achieved under the banner of 'economic reform' and the neoliberal state. The national security state was ever more challenged by the transparency of Internet, but it was doing its best to defend itself by enhancing itssurveillance capacity. Governance had become increasingly complex.

At the same time, the failure of the great state-building project of the post-colonial era was becoming increasingly visible in many parts of Africa. The promise of postcolonial development and nation-building was replaced by frequent crises of development and the spectre of state failure and incapacity. Also at the same time, Europe, the birthplace of the nation-state, was moving away from the separate nation-state form, in the direction of a polity whose definition remains vaguely

situated between a collection of nation-states and a single, super state. While there is no agreement on a label for the modal state form at the beginning of the twenty-first century, candidates range from the self-restrained, neoliberal or postmodern state to the defective, retreating or failed state.

Up to this point, most of the discussion about different forms of state has focused on its change of meaning over time. The form of the state has changed across the centuries, and it has also shown significant changes. However, not only did the form of the state change over time, but it also changed across location, place and space. Which means, the importance and meaning of state economic intervention and the nature of the relationship between state and society are profoundly different in different places on the globe at the same point in time. The differences are most apparent when we compare the importance of the nation-state in contemporary Western Europe with its contemporary salience throughout most of the developing world. The contrasts between Europe and North America on one hand, and Asia on the other, are equally striking, regardless of level of development. These contextual differences have implications both for the ways we need to understand the nature of state economic intervention, as well as for the nature of relationship between state and society.

In the final analysis, why should the differences between twentieth-century forms of state – i.e. the imperial state and the nation-state, for example – concern us? Why should this be of interest to the students of international relations in particular? State forms matter, because they provide essential forms of political identity, around which people mobilize, kill others and commit their lives. The defence of empire is far more abstract and qualitatively different from the defence of the nation-state. State forms also play a critical role in the construction of the culture of international relations. The culture of international relations during the era of empires, balance of power geopolitics and competitive imperialisms was significantly different from the culture of international relations when the nation-state was at a high point, with its imperfect norms of non-intervention and multilateralism. Different state forms can also define the likelihood of international conflict. This is especially the case, if advocates of the democratic peace hypothesis are correct about their assessment of the probability of conflict among democratic states.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss the changing role of state in twentieth century.

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2. State and Sovereignty are mutually constitutive concepts. Explain.

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1.1.5 STATE AND GLOBALIZATION

As you understand by now, the study of international relations has largely concerned with the study of states, their practices of sovereignty, the effects of anarchy on their foreign policies, the patterns of their interactions, and the organization of international politics. However, the developments from late twentieth century onward somewhat reduced and redefined the notion of anarchy, especially due to the emergence of many regulatory international organisations in which most of the states have become members. Hence, the scholars of international relations, while recognizing the existence of anarchy in inter-state relations, however, shifted their focus to study the functioning of international structures where states share the space with many other non-state actors, and where developments in international politics are shaped not only by states but also by this non-state actors and forces. In short, the discipline is moving away from the study of "international relations" to the study of "global society." We use this shift in the name to symbolize a series of transformations in the last thirty years in the discipline regarding what and whom we study, and how and why we study them.

Hence, it is imperative for the students of international relations to understand what actually constitutes "globalization" in the twenty-first century and how it is different from earlier phases. Anthony Giddens, a political-sociologist, defines globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa". Martin Albrow provides the most succinct and general definition of globalization as "all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society".

Globalization is an elusive concept in many ways but broadly relates to a series of interacting processes involving economics, technology, politics, communications, culture and other exchanges. Globalization is an expansion and intensification of cross-border activities, trans-national actions and global interactions that are changing many aspects of international relations. For some scholars like Susan Strange, Peter Van Ham and Graeme Gill globalization is transforming the state in many ways. The argument is that the structural changes of globalization are fundamentally changing the nature of the sovereign state. The de-territorialisation of many activities, including economic exchanges like the transfer of money, may be undermining the authority of the state. For example, multinational corporations can avoid paying taxes, move their factories from one state to the other and demand the governments even before they invest. Susan Strange suggested that instead of states controlling market forces, market forces are now controlling states. In addition, as processes like privatization occurred in many Western states, private firms were – and are – taking over important state functions suggesting that states are giving up many of their powers. In a globalized division of labour, the state no longer primarily initiates the action in, but rather reacts to, worldwide economic forces.

Such developments mean it is not just states; many other new actors are involved in international relations. Arguably, technological innovations such as the development of the Internet too undermined the aspects of the state because it allows people to spread information and news, offer dissenting voices to a global audience, sell and buy goods, and transfer money instantly with little control by the state. A few states like North Korea, China and Iran are resisting such developments by imposing controls over internet usage and imposing censorship over websites. However, the development of new technologies is indisputably allowing individuals and groups to have greater autonomy that may be contrary to the interests of the state. State transformation may mean that the state increases its surveillance function through the introduction of biometric passports and identity cards, use of lists to identify or target specific groups in society, and to increase its monitoring of people moving from one state into another. If a state transformation is occurring

then this suggests that the state is able to adapt, change and respond to the changing global environment.

Globalization is also challenging the one-dimensionality of conservative accounts of world politics that conceive it principally in state-centric terms of struggle for power between states. The concept of global politics, which is now talked by many social scientists, focuses our attention upon the global structures and processes of normative principles and values, the maintenance of security and order in the world system. It acknowledges the continuing centrality of states and power politics, but does not give a privilege either in understanding and explaining contemporary international affairs. In contemporary international relations, state are increasingly became parts and sub-units of multilateral institutions and plural politics from NATO and the World Trade Organization (WTO) to the G20, transnational associations and networks, where diplomats, government and non-governmental actors, and corporates dealing with shared global problems. Global politics directs our attention to the emergence of a fragile global polity within which interests are articulated and aggregated, decisions are made, values are allocated and policies conducted through international or transnational political processes.

The main arguments in favour of globalization comprising a new era of world politics are stated by John Baylis in his *Globalization of World Politics.* These are:

1. The pace of economic transformation is so great that it has created a new world politics. States are no longer closed unites and they cannot control their economies. The international economy is more interdependent now comparing with the past, with ever expanding trade and finances.
2. **COMMUNICATIONS HAVE FUNDAMENTALLY REVOLUTIONIZED THE WAY WE DEAL WITH** the rest of the world. We now live in a world where developments in one location can be immediately observed on the other part of the world. Electronic communications alter our notions of the social groups we work with and live in.
3. There is now, more than ever before, a global culture, so that most urban areas resemble one another. The metropolitan locations in America, Europe, Asia and Africa share a common culture, much of it emanating from Hollywood and global literature.
4. The world is becoming more homogeneous. Differences between peoples re diminishing.

5. Time and space seem to be collapsing. Our old ideas of geographically space and of chronological time are undermined by the speed of modern communications and media.
6. There is emerging global polity, with transnational social and political movements and the beginning of transfer of allegiance from the state to sub-state, transnational, and international bodies.
7. A cosmopolitan culture is developing. People are started to 'think globally and act locally'.
8. A risk culture is emerging with people realizing both that the main risks that face them are global (pollution and HIV for example) and that states are unable to deal with the problems.

If global politics involves a diversity of actors and institutions, it is also, on the other hand, marked by a diversity of political concerns. The agenda of global politics is anchored not just in traditional geopolitical concerns but also in proliferation of economic, social, cultural, and ecological questions. Due to the globalization, climate change, narcotics, human rights, and terrorism have become an important international policy issues that go beyond territorial borders and existing political jurisdictions.

Moreover, while globalization limits the state power, there is a reassertion of historical forces. Just as globalization gives impetus to cultural homogenization (e.g., the diffusion of standard consumer goods throughout the world), so too does a global thrust weaken state power and unleash subterranean cultural pluralism. This opposing process merges with the dialectic of sub-nationalism and supra-nationalism. Many polities are disrupted by sub-state actors and simultaneously seek advantage in global competition through regionalization. Despite the past failings of regional groupings, regional cooperation is widely regarded as a way to achieve mobility in the changing global division of labour. Thus, the state is being reformed from underneath by the tugs of sub-nationalism and from the top by the pull of economic globalization.

Thant is the reason why many of the scholars of international relations consider that under globalization many forces are at work to undermine the defining feature of international relations for several centuries—national sovereignty. As Ian Clark explains, "According to conventional wisdom it is sovereignty which is most at risk from globalization….[Thus] if we wish to trace the impact of globalization, then it is within the realm of sovereignty that the search must properly begin". The fear is

that states are steadily losing the ability to decide their own fates as the forces of globalization shift the locus of meaningful decision making to other entities. The fundamental question is whether state can still shape the policies and tame the forces that affect the lives of their citizens.

In his books, *The Borderless World* and *The End of Nation State*, Kenichi Ohmae argues that economic and technological trends are rendering the nation-state increasingly irrelevant and impotent. This effect can be seen most vividly in the global economy: "On the political map the boundaries between countries are as clear as ever. But on the competitive map, a map showing the real flows of financial and industrial activity, those boundaries have largely disappeared". If we remove the political boundaries from a map and look only at the pattern of economic activity, we would no longer be able to redraw the world's political boundaries.

This disconnect between economic and political realities, however, cannot last forever. Ohmae thinks a readjustment is already well under way: "the modern nation-state itself—the artefact of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—has begun to crumble". And Anthony Giddens has joined the Nation-State's funeral chorus: "Nations have lost the sovereignty they once had, and politicians have lost their capacity to influence events…. The era of the nation-state is over".

1.1.5.1 Critics of Globalization View

However, many scholars disagree with the view that globalization is forcing the state to take a backseat. They disagree with the notion that the sovereign state is in decline. The sovereign power and authority of national government is being transformed but by no means eroded. Locked into systems of global and regional governance, states now assert their sovereignty less in the form of a legal claim to supreme power than as a bargaining tool. As a result, sovereignty, once considered as a monopoly of state, is now shared among the agencies at different levels, from the local to the global.

More severe critics of globalization question the disappearance of state thesis. Though no one questions the impact of globalization on states and communities, the issues is whether patterns of international interactions are changing in ways and to a degree so that it makes sense to even begin talking about a borderless world or the end of nation-state. For globalization sceptics, such a talk is too early at best and rests on a persistent pattern of exaggeration and selective use of evidence.

No one can deny that advances in transportation and communication have helped overcome the obstacles of distance. Sceptics caution, however, that this should not be confused with an "end" of geography. They argue that most accounts of globalization focus on companies and plants that relocate production from one country to another while ignoring those that stay in their respective countries. Still most of the industries and finances are located in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. For instance, Robert Wade notes that "today the stock of U.S. capital invested abroad represents less than 7 per cent of the U.S. GNP. Similarly, Robert Gilpin states that "Trade, investment and financial flows were actually greater in the late 1800s, at least relative to the size of national economies and the international economy, than they are today".

The Realist school of international relations rejects the view of globalization as an irreversible process that threatens states. On the contrary, they see globalization as a process promoted and enabled by the policies of states. Globalization will come to a grounding halt if the major states reverse the policies that sustain it.

Many Marxists and Critical thinkers object the globalization thesis. For them, the globalization is merely a buzz-word to denote the latest phase of capitalism.

1.1.6 LET US SUM UP

The term International Relations is perhaps synonymous with Inter-state Relations because the study of international relations, while inter-disciplinary in many ways, pays particular attention to states and to state-based actors in the international system. Throughout history states have existed in many forms, from the city-states of ancient Greece to the feudal states of the medieval period to the modern system of states in place today.

The surfacing of the modern state system was in reality a slow, steady process driven by several significant economic, religious, and military developments that finally undermined the feudal order and replaced it with a new way of organizing European politics. It is claimed by many scholars that the modern system of state originates from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. A number of important principles emerged from the Westphalian settlement such as territoriality, secularism and reciprocal recognition. The Peace of Westphalia also codified an important feature of statehood, namely sovereignty. As European influence spread throughout the world in subsequent centuries, this new way of organizing things would come, for better or worse, to characterize international politics on a global scale. Many new states emerged in the twentieth century due to national self

determination, anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa. Finally, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the formation of independent nation-states in Eastern and Southern Europe has followed the path of violent secessions.

The 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States sets out the four main criteria of statehood. These are: population; territory; government; and the capacity to enter into relations with other states. The scholar Alan James (1986) argues that a fifth unwritten criterion exists, that of 'constitutional independence'.

Many scholars view that the nation-state at one time represented a response to the historical challenge of finding a functional equivalent for the early modern form of social integration that was in the process of disintegrating. Today we are confronting an comparable challenge. The globalisation of commerce and communication, of economic production and finance, of the spread of technology and weapons, and above all of ecological and military risks, poses problems that cannot be resolved within the traditional method of agreements between sovereign states. If current trends continue, the progressive undermining of national sovereignty may call for the founding and development of political institutions on the supranational level.

Those who are critical to the present-day globalization argue that globalization is robbing nations of their ability to shape their own policies and destinies. Some believe that economic and technological trends are taking away the power of making critical decisions out of the hands of national governments, placing them at the mercy of supranational forces, actors, and institutions. Economic actors such as multinational corporations are becoming more and more powerful to escape the power of national governments. Observers from a variety of perspectives agree that globalization is occurring, though they disagree on whether this process is eroding the importance of state. Some argue that national boundaries, communities, and governments are still dominant and the world remains fundamentally a assortment of national communities rather than a truly global society or economy.

1.1.7 Exercise

1. Discuss the evolution of modern State System.
2. State is central to the study of international relations. Comment.
3. Explain the process of expansion of the state system.
4. Discuss the changing dynamics of state?
5. Examine the impact of globalization on nation-state.

1.1.8 Suggested Readings

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics*, OUP, 2011.

Hirst, Paul, and Grahame Thompson,'Globalization and the future of the nation state,' *Economy and society*, 24.3 (1995): 408-442.

Hoffmann, Stanley, 'Reflections on the Nation-State in Western Europe Today,' *J. Common Mkt. Stud*, 21 (1982): 21.

Omae, Kenichi, and Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies*, Simon and Schuster, 1995.

1.2. EVALUATION OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: FIRST WORLD WAR, INTER-WAR POLITICS, SECOND WORLD WAR, BIPOLARITY AND COLD WAR, END OF COLD WAR AND CHANGES IN GLOBAL POWER STRUCTURE

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to:

- Understand the history of twentieth century international politics
- Know the causes and impact of two World Wars
- Comprehend the reasons for emergence of Cold War between two superpowers
- Understand the nature of post-Cold War international relations

1.2.1 INTRODUCTION

This lesson intends to explain the key developments of the international relations in the twentieth century without which it is very difficult to understand contemporary scenario. The twentieth century is known for massive upheavals. The two World Wars in the first half of the century caused millions of human casualties and utmost destruction that the world ever witnessed in the past. The century also witnessed the rise of anti-colonial movements, birth of various international organizations, advent of nuclear weapons, spread of state system among the countries of Asia and Africa. The conflict between European countries, which was most common feature of world since 16th century, replaced by the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. This confrontation, termed as Cold War, to a large extent remained as a major feature of the second half of the twentieth century. It brought newly emerged Asian and African countries also into the bloc system. However, the military and political strength of both the superpowers prevented another large scale war to occur in the world, though both powers fought proxy wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The collapse of Soviet Union ultimately brought the Cold War to an end and the world shifted towards newer aspects of cooperation and confrontation. This is the background in which this lesson critically analyses the major developments of the twentieth century, i.e. First World War, the Inter-War Politics, Second World War, Cold War and developments in the Post-Cold War international relations.

1.2.2 FIRST WORLD WAR

At the dawn of the twentieth century the world got transformed. The age of absolutist monarchies was fading over or on its last legs. The spread of nationalism was reconfiguring the map of Europe, creating new powers while weakening the old ones. Nationalism and industrial revolution allowed governments to create war machines capable of unparalleled destruction. European political and military power had spread even to the most remote reaches of the world. Hence, the root cause for the World War I was the imperial disputes, particularly between the dominant powers Britain and France and the rising powers Germany and Italy. The opening years of twentieth century were marked with these alliances and rivalries.

1.2.2.1 The Road to War

The division of Europe into rival alliances almost assured that a war involving anyone would eventually involve everyone. The only question was which conflict would bring the precarious peace to an end. The changes were good that a general would emerge from the conflicts in the Balkans. It was here that the power of the Austrian-Hunagarian, Ottoman, and Russian empires intersected in political waters muddied by the conflicts of nationalism. One of the most volatile conflicts was between Austria-Hungary and Serbia. There were substantial population of Serbians living within the borders of Austria-Hungary. Consistent with the sentiments of nationalism, powerful forces within Serbia called for the creation of a Greater Serbia incorporating all the Serbian people, something that did not sit well with Austria-Hungary. When a Serbian nationalist extremist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary (next in line to the throne) in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, the first step on the road to war was taken. What followed was a dizzying round of threats and ultimatums that failed to resolve the crisis. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914. Russia, which generally supported Serbia, mobilized its army on July 30, setting off a chain reaction in Germany and France. By August 4, all of Europe was at war, with Britain joining France and Russia.

The war spread all over the world as colonial powers brought subject people into the war. The war dragged for four years, turning into a horrific war of attrition that destroyed and scarred the entire generation. World War I became the first **total war**, in which every element of society and every aspect of national life were consumed by the conduct of war.

The carnage continued for three years, and by 1917 the nations and armies of Europe were close to exhaustion. Three pivotal events finally brought the war to an end Russian revolution in November 1917 and the entry of United States of America into the war on the side of Britain and France. The tide turned against Germany by August 1918 and Germany defeated by November.

1.2.3 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

That there were two major power wars within a single generation is unusual in international history. That Europe would again be plunged into war merely two decades after World War I indicates a connection between the two conflicts. World War II cannot be understood without an appreciation of the impact on World War I on both the victors and the vanquished. As the 1920s and 1930s began, World War I cast a long, dark shadow. It is impossible to exaggerate the impact of the war on European societies. The legacy of the war was not uniform, however. For some, the horrors of World War I forged a determination to avoid a repeat at any cost. Modern war had become so dreadful that nothing could rationalize another war. For others,

the perception that the First World War's settlement was unfair and unjust fuelled bitterness. These two ways of looking at the war were to prove a dangerous mix.

1.2.3.1 Treaty of Versailles

Major wars always pose the problem of creating a post-war order, a task that usually faavors to the victors. The first step in this direction was the Treaty of Versailles (1919), which spelled out the final peace terms. The Treaty failed to tackle what was for some the central problem of European security after 1870—a united and frustrated Germany—and precipitated German resentment by creating new states and devising contested borders. For some scholars like E.H.Carr, the interwar period represented a twenty-year crisis.

The treaty was in many ways a "victor's peace"—harsh on the losers, soft on the winners. Germany was required to accept conditions that applied to no one else—relinquishment of territory, restrictions on the size of its armed forces, and payment of huge reparations. Most important, Germany was forced to accept sole and total blame for the war. This provision was particularly annoying and humiliating for the Germans, who came to feel that they had been unfairly singled out for harsh treatment simply because they were the losers. Due to this, all parties and statesman in Germany demanded for the drastic revision of the Treaty of Versailles. A decade later, Hitler and the Nazis were able to take advantage of and exploit these sentiments during their rise to power.

In Great Britain and France, the legacy of the war was somewhat different. Having gone to war in 1914 expecting a tiny conflict, they rather found themselves trapped in a war of unprecedented horror. Though victorious, victory came at an astounding cost. From the perspective of those who had just been through this experience, the first priority was avoiding another war.

1.2.3.2 Establishment of League of Nations

Many states desired the creation of a post-war international order that might prevent another war, and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson attempted to provide one. The corner stone of this new world order was the **League of Nations**, an organization that could form the basis for a combined, international response to future threats to peace. The League eventually proved unsuccessful. Several obstacles doomed the League. First, despite the organization's connection to Woodrow Wilson, the United States failed to join when the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the treaty. Second, the then dominant countries did not recognize post-revolution Soviet Union, due to which it retreated into isolation. Third, and most important, the League's members were unwilling and unable to do what was necessary to respond to the threats to peace. The League of Nations was a voluntary organization of states, not a world government. It did not have its own military forces. If it were to mount a credible response, it would need to convince member states to do so. In the end, member nations proved unwilling to respond when needed.

1.2.3.3 Rise of Hitler and Nazism in Germany

As the 1920s drew to a close, a dangerous brew was already simmering—Germany was dissatisfied with the terms laid out at Versailles; Western European nations were weary of war and resolved to avoid a repeat at almost any cost; and the principal post-war institutions designed to preserve the peace was not living up to expectations. The Great Depression, partly due to the crash of Wall Street stock market, made things worse, leading to economic adversity and political disorder everywhere. In Germany, Hitler and Nazis took advantage of German resentment and the hardships of the depression to expand their political appeal. Many forget that although the Nazis quickly destroyed German democracy, they came to power initially through democratic means. Fascist, military-oriented dictatorships emerged in Italy, Japan, and Spain as well. These regimes provided the final tipping point that plunged the world into war for the second time in a generation.

Conventional accounts date the start of World War II to Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, however Japan's takeover of Manchuria (part of China) in 1931 or its attack of China in 1937 were also equally initiated the Second World War. As Japan was expanding its empire in Asia during the 1930s, Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933. Ravaged by the Great Depression and limited by the Treaty of Versailles, Germany remained too weak in the early years of Nazi rule to cause much trouble. By 1935, however, the German economy was recovering and Hitler began to implement his plan to restore and expand German power. Conscription was resumed and the new German air force was unveiled. Though both actions violated the Treaty of Versailles, Germany's neighbours did nothing. Hitler's first major international move occurred in 1936, when German forces re-entered the Rhineland (German land taken over by France as part of compensation after First World War), violating the Treaty of Versailles. Again, Germany's neighbours did nothing.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What are the root causes of first World War?

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2. Explain the Treaty of Versailles?

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3. Discuss the league of Nations and why it failed to prevent WW2?

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4. Discuss Nazi Germany under Hitler.

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5. What factors led to Second World War?

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1.2.3.4 Britain and France: Policy of Appeasement

Between 1936 and 1938 German military spending increased dramatically and went largely unmatched and unchallenged. Instead of resisting these initial German moves, Western nations engaged in a policy of appeasement. Rather than risk war over demands that could be seen as moderate and legitimate, France and Germany largely given in. The policy of appeasement remains popular, in part because the idea of another war was so unpopular. The most infamous act of appeasement occurred in the fall of 1938. The problem was the presence of ethnic Germans living in a part of Czechoslovakia known as the Sudetenland. With the encouragement of Hitler and the German government in Berlin, the Sudeten Germans demanded to be unified with Germany. As the situation approached war, a conference was held in Munich in which France and Britain (without the consent of the Czechs) agreed to give Hitler what he wanted. Upon his return home, A few months later, in March 1939, Germany surprised the world again by invading and capturing the rest of Czechoslovakia. The **Munich Agreement** had not satisfied the Hitler. Now it was clear to all that his goals went well beyond revising the Treaty of Versailles. Few could escape the conclusion that war would come again.

1.2.4 SECOND WORLD WAR

After Hitler signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, German troops invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. Britain and France declared war on Germany. After making quick work of Poland, Hitler turned westward and marched through Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and most of France, leaving Britain virtually alone to prevent total German domination of Western Europe. Though the United States provided critical supplies to Britain, isolationist sentiment kept the United States out of the war. The Germans bombed London and other parts of Britain, which many feared was a overture to an invasion. Though the bombing caused substantial damage and hardship, the anticipated invasion never came.

In 1941, two developments altered the course of the war. In June, Hitler broke his nonaggression agreement with Stalin and invaded the Soviet Union. Then, in December, the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbour, leading the United States to declare war on Japan. In response, Japan’s ally Germany declared war on the United States, bringing the United States into the European conflict as well. The United States and the Soviet Union were now allies along with Britain in the struggle against Germany.

Though the United States declared war on Germany, the vast majority of the fighting in Europe between 1941 and 1944 took place on the Eastern Front between Germany and the Soviet Union. As a result, Soviet Union suffered massive casualties which are closer to 2.5 crore. The invasion of France on June 7, 1944, opened the long-awaited second front, necessitating Hitler to fight a war on two sides. As allied troops advanced on Germany from the west and Soviet troops closed in from the east, the eventual outcome of the war in Europe became clear. In June 1945, American, British, and Soviet troops met in Berlin and Germany's defeat was final. The war against Japan continued for a few months after the German surrender, with the United State's use of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in early August 1945 finally triggering Japan's surrender.

1.2.5 ORIGINS OF COLD WAR

The most important outcome of the World War II was the emergence of two superpowers—the United States and Soviet Union—as the primary actors in the international system, and the decline of Europe as the epicentre of international politics.

The second outcome of the war was the recognition of basic incompatibilities between these two superpowers in both national interests and ideology. Differences surfaced immediately over geopolitical national interests. Russia, having been invaded from the west on several occasions, including during World War II, used its newfound power to solidify its sphere of influence in the buffer states of Eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. The Soviet leadership believed that ensuring friendly neighbours onits western borders was vital to Soviet national interests. As for the United States, as early as 1947, U.S. policy makers argued that U.S. interests lay in containing the Soviet Union. The diplomat and historian published in *Foreign Affairs* the famous "X" article, in which he argued that because the Soviet Union would always feel military insecurity, it would carry out an aggressive foreign policy. Containing the Soviets, Kennan therefore wrote, should become the cornerstone of the United State's post-war policy.

1.2.5.1 Containment and the Truman Doctrine

Along with the Kennan article, many U.S. policy makers urged the then US president Harry S. Truman to take immediate steps to counter the Soviet Union's influence. The government of UK announced in February 1947 that it no more afford to finance the Greek military regime in its civil war against insurgents who are led by communist.

The American government's response to this announcement was the adoption of containment, the goal of which was to stop the spread of communism. In a famous speech Truman announced the allocation of $400 million to intervene in the war and in the process unveiled the Truman Doctrine, which termed the conflict as a fight between free peoples and totalitarian systems. Moderate and conservative parties in Europe, as well as social democrats, gave virtually unconditional support to the Western alliance. **Marshall Plan** announced in May 1947 to offer massive economic aid to all the countries of Europe devastated by war. Hence, from the end of 1947, repression, based on US geostrategic interests, became the fundamental doctrine of US foreign policy during the Cold War.

1.2.5.2 Berlin Blockade and Airlift

To rebuild the western Germany, which was in the control of US-led alliance, in early 1948, representatives of the US and many Western European governments agreed for a merger of western German areas into a system of federal government. Furthermore, as a part of the Marshall Plan, the alliance had decided to re-industrialize and rebuild the German economy.

To counter these efforts of western powers, Stalin instituted the Berlin Blockade (June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949), one of the first major crises of the Cold War, to stop food and other supplies arriving from other countries to West Berlin. To offset Stalin plans, the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand along with several other allies undertaken one of the great acts which in a way initiated the Cold War, famously named as "Berlin Airlift". The Berlin air lift was aimed to supply the essential and other materials required for people of West Germany. Understanding fallacy in his policy, Stalin lifted blockade in May 1949.

1.2.5.3 Ideological Differences

The United States and the Soviet Union also had major ideological differences. These differences pitted two distinct visions of society and of the international order. The United State's democratic liberalism was based on a social system that accepted the worth and value of individual, a political system that depended on the participation of individuals in the electoral process, and an economic system, capitalism, which provided opportunities to individuals to pursue what was economically rational with little or no government interference. At the international level, this logically translated into support for other democratic liberal regimes and support of capitalist institutions and processes, including, most critically, free trade.

Soviet communist ideology also affected that country's conception of the international system and state practices. The Soviet state embraced Marxist ideology, which held that one class (the bourgeoisie) controls the ownership of means of production and uses its institutions and authority to maintain that control. The solution to the problem of class rule, according to Marxism, is revolution, wherein the exploited proletariat takes control from the bourgeoisie by using the state to seize the means of production. Thus, capitalism is replaced with socialism. The leaders of the Soviet Union saw themselves in an interim period—after the demise of the capitalist state and before the victory of socialism. This ideology had critical international elements, as well: capitalism will try to extend itself through imperialism in order to generate more capital, larger markets, and greater control over raw materials. Soviet leaders thus felt themselves surrounded by a hostile capitalist camp and argued that the Soviet Union "must not weaken but must in every way strengthen its state, the state organs, the organs of the intelligence service, the army, if that country does not want to be smashed by the capitalist environment". Internationally, they believed, it must support movements whose goals are both to undermine the capitalist and to promote a new social order.

1.2.5.4 Soviet support for Anti-Colonial Movements

The defeat of Japan and Germany led to the instantaneous end of their respective imperial empires. For the other colonialists faced with the reality of their economically and politically weakened position, and confronted with indigenous movements for independence, the European states granted independence to their former colonies, beginning with Indian independence from Britain. The Soviet Union actively supported these anti-colonial movements, which further exasperated its relations with Western powers.

1.2.5.5 Extension of Cold War to Other Parts of the World

The two super powers started playing their differences indirectly, on third-party stages, rather than through direct confrontation between the two protagonists. As the number of newly independent states proliferated in the post-war world as a result of decolonization, the super powers competed for influence over these new states to extend their power to newer areas. Thus, the Cold War resulted in the globalization of conflicts to all continents, international relations became truly global.

Hence, the Cold War (1945-89) can be characterised as forty-five years of overall high-level tension and competition between the two superpowers but with no direct military conflict. The advent of nuclear weapons created a bipolar stalemate, in which each side acted cautiously, only once coming closer to the war. The Cold War, then, was a series of events that directly or indirectly pitted the superpowers against each other. Some of those events were confrontations just short of war, while others were confrontations between proxies (North Korea vs. South Korea, North Vietnam vs. South Vietnam, Ethiopia vs. Somalia) that, in all likelihood, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had intended to escalate further. Many other issues were confronted over words which were usually ended with some kind of agreements without further escalating. Some of these confrontations involved only the United States and the Soviet Union, but more often than not, the allies of each became involved. Thus, the Cold War compromised not only superpower confrontations but confrontations between two blocs of states: the United States, with Canada, Australia, and much of Western Europe (allied in North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO); and the Soviet Union, with its Warsaw Pact allies in Eastern Europe.

In Asia, Korea became the symbol of the Cold War. It, too, was divided geographically—between north and south—and ideologically—between communist and non-communist states. The first Asian confrontation came in 1950 as communist North Korean troops, poked by the Soviet military (hoping to improve its defence position), and marched into a weak South Korea. The Soviets never fought directly, but the United States (under the aegis of the United Nations) and the Chinese (acting on behalf of the Soviet Union) did. The North Korean offensive was eventually repelled, and the two sides became mired in a three-year stalemate. The war finally ended in 1953.

The 1962 Cuban missile crisis represents a high-profile direct confrontation between the superpowers in yet another region of the world. Originally devised by the Soviet Union to compensate for its lagging missile programme, the Soviets took the bold move of installing missiles in Cuba, 90 miles from US shores. The US saw the installation of the missiles as a direct threat to its territory: no weapons of a powerful enemy had ever been located so close to US shores. However, both superpowers showed the restraints with a small compromise as none of them wanted a direct confrontation.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss the factors that led to the emergence of Cold War?

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2. What is Truman Doctrine?

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3. Discuss Berlin Crisis.

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4. Explain how Cold War expanded to other parts of world.

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5. What is second Cold War?

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6. Cold War is often referred as period of long peace. Illustrate.

1.2.5.6 Detente

The developments in post-Cuban crisis of 1962 were followed by a sort of coexistence and competition. Nuclear armoury continued to grow. The global nuclear dimension increased with the emergence of other nuclear weapon states: Britain (1952), France (1960), China (1964), India (1974), and Pakistan (1998). Israel and South Africa also developed nuclear weapons, though the post-apartheid South African government had dismantled them. Growing concern at the proliferation of nuclear weapons led to negotiation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968; the treaty resulted in countries of nuclear weapons are agreed to halt the arms race and non-nuclear weapon countries committed not to produced nuclear weapons. However, many countries like India and Pakistan, refused to be part of the NPT considering its discriminatory nature.

When relations soured between two communist countries, Soviet Union and China, the foundations for detente laid between Soviet Union and United States and rapprochement between United States and China. Soviet-American detente had its roots in mutual recognition of the need to avoid nuclear crises, and in the economic and military incentives in avoiding an unrestrained arms race. This new phase in Soviet-American relations did not mark an end to political conflict, as each side pursued political goals, some of which were ever more incompatible with the aspirations of the other superpower. Both sides supported friendly regimes and movements, and subverted adversaries.

December 1979, however, ended the short detente between the two superpowers. NATO agreed to deploy land-based cruise missile in Europe. Later in the month, Soviet armed forces intervened in Afghanistan to support their allies and soon became committed to a protracted and bloody struggle that many compared to America's war in Vietnam. When, the Republican Ronald Regan elected as the president of United States, the United States adopted a more antagonistic approach with Moscow on arms control, Third World conflicts, and East-West relations in general.

1.2.5.7 The Second Cold War

The US President Ronald Reagan was convinced that detente allowed the Soviet Unon to surge ahead of the United Staes in military power and expanding its political influence in the Third World, while the United States waited for Soviet restraint. His administration pursued policies that many viewed as a return to the coldest days of the Cold War, including an ambitious increase in military spending in both the conventional and nuclear areas. The US also assisted anti-communist governments and insurgency movements in Third World countries. Most controversies were its assistance to the "contras" in Nicaragua, who were fighting to overthrow the communist government.

On the other hand, Soviet leadership was in a state of transition during Reagan's first term. Leonid Breznev, in power since the 1960s died in 1982. After a brief stint of two other presidents, Mikhail Gorbachev became President. Gorbachev's 'new thinking' in foreign policy, and his domestic reforms, created revolution, both in the USSR and Eastern Europe. At home, glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) unleashed nationalist and other forces that were to destroy the Soviet Union.

1.2.5.8 The Cold War as a Long Peace

If the Cold War is largely remembered as a series of crises and some direct and indirect confrontations, why then has the Cold War been referred to as the "long peace"? The term itself was coined by diplomatic historian John Lewis Gaddis to dramatize the absence of war between great powers. Just as general war was averted in nineteenth century Europe, so too has general war been avoided since World War II.

Gaddis attributes the long peace to five factors, no single explanation's being sufficient. Probably the most widely accepted explanation revolves around the role of nuclear deterrence. Once both the United States and the Soviet Union had acquired nuclear weapons, neither was willing to use them, since their very deployment jeopardized both states' existence. The Second explanation is that the long peace to the bipolar split in power between the United States and the Soviet Union. The distribution of power equally between the US and the USSR brought stability to the international relations. A third explanation for the long peace is the stability imposed by the hegemonic economic power of the United States. Being in a superior economic position for much of the Cold War, the United States willingly paid the price of maintaining stability. A fourth explanation gives credit for maintaining peace not to either of the superpowers but to economic liberalism. During the Cold War, the liberal economic order solidified and became a dominant factor in international relations. Politics became transnational under liberalism and thus great powers became increasingly obsolete. Finally, Gaddis explores the possibility that the long peace of Cold War was predetermined, as just one phase in a long historical cycle of peace and war. He argued that every 100 to 150 years, war occurs on a global scale; these cycles are driven by uneven economic growth. This explanation suggests that the Cold War is but a blip in one long cycle, and specific events or conditions occurring during the Cold War offer no explanatory power.

1.2.6 THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

The fall of Berlin war in 1989 symbolized the end of the Cold War, but actually its end was gradual. The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, and other Soviet reformers set in motion two domestic processes—*glasnost* (political openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring)—as early as the mid-1980s. Glasnost opened the door to criticism of political system, culminating in the emergence of a multiparty system and the enormous reorientation of the once-monopolistic Communist Party. The foundation of the planned economy, an essential part of the communist system, was completely undermined by Perestroika. At the outset, Gorbachev and his reformers sought to save the system, but once initiated, these reforms led to the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, Gorbachev's resignation in December 1991, and the disintegration

of the Soviet Union in 1992-93. This resulted obviously in the retreat of one superpower along with the bloc attached to it, leaving the United States as the only superpower.

These changes in Soviet Union mark the post-Cold War era. The first post-Cold War test of the so-called New World Order came in response to Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait in August 1990. Despite its long-standing relationship with Iraq, the Soviet Union (and later Russia), along with the four other members of the U.N. Security Council, agreed first to impose economic sanctions against Iraq. Then they agreed in a Security Council resolution to support the means to restore the status quo—to oust Iraq from Kuwait with a multinational military force. Finally, they supported the sending of U.N. Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission to monitor the zone, and permitted the UN to undertake humanitarian intervention and create safe havens for the Kurdish and Shiite population of Iraq.

The end of Cold War denotes a major change in international relations, the end of one historical era and the beginning of another. Just as path breaking as the end of the Roman Empire or the development of the nineteenth century European balance of power have been events that have occurred during the last several years—within our immediate memory—the outbreak of civil wars and ethnic conflicts and the response of humanitarian intervention.

In the first few years of post-Cold War period, expectations about the future of international relations diverged. Some expected a more stable world marked by the triumph of liberal democracy, economic prosperity, peace dividends, and the reduction of war and conflict. Others feared that the relative stability and predictability of the Cold War order would be replaced by newly unleashed forces of national and ethnic conflict that might prove more dangerous than the superpower rivalry. Almost two decades into the post-Cold War era, these debates about the future world politics continue to rage without any definitive resolution. Nonetheless, it is possible to make some general observations about the shape of international relations in the post-Cold War era to which most, if not all, would subscribe.

Check Your Progress 3

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What is Perestroika?

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2. Explain the term ‘New World Order’.

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_____

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1.2.7 Let Us Sum Up

The demise and eventual dissolution of the Soviet Union was unquestionably a major event that transformed critical aspects of international relations, especially in Europe. Germany is unified again for the first time since 1945. Former allies of the Soviet Union now seek admission into NATO. The division of Europe has ended; the iron curtain, lifted. Outside the confines of Europe, the United States and Russia retain only a fraction of the nuclear weapons they possessed at the height of the Cold War, and this number is set to go lower still. One cannot undervalue the importance of these transformations.

But the end of the Cold War did not change the whole thing, and the world of2000 would not look totally different to someone who had been slumbering for twenty years. As John Ikenberry explains, “Only a part of the post-World War II order—the bipolar order—was destroyed by the dramatic events of 1989-91”. There are still significant elements of continuity, especially in terms of the American influence in the world and the continuation of the institutions created under American auspices during the Cold War.

Indeed, the ending of the Cold War did not bring any fundamental change in the scope of American military power and commitments throughout the world. U.S. forces remain in Japan, Korea, and Europe, though in somewhat smaller numbers, just as they were at the height of the Cold War. The passing of the Soviet military alliance in Europe, the Warsaw Pact, has not been accompanied by the end of the American alliance, NATO. The 1991 Gulf War, considered at the time of a possible indication of a “new world order”, demonstrated the continuing centrality of the United States. Though the war involved an international coalition with the blessings of the United Nations, it was fundamentally an American endeavour. The 2003 Iraq War was, with the significant exception of Great Britain, almost entirely an American undertaking. No other nation possesses the necessary combination of capability and willingness to challenge the military power of the United States. Whether one wishes to refer to this as American “hegemony”, “dominance”, or “unipolarity”, the basic point remains the same. Ian Clark highlights this point in

remarking on the "essential continuity in the role of American power...There are institutions that were created during Cold War, and which were almost defining attributes of it, [that] still endure into the post-Cold War era".

The United States also remains as the world's largest and most powerful economy. Its economy is more than twice as large as Japan's and three times the size of Germany's or China's. Increasing economic integration in Europe, however, may be creating an economic unit that, when taken as a whole, rivals the United States. The rapid growth of China and India may also pose a long-term challenge to American economic dominance. Thus, whereas there is only one real centre of military power in the world, the same cannot be said for economic power.

Randall Schweller divides the world's power structure into "two separate parts: a unipolar security structure led by the United States and a tripolar economic one revolving around Germany [and Europe], Japan and America".

But this economic reality was not the result of the end of the Cold War; it was the continuation of a trend that was under way long before the Berlin Wall came down. Just as important, the major economic institutions of the post-World War II or Cold War period—the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the general trading system created under American leadership—remains in place today. This, even with the emergence of new economic powerhouse, it is hard to disagree with Ikenberry's conclusion that "the post-Cold War order is really a continuation and extension of the Western order forged during and after World War II".

Top Economic Powers in the World
Source : United Nations, 2012

Rank	Country	GDP (Millions of US$)
1	United States	16,244,600
2	China	8,358,400
3	Japan	5,960,180
4	Germany	3,425,956
5	France	2,611,221
6	United Kingdom	2,471,600
7	Brazil	2,254,109
8	Russia	2,029,812
9	Italy	2,013,392
10	India	1,875,213

The world, however, is a big place, and we must remember that, for the vast majority of the world's people, life continues much as it did before the end of the Cold War. The gap between the world's rich and its more numerous poor has not been narrowed by the passing of the Soviet Union. Large portions of humanity go to bed hungry every night and have no access to the basic requirements of life. The global environmental problems that were emerging as critical global issues before the end of the Cold War remains as serious as ever. The end of the superpower rivalry has not restored the hole in the ozone layer, ended global warming, or replenished the world's rainforests. Deadly national and ethnic conflicts continue to fume. If we are living in a new world order, it shares many similarities with the one we left behind.

On the other hand, the US-dominated global order was coming under increased challenge. The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 underscored the darker side of the globalization. The experience of trying to fight a 'war' on global terrorism and of using hard coercive power to dominate weaker societies brought to the fore the limits of military power for achieving political goals.

However, the end of Cold War also left some positive dimensions in the international relations. In post-liberal era, many Third World countries moved upward in their economic growth. India, Brazil, South Africa emerged as a rising powers in the world along with some other developing countries. One of the most visible signs that something was changing concerned the increased diplomatic activism on the part of large developing countries. The intensive coalitional policies of Brazil and India in the World Trade Organization provide a good example, particularly in terms of G20 trade coalition created at Cancun in 2003 along with other developing countries. Another example is the creation of IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa Forum) to increase cooperation between these rising powers. Similarly, the four largest economies outside OECD, came together to establish a cooperative organization to challenge Western domination. The BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India and China) came into existence with its own development and cooperative agenda. The financial crisis that hit the advanced capitalist core in 2007 led to these developments to take place.

1.2.8 **Exercise**

1. What are the causes and impact of First World War?
2. Discuss the causes and impact of Second World War
3. What factors led to the emergence of Cold War?
4. Discuss the nature of post-Cold War international relations.

1.2.9 Suggested Readings

Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. "An introduction to international relations." (2001).

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McMahon, Robert J, *The Cold War: AVery Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press,2021

Robbins, Keith, *The First World War*, OUP Oxford, 2002.

Taylor, Alan John Percivale, *Origin of the Second World War*, Simon and Schuster, 1996

1.3 ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AS A DISCIPLINE: CLASSICAL VERSUS SCIENTIFIC DEBATE

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- Growth of International Relations
- Contributions of the Idealists in the early stage of the Disciplinary growth

- Realist criticism of Idealist assumptions
- Behavioural Revolution and its impact on the study of Discipline
- Transnationalism and interdependence approach
- Alternative approaches to study of International relations
- The debate between classical and advocates of scientific method

1.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The listing of International Relations as a subject, Department or School in the latter part of the twentieth century has prompted many to ask question what the discipline is all about. It is a basic question and any attempt to answer it should begin with the proposition that it is a part, a very important aspect, of the study of human behaviour. It is an area of study which focuses upon the political, economic, socio-cultural and other interactions among international actors (operating across national boundaries) and the inter-state system for purposes of explanation and prediction.

Originally, the study of international relations or politics was seen largely as a branch of the study of law, philosophy or history. However, following the bloodshed of the First World War there emerged an academic undertaking to appreciate how the fear of war was now equal only to the fear of defeat that had preceded the First World War. Consequently, the first university chair of international relations was founded at the University of Wales in 1919. Given such diverse origins, there is no one accepted way of defining or understanding international relations, and all over the world many adopted their own ways of understanding international relations. To define a field of study is always arbitrary and this is particularly true when it comes to international relations or politics.

1.3.2 DEFINING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The terms ‘international relations’ and ‘international politics’ are often used interchangeably by many. In the last generation some have preferred to use ‘world’ or ‘global’ politics where the focus of the activity is not the state but some notion of a global community or global civilization. For many laypersons there is no real difference between these words, but technically there is more than a semantic difference as these terms can reflect a difference of focus and field of study.

A survey of the field suggests that a variety of definitions are employed. Some scholars defined international relations in terms of the diplomatic-strategic relations of states, and the characteristic focus of IR is on issues of conflict and cooperation

and war and peace. However, other disagree with this view and see international relations in terms of cross-border transactions of all kinds, political, economic and social. For these scholars IR is a study of trade negotiations or the activities of NGOs like Red Cross International, or the workings of the United Nations (UN). In contemporary times of 21st century context, the focus is shifted to understanding globalization and its associated processes such as world communication, global business corporations, transport and financial systems, etc. Hence, defining the field of IR is not an easier task, involves complex structures, processes, values, norms and ideologies. However, for students of IR, how we define the discipline is also an important act. It is because how we understand and interpret the world is partly dependent on how we define the world.

The problem associated with definition of international relations is also related to the difference between 'domestic' and 'international' politics. Usually the domestic laws are considered by its citizens as legitimate, hence binding and the police and courts enforce sanctions. However, the international laws contain competing legal systems of competing states, and there is no unified enforcing force with an authority to oversee the practice of international law. International politics has often been interpreted as the realm of self-help, since no international government is in existence, like the domestic government, with a monopoly onthe lawful use of force. Therefore, International Relations is too complex to be understood easily. Individuals can be the victim or victors of events but studying international relations helps each one of us to understand events and perhaps to make a differentiation. This, however, requires competency as well as empathy.

Some come to study international relations because of their interest in world events, but gradually they come to recognize that to understand their own state or region, to understand particular events and issues they have to progress beyond a journalistic view of current events. Studying international relations provides necessary tools to analyse events, and to gain a deeper understanding of some of the problems that policy-makers confront and to understand the reasons behind their actions.

1.3.3 GROWTH OF THE DISCIPLINE

The academic study of International Relations existed only its rudimentary form before the First World War. The disciplinary evolution of most of the contemporary subjects started in the second half of the 19th century. The social sciences of today are part of broader knowledge pool known as political philosophy or political economy. However, during that point of time International Relations as a discipline

was not emerged. It was studied part of diplomacy, history, or law, but not as an independent area.

The devastation left by the First World War (1914–18) convinced a number of prominent thinkers that new ways of thinking about international relations was required. These thinkers saw it as essential to theorize international relations, and to raise the level of understanding of the subject beyond the notion of 'current affairs', and in setting this goal they established a concern with theory that has dominated the new discipline ever since.

1.3.4 LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM/IDEALISM AND THE ORIGINS OF THE DISCIPLINE

The emergence of International Relations as a separate field of study was closely related to the approach that first captured the thinking about the subject. To understand why idealism became dominant in the early years one only has to think about the events that led to the development of the subject, namely, the First World War. There was a widespread view that the overwhelming lesson of the war was that military force could no longer achieve its objectives. If the reason for resorting to war had traditionally been to achieve territorial conquests, to obtain markets and raw materials, or to overthrow leaders of whom one did not approve, then the events of the First World War offered a corrective. The war, achieved little reward for either side, involved huge deaths. War seemed to have become an inoperative tool of statecraft.

The inheritances of the war were so powerful that both politicians and the group of academicians wanted to study international relations to understand and prevent the war. Four main conclusions were drawn: first, war was a senseless act, which could never be a rational tool of state policy; secondly, the 1914-1918 war had been the result of leaders becoming caught up in a set of processes that no one could control; thirdly, the causes of the war lay in misunderstandings between leaders and in the lack of democratic responsibility within the states involved; and fourthly, the fundamental tensions which had provided the rationale for the conflict could be removed by the spread of statehood and democracy. These views were expressed most concisely by US President Woodrow Wilson, in his famous Fourteen Points proposal of January 1918.

This is the historical background in which international Relations as a subject evolved, hence the political and intellectual influence of this period profoundly influenced in its evolution. First of all, the discipline originated in two countries which were essentially satisfied powers following the First World War. This meant that the subject was developing in a specific type of state with a

specific view of the main features of international society. The USA and the UK were, crucially, status quo powers, with interests firmly committed to allowing as little change to the new international order as possible. One of the main problems for the subject in the inter-war period was that it became increasingly identified as a status quo subject.

Secondly, the imprints of the First World War, with its wholesale destruction and loss of life, stamped the survivors with a strong conviction that such a war must never happen again. It had been a 'war to end all wars'. Accordingly, the subject that studied such phenomena took on a strongly normative, prescriptive character. International Relations had to be concerned with devising ways to avert such wars from occurring.

Thirdly, since the war had occurred due to misunderstanding of the leaders, the task of International relations was to devise ways to reduce misunderstandings in the future. Democracy in each of the societies and establishing international organizations to mediate were stressed as effective ways to enhance transparency and openness in the system. Subsequently, League of Nations was established to reduce tensions between international actors.

This is the reason the first approach to studying international relations has become be known as Idealism, although this was not a term that the academics working in the subject at the time used themselves. As Hedley Bull has commented:

> The distinctive characteristic of these writers was their belief in progress: the belief, in particular, that the system of international relations that had given rise to the First World War was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order; that under the impact of the awakening of democracy, the growth of the "international mind" the development of the League of Nations, the good works of men of peace of the enlightenment spread by their teachings, it was in fact being transformed; and that their responsibility as students of international relations was to assist this march of progress to overcome the ignorance, the prejudices, the ill-will, and the sinister interests that stood in its way.

Accordingly, the subject during the inter-war period concentrated with the issues like the prohibition of war and the establishment of an international police force, until the events of the 1930s challenged its basic assumptions.

1.3.5 THE 'REALIST' CRITIQUE OF LIBERAL NTERNATIONALISM

The events from 1930s occurred contrary to the beliefs of the Liberals. Japanese militarism in Manchuria and China, and 'authoritarianism' in the Spain, Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, etc. grew contrary to the beliefs of the liberals. League of Nations remained ineffective from the beginning as US and USSR did not become members in its initial days.

Hence, the most influential critique of liberal internationalism came from E. H. Carr, the quasi-Marxist historian, journalist and, in the late 1930s, Woodrow Wilson Professor of International Politics. Carr produced a number of studies in the 1930s, the most famous of which was published in 1939 – *The Twenty Years Crisis*. This book performed the crucial task of providing a new vocabulary for International Relations theory. Liberal internationalism is renamed 'utopianism' (later writers sometimes use 'idealism') and differed with Carr's approach which is termed 'realism'. Carr's major argument is that the liberal ideology's advocacy of harmony of interests is nothing but hiding or camouflaging the real conflict in international relations – a conflict between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. A central feature of the world is scarcity – there are not enough of the good things of life to go around. Those who have them want to keep them, and therefore promote 'law and order' policies, attempting to outlaw the use of violence. The 'have-nots', on the other hand, have no such respect for the law, and neither is it reasonable that they should, because it is the law that keeps them where they are, which is under the thumb of the 'haves'.

Although Carr produced unrelenting attack on the assumptions of idealism, it was Hans Morgenthau who did most to popularize the new approach of Realism. In his textbook, *Politics among Nations*, first published in 1948, Morgenthau proposed that international relations be studied by means of a Realist scientific approach. For Morgenthau, human nature was at the base of international relations. The base for the human nature is self-interest and power-seeking, which naturally result in aggression. The second major element in the realist view concerns the nature of international relations. 'International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever is the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim'.

In short, the classical realism joins a negative view of human nature with a notion of power politics between states that are functioning and acting in an anarchical international politics. This is a constant reality and there will not be any change in this situation. In fact, independent and self-help states in an anarchic international system are a stable feature of international relations, for classical realists.

The utopian liberalism of the 1920s and the realism of the 1930s–1950s represent the two competing positions in the first major debate in International Relations.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Define International Relations.

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2. Discuss the contribution of Idealist in the early stage of the Disciplinary growth.

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3. Discus Realists criticism of Liberal Internationalism

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1.3.6 RISE OF BEHAVIOURALISM

The disciplinary growth of International Relations has taken altogether different turn with the emergence of Behaviouralists into the scene. They started questioning the scientific validity of Liberal notions but basic propositions advanced by the Realists as well. The Behaviouralists questioned them basically on the grounds of methodology. Hence, the second major debate in IR is based on methodology (Normative vs. Scientific). The behavioural revolution is closely associated with the rise of United States and research support extended by various organizations to develop particular models which suit to the interests of the US.

After the Second World War, the academic discipline of IR expanded rapidly. That was particularly the case in the United States, where government agencies and private foundations were willing to support 'scientific' IR research which they could justify as being in the national interest. That support produced a new generation of IR scholars who adopted a rigorous methodical approach. They were usually trained in political science, economics, or other social sciences, sometimes in mathematics and the natural sciences, rather than diplomatic history, international law, or political philosophy. These new IR scholars thus had a very different academic background and equally different ideas concerning how IR should be studied. These new ideas came to be summarized under the term'Behaviouralism', which

signified not so much a new theory as a novel methodology which endeavoured to be 'scientific' in the natural-science meaning of that term.

Just as scholars of science are able to formulate objective and verifiable 'laws' to explain the physical world, the ambition of Behaviouralists in IR is to do the same for the world of international relations. The main task is to collect empirical data about international relations, preferably large amounts of data, which can then be used for the measurement, classification, generalization, and, ultimately, the validation of hypotheses, i.e., scientifically explained patterns of behaviour. Behaviouralism is thus not a new IR theory; it is a new method of studying IR. Behaviouralism is more interested in observable facts and measurable data, in precise calculation, and the collection of data in order to find recurring behavioural patterns, the 'laws' of international relations. According to Behaviouralists, facts are separate from values. Unlike facts, values cannot be explained scientifically. The Behaviouralists were therefore inclined to study facts while ignoring values.

The Behaviouralists did not win the second major debate, but neither did the traditionalists. After a few years of vigorous controversy, the second great debate petered out. A compromise resulted which has been portrayed as 'different ends of a continuum of scholarship rather than completely different games . . . Each type of effort can inform and enrich the other and can as well act as a check on the excesses endemic in each approach'. Yet Behaviouralism did have a lasting effect in IR. That was largely because of the domination of the discipline after the Second World War by US scholars, the vast majority of whom supported the quantitative, scientific ambitions of Behaviouralism. They also led the way in setting a research agenda focused on the role of the two superpowers, especially the United States, in the international system. That paved the way to new formulations of both realism and liberalism that were heavily influenced by Behaviouralist methodologies. These new formulations—neo-realism and neo-liberalism—led to a replay of the first major debate under new historical and methodological conditions.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Explain Behavioural revolution and its impact on the study of IR as discipline.

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2. Discuss transnationalism and interdependence approach to study of International Relations.

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3. Explain neorealist approach to International Relations.

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1.3.7 TRANSNATIONALISM AND INTERDEPENDENCE

The 1970s produced a third approach: Transnationalism which claimed that the state was no longer the dominant actor it had once been. According to the leading proponent of this view, John Herz, the state was being undermined by four factors: its susceptibility to economic warfare; the rise of international communications and the subsequent permeability of national frontiers; the development of air warfare, which could take war directly to a nation's population; and nuclear weapons, which threatened the very survival of states and their populations. The state was, therefore, Herz argued, unlikely to remain as the dominant unit of international relations for the future.

The economic integration, especially in Europe from 1950s, also increased the voices of Transnationalism. These voices started saying that states could no longer ensure economic growth unless they get integrated with other similar economies. Success in one area of integration would spill over into others, and eventually there would be a need to coordinate and collectively govern the hitherto separate economic organizations: so economic integration would lead to political integration.

In this context, the Transnationalists made the point that there are actors other than states which play a central role in international relations, the obvious example being multinational corporations. Interdependence makes the point that the increasing linkages among national economies have made them more than ever sensitive and vulnerable to events in other countries.

Transnationalism and interdependence challenge the three assumptions of Realism: states are not the only actors; the distinction between domestic and international societies is less clear-cut than before; and international politics looks to be influenced increasingly less by military factors and more and more by economic issues. The transnationalist challenge differs with the other approaches that have dominated the subject. It introduces non-state actors and so belongs to a new pluralism in International Relations.

1.3.8 NEO-REALISM

Neo-realism emerged partly as a response to the assumptions of Transnationalism. Neo-realism belongs firmly to the Realist tradition, as its name suggests. The essence of Neo-realism is a more theoretically refined systemic or structural account of international relations. The critical mechanism employed by Neo-realism is termed as 'hegemonic stability'. If an economic power can sufficiently dominate the international economy, it can provide a hegemonic stability which enables other states to cooperate with it and with one another. So is the case with political hegemony.

Waltz insists on explaining the behaviour of state solely at the level of the international system. There is to be no appeal to the intentions or capabilities of states, or to the human nature of their leaders. It is the international structure that determines the behaviour of each actor or state.

1.3.9 ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO IR

The debates introduced so far have concerned the established theoretical traditions in the discipline: liberalism, realism, transnationalism are considered to be part of mainstream IR Study. Currently a debate on IR is under way. It entails various critiques of the established traditions by alternative approaches, sometimes identified as post-positivism. There have always been 'dissident voices' in the discipline of IR: philosophers and scholars who have rejected established views and tried to replace them with alternatives. But in recent years these voices have increased in number.

For instance, the Structuralist perspective looks at international relations from the perspective of the less-developed countries. Indeed, its main proponents have come from outside the Anglo-American academic communities, often from Latin American or Africa. According to Structuralists, the state is still a dominant actor in international relations, but in a very specific sense, which is that of representing a set of economic interests. Hence there are actors other than the state, and their exact role in international relations depends on the interests of international capital. The real actors are classes, and the location of the state within the global network of capitalism is crucial. This is usually discussed in terms of centre-periphery relations, both within and between states. It is the structural nature of centre-periphery relations that explains the nature of international politics and economics. The processes characterising international relations are those of exploitation, imperialism, and underdevelopment; the outcomes are fundamentally those of the continuing exploitation of the poor by the rich.

During the most recent period, the end of the Cold War changed the international agenda in some fundamental ways. In place of a clear-cut East/West conflict dominated by two contending superpowers a number of diverse issues emerged in world politics, including, for example, state partition and disintegration, civil war, terrorism, democratization, national minorities, humanitarian intervention, ethnic cleansing, mass migration and refugee problems, environmental security, and so forth. An increasing number of IR scholars expressed dissatisfaction with the dominant Cold War approach to IR: the neo-realism of Kenneth Waltz. Many IR scholars now take issue with Waltz's claim that the complex world of international relations can be squeezed into a few law-like statements about the structure of the international system and the balance of power. They subsequently reinforce the anti-behaviouralist critique first put forward by International Society theorists such as Hedley Bull. Many IR scholars also criticize Waltzian neo-realism for its conservative political outlook; there is not much in neo-realism that can point to change and the creation of a better world.

1.3.10 SUMMING UP DISCIPLINARY GROWTH

The field "International Relations" (commonly abbreviated IR) focuses on a variety of subject matters. The many connotations which are usually associated with the term "relations" and the quality which accompanies relating the name of the field (IR) to a broad set of subject matters subsumed under the same term in minor letters, "international relations", help explain why both IR and "international relations" are still widely accepted. Of course, this is not to say that there is consensus. As a matter of fact, and predictably so, both the name of the field as well as any succinct description of its subject matter(s) have always been contested. Different observers have argued that the "international" ought to be replaced by "inter-state", "transnational", or "global" – just to name a few. Others would like to see "relations" re placed by "studies" or "politics". A brief look at some of these alternative combinations – eg. "Inter-state relations", "trans-national politics", or "global studies" – would give any reader a quick idea as far as different emphases is concerned even if he or she would not be familiar with the normative and theoretical underpinnings which inform these alternative descriptions of the field of study and its subject matter(s). For this very reason conceptual contestation is unsurprising: it is already an expression of the inevitable and recurring ascertainment of the borders of a field of study by the community of scholars belonging to it and claiming it as their own.

1.3.11 CLASSICAL VS SCIENTIFIC DEBATE

As we studied earlier, the debate between the Realists and Idealists dominated the scene during the interwar period, during the 1960s it has been replaced by what Morton Kaplan has called "the new great debate". This new debate is between the two distinct intellectual styles or cultures, namely science and traditionalism. It was essentially a methodological debate revolving around the belief of Behaviouralists that IR could only advance itself by applying the methods of natural science. They believed that the field was too dominated by historians, who they labelled as Traditionalists (or Classicists), who took the view that IR should be developed through more interpretive historicist methods. Behaviouralists focus was on the observation of systems and that those analyses, and any subsequent hypotheses and/or implying of causality, should be subject to empirical testing, mainly via falsification. That way knowledge in IR could be progressively built up, allowing for greater intuitions and progress in theory development.

The battle lines were drawn between the likes of Hedley Bull on the Traditionalist side, and Morton Kaplan on the Behaviouralist. There were other recognisable figures on either side, such as Carr and Schelling, as well as divisions within opposing camps, but Bull and Kaplan's arguments get to the heart of the matter. Though acknowledging the swift rise of scientific methods in America, Traditionalists maintained that the ebbs and flows of global politics were necessarily interpretive, as one could not impose a neat system on a field with so many variables. An opposing Hadley Bull wrote of the method, that with such "strict standards of verification and proof there is very little of significance that can be said about international relations".

According to Headley Bull, scientific approach has contributed very little to the theory of international relations. To support this claim he put forward seven propositions:

1. "By confining themselves to what can be logically or mathematically proved or verified according to strict procedures, the practitioners of the scientific approach are denying themselves the only instruments that are at present available for coming to grips with the substance of the subject. For example, does the collectivity of sovereign states constitute a political society or system, or does it not? What is the place of war in international society? Scientific method convincingly cannot answer these questions.
2. The scientific method succeeded only when it stepped beyond bounds of science.

3. The practitioners of the scientific approach are unlikely to make progress of the sort to which they aspire.

4. The followers of scientific method have done a great disservice to theory in this field by conceiving of it as the construction and manipulation of so-called "models". The freedom of the model-builder from the discipline of looking at the world is what makes him dangerous. He slips easily into a dogmatism that empirical generalization does not allow, attributing to the model a connection with reality it does not have.

5. The work of scientific school is in some cases distorted and impoverished by a fetish for measurement (overdoing of technique). The difficulty arises where the pursuit of the measurable leads us to ignore relevant difference between the phenomena.

6. There is a need for rigour and precision in the theory of international politics, but that the sort of rigour and precision of which the subject admits can be accommodated readily enough within the classical approach. The theory of international relations should undoubtedly attempt to be scientific in the sense of being a coherent, precise, and orderly body of knowledge, and in the sense of being consistent with the philosophical foundations of modern science.

7. The practitioners of the scientific approach, by cutting themselves off from history and philosophy, have deprived themselves off the means of self-criticism, and in consequence have a view of their subject and its possibilities that is immature and arrogant".

Bull is of the opinion that, as stated in the above seven reasons, the scientific approach is inappropriate to the study of international relations.

Behaviouralism was also criticised over what its perceived weaknesses could bring to the study of IR. It had roots in positivism and so strict application would mean rejecting factors that could not be measured, such as human perception and motivation and would also prevent the development of normative theories since they focused on empirically non-testable 'what ought to be'. As well as a charge of failing to grasp societal nuances, criticism was also levelled at Behaviouralism's early practice of supposedly separating theory and values from observations.

Behaviouralists countered these criticisms by largely recognising the potential value of knowledge produced by other methods of research, such as Kaplan's acknowledgment of Bull's contributions to arms control literature for example, but

they reserved the right to test their own assumptions empirically. Behaviouralists even recognised and rectified their own perceived weaknesses, such as Hempel and Popper's criticism of 'narrow inductivist' views and the impossibility of some kind of theory or values remaining absent from observation (not that it meant all theories were equal of course), thus placing positivism on a more deductive than inductive path.

Behaviouralism never sought to be a substitute theory, but a means of discovering one and help Thomas Kuhn's idea that "a new area of research spins off from an established one on the basis of a new exemplar". Whether its proponents intended it or not however, Behaviouralism became orthodoxy and Debate victor, its key strength over Traditionalism being the ability of researchers to reproduce and analyse their colleagues' processes and findings, with impacts including the encouragement of diligent and detailed work by IR theorists, and that positivist America came to be seen as a bigger engine of political theory discourse.

Morton Kaplan offered a serious response to Bull's criticism of scientific method. Kaplan maintains that it's true that human purpose is concerned with motives. But these motives are often confirmed by careful observation analysis of the behaviour pattern of people. Kaplan also does not accept the traditionalists' argument that precision and quantification on which the scientific theorist so much insist cannot be achieved by the scientific methods. The difficulty with the traditionalists, according to Kaplan, is that they deliberately choose to ignore the significance of the evidence with which the scientific theorists work. Morton Kaplan also denies the traditionalists charge that the members of scientific school completely exclude philosophy in their analysis of international relations. Kaplan levels a counter charge against the traditionalists when he says that the traditionalists have not shown any disciplined knowledge of philosophy and have actually used the word "philosophy" as a synonym for "undisciplined speculation".

Check Your Progress 3

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss Structuralist perspective to International Relations.

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2. Discuss the New Great Debate in International Relations.

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3. Illustrate Hedley Bull's argument against the scientific approach.

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1.3.12 LET US SUM UP

In sum, there are points of difference and points of agreement between Behaviouralists and Traditionalists. If, on the one hand, we stress the points of difference, we get a profound contrast between Behaviouralism and traditionalism. The two approaches can be seen to hold categorically different conceptions of the world and fundamentally different ideas of the best way to gain knowledge of the world. On the other hand, if we stress the points of agreement, the two approaches are different ends of a continuum of scholarship rather than completely different games. Each type of effort can inform and enrich the other and can as well act as a check on the excesses in each approach. When the battle rages, the contenders tend to draw up their positions very sharply, emphasizing points of difference. When the smoke clears, more moderate voices on both sides often emphasize areas of agreement.

1.3.13 Exercise

1. Discuss the growth of International Relations as a discipline.
2. What is the major difference between Idealist and Realist approach to the study of International Relations?
3. What is the difference between Traditionalist and scientific approach?
4. Discuss Behaviouralism and its criticism.

1.3.14 Suggested Readings

Brown, Chris, and Kirsten Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, Macmillan International Higher Education, 2009.

Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson, *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Devetak, Richard, Jim George, and Sarah Percy, eds. *An Introduction to International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Malhotra, Vinay Kumar, *International Relations*, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1993.

1.4 LIBERALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM: THE CORE VALUES (COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE, COOPERATION THROUGH INSTITUTIONALISM)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The historical evolution of Liberalism
- The influence of liberalism on 20th century international relations
- The linkage between liberal ideology and interdependence
- The basic propositions of neo-liberalism
- Criticism on liberalism

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Liberal thought about the nature of international relations has a long tradition dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During these centuries liberal philosophers and political thinkers debated the difficulties of establishing just, orderly and peaceful relations between peoples. One of the most systematic and thoughtful accounts of the problems of world peace was produced by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant in 1795 in an essay entitled “Perpetual Peace”. Kantian thought has been profoundly influential in the development of liberalism in IR.

Liberalism holds that human nature is basically good and that inherent goodness makes societal progress possible. Evil or unacceptable human behaviour, such as war, is, according to liberals, the product of inadequate or corrupt social institutions and of misunderstandings among leaders. Thus, liberals believe that war or any other aggressive behaviour is not inevitable and can be moderated through institutional reform. Through collective action, states can cooperate to eliminate the possibility of war.

The origins of liberal theory are found in Enlightenment optimism, as portrayed by Immanuel Kant, as mentioned above, nineteenth century political and economic liberalism, and twentieth century Wilsonian Idealism.

There have been many innovations in liberal theory since the 1970s which are reflected in a number of distinctive strands of thought within liberalism. Forexample, idealism, pluralism, interdependence theory, transnationalism, liberal internationalism, liberal peace theory, neo-liberal institutionalism and world society approaches. In the 1970s a liberal literature on transnational relations and world society developed. So called ‘liberal pluralists’ pointed to the growing importance of multinational corporations (MNCs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), pressure groups, and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), as evidence that states were no longer the only significant actors in international relations. Liberal pluralists believed that power, influence and agency in world politics were now exercised by a range of different types of actors.

Furthermore, by the 1980s conflict was not the major process in international relations as, increasingly, cooperation in pursuit of mutual interests was a prominent feature of world politics. Terms much in vogue in contemporary International Relations literature (and in the media), such as ‘globalisation’ or ‘multiculturalism’, while not intrinsically liberal, have liberal adherents or interpretations and have received growing attention from liberal scholars. In more

recent years liberals have made important contributions to the study of international relations in the areas of international order, institutions and processes of governance, human rights, democratisation, peace and economic integration.

Liberalism, as an 'ism', is an approach to all forms of human organisation, whether of a political or economic nature, and it contains within it a social theory, philosophy and ideology. The result is that liberalism has something to say about all aspects of human life. In terms of liberal philosophy, liberalism is based upon a belief in the inherently good nature of all humans, the ultimate value of individual liberty and the possibility of human progress. Liberalism speaks the language of rationality, moral autonomy, human rights, democracy, opportunity and choice and is founded upon a commitment to principles of liberty and equality, justified in the name of individuality and rationality. Politically this translates into support for limited government and political pluralism. We will study the main assumptions of liberalism below. First, we need to consider further thehistorical and intellectual origins of liberal thought.

1.4.2 LIBERALISM – HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

Many philosophers and movements have contributed to the theory of liberalism that has been so important to the contemporary study of international relations. These include John Locke, with his seventeenth century questioning of claims to political authority based on birth, social status, privilege and divine right.

The basic notion behind 'classical liberalism' is that government intervention should be kept to a minimum, emphasizing instead the role of the individual and the primacy of the mechanism of the free market. Three key ideas underline liberal thought:

1. That there is great value to be derived from the free expression of the individual personality;
2. That such expression can be made valuable both to those who express it and to society, and
3. That institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expression and confidence in that freedom must be upheld.

Liberals believe that a harmony of self-interest between individuals can be achieved when state oppression is minimised. The key mechanism for any liberal is the market. Taking part in market activities is seen as a positive-sum game in which every participant gains. Such notions found their beginning in the work of Adam Smith (1723-90) and his theory of the 'invisible hand'. Smith held that society was

such that, although individuals did indeed take action that would secure them advantage, the greatest benefit to society as a whole would be achieved by allowing them to do so.

Hence, the historical tradition of liberalism views politics as the rational management of a naturally harmonious community. This shapes liberal notion of war and international relations. Nineteenth century liberals argued that war is 'the natural state of men ignorant of the laws of political economy'. In other words, if free trade were encouraged, the likelihood of political conflict and war would diminish. Because war undermines productive capacity and saps national wealth and power, peace is logically in the interest of every state. They also objected to armed peace because armaments, with the consequences of increased taxation and an ever-growing public debt, would also harm national welfare. In liberal opinion, peace should therefore be secured not through militarism but by free trade. For liberals, war is not an outgrowth of conflicting national interests, but arises from 'national interest ill understood.

1.4.2.1 Kant and Peace

Liberal theories of IR try to explain how peace and cooperation are possible. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant 200 years ago gave three answers. The first, based on the reciprocity principle, was that states could develop the organizations and rules to facilitate cooperation, specifically by forming a world federation resembling today's United Nations. This answer forms the foundation of present-day liberal institutionalism.

Kant's second answer, operating at a lower level of analysis, was that peace depends on the internal character of governments. He reasoned that republics, with a legislative branch that can hold the monarch in check, will be more peaceful than autocracies. This answer, along with Kant's related point that citizens of any country deserve hospitality in any other country, is consistent with the reciprocity principle, but also relies on the identity principle. It explains states' preferences based on the social interactions within the state. A variation in Kant's answer, namely that democracies do not fight each other, is the basis of present democratic peace theory.

Kant's third answer, that trade promotes peace, relies on the presupposition that trade increases wealth, cooperation, and global well-being—all while making conflict less likely in the long term because governments will not want to upset any process that adds to the wealth of their state. Moreover, as trade between states increases, they will find that they become mutually dependent on one another for goods. This mutual dependence between states is referred to as economic interdependence.

1.4.3 LIBERALISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The liberal notions of peace and democracy also find support in the economic pacifism that was so prevalent before 1914. Its principal arguments aimed at the potential costs of war and the actual costs of armaments being too high for military options to be a rational means for pursuing national interests. Even if militarily victorious, a state cannot increase its wealth by the acquisition of new territories or by weakening the enemy's commerce and industry because the newly gained subjects are still competing with the victor and can now take advantage of a beneficial trading relationship.

However, some of the liberals were sceptical that free trade would deliver peace. For instance, J. A. Hobson, argued that imperialism was becoming the primary cause of conflict in international relations. For Hobson, imperialism resulted from under-consumption within developed capitalist societies.

The First World War shifted liberal thinking towards a recognition that peace is not a natural condition but is one which must be built. The US President Woodrow Wilson is a known liberal during this period. He stated that peace could only be secured with the creation of international institutions to regulate the international anarchy. Like domestic society, international society must have a system of governance which has democratic procedures for coping with disputes, and an international force which could be mobilized if negotiations failed. In his famous 'fourteen points' speech, addressed to Congress in January1918, Wilson argued that 'a general association of nations must be formed' to preserve the coming peace. The League of Nations, was the general association which liberals willed into existence.

Outside of the military-security area, liberal ideas made an important contribution to global politics even during the Cold War. The principles of self-determination, championed by liberal internationalists for centuries, signalled the end of empire. The protection of individuals from human rights abuses was enshrined in the three key standard setting documents: the 1948 Universal Declaration, the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Even the more radical calls in the mid-1970s for a "New International Economic Order" emanating from Third World countries contained within it the liberal ideals of justice and fairness.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What are the key ideas of classical liberalism?

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2. Discuss Immanuel Kant's Democratic Peace Theory.

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1.4.4 LIBERALISM AND INTERDEPENDENCE

Interdependence remained and still remains to be an attribute of many aspects of human activity. Historically, the term has been employed readily in the social, political and security realm as it has been specifically in the economic sphere. The increased interest in the idea of interdependence from the mid-1970s onwards, however, owes mostly to the increasing concerns about the apparent growth of international economic interdependence and the impact of human activity on the natural environment.

One school of thought equates interdependence with the pattern of interconnectedness among peoples. Interdependence, by such a definition, is to be identified simply in the patterns of association and interaction among actors of various kinds.

The traditional approach to interdependence defines it in terms of the existence of significant dependencies between or among those who experience the phenomenon. Interdependence is thus seen as a condition of mutual dependencies between two or more actors or agents. The dialectical relationship between dependence and interdependence can be explained in the following definition:

> *Dependence* exists for any actor when a satisfactory outcome on any matter of significance for that actor requires an appropriate situation or development elsewhere.
>
> *Interdependence* exists for a grouping of two or more actors when each is depended on at least one other member of that group for satisfactory outcomes on any issues (s) of concern.

Variable patterns of dependence and imbalanced levels of interdependence are common within contemporary international relations and lie at the heart of much of the unevenness of power and influence, and advantage and disadvantage, within the international system.

Basically these liberals argue that a high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence between states, and that discourages and reduces violent conflict between states. There still remains a risk that modern states will slide back to the military option and once again enter into arms races and violent confrontations. But that is not a likely prospect. It is in the less developed countries that war now occurs, according to Rosecrance, because at lower levels of economic development land continues to be the dominant factor of production, and modernization and interdependence are far weaker.

During the Second World War, David Mitrany set forth a functionalist theory of integration, arguing that greater interdependence in the form of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace. Mitrany believed, perhaps somewhat naïvely, that cooperation should be arranged by technical experts, not by politicians. The experts would devise solutions to common problems in various functional areas: transport, communication, finance, and so on. Technical and economic collaboration would expand when the participants discovered the mutual benefits that could be obtained from it. When citizens see the improvements in welfare measures that resulted from efficient collaboration in international organizations, they would transfer their loyalty from the state to international organizations. In that way, economic interdependence would lead to political integration and to peace.

Ernst Haas developed a so-called neo-functionalist theory of international integration that was inspired by the intensifying cooperation that began in the 1950s between the countries of Western Europe. Haas builds on Mitrany, but he rejects the notion that 'technical' matters can be separated from politics. Integration has to do with getting self-interested political elites to intensify their cooperation. Integration is a process whereby 'political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties . . . toward a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states' (Haas 1958: 16). This 'functional' process of integration depends on the notion of 'spillover', when increased cooperation in one area leads to increased cooperation in other areas. Spillover would ensure that political elites marched inexorably towards the promotion of integration. Haas saw that happening in the initial years of West European cooperation in the 1950s and early 1960s.

1.4.4.1 Complex Interdependence

Theories of interdependence have seen a revival since the 1970s due to a new momentum in West European cooperation. The new theories of interdependence have come to surface; the most important one among these is Complex Interdependence.

A striving attempt to set forth a general theory of what they called ‘complex interdependence’ was made in the late 1970s in a book by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, ***Power and Interdependence***. They argue that post-war ‘complex interdependence’ is qualitatively different from earlier and simpler kinds of interdependence. Previously, international relations were directed by state leaders dealing with other state leaders. The use of military force was always an option in the case of conflict between those national leaders. The ‘high politics’ of security and endurance had priority over the ‘low politics’ of economics and social affairs. Under conditions of complex interdependence, however, that is no longer the case, and for two reasons. First, relations between states nowadays are not only or even primarily relations between state leaders; there are relations on many different levels via many different actors and branches of government. Second, there is a host of transnational relations between individuals and groups outside of the state. Furthermore, military force is a less useful instrument of policy under conditions of complex interdependence.

Consequently, international relations are becoming more like domestic politics: ‘Different issues generate different coalitions, both within governments and across them, and involve different degrees of conflict. Politics does not stop at the water’s edge’. In most of these conflicts military force is irrelevant. Therefore, power resources other than military ones are of increasing importance, for example, negotiating skills. Finally, under complex interdependence states become more preoccupied with the ‘low politics’ of welfare and less concerned with the ‘high politics’ of national security.

Complex interdependence clearly implies a far more friendly and cooperative relationship between states. According to Keohane and Nye, Jr, several consequences follow. First, states will pursue different goals simultaneously and transnational actors, such as NGOs and transnational corporations, will pursue their own separate goals free from state control. Second, power resources will most often be specific to issue areas. For example, in spite of their comparatively small size, Denmark and Norway will command influence in international shipping because of their large merchant and tanker fleets, but that influence does not easily translate to other issue areas. Third, the importance of international organizations will increase. They are arenas for political actions by weak states, they animate coalition formation, and they oversee the setting of international agendas.

Where do we situate this complex interdependence in time and space? On the time dimension, it appears to be linked with social modernization or what Keohane and Nye, Jr, call 'the long-term development of the welfare state', which picked up speed after 1950. In space, complex interdependence is most apparent in Western Europe, North America, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand: in short, the industrialized, pluralist countries. The relevance of complex interdependence grows as modernization unfolds, and it is thus especially applicable to the relations between advanced Western countries. Keohane and Nye are nevertheless at pains to emphasize that realism is not irrelevant or obsolete:

> It is not impossible to imagine dramatic conflict or revolutionary change in which the use of threat of military force over an economic issue or among advanced industrial countries might become plausible. Then realist assumptions would again be a reliable guide to events.

In other words, even among industrialized countries of the West an issue could still become 'a matter of life and death', because even that world is still in some basic respects a world of states. In that eventuality, realism would be the more relevant approach to events.

Realists claim that any issue can become a matter of life and death in an anarchic world. Interdependence liberals will reply that is too simplistic and that a large number of issues on the international agenda are important and basic items in line with the complex interdependence assumptions. Therefore, interdependence liberals suggest a compromise:

The fitting response to the changes occurring in world politics today is not to dishonour the traditional wisdom of realism and its concern for the military balance of power, but to realize its inadequacies and to supplement it with insights from the liberal approach.

Interdependence liberals are thus more even-handed in their approach than some other liberals for whom everything has changed for the better and the old world of violent conflict, unrestrained state power, and the dictatorship of the national interest is gone forever. However, in adopting this middle-of-the-road position interdependence liberals face the problem of deciding exactly how much has changed, how much remains the same, and what are the precise implications for IR.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss liberal theory of Interdependence.

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2. Explain functionalist theory of integration.

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3. Discuss neo-functionalist theory of international integration.

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1.4.5 NEO-LIBERALISM

The intellectual foundations of modern neo-liberalism stem largely from the writings of the 1960s of Fridrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. To a great extent, Hayek and Friedman were responding to the emergence of Keynesianism in Western capitalist societies and to the socialism that evolved in the former USSR, China and other nations following World War II.

In the eyes of the neo-liberals, the victory of democracy and markets over authoritarianism and statist economies was coupled with efforts to promote open economies and open policies stressing the necessity of thorough going eco reforms supporting export-led industrialization policies.

The neo-liberal approach in International Relations, although largely barrows the core of the ideas from the economic counterpart, however, their focus is mostly on interdependence and institutionalism. In the study of International Relations, the neoliberal approach differs from earlier liberal approaches in that it concedes to realism several important assumptions—among them, that states are unitary actors rationally pursuing their self-interests in a system of anarchy. Neoliberals say to realists, “Even if we grant your assumptions about the nature of states and their motives, your pessimistic conclusions do not follow.” States achieve cooperation fairly often because it is in their interest to do so, and they can learn to use

institutions to ease the pursuit of mutual gains and the reduction of possibilities for cheating or taking.

Despite the many sources of conflict in IR, states cooperate most of the time. Neoliberal scholars try to show that even in a world of unitary rational states; the neorealists' pessimism about international cooperation is not valid. States can create mutual rules, expectations, and institutions to promote behaviour that enhances cooperation.

In particular, reciprocity in IR helps the emergence of international cooperation despite the absence of central authority. Through reciprocity, not a world government, norms and rules are enforced. In international security, reciprocity underlines the gradual improvement of relations sought by arms control agreements and peacekeeping missions. In international political economy (IPE), in which cooperation can create great benefits through trade, the threat to restrict trade in retaliation for unfair practices is a strong incentive to comply with rules and norms. The World Trade Organization (WTO) and its predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), function on this principle—states that defect on their obligations by increasing tariffs must suffer punishment by allowing other states to place tariffs on their goods.

NEOLIBERALS ARGUE THAT RECIPROCITY CAN BE A USEFUL APPROACH FOR ACHIEVING COOPERATION IN A SITUATION OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS. IF ONE SIDE EXPRESSES willingness to cooperate and promises to reciprocate the other's cooperative and conflictual actions, the other side has an incentive to work out a cooperative bargain. Because reciprocity is relatively easy to interpret, the vow of future reciprocity often need not be stated explicitly.

1.4.5.1 Neo-Liberal Institutionalism

As is evident from the earlier discussion, one of the ways in which liberalism has contributed to our understanding of international relations is through various works on the nature of institutions and world order. Obviously, the themes of cooperation and complex interdependence are strongly suggestive of how liberals see the regulatory and facilitating role played by institutions in international relations. In more recent years, neo-liberal institutionalists have developed a fairly sophisticated analysis of the nature of world order and the crucial role played by institutions and various regimes in regulating relations between states, as well as other actors. In this section we will discuss liberal ideas that have emerged in such context in more depth.

The roots of neo-liberal institutionalism are found in the functional integration scholarship of the 1940s and the 1950s and regional integration studies of the 1960s. These studies suggest that the way towards peace and prosperity is to have independent states pooling their resources and even surrender some of their sovereignty to create integrated communities to promote economic growth or respond to regional problems. The European Union is one such institution that began as a regional community for encouraging multilateral cooperation in the production of coal and steel. Proponents of integration and community-building were encouraged to challenge dominant realist thinking because of the experiences of the two world wars. Rooted in liberal thinking, integration theories promoted after the Second World War were less idealistic and more pragmatic than the liberal internationalism that dominated policy debates after the First World War.

Neo-liberal institutionalists see 'institutions' as the mediator and the means to achieve cooperation among actors in the system. The core assumptions of neo-liberal institutionalists include:

- States are key actors in international relations, but not the only significant actors. States are rational or instrumental actors always seeking to maximize their interests in all issue areas.
- In this competitive environment states seek to maximise absolute gains through cooperation. Rational behaviour leads states to see value in cooperative behaviour.

Neo-liberal institutioalists arrive at the same result as liberals do—cooperation—but their explanation for why cooperation occurs is different. For classical liberals, cooperation emerges from establishing and reforming institutions that permit cooperative interactions and prohibit coercive actions. For neoliberal institutionalists, cooperation emerges because of actors having continuous interaction with each other; it is in the self-interest of each to cooperate. Institutions may be established, affecting the possibilities for cooperation, but they do not guarantee cooperation.

For neoliberal institutionalists, security is essential and institutions help to make security possible. Institutions provide a guaranteed framework of interactions and suggest that there will be an expectation of future interactions. These interactions will occur not just on security issues but on a whole suite of international issues including human rights, the environment, immigration, etc.

With the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, liberalism as a general theoretical perspective has achieved new credibility. Two particular areas stand out. First, researchers of the democratic peace are trying to determine why democracies do not fight each other. A variety of liberal explanations provide the answer. One argument is that democracies are pacific toward each other because democratic norms and culture inhibit the leaders; the leaders hear from a multiplicity of voices that tend to restrain decision makers and therefore reduce the chance of war. Another argument is that transnational and international institutions that bind democracies together through dense network act to constrain behaviour. Each explanation is based on liberal theorizing. Yet democratic peace scholars do not always depend on liberal explanations. According another view, the democracies did not fight each other after World War II because they had a common enemy, the Soviet Union.

Second, post-Cold War theorists like Francis Fukuyama see not just a revival but a victory for international liberalism, in the absence of any workable theoretical alternative. He admits that some groups will continue to have complaintss against each other. But major conflict is less frequent than in earlier eras. For the first time, Fukuyama argues, the possibility exists for the 'universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human governance'.

Check Your Progress 3

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Explain theory of Complex Interdependence.

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2. Explain neo-liberal theory of international relations.

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3. Discuss neo-liberal institutionalism.

1.4.6 CRITCISM ON LIBERALISM AND ITS CORE ASSUMPTIONS

One set of criticism centres around a fundamental contradiction between economic and political liberty. This criticism is centred on liberal support for the free market and the institutions of private property, both of which appear to be central to the liberal conception of freedom and choice. Critics argue that the operation of free markets and the private ownership of property and resources lead to the progressive concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands. This inevitably leads to the concentration of power among the wealthy, which in turn encroaches greatly upon the liberty and meaningful choices available to poorer groups. Left-liberals have taken this criticism on board, and support a limited form of state intervention and welfarism in the interest of redistributing wealth.

The liberal view can, then, be reasonably criticised as simply providing a justification to the way things are; the observation that the 'liberal' system is of benefit to a very narrow section of humanity. For example, liberal pluralists generally provide a benevolent view of international institutions, MNCs and the whole liberal free-trade ethos which dominate today's international political economy.

In recent years there have been numerous attacks on the notions of universalism found in liberal thought. It has been argued that the characteristics held to be essentially 'human' are actually specific to a particular group of people at a particular period in history. So-called 'universalism' actually expresses the particular experience of dominant groups in the West, so the argument goes. Liberalism gives us a linear view of human progress and development. Again, this is because liberalism tends to universalise Western experience. In development theory, for example, liberals have suggested that poorer states are further 'behind' in the development process, but essentially on the same road and travelling in the same direction as richer, more developed countries. It has been countered that much of the wealth of today's rich Western nations has been based historically on the exploitation of the natural resources and cheap labour of the global South. Green thinkers also argue that liberal development strategies are resulting in environmental degradation, thus adding to the woes of already poor countries.

In much the same way as most major perspectives in International Relations, liberalism can be said to be a Western paradigm. This is to say, the core assumptions of liberalism were formulated by early liberal scholars, such as those discussed above, who were exclusively from the West. While in contemporary

International Relations students and scholars from all over the world and with varied interests can be classed as liberals or use liberalism in some form, they are essentially using a perspective which is founded on Western assumptions. Thus, liberalism has been criticised by some as being culturally specific as opposed to truly international.

1.4.7 LET US SUM UP

The liberal tradition in IR is closely connected with the emergence of the modern liberal state. Liberal philosophers, beginning with John Locke in the seventeenth century, saw great potential for human progress in modern civil society and capitalist economy, both of which could flourish in states which guaranteed individual liberty. Modernity projects a new and better life, free of authoritarian government, and with a much advanced level of material welfare.

Liberals recognize that individuals are self-centred and competitive up to a point. But they also believe that individuals share many interests and can thus engage in collaborative and cooperative social action, domestically as well as internationally, which results in greater benefits for everybody at home and overseas. In other words, conflict and war are not inevitable; when people employ their reason they can achieve mutually beneficial cooperation not only within states but also across international boundaries. Liberal theorists thus believe that human reason can triumph over human fear and the lust for power.

In their conceptions of international cooperation, liberal theorists emphasize different features of world politics. Transnationalist liberals highlight transnational nongovernmental ties between societies, such as communication between individuals and between groups. Interdependence liberals pay particular attention to economic ties of mutual exchange and mutual dependence between peoples and governments. Institutional liberals underscore the importance of organized cooperation between states.

The criticism on liberalism is centred on liberal support for the free market and the institutions of private property. Critics argue that the operation of free markets and the private ownership of property and resources lead to the progressive concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands. This inevitably leads to a concentration of power among the wealthy, which in turn impinges greatly upon the liberty and meaningful choices available to poorer groups. Liberalism has also been criticised by some as being culturally specific, to the Western experiences, as opposed to truly international.

1.4.8 EXERCISE

1. Explain the historical evolution of Liberalism
2. Discuss the influence of liberalism on 20th century international relations.
3. Discuss different theories of liberalism.
4. Discuss the critique of liberalism

1.4.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

Griffiths, Martin,'International Relations Theory for the Twenty-first century,' *London and New York: Routledge*, 2007.

Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye Jr,'Power and Interdependence,' *Survival*, Vol. 15 (4), 1973, pp.158-165.

Moravcsik, Andrew, *Liberalism and International Relations Theory*, Cambridge, MA: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1992.

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2.1 BEHAVIOURALISM AND ITS THEORIES: SYSTEMS THEORY, GAME THEORY, COMMUNICATION THEORY

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- Behaviouralism and propositions advanced by behavioural method
- System theory and its application to international relations
- Communication theory its contribution to international relations
- Game theory and its utility to study international relations

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Behaviouralism rose partly as a reaction against the traditional approaches of political inquiry and partly as a result of the quest in search for a more 'Scientific' knowledge about politics. Consequently, Political Scientists have in recent times, come out with a variety of approaches to meet their needs. The first breakthrough

came with the emergence of the 'Behaviouralists Movement' in Political Science. Behaviouralism is particularly associated with the work of American Political Scientists after the Second World War.

1.1.2 BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism's origins can be traced back to Graham Wallas's work, *Human Nature in Politics* and Arthur Bentley's *The Process of Government.* Both were published as early as 1908. Wallas and Bentley were inclined to lay greater emphasis on the informal processes of politics and less on political institutions in isolation. Wallas sought to introduce a New Realism in political studies in the light of new findings in contemporary Psychology. The new Psychology had revealed that man was not totally a rational creature and that his political actions were not totally guided by reason and self-interest. Wallas therefore insisted on exploring facts and evidence for understanding human nature and its manifestations in human behaviour. Arthur Bentley, on the other hand, a pioneer of group approach to politics, primarily sought not to describe political activity, but to provide a set of new tools of investigation in the social sciences. Greatly inspired by Sociology, he proceeded to undertake a study of the role of pressure groups, political parties, elections and public opinion in the political process.

Charles E. Merriam was another pioneer of the behavioural approach. He is also famous as the founder of the 'Chicago School' which made substantial contribution to the Behaviouralists movement. In the article 'The Present State of The Study Of Politics' published in American Political Science Review (1921) and in his book '*New Aspects of Politics'* (1925), Merriam criticized contemporary Political Science for its lack of scientific rigour. In his presidential address to American 'Political Science Association' (1925), Merriam exhorted Political Scientists to look at political behaviour as one of the essential objects of inquiry. George E. Catlin in his '*Science and Method of Politics'* (1927) advanced the case for a value-free pure science. He treated 'power' as the essence of politics and argued that analysis of power should not be inclined in favour of any particular value-system. Harold D. Lasswell, (1902-78), in his celebrated work '*Politics: Who Gets What, When and How'* (1936) proved to be a landmark in the empirical approach to politics as the study and analysis of power.

Despite these early attempts, Behaviouralism in Political Science was systematically developed only after the Second World War, particularly through the writings of American Political Scientists. David B. Truman, Robert Dahl, Evron M. Kirkpatrick, David Easton, Heinz Eulau are the most prominent personalities of the

Behavioural movement in Political Science. Behaviouralism as such came to be understood as something wider than the study of political behaviour, yet political behaviour was its main focus. Behaviouralism as a movement in Political Science did not remain confined to the study of individual based political behaviour, but developed into a set of orientations, procedures and methods of analysis. In practice, it embraced all that lends a scientific character to the modern Political Science.

2.1.2.1 Foundations of Behaviouralism

According to David Easton,the intellectual foundations of Behaviouralism consist of eight major tenets:

1. Regularities: Discoverable uniformities in political behaviour which can be expressed in theory-like statements.
2. Verification: Validity of such theory like statements can be verified.
3. Techniques: Means for acquiring and interpreting data.
4. Quantification: Precision in the recording of data.
5. Values: Objective scientific inquiry has to be value free or value neutral.
6. Systematization: Close interrelationship between theory and research.
7. Pure Science: Directed towards forging a link between theoretical understanding of politics and application of theory to practical problem-solving.
8. Integration: Integration of political science with other social sciences.

Therefore, Behaviouralism came to accord primacy to higher degree of reliability vis-à-vis higher degree of generality. In short, Behaviouralism focused on micro level situations rather than attempting macro level generalizations.

The behavioural approach to social science and political analysis, in all, are guided by two distinctive principles: these principles have been known to differentiate the Behaviouralists from other social sciences. These principles include: their insistence on the mere fact that observable behaviour, whether it be at the level of the individual or the social aggregate, should be the focus of their analysis at any point in time. They also insist that any explanation offered for that behaviour should be susceptible to empirical testing. In all these divers contexts, the central questions which the Behaviouralists seeks to answer are quite clear and simple. In Sanders' own words, "What do actors involved actually do? How can we best explain why they do it?" while we know that these are not just the only questions that Behaviouralists tackle, they however in fact believe that as far as

Behaviouralists are concerned, they believe that these two questions are the most important ones when it comes to analyzing issues in political science.

The Behaviouralists insistence on empirical observation and testing of all theories etc, is what have earned the approach its characteristic feature for which the behavioural approach to social enquiry is known for today. These distinguishing characteristics for which the behavioural approach is known, has in recent times, attracted various criticisms from all and sundry. One of the major criticisms of the behavioural approach rests on the fact of association and influence which the Logical Positivist school of thought exerts on the behavioural approach. This positivist influence claims that statements which are neither definitions nor empirical are meaningless in its entire ramification. By implication, it has been argued by certain scholars that since the behavioural approach share the same mode of thought with logical positivism, it invariably becomes vulnerable to any weakness inherent in positivism.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Define Behaviouralism.

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2. What are the major tenets of Behaviouralism given by David Easton?

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2.1.3 SYSTEM THEORY

As a result of the Behaviouralists revolution, the term ‘system’ gained great importance in Political Science and also in International Politics. Traditionalists believe in the balance of power system. To Behaviouralists it conveys a different meaning. In behaviouralist conception, the states are regarded as actors always standing in inter-action with each other making the whole world as an organized complexity. In 1960, James Roseau argued that of all the advances that have

occurred in the study of international phenomenon Perhaps none is more important than the ever-growing tendency to regard the world as an international system.

2.1.3.1 What is System?

The term 'system' refers to a structure of its own, having different parts which are inter-related and inter-dependent, which under-goes various processes to maintain its existence. A system, therefore, implies not only the inter-dependence of parts but also the acceptance of influence from environment and vice versa. Inter-dependence means that when the properties of a component in a system change, all other components and the system as a whole are affected. There are various kinds of systems. David Easton and G. A. Almond have used System approach for the study of political system while Mortan Kaplan has used it for the study of international system.

2.1.3.2 What is International System?

Stanley Hoffman regards international system as "…a pattern of relations among the basic units of world politics, characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by those units and of the task performed among them as well as by the means used to achieve those goals and perform these tasks." Spiro considers that the idea of international system is abstract, descriptive and theoretical. It contributes a perspective. The international system constitutes an expression to stimulate thought about a certain generalized image. Thus the states of the world are conceived to be in contact and association in a complicated framework of relationships which is formed through the process of interaction. In other words it can be argued that the systems theory regards the world phenomenon in its totality through those processes of interaction operating at various levels. This theory views the world as a system which is regulative and adoptive. Each system exists for certain purposes. And, it is for the attainment of these purposes that it adopts and regulates itself to the environment.

2.1.3.3 Main Exponents and Assumptions of the System Approach

The Systems Approach conceives of states which come in contact to form a complicated relationship resulting from the phenomenon of interaction. The activities of a state are always directed towards the preservation of its national interest. But at the same time nations live with one another. They live in an international environment and parti-cipate in that environment. The behaviour of a nation is thus a two way activity of taking from and giving to the international environ-ment. This process of exchange is called the International System.

Mortan Kaplan is the chief exponent of the international systems theory. The other important contributors to the system approach include Karl Deutsch, Charles McClelland, J. David Singer, Kenneth Boulding, David Easton and Anatole Rapport. The interpretation given by all these scholars refers to the variables of the international system, which help in a proper understanding of the interaction process. These variables are discussed as below:

- **Structure of the System:** Structure of the system refers to the pattern of relationship among the States. The pattern of relation-ship depends upon :(i) The distribution of capabilities referring to the evenness or unevenness; (ii) The characteristic configuration referring to un polarity, bipolarity or multi polarity and; (iii) The hierarchy within the system referring to the dominant and subordinate sub-system.

- **Components of the System:** It means actors of the system. The members or actors can be of different types such as sub-national, national, transnational and Universal.

- **Boundary of the System:** Boundary refers to the dividing line between the environment and the system itself. Environment means all that exists or is perceived as existing outside that system. This makes it easier to draft a line between national and an international system.

- **Interaction among the Components:** The concept of system refers to the fact of interaction among its components. System theorists may differ on anything while defining a system, but they all agree on its aspect of interaction. Interaction is of different forms such as direct governmental, direct non--governmental and indirect governmental. Interaction may differ in content. It may be collaborative as well as con-flicting. It is, however, not possible to have a distinct form in its true shape. Reference to one shape only means dominant traits of the interaction. Interaction may differ in intensity. For example the interaction between the actors of the West-European sub-system is of great intensity than between the actors of Africa.

- **Regulation in the System:** Regulation is the process by means of which a system attempts to maintain or preserve its identity over time as it adapts to changing circumstances. Regulation is aided by various factors such as culture, institution etc.

2.1.3.4 Morton Kaplan's International System Approach

Morton Kaplan has given most comprehensive and successful characterization of international politics in terms of systems theory. He has emphasized on the pattern of the behaviour of states. He argues that the character of state has been changing since its birth. Hence the International System has also been changing correspondingly. International System is thus never static, but dynamic. The shape system at a particular time reflects the conditions prevailing at that time.

The systems approach takes into consideration the action of nations, structure and functioning of the system, and the environ-mental factors that not only condition the actions of nations but also the interaction among them and the working of the system itself. The system approach covers both the past and present of the International System. The international System has various smaller international systems at the lower scale working as sub-systems. Each sub-system affects the functioning of the bigger system and vice versa. Thus each system, in addition to being a system in itself, can be a sub-system of a larger system.

Kaplan believes that International System is the most important of all the systems. He does not regard International System as a poli-tical system. Reason being, he views that the role of decision makers in the international system is subordinate to their role in the national domestic system affirms that the behaviour of the national actors in the field of international affairs is invariably governed and guided by the basic consecration of national interest. He divides international actors into two categories – the national and supranational actors. The US, China, Russia and India are the examples of national actors while the NATO is an example supranational actors. According to Kaplan, International action takes places between international actors. It is the interaction between these two types of actors that ultimately gives birth to the International system.

According to Kaplan, there are five major international systems in International relations. These models have been described as below:-

(1) Balance of Power System

Kaplan's balance of power system is similar to the one which prevailed in the Western World in the 18th and 19th centuries. The actors who work within this system are international actors. They are also national actors. In this system there should be five or six essential actors. Prior to the First World War England, Germany, France, Italy and the United States etc. were the essential national actors. The operation of the balance of power system, according to Kaplan has six instant rules:

- Each actor should try to increase its capabilities but through negotiations and not through war.
- The foremost obligation of each actor must be to itself. It should achieve its national interest even at the risk of war, if necessary.
- The participant who is threatened of its own existence should stop fighting. It is to ensure that no essential participant is eliminated altogether.
- The participant should oppose any coalition of other partici-pants in order to avoid predominance of that group in relation to the rest of the system.
- The participant should prevent other participants from sub-scribing to the supra-national principles, and;
- The defeated participants should be permitted to re-enter the system.

The balance of power system worked in the 18th and 19th centuries as an absolute system. It appeared as a rule of universal applicabi-lity. Nevertheless, this system has undergone a change as a result of the world wars. When the participants in the system, individually or collectively, do not play according to these six rules, the system becomes unstable. The moment this system becomes unstable, it is bound to be changed into a different system.

(2) The Bipolar System

The unstable balance of power system changes itself into a bipolar system. This change occurs if two national actors and their co-operating actors come to constitute dominance over two different blocs. Kaplan conceives of two types of bipolar system:-(a) the loose bipolar system and (b) the tight bipolar system.

(a) The Loose Bipolar System: The two super-powers are surrounded by a group of smaller powers and non-aligned states. The existence of non-aligned States makes the lower of the two major actors loose. The loose bipolar system differs from the balance of power system in many ways. Both the supranational actors and the national actors partici-pate in the loose bipolar system. Supra-national actors are divided into a sub-class of bloc actors like, NATO, CENTO, the Communist Bloc, and into universal actors like the United Nations. In the loose bipolar system, each bloc has leading actor. The norms of the system among the actors differ according to their roles. Therefore, the loose bipolar system is characterized by the presence of two major bloc actors(Soviet Union and the US), non-member actors (the Non-Aligned countries) and the universal actor (UN). All of them perform unique and distinctive role within the system. This system has a great degree of inherent instability because the action of non-member actors is rarely of decisive importance.

(b) The Tight Bipolar System: The loose bipolar system will be transformed, according to Kaplan, into tight bipolar system. In this system, the non-aligned states will disappear and the system will operate only around two super blocs. But its stability will be guaran-teed only when both bloc actors are hierarchically organized, otherwise the system will again revert to the loose bipolar system. The most important thing about the tight bipolar system is the virtual disappear-ance of the category of non-member national actors and the universal actor (UN).

(3) The Universal System

The Universal Actor System comes into existence with the extension of functions of essential actors in a Loose Bipolar System. The most striking feature of this system is that even though the national actors constantly try for more power, they are prevented effectively from going to war with each other by the UN. Hence, this system envisages that the universal actor (the United Nations) is sufficiently powerful to prevent war among national actors. But the national actors retain their individuality. The universal inter-national system will be an integrated system. It will possess integrated mechanism and will perform judicial, economic, political and adminis-trative functions. National actors will try to achieve their objectives only within the framework of the universal actor. The national actors will use only peaceful means to get their objectives in view of the fact that the universal actor will be quite powerful to prevent national actors to resort to force. National interest will have to be subordinated to international objectives like peace and existence of humanity. This system is not likely to be achieved under the present circumstances. A long spell of instability is bound to precede the establishment of this type of system.

(4) Hierarchical International System

It is a system in which practically the whole of the world, except one nation, is brought under the control of one universal actor. In this system, the universal actor absorbs practically the whole of the world except only one nation. The hierarchical international system can be directive as well as non- directive. It will be directive if it is formed as a consequence of world conquest by a national actor. The national actors lose their primary function of transmitting the rules of the national systems. The states become merely territorial sub-division of the system instead of being independent political systems. Once established, it will be impossible to displace this system. However, it will be non-directive if it is based on political rules generally operative in democracies. As a result, there will be great tension in a directive hierarchical system than in a non-directive system.

(5) Unit Veto System

In this system weapons play the most important role. Unit Veto System is possible only under the condition that ail actors (states) possess such weapons individually as to destroy any other actor even though it cannot avoid its own destruction. It conceives of weapons of such a nature that any national actor can destroy any other before being destroyed itself. This is a very peculiar system, and corresponds to the State of nature described by Hobbes in which interests of all are opposed and in which all are at war with one another. The essence of this system is that each State will be equally able to destroy each other. The only condition in which such a system is possible is the possession by all actors of the weapons of such a nature that any actor is able to destroy any other actor, even though at the risk of its own destruction. In this system, however, universal actor cannot exist.

2.1.3.5 System Theory: Critical Evaluation

Morton Kaplan's system theory has been criticized by various scholars on the different grounds.

First of all, Kaplan's typology of five systems of international relations is arbitrary and defective. Out of five models, only two models were in actual operation. The balance of power system existed in the 18th and 19th centuries and is still working in some form or the other. Like-wise, the loose bipolar system existed in the late fifties and sixties of the 20^{th} Century. However, the other four models pertain to future and have never come into opera-tion. Kaplan makes only a prediction and to this extent his theory is defective.

Second, Kaplan argues that the balance of power system passes into loose bipolar system and then into tight bipolar system which in turn transforms itself into universal, international and then into hierarchical international system. But at present, in the age of loose bipolar system the trends are in favour of the stability of non-aligned states rather than in that of their disappearance. The Super-power blocs have experienced intra-bloc dissensions represented in the most acute form by China's defection from the Soviet bloc and the critical attitude of France adopted towards the US. Similar is the attitude of Great Britain. Thus, at present, in international politics, small powers are gradually asserting themselves either individually or collectively. China is also asserting itself to form one bloc. Japan also wants to assert itself. So the chances of the development of a tight bipolar system would be very dim. The transformation from loose bipolar system will be into multi polar system and not tight bipolar system.

Third, Kaplan's theory has also proved false as he envis-ages the transformation of the universal actor system into the hierar-chical international system in which only one nation will be left as the universal actor. This sort of transformation is possible only in the revival of imperialism and colonialism. The possibility of such a revival means misunderstanding the entire process of international politics.

Fourth, Kaplan ignores the forces which determine the scale of state's behaviour. He omits altogether the forces and factors at work within the State. He also does not take into account the factors and conditions which lead nations to behave collectively. He also ignores how national interests affect the behaviour of States. This is a serious omission from the point of view of the completeness of thesystem.

Fifth, this theory also fails to give the exact number of international systems. It is not clear whether all the states form one international system or they form several participating systems.

In spite of severe criticism, the System theory is significant to understand the international relations. It is not only the Morton Kaplan who has worked on systems theory but others scholars such as Charles McClelland, Stanley Hoffman, Kenneth Boulding and Harold Guetzkow have also contributed and empha-sized on the significance of the system approach. Kaplan has been associated more with the systems theory, primarily due to his rigorous, systematic and highly abstract thinking on the subject. Other scholars have mostly studied it by criticizing Kaplan. Hence, this theory is a useful guide to the development of a general international theory.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What do you understand by the term‘International System’?

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2. Write down major assumptions of System Approach.

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3. Discuss Morton Kaplan’s International System Approach.

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2.1.4 COMMUNICATION THEORY

Communication theory gives meaning to revolution that has occurred in communications and has changed the nature of human contacts and social relations in all the parts of the world. Breakthrough in the communication field in the 20th century had great impact on the human behaviour as well as the world affairs. Modern communication technology has changed the way of life of the developed societies; rent the centuries old customs and traditions in the developing ones and moreover has altered the relationships between these two societies. In international relations due to the great advance in communications rapid changes have been occurred. They provided instruments and techniques for the transmission of information and ideas, of skills and technology and for the closer contacts among peoples and also among the states.

Communications deeply rooted in human behaviours and societies. It is difficult to think of social or behavioural events from which communication is absent. Indeed,

communication applies to shared behaviours and properties of any collection of things, whether they are human or not.

We might say that communication consists of transmitting information. In fact, many scholars of communication take this as a working definition, and use Lasswell's maxim ("who says what to whom in which channel with what effect") as a means of circumscribing the field of communication. Others stress the importance of clearly characterizing the historical, economic and social context. The field of communication theory can benefit from a conceptualization of communication that is widely shared.

Communication Theory attempts to document types of communication, and to optimize communications for the benefit of all.

Many suggest that there is no such thing as a successful body of communication theory, but that we have been relatively more successful in generating models of communication. A model, according to a seminal 1952 article by Karl Deutsch ("On Communication Models in the Social Sciences"), is "a structure of symbols and operating rules which is supposed to match a set of relevant points in an existing structure or process." In other words, it is a simplified representation or template of a process that can be used to help understand the nature of communication in a social setting. Such models are necessarily not one-to-one maps of the real world, but they are successful only insofar as they accurately represent the most important elements of the real world, and the dynamics of their relationship to one another.

2.1.4.1 Walter Lipmann's Public Opinion Model

Public Opinion (1922) is perhaps Lippmann's most well-known work. It was in this piece that Lippmann first began to develop and explain his theories on the formation of public opinion. Lippmann begins this book by describing a situation in 1914, where a number of Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen were trapped on an island. They have no access to media of any kind, except for once every sixty days when the mail comes, alerting them to situations in the real world. Lippmann explains that these people lived in peace on the island, treating each other as friends, when in actuality the war had broken out and they were enemies.

Throughout ***Public Opinion***, Lippmann explains the way that our individual opinions can differ from those that are expressed in the outside world. He develops the idea of propaganda, claiming that "In order to conduct propaganda, there must be some barrier between the public and the event". With this separation, there is the ability of the media to manipulate events or present limited information to the public. This information may not match the public's perception of the event. In this way, Lippmann was essentially presenting some of the first views on the mass communication concepts of gate keeping and agenda-setting, by showing the media's power to limit public access to information.

2.1.4.2 Harold Laswell's Propaganda Model

Harold Lasswell (1902-1978) was a prominent scholar in the area of propaganda research. He focused on conducting both quantitative and qualitative analyses of propaganda, understanding the content of propaganda, and discovering the effect of propaganda on the mass audience. Lasswell is credited with creating the mass communication procedure of content analysis. Generally, content analysis can be defined as, "...the investigation of communication messages by categorizing message content into classifications in order to measure certain variables". In an essay entitled "Contents of Communication," Lasswell explains that a content analysis should take into account the frequency with which certain symbols appear in a message, the direction in which the symbols try to persuade the audience's opinion, and the intensity of the symbols used. By understanding the content of the message, Lasswell aims to achieve the goal of understanding the "stream of influence that runs from control to content and from content to audience".

Lasswell's most well-known content analyses were an examination of the propaganda content during World War One and Two. In Propaganda Technique in the World War, Lasswell examined propaganda techniques through a content analysis, and came to some striking conclusions. He showed that the content of war propaganda had to be pervasive in all aspects of the citizen's life in order to be effective. Furthermore, Lasswell showed that as more people were reached by this propaganda, the war effort would become more effective. "...[T]he active propagandist is certain to have willing help from everybody, with an axe to grind in transforming the War into a march toward whatever sort of promised land happens to appeal to the group concerned. The more of these sub-groups he can fire for the War, the more powerful will be the united devotion of the people to the cause of the country, and to the humiliation of the enemy".

Aside from understanding the content of propaganda, Lasswell was also interested in how propaganda could shape public opinion. This dealt primarily with understanding the effects of the media. Lasswell was particularly interested in examining the effects of the media in creating public opinion within a democratic system.

2.1.4.3 The Frankfurt School and Communication Theory

The Frankfurt School1 was a group of critical theorists associated with the Institute of Social Research which was located first at the University of Frankfurt, then in Geneva, Switzerland, Columbia University in New York, and finally back at the University of Frankfurt, from 1949 to present. Some of the theorists associated with what became known as the Frankfurt School included Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, Leo Lowenthal, and Friedrich Pollock.

The interests of the Frankfurt School theorists in the 1920s and 1930s lay predominantly in a Marxist analysis of social and economic processes, and the role of the individual and the group in relation to these processes. Their particular relevance to communication theory lies primarily in Adorno's idea of the culture industry, and Marcuse's concept of the "one dimensional" man.

According to Horkheimer and Adorno, the culture industry was the result of an historical process that with an increase in technology (including mass communication technology) there was an increase in the ability to produce commodities, which enabled increased consumption of goods. The consumption of mechanically reproduced cultural products—predominantly radio and film—led to formulas of producing them for entertainment purposes, and it did not occur to consumers to question the idea that the entertainment presented to them had an ideological purpose or purposes. Consumers adapted their needs around these cultural products, and in doing so no longer knew of anything else that they might desire, or that there might be anything else they could desire. The entertainment that they enjoyed did not reflect their real social, political, or economic interests, but instead blinded them from questioning the prevailing system. Entertainment also had the function of allowing the dominant system to replicate itself, which allowed for further expansion in production and consumption. Thus, for Adorno and Horkheimer the culture industry worked in such a way that those who were under its influence would not even notice that they were being manipulated.

For Adorno, popular culture on film and radio did not bother to present itself as art. They were instead a business, and this in turn became an ideology "to legitimize the trash they intentionally produce". This business was based on what Adorno referred to as "Fordist capitalism," in which mass production based on the techniques used by Henry Ford were implemented in the cultural sphere, insofar as these tendencies were based on centralization and hierarchy. Examples of this—not specified by Adorno—were the Hollywood production system, or the CBS radio network that had been associated with the Princeton Radio Research Project. Movies and hit songs were based on formulas, and "the formula supplants the work". Mechanical reproduction ensured that there would not be any real change to the system, and that nothing truly adversarial to the system would emerge.

To sum up this section, Communication scholars define communication as the process by which people interactively create, sustain, and manage meaning. As such, communication both reflects the world and simultaneously helps create it. Communication is not simply one more thing that happens in personal and professional life; it is the very means by which we produce our personal relationships and professional experiences—it is how we plan, control, manage, persuade, understand, lead, love, and so on. Some of the models developed based on communication theory that are relevant to international relations are briefly mentioned above.

Check Your Progress 3

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss Communication theory.

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2. Discuss Walter Lipmann's Public Opinion Model.

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_____
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3. Discuss Harlod Laswell's Propaganda Model.

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4. Write down major arguments of Frankfurt School.

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2.1.5 GAME THEORY

The Game Theory is another important theory came into prominence with the behavioural revolution. Initially it was developed by John Von Neumann and Oscar Morgenstern's in their classic work ***Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour*** in 1944. The theory which was developed to explain economic models was later on borrowed by scholars of other disciplines. A game is simply a situation in which there are two or more parties who can affect what happens, all of whom are pursuing their separate aims. Such situations provide particular challenges, both for decision makers and for students of choice. Because no actor has complete control over events, each needs to take account of the others' possible actions. Suppose actor A's most advantageous course of action depends on what actor B decides to do, and vice versa. If both realize that this is so, A will try both to anticipate and to influence B's choices, knowing that B is trying to do the same in reverse. Thus even if A and B never meet, their decisions interact, and they will find themselves in an outcome dependent on both their choices. Such situations typically bring forth possibilities for mutual threats, deceit, bluff, and counter-bluff. But these are still only one side of the story. Conflict is seldom absolute. Some common interests can almost always be discerned, so joint gains can be made by cooperating-or at least keeping conflict within limits. Thus interactive decisions are also concerned with cooperation and "collaborative advantage" and with promises as well as threats. Where aims partially diverge—as they usually do—conflict and cooperation become two sides of the same coin and cannot properly be dealt with separately.

Game models are intended to provide an analytical guide through this maze. There are various ways of representing a game, perhaps the most intuitive being as a tree of moves, in which each branch, or move, is under the control of a particular player,

and the moves available at any point may depend on those already made. One can visualise the game of chess, for example, as a fantastically-complicated tree of possible moves. This extensive form model will be discussed later, but a simple tree of moves is illustrated in Figure 1. This two-player case has just seven possible outcomes (end points of the tree).

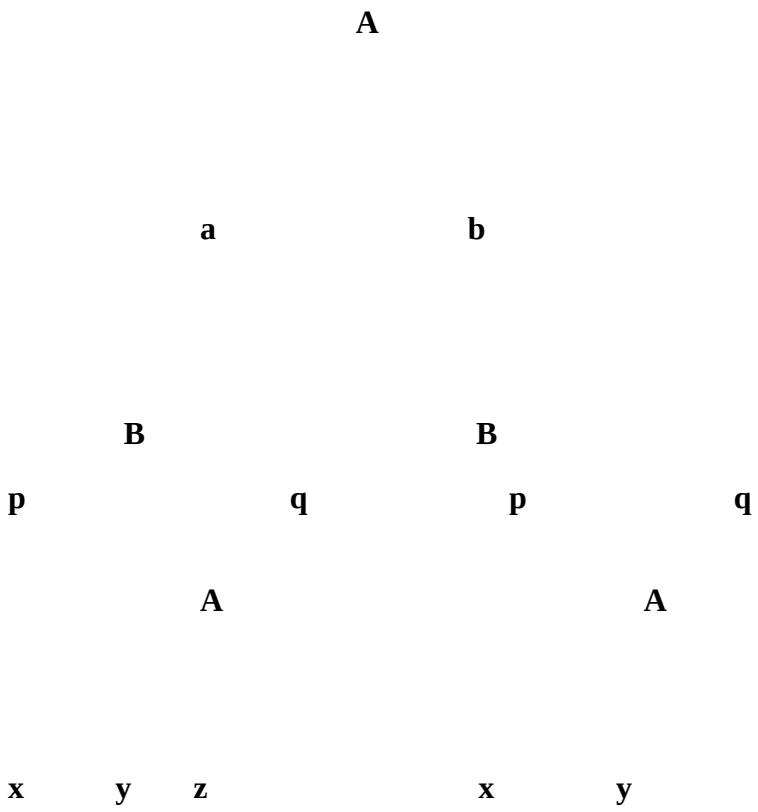

Figure 1: Structure of a simple game tree (extensive form model)

Player A moves first, choosing between moves a and b. B then chooses p or q. If B chooses q, A has a further choice either between x, y and z (if initial choice was a), or just between x and y (if initial choice was b)

MUCH OF GAME THEORY-AT LEAST UNTIL RECENTLY-HAS BEEN BASED ON VON NEUMANN'S NOTION OF "STRATEGY." TECHNICALLY, A STRATEGY IS A COMPLETE RECIPE OF ACTIONS, SPECIFYING WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN EVERY POSSIBLE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT MIGHT BE ENCOUNTERED. IN THE CASE SHOWN IN FIGURE 1, FOR EXAMPLE, ONE SINGLE STRATEGY FOR PLAYER A IS TO CHOOSE OPTION "A" INITIALLY, THEN "Y" IF B CHOOSES "P," BUT "X" IF HE CHOOSES "Q." IN THIS WAY, IT WAS ARGUED, A SERIES OF CHOICES COULD BE

TELESCOPED INTO ONE SINGLE CHOICE OF STRATEGY WITHOUT ANY LOSS OF GENERALITY. IT WAS THIS simplification that paved the way for the first general analyses of games. In this strategic or normal form, a game consists of the following:

- Two or more players, that is, the interested parties. For the purposes of the model, players can be individuals, groupings such as committees or cabinets, or entities such as corporations or nations.
- A set of strategies for each player, representing possible courses of action, each including all necessary conditional clauses.
- The set of possible outcomes of the game, given by considering all the combinations of strategies that the players could choose.
- A set of preference functions specifying how good or bad each outcome is for each player. Game Theory is often thought to require quantification of preferences by means of utility scales. However, many models assume only that one can define a preference order for each player, that is, outcomes are simply ranked from best to worst.

There are many types of games within the ambit of the theory. Games can have two, three, or many players. They can be played with or without communication. They may be played just once, or repeated many times. A game may include chance events as well as deliberate moves; this is modelled by introducing "nature" as a separate player, presumed to have no preferences but to act in accordance with certain probabilities. These are called **zero-sum games** since one player's gains are other player's loses. Co-operative Game Theory allows players to form binding coalitions. But the most fundamental distinction among types of games concerns the relationship between the players' aims. At one extreme, their preferences may be exactly opposed, so that any gain by one must be at the other's expense. At the other extreme, the players' aims may exactly coincide. Their problem is then one of pure coordination in trying to achieve what they both want. These are called ***coordination games***. Between these extremes are games in which the players' interests are in partial conflict, so that they may be torn between conflict and cooperation. These are known as ***mixed-motive games***.

Thinking carefully about a situation in terms of relevant players, strategies, outcomes, and preferences can be a useful exercise in itself, drawing attention to features that might otherwise be overlooked. For most Game Theorists, however, the main point is to bring some deductive analysis to bear. The first and simplest form of analysis assumes that every player knows what the game is (that is, has

complete information about everyone's available strategies and preferences) but does not know what strategy has been chosen by the other player(s). The theory then provides conclusions about the decision problem. In particular, analysis determines the existence of any equilibrium: outcomes in which each strategy choice is a rational response to the other(s). Such choices are mutually reinforcing: anticipating the other players' decisions would not lead one to change one's own. Formally, there are various kinds of equilibrium, the simplest being a Nash Equilibrium, in which no individual player can achieve a better outcome by changing strategy as long as all other players' choices are held constant. Other criteria allow for moves by coalitions rather than just individual players, or suppose that any change may set off a sequence of responses and counter-responses rather than holding other players' choices constant.

Mixed-motive games are much closer to the real world of partial conflict, threats and promises, bargaining and negotiation, dispute settlement, and-arguably conflict resolution. In these games, convincing normative solutions are more difficult to find. This has led to different ways of interpreting the theory, affecting the types of conclusions drawn.

Two Illustrations

Two well-used examples will serve to illustrate these ideas. The first is the game of chicken. This has frequently been used to model situations of international brinkmanship such as the cuban missile crisis, and such a model is represented by the normal form matrix in figure 2. Each player's possible strategies are shown along one side of the matrix: one player controls the rows, the other the columns. (a three-player game would have a 3-d matrix, and so on.) Each cell of the matrix represents a possible outcome, and in each cell are the players'preferences. In this case, there are two players-labelled "White House" and "Kremlin"-each with just two choices-"back down" or "stand firm." The figures shown in the cells represent preference rankings from 4 (best) down to 1 (worst). (Those for "White House" are on the left in each pair.) Though the two sides clearly do not have the same preferences, this is not a straightforward zero-sum conflict. If neither side backs down, both end up with their worst possible outcome. Note that the model requires only preference orders. It does not depend on being able to quantify the desirability of the outcomes.

Figure 2: Cuban missile crisis modelled as a game of chicken, showing matrix normal form model.

		Kremlin	
		Back Down	**Stand Firm**
White House	**Back Down**	**3, 3**	**2, 4**
	Stand Firm	**4, 2**	**1, 1**

Numbers indicate ordinal preferences (4 = "best"); those for "White House" are on left of each cell

the model, of course, draws on an analogy with games of chicken played in cars or on motorcycles by hell's angels and the like-the choice being whether to be a live but despised "chicken" by swerving first, or to risk disaster by driving on. however, the conclusions drawn can be applied to any situation-regardless of context-in which there are two sides with these preferences. There is a tricky problem of choice here. If you assume that the other side will choose in the same way as yourself, then either choice must turn out "wrong." if she swerves, you should have driven on, and vice versa. Analyzing the game reveals two (Nash) equilibria: "4,2" and "2,4." That is, a "win" for either side can be stable, because the loser could only move to an even worse outcome. However, the game is symmetric between the two players, so there is no way of telling which side will establish a winning position. In practice, the model tells us to expect a race to establish commitment, each side trying to convince the other that it cannot or will not back down. Thomas Schelling provides a classic exposition of the tactics to be expected, many of which can indeed be observed in everyday life as well as in high politics.

The second game is known as Prisoners' Dilemma. The name derives from a story about two suspected criminals held in separate cells, each given the choice of squealing or maintaining silence. In IR, it is frequently used as a simple model of arms races, and in this form it is shown in Figure 3. The game involves two (in this case, fictional) nations, Country X and Country Y, each again having just two possible strategies, "arm" and "disarm." Four outcomes can result—an arms race, mutual disarmament, or an arms lead for one or the other side. The model supposes that both sides would most like to gain an advantage, would least like to be left behind, but would prefer mutual disarmament to an arms race. The dilemma is as

follows. Given our supposition that both players know what the game is, the leaders of Country X may very well reason:

> I am not sure what Country Y will do, but there are two possibilities, and either way, we do better by arming. If they disarm, arming gives us our best outcome ("4" instead of "3"). If they arm, then by doing the same, we at least avoid the worst outcome. Come to think of it, I can see that their leaders face the same problem. We must therefore expect them to arm too.

THE ARGUMENT FROM COUNTRY Y'S POINT OF VIEW IS OF COURSE ANALOGOUS. FOR EACH, ARMING REPRESENTS A SO-CALLED DOMINANT STRATEGY: ONE THAT PAYS OFF WHATEVER THE OTHER DOES. SO IT SURELY SEEMS RATIONAL FOR EACH TO ARM, AND TO EXPECT THE OTHER TO DO THE SAME. UNFORTUNATELY, BOTH PLAYERS THEN DO WORSE (2, 2) THAN THEY WOULD IF they both acted irrationally (3, 3).

Figure 3: Prisoners' dilemma game as model of an arms race

		Country Y
	Disarm	**Arm**
Disarm	**3, 3**	**1, 4**
Country X		
Arm	**4, 1**	**2, 2**

Numbers indicate ordinal preferences, Country X are on the left in each cell

It is no surprise that Chicken and Prisoners' Dilemma are the most famous of all game models, both having acquired a huge literature of their own. Though obviously very simple in some senses (only two players, two strategies each, no conditional moves, and so on), they seem to pose genuine dilemmas for rational

choice. The response to such dilemmas, however, varies in theory as well as in practice. This reflects differing views about the purposes of analysis.

2.1.5.1 Game Theory: Criticism

Forty-odd years' worth of controversy has yielded a rich literature critiquing, and defending, Game Theory. In essence, critics of Game Theory typically allege that its models are oversimplified, that the theory is inherently repellent, or that the whole notion of rational choice is unrealistic or morally unsound. Let us consider each group of charges in turn.

To many people Game Theory can appear highly quantitative. Moreover, just as numbers can repel, so can words. To describe an important problem as a "game" can be deeply offensive. The theory's frequent association with both free-market economics and with hawkish versions of deterrence can make it unpalatable to those on the political left. As a matter of history, many pioneers of Game Theory were deeply affected by the politics of the Cold War, which is hardly surprising given the times.

Check Your Progress 4

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss Game theory.

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2. What do you understand by Zero-Sum games?

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3. Discuss Game of Chicken.

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_____

4. What is Prisoner's Dilemma?

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_____
_____

5. Why is Game theory criticized?

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_____
_____

2.1.6 LET US SUM UP

Game Theory's presumption that players (particularly, in IR, states) are to be modelled as rational actors has attracted much criticism. Rationality is often taken to imply selfishness, and rational choice theory interpreted as offering an immoral (or at least amoral) view of life.

In summary, the game paradigm need not take players to be self-interested, materialistic, or cold-blooded. However, it does unashamedly stress the importance of deliberate choices. Players are taken to be motivated by preferences for outcomes. They also recognize that they are in interaction with each other and plan accordingly. Comparative neglect of needs can be seen as an important limitation. This need not prevent one from using preference-based models, but it must be acknowledged that they only tell part of the story.

2.1.7 EXERCISE

1. What is Behaviouralism and what are the propositions advanced by behavioural method?
2. Discuss System theory and its application to international relations
3. Critically examine Communication theory its contribution to international relations.
4. Discuss Game theory and its utility to study international relations.

2.1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

Barron, Emmanual N, *Game Theory: An Introduction*, John Wiley & Sons, 2024.

Easton, David,'An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems,' *World Politics, Vol.* 9 (3), 1957, pp.383-400.

Malhotra, Vinay Kumar, *International Relations*, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1993.

Neumann, J. V., and Oskar Morgenstern,'Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour,' 1964.

2.2 CLASSICAL REALISM & NEO-REALISM & NEO-CLASSICAL REALISM

N

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The roots of the realist world view
- The basic propositions of classical realism
  - Hans Morgenthau's Realism and its assumptions
- Hans Morgenthau's Realism and its assumptions
- Kenneth Waltz's structural realism and the advances it made to realist theory

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

No single theory consistently explains the large array of international interactions, but one theoretical framework has historically held a central position in the study of IR. This approach,

called realism, is defended by some IR scholars and strongly challenged by others, but almost all take it into account.

Realism (or political realism) is a school of thought that elucidates international relations in terms of power. The use of power by states against each other is sometimes called realpolitik, or just power politics.

Often described as the dominant worldview in the study of International Relations (IR), political realism has been implicated in every major debate in IR over the last 50 years. In describing and understanding the realist worldview, it is usual to distinguish realism from other worldviews and to split realist theories into separate subgroups.

2.2.2 THE ROOTS OF THE REALIST WORLDVIEW

Realists regard themselves as heirs to an extended intellectual tradition. It is customary to trace realism back to antiquity, with claims that its arguments can be found in important works from Greece, Rome, India, and China. The proponents of realism suggest that Thucydides' history of The Peloponnesian War illustrates realism's scepticism for the restraining effects of morality. Thucydides, in a speech attributed to the Athenians in the Melian dialogue notes that 'right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must'. Realists also argue that Thucydides explains Greek city-states' behaviour by their power relations, famously observing that '[t]he growth of the power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Sparta, made war inevitable'.

Realist point of view can also be found in Kautilya's Arthashastra from India. According to realists Kautilya 'is concerned with the survival and aggrandizement of the state' and 'clearly instructs in the principles of a balance of power system'. They further state that 'Kautilya focuses on the position of the potential conqueror who always aims to enhance his power at the expense of the rest.'

Realists also claim Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) among their number. Starting from a deeply pessimistic view of human nature, Machiavelli argues for strong and efficient rulers for whom power and security are the major concerns. Unlike individuals, such rulers are not bound by individual morality: 'any action that can be regarded as important for the survival of the state carries with it a built-in justification'. Realists also identify themselves with Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and his notion of a 'state of nature' where the absence of overriding authority allows human appetites to be pursued without restraint – individuals engage in constant conflict, with their lives being concurrently 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short'.

Political realism's protracted existence gives it a distinct advantage over relatively younger liberal alternatives. It is important, therefore, to note that realist version of antiquarian writings are often questioned. Garst, for example, argues that Thucydides' history cannot be read as an analogue of modern realism. Similarly, Butterfield argues that Hume is mistaken in his interpretation of Polybius' account of Hiero and that 'the idea of the balance of power did not exist in the ancient world'. Despite of one's views on the longevity of realist thinking, however, there is more consensus that the millennia-long record of intergroup conflict seems to support realism's pessimistic worldview. While realism's construal of particular episodes has been disputed, even its critics (Wendt 2000) acknowledge that humankind has, in most times and in most places, lived down to realism's very low expectations.

2.2.3 CLASSICAL REALISM

Twentieth-century classical realism is generally dated from 1939 and the publication of Edward Hallett Carr's *The 20 Year's Crisis*. Classical realists are usually characterized as responding to the then-dominant liberal approaches to international politics although some scholars disagree on how widespread liberalism was during the interwar years. In addition to Carr, work by Shuman (1933), Nicolson (1939), Niebuhr (1940), Schwarzenberger (1941), Wight (1946), Morgenthau (1948), Kennan (1951), and Butterfield (1953) formed part of the realist canon. It was, however, Morgenthau's Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, which became the undisputed standard bearer for political realism, going through six editions between 1948 and 1985.

According to classical realism, as the desire for more power is rooted in the flawed nature of humanity, states are continuously engaged in a struggle to increase their capabilities. The absence of the international equivalent of a state's government is a permissive condition that gives human appetites free reign. In short, classical realism explains conflictual behaviour by human failings. Particular wars are explained, for example, by aggressive statesmen or by domestic political systems that give greedy parochial groups the opportunity to pursue self-serving expansionist foreign policies. For classical realists international politics can be characterized as evil: bad things happen because the people making foreign policy are sometimes bad.

There are some commonalities one can identify among the classical realists though the issues they have dealt were different from each other. First, they agree that the human condition is a condition of insecurity and conflict that must be addressed and

dealt with. Second, they agree that there is a body of political knowledge, or wisdom, to deal with the problem of security, and each of them tries to identify the keys to it. Finally, they agree that there is no final escape from this human condition, which is a permanent feature of human life. In other words, although there is a body of political wisdom—which can be identified and stated in the form of political maxims—there are no permanent or final solutions to the problems of politics—including international politics. There can be no lasting peace between states. This pessimistic and gloomy view is at the heart of the IR theory of the leading classical realist of the twentieth century, Hans J. Morgenthau.

2.2.4 HANS MORGENTHAU'S REALISM

As the title of his 1970 collection of essays, Truth and Power: Essays of a Decade, suggests Morgenthau's career revolved around a commitment to discovering the "truth" of international politics and an assertion of the primacy of power in IR. His incessant toil in the fields of history and political theory were intended to provide the means for the discovery of this truth. Morgenthau rejected existing liberal and scientific theories of international politics for precisely this reason— they did not produce a true theory of international politics, but rather included it in a scientific philosophy and methodology that concealed rather than exposing the harsh realities of international existence. For Morgenthau, the truth about international politics was intrinsically bound to power, so much so that a commitment toward examining the central role of power in IR dominates his work. The ascendancy of power is the ultimate reality and truth of international politics as it pervades the social and political fabrics of human existence.

Morgenthau's Politics among Nations has become the classic text of American Realism—a book that defined the field of IR in America for generations after World War Two. In this work, he proposes a theory of international politics that is designed to make the international arena less complex and understandable to the student of international politics. He does this by outlining a theory of truth about the nature of power and the practice of power in international politics.

The aim of this delineation is to create the foundations for a science of international politics that would provide a rational approach for understanding global politics.

2.2.4.1 Determining "Truth" in International Relations

In the earliest phase of his career in America, Morgenthau was committed to the notion of truth derived from observational experience combined with a rational approach to the systematization of knowledge. Setting himself against the dominant European modes of thought of deduction and positivism, Morgenthau

developed a thoroughgoing scepticism towards the functional blindness of the social sciences.

However, in the later part, Morgenthau got frustrated with the Rationalist models as they have become, in his understanding, too rigid and over simplistic. Morgenthau's main complaint with rationalism is its misunderstanding of the nature of social knowledge. Rationalist models are described as "idols," the product of seventeenth-century rationalism's desires for an order analogous to the order perceived in the natural world, a vision of science hopelessly outdated in the twentieth century. The array of causes and effects that characterize politics and IR are poorly served by the "arbitrary abstraction" of the single-cause pseudo scientism of the liberals and Marxists who attribute all the ills of the social world to the distribution of wealth and resources in the international environment. This form of "single-cause" theorization is derived from the rationalist mode of thought typical of the Enlightenment and is responsible for incorrect readings of international politics that cannot be expected to be relevant for more than a short period of time.

2.2.4.2 A "True" Science of International Relations

Morgenthau has a very particular notion of what constitutes "science," which rests on the distinction between being rational as opposed to rationalistic. If political cynicism and scepticism are the keys to understanding IR, the role of scientific analysis is to trim down national objectives to the measure of available resources. Economics, the most significant of the social sciences in terms of prediction, serves as a model (though not explicitly) for a science of IR as passages such as the following demonstrate: "No nation has the resources to promote all desirable objectives with equal vigour; all nations must therefore allocate their scarce resources as rationally as possible."

Morgenthau's position should be clearly distinguished from positivistic attempts to create a quantitative science of IR, a project he derided for being responsible for the replacement of genuine "theory" by "dogma." Morgenthau had determined that "good" science was the separation of truth from sham, an attempt to understand reality in a systematic and theoretical fashion. The failure of the "new" theories was that that they told nothing of "the real world" and perpetuated through their language the metaphysics of utopianism. Truth, the most important of concepts for Morgenthau, was to be found not in formulae, but in the prudential judgment that originates in philosophy and history.

2.2.4.3 *Politics among Nations*: Enunciating a Realist Theory of Power

Morgenthau's different writings on the philosophy of knowledge, theory, and the political experience of IR are distilled in his most famous work, ***Politics among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace***. The rationale of this book is to uncover the "objective truth" of IR through the discovery of fundamental principles that can make political activity "knowable" through a scientific theory. It is in *Politics among Nations* that Morgenthau makes clear his philosophy of power and the logic of its operation in the international environment. The combination of a

rational outline and the attempt to draw lessons from the historical record typify the approach of Morgenthau in *Politics among Nations*.

According to Morgenthau, the struggle between states leads to the problem of justification of the threat or use of force in human relations. Here we arrive at the central normative doctrine of classical realism. Morgenthau follows the tradition of Thucydides and Machiavelli: there is one morality for the private sphere and another and very different morality for the public sphere. Political ethics allows some actions that would not be tolerated by private morality. Morgenthau is critical of those theorists and practitioners, such as American President Woodrow Wilson, who believed that it was necessary for political ethics to be brought into line with private ethics.

For Morgenthau, the heart of statecraft is thus the clear-headed knowledge that political ethics and private ethics are not the same, that the former cannot be and should not be reduced to the latter, and that the key to effective and responsible statecraft is to recognize this fact of power politics and to learn to make the best of it. Responsible rulers are not merely free, as sovereigns, to act in a convenient way. They must act in full knowledge that the mobilization and exercise of political power in foreign affairs inevitably involves moral dilemmas, and sometimes evil actions. The awareness that political ends (e.g., defending the national interest during times of war) must sometimes justify morally questionable or morally tainted means (e.g., the targeting and bombing of cities) leads to situational ethics and the dictates of 'political wisdom': prudence, moderation, judgement, resolve, courage, and so on. Those are the cardinal virtues of political ethics. They do not preclude evil actions. Instead, they underline the tragic dimension of international ethics: they recognize the inevitability of moral dilemmas in international politics: that evil actions must sometimes be taken to prevent a greater evil.

2.2.4.4 The Six Principles of Political Realism

Morgenthau has a precise idea of the purpose of theory, which is "to bring order and meaning to a mass of phenomena which without it would remain disconnected and unintelligible."

His six principles go against the philosophy of Liberalism. Liberalism takes as its foundational assumption the essential "goodness" of human nature: the failure of the social order is a failure to live up to rational standards, and the means by which to create order is through education, reform, and occasionally coercive violence. On the other side lies Realism, which Morgenthau epitomize as rationally imperfect, a fault that is the result of human imperfection. The world is not composed of a single vision, but is instead composed of a range of opposing and conflicting interests. Moral principles, far from being universal, can never be fully realized and can at best attain an approximate morality based on the lesser evil rather than the greater good. The purpose of the distinction is to reinforce in the reader's mind the pragmatic and grounded nature of Realist theory in contrast to the abstract, rationalistic theorization of international politics.

In what seems a peculiar decision, Morgenthau declares that it is not his intention to attempt a "systematic exposition" of the political philosophy of Realism, but rather to restrict his analysis of Realism to the presentation of six principles, "which have been frequently misunderstood."

- Politics is rooted in a permanent and unchanging human nature which is basically self-centred, self-regarding, and self-interested.
- Politics is 'an autonomous sphere of action' and cannot therefore be reduced to morals (as Kantian or liberal theorists are prone to do).
- Self-interest is a basic fact of the human condition. International politics is an arena of conflicting state interests. But interests are not fixed: the world is in flux and interests can change. Realism is a doctrine that responds to the fact of a changing political reality.
- The ethics of international relations is a political or situational ethics which is very different from private morality. A political leader does not have the same freedom to do the right thing that a private citizen has. That is because a political leader has far heavier responsibilities than a private citizen. The leader is responsible to the people (typically of his or her country) who depend on him or her; the leader is responsible for their security and welfare. The responsible state leader should strive to do the best that circumstances permit on that particular day. That circumscribed situation of political choice is the normative heart of classical realist ethics.
- Realists are therefore opposed to the idea that particular nations can impose their ideologies on other nations and can employ their power in crusades to do that. Realists oppose that because they see it as a dangerous activity that threatens international peace and security. Ultimately, it could backfire and threaten the crusading country.
- Statecraft is a sober and uninspiring activity that involves a profound awareness of human limitations and human imperfections. That pessimistic knowledge of human beings as they are and not as we might wish them to be is a difficult truth that lies at the heart of international politics.

By stating these six principles, Morgenthau seeks to integrate these social forces into his theory of IR. If the units of the system are nations, the balance of power is the system in which these units operate. This, in essence, is a rationalization of irrational (though coherent) behaviour—the operation of these social forces reduced to the simple level of the struggle for power, a single cause, and single- unit model system of description.

2.2.4.5 Systematizing International Relation: The Balance of Power

The purpose of all political activity is, according to Morgenthau, the pursuit of power. This being the case, the palpable implication of politics among nations is that they pursue power in the international environment.

The struggle for power must be based on one of two principles, the preservation of the status quo or imperialism, which has as its ultimate goal the replacement of the balance of power with domination. These principles have the effect of polarizing the international system into pro-status quo or anti-status quo powers, thus constituting the primary motor and motive of international politics. In an attempt to present a wider conception, Morgenthau presents a four-point description of the balance of power as:

1. A policy aimed at the achievement of a certain objective, that is, the preservation of the status quo.
2. The description of an actual state of affairs.
3. A description of the international system in which there is an approximately equal distribution of power.
4. Any distribution of power.

These four conceptual parameters create the theoretical identification of the balance of power as the unavoidable and stabilizing element of a society of sovereign states. The inherent logic of the balance of power is quite simple: its operation is based upon the desire for domination and the means by which to achieve this domination. He says that "This balancing of opposing forces will go on, the increase in the power of one nation calling forth an at least proportionate increase in the power of the other . . . until one nation gains or believes it has gained a decisive advantage over the other. Then either the weaker yields to the stronger or war decides the issue".

2.2.4.6 Diplomacy as Instrument of Peace

In opposition to the liberal and Marxist attempts to recast the world order, Morgenthau posits the alternative: the preservation and revitalization of the diplomatic system as the means to achieve international harmony. Diplomacy is described as "the instrument of peace through accommodation." Diplomacy as the art of international governance requires alertness of how and when to use the three means of threat of force, compromise, and persuasion. The conduct of diplomacy, it would seem, is governed by rational self-interest.

The diplomat must achieve four tasks: determine objectives according to the capabilities of power; must be able to take into account the aims of other powers; the power must create policy based on the extent of the competing aims of its own objectives and other powers; finally, diplomacy must establish the correct means for the achievement of policy objectives. There are, says Morgenthau, two varieties of diplomacy, one public and crusading, the other private and

business like. The operation of diplomacy in the public sphere, in this case in a parliamentary context, is ultimately counterproductive as it merely serves to poison the atmosphere in which diplomats work. Progress towards a peaceful world cannot be achieved, argues Morgenthau, until the traditional model of private diplomatic practice is restored.

2.2.4.7 Critique on Morgenthau's Realism

Morgnethau's approach to international relations has been attacked from a number of directions. Questions have been raised over the application of scientific methodology to the social domain. Does the social aspect of the international world really lend itself to being understood in terms of enduring objective laws and certainties?

Morgenthau's realism was based on a priori assumptions about human nature (the rational pursuit of self-interest, utility maximization, and so on) which by definition cannot be tested or verified to any meaningful extent. What if these assumptions are flawed or do not conform in any actual sense to a shared reality? What are the implications for Morgenthau's theory if there are no laws of politics at all, only subjective impressions?

Morgenthau's world is pessimistic and barren one. He sees strengths in a dispassionate and unethical approach to international relations when this may be little more than a cover for and rationalization of immoral and unethical behaviour.

Morgenthau's treatment of Marxism is paltry an ungenerous. His critique of theories of imperialism is simplistic and hostile. He largely ignores economic considerations in the formulation of foreign policy and says very little about the nature of capitalism and its effects on the international order. He assumes that the nation-state is a unitary actor but is completely unconcerned in its internal nature, including the composition of its commercial and state elites. Other international actors, such as non- governmental authorities and international markets, are almost entirely neglected. And though he rejects the prescriptive elements of liberal idealism, his message about the immutability of the 'laws of politics' appears equally rigid.

Kenneth Waltz parts company with what he calls the 'traditional realism' of Morgenthau by arguing that international politics can be thought of as a system with a precisely defined structure. Realism, in his view, is unable to conceptualize the international system in this way because it is limited by its behavioural methodology which 'explains political outcomes through examining the constituent parts of political systems'. According to this approach, 'the characteristics and the interactions of behavioural units are taken to be the direct cause of political events'. Morgenthau explained international outcomes by focusing on the actions and interactions of the units – the principles of human nature, the idea of interest defined in terms of power, the behaviour of statesmen – rather than highlighting the systemic constraints of international politics. According to Waltz traditional realists could not explain behavior at a level above the nation-state.

2.2.4.8 Summing up Morgenthau's Realism

The Cold War forced Morgenthau to engage with more radical notions such as the prospect of political organization in the aftermath of a nuclear war. Nuclear weapons had affected a new reality in IR as the relationship between the use of violence and the attainment of rational foreign policy objectives had been removed by the introduction of weapons of total destruction, the use of which would be a "suicidal absurdity."

The world and the philosophy that underpinned *Politics among Nations* must have seemed to him to be fading into another age by the end of his life: the system it described of diplomats working in a system still dominated by the primacy of the political relationship between nation states had been eclipsed by the prospect of nuclear war and the reality of energy crises undermining the international political system. The failure of the American policy elites to respond rationally to the Communist threat and to neglect the national interest by pursuing war in Vietnam made him question the nature of politics. If the rational outline of politics was incapable of providing an ideal type from which to analyze "deficient" reality, then the style of theorization that Morgenthau had employed in *Politics among Nations* was inadequate.

Despite this inadequacy, Morgenthau eschews fatalism and clings to the possibility of the mind throwing light, eventually leading towards the truth of a transcendent reality. What we get is a mystery compounding the riddle. What remains is a probing mind, conscious of itself and of the world, seeing, hearing, feeling, thinking, and speaking—seeking ultimate reality beyond illusion.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Define Classical Realism?

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2. Discuss Hans Morgenthau's assumptions of realism.

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3. What are the six principles of realism given by Morgenthau?

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4. What do you understand by Balance of Power?

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5. Diplomacy act as an Instrument of Peace. Comment.

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6. Write down critique of Morgenthau's realism.

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2.2.5 KENNETH WALTZ: NEOREALISM OR STRUCTURAL REALISM

Kenneth Waltz is the most cited author in modern IR. One major reason for that is his creation of a coherent set of provocations challenging fashionable viewpoints in significant segments of the IR community. He says, for instance, that systemic interdependence is low and that this has been beneficial, that states can be seen as unitary actors, that non-state actors are relatively insignificant, that nuclear weapons are helpful, that superpower pre-eminence was a good thing, that the USA has behaved much like the Soviet Union in the post-war period, that the domino theory is false and much of US global activism therefore is outdated, that we don't 'live in a world of change', that bipolarity persists, etc.

Waltz is often identified with two books, *Theory of International Politics* (1979) and *Man, the State, and War* (1959)—in that order of preference. Foreign Policy and Democratic Politics from 1967 comparing British and US foreign policymaking is less well known.

Theory of International Politics is one of the last great entries in the so-called Second Great Debate of IR—that between the scientific and classical wings of international theory. It is in this text that Realism gets its definitive makeover into a rationalist, structural theory of international politics, an inversion of the epistemological position taken by two of its most important founders as a theory of international politics, E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau. As referred to in the introduction, the importance of language is crucial in understanding the successful

transformation of Realism from a multiplicity of various approaches (critical, dialogical, and historical in the case of Carr and Wight; philosophical and theoretical in the case of Morgenthau) toward the political philosophy of power in IR to a streamlined social science.

Waltz achieves his aim of creating a science of international politics by eliding the difficulties of an application of the methodologies of the physical to the social sciences. The distinction in Morgenthau's work between human sciences and natural sciences (which lies at the heart of Morgenthau's first major work in *English Scientific Man versus Power Politics*) is ignored by Waltz, who attempts to include the social under the scientific method associated with disciplines such as physics and microeconomics. The major problem with IR theory for Waltz is that it seldom refers to work that meets philosophy of science standards. This is a clear epistemological signposting of intent by Waltz that he intends to create a theory of international politics based on these principles.

The fundamental dilemma in both books is how to account for centuries of continuity in the outcomes of international politics, despite forceful pressures for change (from weapon systems, technology, domestic societies, etc.). And the answer in both cases points to the international structure restraining units' behaviour and interposing itself between units' intentions and international outcomes.

2.2.5.1 Anarchy, Balance of Power, Stability, and Bipolarity

For Waltz, the key feature to be explained in international politics is the persistence of its essential form over the centuries:

The texture of international politics remains highly constant, patterns recur, and events repeat themselves endlessly . . . a dismaying persistence, a persistence that one must expect so long as none of the competing units is able to convert the anarchic international realm into a hierarchic one.

Waltz sets out to account for this persistence and to account for the political logic of its continuance in international politics and to provide a theory that explains the regularity of behaviour. The key concept is that of "structure", which provides an elegant and general model for understanding the international system, it also has the benefit of explaining continuity within the international system. The problem of modelizing a structure of IR that does not include a theory of the state is surmounted by Waltz with the use of an analogy to microeconomic theory. Just as the microeconomic theory can operate without a theory of the firm, so can international theory operate without necessarily investigating the nature of the state. States then become functionally similar in the model of international politics, but with the important proviso that a general theory of IR "is necessarily based on the great powers."

There are three layers of systemic structure in Waltz's theoretical understanding. The lowest layer deals with the system's ordering principle; either hierarchy as in a domestic political system or anarchy as in an international system, typically. The medium layer addresses the question of the units' functional differentiation, i.e. whether they specialize functions among themselves or each unit seeks to take care of all functions for itself. These units happen presently to be nation- states, but this is not necessary. Anarchy as an ordering principle entails self- help behaviour among the units; as no unit can count on others to ensure its well-being and survival, it must take care of all functions by itself, in principle. No functional differentiation will occur. Still, even if all units are similar in this sense, they are not equal in terms of power (capability). The highest layer addresses the distribution of capabilities among the system's units—i.e. whether the system is bipolar, tripolar, multipolar, etc. If a system is to qualify as an international one in Waltz's conception, the only structural variation pertains to this third layer, i.e. the number of poles. Anarchy and absence of functional differentiation at the two former layers are parameters rather than variables.

In analogy to economic theory, Waltz then addresses what happens to 'behaviour and outcome' in the system, as its number of poles change (like the structure of a market shifting from duopoly to oligopoly to perfect competition). But as a prerequisite to this analysis, it is argued that balancing is a universal behavioural trait during anarchy (provided that units wish to survive and prosper). Balancing means that alliances are formed or other efforts are made that balance off the most powerful states (in contrast to band wagoning behaviour that supports the winner). The formation of balance of power is typically the unintended consequence of behaviour motivated by other reasons. The nature of this behaviour varies with the number of poles in the system. From the viewpoint of systemic outcome/ peacefulness, it is argued that a few poles are better than many, and two are better than a few. There are several reasons for this. For instance, the fewer poles there are, the less the risk of miscalculations leading to war. Internal balancing (each superpower regulating its own balancing strength; for example, through rearmament) is easier to control than balancing through alliance formation. Systemic interdependence—which may provoke conflict—is especially low during bipolarity, as the two poles are likely to be quite self sufficient. Each of the two poles has a stake in the system and they are therefore likely to carry responsibility in the management of common global problems. Essentially, Waltz considered the bipolar situation at his time of writing as the best of all worlds.

According to Waltz Anarchy explains a continuity of behaviour (i.e. power balancing) despite unit-level changes and processes. It leads to testable hypotheses concerning the extent and nature of inter-state cooperation over a range of issue-areas, and the balance of power as a process. Having dealt with anarchy, which is constant over time, Waltz moves on to consider the other structural component of international political systems, the distribution of capabilities. Whilst anarchy explains recurring patterns of behaviour over time, the distribution of capabilities

changes across systems, not within them. Indeed, since both anarchy and states do not change, the number of great powers is the only systemic constituent in the theory that varies.

This claim rests upon his argument that the balance of power operates differently in multipolar and bipolar systems. In the former, the politics of power are external. States rely on alliances to maintain their security. Alliances are formed on the basis of certain common interests among their members to ward off a common threat. However, such a system is intrinsically unstable, because 'there are too many powers to allow any of them to draw clear and fixed lines between allies and adversaries and too few to keep the effects of defection low'. Thus, no state can be absolutely sure about who is more threatening to whom. Military interdependence forces each state to subordinate its national interests to maintain the co-operation of its alliance partners. However, by doing so it may be dragged into war against its wishes. 'One's allies may edge toward the opposing camp'. Among a small group of militarily interdependent states, there is always a danger of miscalculation and defection between alliance partners, both of which may pull all the states into conflict.

Waltz illustrates all these drawbacks by focusing on the alliance diplomacy in the years before the First World War. In contrast, Waltz argues that, in a bipolar system, military interdependence is low. The inequality between the superpowers and everyone else, including their alliance partners, compels each of them to maintain the balance by relying on their own devices. The United States and the Soviet Union do not depend on anyone else to protect themselves. The rigidity of alliances in a bipolar world allows greater strategic flexibility by the superpowers. Miscalculation is minimized, both by the clarity of threats and the self-reliant means with which each superpower must develop a strategy to cope with these threats. Furthermore, in a bipolar system, the rivalry between the two superpowers is global in geographical scope and comprehensive across all issue- areas. As a result, Waltz argues that the post-war bipolar system is preferable to multipolarity. When reduced to two superpowers, it seems, the balancing process terminates in a stable outcome.

Finally, Waltz turns to the management of international affairs, which embodies global issues and problems that transcend territorial boundaries. These require inter-state co-operation if they are to be solved. However, apart from recognizing some of these problems, which Waltz calls the four **P**'s—proliferation, pollution, poverty, and population—he has very little to say in substantive terms. Instead, he confines his attention to the likelihood of their being coped with in the contemporary system. Given the condition of anarchy, attempts to manage transnational problems through international organizations and supranational agencies will only be marginally successful.

To Conclude, Waltz's main aim is to provide an empirical theory of international politics that is suitable to its subject-matter, to avoid the 'reductionism' that he believes is so incorrectly omnipresent among scholars regardless of their methodological predispositions, and to compare

the stability of different international political systems. In complete contrast to Morgenthau, he concludes that the contemporary bipolar system is characterized by a comparatively low level of economic and military interdependence and that the hegemony of the superpowers both enhances international stability and provides the best political framework for the constructive management of international affairs.

2.2.5.2 Critique on Waltz's Structural Realism

A major problem with Waltz's unit-structure relationship is that it leaves little or no room for systematic change induced by the units themselves.Waltz convinces that states are virtually powerless to alter the system in which they find themselves trapped.

Waltz also denies that greater levels of economic interdependency among states pose a threat to the condition of anarchy despite the present situation in which the trading state is substituting the military state.

The appeasement of core of liberal-democratic countries and the increasing number of states choosing liberal democratic orders poses a challenge for neo- realism's debate that the units can do little to alter the structure of the system.

The epistemological critiques of neo-realism by Ashley and Cox expose the conservative ideology which underwrites Waltz's theoretical approach. Both adopt a critical approach to neo-realism highlighting the extent to which it naturalizes the international system by treating structures which have a specific and transitory history as if they were 'permanent', 'normal' or 'given' political fixtures. This not only has the effect of legitimizing the status quo, it also obstructs arguments for another forms of political community which are more sensitive to changing social and ethnic identities and the exclusionary character of political boundaries. Cox places neo-realism in the category of 'problem- solving theory' which takes the world as it finds it, with the prevailing social and political relations and institutions to which they are organized, as the given framework for action. The general aim of the problem-solving theory is to make these relationships and institutions work smoothly by dealing effectively with particular sources of trouble. Problem solving theory fails to question the pattern of relationships and institutions in question and can 'fix limits or parameters to a problem area' which in turn limits 'the number of variables which are amenable to relatively close and precise examination.' For Cox, neo-realism reduces international relations to great management by legitimating a political order which favours the powerful and is hostile to change.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What is Structural Realism or Neo realism?

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2. How does structure of international system influence international politics?

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2.2.6 Let Us Sum Up

Waltz wanted to present a scientific explanation of international politics which is a big step beyond the political and moral theories of classical realism. He cannot avoid implying normative concerns, however, and he cannot escape from making what are implicitly normative assumptions. His entire theory rests on normative foundations of a traditional–realist kind. Thus, although he makes no explicit reference to values or ethics and avoids normative theory, the basic assumptions and concepts he uses and the basic international issues with which he is concerned are normative ones. In that respect his neo-realism is not as far removed from classical realism as his claims about scientific theory imply. This serves as a reminder that scientific explanations can frequently involve norms and values.

2.2.7 EXERCISE

1. Critically evaluate Classical Realism?
2. Critically examine Kenneth Waltz's Structural realism.

3 Discuss in detail the Hans Morgenthau theory of Realism

2.2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

Elman, Colin, and Michael Jensen, *The Realism Reader*, Routledge, 2014.

Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations*, 1973.

Nochlin, Linda, *Realism*, CUP Archive, 1971.

Ripsman, Norrin M., Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2016.

Waltz, Kenneth N,'The emerging structure of international politics,' *International Security, Vol.* 18 (2), 1993, pp. 44-79.

2.3 Critical Theory : Robert Cox

- Harjit Singh

STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

Positivism provoked a reaction in the form of several post-positivist methodologies, including critical theory, postmodernism and normative theory. All of them repudiated the scientific methods of positivism. Instead, in various ways, all these methodologies presupposed methods, distinctive to human beings as creatures, who must live in society with each other in order to live a human life. Post-positivist methodology rests on the proposition that people conceive, construct and constitute the worlds in which they live, including the international world, which is an

entirely human arrangement. There are several versions of post-positivism. One of the most widely-adopted methodologies the most widely adopted of all is Critical Theory. The prominent theories of international relations are mainly focusing on building a theoretical framework about the relationship between states and international institutions. The Critical theory analyzed the world politics in the line of Marxian theoretical ways. The Critical theory has played an emancipator role in Marxian theoretical interpretation because Marxism has been strictly adhering to economic relations.

In the sphere of international relation, the critical theory emerged during the post-first world war and the pre-second world war eras. Initially, two generations of critical theory had come in interpreting the ideas of critical theory. First was Frankfurt school of thought, the members belong to this school were Max Hokheimer, Walter Benjamin, Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Lowenthal and Erich Fromm and latter generation was associated with the study of Jurgen Habermas. When it comes to associate with the study of international relations, the ardent exponents are Robert Cox, Andrew Linklater, Richard Ashley, Mark Hoffman and Mark Neufeld. The common among critical theorists is that their work concerned to the emancipatory politics, to make a fundamental change in the most disadvantaged sections within the societies and to bring about change in the hierarchical order. Since the 1980s, critical theory has come into as the mainstream theory in international relations. In international relation, critical theorists were emphasized on to criticize the world rather explain it and the works of critical theory mainly concentrated on the betterment of human being by promoting a free exchange of ideas and views corresponding to the relevant matters. Mainly a development of Marxist thought, it

could be described as neo-Marxism. It was developed by a small group of German scholars most of them were living in exile in the United States. They were known collectively as 'the Frankfurt School'. As such two of the leading IR critical theorists are Robert Cox (1981, 1996) and Andrew Linklater (1990, 1996).

2.3.2 CRITICAL THEORY

The critical theory emerged as a critique of materialist theoretical analysis, which reflected in the theories of neo realism and neo-liberalism. Critical theory is contrary to the neo-realism and neo-liberal institutional perspective of international theories, because those theories were much attached to the state power relations and international institutional order. There are two important reasons that can prove that critical theoretical observations are true. The first, that the contemporary global order is a state centric. This system undermines diverse social forces and political challenges resist human polity and secondly, critical theory has laid a foundation for the emancipation of international theory that never before was proposed (Samhat, 2004).Critical theory has made certain achievements in four different areas. First, critical theory assessed with the adoption of facts of positivism, which narrates that knowledge does not arise by the neutral engagement of subject with objective reality, but it connected to the pre-existing social purpose

and interest. Second, critical theory criticized the view that the existing structure is immutable, because the immutability supported the establishment of structured inequality of power and wealth. The critical theory proposed for an alternative system of establishment of a new political community wherein individual can obtain their maximum freedom and equality. Third, critical theory projected for their structuring of historical materialism, wherein class power is not the fundamental form of social exclusion, as well as, the production is not the main determinant of society and history. Fourth, the creation of social arrangements is, where all political community engage with each other instead of exclusion of specific sections. Andrew Linklater is one of its main proponents in the field of international relations. Critical theory developed out of the work of the Frankfurt School. This was an extraordinarily talented group of thinkers, who began to work together in the1920s and 1930s. As left wing German Jews, the members of the school were forced into exile by the Nazis rise to power in the early 1930s, and much of their most creative work was produced in the USA. The leading lights of the first generation of the Frankfurt School included Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse. A subsequent generation has taken up the legacy of these thinkers and developed it in important and innovative ways. The best known is Jürgen Habermas, who is regarded by many as the most influential of all contemporary social theorists.

Given the vast scope of critical theory we can introduce some of its key features. One of the features to note is that their intellectual concerns are rather different from those of most other Marxists; they have not been much interested in the further development of analysis of the economic base of society. They have instead concentrated on questions relating to culture, bureaucracy, the social basis and nature of authoritarianism, and the structure of the family, and on exploring such concepts as reason and rationality as well as theories of knowledge. Frankfurt School theorists have been particularly innovative in terms of their analysis of the role of the media. And what they have famously termed the ‘culture industry. In other words, in classical Marxist terms, the focus of critical theory is almost entirely per structural. Other key feature is that critical theorists have been highly dubious as to whether the proletariat in contemporary society does in fact embody the potential. Andrew Linklater has used some of the key principles and precepts developed in Habermas’s work to argue, that emancipation in the realm of international relations should be understood in terms of the expansion of the moral boundaries of apolitical community. In other words, he equates emancipation with a process in which the borders of the sovereign state lose their ethical and moral significance. At present, state borders denote the furthest extent of our sense of duty and obligation, or at best, the point where our sense of duty and obligation is radically transformed, only proceeding in a much attenuated form. For critical theorists, this situation is simply indefensible. Their goal is therefore to move towards a situation, in which citizens share the same duties and obligations towards non-citizens as they do towards their fellow citizens. To arrive at such a situation would, of course, entail wholesale transformation of the present institutions of governance. But an important element of

the critical theory method is to identify and, if possible, to nurture tendencies that exist in the present conjuncture, that point in the direction of emancipation. On this basis, Linklater (very much echoing Habermas in this regard) identifies the development of the European Union as representing a progressive or emancipator tendency in contemporary world politics. If true, this suggests, that an important part of the international system is entering an era, in which the sovereign state, which has for so long claimed an exclusive hold on its citizens, is beginning to lose some of its pre-eminence. Given the notorious pessimism of the thinkers of the Frankfurt School, the guarded optimism of Linklater in this context is indeed striking.

Critical theorists' reject three basic postulates of positivism; an objective external reality, the subject/object distinction, and value-free social science. According to critical theorists, the social world is a construction of time and place and the international system is a specific construction of the most powerful states. Everything that is social, including international relations, is changeable and thus historical. Since, world politics are constructed rather than discovered. There is no fundamental distinction between subject (the analyst) and object (the focus of analysis). For critical theorists, knowledge is not and cannot be neutral either morally, politically or ideologically. All knowledge reflects the interests of the observer. Knowledge is always biased, because it is produced from the social perspective of the analyst. Knowledge thus discloses an inclination-conscious or unconscious-towards certain interests, values, groups, parties, classes, nations, and so on. All theories are biased too. Robert Cox (1981) expressed the view which is frequently quoted remarked that "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose." Cox draws a distinction between positivist or problem-solving knowledge and critical or emancipator knowledge. He says that problem-solving knowledge is conservative; it seeks to know that which exists at present. It is biased towards the international status quo which is based on inequality of power and excludes many people. It cannot lead to knowledge of human progress and emancipation, which is the knowledge that critical theorists seek to provide.

According to Robert Cox (1996), critical theory contains an element of historical utopianism. Critical theory is not confined to an examination of states and the state system but focuses more widely on power and domination in the world generally. Critical theorists seek knowledge for a political purpose; to liberate humanity from the oppressive' structures of world politics and world economics which are controlled by hegemonic powers, particularly the capitalist United States. They seek to unmask the global domination of the rich North over the poor South. Critical theorists in this regard are almost indistinguishable from Marxist scholars. Their orientation towards progressive change and their desire to use theory to help bring about such change is also reminiscent of idealism. Critical theorists are openly political as they advocate and promote their progressive (usually socialist) ideology of emancipation believing that conservative scholars and liberal scholars are defending and promoting their political values. Critical theorists thus believe that theoretical debates are basically political debates. Like the interwar idealists, critical theorists are trying to bring about the social and political revolution

that their ideology proclaims. Their view of knowledge as inherently political separates critical theorists from behaviouralists, from those positivists who disdain using scientific knowledge for political purposes, and from classical theorists.

According to critical theorists, IR scholars cannot be detached from the subject matter they are studying, because they are connected with it in any subtle and some not so subtle ways. They are part of the human world they are studying. They are involved in that world. Whether they realize it or not, social scientists and social science are instruments of power. Critical theorists seek to identify the political interests that different IR theories and theorists serve. But even more than that, they seek to use their knowledge to advance what they believe is the ultimate end of all knowledge; the great goal of human emancipation from global social structures which until now have privileged a relatively small minority of the world's population at the expense of the majority. Critical IR theory can thus be understood as revolutionary; it seeks to overthrow the existing world political and economic system. The main problem with this outlook is the problem it poses for academic independence, and the integrity of scholarly and scientific research. If theory is always for someone and for some purpose, than how can anyone decides whether it is a good theory in purely academic terms? The value of any theory would be based on political values, means; does it promote my political or ideological beliefs? It would not be based on academic values; does it shed light on the world, increase our knowledge of it, and ultimately demystify it? If IR theory is really political rather than scientific or scholarly, there is no neutral way to decide which theory is the best academically. If that is so, there can be no truly academic disagreements and controversies. Academic debates would really be political debates in disguise. But if IR theories and all other social science theories really are political, how can we justify them as academic subjects? Why should critical theory or any IR theory be taken as a statement of knowledge, if it is really a statement of politics? If theory is always an expression of political interests rather than academic curiosity, political science is neither a science nor scholarship; it is politics. All of that may of course be true. But if it is true it is hard to justify IR scholarship (including this book) in purely academic terms. A moderate version of critical theory is that no knowledge is completely value free, but even when that is the case, there is a difference between pure partisan politics and knowledge sought by progressive IR theorists. Academic enterprise does not take place in complete isolation from or ignorance of politics, but it does attempt to come up with systematic and detached analysis. Robert Cox's work is an example. While he is a political advocate for radical change, he is also the author of scholarly works that are widely recognized in the academic study of IR.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Critical Theory developed out of work of the Frankfurt School. Comment.

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2. What are the key features of Critical theory?

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3. What are the basic postulated of positivism rejected by Critical theorists?

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2.3.3 ROBERT. W. COX: ANALYSIS OF CRITICAL THEORY

Cox's ideas received less recognition in North America, which can be termed as the great bastion of IR. Critical theory has since then come to embrace subfields like International Political Economy (IPE), normative theory and security studies. No critical theory of IR can claim to represent all strands under a single label. Broadly, there are two Schools, namely, the one inspired by Antonio Gramsci and Hokheimer with the focus on production and issues related to 'redistributory struggles', and the other influenced by Habermas and his theory of communicative action, with the focus more on issues relating to identity and community. Cox is the prominent representative of the first school and Linklater of the second. Cox has used a form of analysis that tries to combine Gramscian tools with forms of historicism. Critical theory draws on the ideas of Frankfurt theoreticians, poststructuralists and feminists. However, its normative flavor and commitment to emancipation sits uneasily with the ideas of most post-structuralists.

Cox prefers the term 'world order' to IR, given the state-centrism of the latter. Cox began his theorizing at a time when IPE issues, particularly those emerging from the oil crisis in the early 1970s, were appearing to have a major impact on the international system. Many of his ideas have been later taken on board, by those adopting a broad political economy approach. He says that, "the social forces generated by changing production processes are the starting point for thinking about possible futures". His intention had been to broaden the notion of "the international beyond the realm of political/military interactions of states", so as to see states as both; the products of evolving societies and as shapers of those societies, and to see those societies as both shaped by and shaping the larger sphere of world order.

2.3.3.1 Influence of Gramsci

Robert Cox declared himself a Gramiscian. According to R.W. Jones, the Gramscian influenced scholars are primarily concerned with political economy. Those influenced by

the Frankfurt School are interested primarily in political and normative theory. Cox 's work is eclectic, and draws on seemingly mutually contradictory traditions, such as marrying the Weberian notion of the elite with the Marxist notion of class, that is, the elites as the political and moral leadership of a class. The elites lead 'historic blocs in the Gramiscian sense (coalitions of social forces bound by coercion and consent). They consist of organic intellectuals, who lead hegemonic and counter-hegemonic formations. Gramsci brought the idea of hegemony to the conceptualization of power: the power of a ruling class was exercised less by coercion (including propaganda and manipulation), than by its intellectual and moral capacity to win the consent of the people. It was also more than super imposition of an ideology, as it sought to construct a whole lived reality that would allow the existing socio-economic structures, to be taken for granted by the people. The construction of hegemony was not a one-way process of being imposed from above, but a product of negotiation between the dominant and the dominated so as to become ingrained in the 'national popular'. The consent of the masses could not be presumed for long and, therefore had to be continually re- negotiated and re-secured in changing historical circumstances. Gramsci did not subscribe to economic reductionism, where an economic crisis would result in an automatic historical transformation of the social order. However, he did not rule out the emergence of conditions facilitating such a transformation. This is because civil society is resilient enough to cope with such crises, and can address the lag between the cultural sphere (within when hegemony is constructed) and the developments in the economy. Both, Gramscianism and critical theory have their roots in Western Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, a place and a time in which Marxism was forced to come to terms not only with the failure of a series of attempted revolutionary uprisings, but also with the rise of fascism. However, contemporary critical theory and Gramiscian thought about international relations draw on the ideas of different thinkers, with differing intellectual concerns. There is a clear difference in focus between these two strands of Marxist thought, with those influenced by Gramsci, tending to be much more concerned with issues relating to the subfield of international political economy, than critical theorists. Critical theorists, on the other hand, have involved themselves with questions concerning international society, international ethics, and security. Timothy Sinclair analyze that the critical analysis of Robert Cox has two elements. On the one hand, he explained, that in what way institutions and process functions on the day-to-day basis. On the other hand, he explained that in a social structure, conflicts, contradictions are inherent, and in an extent, the character of structural change that is viable.

In 1981, Cox published his first article 'Social Forces, States and World Order'. In this article, Cox had brought a novel way of interpretation of the Marxian idea of 'structure'. Cox said that Marxian understanding of Structure is narrow analysis and in a highly deterministic nature. Apart from Marxian interpretation, Cox suggests that the structure is not the sole factor, which determines individual actions because individuals are having enough freedom to act and individuals way of bringing about cannot deny the structures, but they can oppose and resist in

structural change. Here, Cox's ideological inclination can also be seen towards social constructivism. Cox applied a critical method in international relations to find out the real distinction between 'problem-solving' and 'critical theory'. The principle influencing writers of Cox are Antonio Gramsci and GiambattistaVico. By analyzing Problem-Solving theory, Cox explained through the neorealist perspectives that the international order is in an anarchical nature. The only way of smoothing rivalries among nations and stabilize the world order is to establish a balance of order in the international relations. By contrast, critical theory approach is a counter-hegemonic movement that challenged existing principles and structures and intended to bring about an alternative way of organized world order. Cox sets out a materialist interpretation of the nature of the world order, but it did not merely depend on the explanation paradigm of production. Even though Cox's approach focused on labor and production, but Cox does not regard these phenomena as more higher than the state power or structure of world order in shaping society and politics. The various levels, such as production, the state and world order influence and shape the environment, where in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic movements take place.

Cox has made a significant variance between 'problem-solving theory' and 'critical theory' in international relations. In 1976, Cox published the article titled as 'On Thinking about Future of World Order'. It was considered as his first attempt to examine the world order from critical point of view. The use of 'global politics' or 'world order' or 'global political economy' as a bridging of domestic with an international system was Cox's Connecting Scheme of ideas, forces and institutions. Cox proposed three approaches to 'thinking about the future', namely; the Natural- Rational Approach which understands in terms of the universality of human nature. There are two factors such as 'inner' and 'outer', which determine the world order. Further, it corresponding to subjective' and objective, "subjective is an inner factor, which is the capacity of the human being about the self-development despite the challenges in constructing 'the polity' and objective is an 'outer factor', which is corresponding to external (nature), resides around human being confronted to the overcoming the potentialities. Secondly Positive Evolutionary Approach; it is a rejection of reciprocity of inward/outward approach. It is scientific method for the study of society, conceived as analogous to, that evolved for the study of the world of nature. Thirdly Historical Dialectical Approach which also accepted the idea of dualism (subjective and objective), but it does not distinguish both; rather it does try to connect both dualisms.

2.3.3.2 The Analysis of World Order

According to Cox, IR is a 'misleading way of describing the object of our search for knowledge'. In order to make his agenda go beyond inter state relations he focuses on world order, of which states constitute only one component. By looking at IR in terms of global order, he circumvents the state-centrism of the discipline. He writes about the importance of internal characteristics of states in shaping their external behavior. International relations theorists never did give much

credence to the idea that internal characteristic of a polity might influence its international behavior. In their international relations, states pursued national interests which had little to do with their forms of government. When international relations analysts began to look within states for an explanation of conduct, it was bureaucratic processes that claimed their attention rather than the broad internal structure and processes of power. Cox instead focuses on forms of state and how these change under the influence of macro forces, emanating from the global order as well as through pressures from civil society. The future provides an opportunity to break with the past. He talks about day-to-day changes as well as, he is concerned with long term historical structures. He does not think Wallenstein's world systems theory and its structuralist tenor is adequate for building a theory of historical transformation.

Cox's use of world order or 'global politics' or 'global political economy'allows him to bridge the domestic with the global in his scheme of linking productive forces, ideas and institutions. He explains that he deliberately avoid using a term like 'international relations' since it embodies certain assumptions about global power relations that need to be questioned. International relations implies the Westphalian state system as its basic framework, and this may no longer be an entirely adequate basis, since there are forms of power other than state power that enter into global relations. 'World order' is neutral as regards the nature of the entities that constitute power; it designates an historically specific configuration of power of whatever kind.

Cox's had a career as an international civil servant at the International Labour Organization (ILO). This Canadian scholar as done most to introduce Gramsci, to the study of world politics. To explain Cox's ideas, we can begin by focusing on one particular sentence in his seminal article in 1981, 'Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory'. His most often-quoted lines in all of contemporary International Relations theory, reads: "Theory is always for someone, and for some purpose (1981)". It expresses a worldview that follows logically from the Gramscian, and broader Marxist position. If ideas and values are (ultimately) a reflection of a particular set of social relations, and are transformed as those relations are themselves transformed, then this suggests that all knowledge (of the social world at least) must reflect a certain context, a certain time, a certain space. Knowledge, in other words, cannot be objective and timeless in the sense that, some contemporary realists, for example, would like to claim. One key implication of this is that there can be no simple separation between facts and values. Whether consciously or not all theorists inevitably bring their values, to bear on their analysis. This led Cox to suggest that we need to look closely at each of those theories, those ideas, those analyses that claim to be objective or value- free, and ask who or what is it for, and what purpose does it serve? He subjects realism, and in particular its contemporary variant neo realism, to thoroughgoing critique on these grounds. According to Cox, these theories are for, or serve the interests of those who prosper under the prevailing order; the inhabitants of the developed states, and in particularly the ruling elites. The purpose of these theories, whether consciously or not, is to reinforce and legitimate

the status quo. They do this by making the current configuration of international relations appear natural and immutable. When realists (falsely) claim to be describing the world as it is, as it has been, and as it always will be, what they are in fact doing is reinforcing the ruling hegemony in the current world order.

Cox contrasts problem-solving theory (that is, theory that accepts the parameters of the present order, and thus helps legitimate an unjust and deeply iniquitous system) with critical theory. Critical theory attempts to challenge the prevailing order by seeking out, analyzing, and, where possible, assisting social processes that can potentially lead to emancipatory change. One way in which theory can contribute to these emancipatory goals is by developing a theoretical understanding of world orders that grasps both the sources of stability in a given system, and also the dynamics of processes of transformation. In this context, Cox drawson Gramsci's notion of hegemony and transposesitto the international realm, arguing that hegemony is as important for maintaining stability and continuity there at international level as it is at the domestic level. According to Cox, successive dominant powers in the international system have shaped a world order that suits their interests, and have done so, not only as a result of their coercive capabilities, but also because they have managed to generate a broad consent for that order, even among those who are disadvantaged by it. For the two hegemons, that Cox analyses (UK and USA), the ruling hegemonic idea has been free trade. The claim that this system benefits everybody has been so widely accepted that it has attained common sense status. Yet the reality is that while free trade is very much in the interests of the hegemon (which, as the most efficient producer in the global economy, can produce goods which are competitive in all markets, so long as it has access to them), its benefits for peripheral states and regions are far less apparent. Indeed, many would argue that 'free trade is a hindrance to their economic and social development. The degree to which a state can successfully produce and reproduce its hegemony is an indication of the extent of its power. The success of the United States in gaining worldwide acceptance, for neo liberalism suggests, just how dominant the current hegemon can become. But despite the dominance of the present world order, Cox does not expect it to remain unchallenged, and rather he maintains Marx's view that capitalism itself is inherently unstable system, given by inescapable contradictions. Inevitable economic crises will act as a catalyst for the emergence of counter hegemonic movements. The success of such movements is however far from assured.

2.3.3.3 Problem-Solving Theory And Critical Theory

Cox's distinction between problem-solving and critical theory has been endorsed by researchers across several social science disciplines, although the expression problem-Solving seems to suggest that critical theory is purely idealistic and does not concern itself with problems. For Cox, all theories are biased. He sees all positivist theories as molded within the framework of problem-solving, a rational enterprise that has very strong roots in the liberal tradition. Problem-solving theories assume that states are not subject to fundamental changes, but limited or

incremental changes and all actions take place within a limited framework. Critical theory goes beyond them to identify the origins and transformative or developmental potential of historical phenomena. Unlike problem-solving theory which seeks to 'smooth the functioning of the whole, critical theory 'allows for a normative choice in favor of a social and political order different from the prevailing order. As such Cox elaborates that 'theory is always for someone and for some purpose. All theories have a perspective. Perspective derives from position in time and space, specifically social and political time and space. The world is seen from a standpoint definable in terms of nation, social class, of dominance or subordination, of rising or declining power, present crisis, of past experience, and of hopes and expectations for future'. He says that 'there is no such thing as theory in itself, divorced from a standpoint in time and space. When any theory so presents itself, it is more important to examine it as ideology and to lay bare its concealed perspective.

Critical theory is more reflective upon the process of theorizing itself and adopts a holistic approach. It is directed toward an appraisal of the very framework for action, or problematic, which problem-solving theory accepts as its parameters. Cox says that Critical theory is directed to the social and political complex as a whole rather than to the separate parts. He analyze that, unlike the historicity of problem- solving theory, which posits a continuing present, critical theory is historical and deals with a changing reality, which limits the precision in terms of method. It is anti-status-quoits; Critical theory allows for a normative choice in favor of a social and political order different from the prevailing order, but it limits the range of choice to alternative orders. But problem-solving theory is a guide to tactical actions which, intended or unintended, sustain the existing order. For Cox, the Cold War represented a period, in which there was relative stability of fundamental structures accounting for the salience of problem-solving theory. But in the 1990s, when these structures loosened and there was high economic competition, the value of problem solving theory declined and critical gained ascendance.

Problem-solving theory is a status quo-oriented approach, which was established on the theoretical framework of the neo-realist world order. The world order and states relations are corresponding to the power-oriented system. The common aim of the problem solving theory is smoothening social and power relationships and institutions effectively, to manage the certain sources of trouble. Nations are always in a competent condition, and stability assured in a condition of balance of power system. Such world outlook has been subject to Cox criticism and called it as 'a historical' because it is a fixed order as well as the explanation of its contemporary system is the reflection of the past and of the future. The critical theory came out in a normative way of thinking; critical theory is looking at social actions in a world system. Moreover, it does not merely focus on the cause of the emergence of the problem in a system rather it emphasized on what are the elements in a system have facilitated for the rise of problems. Critical theory directed towards social and political problems as a whole rather as a separate part. The problem

solving theory has shown the way to 'tactical action in order to establish status quo and the critical theory has shown the way to 'strategic action' in order to establish change in the system'.

2.3.3.4 Historical Structure

Robert Cox analyze that the historical structure is consisting 'configuration of certain forces, and these forces act to determine the dynamics of the historical structure'. Cox said that the "structures are the result of collective human activities, and while they influence and constrain human action, and they are transformed by human action". The historical structure is as well a particular form of configuration of thoughts, human interaction and material condition, and these structures are independently not capable of determining actions of the people in a mechanical way, but established in the context of pressure, habit, constraints, expectations, within which the action occurs. Cox had a frustrated view towards the remaining traditional ontology of international relations, which led him to a draw a distinction between state and civil society. The historicism of Cox understands in terms of dialect between continuity and change, which further explain it as communication between mental process, through which people design action and material structure that compels action indifferent historical eras.

According to Cox, historical materialism corrects neo-realism in four respects. First, it is both a logic (dialectics) and history. At the level of history, 'dialectic is the potential for alternative forms of development arising from the confrontation of opposed social forces in any concrete historical situation Neo realism 'sees conflict as a recurrent consequence of a continuing structure, whereas historical materialism sees conflict as a possible cause of structural change. Second, his historical materialism allows us to grasp the vertical dimension of power to the neo- realist horizontal rivalry among powerful states, by constructing categories like domination-subordination of metropolis over the hinterland, center over periphery, etc. Third, historical materialism expands the realist perspective by bringing in civil society and its relationship with the state as an additional element into IR. What we need to focus on is state-society complexes as constituting entities, and their particular historical forms. Finally, historical materialism examines the connection between power in production, in the state and IR. This is unlike Neo realism, which ignores the production process altogether. Historicism allows Cox to look at the structure as one moment in an evolving process of structural change. This historical sense provides not only a tool to understand the context of the original structure, but also the knowledge of how it may be transformed.

2.3.3.5 Robert Cox: The Structure

Robert Cox explains that three forces interact in a structure: (i) material capabilities (for example, technology, accumulated resources) (ii) Ideas (two types; Inter subjective meanings cutting across social divide and rival collective images of social order based on ethnicity and religion, which relate to the material conditions of the group in question), and (iii) Institutions,

which tend to gain a foothold and perpetuate particular order. Institutions can acquire a degree of autonomy, serve as agents of change and become the battleground tor opposing tendencies. Production does not stop with material forces alone, but includes production of ideas, of inter subjective meaning, of norms, of institutions and social practices within the context of which production of material life takes place. Ontologies are 'sets of shared meanings, which come to define reality', even if we may not individually approve of it. Cox regards ontologies as the 'parameters of our existence'. Hegemonic and counter hegemonic structures, which have been identified by the theorist, comprising sets of material capabilities, ideas and institutions may be classified into three broad spheres of the social world, namely production, forms of state and world orders. Cold War was a 'limited totality' (Institution like the North Atlantic treaty Organization, ideas like McCarthyism and material capabilities like military- industrial complex). This hegemonic 'limited totality' impacted the social forces of production (constraining the development of social democratic or socialist consciousness), forms of state (measures of social control and surveillance) and world orders (liberal trading order and anti-communist alliances).

Here Cox speaks about two ideal types of society competing for future dominance; state capitalism and hyper-liberalism. State capitalism sought to moderate capitalism's polarizing impact on society. His hyper-liberalism is neo liberalism or globalization. He associates it with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher who rejected state intervention to influence market behavior positively, and envisioned the state more as the enforcer of market rules. This, backed by the American power, removed all residues of social democratic thinking. In such an era Change from Fordist economies of scale to post Fordist flexible labor meant 'fewer reasonably secure high income core workers, and a larger proportion of precariously employed lower-income peripheral workers'. Here, Cox takes this cue from Karl Polanyi''The Great Transformation', in which the latter detailed the social and political consequences of industrial revolution in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The self- regulating market subordinated the society to an economic logic, making people vulnerable to forces over which they had no control. This was the first movement. The second was society's response in the form of social democracy (welfare state), a kind of reassertion or restoration of society. According to Cox, hyper- liberalism replicates the first move. The need, therefore, is to identify the sources of response leading to the second double movement and to prevent responses of the fascist kind, which are equally possible in times of economic crisis, as exemplified by the events that unfolded in Europe in the aftermath of the Great Depression. Hyper- liberalism has lost credibility among the electorate of many capitalist countries. Socialist countries which embraced it now look on an earlier era with nostalgia or are trying to create populist authoritarianism.

2.3.3.6 Hegemony In International Relation

Cox maintains that in a structure, there are three categories of forces that interact. One is Material Capabilities; it includes the material resources those can influence and control all of them, those are such as technology, natural resources and organizational potentialities. Secondly ideas: two kinds of ideas; the first one is shaping the view of the world at the base. These ideas are historic and existing for centuries made up by states, second; in societies, different groups are holding ideas. Thirdly Institutions; it is the main body, which is changing and stabilizing the specific order. Institutions can control and shape the ideas and manage material capability in relating to obtaining the specific motives which are promulgated by institutions.

For the further understanding of structure, Cox brought a method of 'historic structure'. The main essence of this analysis is relating to the study of human activity from the point of view of historical situations. It can categorize into three inter-related levels.

1. Social forces: the existence of an organization of production and production process are resulting in the emergence of social forces.

2. Forms of states: it emphasizes on the nature of state and society and its emergence on the particular point of time of history.

3. World order: it arranges forces and those shape the interaction between states.

The historicism of Cox understands in terms of dialect between continuity and change, which further explain it as communication between mental process through which people design action and material structure that compels action in different historical eras. These three forms are mutually connected. The changes in the organization of production generate new social forces that will create change in the structure of the state and finally it will alter problematic world order. The connection between levels implies, that the progress in one level would lead to the progress in another section. The historic process has caused the present arrangement of level interaction and this connection would lead to the structural change in the future.

Robert Cox maintains that World politics has witnessed mainly dual forms of hegemonic periods. The initial one was the "pax Britannica', in the mid of the nineteenth century Britain had a supremacy over the sea power which as well freed Britain from other continental power controls. Consequently Britain emerged as a balancer in Europe. The later period was 'pax Americana', which led to the establishment of US hegemony over international finance and international institutional arrangements. The notion of hegemony is a cohesive form of power, institutions and ideas make it capable of resolving some of the problems of state dominance theory as the essential condition for secured international order. Cox was highly influenced by the writings of Gramsci in regarding institutionalization of hegemony in a social system and its extension into the sphere of international relations. According to Cox Gramsci has observed that the state is the combination of political society and civil society and the hegemony is functioning

through the coercive means. According to the observation made by Cox, there were two important strands leading Gramscian idea of hegemony. The first came out from the debate in the Third International related to the construction of strategy of Bolshevik revolution and a creation of a soviet socialist state and second came out from the studies of Machiavelli.

Cox published his second article, 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relation'. In this article, he explained hegemony in two stages. The first stage is a reconsideration of hegemony, which proposed by Gramsci. Cox hegemony is not imperialism, which controls one country over another country. It is a relationship between states. The second stage; it was away from the Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Cox said that the best method of studying hegemony is to understand different historic eras where could see the transition periods of hegemony. There can also be seen in different historic periods called 'non-hegemonic'. The views of Cox corresponding to hegemony not limited to the institutional order. Moreover, his approach was subjected to the influence of power and change. According to the Cox observation, hegemony is not the forceful domination of one state but rather it depends on 'fit' between the ordering of material powers, a collective arrangement of world order and institutions, which are identified to manage the interest of larger than the interest of the dominant state. Robert Cox categories international history as follows

- 1845-75: Hegemonic- Britain was the central element in the world economy and keeping the balance of power in Europe,
- 1875-1945: Non-Hegemonic - Britain had faced challenges in its global supremacy and two wars erupted,
- 1945-1965: Hegemonic- the US emerged as the superpower as a main controlling element of the world economy, but not much stable.
- 1965-1983-Non-Hegemonic US -centered hegemony had started to erode.

The analysis of hegemony through various stages of history, the understanding of hegemony by Cox was not strictly adhering to the hegemonic role of one state over another state rather the idea more attached to the civil society functioning in a world order. He says that the hegemonic order has got legitimized in the international relations mainly as the result of the dominant functions of the international organizations. Robert Cox has brought five different ways of how international organizations are facilitating hegemony in the international order. They are:

- Rules: International organizations formulating rules that are helpful for the execution of their hegemonic interest. For instance, the role of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the WTO (World Trade Organization), both institutions are managing the international financial and trade order as according to the specific dominated rules.

- Products: International organizations are not independent and unbiased institutions because they are the product of certain leading states. For instance, the US is having a prominent role in the IMF and the five permanent members are enjoying power superiority in the United Nations Security Council.
- Ideology: The main ideology of the international institutions is the neo- liberalism. International organizations are very much committed to the establishment of the neo-liberal order.
- Elites: Co-optation of the elites in the periphery with the hegemonic order. Normally elites are the leading groups in the periphery to protest against the hegemony but instead, they submitted to the hegemonic ideology.
- Absorption of counter-hegemonic ideas: Hegemonic ideas always remove the space of existence of counter-hegemonic ideas or absorb such ideas by their ideas.

He says that in the global sphere hegemony is prevailing not only intend to counter the inter-state conflict, but also to engage in managing the global civil society. The mode of production brought a link among the social class and the countries surrounded by it. Historically, hegemonic nations have undergone a social and economic revolution and such revolution had made structural changes at both internal and external state mechanisms.

2.3.3.7 Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony

Gramsci developed the notion of hegemony at the national level and Cox extends it to the international level. He rejects the notion of national interest as distinct from particular interests (as upheld by Gilpin and Stephen Krasner), but has no difficulty in accepting it. It is defined as representing hegemony, the concatenation of social forces, producing the national interest, which is being projected as the general interest. Tracing the Machiavellian base of hegemony, Cox says Gramsci took over from Machiavelli the image of power as a centaur; half man half beast, a necessary combination of consent and coercion, to the extent that the consensual aspect of power is in the forefront, hegemony prevails. Coercion is always latent, but is only applied in marginal, deviant cases. It is the consensual element that distinguishes the hegemonic from the non-hegemonic world orders. Explaining hegemony, not as dominance, centered exclusively on power as the neorealist would want us to believe. Cox adds that, hegemony at the international level is not merely an order among states, it is an order within a world economy, with a dominant mode of production, which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of production. It is also a complex international social relationship which connects the social classes of the different countries. As we have discussed that Cox analyze three categories of forces interact reciprocally in the structure which are Material capabilities, Ideas and Institutions. He distinguishes between two types of ideas; shared notions of the nature of social relations and collective images of social order held by different groups of people. Institutionalization is a

means of stabilizing and perpetuating a 'particular order'. He says that there is a close connection between institutionalization and Gramscian understanding of hegemony. As such a transnational class emerges, as the result of internationalization of production, which in turn also leads to an internationalization of the state. This class consists of not only the executives of transnational corporations and international agencies, but also those who manage these internationally oriented sectors within countries; such as finance Ministry officials and local managers linked to the international production systems.

Here he says that there are three components of this process. Firstly, there is a process of interstate consensus formation regarding the needs or requirements of the world economy, which takes place within common ideological frame work. Secondly, this consensus formation is hierarchically structured, and thirdly, the internal structures of states are adjusted, so that each can best transform the global consensus into national policy and practice. The internationalization of the state is defined by the conversion of the state into an agency for and adjusting national economic practices and policies to the perceived exigencies of the global economy. Here he says that the state becomes a transmission belt from the global to the national economy, where heretofore it had acted as the bulwark defending domestic welfare from external disturbances.

Cox envisions three scenarios; a new form of hegemony through coalition, anon- hegemony by returning to the neo mercantilist nation-focused production and a counter-hegemony based on a third world coalition. All international organizations functions as a process through which the institutions of hegemony and its ideology are developed. He analyse that 'Individuals from peripheral countries, though they may come to international institutions with the idea of working from within to change the system, are condemned to work within the structures of passive revolution'. According to the Gramiscian notion of 'transformismo', potentially counter- hegemonic ideas tend to get co-opted into the hegemonic scheme. The principles of self-reliance and endogenous development, for example, have transformed to mean "do-it-yourself" welfare programs, akin to Foucault's concept of 'self-responsibilization'. Therefore, the "task of changing world order begins with the long and laborious effort to build new historic blocs with in national boundaries. He sees the emergence of a nascent form of counter-movement against globalization involving women, environmentalists, peace activists, indigenous people's trade unions and churches. Wallerstein also had hope in similar groups of people. Building on Gramsci, Cox Says that, there is a need to build a new 'historic bloc' capable of sustaining a long 'war of position, until it becomes a critical mass, so as to form the basis of an alternative polity .In his words "To the extent that such popular responses to the existing thrust of globalization come to fruition, they will change the meaning and the form of polity. Such a long-term result could hardly be achieved in one national society alone, it would have to move forward simultaneously in several counts, and draw sufficient support in the world

system to protect its various national bases. The existing globalization thrust grounded in the economic logic of markets would be countered by a new globalization embedded in society".

Globalization, for Cox, has created a three-level social hierarchy; those who are integrated into the global economy in a 'reasonably stable environment', those who serve it in a subordinate and more precarious way, and those who are excluded from it. He says that "the challenge to globalization, if it is to become activated, would require the formation of a common will, a vision of an alternative future, and the transcendence of the manifold divisions of ethnicity, religion, gender and geography, that cut across the three-level social hierarchy being created by globalization." In order to resist globalization the concept of class should be broadened to include identities like ethnicity, religion, gender and so on. Socialism, according to Cox, is possible with further polarization through internal resistance in countries like the United States and external resistance, especially in the third world, that rejects the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the US-dominated new world order. In his words "for the future, the Gramscian war of position becomes the appropriate strategy for socialist construction, most particularly in targeting the heartlands of capitalism, but carried on in coordination with movements in the Third World and in the countries of real socialism The struggle will be at once internal and global.

Diagnosing the end of socialism and its failure to envisage alternative ways of organizing production to those of the hierarchical capitalist factory system, he puts forward an 'alternative model of consumption' which he say minimized energy and resources consumption and pollution, and maximized emancipatory and participatory opportunities for people. The fragility of the existing global structure is felt at military and financial points. Non-violent methods of power assertion against the military are necessary. According to him financial crisis can be the most likely way in which the existing world order could begin to collapse. A new financial mechanism would be needed to seize the initiative for transcending the liberal separation of economy from polity, and for re embedding the economy in a society imbued with the principles of equity and solidarity. A shift in polarization from mere rivalry among leading sovereign states to a struggle between different classes of people; between those who benefit from the process of globalization and those who suffer its consequences is also envisaged. Supporters of globalization seek to create a global civilization driven by advanced forms of capitalism and consumerism. Those opposed to such a homogenized world order look for a global civil society committed to a plural world, made up of several civilizations, reflecting 'the diversity of material conditions, historical experience, mentalities and aspirations that prevail among the world's peoples and an enhancement in Citizens participation.

John S. Moolakkattu analyze that Cox's ecological concerns are also visible in his more recent writings. He says that 'those societies that have pioneered the quest of consumerism would have to show the way toward an alternative model that would be consistent with biosphere

maintenance'. Efforts to restructure existing multilateral institutions through piecemeal reform do not go far enough. A reconfigured multilateral order will follow the maturing of popular mobilization and the creation of a genuine grassroots civil society at the global level. The, emergence of counter hegemony from those social forces which are 'excluded' or 'marginalized' from the global economy is essential. There is already a bottom-up movement in civil society as a counterweight to the hegemonic power structure and ideology, although it is relatively weak, and un-coordinated. Cox pleads for a plural World with a post-modernist leaning. He says that the starting point for escape from a forced uniformity into a tolerant diversity is the ability to agree upon what is essential for the physical survival of humanity and to act upon that agreement. Peoples' perspectives on the world are in a continuing process of evolution. Common values could arise out of this process. So could new conflicts. The task of the international is to work through this variety of perspectives, to understand the compatibilities and incompatibilities among them, and to warn against absolutist claims for any one perspective. While approving Gramsci's position, that it is social disintegration that sustains repressive regimes, Cox calls for the formation of a vibrant civil society and a sort of communitarian democracy as a counter to overcome this social disintegration and passivity which will require the creation of a vibrant civil society inspired by a strong spirit of solidarity at the community level, and by linkage with other strong communities in other countries, at the transnational or global level. Upon such a basis of participatory democracy, new political authorities may in the long run be constructed at national, regional and world levels.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss Robert Cox's Critical theory.

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2. Discuss the influence of Gramsci on Robert Cox.

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3. Discuss Robert Cox analysis of World Order.

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4. What is the distinction between Problem-Solving theory and Critical theory according to Cox?

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5. Write down Robert Cox's analysis of Historical Structure.

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6. Comment on Cox's analysis of 'Structure'.

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7. Discuss Cox's understanding of Hegemony in International Relations.

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2.3.4 Let Us Sum Up

Linklater opined that 'critical theory has proved efficiency to form social arrangements to organize social discourse with others, to institute a new political community, and which is also capable of breaking 'exclusion'. Martin Shaw finds that the Cox views are with serious lags as well as Cox tied to replace ideas of complex interdependence, international institutions, and regimes with the internationalization of production and internationalizing state, lacking an attempt to develop these ideas. The attempt of the emancipation of international theory has connected to the well understanding of human existence and their relative role in the global politics. The critical theory had kept the faith of enlightenment role and protected its universalism by proposing an open dialogue between not only associate members of society, but also all members of society. The international institutions are merely engaging in managing affairs of dominant states rather the fulfillment of the capability of human beings. The critical theory came out to fill the gap, which undermines by the traditional international theories.

2.3.5 Exercise

1. Write a critical note on Frankfurt School.
2. Critically examine Robert Cox's contribution to Critical theory.

2.3.6 Suggested Readings

Baylis, Smith & Owens, "The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations", Oxford University Press, U.S., 2017.

John S. Moolakkattu, “Robert Cox and Critical Theory of International Relations”, International Studies, 46(4) 439-456, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2009

O.P. Gauba , “An Introduction to Political Theory”, Macmillan India Ltd., 2003.

Robert Jackson & George Sorenson, “Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches”, Oxford University Press, U.S., 2010.

2.4 MARXIST THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: IMPERIALISM (LENIN), HEGEMONY (GRAMSCI), WORLD SYSTEMS/ CORE VS PERIPHERY (WALLERSTEIN), THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE (CRITICAL THEORY)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The importance of Marxist theories in international relations
- Lenin's understanding of imperialism
- Gramsci's contribution to the notion of Hegemony
- Wallerstein's World Systems Theory
- The contribution of Critical Theory in understanding the politics of knowledge.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was truly the last of the great critics in the Western intellectual tradition. His ideas exerted a decisive influence on all aspects of human endeavour, and transformed the study of history and society. By developing a theory of praxis, i.e. unity of thought and action, Marx brought about a sea change in the entire methodology of the social sciences. He was a brilliant agitator and polemist, a profound economist, a great sociologist, an incomparable historian. Marx was the first thinker to bring together the various strands of socialist thought into both a coherent world view and an impassioned doctrine of struggle.

Marx perceived capitalism as a transient form of class society in which the production of capital predominates, and dominates all other forms of production. Capital is not a thing, not simply money or machinery, but money or machinery inserted within a specific set of social relations, based on private property, whose aim is the expansion of value (the accumulation of capital). Capitalism is therefore built on a social relations of struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Its historical prerequisite was the concentration of ownership in the hands of the ruling class and the consequential and 'bloody' emergence of a property-less class for whom the sale of labour power is their only source of livelihood. Capitalism therefore combines formal and legal equality in exchange with subordination and 'exploitation' in production. Like Weber, Marx portrayed capitalist society as the most developed historical organization of production. Unlike Weber, Marx thought that class struggle and competition between capitals would intensify, producing ever deeper bouts of crisis, and that at some point capitalism would either degenerate into barbarism or progress to 'socialism'.

2.4.2 MARXIST UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

To explain Marxism in IR, we need to start with Marx's main theory for the development of capitalism: historical materialism. Marx claims that in Western Europe capitalist society began to evolve in the sixteenth century and was making giant strides towards maturity in the eighteenth century. Industrial capitalism, which Marx dates from the last third of the eighteenth century, finally establishes the domination of the capitalist mode of production: "At first trade is the precondition for the transformation of guild and rural domestic crafts into capitalist businesses. As soon as manufacture becomes somewhat stronger, and still more so large-scale industry, it creates a market for itself and uses its commodities to conquer it. Trade now becomes the servant of industrial production, for which the constant expansion of the market is a condition of existence".

For many analysts, Britain's dominance of the world economy in the mid- to late nineteenth century is seen as constituting the high point of the laissez-faire phase of capitalism. This phase took off in Britain in the 1840s with the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Navigation Acts and the passing of the Banking Act. The state adopted a liberal form which encouraged competition and fostered the development of a 'self-regulating' market society. Liberal and conservative thinkers have been keen to identify this particular phase of capitalism with the essence of capitalism itself.

World War I marked a turning point in the development of capitalism. After the war, international markets shrank, the gold standard was abandoned in favour of managed national currencies, banking hegemony passed from Europe to the United States, and trade barriers multiplied. The great depression of the 1930s brought the policy of laissez-faire (non-interference by the state in economic matters) to an end in most countries and for a time cast doubt on the capitalist system as a whole. The performance of capitalism since world war ii in the United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Japan, however, has given evidence of its continued vitality.

Despite the fact that capitalism is still surviving in contemporary times, a Marxist would still stress that IR is not just about states' foreign policy or the behaviour of politicians, but more about survival (or more broadly, life), reproduction, technologies and labour. If this is correct then the separation between the political and economic, or public and private, is problematic because those categories hide the ways in which states and foreign policies are determined by the social relations and structures of the global economy – such as multinational corporations or international financial institutions. Put differently, Marxism fundamentally questions what 'the international' is in IR. Whether it is anarchy for realists or international society for the English school, Marxists argue that such concepts are problematic because they make us believe in illusions or myths about the world. For example, the concept of anarchy creates the mirage that states are autonomous agents whose rational behaviour can be predicted. However, this ignores the endurance of regional inequalities and the structural and historical links between states, violence and the key actors of the global political economy.

There are many people developed theories based on Marxism, to improve Marxist foundations to understand contemporary relations. In the following sections, you will be studying some of them.

2.4.3 IMPERIALISM (LENIN)

Anglo-American liberal historians simply assumed the 'imperialism' of the social theorists to be close synonyms for 'colonialism' – referring to the acquisition by European powers of formal domination over non-European territories and peoples. So colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods. But colonialism in this sense is not merely the expansion of various European powers into Asia, Africa or the Americas from the sixteenth century onwards; it has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history. At its height in the second century ad, the roman empire stretched from Armenia to the Atlantic. However, there is crucial distinction between these two: whereas earlier colonialisms were pre-capitalist, modern colonialism was established alongside capitalism in Western Europe.

Modern colonialism did more than extract tribute, goods and wealth from the countries that it conquered—it restructured the economies of the latter, drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between colonised and colonial countries. This flow worked in both directions—slaves and indentured labour as well as raw materials were transported to manufacture goods in the metropolis, or in other locations for metropolitan consumption, but the colonies also provided captive markets for European goods. Thus slaves were moved from Africa to the Americas, and in the West Indian plantations they produced sugar for consumption in Europe, and raw cotton was moved from India to be manufactured into cloth in England and then sold back to India whose own cloth production suffered as a result. In whichever direction human beings and materials travelled, the profits always flowed back into the so-called 'mother country'.

Lenin's pamphlet, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, tried to account for the outbreak of war between the leading capitalist states due to imperial rivalry. Lenin had not set out to account for European colonization of the tropics. On the contrary, he specified that imperialism commented only when colonization ended. Moreover, the virtually complete territorial division of the world by the great powers was, for Lenin, only one of a number of facets of imperialism. Concurrent anti-competitive division of raw materials and world markets between large corporations were not causes but analogues of concurrent territorial division. Lenin regarded monopoly and finance capitalism as the causes of territorial rivalry. The crucial feature of imperialism was that spatially extensive development of the capitalist system was no longer possible, and the great powers and their capitalists

alike were therefore caught up in a zero-sum game consisting in highly conflictual re-division of territory and markets alike.

2.4.4 HEGEMONY (GRAMSCI)

In many ways, it was the work of the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci that made it possible to think about how ideologies can cut across different classes and how, also, the same class can hold many, even contradictory, ideologies. Gramsci's views do not form part of a finished philosophy and are scattered in his various prison diaries or Prison Notebooks, written between 1929 and 1935. Gramsci questioned the primacy of the economic (conceptualised as 'base' in classical Marxist thought) over the ideological (conceived of as 'superstructure') because he was trying to understand the failure of the revolution in Western Europe, despite the economic conditions being ripe for the same. This does not mean that Gramsci ignored the role of economic changes. But he did not believe that they alone create historic events; rather, they can only create conditions which are favourable for certain kinds of ideologies to flourish.

Gramsci makes a crucial distinction between 'philosophy' and 'common sense'—two floors or levels on which ideology operates. The former is a specialised elaboration of a specific position. 'Common sense', on the other hand, is the practical, everyday, popular consciousness of human beings. Most of us think about 'common sense' as that which is obviously true, common to everybody, or normative. Gramsci analyses how such 'common sense' is formed. It is actually a highly contradictory body of beliefs that combines 'elements from the Stone Age and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of the human race united the world over'. Common sense is thus an amalgam of ideas 'on which the practical consciousness of the masses of the people is actually formed'.

While exploring nuances of ideology, Gramsci formulated his concept of 'hegemony'. Hegemony is power achieved through a combination of coercion and consent. Playing upon Machiavelli's suggestion that power can be achieved through both force and fraud, Gramsci argued that the ruling classes achieve domination not by force or coercion alone, but also by creating subjects who 'willingly' submit to being ruled. ideology is crucial in creating consent, it is the medium through which certain ideas are transmitted and, more important, held to be true. Hegemony is achieved not only by direct manipulation or indoctrination, but by playing upon the common sense of people.

Gramsci's ideas have been employed by a wide range of writers to analyse race and colonialism. Scholars at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies have used

Gramsci to analyse contemporary political formations in Europe, as has the Subaltern Studies group of Indian historians to revise existing theories of nationalism and postcolonial social formations. Similarly Latin American and South African historians find Gramsci useful in thinking about the nature of the colonial and postcolonial state. Today, historians are increasingly interested in probing how colonial regimes achieved domination through creating partial consent, or involving the colonised peoples in creating the states and regimes which oppressed them. The dimension of Gramsci's work that has most inspired revisionary analyses of colonial societies is his understanding that subjectivity and ideology are absolutely central to the processes of domination.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Comment on Marxist understanding about development of capitalism?

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2. Discuss Lenin's conception of Imperialism.

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3. Write down Gramsci's concept of 'Hegemony'.

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2.4.5 WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

World-systems theory draws on the intellectual tradition of Marxism-Leninism in focusing on the structures of dominance and dependence in the international system. For world-systems theorists, the key actors in the international arena are not states, but the classes that are involved in the prevailing capitalist structure – the exploiters and the exploited. The foundations of the world-systems theory was laid down by Immanuel Wallerstein.

Wallerstein was an Africanist who, in studying Africa, realized that underdevelopment there could not be explained or cured by the liberal capitalist theories coming from the West. He sought to explain the division of the world between a relatively small wealthy core, and an impoverished and underdeveloped

periphery. A small semi-periphery held states that moved beyond poverty and instability, but could not become as wealthy and dominant as core states.

IT IS HERE, IN ITS EXPLANATIONS OF SEMI-PERIPHERY THAT THE WORLD-SYSTEM THEORY moves beyond dependency theories core-periphery dichotomy. This 'middle-class' of states called as 'semi-periphery' was seen as necessary for the economic growth and political stability of the system as a whole, situated as it was between the core and periphery in terms of economic power. Semi-peripheral states have societies that are in the process of industrializing and diversifying their economies. Wallerstein argued that there were limited opportunities for upward movement within the capitalist world system and, under such circumstances, industrialization was the only way for states to move to the core. World-system theory, then, provides an explanation for the industrialization that has taken place in some of the developing countries. In addition, semi-peripheral states play a critical role in the world system because their existence means that the core states are not constantly pitted against the periphery states. Indeed, Wallerstein attributes the survival of the system to the existence of these semi-peripheral states, arguing that they have acted as a cushion between the exploiting core states and the exploited periphery. The semi-peripheral states do this because by playing the role of both exploited and exploiter, they diffuse both the anger and revolutionary activity of the peripheries. Indeed, Wallerstein sees the semi-periphery as a structural prerequisite for stability in the international system. When and if this ceases to be the case, then the international system will disintegrate. Thus, all countries are fundamentally and inescapably constrained, Wallerstein argues, by the international system as a whole. Moreover, the semi-periphery provides secure investment locations for core capital whenever core wages become inflated by well-organized labour movements.

In essence, Wallerstein posits capitalism as a world system with relations between the core and periphery structured so that the core exploits the periphery for cheap resources and labour, turning those goods into valuable finished products for consumption in the core. Some finished goods are sold back to the periphery, but consumed by governmental elites whose interests are more in line with those of the core than those within their own country. The elites in third world states thus find it in their interest to perpetuate structures that benefit the core (one reason corruption is prevalent throughout third world governments). Because post-colonial states are often fictions with no strong sense of national identity**,** people go into government more to get rich than out of any idealistic notion of helping their state develop.

For Wallerstein and the numerous world systems theorists who followed in his wake, this world system functions in part through the control of a *hegemon* who can dominate the system and enforce its rules. First it was the Netherlands, then Great Britain, and finally the US. The world-system is always characterised by a single division of labour that is producing for a world market. Wallerstein further concluded that a world division of labour based on trade relations has historically given rise to regional economic specialization and to an international structure of unequally powerful nations. Particular states have become increasingly used to securing favourable 'terms of trade', through measures that include military threats and interventions. The tendency of politics to serve economic ends has thus accelerated the unequal distribution of wealth within the global system. For this reason, the capitalist system became increasingly polarized into a core of wealthy, technologically advanced countries and a periphery of poor countries from which key primary goods and capital were extracted on unfavourable terms. Thus, core countries enjoyed a position of global dominance as the result of their structural relations within the world economy, a position that helped to sustain a constant accumulation of new advantages by the core nations. Likewise, peripheral countries encountered structural constraints on their political economies that prevented there being any fundamental change in their disadvantaged positions. For this reason, uneven development was endemic within the capitalist world system.

The world-systems theory has been effective in predicting the ongoing division between rich and poor states and the limitations of the semi-periphery (Taiwan, South Korea, Brazil, India, etc.), but seemed overly pessimistic about the health of global capitalism. Like all Marxian theories, it claims that capitalism as it operates in the real world contains contradictions which lead to intermittent crises. The most dangerous is the problem of over-production which can lead to a credit crisis that can cause systemic failure.

2.4.6 THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE (CRITICAL THEORY)

During the 1930s, the Frankfurt School developed a critical and interdisciplinary approach to cultural and communications studies, combining political economy, textual analysis, and analysis of social and ideological effects of capitalism. The main proponents of this theory are Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Friedrich Pollock. They coined the term "culture industry" to signify the process of the industrialization of mass-produced culture and the commercial imperatives that drove the system. The critical theorists analyzed all mass-mediated cultural

artefacts within the context of industrial production, in which the commodities of the culture industries exhibited the same features as other products of mass production: commodification, standardization, and massification. The culture industries had the specific function, however, of providing ideological legitimation of the existing capitalist societies and of integrating individuals into its way of life.

Furthermore, the critical theorists investigated the cultural industries in a political context as a form of the integration of the working class into capitalist societies. The Frankfurt school theorists were among the first neo-Marxian groups to examine the effects of mass culture and the rise of the consumer society on the working classes which were to be the instrument of revolution in the classical Marxian scenario. They also analyzed the ways that the culture industries and consumer society were stabilizing contemporary capitalism and accordingly sought new strategies for political change, agencies of political transformation, and models for political emancipation that could serve as norms of social critique and goals for political struggle.

The frankfurt school focused intently on technology and culture, indicating how technology was becoming both a major force of production and formative mode of social organization and control. In a 1941 article, "some social implications of modern technology", Herbert Marcuse argued that technology in the contemporary era constitutes an entire "mode of organizing and perpetuating (or changing) social relationships, a manifestation of prevalent thought and behaviour patterns, an instrument for control and domination". In the realm of culture, technology produced mass culture that habituated individuals to conform to the dominant patterns of thought and behaviour, and thus provided powerful instruments of social control and domination.

Check Your Progress 2

Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Discuss World System theory.

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2. What does 'Semi-Periphery' denote according to World System theory?

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3. Discuss Critical theory's idea of 'Politics of knowledge'.

2.4.7 Let Us Sum Up

In retrospect, one can see the Frankfurt school work as articulation of a theory of the stage of state and monopoly capitalism that became dominant during the 1930s. This was an era of large organizations, theorized earlier by Austro-Marxist Rudolf Hilferding as "organized capitalism", in which the state and giant corporations managed the economy and in which individuals submitted to state and corporate control. This period is often described as "Fordism" to designate the system of mass production and the homogenizing regime of capital which wanted to produce mass desires, tastes, and behaviour. It was thus an era of mass production and consumption characterized by uniformity and homogeneity of needs, thought, and behaviour producing a mass society and what the Frankfurt school described as "the end of the individual". No longer was individual thought and action the motor of social and cultural progress; instead giant organizations and institutions overpowered individuals. The era corresponds to the staid, conformist, and conservative world of corporate capitalism that was dominant in the 1950s with its organization men and women, its mass consumption, and its mass culture.

Robert Cox also occupies a distinguished position among critical theorists due to his pioneering work aimed at adopting a rejuvenated neo-Gramscian perspective focusing on the role of power structures and social blocs formed around them.

Building upon the gramscian notion of hegemony, Cox contends that in order to become truly hegemonic, a state would have to establish and protect a world order which is universal in conception. In other words, this would not be an order in which a dominant state exploits others, but an order which will be perceived by subordinate states as compatible with their interests. a world-hegemony entails a social structure, an economic structure and a political structure, and it emerges as a result of a widely appreciated sense of supremacy in the inter-state system, global political economy, as well as social and ecological systems. International organizations are the primary mechanisms in this framework through which universal norms of a world-hegemony are clearly expressed.

2.4.8 EXERCISE

1. Write down the importance of Marxist theories in international relations.
2. Discuss Lenin's idea of imperialism and its contribution to Marxist theory.
3. Discuss Gramsci's contribution to the notion of Hegemony.
4. Critically examine Wallerstein's World System theory.

2.4.9 Suggested Readings

Baylis, John, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics*, OUP, 2011.

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3.1 NATIONAL POWER, BALANCE OF POWER AND NATIONAL INTEREST: CHANGING DYNAMICS

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The importance of 'power' analysis in studying international relations
- Elements of national power

- Dimensions of power
- Concept of National Interest and its historical evolution
- The difference between vital and secondary interests
- The transformation of the concept of national interest in the era of “world politics”

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Most definitions of politics involve power. Most international interactions are political or have implications for politics. Thus, it is not astounding that power has been prominent in discussions of international interactions from Thucydides to the present day. The long history of discussions on the role of power in international relations, however, has failed to generate much agreement. Scholars disagree not only with respect to the role of power but also with respect to the nature of power. One scholar, Kenneth Waltz, notes that power is a key concept in realist theories of international politics, while accepting that ‘it’s proper definition remains a matter of controversy’. Robert Gilpin describes the concept of power as ‘one of the most upsetting in the field of international relations’ and suggests that the ‘number and variety of definitions should be a discomfiture to political scientists’. There is, however, a widespread consensus among international relations scholars on both the necessity of addressing the role of power in international interactions and the unsatisfactory state of knowledge about this topic. Although it is often useful to distinguish among such power terms as power, influence, control, coercion, force, persuasion, deterrence, compellence, inducement and so on, it is possible to identify common elements underlying all such terms. Robert A. Dahl has suggested that fundamental to most such terms is the basic intuitive notion of a causing b to do something that b otherwise would not have done. Although alternative definitions of power thrive, none rivals this one in extensive acceptability. In the following discussion, the term ‘power’ will be used in a broad generic sense that is interchangeable with such terms as ‘influence’ or ‘control’ unless otherwise indicated. This usage is not intended to refute the validity or the utility of distinguishing among such terms for other purposes.

3.1.2 POWER AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

International politics has been defined in terms of influencing ‘major groups in the world so as to advance the purposes of some against the opposition of others’. Although the term ‘power politics’ has unpleasant connotations for some, such a definition implies that the term is superfluous. From this perspective, all politics is

power politics in the sense that all politics involves power. This is not to say that politics is only about power.

Traditionally, the study of international politics supposed the existence of national states with conflicting policies, placing a high value on maintaining their independence, and relying primarily on military force. The states with the most military power were designated 'Great Powers', and the 'game' of international politics was 'played' primarily by them. Noting that only a few states possessed the military capabilities to support their foreign policies effectively and these are the states that 'alone constitute the Great Powers'.

In the eighteenth century, 'the power of individual states was conceived to be susceptible of measurement by certain well-defined factors', including population, territory, wealth, armies and navies. In the subsequent years, this approach evolved into the 'elements of national power' approach to power analysis reflected in Hans J. Morgenthau's influential textbook ***Politics Among Nations***.

STATES WERE DEPICTED AS SEEKING TO MAXIMIZE THE POWER RELATIVE TO EACH OTHER, THUS PRODUCING A 'BALANCE OF POWER' OR AS SEEKING TO PRODUCE A BALANCE OF POWER. EACH VERSION OF BALANCE OF POWER THEORY SHARED THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT WAS possible to add up various elements of national power, sometimes called 'power resources' or 'capabilities', in order to calculate the power distribution among the Great Powers. A modern version of this approach is found in Kenneth N. Waltz's ***Theory of International Politics*** (1979).

3.1.3 ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

Morgenthau identified nine elements of national power, including geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national morale, quality of diplomacy, and quality of government. Each of these elements was evaluated in terms of its potential contribution to a country's ability to fight a war. Morgenthau viewed all nations as constantly preparing for war, fighting a war, or recovering from war.

Power is historically linked with military capacity. Nevertheless, one element of power alone cannot determine national power. Part of the problem stems from the fact that the term power has taken on the meaning of both the capacity to do something and the actual exercise of the capacity. And yet a state's ability to convert potential power into operational power is based on many considerations, not

the least of which is the political and psychological inter-relationship of such factors as government effectiveness and national unity.

In this context, the elements of national power, no matter how defined, can be separated only artificially. Together, they constitute the resources for the attainment of national objectives and goals.

Closely allied to all this is the fact that national power is dynamic, not static. No particular power factor or relationship is immune to change. Over the last century, in particular, rapid changes in military technologies have accelerated this dynamism. The United States' explosion of a nuclear device instantly transformed its power position, the nature of war, and the very conduct of international relations. A war or revolution can have an equally abrupt effect on power. The two world wars devastated Europe, facilitated the rise of the united states and the soviet union, and set the developing world on a road to decolonisation, thereby dismantling in less than 50 years a system that had been in continuation for over three centuries. Economic growth can also rapidly change a state's power position, as was the case with Japan and Germany after 1945. In addition, the discovery of new resources, or their depletion, can alter the balance of power. Certainly OPEC's control over a declining supply of oil, coupled with its effectiveness as a cartel, caused a dramatic shift in power relations after 1973.

Such shifts are not always so immediately perceptible. Power is what people believe it is until it is exercised. Reputation for power, in other words, confers power regardless of whether that power is real or not. At the same time, there are examples throughout the history of states that continued to trade on past reputations, only to see them shattered by a single event.

Evaluation of national power is difficult. The basic problem, as we have seen, is that all the elements of power are often interrelated. In other words, like all strategic endeavours, more art than science is involved in the evaluation of where one state stands in relation to the power of other regional and global actors.

3.1.4 THE POWER ANALYSIS REVOLUTION

The 'elements of national power' approaches portray power as a possession or property of states. this approach was challenged during the last half of the twentieth century by the 'relational power' approach, developed by scholars working in several disciplines, including psychology, philosophy, sociology, economics and political science. Some would regard the publication of power and society by Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan as the watershed between the old 'power-as-

resources' approach and the new 'relational power' approach, which developed the idea of power as a type of causation. this causal notion conceives of power as a relationship in which the behaviour of actor a at least partially causes a change in the behaviour of actor b. 'behaviour' in this context need not be defined narrowly, but may be understood broadly to include beliefs, attitudes, opinions, expectations, emotions and/or predispositions to act. In this view, power is an actual or potential relationship between two or more actors (persons, states, groups, etc.), rather than a property of any one of them.

The shift from a property concept of power to a relational one constituted a revolution in power analysis. Despite the ancient origins of the study of power, Dahl maintains that 'the systematic empirical study of power relations is remarkably new'. He attributes the 'considerable improvement in the clarity' of power concepts to the fact that 'the last several decades have probably witnessed more systematic efforts to tie down these concepts than have the previous millennia of political thought'.

3.1.4.1 Dimensions of Power

Power was no longer viewed as monolithic and uni-dimensional, but rather as multidimensional. This view gave a sanction for the possibility that power could increase on one dimension while simultaneously decreasing on another. Among the more important dimensions of power were the following.

Scope: Scope refers to the aspect of B's behaviour affected by A. This calls attention to the possibility that an actor's power may vary from one issue to another. Thus, a country like Japan may have more influence with respect to economic issues than with respect to military issues.

Domain: The domain of an actor's power refers to the number of other actors subject to its influence. In other words, how big is B; or how many Bs are there? Thus, a state may have a great deal of influence in one region of the world, while having little or no influence in other parts of the world.

Weight: The weight of an actor's power refers to the probability that B's behaviour is or could be affected by A. Thus, a country that has only a 30 per cent chance of achieving its aims in trade negotiations is less powerful than one with a 90 per cent chance, ceteris paribus. This dimension could also be labelled the 'reliability' of A's influence.

Costs: Both the costs to A and the costs to B are relevant to assessing influence. Is it costly or cheap for A to influence B? Is it costly or cheap for B to comply with A's demands? Some have suggested that more power should be attributed to an actor that can exercise influence cheaply than to one for whom it is costly. If A can get B to do something that is costly for B, some would contend that this is indicative of more power than if A can only get B to do things that are cheap for B. Even if A is unable to get B to comply with its demands, it may be able to impose costs on B for non-compliance. Some have argued that this should be viewed as a kind of power.

Means: There are many means of exercising influence and many ways to categorize such means. One scheme (Baldwin, 1985) for classifying the means of influence in international relations includes the following categories:

1. Symbolic means. This would include appeals to normative symbols as well as the provision of information. Thus one country might influence another either by reminding them that slavery is bad or by informing them that AIDS is caused by HIV.
2. Economic means. Increasing or reducing the goods or services available to other countries has a long history in world politics.
3. Military means. Actual or threatened military force has received more attention than any other means in international relations.
4. Diplomatic means. Diplomacy includes a wide array of practices, including representation and negotiation.

Which dimensions of power should be specified for meaningful scholarly communication? There is no single right answer to this question. The causal concept of power, however, does imply a minimum set of specifications. The point is well put by Jack Nagel:

Anyone who employs a causal concept of power must specify domain and scope. To say 'X has power' may seem sensible, but to say 'X causes' or 'X can cause' is nonsense. Causation implies an X and a Y – a cause and an effect. If power is causation, one must state the outcome caused.

Stipulating domain and scope answers the question 'Power over what?'

The idea that a meaningful specification of a power relationship must include scope and domain is widely shared by power analysts committed to social science.

The multidimensional character of power makes it complicated to add up its various dimensions in order to arrive at some overall estimate of an actor's power. Although there are some similarities between political power and purchasing power, one important difference is the lack of a standardized measuring rod for the former. Whereas money can be used to measure purchasing power, there is no analogous standard of value in terms of which to add up the various dimensions of power so as to arrive at an overall total. For this reason, estimates of an actor's 'overall power' are likely to be controversial.

3.1.4.2 The Potential Power Problem

The elements of national power approach to power analysis are a variant of the power-as resources approach. In this approach, power resources are treated as if they were power itself. One problem with this approach is that what functions as a power asset in one situation may be a power liability in a different situation. Planes loaded with nuclear bombs may be worse than useless in a situation calling for planes with conventional weapons with insufficient time to unload the nuclear weapons and reload the planes with conventional ones. And the same accumulation of arms that are useful for deterring one country may trigger an arms race with another. Similarly, what constitutes a 'good hand' in card games depends on whether one is playing poker or bridge. Discussions on the capabilities of states that fail to designate or imply a framework of assumptions about who is trying to get whom to do what. It makes no more sense to talk about state capabilities in general than to talk about state power without specifying scope and domain. If one wants to estimate the potential power of Guatemala, it is essential to know whether it involves a border dispute with El Salvador or a trade agreement with the United States.

3.1.4.3 The Fungibility Problem

'Fungibility' refers to the ease with which power resources are useful in one issue-area can be used in other issue-areas. Money in a market economy is the classical fungible resource. Indeed, fungibility (that is, liquidity) is one of the defining characteristics of money. In a market economy one does not usually need to specify the scope or domain of the purchasing power of money because the same euro (yen, dollar, rupee, etc.) can be used to buy a car, a meal, or a book.

Some scholars have suggested that the fungibility of power resources increases as the amount increases. Thus, power is said to be more fungible for powerful states than for weaker states. It is not clear what this means or why it might be true. It is, of course, true that more power resources allow one to do more things, that is, influence more actors and or more issues.

3.1.5 SUMMING UP POWER ANALYSIS

Power has figured importantly in discussions of international interaction since the time of Thucydides. Despite the long tradition of power analysis in international politics, scholarly agreement on the nature of power and its role in international relations is lacking. The two principal approaches to power analysis in international interaction have been the 'power as resources' (or 'elements of national power') approach and the 'relational power' approach. The latter was developed during the last half of the twentieth century by scholars in philosophy and a variety of social science disciplines. Both approaches are evident in contemporary international relations scholarship.

Although power is an ancient focus in the study of international relations, there are many opportunities for further research. These include (1) the treatment of power as a dependent variable; (2) the forms of power; (3) institutions and power; (4) domestic politics and power; (5) strategic interaction; and (6) power distributions in different issue areas.

Although scholarly agreement on the nature and role of power in international interaction is unlikely in the near future, research along the lines suggested above may nevertheless enhance the understanding of important dimensions of international behaviour.

CHEK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. How does Robert Dahl define power?

_____

_____

_____

2. What was traditionally the central focus in the study of international politics?

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_____
_____

3. How do ‘elements of national power’ approaches portray power?

_____
_____
_____

4. List the important dimensions of power.

_____
_____
_____

5. What does the fungibility problem mean?

_____
_____
_____

3.1.6 NATIONAL INTEREST

The analytically relevant basic unit of international politics today more than ever is the Nation State. No intelligible hypothesis of inter-State relations, behaviour and motivations in contemporary international life can be built safely on the valid premises that foreign policy and foreign operations are intrinsically conditioned by the fact of projecting national identities and national interests.

The concept of national interest is used in both political analysis and political action. As an analytic tool, it is employed to describe, explain, or evaluate the sources or the adequacy of a nation’s foreign policy. As an instrument of political action, it serves as a means of justifying, denouncing, or proposing policies. Both usages, in other words, refer to what is best for a national society. They also share a tendency to confine the intended meaning to what is best for a nation in foreign affairs.

3.1.7 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL INTEREST

The roots of the concept of “National interest” can be traced at least back to the pessimistic realism of Machiavelli in the 15th century. As such, it represents a refutation of earlier Western sources in Hellenic idealism, Judeo-Christian biblical

morality, and the teachings of medieval churchmen such as Thomas Aquinas. You may have splendid moral goals, argued Machiavelli, but without sufficient power and the willingness to use it, you will accomplish nothing.

The national interest has a much longer history as an instrument of action than as a tool of analysis. According to a historian [Charles A. Beard] who traced past uses of the term, political actors made claims on behalf of the national interest as early as the sixteenth century in Italy and the seventeenth century in England. At that time claims made in the name of "the will of the prince,"

"dynastic interests," and other older catchwords began to lose their effectiveness as a new form of political organization, the nation-state, came into being and served as the political unit to which men owed their allegiance. Thus, the old terms were gradually replaced by new ones that reflected the new loyalties. The national interest was one of these, as was "national honour," "the public interest" and "the general will." Beard also found that "the term, national interest, has been extensively employed by American statesmen since the establishment of the Constitution."

Many decades elapsed, however, before the national interest attracted attention as a tool of analysis. Not until the twentieth century, when two world wars made it clear that mass publics had both a vital stake in foreign affairs and played a vital role in them, did analysts focus on the national interest as a concept which could be used to describe, explain, and assess the foreign policies of nations. Beard was himself one of the first to develop the concept for this purpose and to distinguish it from the "public interest," which through convention has come to be used in reference to the domestic policies of nations.

3.1.8 BIRTH OF REALISM AND NATIONAL INTEREST

With the flight of scholars from Europe in the 1930s, however, American universities became exposed to what were called "realist" approaches that utilized national interest as their primary building block. The truly powerful mind of Realism, as he called his approach, the man who more than any other acquainted Americans with the idea of national interest, was the German émigré Hans Morgenthau. Bringing the wisdom of Machiavelli and Clausewitz with him, Morgenthau told Americans that they must arm and oppose first the Axis and then the Soviet Union not out of any abstract love of liberty and justice, but because their most profound national interests were threatened. "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power," he wrote.

According to Hans Morgenthau, "as long as the world is politically organized into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in international politics". National interest acquires a theoretical primacy because "for a general theory of politics, the concept of interest defined as power serves as the central focus, while a theory of international politics must be focused on the concept of the national interest". This is inevitable since "the idea of interest is indeed of the essence of politics, as such, unaffected by the circumstances of time and place . . . yet while the concern of politics with interest is perennial, the connection between interest and the national state is a product of history".

3.1.9 VITAL AND SECONDARY INTERESTS

Morgenthau saw two levels of national interest, the "vital" and the "secondary". To preserve the first, which pertains to the very life of the state, there can be no compromise or hesitation about going to war. Vital national interests are relatively easy to define: security as a free and independent nation and protection of institutions, people, and fundamental values. Vital interests may at times extend overseas should one detect an expansionist state that is distant now but amassing power and conquests that later will affect you. Imperialist powers that threaten your interests are best dealt with early and always with adequate power.

Secondary interests, those over which one may seek to compromise, are harder to define. Typically, they are somewhat removed from your borders and represent no threat to your sovereignty. Potentially, however, they can grow in the minds of statesmen until they seem to be vital. If an interest is secondary, mutually advantageous deals can be negotiated, provided the other party is not engaged in a policy of expansionism. If he is engaged in expansionism, compromises on secondary interests will not calm matters and may even be read as appeasement.

The concept 'national interest' connotes those "vital interests" of basic and common concern to the totality of the nation which transcend sectional, group, class' and other sub-national interests. while its formulation in state policy is inevitably made by the ruling elite and, therefore, in the ultimate analysis is subject to the particular interests, prejudices and bias of that elite, yet a large measure of agreement if not also a consensus is possible in the political climate of our times in which public opinion and democratic action are determining factors of political life in most countries of' the world. National interest is similar to "the great generalities" of politics, but nevertheless it is possible to prepare a fairly elaborate inventory of National Interest based on what Morgenthau calls, "residual meaning". In broad categories, National Interest may be grouped

variously from differing perspectives into analytical dualities like: objective and subjective, permanent and transient, universal and specific, vital and auxiliary, necessary and variable, policy-oriented and ethically oriented, security-oriented and welfare oriented.

These alternatives are often overlying and capable of grouping into differing patterns of permutation and combination on an empirical basis, because no a priori classification and grouping will stand the test of operational reality. Thus, for instance, the objectivists regard National Interest as permanent, unchanging and related to Power and make a distinction between National Interest and passion and opinion. Subjectivists affirm that National Interest includes values other than Power. They cite disagreements between the individual and groups of individuals concerning the definition and ambit of National Interest.6 Thus, for example, 'permanent' interests are usually grouped together with 'universal' and 'vital' and likewise 'transient' interests are usually grouped with 'specific' and 'auxiliary'. It is possible to visualise and indeed detect that 'transient' interests could be 'vital' and also 'specific' and 'auxiliary' interests could also be 'specific' and 'transient'. The salient point to remember is the flexibility of possible combinations in a situation of real choice.

3.1.10 RELATED ASPECTS

Four other related aspects have to be stated at the outset.

First: national interest is not and ought not to be counter posed to morality or values. In fact the relevant aspect of morality and values in national interest has essentially a political and social connotation. Seen thus, in the words of Morgenthau, the "national interest itself has moral dignity, because the national community is the only source of order and the only protector of minimal moral values in a world lacking order and moral consensus beyond the bounds of the national state. So it is that both politics and morality demand for the nation 'but one guiding star, one standard for thought, one rule for action: the national interest' ". This point is emphasised differently by Arnold Wolfers when he argues: 'We are never really dealing with interests vs. values, for these, interests are themselves values".

Second: National Identity, National Welfare and National Security are the three fundamental or hard-core, aspects of National Interest.

Third: the content and configuration of National Interest which go on changing are determined by the interaction of three basic factors – the total cultural context,

political traditions, institutions and dominant political forces, and world political, economic, technological, military and ideological conditions'."

Fourth: The perception, cognizance and articulation of National Interest are done by a combination of elites (Gabriel Almond particularly mentions four elites - political, bureaucratic, interest and communication - as decisive in the formulation of a foreign policy),' reflecting the divergence of interests in a given society; but its formulation in operative State policy is essentially the function of the ruling elite which, in an ideal situation attempts through the available processes of decision-making to evolve a national consensus through the reconciliation or fusion of sub-national, sectional and group interests. It may, however, be understood that no definition of National Interest will be complete and comprehensive without covering both the national and the international fields. For, National Interest is not just a factor which is to be identified and formulated in Foreign Policy alone, but is basically a value whose preservation and promotion in national domestic policies give it the validity and authenticity for projection in the country's international or foreign policies, thereby creating the normal continuum between internal and external policies.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient

1. The concept of "national interest" can be traced back to which thinker?

_____
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2. The term "vital interests" encompasses which interests?

_____
_____
_____

3. Enumerate the four elite types who according to Gabriel Almond perceive and articulate the national interests of a country?

_____

_____

_____

4 List the major trends in contemporary world politics?

_____

_____

_____

3.1.11 NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE ERA OF "WORLD POLITICS"

A growing number of observers of world affairs have called attention to two seemingly disparate but mutually related trends which together, it is suggested; represent the "erosion" of the nation- state and interstate relations as we have known it over the past three hundred years. These trends are, first, disintegrative tendencies within existing national units (i.e., increasing demands for greater regional autonomy, crises of authority, and ineffectiveness of problem-solving institutions) and, secondly, integrative tendencies beyond the nation-state level (i.e., increasing interdependencies, transaction flows across national boundaries, and proliferation of intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations.

The four major trends that are inherent in contemporary "world Politics" are (1) the diffusion of power, (2) the shrinking and linking of the globe, and (3) interdependence and loss of control. These trends, according to some scholars, demanding redrafting the concept of national interest.

3.1.11.1 Diffusion of Power

Perhaps no trend has been more commented upon recently than the diffusion of power within the international system. The “cobweb” theory that became popular during the 1970s view the diffusion of power in the international system as consisting primarily in the proliferation of non-state (sub-national and trans-national) actors as at least semiautonomous agents capable of shaping events and competing with national actors for influence in world politics. According to Cobweb theorists, national power everywhere is being undermined and diluted by both ever narrower interpretations of the “national interest” on the part of some sub-national groups and ever broader interpretations on the part of other societal elements which have developed cross-national affiliations and identities through membership in multinational corporations and other organizations transcending national borders. A corollary here is that an increasing number of problems in the contemporary world are seen as either generated by non-state forces or dealt with through non- state means and that world politics is becoming a series of fragmented, discretely defined issue-areas (e.g., air safety) in which outcomes are determined by a congeries of forces including both nation-states and other actors (international organizations).

3.1.11.2 Shrinking and Linking of the Globe

Another trend which has questioned the relevance of traditional concept of national interest is what can be called the “shrinking and linking” phenomenon. According to one popular line of analysis, modern transportation and communication technology has facilitated increased flow of people, goods, and ideas across national boundaries, with the result that the world has become smaller in terms of both physical distances and social distances. Persons residing in nation-states located in one corner of the globe are becoming increasingly sensitive to and affected by what goes on inside of and between nations situated in other corners of the globe. “Cultural diffusion” is seen more occurring at an even faster rate than “power diffusion” as a homogenization process is producing a world society of universally shared values and tastes.

Translated into political terms, this "shrinking and linking" phenomenon is associated with notions of "permeability" and "penetration" or, to use James Rosenau's phrase, "linkage politics." That is, nation-states are being stripped of their hard outer shells and are becoming increasingly vulnerable to external influences which do not follow the normal paths of interaction. What is referred to here is not merely foreign govern- mental intervention in the political affairs of a state common enough occurrence in the past-but rather a more subtle and pervasive enmeshment of external elements in the entire national life of a society. As the boundaries between national political systems and their international environments continue to deteriorate, distinctions between foreign and domestic policy become further blurred.

3.1.11.3 Interdependence and Loss of Control

The "diffusion of power" and "shrinking and linking" themes are closely related to a third theme, namely "interdependence and loss of control." One version of the latter theme is the "spaceship earth" notion of a tiny planet of people with interlocking and inseparable destinies moving aimlessly through time and space. A more muted expression of the same theme is the view that governments have become increasingly incapable of managing their national destinies, of controlling events within their own boundaries, much less outside them, since the problems they are called upon to solve—economic inflation, pollution, skyjacking, etc.-spill over national boundaries and are caused by factors beyond the control of any single national actor. The paralysis of the central institutions of states in the face of their inability to cope with these problems has contributed to what many observers see as widespread crises of authority within nation-states and surrender of de-facto national sovereignty in the international system.

Increased interdependence among nations has meant that their efforts to achieve desired goals for themselves have tended to be- come "collective goods" problems, problems which require joint action among various actors who find they cannot singly produce desired "goods" (or avoid undesired "evils") insofar as their individual actions result in benefits and losses that cannot be withheld from others.

3.1.12 LET US SUM UP

As the above discussion indicates, the contemporary debates on the concept of 'national interest' are caught between two extremes. At one extreme, globalisation is claimed to have ended the period of the state system as the organising framework for international relations. This outcome is premised on several influences,

including a reduced territorial sovereignty (degrading the capacity of the state to retain domestic control); sharp constraint on state activities, in extent and depth (resulting from increasing interdependence across the international system); and, expanded influence of international non-government organisations in shaping the international system. The other extreme asserts the pre-eminence of each state in performing legal, social, and political and security roles—even ascribing an increased importance in light of recent international terrorism and religious extremism.

However, many argue that whatever may be the changes in the contemporary international relations, the concept of national interest as an analytical tool to understand the international politics continues as long as "state-centric" system exists.

3.1.13 EXERCISE

1. Map the emergence of the study of power politics.
2. Write an essay on the power analysis revolution.
3. Critically discuss the main dimensions of national power.
4. Critically examine the historical evolution of the concept of national interest.
5. Write an essay on the genesis of realism and its conception of national interest.
6. How does Hans Morgenthau distinguish between "vital" and "secondary" interests?
7. Discuss the fate of the concept of national power in the globalization era.
8. Examine the concept of balance of power.

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3.2 COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE: THEORY AND PRACTICE

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The meaning and definition of Collective Security
- Basic assumptions of Collective Security
- Prerequisites for ensuring Collective Security
- Differentiation between Collective Security and Collective Defence

- How collective security practiced under League of Nations and United Nations
- Critical evaluation of Collective Security

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Collective security is one of the most significant devices for the maintenance of peace and deterring the aggression in international affairs. This is a kind of security system in which all states work together to provide the security for all by the actions of all against the aggressor(s) that might challenge the existing order by using force. theoretically, the notion of "collective security" has been propounded by philosophers and peace activists such as Michael Joseph savage, Martin Wight, Immanuel Kant, William Randal Cremer, Frederic Passy and Woodrow Wilson to create a peaceful world order. The term "collective security" was incorporated as a principle in the covenant of the League of Nations and the charter of the United Nations to deter any member state from acting in a manner likely to threaten or disturb the peace and security of the other states. This is achieved by setting up an international cooperative organization, under the patronage of international law which led to the emergence to a kind of international collective governance, although limited in range and efficiency. In the 19th century, states tried to preserve the peace through the balance of power system. However, the policy of balance of power and counter-balance of power degenerated with a system of opposing alliances which ultimately divide the Europe into two hostile camps. Thus, it failed to preserve the peace for a long time. In the 20th century after the end of the First World War, collective security was adopted first through the League of Nations and then the United Nations to maintain the peace and order in international relations. Collective security is considered better than the balance of power for maintaining peace; the later involves alliances and counter alliances, burdensome armaments, shady territorial deals, political rivalries instability often resulting in war.

3.2.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF 'COLLECTIVE SECURITY'

Different scholars have defined Collective Security in the following ways:

- Collective security as George Schwarzenberger, says is a "…machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order."
- Encyclopedia Britannica defines collective security as a "…system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security

arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor."

- Charles Schleicher views collective security as, "…an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event of any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts against another member, to come to the latter's assistance."
- F.H. Hartman considers collective security is "…basically a mutual insurance plan."
- Palmer and Perkins opine that collective security "…clearly implies collective measures for dealing with threats to peace."
- According to Hans J. Morganthau, "One for all and all for one is the watch word of collective security."

In brief, it can be argued that collective security is a device of power management in international relations by which a state's security is guaranteed by a collectivity of all states. It accepts the universality of aggression. In this system, all the states are committed to pool their power and eliminate the aggression. It is conceptual manifestation of the principle of "one for all and all for one." Collective security system presupposes the existence of an international organization of states under whose flag a global preponderance of power can be created for the meeting the aggression. Thus in the working of collective security, security is not the concern of an individual state to be taken care of by armaments and other elements of national power. It becomes the concern of all states that will take care collectively the security of each of them as though their own security were at stake.

3.2.3 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

A. F. K. Organski in his book ***World Politics*** (1960) lists five basic assumptions underlying the theory of collective security:

First, in an armed conflict, member nation-states will be able to agree on which nation is the aggressor. Second, all member nation-states are equally committed to contain and constrain the aggression, irrespective of its source or origin. Third, all member nation-states have identical freedom of action and ability to join in proceedings against the aggressor. Fourth, the cumulative power of the cooperating members of the alliance for collective security will be adequate and sufficient to overpower the might of the aggressor. Fifth, in the light of the threat posed by the

collective might of the nations of a collective security coalition, the aggressor nation will modify its policies, or if unwilling to do so, will be defeated.

Apart from the above given five assumptions of Collective security as suggested by A.F.K. Organski, other assumptions that can be added are given below:

- Wars are likely to occur in all the times to come.
- International security and peace is the common objective of all the states and that security of each is interlinked to each others' security inseparably. Hence all the states are always willing to defend international peace and security against any violation by an aggressor.
- **AN INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE PREPONDERANCE OF POWER CAN ALWAYS BE CREATED** against the aggressor and such collective preponderance of power can always outweigh the power of the aggressor.
- The existence of an international organization is very much required to create collective preponderance of power.

3.2.4 PREREQUISITES FOR COLLECTIVE SECURITY

For collective security to operate as a device for the preventing of war, as stated by eminent scholar Hans J. Morganthau describes in his book ***Politics Among Nations***, must fulfill the following three prerequisites:-

1. The collective security system must be able to assemble military force in strength greatly in excess to that assembled by the aggressor(s) thereby deterring the aggressor(s) from attempting to change the world order defended by the collective security system.
2. At least those states which join such system must have the same conception of security which they are supposed to defend. In other words, those states, whose combined strength would be used for deterrence, should have identical beliefs about the security of the world order that the collective is defending.
3. States must be willing to subordinate their conflicting interests to the common good defined in terms of the common defence of all member-states.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. When was the doctrine of collective security adopted first in international politics?

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_____
_____

2. How does George Schwarzenberger define collective security?

_____
_____
_____

3. List the five basic assumptions underlying the theory of collective security according to AFK Organski.

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_____
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3.2.5 DISTINCTION BETWEEN COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE

Due to certain common features, collective security system is often confused with the collective defence system. Despite the fact that both involve collective action and are committed to deter the aggression, these are two different security arrangements. These can be distinguished as below:

1. The scope of collective security is much wider than the collective defence system. collective security system is a global system whereas collective defence system is regional arrangement which is limited to the security of some members. Collective defence arrangement is normally formalized by a treaty and an organization, among participant states that commit support in defence of a member state if it is invaded by another state outside the organization. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the best known collective defence organization. Article-5 of the NATO Charter calls on member states to assist another member under attack. This article was invoked after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. In

accordance to this provision of the NATO Charter, after September 11 attacks, the other NATO members provided assistance to the US War against Terrorism in Afghanistan.

2. In the collective security system, aggressor or potential threat to the peace and security is unknown whereas in collective defence arrangement, enemy is known in advance. Hence in collective defence system there is a possibility of advance planning against the potential aggressors. The same cannot be possible in case of the collective security system.

3. Collective security is useful for the member states as it does not involve risky commitments. On the other hand, collective defence system has its roots in multiparty alliances and entails risks along with benefits. By combining and pooling resources, it reduces any single state's cost of providing fully for its security as the smaller members of NATO, for example, have flexibility to invest a greater proportion of their budget on non-military priorities, such as education or health, since they can count on other members to come to their defence, if required. However, collective defence involves risky commitments as the member states can become embroiled in costly wars benefiting neither the direct victim nor the aggressor. For example during the First World War, countries in the collective defence arrangement known as the Triple Entente comprising of France, Britain, Russia were pulled into war quickly when Russia started full mobilization against Austria-Hungary, whose ally Germany subsequently declared war on Russia.

3.2.6 COLLECTIVE SECURITY UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

International co-operation to promote collective security originated in the forerunner of the League of Nations, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), was formed in 1889. The organization was international in scope with a third of the members of parliament, in the 24 countries with parliaments, serving as members of the IPU by 1914. Its aim was to encourage governments to solve international disputes by peaceful means and arbitration. The structure of IPU was comprised of a Council headed by a President was later reflected in the structure of the League of Nations.

First attempt to provide collective security at large scale in modern times was done after the end of First World War through the formation of the League of Nations. Collective Security was the idea that nations should group together in condemnation of any aggressor and pursue sanctions against them, whether economical,

diplomatic, or military. This idea was enshrined in the following articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:-

1. As per Article-10 the Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.
2. Article-11 provides that any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League. The League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.
3. **ARTICLE-16 SAYS THAT "SHOULD ANY MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE RESORT TO WAR IN DISREGARD OF ITS COVENANTS UNDER ARTICLES 12, 13 OR 15, IT SHALL *IPSO FACTO* BE DEEMED TO HAVE COMMITTED AN ACT OF WAR AGAINST ALL OTHER MEMBERS OF** the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations…. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League."

There was, however, a major flaw in the League's proposal of Collective Security. The US preferred to be isolate in international affairs and did not become the member of the League of Nations. Britain and France were in a very weak state in terms of the military might. Further the Great Depression had forced them to bring down the defence expenditure which ultimately compelled them to adopt the policy of appeasement towards the Germany, Japan and Italy. Moreover, the provisions of Covenant of the League of Nations itself provided a weak system for decision-making and for collective action. Despite all this, the League settled minor disputes, such as the Aaland Islands in 1920 and Upper Silesia in 1921. However, most disputes were settled by other means and when the serious issues such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and Italy's invasion of Abysinnia (Ethiopia) in 1935 arose, the League failed to protect these states from aggression. The failure of the League of Nations to punish the aggressors and maintain peace in general ultimately resulted into the Second World War.

3.2.7 THE UNITED NATIONS AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

After the end of second world war, with formation of united nations, new collective security arrangement was created through the un charter. The United Nations in its 'preamble' showed determinedness to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war and thus, in the article-1 of its charter called for the prevention of aggression and removal of threats to the international peace. To achieve this objective, the United Nations further, provided a comprehensive framework of collective security in the chapter-vii of its charter. The chapter - vii entitled, "Action with respect to threats to the Peace**,** Breaches Of The Peace and Acts of Aggression" includes total 13 articles from article 39 to 51.

In Article-39 the UN Security Council has been authorized to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security. Further provision has been made in the article-40 regarding the provisional measures to be taken for the maintenance or restoration international peace and security. Article-40 says that in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the collective security measures, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. As per this article many times Security Council called for a cease-fire between conflicting parties. For example this measure was taken in Indonesia in 1947-48, In Palestine conflict in 1948 and during the Korean War in June 1950.

The UN Charter also makes provisions for the enforcement measures in its articles-41 and 42. Article-41 authorizes the Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These measures can be the complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. If the Security Council considers that measures provided for in Article-41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, then in such situation as per Article-42 it may take such actions by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such actions may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of the United Nations.

In the article 43-50 includes the provisions related to the UN armed forces and military staff committee. since the united nations has no permanent army, all members of the united nations have been asked to make available armed forces,

assistance, and facilities to the Security Council, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. It has been further provided that plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. The Military Staff Committee would advise and assist the Security Council on all questions related to the military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament. The Military Staff Committee includes the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. The Military Staff Committee is responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council.

Besides the above given provisions, in Article-51, right to self-defence has been given to the members states. This article provides:

> Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

3.2.7.1 Collective Security in Practice under United Nations

Despite the fact that collective security involving cooperation among the great powers was revived through the UN Charter, it succumbed to the Cold War. The Soviet Union and the United States divided the world into competing spheres of influence which created a new balance of power system while undermining the universal collective security.

The United Nations provided collective security only once during the Cold War in 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. During the Korean War, the United Nations responded with collective security against aggression. On 25 June 1950, the United Nations Security Council unanimously condemned the North Korean invasion of the Republic of Korea, with the UN Security Council Resolution No. 82. As the Soviets were temporarily absent from the Council's meetings since January 1950, protesting against the exclusion of the People's Republic of China from the UN Security Council, the United States obtained the approval of the Security Council for the use of military force to defend South Korea from aggression. A major war ensued in Korea. The United Nations forces turned back the North Korean "aggressors" and then invaded the North. The UN forces succeeded in pushing back the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel. Nevertheless, the China supported the North Korea for its own interests. This made collective security system complicated. UN forces led by American General MacArthur wanted to cross the 38th parallel to punish the aggressor North Korea. This was opposed by many countries. Many countries were reluctant to continue the collective security operation against the North Korea thinking that it could escalate the war in which US would pursue its own agenda of the containment of Communism. This made the Korean crisis a dispute between the communist and capitalist world. Thus, ultimately, the armistice was negotiated in 1953, but the Korean War discredited the collective security system.

From the Korean War to the end of the Cold War, the United Nations served as an international forum for US-Soviet rivalry rather than as an organization to implement the collective security. Although the UN had been more involved with attempts to resolve international disputes than the League of Nations such as Suez Crisis of 1956, Lebanon Crisis of 1958, the Congo Crisis of 1960 and Cyprus problem of 1964, in each of which UN forces were active, however, its provision of security of collective security was weakened by the Cold War. The end of the Cold War opened another opportunity for the United States to use the United Nations for collective security. After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, President George Bush organized a broad coalition, including the Soviet Union, to stop this aggression and restore Kuwait's sovereignty. For the first time since the Korean War, now that the United States provided leadership in the United Nations to use military force in the Persian Gulf. It was the Persian Gulf War of 1991 when US President Bush had proclaimed a "new world order" of global collective security.

During the Cold War period, due to the ineffectiveness of the UN collective security system, collective defence system became more prominent in the international affairs. The United States pursued regional collective defence system, which the UN Charter permitted. In 1949, the US formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) by entering into a long-term military alliance with western European states. Further, it formed collective defence system in Pacific and Asia, including Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS) in 1951 and in South East Asia (SEATO) in 1954. The Soviets also responded in 1955 through the Warsaw Pact.

3.2.7.2 Uniting for Peace Resolution

The Soviet Union started to participate in the meetings of Security Council from st August, 1950, Hence, it had become difficult to take any further decision on Korean crisis. Hence, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) adopted the resolution 377A, the "Uniting for Peace", on 3rd November, 1950. This resolution was initiated by the United States in October 1950 as a means of circumventing further Soviet vetoes during the course of the Korean War. The Uniting for Peace Resolution which is also known as "Acheson Plan" states that if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security. To facilitate prompt action by the General Assembly in the case of a dead-locked Security Council, the resolution created the mechanism of the "emergency special session". The emergency special session can be called upon the basis of either a procedural vote in the Security Council, or within twenty-four hours of a request by a majority of UN Members being received by the Secretary General. In procedural votes, the permanent members of the Security Council do not have the ability to block the adoption of draft resolutions, so unlike substantive matters, such resolutions can be adopted without their consent.

Hence the collective security system was strengthened by the Uniting for Peace resolution of the UNGA.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1 What did Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations deal with?

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2 The right to self-defence is provided under which Article of the UN Charter?

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3 When did the UN General Assembly adopt the "Uniting for Peace" resolution?

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4 Which three principles guide the UN Peacekeeping?

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3.2.8 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

Collective security system has proved ineffective in the context of the maintenance of security and peace in international relations due to certain flaws, shortcomings and weakness. First of all, The UNO is a voluntary organization and therefore, its decisions are not binding upon its members. This made the implementation of collective security system unworkable and unrealistic. Second, the UN has not permanent military force that it can deploy immediately to thwart an aggression. Third, Article-27 of the UN Charter also nullifies its Chapter-VII. As per this article, all the five permanent member of the Security Council has right to veto the proposals before the Council which redundant the collective security system. During the Cold War era, many times super powers used the veto mechanism and made collective security system ineffective.

However, to some extent, the United Nations has filled the void created by the failure of its efforts to the institution of the collective security with a technique knows as 'peace-keeping.' Although the UN Charter does say anything about the peace-keeping, this techniques has been used repeatedly to deal with various conflicts in international relations. In fact, nowadays, peace-keeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries

navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. The UN Peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles:

1. Consent of the parties;
2. Impartiality;
3. Non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.

Peacekeeping is flexible and over the past two decades has been deployed in many configurations. Currently, there are at least 17 UN peace-keeping operations deployed on four continents. In the absence of an effective collective security system, the peace-keeping operations have built up a demonstrable record of success including winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

3.2.9 LET US SUM UP

The case for collective security rests on the claim that regulated, institutionalized balancing predicated on the notion of all against one provides more stability than unregulated, self-help balancing predicated on the notion of each for his own. Under collective security, states agree to abide by certain norms and rules to maintain stability and, when necessary, band together to stop aggression. Stability-the absence of major war-is the product of cooperation. In a world of balancing under anarchy, states fend for themselves according to the dictates of a hostile international environment. Stability emerges from competition. The key question is whether regulated balancing predicated upon the notion of all against one, or unregulated balancing predicated upon the notion of each for his own, is more likely to preserve peace.

3.2.10 EXERCISE

1. What are the prerequisites for collective security to operate as a device for the prevention of war, according to Hans Morgenthau?

2. Distinguish between collective security and collective defense.

3. Map the fate of the concept of collective security under the League of Nations

4. How has the principle of Collective Security functioned under the United Nations.

3.2.11 SUGGESTED READINGS

Kelsen, Hans. “Collective Security and Collective Self-Defense Under the Charter of the United Nations,” *American Journal of International Law* (1948).

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Pedersen, Susan. *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (N

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3.3 DIPLOMACY; NATURE, SCOPE, TYPES AND IMPORTANCE

- Harjit Singh

STRUCTURE

3.3.1 Introduction

Diplomacy consists of the techniques and procedures for relations among states. It is the normal means of conducting international relations.Like any machinery it is neither moral nor immoral. Its use and value depend upon the intentions and abilities of those who practice it. It functions through a labyrinth of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all

over the world. The Oxford English Dictionary says that Diplomacy is "the management of international relations by negotiation," or "the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed". According to Sir Ernest Satow, 'Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states'. Diplomacy is a factor of national interest, national power and foreign policy and it is the most popular means of exercising power on other nations. It is one of the most popular means of communicating and implementing foreign policy decisions. It is an important device of power management and means of securing international peace through accommodation. Manu in his Manu Smriti has also written that 'peace and war among states depends upon the role of ambassadors'.

3.3.2 Evolution of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the world's ancient art. Its references can be seen in ancient epics of Mahabharata and Ramayana. It is recorded in Greek and Roman history. Initially it involved the practice of sending messages and warnings, pleading of causes, transfer of gifts or tributes. Later, the envoys became negotiators and not just messengers, but there was no system of permanent embassies. It was around 14th century that permanent embassies emerged on the scene. During the periods of 15th, 16th and 17th centuries diplomacy was governed by dictates of national policy. As described by Machiavelli in the writings of 'Prince', deceit, cleverness, cunningness and duplicity were ruthlessly employed. In the 18th century the common interest of the maintenance of international equilibrium was there, which led to the attempts, which aimed at the institutionalization of diplomatic procedure over precedence. With the coming of 19th century in the Congress of Vienna,serious efforts were made to simplify the classification of diplomatic agents and formalize their functions. Diplomacy was adopted as a major instrument of state policy. During this time principle of balance of power was looming large. As such diplomacy emerged as the major instrument of national interest and international intercourse. It can be called as golden age of diplomacy. A historical analysis of diplomacy can be taken as :

Ancient; the Eastern emperors had marked success in playing off potential rivals against each other. The reports of their representatives at foreign courts gave them information, which they were able to utilize to their advantage. Their representatives were skilled diplomats and trained observers, extending the practice of diplomacy to include accurate observation and reporting as well as reporting. Medieval; until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century diplomacy more often meant the study and preservation of archives than the act of international negotiation. This concept was especially prevalent in the middle ages. Modern; modern diplomacy as an organized profession originated in Italy in the late middle ages. Machiavelli's 'The Prince' described in masterful fashion, the rivalries of the Italian city-states and the methods which their rulers used to promote their interests. The first known permanent mission was established at Genoa in 1455 by Francisco Sforza, Duke of Milan. During the next century, Italian city-states established permanent embassies in London and Paris and at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor. A

British ambassador was assigned to residence in Paris. Francis I of France devised something like permanent diplomatic machinery. Diplomacy was still the diplomacy of the court. Its object was to promote the interests of the sovereign, abroad, by various means, direct ordevious, fair or foul; and standards were low and ill-defined. The ambassador was deemed to be the personal representative of his chief of state in a foreign country. An affront to him was an affront to the chief of state himself and hence to the nation that he symbolized. In the absence of well-defined rules of procedure, frequent disputes arose from questions of precedence and immunity. Ambassadors often found themselves in dire financial straits, especially if the sovereigns whose dignity they were trying to enhance by sumptuous display neglected to pay them salaries at proper and due course of time. 17th century Diplomacy had become an established profession and a generally accepted method of international intercourse. The rise of nationalism and the nation-state system made some such machinery necessary. In 18th century, the diplomacy of the courts entered its golden age. The game came to be played according to well-understood rules, with a great deal of glitter on the surface and much incompetence and intrigue beneath. Diplomats represented their sovereigns. They were the willing and important tools in the great contests for empire. In the late 18thcentury, the Industrial, American, and French revolutions had ushered in a new era of diplomacy, imposed far more complicated duties on the diplomat, to attempt to representation rather than ruler, and to attempt to reel the pulse of people rather than of the king alone. It called for a new king of diplomat. However, the so-called democratic diplomacy was still carried on by representatives of the aristocracy of wealth and often of rank. Rules by Congress of Vienna placed diplomacy on a more systematic and formal basis, the Congress of Vienna laid down certain rules of procedure which are still commonly observed. These rules were embodied in the Reglement of March 19, 1815 and in regulations of the Congress of Aix-la-Chaplle in 1818. The diplomatic hierarchy consisted of four ranks or classes of representatives: (1) ambassadors, papal legates, and papal nuncios;(2) envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary; (3) ministers resident,later merged with the second rank; and (4) charges d'affaires. The order of priority within each rank was based on the length of service in that country rather than or the more subjective basis of the relative importance of the sovereign or country the diplomat represented. The ambassador senior in terms of length of service in a country was the doyen or dean of the diplomatic corps in that country.

There were quite a number of fundamental changes in international system during 1914-1945 periods. During this period diplomacy entered in what is popularly called as new diplomacy. It led to the change in the nature, scope, and styles of

diplomacy. In the Vienna conference on diplomatic intercourse and immunities (1961), where a comprehensive agreement, which covered nearly all the aspects of diplomatic activity, was signed. We can say that today diplomacy is universally accepted as an instrument of national policy.

3.3.3 Nature of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is commonly bilateral in character. But due to the growing importance of international conferences, International organizations, regional arrangements, and collective security measures, its multilateral aspects have become increasingly significant. It embraces the simplest matter of detail in the relations between two states to vital issues of war and peace. When diplomacy breaks down, the danger of war, or a major crisis, is very real. No doubt diplomacy always attempts to cloak the real goals of national interest with several idealistic principles or rules of morality or international behavior yet it cannot be described as the art of deceit and concealment. It can generally be described as the art of negotiations and conduct of foreign relations or the means of implementing foreign policy. As far as nature or characteristics of diplomacy is concerned it can be deliberated in the following manner

- Diplomacy is an instrument of international relations; it consists of techniques and procedures of conducting relations among nations.
- It is a machinery of action in international relations; it is cannot be considered as moral or immoral; as its use and value depend upon the intentions and abilities of those who practice it.
- Diplomacy cannot be termed as immoral as it is neither the art of deceit or propaganda and does not involve something immoral.
- Diplomacy acts through organized networks and set procedures; it functions through a layer of foreign embassies, offices, consulates and special missions all over the world.
- Diplomacy is bilateral as well as multilateral; in common terms it is bilateral but due to growing importance of international arrangements like international conferences, international organizations, regional arrangements, its multilateral aspect has gained momentum.
- It handles all type of matters; from simpler aspects of relations between states to vital issues of war and peace.

- It operates both in times of peace and war, and its breakdown always leads to crises situation; there is danger of war, or at least a major crises in real sense may be there. In war its nature undergoes a change.

Overall it works in an environment in which both conflict and cooperation are simultaneously present. It means that it becomes irrelevant when there are all agreements; likewise it becomes ineffective when there are all disagreements. Diplomacy basically works for securing the national interests of the nation it represents which on the other hand is specified by the foreign policy. It is limited by the government it represents. To large extent diplomacy is compatible with international law. As we see diplomatic practices has been one of the biggest sources of international law as peace and security are also the objectives of national interest. Main thing is that diplomacy is backed by national power. It uses persuasion and influence as means, as it cannot use force and violence. As such it is the promotion of national interest by peaceful means. We can say that diplomacy is actually the success achieved in the fulfillment of national goals.

3.3.4 Scope of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is wide, vast and is increasingly moving. It covers the formal officials and political relations between nation states. Even it is increasing on the norms that modern era is facing new and tangled conflicts, issues and problems worldwide. But at the safe end, diplomacy is only a solution to avoid war throughout the times of war, even after the war. So, scope of diplomacy is not fixed or static and it keep changing or increasing. In modern times, it covers political, economic, educational and cultural aspects of problems. Diplomatic activities are largely practiced through International Organizations and through states. Diplomacy relies upon such varied techniques as negotiation, conferring, mediation, conciliation accommodation and other amicable means of adjusting conflicting interests and disputes.

3.3.5 Objectives of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is having political as well as non- political objectives. As far as political objectives are concerned, primary interest of diplomacy is to maintain and increase power. It works for increasing the influences of states over the other states. As far as non-political objectives are concerned we can analyze that each nation depends upon others for economic and industrial links and trade. As such, diplomacy seeks to promote the economic, commercial, and cultural links of one nation with the other. Oil diplomacy, dollar diplomacy etc. are the non-political versions of diplomacy. The main tasks of diplomacy are that; it relates power with objectives i:e diplomacy must weigh the objectives against the available power. It tries to assess the objectives of other nations. Overrating or underrating the power the power of nations; in both the cases it can be fatal to the cause of peace. Another main task is the compatibility of different objectives. Nations

seek to pursue an intelligent and peaceful foreign policy while comparing its own objectives with objectives of other nations in the light of their compatibility

3.3.6 Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

Foreign policy and diplomacy are many times used inter changeably. But they are quite distinct from each other. In democratic setting, diplomacy and foreign policy go hand in hand, while in autocratic rule diplomacy follows the dictates of central authority. Diplomacy in common popular terms is considered to be an art and science of conducting foreign policy within the limits of international laws. Foreign policy on the other hand is the official external policy of states formulated by respective legislatures in consensus and with consent of a number of authorities in the government. Diplomacy is basically the articulation of foreign policy in the real world. Diplomacy enables the states to achieve the goals of their foreign policies. Both actually supplement each other and involve a good number of directly and indirectly involved actors.

The foreign policy of a state, said J.R. Childs is "the substance of foreign relations," whereas "diplomacy proper is the process by which foreign policy is carried out". Foreign policy is made by many different persons and agencies. The purpose of diplomacy is to provide the machinery and the personnel by which foreign policy is executed. The Foreign Policy is substance, the diplomacy is method. In his interesting study on the congress of Vienna, Nicholson wrote that it is useful, even when dealing with are most historical episode, to consider where diplomacy ends and foreign policy begins. Each of them is concerned with the adjustment of national to international interests. Foreign policy is based upon a general conception of national requirements, diplomacy, on the other hand, is not an end but a means; not a purpose but a method. It seeks, by the use of reason, conciliation and the exchange of interests, to prevent major conflicts arising between sovereign states. It is the agency through which foreign policy seeks to attain its purpose by agreement rather than by war. Thus, when agreement becomes impossible, diplomacy, which is the instrument of peace, becomes inoperative; and foreign policy, the final sanction of which is the War becomes operative. The last sentence in this quotation tends to destroy the distinction between diplomacy and foreign policy which Mr. Nicolson makes. It is misleading to suggest that diplomacy ceases to function when major international crises arise, especially if they lead to war. Diplomacy does not cease to function, as Nicolson suggests, in time of war; although it necessarily plays a different role in war time. The object of diplomacy, as of foreign policy, is to protect the security of a nation, by peaceful means, if possible, but by giving every assistance and help to the military operations if war is imitable.

Diplomacy is regarded as the core or mainstay of international relations. It is through diplomacy that a nation communicates its wishes, desires, objectives and goals to other nations. It is through diplomatic negotiations that it attempts to secure these objectives. Establishment of diplomatic relations forms the first and foremost step towards the establishment of the relations between two nations. Diplomacy itself forms the major link in the process of bilateral and multilateral

relations. H.J. Morgenthau describes diplomacy as the best means for promoting international peace in the best way i.e peace through accommodation. Frankel describes diplomacy as the inevitable outcome of the co-existence of separate political units.

3.3.7 Functions of Diplomats

In an address before the America-Japan Society in Tokyo, on November 22,1938, Joseph C. Grew, United States Ambassador to Japan, commenting on the work of the professional diplomat, explained the supreme purpose and duty of an ambassador in these words, "He must be, first and foremost, an interpreter, and this function of interpreting acts both ways. First of all he tries to understand the country which he serves, its conditions, its mentality, its actions, and its underlying motives, and to explain these things clearly to his own government. And then, contrariwise, he acts as a means of making known to the government and the people of the country, to which he is accredited the purposes and hopes and desires of his native land. He is an agent of mutual adjustment between the ideas and forces upon which nations act. The role/functions of a diplomat may be divided down into following manner:

(i) Representation.

A diplomat is a formal representative of his land country in a foreign state. He must cultivate a wide variety of contacts, with the officials of the foreign office and of the foreign personal in general, with his fellow diplomats, with influential persons, and with articulate groups in the country. Ambassador Grew, a career diplomat of long experience, referred to social contact as 'the X-Ray language vibrating beneath the surface of the spoken and the written word', which is a diplomat's way of saying, that a trained mixer-observer-auditor can pick up information or intelligence of great value in conversations at social functions.

(ii) Negotiation.

A synonym for diplomacy, negotiation is the pursuit of agreement by compromise and direct personal contact. Diplomats are negotiators. Their duties have been described by Mr. Childs, in these words "the drafting of a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral arrangements, and other documents of a political, economic, and social nature". Their subject matter ranges from the creation of an international security organization, through territorial changes,establishment of rules to govern international civil aviation, shipping and telecommunications, and the adjustment of international commercial relationships, to such particular matters as immigration, double taxation,waterway rights, tourist travel, and exchange control. Almost the entire gamut of human activities are covered.

(iii) Reporting.

Reports from diplomats are the raw material of foreign policy. These reports range from technical studies to appraisals of psychology of nations. Diplomats must be good reporters.

According to a publication of the United States Department of State on the American Foreign Service, diplomats are expected to 'observe, analyze, and report political, social and economic conditions and trends of significance in country in which they are assigned'. Some major subjects of these reports are legislative programmes, public opinion, market conditions, trade statics, finance, production, labor, agriculture, forestry, fishing, Mineral resources, shipping, freights, charters, legislation, tariffs and with protection of interests.

(iv) Protection of Interests.

A diplomat is expected to get along the authorities of the state to which he is accredited. However, he is also expected to secure the best interests of his own country at all times. It is his duty to look after the interests of his country, as interpreted by the policy-makers back home, and in accordance with treaties, other international agreements, and principles of international law. He has the more specific duty of attempting to assist and to protect businessmen, seamen and all other nationals of his own country, who are living or travelling in the country in which he is stationed. He seeks to prevent or correct practices which might discriminate against his country or its citizens.

3.3.7.1 Attributes of Diplomats

World history records the image of diplomats and ambassadors as messengers of peace. The Elders as ambassadors in Greek city states, the orators in the Roman Empire, the Diplomatic norms of the Byzantine Empire and the Quranic system of war and peace, all share in common a regard and respect for ambassadors. The intellectual sincerity behind diplomacy for a human cause was documented as a historical event when Prophet Mohammad called for respect to ambassadors in his last message to humankind from his death bed. Diplomacy was, thus, considered an honorable task to be performed by a few intellectuals. The modern era has witnessed the evolution of diplomatic services into an extensive field of activity where set of diplomats are recruited, trained and assigned duties in various capacities.Therefore, their selection is done on a regular basis, through a well-defined system, that has become a common practice. Generally, the diplomats are expected to possess scholarship, an analytical approach and deep insight into national, regional and international issues of concern, to people, states and the whole of humankind. Such a responsible task deserves sincerity as well as the skills, integrity and coherence.

3.3.7.2 Classification of Diplomats and Consuls

The top positions in the diplomatic service are held by the chiefs of mission, most of whom have the rank of ambassador or minister. These however, constitute only a fraction of the total number of diplomats, most of whom are career officials or career specialists. There are at least three ranks:

(1) *Counselors* of embassy or legation, who rank highest among diplomatic staff members.

(2) *Secretaries* of an embassy or legation, usually ranked as first, second, and third secretaries.

(3) *Attaches*, who may be junior career officers or non-career persons serving in a diplomatic capacity on a temporary basis-including commercial, agricultural, military, naval, air, petroleum, cultural etc.

In countries like USA the Foreign Service Act of 1946 divided the American Foreign Service into five main categories:(1) Chiefs of Mission, divided into four classes for salary purposes (2) Foreign Service Officers, the elite corps of the American Foreign Service, divided into seven classes (a top category of career ministers, plus Classes I-VI)(3) Foreign Service Reserve Officers in six classes, who are assigned to the Service on a temporary basis (no more than four consecutive years).

(4) Foreign Service Staff officers and Employees, in 22 classes, who perform "technical, administrative, fiscal, clerical, or custodial" duties and (5) Alien Clerks and Employees. As a result of amendments to the Foreign Service Act of 1946 it was changed to ten classes of Foreign Service Officers, eight of Foreign Service Reserve Officers, and ten of Foreign service Staff Officers and Employees. In United Kingdom a Diplomatic Service, comprising some 6,400Civil servants, was created on January 1, 1965, to absorb the personnel in the former Foreign Service, commonwealth Service, and Trade Commission Service. This Service has its own grade structure, comparable to the grades of the Administrative Class, the Executive Class, and the clerical classes of Home Civil Service.

3.3.7.3 Diplomatic Rules and Procedures

The unwritten rules of Diplomacy are as important as the written regulations, such as those laid down in the famous Regalement of 1815, in the Convention on Diplomatic Officers and the Convention on Consular Officers adopted by the American nations at Havana in 1928, in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, "the first major international effort to regulate the wide field of diplomatic relations and immunities," and in theVienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963. Matters of procedure and protocol have often bulked very large in diplomatic relations. "Protocol" has two meanings in diplomatic usage. It means what might be called diplomatic etiquette. In other sense, it refers to a preliminary memorandum to be used as the basis for a later treaty or convention.

3.3.7.4 Appointment/ Reception of Diplomats

Each state appoints its diplomatic representatives in its own way and these are generally followed by certain internationally recognized procedures. The nomination of a diplomat will be publicly announced only after the country to which he is to be sent has given its approval. The

approval is called ‘Agreement’. There have been many cases in which the agreement has been refused. A diplomat’s formal commission is the ‘letter of credence’, signed by the head of the state and addressed to the head of the state, to which the diplomat is accredited. As soon as the diplomat arrives at his new post, he immediately gets in touch with the foreign minister, to request an audience with the head of the state, to present his letter of credence. The ceremony of presentation is accompanied by the most elaborate ritual and formality. It consists of a brief speech by the envoy and another by the head of the state, as he accepts the letter of credence. Copies of both speeches are exchanged in advance, so that there will be no surprise during the formal ceremony. The diplomat now confers with the foreign minister and other influential leaders of the government. He visits his colleagues of the diplomatic corps, who return his visit in due course. In case of Termination of a Diplomatic Mission, the termination of a diplomatic mission may come about in a number of ways like: Resignation; the diplomat may, of course, resign, Recall or Dismissal; a mission may be terminated by the recall or dismissal of an envoy. He may be recalled by his own government on its own effect.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. How does Ernest Satow define diplomacy?

_____
_____
_____

2. List the three ranks in diplomatic services.

_____
_____
_____

3. List the chief characteristics of new diplomacy.

_____
_____
_____

3.3.8 Types of Diplomacy

The diplomacy may be categorized into different forms on the basis of time, techniques, practices, personnel (diplomats), and diplomatic dealings. Some of the major kinds prevalent in the present time can be discussed a follows:

Old Diplomacy

Though diplomacy in general is as old as states and their relations yet the diplomatic practice that is today called old diplomacy originated some where at the close or the16th century and continued up to 1918-19. During this period, diplomacy was concerned mainly with the building up of allies (and of detecting other people sallies). But it was a closed affair, not involving deep hatred or violent animosities; a monarchical and aristocratic Europe was essentially one community with a deep-root feeling of Western European unity. Hence old diplomacy was a friendly, humane diplomacy, carried on with much finesse and a great deal of mutual toleration. The old diplomacy was based mainly on three schools of diplomacy in Europe during those centuries namely Italian (Venetians and Machiavelli), (Grotius, Richelieu, Talleyrand etc.) and German (Metternich and Bismarck). Some common features of these three schools or old diplomacy were:

(1) Mainly European; the concept of Europe was the center of old diplomatic activities. Old diplomacy was mostly confined to Europe and non-European countries were outside its purview.

(2) Big Power Affair; The idea of the greater importance and responsibility of the Great European Powers than of the small ones dominated the old diplomacy. What to speak of the numerous non-European countries, even the small countries of Europe had no role in old diplomacy. It was mainly a big power affair of European countries.

(3) Aristocratic Affair; the diplomatic officers were selected and appointed by the monarch from the rank of the nobles and aristocrats. They were solely responsible to the king. They were not career diplomats recruited on merit through competitive exams. The diplomatic officials of different countries thus belonged to the same aristocratic class and had occasions to meet and work with each other in different capacities. Having thus known each other and worked together for years, these officials possessed similar experience, similar taste and similar culture.

4. Secrecy. Old diplomacy was based on the assumption that negotiation must always be a process rather than an episode, and that at every stage it must remain confidential. Strict secrecy was observed while conveying the issue and conducting the negotiations. Secrecy was considered essential for resolving differences. Moreover, there was no taboo on secret pacts and agreements.

5. Flexible. Owing to the lack or latest means or transport and communication, it was extremely difficult for the monarchs to keep constant touch with their diplomats in various states. They had to allow them considerable freedom in matters of negotiations. The monarchical government based on aristocratic diplomacy made the freedom of ambassadors and the flexibility in the matters of negotiation and the conduct of entire

diplomatic relations. Modern pressure or public opinion that makes flexibility impossible was non-existent.

6. Foul Means. For serving national interests, diplomats often resorted to foul means and practices such as bribing.

New Diplomacy

The era of new diplomacy ushered in the twentieth century and especially after the First World War when international conditions changed considerably and democratic governments replaced monarchies. The twentieth century symbolized new era order in world affairs; one in which governments were losing their aristocratic leaning and their aloofness, and peoples were speaking to peoples through democratic representatives and informal channels. While diplomacy remained a profession, carried on by men of wealth and influence and power, it was conducted with the assistance of a growing number of career officers, the elite guard of diplomacy whose standards of competence and training were being steadily raised, explained Palmer and Perkins. Thus new diplomacy was more professional and non-political. The factors responsible for the decline of old diplomacy and rise of new diplomacy were:

(1) With the rise of democracy the diplomats were now required to keep themselves in tune not only with the views of their governments but also with the changing moods of the public.

(2) The growing importance of public opinion has made all states very sensitive to currents of public sentiments. That is why they give more time and effort to educational and propaganda work. One of the main functions of diplomats is reporting on the attitudes of the people in the host countries.

(5) New techniques of communication have now drastically altered the tempo and temper of diplomacy. Telephone, telegraph, radio, television, satellite communication, internet, computer together with fast super sonicair transportation have reduced the status of ambassadors to that of glorified clerks.With communication and information revolution the foreign minister or head of the government can direct virtually all diplomatic representatives. At times he may by-pass the regular diplomatic channel and directly negotiates with his counterpart in other countries. The policy makers have become their own diplomats.

(4) Military alliance system after the Second World War and trading bloc system after the cold war have given birth to coalition diplomacy and economic/ commercial diplomacy respectively.

(5) With the emergence of several new sovereign independent states in Asia, Africa and Latin America, new faces with distinctly separate cultural identities, loyalties, schemes of priorities etc. appeared on the international scene. New diplomacy assumed worldwide character and was no longer limited to Europe.

(6) Acceptance of the equal status of all states big and small; the extension of the principle of democracy to the international field, introduction of the principle of decision by majority vote in international affairs, expansion of mass media etc. replaced secret diplomacy with open diplomacy.

The chief characteristics of new diplomacy are:

(1) International. New diplomacy is truly an international affair. The composition orinter national society has greatly altered; numbers of states have increased and the center of gravity has shifted away from Europe.

(2) Specialization. As the functional specialization is on rise, the tendency to engage different persons in different types of diplomatic negotiations abroad is also on increase. As the Ambassador is a generalist, he may not do justice to a subject of technical nature. Now to negotiate on trade and science, special delegations consisting of economic experts and scientists respectively are sent abroad. To work out military pacts, security arrangements, military Generals and security experts are engaged. Similarly, for disarmament and arms control talks, specialists and peace researchers are involved.

(3) Summit or Personal: Now, important issues are directly discussed by summit level(top) political leaders of concerned countries directly rather than by their professional diplomats. The direct contact and negotiation between heads of states/governments and foreign ministers in bilateral matters or in multilateral arrangements, international conferences and meetings of international organizations have several advantages. Top political leaders are able to risk and apply their discretion to reach some settlement. They can take bold decision on the spot.

(4) Open: New diplomacy is identical with open diplomacy. It insists on open covenants of peace openly arrived at, and not on private international order of any kind. It proceeds always frankly and in the public view.

(5) Democratic: New diplomacy is subjected to democratic control. The broad frame work of diplomacy containing the vital objectives and the process of negotiation are democratically determined and subjected to democratic scrutiny and control with full vigour.

In his book on Diplomacy Harold Nicolson has called attention to three developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which greatly affected the theory and practice of

diplomacy. First was the growing sense of the community of nations, secondly increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion, and thirdly the rapid increase in communications.The first two developments enlarged the diplomat's functions and enhanced his importance. As the number of international organizations,groupings, and conferences increased, multilateral diplomacy took on added significance. Today the policy-makers of all nations are very sensitive to currents of public sentiments. One of the main functions of diplomatic representatives is reporting on the attitudes of the people, in the countries, to which they are accredited. The third development, the rapid increase in communications, reduced the status of diplomats and opened up more convenient channels of international negotiation. It became possible for the foreign minister or head of the government to direct virtually all important negotiations. He may bypass the regular diplomatic representatives. Diplomacy by conference, and other multilateral procedures became more and more popular especially during Covid and post- Covid era.

Difference between Old and New Diplomacy

The major differences between the two are:

(1) The old diplomacy was mainly confined to Europe whereas the new diplomacy is all pervasive, worldwide and truly international in nature.

(2) Unlike old diplomacy, new diplomacy is not dominated by big powers of the Europe.

(3) If old diplomacy was aristocratic the new one is democratic. The diplomats in the past were drawn from the aristocratic class today they are recruited from public. New diplomacy is mostly practiced by professional career Foreign Service officers who are recruited on the basis of merit.

(4) Though negotiations in both types are conducted secretly yet the old was more secret than the new. There is no place for secret agreements treaties in new diplomacy.

(5) New diplomacy is more frequently conducted through summits than the old diplomacy.

(6) Old diplomacy was run by generalists, whereas the new one is dominated by specialists from commerce, economics, science and military.

Secret Diplomacy

This diplomacy was marked by secrecy. It was based on secret meetings and secret agreements. Secrecy means covered and shady dealings. In the nineteenth century, when proper democratic setup was not developed, secret diplomacy was an important sub-category of old diplomacy. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 was a fine example or secret diplomacy in the nineteenth century. History is full of such secret treaties. Diplomacy has acquired new

dimensions while retaining and redefining the old or traditional forms. Though military and economic dimensions have been central features of diplomacy, new factors have contributed more varieties or kinds of diplomacy. The struggle for economic and military dominance remains a priority on the wish list of all developed states. The developing states, more or less dependent on the developed ones, also seek to increase their strength in these fields. The element of culture has acquired a unique, but very significant key position of the national interests of nations, Therefore, cultural diplomacy is being rejuvenated into a more effective field for global actors. Like wise, many developments have exerted influences of varying degrees on the growth of new in the promotion branches of diplomacy.

Political Diplomacy

Diplomacy is often identified with the political aspect of foreign relations. The political meaning of diplomacy is associated with state policies towards other states on political issues.The struggle for political power among states is the main factor behind the significance of political diplomacy. Every nation wishes to be politically stronger. The element of political power remains the cornerstone of diplomacy. Therefore, statesmen, political leaders, dıplomats, citizens and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) insist on the attainment of political power by their respective state. The political agenda of a state reflects its various interests; military, economic and so on. Sometimes, other interests are well wrapped in a political form by the diplomats, but implemented through the agencies of the states. Political observers, statesmen and the people help the diplomats in chalking out the outlines of political diplomacy. Here, one must be careful to not interpret political diplomacy as merely a creative result of a few actors, or as something intentionally designed. Political diplomacy is often very complicated in nature and no single actor may be credited with its formulation. Political diplomacy sets the global actors in motion, to focus on problems through dialogue and negotiation. It encourages the states to adopt techniques of resolving disputes through non-violence. Thus, political diplomacy contributes towards the stability of peace in the world. It helps promote State's and people's faith in dialogue and not in conflict or war. The positive elements of political diplomacy characterize it as a popular mode of international relations.

Military Diplomacy

There is a common tendency to regard military diplomacy as an ingredient of political diplomacy. Although both are correlated, they are also distinct from each other. The very specialized field of military information may convert any nation into a weak or strong state. For instance, the supremacy of the United States may be attributed to its specialization in sophisticated armaments and technology used for establishing military supremacy over the rest of the world. The Cold War era witnessed an unending struggle for military supremacy between the two blocs; the capitalist block by the United States and the communist bloc led by the Soviet

Union. As soon as the Soviet Union disintegrated into small states, the triumph of US military diplomacy was generally accepted. Diplomats of militarily advanced nations have an edge over their counterparts of less developed and developing nations. The show of military power on occasions of national days also reflects the success story of military diplomacy. However, advanced and sophisticated military power does not automatically assure success in all military endeavors. The use of highly complicated military power by the United States and its allies in Iraq or Afghanistan did not result in success tor the United States in achieving foreign policy objectives in these countries. The military dimension of diplomacy is a key force in international relations.

Economic Diplomacy

In international relations, a major break through occurred after the Second World War when the world eventually divided itself into two major groups of nations; the capitalist and the communist blocs. A new arena of diplomacy evolved out of the political development in the post-war period. In view of the urgency of economic reconstruction to heal the deadly damages, various plans and schemes were chalked out by the victorious alliances. With the proclamation of the Marshall Plan,the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSO) activities, the schemes of the International Monetary fund (IMF)and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development TBRD gave birth to a new channel of economic diplomacy, also termed as the diplomacy of development. The economic interests of a state are promoted through diplomatic efforts, which initiate, explain, plan, assess and give shape to these kinds of latent as well as open interests. It implies trade and commerce, short-term and long-term interest and imports and exports in industrial, agricultural and other fields of mutual exchange programmes. Details of such state party agreements are laid down with utmost care and expertise by the diplomats. Of course, a number of other unofficial actors and factors also help in such planning and estimates. As a consequence, trade agreements are signed by the states. But the process is not so simple and straight forward as it appears to be. The real situation is often very complicated, nerve wracking and hard to crack. The economic experts in the various ministries, the diplomats, the external affairs minister, the PrimeMinister and the President are all involved actors, who put their best into economic deals to besigned and implemented by a state. Economic diplomacy expresses itself through various modes. One of them, foreign aid is often bound with strings of political strategies, political compromises and undesired objectives and may put the opposite party in a tricky situation. Contemporary world politics is overshadowed by economic interests of various powerful states' global, regional and bloc. Trade interests immensely contribute towards a state's bilateral and multilateral relations. Therefore, economic diplomacy has gained unmatched significance now among the various modes of diplomacy. Sometimes, this economic diplomacy turns into coercive diplomacy, putting the state parties under extraordinary pressures. The involvement of international financial institutes has added to the already complex nature of

economic diplomacy. The policies of World Trade Organization, the IMF, the IBRD and soon, definitely played their roles in the evolution of economic dimensions of diplomacy. So diplomacy, which was once concerned with making power blocs, creating and maintaining military alliances and, thereby, concentrating on vital security issues only, has undergone revolutionary changes. The contemporary era has witnessed the eagerness of states to expand their economic arena. The economic cold war between the United States and China, over global economic concerns is the best projection of economic diplomacy between the two states. The ideological war between the communist and the capitalist bloc has been replaced by economic diplomacy to bring in high commercial and financial benefits to the respective states. The emergence of European Union,the SAARC,the ASEAN, the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) and international economic and financial agencies have shifted the core area of diplomatic activities towards economic spheres. But economic diplomacy cannot be devoid of political diplomacy as the role of politics cannot be underestimated. Diplomacy of economics does not mean the end of politics In fact, politics remains the arena through which opportunities are evaluated and choices are made. For e.g. the presence of US troops in Afghanistan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia is interpreted by some political experts as part of oil diplomacy, that is, a means to gain control over the petroleum-producing areas through political strategies.

Dollar Diplomacy

Dollar diplomacy isn't so much an essential feature of diplomacy today but is a tactic that refers to the manipulation of foreign affairs for monetary gain. Generally, the term is used to describe a foreign policy created by former US president William Howard Taft. He served between 1909 and 1913 and used dollar diplomacy in Latin America and East Asia to further US interests. Essentially, Taft promised loans to these countries in exchange for minimized military force and other US commercial interests. The tactic didn't work very well and led to international suspicions about the US' motives when offering financial assistance. In Taft's own words, this program was "substituting dollars for bullets."

Gunboat Diplomacy / Big Stick Diplomacy

Another diplomatic tactic, gunboat diplomacy is still used today. The political dictionary defines gunboat diplomacy as "the practice of backing up diplomatic efforts with a visible show of military might". The term gunboat diplomacy comes from the idea that gunboats are quite small and easy to manoeuvre, yet they have strong weapons concealed. By showing a strong military, a country can make implicit military threats while appearing peaceful and amicable. The most famous type of gunboat diplomacy is known as "big stick diplomacy", made famous by US Vice President Theodore Roosevelt in 1901.Roosevelt suggested that one should "speak softly, and carry a big stick" when carrying out foreign relations, and this is where the name comes from. Soon after saying this, he became President. He went on to use this tactic

throughout his presidency with much success and even won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for negotiating peace between Japan and Russia. In more recent times, Obama used big stick diplomacy in 2010 when he sent an aircraft carrier to the Yellow Sea near North Korean shores. This show of naval strength followed an attack by North Korea on an island in South Korea and had the aim to send a warning message to both North Korea and China.

Public Diplomacy

Often, when we think about diplomacy, we think about secret agreements and important meetings. While these definitely happen, there is also a very public aspect of diplomacy. Public diplomacy is part of a state's strategy to communicate directly and openly with other countries and the press. In public diplomacy we explore two different approaches: branding and advocacy. Branding is to do with promoting a positive image of the country to the press and foreign nations and involves projecting ideas about the country's history, culture and foreign policy in order to make it look attractive. Positive branding can also be a reactive tactic to rectify negative stereotypes, particularly if a country has received bad press recently. On the other side of the coin, advocacy refers to public strategies that have particular objectives. For example, the US provided a narrative to explain their actions when they intervened in Iraq in 2003, positioning themselves as spreaders of democracy. This kind of advocacy again serves the purpose of painting a country in a good light to members of the public and foreign countries. It's also worth noting that there is some overlap between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. Having a distinct culture and great music or art, for example, can be seen as part of a countries' branding, because it makes them look good to the outside world.

Cultural Diplomacy

The cultural dimension of diplomacy has gradually evolved as an important area of activity and Interests of all concerned; the states, diplomats, people, institutions and organizations. In fact, Culture has always been a core subject of interaction between the officials and peoples of states.With the expansion of information technology and its use in state affairs, revolutionary changes have occurred, and continue to influence the tasks of diplomacy. In the post-globalized world of today, all sorts of actions in the name of culture have stabilized themselves as an international trend favored and supported by the people and their governments. Cultural agreements among States have taken under this umbrella.Various activities, such as, the exchange of academicians, scientists, students, artists, sportspersons, journalists, child representatives and so on takes place on its basis.Therefore, not only the states, but a number of institutes and organizations too have directly as well indirectly involved themselves with diplomatic channels. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is one of the best trendsetters of cultural exchanges through States, and their diplomatic activities and thus formed and evolved the theory and practice of Cultural diplomacy. The Charter of UNESCO emphasizes its goal to contribute towards international peace, security and development through state-level collaboration in the fields of education, science and culture

and give fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture and to maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge among the nations of the world.Memorandums of understanding (MoUs) between universities, institutes, organizations,schools and so on, have contributed largely towards the evolution of cultural diplomacy. These MoUs are the result of cultural diplomacy because these are the diplomats who initiate, encourage, evolve and adopt cultural methods to develop friendly relations between the host and the home states.The Olympic Games and their management have attained a matter of stature and status for all host states. Exchange of players has become a regular feature at the Olympics. But its association with the pride of a nation, too, has gained a new dimension. Thus, cultural diplomacy is an expandable, evolving and complex diffusion of culture through diplomatic efforts. Often not found on official papers of diplomats, culture is utilized to nurture friendly relations with host states as well as others on a global level. Cultural diplomacy does not connote a one-way channel of cultural transmission, nor is it a fixed state of circumstances. It is a process which once initiated continues to evolve and refine its contents, procedures and results. The functions, festivals, carnivals, exhibitions, book or literary fairs organized by embassies and high commissions are also part of cultural diplomacy, which strengthens and refines the art of diplomacy in the contemporary world. Then, there are some cultural lobbies,unrecognized but active at a certain point of time, which often help in promoting diplomatic relationships. To sum up, cultural diplomacy has been experimenting, through various modalities, to expand its impact. In case of India, the cultural heritage of India tolerant, adaptable and adjusting has been extensively utilized by Indian diplomats abroad to project India as a multicultural society. Its historical monuments, such as the Taj Mahal, Ajanta and Ellora caves, holy places, cultural dances, the Ayurvedic system, the languages, traditions and customs have all attracted peoples and organizations from all parts of the world. The real impact of cultural diplomacy is sometimes stronger than political or military diplomacy.

Open Diplomacy

In the popular mind, Democratic diplomacy came to be associated with open diplomacy. Secrecy was held to be incompatible with true democracy. The Congress of Berlin of 1878 represented a high-watermark of the practice of secret diplomacy. The demand for open diplomacy reached a climax at the time of the FirstWorld War. It was given classic expression in the first of Wilson's famous Fourteen Points, as presented in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918; 'open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shallbe no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view'. The principle of open diplomacy was embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and later in the Charter of the United Nations. It was based on a well- founded distrust of secret diplomacy and a naïve misconception of the nature and functions of diplomacy. Those who decrythe evils of secret diplomacy, usually mean, that the secrecy, but not the diplomacy should cease. Some have expressed the view that "open covenants" are certainly desirable but that they can hardly be "openly arrivedat." Even Wilson said, "When I pronounced for open diplomacy,

not that there should be no private discussions of delicate matters, but that no secret agreements should be entered into, and that all international relations,when fixed, should be open and explicit.

Democratic Diplomacy

Democratic diplomacy became a dominant trend only after the FirstWorld War. It has been largely responsible for the decline of diplomacy. Many observers including Walter Lippmann, Harold Nicolson, Hans Morgenthau, and Sisley Huddleston argue that the prospects for world peace are dim unless there can be a return to some of the traditions and practices of more conventional and less public diplomacy. Huddleston regarded post-World War I diplomacy as infinitely worse as the very negation of real diplomacy. He said that we must return to the more discreet and competent methods of diplomacy. He insisted, and abandons the popular diplomacy. But he stated, nothing short of a miracle will enable us to bring about those reforms in diplomatic practice which might prevent popular diplomacy from continuing. The shortcomings of democratic diplomacy lie in the formulation of policies and in their implementation. Democratic processes serve the people best when they make it possible to hold leaders to a strict accountability for results and objectives but not to an obligation to negotiate on the television screens of a millions of homes.

Parliamentary Diplomacy

Kenneth W. Thompson has pointed towards a novel, revolutionary and worldwide institutionalizing of diplomacy. It has led to the growing importance of what has been called 'parliamentary diplomacy.' It is a type of multilateral negotiation which, as Dean Rusk has explained, involves'a continuing organization, a regular public debate exposed to the media of mass communication, rules of procedure which govern the process of debate, and formal conclusions, ordinarily expressed in resolution.' Typically, we take into account the United Nations and its related organizations, although not exclusively so, because the same type of organization is growing up in other parts of the international scene."Plebiscitary Diplomacy

"Diplomacy, wrote James Reston in 1958, which started in the royal court, and moved then to the cabinets of world governments, has moved once more into the headlines of the world's press. It is a bad way to conduct diplomacy. This way can lead to the excesses of plebiscitary diplomacy.

Totalitarian Diplomacy

Totalitarians invoked doctrines of racial superiority, mysticism, materialism, and militarism in furtherance of their ends. Diplomacy was used as an instrument of national policy. In doing so they degraded its language and its practice. Diplomats became agents of conquest, double-dealing,and espionage. Their business was not to work for peaceful international relations but to

provoke dissension rather than understanding, to make theleaders and peoples of other nations weak, blind and divided in the face of the growing totalitarian menace. As Lord Vansittart complained,'the object of totalitarian diplomacy is thoroughly calculated, to create and maintain bad relations. Diplomatic representatives of totalitarian states used most of the established rules of procedure. They, however, conformed to the generally accepted standards of international conduct, only when it suited the schemes of their masters. Modern dictators openly boasted those treaties and other international obligations. The Germans and Russians used their embassiesas centers of espionage in Canada, Great Britain, the United States, and Latin America. Negotiations with representatives of totalitarians at international Conferences and in foreign capitals frequently degenerated into endurance contests, usually ending in complete frustration. Agreements were violated, spirit or in letter, or in both, or evaded by unilateral definitions which destroyed the essence of the "understanding. In the postwar period, frustrations in diplomacy led to the cold war and generally unhappy state of international relations.

Diplomacy by Conference

In the postwar period states have had increasing resort to'diplomacy by conference'. International conferences proliferated as never before. It became really popular after the First Word War under the stimulus of the League of Nations and the quest for regional and collective security. Since World War II it has become as common as to constitute a new development in international relations. Examples of some important conferences being; The First great conferences of modern times were those which ended the Thirty Years War and led to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. Representatives of France and the Catholic states of the Holy Roman Empire metin Munster, and representatives of Sweden and the Protestant states of the Empire in Osnabruck. These two conferences, which lasted more than four years, finally produced two treaties, collectively known as the Treaty of Westphalia. In the nineteenth century important conferences were held in Vienna (1814-15), Paris (1856), and Berlin (1878). The most famous of all twentieth century conferences was the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, besides the Washington Conference of 1921, the Locarno Conference of 1925, and the Geneva Disarmament Conference, which met intermittently from 1932 to 1937.During World War Il several major conferences brought the leaders of the allied countries together for consultation and major decisions.Six to ten thousand sessions of international conferences are now held each year. Some deal with highly technical subjects and are attended by experts in their fields. Others are general international meetings, attended by hundreds of persons, including many foreign ministers or diplomats of the highest rank. Most numerous of all are the conferences held under the aegis of the United Nations and its agencies, which now sponsor more than five thousand meetings each year.

Personal Diplomacy (Summit and Near-Summit Diplomacy)

In recent years the direct participation of foreign ministers, prime ministers, and even heads of states in diplomatic negotiations has become increasingly common. During the several personal meetings between Churchill and Roosevelt, beginning in August, 1941 major and fateful decisions about the war and the postwar international order were made. It resulted in the Atlantic Charter. The conferences of Churchill and Roosevelt with Chiang Kai-shek at Cairo (November, 1943), and with Stalin at Teheran (December, 1943) and at Yalta(February, 1945) were followed by the Potsdam Conference of July-August1945. The main participants were Churchill (replaced by Attlee after the General Elections of July), Stalin, and Truman. The "Summit conference inGeneva in July, 1955 was the only postwar meeting at this level. It was attended by the President of the United States and the prime ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. Frequent meetings of prime ministers of Asian and African countries were held either by an exchange of visits. Their major international conferences were the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung in 1955, and the conferences of non-aligned states inBelgrade in 1961 and in Cairo in 1964. African prime ministers and heads of states frequently participated in conferences held under the auspices of Organization of African Unity. The opening sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and top-level meetings of various regional arrangements and organizations, provide opportunities to foreign ministers to meet and exchange views.

Personal Agents of Heads of states have often relied on personal representatives to handle delicate problems in international relations. Henry Wriston's study of Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations shows that they have been employed in American diplomatic relations since colonial times. The intimate papers of Colonel House and Robert Sherwood's Roosevelt and Hopkins provide excellent case studies of this type of diplomacy.

3 Direct Approach. Churchill and Roosevelt developed direct approach to their opposite numbers in other countries to a fine art, especially by use of the transatlantic telephone. They also corresponded directly, or sent messages to each other by personal emissaries and confidants. When in England, on wartime missions, Harry Hopkins often spentweekends with Churchill. He was therefore able to convey Roosevelt'sviews and get Churchill's in return with a maximum of frankness and aminimum of formality. On the eve of Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt tried to appeal directly to the Emperor of Japan to do his best to avert war. The Japanese answer was delivered by Japanese planes over Pearl Harbor. The personal diplomacy of Churchill and Roosevelt led to some unfortunate results in their dealings with Stalin.

3.3.9 Propaganda and Diplomacy

In old diplomacy, a diplomat must not attempt to interfere in any way,in the internal affairs of the country, to which he was accredited. The new diplomacy has developed various instruments and techniques of formal and informal penetration. The use of propaganda through the radio, the press, and other methods is becoming a commonplace approach. In the words of George V.

Allen, former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs propaganda has become 'a conscious weapon of diplomacy'. Mr. Allen admits that propaganda is not a new technique. The Duke of Welling tondoubtless addressed messages to Napoleon through the press of his day,and Cyrus the Great probably started bizarre rumors for his purposes'. Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points were enunciated, not through diplomatic channels, but in a message to congress. Allen has thus described the campaign of the State Department's to deliberately intervene in the Italian elections of 1948.By press, motion picture, and radio we tried our level best, through open propaganda methods, to persuade the Italian voter that democracy although offering no immediate paradise, was a surer method of progress than communism). The Voice of America transmitted short-wave radio programmes in the Italian language every day, beamed toward the people of Italy, extolling the advantages of democracy. Americans of ltalian origin were encouraged to write to their relatives in Italy, counseling them to vote democratic. We arranged for American news reels, showing the American way of life and American aid to Italy, to be shown in every Italian theatre for several weeks prior to Election Day.Much of Fascist and Nazi diplomacy was conducted through propaganda.The Russians have been adept in this techniques. In the Italian elections of 1948, Radio Moscow was even more vocal than the Voice of America. One cannot deny the magnitude or the propaganda activities of the governments of modern states, especially totalitarian states and all major powers. The new and intimate connection between propaganda and diplomacy has altered the nature of the relations between states. It has undoubtedly weakened diplomacy in the traditional sense. Yet in an age of mass communications, of growing literacy, and of bitter war for the minds of men, it seems inevitable that propaganda will rise as a conscious weapon of diplomacy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. The term "dollar diplomacy" is used for referring to the foreign policy of which President of USA?

_____

_____

_____

2. Define gunboat diplomacy.

_____

_____

_____

3. List the different types of diplomacy.

3.3.10 Some other forms of Diplomacy

The contemporary era is an era of recurring crises of natural resources. Though developing countries are consuming less energy than the developed ones, a lot of politics over such resources have resulted in conflicts, differences and even use of force, as has been the case in Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran. Both veiled and unveiled activities of diplomats, the interests of multinational firms, industrial, groups and so on are other factors involved in oil diplomacy. There is a lot of pressure on land and water resources too. Rivers flow from one state into another. Technology has made it possible to have an access to water from a distance, to stop water, create water scarcity or take lots of water from a particular source. Bilateral and multilateral relations are affected by these issues. Water sharing between India and Bangladesh is one of such innumerable examples of water diplomacy. The Preventive diplomacy refers to efforts taken by state parties to adopt positive and constructive approaches towards international problems and thus, avoid military actions, threats, and armed conflicts and so on. Some states may adopt veiled or explicit threats of termination of diplomatic relations or impose economic sanctions or take other threatening steps against other states. The aim is usually to stop or put a curb to the policies and activities of an opponent state. This is known as coercive diplomacy. Similar is the oil diplomacy by OPEC countries to have a say in world affairs and dollar diplomacy adopted by US to attract other states.

New dimensions in Diplomacy

There is broadening of Diplomacy, which involves the increasing incidence of public multilateral negotiations, the expansion of diplomatic activity into the cultural and educational fields, and the multiplication of informal channels of contact among peoples and nations. There are extending dimensions of Diplomacy, as Diplomacy is no longer confined to political and economic relations or to relations between governments and top political representatives. Its activities now embrace the whole field of educational and cultural relations. Diplomacy is not just governments dealing with government, but also peoples speaking to peoples.The dimensions of diplomacy have also been widened by 'the rapid growth of informal relations between states,' a development which is new in scope although not in essence.

Importance of Diplomacy

Diplomacy as a tool of international relations can be defined as the practice and process of conducting negotiations, holding discussions and meetings between or among accredited

representatives of countries and intergovernmental organizations. It could also mean the processes in which government on behalf of its citizens interrelate and cooperate with other governments overseas to come up with policies which seems to be of interest of the mass or constituent states. In international relations, representatives are sent from countries to another to hold meetings on behalf of their countries since the full populations of several countries cannot be engaged in discussions among countries internationally. These representatives are known as Diplomats, they are mobile personnel who carry information from their country to other countries and from other countries to their country. The following are the importance of diplomacy in our contemporary world.

Firstly, diplomacy in international relations serves as the channel for representation. States through the practice of diplomacy expose and position themselves in the international system. Most sovereign states are represented by accredited diplomats in the international system to voice out the views, policies and objections of these countries as participators of the international system. These representations set legal paths for recognition in the system and also provide the chance to offer and to be offered any kind of assistance globally. For instance, since Ghana is being represented at the international level, it is recognized and opened up to be offered any assistance from other countries, in cases there are challenges such us famine, war, political and economic instability among others. Again, in international relations, diplomacy has been one of the major trajectories of transforming values to (or assimilating values of) different countries in order to maintain coherence among territories. In international politics, diplomacy allows countries to portray or practice the values of other countries which are considered as satisfactory and decent as well as profitable. This is called soft power because, these values are not imposed forcefully on countries, but they rather inculcate the habit of practicing them if only it is considered helpful to the economic, social and political state of the countries. Moreover, diplomacy in international relations helps in gathering relevant information from constituent states in the international system. Diplomats involved carry on information from their country into other countries and from other countries to their countries to generate cordial relations or agreement between their countries and the countries in which they are accredited to work in. They may also inform their native countries if they find out that the state in which they are working is planning of malice against their countries or even against the international system as a whole. For instance, The Ambassador from Ghana to United States of America can inform Ghana if he finds out that USA is in the process of manufacturing perilous weapons which may one day cause hazard internationally. In other words, diplomats relatively serve as the mouthpiece of their countries which circulate information in the international system. Furthermore, diplomacy has been a significant tool in international relations by aiding

the expansion of political, economic and cultural ties between countries in the global system. States somehow interfere positively in the affairs of other states through diplomatic paths, for instance, countries may hold meetings or negotiate on political issues such as importation and exportation, cooperative defense and marketing. This activities of inter states governments interference contribute to the dilation of the coasts of politics and culture in the international system. Diplomacy in other words is said to facilitate the observation of international law, International law is the rules which guides or shape the policies of countries towards other countries, or a body of legal system that that regulates the actions of individuals and entities With global or international personality. This law is recognized and obeyed by the individual constituent states in the global system. It regulates their policies within the states in some areas such as protecting the rights of vulnerable individuals within the states, ensuring sovereign equality, that is ensuring that all countries irrespective of territory size or economic state or even population are equal in supremacy or sovereignty, maintaining extra territoriality, which is the maintenance of jurisdictions over diplomatic missions in other countries and peaceful govemment-to-government relations to facilitate coherence among countries in the global system. In other ways, diplomacy in relation to international relations is a crisis managing tool in the global system. I his is one of the major roles diplomacy perform as far as the global System is concerned. A crisis is any event that is going (or is expected) to lead to an unstable and dangerous situation affecting an individual, group, community, or whole society. Diplomacy allows countries to hold meetings to negotiate and make vital decisions on how to curb crisis in the global system. Countries by diplomacy correlate with each in a cordial manner to negotiate on policies that correspond to the interest of both states and seek not to violate the right of any constituent state in the global system. These actions aid at ending up in a peaceful correlation among states. Therefore, there is less possibility that crisis may emanate due to some misunderstanding among states. Also, should any crisis emanate between two states, the governments in the two states through diplomacy hold meetings to manage or thwart totally ongoing crisis. In the same way, when a country encounter crisis internally, due to diplomatic missions, other countries interfere and aid help such a country.

Finally, citizens enjoy them services rendered by the various diplomatic missions across countries. Majorly, they perform consular services to citizens across countries. The Embassies, or the High Commissions and other consulates issue visas to those who want to visit their countries. This function seems to have been the major role of diplomats known to citizens. Diplomatic missions serve as channels through which people get the opportunity to visit, make business and educate themselves in other countries. They also assist and protect citizens of their countries at their duty stations. Diplomatic missions provide legal advices and counseling to their citizens in case the find themselves at the wrong side of the law. This make citizens live on another land comfortably with relatively less or no fear. Again, diplomatic

missions, sign agreements on behalf of their countries. These agreements are on a number of issues which benefits both countries to urge then cooperate peacefully.

3.3.11 LET US SUM UP

In conclusion, diplomacy tends to be an important key as far as international relation is concerned. Through diplomacy, universal and essential interests or needs of constituent countries in the global system are addressed. It yields global representation, encourages political and cultural spread, helps in gathering relevant information from constituent states in the international system, manages crisis, provide consular service as well as other services and facilitate the observation of international law, These functions sustain the existence and maintenance of interdependency and peaceful correlations in the international system.

3.3.12 EXERCISE

1. Examine the nature of classical diplomacy?
2. Compare old form of diplomacy with the new form of diplomacy?
3. Discuss the main functions that a diplomat performs?
4. How is military diplomacy different from political diplomacy?
5. What role does cultural diplomacy play in the contemporary world?
6. Describe the nature of summit diplomacy?

3.3.13 SUGGESTED READINGS

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3.4 WAR AND ITS CHANGING NATURE (DETERRENCE, MAD, REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS (RMA), PRE-EMPTIVE WAR) PROXY WAR

- Suneel Kumar & Mamta Sharma

War is more than a mere chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case. As a total phenomenon its dominant tendencies always make war a paradoxical trinity – composed of primordial violence, hatred, and enmity…; of the play of chance and probability…; and of its element of subordination, as an instrument of policy, which makes it subject to reason alone.

-Carl von Clausewitz

STRUCTURE

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The meaning and definition of War
- Changing nature of war
- The concepts of Mutually Assured Destruction and Deterrence
- What is meant by revolution in military affairs

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Although war is a brutal and ugly activity, yet it is central to human history. War is an open armed conflict between two or more countries or groups. It is one of the significant events that have already been in existence since the creation of mankind and will continue to coexist with us indefinitely. Nobel laureate Richard E. Smalley listed war as the sixth out of ten biggest problems that mankind will be facing for the next fifty years. War has been fought throughout the history of mankind. Even before the dawn of civilization, small scale wars had already taken place between different tribes. People had been violent even before the advent of guns and knives. Nevertheless, Second World War was the most deadly war of all in which more than 72 million people were killed. The word 'war' means more than just a military conflict between nations or parties. War is complex. It arouses feelings of aggression, depression, confusion and satisfaction. It entails many stages of action. It can last for years. William T. Sherman considered war as a hell because war is any place or state of supreme misery or discomfort. War is a plague, contagious and deadly. Wars have been fought for hundreds of years, usually to satisfy one side with more freedom, power or wealth. Countries whom are allies with the nation at war may also get drawn into providing soldiers and supplies, thus spreading the impact of the war and increasing the number of casualties. For instance, in the context of the war in Iraq, Britain is not the original country to feud with Iraq, but it is the United States. However, since Britain is the US alley, they help by providing soldiers, as the US would do the same for them. As a result of this, more people are affected by the war.

3.4.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF WAR

War is a controversial concept and it is hard to define the concept of war as it is a sociological phenomenon concerns the every sphere of life. Throughout the history, definition and phenomenon of war has changed. As a result of development of societies and technology, character and definition of war has also changed. Therefore, the definition of war which is made in one period may not be valid for

another period. Clausewitz defines the war as a "continuation of politics by other means." Cicero's viewed war as a "settlement of disputes by means of coercion." Hugo Grotius defines the war as a situation among contending by means of use of force. In his book, "On the Law of War and Peace", Grotius opined that every disagreement will lead to war among states. From the international relations perspective, international relations scholars generally define war as large-scale organized violence between politically defined groups. According to R.D. Hooker, Jr., War is an "…armed conflict between states." According to Wallerstein, war is a struggle for shaping institutional structures of the world economy in order to create a world market which favors to existing economic actors.

Thus, in brief, it can be argued that war is an organized violent activity, waged not by individuals but by men sometimes joined by women in groups. It is a mutual activity. Whatever takes place in it relates, or should relate, primarily to the enemy's movements with the aim of defeating him and avoid being defeated oneself. The conduct of war is conditioned on the hope for victory, or at the very least self-preservation. Where that hope does not exist there can be no war, only suicide. War rests on contention. War is not a one-sided activity, but assumes resistance. The invader might be only too pleased to gain his objectives without fighting. It is the defender who resorts to war to oppose the invader's intentions. Even when the invader uses force, if there is no response, the result will be not a war but a massacre. War assumes a degree of intensity and duration to the fighting. Frontier skirmishes and isolated clashes between patrols are not necessarily war. Besides, those who fight do so not in a private capacity, but as public servants. A personal vendetta is not war. Moreover, war is not fighting for its own sake. It has an aim, often normatively defined in political terms, but perfectly capable of being more narrowly and militarily defined, for example as the pursuit of victory.

3.4.3 CHANGING NATURE OF WAR

War has changed on how it is waged since the first time it occurred. From clubs and stones that the pre-historic man used to kill his enemies to the missiles and nuclear bombs that has now become the new face of death and world destruction. For the past century, the weapons used in warfare had seen a significant development, making wars more deadly than ever. Guns became deadlier as it phased out its round musket ammunition and changed it with the pointed aerodynamic bullets that we use today. Becoming even more deadly, the once single firing rifles have become rapid firing automatic weapons, slaughtering anyone that it faces. Bombs became more powerful and a lot more accurate seeing the first use of remote controlled fins that make the bomb more accurate. However, the most significant

development in the history of weapons was the manufacturing of the atom bomb, the most destructive and powerful weapon man has ever created. It can kill millions of people and destroy one whole city with one blast. The creation of the atom bomb changed how modern warfare is fought and brought a new radical era throughout the world. This is known as the Nuclear Age.

The development of weapons has made the present weapons more powerful and dangerous, making wars much more destructive with greater number of casualties. A war- ridden country would be probably impoverished after the war. Another effect of war to a country is depopulation as many of its citizens would die.

Since the end of second world war, the rise of insurgents and non-state actors in war, and their readiness to use terror and other irregular methods of fighting, have increased leading to the phenomenon of 'new wars'. The 'old wars' were waged solely between states, and were accordingly fought between comparable and 'symmetrical' armed forces. However, new wars have changed the whole concept of old wars. The end of the Cold War, the rise of globalization, the spread of democracy, and the advent of a new millennium raised hopes that mankind might move beyond the catastrophic wars that shaped the 20th century. Those hopes were dashed by Somalia and Rwanda and Bosnia, by the Sudan and the Congo and Kosovo, by Chechnya and Afghanistan and Iraq.

The modern way of organizing war that grew out of the transformation of feudal into modern society is to entrust it to be directed by the state. Since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 which ended the Thirty Years' war, states alone have been authorized to wage war. Conversely, whenever violence was used by individuals, other groups and organizations, it was known as crime, uprising, rebellion, or civil war. Inside each state a distinction was drawn between the government that alone could conduct the war at the highest level; the armed forces, whose task was to fight; and the civilian population, whose assigned role was to pay and sustain the effort. By setting up an organization whose members, even at the higher levels, were selected for their professionalism rather than their loyalty which had been the case in empires and feudal societies and who were dedicated solely to war, the state and its resources led the way to unprecedented technological development in the military field. The military and war making capabilities of the modern state were so great that by 1914 some half dozen industrialized states had come virtually to dominate the world. During the nineteenth century, the advent of railways and telegraphs for the first time enabled large states to begin to harness virtually their entire resources for military purposes. This culminated in the era of "total war" (1914-45) when such governments took over control of almost every aspect of their citizens' lives from the wages that they were paid to the temperature of the water in which they could bathe. These trends affected the United States,

which was relatively isolated and safe, much later than they did the main European powers, which confronted each other directly. In the long run, the United States built a military-industrial complex larger than any other in the world.

As the war making communities developed and became more sophisticated, SO did the scale on which they fought and the methods they used. Early tribal societies counted their warriors in the dozens and knew only the raid, the ambush and the skirmish. With the establishment of chiefdoms, there appeared forces numbering in the hundreds or at most thousands, as well as battle and siege operations, whereas empires could count their troops in the hundreds of thousands and were capable of conducting sophisticated operations that lasted for years on end. However, all pre-modern political entities were hampered in their conduct of war by problems of both logistics and communication. The former meant that armed forces spent more time looking after their supplies than actively campaigning, and indeed that war itself was usually a seasonal activity. The latter not only prevented the coordination of operations from the capital but made it virtually impossible for the armed forces of any one state to cooperate with each other on anything larger than a tactical scale once they had been united on the battlefield. Modern technology during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century put an end to these limitations. Instead of coming about by tacit agreement between the commanders on both sides, battles could be developed into coherent campaigns; campaigns waged in different theatres could be integrated with the conduct of war as a whole, and the latter coordinated from the national capital, which also controlled the mobilization of demographic and economic resources. The different level of war – from minor tactics through tactics and the operational art and strategy all the way to grand strategy – made their appearance. More and more, war came to be waged by vast powers or coalitions of powers, each counting their subjects in the dozens if not hundreds of millions. Once unleashed by the Industrial Revolution, military technology mushroomed. Between 1815 and 1945, it took war from flintlocks to tanks and from foot slogging soldiers to long range bomber aircraft and the first ballistic missiles. Throughout these millennia of organizational and technological growth, the character of war as a mutual activity remained unchanged.

With the advent of nuclear weapons ware seemed to have undergone a decisive change. Hitherto, it had often been possible for one side to use some combination of force and guile in order to achieve victory at a cost acceptable to itself. Now, the prospect had to be faced that victory, instead of guaranteeing one's existence, would lead to annihilation as the defeated side fell on the nuclear button. Indeed, the more resounding the victory, the more acute the danger that this would happen. Under such circumstances, it is scant wonder that those states that possessed

nuclear weapons by and large, the most powerful ones generally began taking very good care not to commit suicide and to avoid escalating conflicts between each other. The more nuclear weapons proliferated, the less important and less powerful the states against which large scale, conventional warfare could still be fought. Reflecting these developments, military organization and military technology reversed direction. Throughout the years since A.D. 1000, armies and navies had been getting larger and larger, culminating in the tens of millions of uniformed personnel who served during the two World Wars. Now, all of a sudden, they began to shrink as the most important states abandoned the system of mass mobilization of the kind that initially appeared after 1789. For the first time in history, some weapons – were deliberately made less, rather than more, powerful. Neither the most powerful missiles, such as the American Titan, nor the monster hydrogen bomb of 58 million tons of TNT that the Soviets exploded in 1961 had successors. Research and development were redirected in an effort to develop more accurate delivery systems such as multiple independent re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) and cruise missiles carrying more limited warheads: Both reflected the feeling that their city destroying predecessors had grown too indiscriminate and too dangerous to serve any useful purpose. As nuclear weapons put a ceiling on the size and violence of wars between nations, such wars became rarer at the end of the twentieth century. However guerilla warfare and terrorism emerged as new form of war which was not based on the customary division of labor among government, armed forces, and people. It was immune to those weapons and could be waged even in their presence. Guerilla warfare and terrorism in the 1990s continued to resist successfully the armed forces of many states around the world.

For many centuries, war was incommensurably concentrated in the hands of great powers in Europe, but in the second half of twentieth century, warfare shifted from major powers to minor powers, from Europe to other regions, and from inter-state warfare to intra-state wars. Warfare has been affected by political formations and it has experienced big changes. Major political changes have contributed the changing nature of warfare. For example, the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the rise of ethno-national conflicts have affected and shaped the understanding of war. At the end of Cold War, first conflicts in Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda were the first examples of new type of wars. With this period, developments in the international environment caused that the traditional concept and definition of war has changed. In other words, the perception of war has been affected by developments in international system. After the Cold War, the actors in the international system have varied. As a consequence of these changes, the understanding of warfare has changed. Changing of warfare is parallel with the technological development. In 21st century, wars have become localized rather than international. Wars among the states have been replaced by local based civil wars.

According to K.J. Holsti, new wars are within and about states. There has been an average of 0.85 internal wars per state since 1945 as compared to only 0.30 interstate wars per state. Besides, there are some differences in dimension of wars. At the present time, the term of war is replaced by conflict. Majority of the conflicts has occurred in failed states. The top ten failed states are Somalia, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Central African Republic, Guinea, and Pakistan.

3.4.4 MAD AND DETERRENCE

Mutually assured destruction (MAD) is a doctrine of military strategy and national security policy in which a full-scale use of the weapons of destruction (WMD) that is nuclear weapons by two opposing sides would effectively result in the destruction of both the attacker and the defender. This would become a war in which there is no victory or any armistice but only total destruction. It is based on the theory of deterrence according to which the deployment of strong weapons is essential to threaten the enemy in order to prevent the use of the same weapons.

The doctrine of MAD assumes that each side has enough nuclear weaponry to destroy the other side; and that either side, if attacked for any reason by the other, would retaliate without fail with equal or greater force. The expected result is an immediate irreversible escalation of hostilities resulting in both combatants' mutual, total and assured destruction. The doctrine further assumes that neither side will dare to launch a first strike because the other side will launch on warning or with secondary forces, resulting in unacceptable losses for both parties. The payoff of the MAD doctrine is expected to be a tense but stable global peace.

This doctrine was applied during the Cold War (1940s to 1991) in which MAD was seen as helping to prevent any direct full-scale conflicts between the US and the SU while they engaged in smaller proxy wars around the world. It was also responsible for the arms race, as both the superpowers struggled to keep nuclear parity, or at least retain second-strike capability. Although the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction continues to be applied. Proponents of MAD as part of US and SU strategic doctrine believed that nuclear war could best be prevented if neither side could expect to survive a full-scale nuclear exchange as a functioning state. Since the credibility of the threat is critical to such assurance, each side had to invest substantial capital in their nuclear arsenals even if the y were not intended for use. In addition, neither side could be expected or allowed to adequately defend itself against the other's nuclear

missiles. This led both to the hardening and diversification of nuclear delivery systems and to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

This MAD situation is often referred to as nuclear deterrence. The term deterrence was first used in this context after the Second World War. Alfred Nobel is also quoted as when talking about his invention of dynamite that "My dynamite will sooner lead to peace than a thousand world conventions. As soon as men will find that in one instant, whole armies can be utterly destroyed, they surely will abide by golden peace. In March 1940, the Frisch-Peierls Memorandum anticipated deterrence as the principal means of combating an enemy with nuclear weapons. Although the US and Soviet Union had acquired nuclear capability, yet both sides lacked the means to effectively use nuclear devices against each other. However, with the development of aircraft like the American Convair B-36 and the Russian Tupolev Tu-95, both sides were gaining a greater ability to deliver nuclear weapons into the interior of the opposing country. The official nuclear policy of the United States became one of massive retaliation as coined by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of State John Foster Dulles which called for massive attack against the Soviet Union if they were to invade Europe, regardless of whether it was a conventional or a nuclear attack. By the time of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, both the United States and the Soviet Union had developed the capability of launching a nuclear-tipped missile from a submerged submarine, which completed the *third leg* of the nuclear triad weapons strategy necessary to fully implement the MAD doctrine. Having a three-branched nuclear capability eliminated the possibility that an enemy could destroy all of a nation's nuclear forces in a first strike attack; this, in turn, ensured the credible threat of a devastating retaliatory strike against the aggressor, increasing a nation's nuclear deterrence.

The strategy of Mutually Assured Destruction and the acronym MAD are due to John von Neumann, who was, among other things, an inventor of game theory, a cold war strategist, and chairman of the ICBM Committee until his death in 1957.

The strategy of mutually assured destruction was fully declared in the early 1960s, primarily by United States Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara. According to him there was the very real danger that a nation with nuclear weapons could attempt to eliminate another nation's retaliatory forces with a surprise, devastating first strike and theoretically "win" a nuclear war relatively unharmed. True second strike capability could only be achieved when a nation had a *guaranteed* ability to fully retaliate after a first strike attack. The United States had achieved an early form of second strike capability by fielding continual patrols of strategic nuclear bombers, with a large number of planes always in the air, on their way to or from fail safe

points close to the borders of the Soviet Union. This meant the United States could still retaliate, even after a devastating first strike attack. The tactic was expensive and problematic because of the high cost of keeping enough planes in the air at all times and the possibility they would be shot down by Soviet anti-aircraft missiles before reaching their targets.

The deterrence strategy and program has continued into the 21st Century, with the Trident-II ballistic missile nuclear submarine fleet continuing operations as one of the United States remaining strategic nuclear deterrent.

The original doctrine of US MAD was modified on July 25, 1980, with US President Jimmy Carter's adoption of *countervailing strategy* with Presidential Directive 59. According to its architect, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown countervailing strategy stressed that the planned response to a Soviet attack was no longer to bomb Russian population centres and cities primarily, but first to kill the Soviet leadership, then attack military targets, in the hope of a Russian surrender before total destruction of the USSR and the United States. This modified version of MAD was seen as a winnable nuclear war, while still maintaining the possibility of assured destruction for at least one party. This policy was further developed by the Reagan Administration with the announcement of the Strategic Defense Initiative(SDI, nicknamed "Star Wars"), the goal of which was to develop space-based technology to destroy Soviet missiles before they reached the US. The SDI was criticized by both the Soviets and many of America's allies including Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margret Thatcher. Because if it would have operational and effective, it would have undermined the assured destruction required for MAD. If America had a guarantee against Soviet nuclear attacks, its critics argued, it would have first strike capability which would have been a politically and militarily destabilizing position. Critics further argued that it could trigger a new arms race, this time to develop countermeasures for SDI. Proponents of Ballistic Missile Defense(BMD) consider the MAD as exceptionally dangerous. Because it offers a single course of action in the event of nuclear attack, that is, full retaliatory response.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. How did Carl von Clausewitz view the phenomenon of war?

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2. Which period of history is referred to as the period of "total war"?

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3. What is the importance of the Treaty of Westphalia for war-making?

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3.4.5 REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS (RMA)

The term 'RMA' highlights the evolution of weapon technology, information technology, military organization and military doctrine among advanced powers. Advanced versions of RMA incorporate other sophisticated technologies, including unmanned serial vehicles (UAVs), nanotechnology, robotics andbiotechnology. More recently, the RMA debate has focused on network centric warfare which is a doctrine that aims to connect all troops on the battlefield.

In other words, the concept of Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) is a military-theoretical hypothesis. It is about the future of warfare and often connected to technological and organizational recommendations for change in the United States military and others.

The RMA claims that in certain periods of the history of mankind, there were new doctrines, strategies, tactics and technologies which led to an irrevocable change in conduct of warfare. Furthermore, those changes require an accelerated adaptation of novel doctrines and strategies. The RMA is tied to modern information,communications and space technology. The original theorizing of the RMA was done by the Soviet Armed Forces in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly by Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov. The United States initially became interested in it through Andrew Marshall, the head of the Office of Net Assessment, a Department of Defense think tank. Gradually it gained credence within official military circles and other nations began exploring similar shifts in organization and technology. The China's People's Liberation Army has strong interest in RMA and the structure of future US armed forces and thus, it has been incorporated to China's strategic military doctrine. Military of the countries such as Canada, United Kingdom, Holland, Sweden, New Zealand, South Africa, Singapore, India, Russia and Germany consider the RMA as organizational structure however, not all militaries due to the significant infrastructure and investment involved. The US' victory in

Gulf War in 1991 renewed interest in RMA theory. American dominance through superior technology emphasized how the United States' technological advances reduced the relative power of the Iraqi military, by no means an insignificant rival, to insignificance. After the Kosovo War in which the United States did not lose a single life, others suggested that war had become too sterile, creating a virtual war. In 1997, the US army mounted an exercise codenamed "Force 21", to test the application of digital technologies in warfare in order to improve communications and logistics by applying private- sector technologies adapted for military use. Specifically, it sought to increase awareness of one's position on the battlefield as well as the enemy's, in order to achieve increased lethality for enemies and greater control of the tempo of warfare.

Thus, in nutshell, the RMA is the inclusion and expansion of new technology within current military tactics. It has the ability to reduce casualty rates and facilitate intelligence gathering. Operation Desert Storm is considered the first major global conflict successfully implementing RMA and is considered a model of future military operations due to the low casualty rate and the US military's speed and precision. However, the RMA technological advances have also resulted in a dehumanizing of warfare. This negatively effects the decisions made by officers, as well as individuals in the field.

3.4.6 PRE-EMPTIVE WAR

A pre-emptive war is a war that is commenced in an attempt to repel or defeat a perceived offensive or invasion, or to gain a strategic advantage in an impending war before that attack materializes. It is a war which pre-emptively breaks the peace. The intention with a pre-emptive strike is to gain the advantage of initiative and to harm the enemy at a moment of minimal protection, for instance while vulnerable during transport or mobilization. However the concept of pre-emptive war can be used to start a war by claiming that the nation would soon be under attack and therefore had to defend itself. This is a controversial concept as it can be used as a justification to start a war on questionable grounds.

The term 'pre-emptive war' is sometimes confused with the term 'preventive war'. A preventive war is launched to destroy the potential threat of an enemy when an attack by that party is not imminent or known to be planned On the other hand, a pre-emptive war is launched in anticipation of immediate enemy aggression. Some scholars equate the preventive war with aggression, and therefore consider it as illegitimate.

The waging of a pre-emptive war has less stigma attached than does the waging of a preventive war. The initiation of armed conflict: that is being the first to break the peace when no 'armed attack' has yet occurred, is not permitted by the UN Charter unless authorized by the UN Security Council as an enforcement action. Israel has incorporated pre-emptive war in its strategic doctrine due to its lack of strategic depth. The Six Day War, which began when Israel launched a successful attack on Egypt on June 5, 1967. This has been widely described as a pre-emptive war. According to the US State Department, this is the most cited example of pre-emption. Others have alternatively referred to it as a preventive war.

After September 11, 2001 during the Bush administration period (2002–2008) the doctrine of pre-emption had been revived following the US invasion on Iraq. Bush administration mainly claimed for the necessity to intervene to prevent Saddam Hussein from deploying weapons of Mass destruction (WMD) prior to launching an armed attack. The Bush administration had claimed that Iraq gave WMD to terrorists groups and claimed that security of the nation was at a great risk. Later it was confirmed that Iraq had no WMD. Nevertheless the US invasion on Iraq in 2003 was claimed as a pre-emptive war by the Bush administration. Since the departure of the Bush administration, the Obama administration has made no such claims to retain the right to declare a pre-emptive war, but has adopted and continued many polices of the Bush Doctrine.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What are the contributions of John Von Neumann to strategic thinking?

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_____

2. Who did the original theorizing for the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)?

_____
_____
_____

3. The doctrine of pre-emptive war was invoked by the USA during its war with which country?

_____
_____
_____

3.4.7 PROXY WAR

A proxy war is an armed conflict between two states or non-state actors. Proxy warfare is the direct or indirect sponsorship of third-party conventional or irregular forces that lieoutsideoftheconstitutionalorderofstatesengagedinarmedconflict.Theremustbeadirect,long-termrelationship between external actors and the belligerents involved. A proxy war occurs when a major power instigates or plays a major role in supporting and directing party to a conflict but does only a small portion of the actual fighting itself. Over more than four decades o f ColdWar, the U.S.A nd SovietUnion waged multiple proxy wars across the globe. In the Korean War, the Vietnam War,and other armed conflicts, the super powers funded opposing sides or fought directly against communist or capitalist militias. Proxy wars are one of the major categories of conflict that contribute to humanitarian crises around the world. The war can take place between multiple countries, or a country and a non state actor like a politically violent group. Proxy wars are often ideological and hold ties to a country's religious systems. Multiple proxy wars can occur simultaneously around the world. In addition, multiple states can back proxies within other states, which can be seen in both Syria and Yemen.

During the Cold War (1947-1991) the U.S. and Russia avoid nuclear annihilation by waging "proxy wars," supporting opposing sides in regional conflicts. Vietnam is a classic proxy war,with theViet Cong substituting for the Soviet bloc, and the U.S. providing aid and air support(bombing)to a puppet regime.

Using proxies has tactical advantages.Accordingtoa2018articlebyPhilipBumpinthe Washington Post, there were "around 5,000 American service member deaths"intheIraqwar.Thisleadstowhycountriesusetheproxystrategyandavoiddirectwarfarewithana dversary.Acountrysponsorsthemilitaryoperationofadifferentcountry to do the fighting. Countries like the U.S. can avoid sending U.S. troopsintowar,andconsequently,avoidlossoflifeandincreasedcivilianrisks.

One of the primary examples of why proxy wars are not beneficial is the risk of prolonged conflict. Being involved in a proxy war can include aiding a country by giving them weapons, money, or planning and assessment help. In the short term ,proxy wars are seen as a way to avoid direct conflict for a country. However, proxy wars can actually increase spending and political costs as well.

Proxy war stands in contrast not only to a traditional war—when a state shoulders the burden of its own defense (or offense)—but also an alliance, when major and minor powers work together with each making significant contributions according to their means. So the United States working with the Afghan government against what's left of al-Qaida and the Taliban is more of a traditional alliance because of the major U.S. role, with thousands of American troops and hundreds of airstrikes, while Iran working with Houthi rebels in Yemen is a proxy war because

Iran primarily provides weapons and funding, not its own troops. How much direct military support is too much to count as a proxy war, of course, lies mostly in the eye of the beholder, but in general, think the lower end of the involvement-spectrum. Iran's support for the Syrian regime, for example, involves relatively few Iranian forces but a lot of foreign Shiite fighters from Afghanistan, Pakistan,Iraq,andLebanonaswellashelpingdirecttheSyrianregime—somoreproxythanalliance.

Syria is no exception for Iran, which uses proxies in many of its conflicts: the Lebanese Hezbollah, an array of Shiite militias in Iraq, and the aforementioned Houthis in Yemen, among others. Russia uses proxies in Ukraine, and the United States often does so in its operations in the Middle East and Africa, supporting the Kurdish "People's Protection Unit" against the Islamic State in Syria and working with armed groups in Libya to fight terrorists there. Indeed, much of the U.S. struggle against terrorism in parts of Africa and the Middle East involves working with local forces or governments to get them to more aggressively go after groups linked to al-Qaida or the Islamic State. By design, it is the proxy, not the United States, that is doing much of the lifting, with the United States providing intelligence, using special-operations forces, and deploying drones to maintain a light footprints.

States use proxies for many reasons. For the United States, the issue is often cost:Locals fight, and die, so Americans do not have to. In addition, because they are local,proxies are often (though not always) more accepted by the affected communities. Therefore, they can better gain intelligence from those communities and are lesslikelytopromotethesortofnationalisticbacklashthatsooftenaccompanyforeigninterventions.If the proxy is a guerrilla force,they often know the terrain better and can blend in with the population in a way that foreigners never can. Most states lack the power-projection capacity of the United States and turn to proxies as a way to influence events far from their borders. Iran lacks a navy or massive air lift capacity necessary to sustain large forces in Yemen: Supporting the Houthis, however, gives Tehran influence there nonetheless.

For many states, however, factors other than cost and fighting power come into play.SomeofIran'sproxies,suchastheLebaneseHezbollah,areideologicalsoulmates,and advancing them helps advance Iran's broader revolutionary agenda. States attimesbackproxiesbecausetheyenhancealeadership'scredibilityathome:An array of Arab governments often backed Yasser Arafat or other Palestinian leaders, many of whom they loathed, in order to burnish their Arab-nationalist credibility among domestic populations that saw the Palestinian cause as the beating heart of Arabidentity.

Proxiesalsoofferawayoffightingthatcanlimitescalation.Statesoftendenythatthey are supporting proxies—Russia, for example, claims not to be involved in Ukraine despite funding an array of groups opposed to the government of Kyiv, arming and supporting them

withitsownforces.Attimes,otherstatesmaynotknowaboutforeignsupportoratleasttheextentofsuppor t,butinothersitisaconvenientfiction: Not knowing, or at least not having to know because a rival trumpets its support publicly,allows a government not to respond when it would prefer to avoid the matter. The United States cooperates with Pakistan on counterterrorism and operations in Afghanistan, and Islamabad's denials that it is providing massive support for the Taliban allow a façade of amity. All this makes escalation harder,or at least limited toa certain arena.Israel,for example,has war redrepeatedly against the Lebanese Hezbollah but has not struck Iran directly despite Tehran's massive financial and military support for the group. But if Iran, rather than Hezbollah,attackedIsraelwithamissile,thenIsraelwouldfeelcompelledtostrikeIranitself.This is especially important for Iran, which cannot match Israel economically,militarily,orevendiplomaticallygiventheIslamicRepublic'sglobalpariahstatus.

Yet for all these advantages, proxy warfare has many risks. Despite the power asymmetry, proxies almost invariably act according to their own interests and impulses. Right after 9/11, the United States asked the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, its key Afghan ally made up primarily of minorities, not to take Kabul so that a force composed of ethnic Pashtun,Afghanistan's dominant community, could do so and assuage the fears of minority dominance. The Northern Alliance did so anyway. In another case, the United States sought to kill Islamic State fighters as its local Kurdish and Arab proxies retook their territory, but the proxy was oftenpleasedtoletthefightersslipawayfromkeystrongholdslikeRaqqaandgain the territory without a bloody battle: They wanted the territory, not a high body count. This independence creates a tension for a proxy's patron. A stronger group isamoreeffectiveproxy,butamoreeffectiveproxyhasagreaterabilitytostay independent Such independence often risks dragging the sponsor into an unwanted conflict on behalf of its proxy. Palestinian guerrilla cross-border raids sparked conflicts with Israel, leading to a back and forth that created political pressure on the guerrillas' erstwhile Arab-state supporters who hosted them and at least pretendedtosupporttheirefforts.Warsin1956,1967,and1982grewoutofthesedynamics,with Syria and Egypt being sucked into the fray. Indeed, by giving a group moneyandsupport,itmaybecomemorereckless,knowing,oratleasthoping,thatamajorpoweris behind it and would bail them out in the face of trouble.

Proxies are also often corrupt,brutal,and incompetent.Just as sponsoring states are often happy to fight to the last member of the proxy group,so too are many proxies happy to cash their sponsors'checks and do little in return.TheUnited States spent millions training various Syrian opposition-group members, but in the end only a handful showed up for the fight. Proxies' brutality may not matter to some power: Russia and Iran, gross human-rights violators themselves, presumably care little about the abuses of their proxies. The United States, however, is often tarred with the behavior of its proxy,making it difficult to sustain domestic support.

Support for a proxy often leads other states to back their own favored horse,worsening the overall conflict. Lebanon, for many years, saw Iran, Iraq, SaudiArabia,Israel,Syria,andotherpowersregularlymeddleandsupportrivalfactions,often solely because one of their great power rivals was doing so. This, in turn,increased the independence of the proxies as they could threaten to turn to otherpowers if they felt unsupported.

Once the spigot of cash and weapons to a proxy opens up, it is hard to close,particularly for a democracy like the United States. To gain or solidify domestic support for aid, the sponsoring power oftentalksuptheproxy'scauseandtheheroicnatureofthefighters,making it harder to walk away from them. Programs and even entire bureaucracies develop,creating vested interest sin continuing the fight. Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, for example, is tasked with supporting pro-Iranian revolutionary forces; as its role outside the country expanded,so too did its influence inside. Weak groups and states are often masters of the political dynamics in their patron's country,manipulating the media and domestic support there to get the sponsor to do their bidding.

A state can impose intrusive monitoring and reporting requirements, but these are often expensive,and in any event they usually rely on the proxy for information and reduce plausible deniability.At times proxies can be pushed, educated,or wheedled into better behavior, but too often the United States can only move the dial a little. States can try instead to choose the"right"proxies,but they are usually few and far between. At times, as in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria, the United States is usually choosing among varying degrees of bad.

If the United States is going to engage in proxy warfare—and it is going to—then Americans need to recognize these limits and problems. At the same time, the United States should not overestimate Iran, Russia, or other adversaries. Those states too will face willful, abusive, and incompetent proxies, and their abilities to achieve their foreign policy goals are likely to suffer as a result.

EXERCISE

1. Distinguish between pre-emptive and preventive war.
2. Critically examine the changing nature of war.
3. What does the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) entail?
4. Discuss the concept of proxy war with the help of suitable historical examples.
5. Analyse the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

SUGGESTED READINGS

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4.1 UNITED NATIONS (ROLE IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY, CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, UN REFORMS)

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The origin and Objectives of United Nations
- The principle and structures of United Nations
- Role of United Nations in maintain peace and security
- Need for reforms to the United Nations in general and specific organs in particular

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The United Nations (UN) is an international inter-governmental organization. Its declared aims are facilitating cooperation in international law, international

security, economic development, social progress, human rights, and achievement of world peace. The United Nations is best known for peace-keeping, peace-building, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance. Apart from this, there are many other ways the United Nations and its specialized agencies are working for the making the world a better place. In the contemporary times, the UN is working on a broad range of fundamental issues such as sustainable development, environment and refugees protection, disaster relief, counter-terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, promotion of democracy, human rights, gender equality and the women empowerment, governance, economic and social development and international health, clearance of landmines and enhancement of food production, and more, in order to achieve its goals and coordinate efforts for a safer world.

4.1.2 ORIGIN, OBJECTIVES, PRINCIPLES AND STRUCTURE

The UN was founded in 1945 after the Second World War to replace the League of Nations, to stop wars between countries, and also to provide a platform for dialogue. It contains multiple subsidiary organizations to carry out its missions. Global peace and security which figured prominently in the thinking of the great powers encouraged them for creating the UN and its predecessor, the League of Nations. These institutional reforms were inspired by the liberal conviction that both war and the management of other global problems can best be controlled by removing global anarchy. This anarchy was due to the absence of a supranational authority to regulate relations between states. The League of Nations sought to prevent a recurrence of the catastrophic First World War by replacing the balance of power system with one based on the construction of a *collective security* regimemade up of rules for keeping peace. This was guided by the principle that an act of aggression by any state would be met by a collective retaliatory response from the rest. The League of Nations failed to check the expansionist and aggressive policies of Germany, Japan, and Italy during the interwar period (1919-1939) and maintain the peace in the world. Failure of the League led to the Second World War. Since the beginning of Second World War the US, British, and Russian allies began planning for a new international organization, the United Nations, to preserve the post-war peace because it was believed that peace could not be maintained unilaterally by any one great power acting alone. The name “United Nations”, coined by United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt was first used in the Declaration by United Nations of 1 January 1942, during the Second World War, when 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers. In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco to draw up the United Nations Charter. Those delegates deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks, United States in August-October 1944. The Charter was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of the 50

countries. Poland, which was not represented at the Conference, signed it later and became one of the original 51 Member States. The United Nations officially came into existence on 24th October 1945, when its Charter was ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and by a majority of other signatories. Thus, the United Nations Day is celebrated on 24th October each year The UN Charter in its Article-1 defines the following objectives of the UN:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for theprinciple of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

As per the article-2 of the UN Charter, the United Nations and its members, in pursuit of the abovementioned objectives shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any

state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter. They shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the UN Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter-Vll of the UN Charter.

At present the UN has 193 member-states. Headquarter of the UN is situated at New York and enjoys extraterritoriality. The United Nations is committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights. The UN has six principal organs:

- General Assembly, the main deliberative assembly
- Security Council for deciding certain resolutions for peace and security;
- Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) for promoting international economic and social co-operation and development;
- Secretariat for providing studies, information, and facilities needed by the UN
- International Court of Justice, the primary judicial organ;
- Trusteeship Council inactive since 1994

The UN has also its specialized agencies including the World Health Organization (WHO), International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Food Programme (WFP), the UNESCO, and UNICEF. Non-governmental organizations can be granted consultative status with ECOSOC and other agencies to participate in the UN's work. The UN has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001. Due to its unique international character, and the powers vested in its founding Charter, the Organization can take action on a wide range of issues, and provide a forum for its

Member States to express their views, through the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and other bodies and committees.

4.1.3 ROLE OF UN IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY

Since its creation, the UN has often been called upon to prevent disputes from escalating into war, to help restore peace when armed conflict does break out, and to promote lasting peace. The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary General all play major role in fostering peace and security. Since the establishment of the UN numerous international disputes originated which could have disturbed the international peace. However, the timely effective intervention made by the UN solved those problems.

Over the decades, the UN has helped to end numerous conflicts, often through actions of the UN Security Council. Under the UN Charter, Security Council is primary responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. When a complaint related to a threat to peace is brought before the Security Council, usually it recommends the parties to try to reach agreement by peaceful means. Sometimes it undertakes investigation and mediation. On numerous occasions, the Council has issued ceasefire directives which have been instrumental in preventing wider hostilities.

4.1.3.1 International Crises and The UN intervention

Since the preserving world peace is a central purpose of the United Nations, over the years, it has played a major role in helping defuse international crises and in resolving protracted conflicts. In 1946, the Soviet Union had withdrawal its troops from the territory of Iran. Suez Canal Crisis was also resolved in 1956 due to the intervention of the United Nations. The UN helped in defusing the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the Cyprus problem of 1963, Czechoslovakia crisis of 1968 and the Middle East crisis of 1973.When Iran-Iraq war was occurred in 1980 then again due to its continuous efforts, the UN had succeeded to enforce the cease-fire in August 1988. In 1989, the UN–sponsored negotiations led to the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. In the 1990s, the UN was instrumental in restoring sovereignty to Kuwait. It also played a major role in ending civil wars in Cambodia, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mozambique, restoring the democratically elected government in Haiti. In brief, it can be said that due to relentless efforts of the United Nations numerous conflicts have been resolved.

4.1.3.2 Disarmament and the United Nations

Armament race among the different global, regional and local powers is a big threat to world peace. For the maintenance of peace at international level, disarmament is essential. Therefore, the stop the spread of arms and reduction and eventually elimination of all weapons of mass destruction are major goals of the United Nations. The UN has been an ongoing forum for disarmament negotiations. It makes recommendations and initiate studies for disarmament. It has supported various multilateral negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament and in other international bodies. These negotiations have resulted into numerous treaties such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) (1963), Nuclear Non–Proliferation Treaty(NPT) (1968), the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty(CTBT) (1996) and the treaties establishing nuclear–free zones. The UN efforts for disarmament have also produced other treaties prohibit the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons (1992) and biological weapons (1972), ban nuclear weapons from the seabed and ocean floor (1971) and outer space (1967); and ban or restrict other types of weapons. Due the UN efforts, in 1997, more than 100 nations signed the Ottawa Convention to outlaw the landmines. The UN has also encouraged all nations to adhere to this and other treaties banning destructive weapons of war. The UN is also supporting efforts to control small arms and light weapons.

4.1.3.3 The United Nations and Its Peace-Making and Peace-Building Efforts

The UN peacemaking brings hostile parties to agreement through diplomatic means. The UN in efforts to maintain international peace and security, through Security Council can recommend ways to avoid conflict and/or restore or secure peace. The UN Secretary-General plays an important role in peace-making. The Secretary-General can bring any matter into the notice of the Security Council that appears to threaten international peace and security. The Secretary-General uses “good offices” to carry out mediation. It also exercises “quiet diplomacy” behind the scenes, either personally or through special envoys. The Secretary-General also undertakes “preventive diplomacy” aimed at resolving disputes. On various occasions, the UN Secretary-General had sent the fact-finding missions in conflict-prone zones and supported regional peace-making efforts in Asia and Africa.

Development assistance is a key element of peace-building. In cooperation with UN agencies, and with the participation of donor countries, host governments and NGOs, the United Nations is working to support good governance, to maintain the law and order, to conduct the free and fair elections and also to promote the human rights in various countries It is helping the countries rebuild administrative, health, educational and other services disrupted by conflict. In 1989, the UN supervised elections in Namibia. It also supervised the mine-clearance programmes in Mozambique and police training in Haiti. In Liberia, the UN has opened a peace-building support office. The UN is maintaining a human rights office in Cambodia. Moreover, it is helping in the implementation of peace agreements in Guatemala.

4.1.3.4 The UN Peace-Keeping Operations

The first UN peace-keeping mission was established in 1948. In 1948, the Security Council authorized the deployment of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between the Arabs and Israel. Since then, there have been a total of 64 UN peace-keeping operations around the world. Since the UN deployed its first peace-keepers in 1948, some 118 countries have voluntarily provided more than 750,000 military and civilian police personnel. The UN has more than 20 peace-keeping operations in Africa. The UN has helped repatriate refugees to Mozambique, provided humanitarian assistance in Somalia and Sudan and undertaken diplomatic efforts to restore peace in the Great Lakes region. It has helped prevent new unrest in the Central African Republic. Similarly in Asia, the UN has strengthened Cambodian civil society, human rights and democracy following the massive 1992–1993 UN peacekeeping mission in that country. Since 1993 the UN Special Mission has worked to facilitate national reconciliation and reconstruction of Afghanistan. In East Timor, UN brokered talks between Indonesia and Portugal culminated in the May 1999 agreement. Under the agreement, a UN mission supervised voter registration and the August ballot, at which 78 per cent of East Timorese voted for independence from Indonesia over autonomy within that country. When the results were announced, militias opposing independence unleashed a campaign of violence, forcing some 200,000 East Timorese to flee their homes. Then in 1999, the UN Security Council dispatched an international security force to restore order. The UN Transitional Administration was replaced the international force which is overseeing East Timor's transition towards independence.

The UN has also worked strenuously towards resolving the conflict in Europe. From 1992 to 1995, the UN peace-keeping forces sought to bring peace and security to Croatia. It helped protect civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It helped ensure that the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was not drawn into the war. Under the umbrella of the UN, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations are working with the people of Kosovo to create a functioning, democratic society with substantial autonomy.

The UN is instrumental in resolving protracted conflicts in Central America. In 1989, in Nicaragua, the peace effort led to the voluntary demobilization of the resistance movement, whose members turned in their weapons to the UN. In 1990, a UN mission observed Nicaragua's elections. In El Salvador, a UN peace-keeping mission verified implementation of all agreements. In Guatemala, UN assisted negotiations ended a 35 years' long civil war. The UN restored the democratically elected government in Haiti.

In brief, it can be argued that the UN peace-keeping operations were evolved to meet the demands of different conflicts. Most of the peace-keeping operations involve military duties, such as observing a ceasefire or establishing a buffer zone between the hostile parties. Operations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, have been deployed as a means to help prevent the outbreak of hostilities. The concept of peace-keeping operations was originated at the time when the Cold War rivalries frequently paralyzed the Security Council. The primary goal of the UN peace-keeping was to maintain the ceasefires and stabilize situations on the ground that may lead to resolution of conflict by peaceful means. The UN peace-making expanded in post-Cold War. Reason being the end of Cold war has created new opportunities to end civil wars through negotiated peace settlements. A large number of conflicts were brought to an end, either through direct UN mediation or by the efforts of others acting with UN support. Countries assisted included El Salvador, Guatemala, Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique, Tajikistan, Sierra Leone, and Burundi, Sierra Leone and Kosovo.

4.1.3.5 The UN Role in Democratic Transition and Elections in Different Countries

The United Nations has played a significant role in the democratic transition and conducting or supervising the election in different countries. Since September 2012, the UN has supported the preparation and conduct of elections in 55 Member States. In Afghanistan, the UN assisted the Independent Election Commission in reform of the electoral legal framework. In Iraq, the United Nations is providing technical advice and assisting to build the capacity of the Independent High Electoral Commission. In Somalia, the Organization supported the finalization of the Provisional Constitution and the establishment of a new Federal Parliament, bringing an eight-year political transition to an end. In June 2013, a new mission in Somalia was established to provide political and strategic support to the Somalia to consolidate peace and security and establish new federal structures, in advance of national elections scheduled for 2016. In Burundi, the United Nations facilitated the adoption of an inclusive road map for the preparation of the 2015 presidential elections.

In nutshell one can say that since its formations, the United Nations is playing a critical in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security. It made effective intervention in numerous bilateral and multilateral conflicts and established the peace in the Cold War period as well as in the post-Cold war period. Moreover, through peace-keeping forces, it has tried to establish peace in the various conflict-ridden countries of Asia, Africa, Americas and Europe. Moreover, it is responsible for various disarmament agreements and treaties. This has also facilitated the democratic transitions and supervised the elections in the countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Burundi.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What activities is the United Nations (UN) best known for?

_____
_____
_____

2. The UN replaced which international body?

_____
_____
_____

3. How many members does the UN have?

_____

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4.1.4 NEED AND DEMAND FOR REFORMS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Since the formation of the United Nations in 1945, international scenario has changed drastically. In 1945, the UN had only 51 member states whereas now it has 193 member-states. After the establishment of UN, numerous countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had come out of the shackles of colonialism and become the member of the UN. A large portion of the world population live in these countries but these countries had no representation in the UN Security Council. With the change of international scenario, the UN has expanded its area of activities. Due to these reasons, there is a demand for reforms in the United Nations.

During the first years, the first decisive change was the development of peace-keeping measures to oversee the implementation of ceasefire agreements in 1949 in the Middle East. The Soviet Union had launched reform during the Cold War Superpowers' rivalry in the 1950s to curtail the independence of the Secretariat by replacing the post of Secretary-General with a troika, including a representative from the socialist states. In the late 1990s there have been many calls for reform of the United Nations. However, there is little consensus about what reform might mean in practice. There are demands for a greater role of the UN in world affairs. Just opposite to this, there is an opinion that the UN must confined to humanitarian work. The range of opinion extends from those who want to eliminate the UN entirely, to those who want to make it into a full-fledged world government. In 1992, the UN Security Council had asked Secretary General Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali to submit the proposals of reforms in the UN Charter. Dr. Ghali prepared a document of 52 pages titled 'Agenda for Peace'. He suggested that preventive diplomacy should be used to prevent wars. He was of the view that preventive forces should be deployed in the areas where there is a possibility of the breakout of war. In 1995, during the 50^{th} Birth Anniversary of the United Nations, General Assembly in its special session emphasized on the modernization of United nations. After this in 1997, Secretary General Kofi Annan made the following suggests:

- Office of the Deputy Secretary General of the UN should be established.
- The number of the officials of the United Nations should be reduced.

- A Drug Control and Crime Prevention Office should be established in Vienna.
- The United Nations Group should be established at the UN headquarter.
- Public Information Department should be reorganized.

After this in June 2011, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon had appointed Atul Khare of India to spearhead efforts to implement a reform agenda aimed at streamlining and improving the efficiency of the world body.

4.1.4.1 Reforms in the UN Security Council

A very frequently discussed change to the UN structure is to change the permanent membership of the UN Security Council, which reflects the power structure of the world as it was in 1945. There are several proposed plans, notably by the G-4 nations, by the Uniting for Consensus group, and by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The reformers demands that adequate representation should be given to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For this purpose its membership should be increased. The number of the permanent members of the Security Council should also be increased. Today India, Brazil, Germany and Japan have formed G-4 and are making joint efforts to get permanent membership of the United Nations' Security Council. Hence the expansion of the Security Council has become an international issue. Beside this, the International Thinkers Forum of 22 members is asking the for the abolition of veto power and also asking the establishment of an Economic Security Council. This is also suggesting to establish a UN Rapid Action Force for any emergency situation.

4.1.4.2 Reforms in the UN Secretariat

There is a demand for making the UN administration especially the UN Secretariat more transparent, more accountable, and more efficient. For this purpose, it has been suggested that there should be direct election of the Secretary-General by the people. The UN Secretariat reforms seldom get much attention in the media. Former Secretary General of the United Nations Development Programme, Mark Malloch Brown has attributed the inefficiency of the UN administration to the "disconnect between the merit and reward". Brown has advocated for reconnecting merit to make the UN again an international meritocracy. He has suggested the UN to stop promoting on the basis of political correctness that encourages promoting staffs proportionately from certain regions of the world. Instead the UN make more use of Asia, Africa and other so-called less developed regions that now offer a large pool of talented, skilled, and highly motivated professionals. The individuals of these regions who are highly qualified will readily move up through the UN system without need of the cultural relativism which is used to promote incompetents. The Third World countries often complain that some of the most desirable senior posts within the Secretariat are filled under a tradition of regional representation that favors the United States and other affluent nations. The major powers hold very high positions in the Secretariat. They support their national interests and refuse to allow the Secretary General to cut departments.

4.1.4.3 Human Rights Reform

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights came under fire during its existence for the high-profile positions it gave to member states that did not guarantee the human rights of their own citizens. Several countries which are the guilty of gross violations of human rights became members of the organization, such as Libya, Cuba, Sudan, Algeria and China. Thus, in March 2006, the United Nations General Assembly had voted overwhelmingly in favour of establishing a new United Nations Human Rights Council, the successor to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. List some of the international crises which the UN has intervened in?

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_____

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2. List the Treaties which have contributed towards nuclear disarmament.

_____
_____
_____

3. Enumerate some of the Peacekeeping operations undertaken by the UN.

_____
_____
_____-

4.1.4.4 Other Related Reforms and Proposals

Proposal For Creation of United Nations Parliamentary Assembly

There is a proposal for the creation of a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly, or United Nations People's Assembly (UNPA). This would eventually allow for direct election of UN Parliament members by citizens of all over the world. The proposal for a UNPA is as old as the UN itself. However, this was stagnated until the 1990s. Recently, this has gained traction amidst increasing globalization, as national parliamentarians and citizens groups seek to counter the growing influence of unelected international bureaucracies.

Creation of United Nations Environment Organization(UNEO)

After the publication of Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC in February 2007, a "Paris Call for Action" read out by French President Chirac and supported by 46 countries, called for the United Nations Environment Programme to be replaced by a new and more powerful United Nations Environment Organization (UNEO), to be modelled on the World Health Organization. These 46 countries included the European Union nations. Nevertheless, it did not include the United States, China, Russia, and India, the top four emitters of greenhouse gases.

Removal of Irrelevant Provisions in the UN Charter

Several provisions of the United Nations Charter are no longer relevant. Hence there is demand for the removal of following irrelevant provisions:

- Since there are no longer any trust territories, the UN Trusteeship Council does not serve any purpose. It is defunct since 1994. Thus, Chapter XIII of the Charter is no longer relevant, and can be deleted.

- As a result of Cold War disagreements, the Military Staff Committee never succeeded in its intended purpose. Although it formally still meets every two weeks, it has been effectively inactive since 1948. Thus, there is demand for the removal of article-47, and the references to it in articles-26, 45 and 46 of the UN Charter.
- The term "enemy" in articles-53 and 107 contain special provisions relating to the Axis powers of Second World War (Germany, Japan and Italy). Some countries consider these articles irrelevant. Japan wants to see these provisions removed from the UN Charter.

4.1.5 LET US SUM UP

In brief, it can be argued that in the changing international scenario, there are various proposals for making different reforms in the United Nations including the demand for the expansion of the Security Council, to make UN Secretariat more accountable and transparent, to hold the direct election for the UN Secretary, to create a UN Parliamentary Assembly, to create the United nations Environment Organization and also to delete the irrelevant provisions form the UN Charter.

4.1.6 EXERCISE

1. Examine the origins and objectives of the UN.
2. What principles does the UN stand for?
3. Describe the structure of UN.
4. Discuss the role of the UN in spreading peace and maintaining security.
5. Discuss the need, demand and proposals for reforms of the UN.

4.1.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

Hanhimaki, Jussi M. *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Howard, Lisa Morjé. "*Peacekeeping, Peace Enforcement, and UN Reform*." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (2015)**.**

Peter Jones and Demetris Bourantonis. "The United Nations and Nuclear Disarmament: A Case Study in Failure?" *Current Research on Peace and Violence* (1990).

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4.2 INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- The nature of terrorism
- The aims and objectives of terrorism
- Types of terrorism
- Causes and impact of terrorism
- Inter relationship between terrorism and human rights

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

In International relations terrorism has become a bigger problem. It is neither a new phenomenon for domestic politics nor for international politics. However in 21st

century it has emerged as a problem of global concern. The process of globalization has helped in globalizing and organizing terrorism at global level. The spectre of cross-border terrorism per se international terrorism has shaken the world peace with panic and scare. Today international terrorism's membership is world wide, its array is trans-national, its set-up is global and marks can be anywhere. All the major cities of the world have faced the havoc of international terror at one time or other. New York, London, Mumbai, Nairobi, Chechnya, Islamabad and many other cities of both the developing and developed world have suffered due to the activities of international terrorist organisations. Terrorism has created a variety of challenges and dilemmas for human rights advocates. In many countries these were further complicated by the events of September 2001, which triggered a profound and often disturbing debate about how societies and governments should respond to terrorist acts while respecting human rights and the rule of law.

4.2.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT AND NATURE OF TERRORISM

Though it dates back to bloody assassinations of Greeks, Romans and Hindus etc, the world terrorism was coined in the days of French revolution. The revolutionaries who seized power adopted the policy of violence against there enemies and era was known as the "reign of terror". The term has various meanings for different people. It is full of political and intellectual ambiguity. Commonly it is mentioned as the use of force, creating terror, using intimidating methods, especially to secure political ends, liquidating opposition, stifling rebellion, guerrilla warfare etc.

The term 'terror' is derived from the Latin word '*terrere'* meaning 'to tremble' or 'to frighten from'. It may be defined as a systematic use of violence andintimidation to achieve some goals especially political. Thus it is different from all other crimes in its purpose. Its objective is to put the people in a state of terror and keep it there while forcing a government or organization to either act or not act in a given direction. In modern times, it was first used during the French Revolution and the Jacobin Reign of Terror. At first, it was identified with the state action, but later, it was applied to individual or group violence. It covers varied form of violence, raging from indiscriminate bombing to hijacking, kidnapping, taking of hostage assassination and severe destruction of property. Terrorism is uniquely offensive form of political violence, generally in response to the political importance of the ruler or some political malaise. Literally, terrorism like other 'ism' is a system or the method or theory behind it, the method strongly believing in use of terror towards the achievement of certain objectives. Terror in the ordinary parlance means intense, overpowering fear and use of terrorizing methods

for governing or resisting a government. One of the most formidable problems faced by the legal control of terrorism is the precise definition of the term terrorism. Up till now, a specific juridical definition, both from national and international perspective is not possible in view of what has been said of its dual dimensions and also because terrorism is a generic term comprising of a variety of acts including terror, barbarity or uncommon violence not only by individuals or group of individuals with in a state but also by armed forces of one state against another state. There has been a divergence of opinion between Afro- Asian states; on the other hand, and western states, as to whether states or governmental acts should be included in the category of terrorist acts.

Terrorism as an expression of violent dissent provides a dramatic method of highlighting a 'cause' it seeks to demoralize, terrorize and renders helpless the target group/ state; it seeks to achieve its 'cause' through coercion with total disregard of the consequences of innocent human beings as the motto is that the end justifies the means! Terrorism is also a convenient label, which a colonial power may choose to give a liberation movement for acts of violence directed against the power. When terrorism is institutionalized in the coercive exercise of the power of a state aimed at gagging even democratic dissent, it becomes state terrorism. Latest communications and transports have enabled terrorism togo beyond national boundaries. The international networks of terror have logistic links and operative structures. The international terrorist organizations have operational cells in various countries and have access to all kinds of weapons and technology.

In spite of the fact that there is no consensus on the meaning and definition of terrorism, international terrorism can be defined as "criminal act directed against a State and intended to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, groups or the general public." In 1994, the General Assembly's Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in its resolution 49/60, stated that terrorism includes "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes" and that such acts "are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them." Ten years later, the Security Council, in its resolution 1566 (2004), referred to "criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or

compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act".

The ad-hoc committee on terrorism of the UN has defined international terrorism as "any act of violence endangering or taking the innocent lives of human or jeopardizing their fundamental freedoms and affecting more than one state, such act being committed as a form of coercion to secure some specific end."

In short, international terrorism can be defined as the acts of any individual, group, organisation or a rouge state directed at a particular state or an organisation of international stature or the civilian of any state, or to attack one or more states at a time or at different intervals to induce fear into the minds of the people of the world of any act of violence containing international dimensions or consequences of it reflect on the relations of the national states. It is essentially a method that seeks to achieve political goals by spreading fear. Governments have also used terror as a tactic, but it is particularly associated with "asymmetrical conflicts" where one party is militarily much weaker than the other.

4.2.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF TERRORISM

The basic aim or objective of most of terrorist activities is to induce fear in the mind of the opposite party. It seeks to scare the human decency out of the people in order to get them perform the purpose of terrorist leaders and networks by direct action or at the least through support for or somnolent consent to the elimination of reasonable order locally and globally.

The objectives of terrorists vary with their types, but all forms of terrorists try to jolt their oppositions with violent activities. Their tactics include hijacking, blackmailing, and ruthless killing by shooting and use of bombs etc. violence is not their immediate goal, therefore they insist upon psychological rather than practical results. It is to create and emotional state of extreme fear among specific groups and thereby alter their behaviour and bring about general or particular changes in the groups, society and state.

The tactics and technologies of terrorist groups have become more sophisticated. Due to the large area of operations and use of latest technologies, it has become difficult to predict and protect the targets of international terrorist organizations' targets. The presence of surprise is always there in the terror activities. The political and economic objectives are primary in the terrorist activities. Psychological impact of violent activities is most significant.

4.2.4 TYPES OF TERRORISM

Types of the terrorism have been described as follow:

1. State Terrorism: For long time the repressive measures of the State have been described as the terrorism, giving birth to the term 'state terrorism'. It is related to the repression of the dissent or protest in their varied expressions. The earlier meaning of terrorism was related to the state terrorism.
2. **Revolutionary Terrorism**: When terror and violence is employed to make a revolution successful or to overthrow a corrupt or repressive government it is call revolutionary terrorism. Usually it is against the status quo having the support of masses.
3. **Xeno-Terrorism and Homo-Terrorism**: When terrorism is applied against a foreign country is called xeno-terrorism e.g. Afghans fighting in Kashmir. When the terrorism is applied against own countrymen it is called homo-terrorism. In homo-terrorism the support of population is very important, that cannot be lost to win the fight.
4. **Local, National and International Terrorism**: On the basis of its network and extent of activities the terrorism can be divided into local, national and international. If the targets and activities of any terrorist group are limited to a region or area it is categorized as local terrorism, e.g. terrorism in Punjab, Manipur and Chechnya etc. In contrast to this if terrorist activities are ranged to the whole country it is called national terrorism. Herein the targets of terror are nationwide but within the national boundaries. While the targets, networking and activities of terrorist groups are beyond one nation's boundaries, it is termed as the international terrorism. Today the most prominent and cause of suffering for many people of the world in various countries is international terrorism. The strike on world trade center, and bombs in London etc were activities of international terrorism.
5. **State-sponsored Terrorism**: Some times, due to hostile relation some countries are blamed to support terrorist groups of other countries. It falls in the preview of state sponsored terrorism. During Cold War period USA and former USSR blamed each other of financing terrorism. Pakistan is blamed to sponsor terrorist groups like Harkat-ul-Mujahidin and Lashkar-e-Toiba in Kashmir against India.
6. Religious Terrorism: When religion provides the basis for terrorist activities it is called religious terrorism. In present days the close analysis of international terrorism has showed the emergence of religion based terrorist

groups. This brand of terrorism regards violence as an act to divine duty and service to God. The radical Sikh fundamentalism and Hindu conservatism in India and Islamic texture of Al-Qaida' activities are example of this kind of terrorism. Most of the nations of world like Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Morocco, India, Libya, Yemen, China, Russia and many others are suffering due to this type of violence. Clubbed with international terrorism, this type of terrorism has become the global concern.

7. **Ideological Terrorism**: Terrorism can be divided into extreme left and extreme right wing on the basis of ideology. The Naxalite terrorism, which is prevent in many districts of India is ideological terrorism. Maoist violence in Nepal is also ideological terrorism based on the ideas of Mao Ze Dong.
8. **Nuclear Terrorism**: The reach of nuclear technology in the hands of terrorists has caused a new kind of threat for the world. The ever increasing proliferation of nuclear weapons and material makes the threat of their being stolen by or bestowed to the terrorists. These weapons and material is potential to create havoc in world. It can be used to humble even the strongest.
9. **Cyber Terrorism**: with the advances in technology, a new kind of terrorism has emerged on the world scene, which is termed by Barry Collin as 'cyber terrorism'. The motivated attack by terrorist groups against information, computer systems, computer programs and data that result in the suffering of any human being or state is called cyber terrorism. Here technology and violence has come together for human suffering. Whenever there is abuse of computer technology to use information as a threat, it is treated as the cyber terrorism.
10. Bio-Terrorism: Bio terrorism is when terrorists use biological or chemical agents to create terror and havoc. The biological and chemical weapons have the capability to travel unseen in the air and cause mass deaths in a matter of days. In March 1995, the Aum Shinrikyo cult in Japan attacked a Tokyo Subway with Sarin nerve gas killing 12 persons and injuring thousands. Biological weapons are defined as the infectious agents such as a bacteria or virus used intentionally to inflict harm upon others. Anthrax, Ricin, Botulism, Smallpox and Camelpox etc are some examples of biologically used warfare agents.

In addition to these above said types there may be numerous categories based on the ideology, material used, tactics and strategy etc. No single type of terrorism can be

segregated from other. Terrorism in Kashmir is having symptoms of religious terrorism, state sponsored terrorism, national terrorism and xeno as well as homo terrorism. In the same way all of the world terrorist activities can be seen with various traits of above said type as a mixture.

4.2.5 CAUSES OF TERRORISM

The causes of terrorism are as numerous as their types are. Many thinkers have tried to analyse the reasons of aggression and anger among human beings but no single theory can boast of fully look into the problem. Robert Ted Gurr has called it as the result of difference between value expectations and value capabilities. Karl Marx viewed it as the outcome of economic exploitation of have-nots by the haves. Fanon see it as the result of wrongs done by the expansionists and colonialists.

But still no theory has been able to clearly provide the concrete causes of terrorism especially international terrorism. International terrorism having very vide area of operations and variety of individuals along with their mindsets is a tedious task to be analyzed. But one can broadly categories the causes of terrorism as under:

1. Colonialism: - Some of the major terrorist outfits owe their struggle to the colonialism and expansionist activities. The brutal suppression, physical torture and dehumanizing that was unleashed during the years of colonialism has caused many outfits to rise up in arms against colonial powers. The violent freedom movements became the ultimate tactics in the absence of legitimate political participation.
2. **Fundamentalism: -** Religious fundamentalism is one of the major causes of terrorism since long. Most of the terrorist activities in the present world today are some way connected to fundamentalism. Jews fundamentalism in Palestine, Sikhs fundamentalism in Punjab, Islamic fundamentalism in Chechnya, Iraq, Jammu and Kashmir, Xinxiang all are examples of religious fundamentalism. Samual Huntington while writing about 'Clash of Civilization' has tried to explain the envious relations between Islamic and Christian world order. The recent disturbance in Iraq is also due to the fundamentalist outfit ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) which proved to be one of the major terrorist and coup activities of the world in present times.
3. **Organised Crime and Drug Trafficking: -** the nexus between terrorist and internationally organised crime and drug-trafficking is also one of the causes of growing terrorism in the world. The distinction between international terrorism and internationally managed crime has become blurred nowadays.

Many times to finance the terrorist activities terrorist outfit by themselves generate the money with the help of drugs and human trafficking. Some times drug lords finance the terrorist activities against any particular government. Supply of children as child soldiers is also one of the major businesses of the organised crime outfits. Afghanistan, Pakistan, Chechnya, Columbia, Sri Lanka and some other countries are blamed to have organised crime headquarters which also finance the terrorist activities all over the world.

4. Advances and Availability of Weapons: - easy access and availability of arms and ammunitions has also caused the rise in terrorist activities in the world over. With the advancement in the technology has made the light weapons with heavy impact available to the users. The new research in chemicals, new engineering in weaponry and remote as well as the computer detonating is largely responsible for the easy use and affordability of armsand ammunitions. Weapons like AK-47, AK-56, land mines, plastic explosives, RDX etc have helped the terrorist in terrorizing the world with much ease.

5. **Secessionism: -** the problem of nation building has been witnessed by many of the third world countries, but advanced countries are also not immune to this. Some times the dissatisfied group of citizens try to secede from the parent nation and in this process adopt the violent way of terrorism. There are hundreds of examples of this scenario. The Irish republican movement, the movement in Croatians in Yugoslavia, Québec in Canada, Tamil in Sri Lanka, Khalistan in India and Basques in Spain are its prime evidences. The identity crisis and demand for separate homeland are prime movers in this type of terrorist activity.

6. **Modern technology: -** the easy transportation, communication and other types of modern technological marvels have also resulted in the easy terrorist activities. These technological advancements have provided the easy availability of all types of material to any part of the world. The communication technology has been used by the terrorists to remain a step ahead of the security forces. Today no ordinary man can become terrorist. Persons with high education and know how of modern technology are master minds of major terrorist outfits. Take example of Osama Bin Laden who was an engineer. Computers, satellite phones, walkie talkies, cell phones are used by terrorist to plan and coordinate their activities.

7. **Abetment by states: -** under the shadow of collective security open war has become a rare scene. UN and other international agencies are working as the watchdogs in relations among countries. Due to this scrutiny some state have found a way in financing and helping terrorist outfits in enemy state rather than openly coming to war. This secret war

against the enemy state is fought with the help of xeno terrorist and by supplying money and weapons to the disgruntled groups in the enemy states. Pakistan for long has been blamed to finance terrorist first in Punjab and then in Kashmir against India. The Taliban government financed the terrorist outfits against the western world.

8. **Economic reasons: -** the rising gap between rich and poor in the developing countries is also major cause of people turning violent. Many ideological terrorist activities and outfits are alive due to the deteriorating conditions of the poor in the developing countries. Dependency theory, Marxian theory etc have proved that whenever there is gap between the rich and poor, the have-nots with resort to violence and terrorist activities. The violent activities of Naxalites in India are infused in the poor people due to their bad economic conditions.
9. **Political Reasons: -** there are many political reasons also behind the rising tide of international terrorism in the world. The fight between developing and developed world is one of the major cause of violence at global level. Developed countries have financed terrorist groups in developing countries to keep them under their control. On the other side developing countries have acted in retaliation and the attacks in developed countries are its examples. USA has waged war against terrorism world over but it is also blamed of supporting many terrorist groups world over to keep check on many nations and their progress.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. When did the term terrorism first begin to be used?

_____
_____
_____

2. What is international terrorism?

_____
_____
_____

3. How does the UN General Assembly define terrorism?

_____
_____
_____

4.2.6 IMPACT OF TERRORISM

Terrorism has affected the domestic as well as the international relations in ways. First of all, international terrorism has caused a new era of international relations. The global incidents of terror have forced international community for their quest for peace, harmony, brotherhood and coordination. After attack on World Trade Centre international community is aware of the damage that international terrorism can inflict.

Second, due to international terrorism new types of security threats have been created which are covert and sudden. Undeclared threats are aimed at cities, buses, trains, political leaders, social workers and even common people. No one is aloof of dangerous of international terrorism. With the help of modern technology and means of communication and transportation terrorists have attacked on economic and political system of global powers.

Third, the foreign policies of major powers of the world have seen a change after the realization of threat from international terrorism. In early times terrorism was used as a tool of foreign policy by many countries. Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and even some times USA were blamed to use terrorism while supporting the proxy wars in the enemy countries. Wherever direct war was considered dangerous to self interests, these states have supported dissatisfied groups in enemy countries. They have provided them safe sanctuaries, passports, arms, ammunitions, training camps, expert guidance and moral supports. After international war on terrorism these states have become bull's-eye. This has forced many countries to change their foreign policies as per the environment. The American war against terrorism is also the product of international terrorism. After the 9/11 attacks the war was waged by the USA with the helps of NATO forces to eliminate the future possible threat of terrorism. They have stroked in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Libya and in Pakistan to end the rule of terrorist and their supporters. Many other countries have provided support to this war against terrorism of USA. Moreover, the threat of international terrorism has brought some old rival state close to each other. The coalition between Russia and USA to fight international terrorism is one example of these new coalitions. After ignoring for long the activities of terrorist in Pakistan even on the repeated demands of India after 9/11 international community is concerned about the safe heavens of terrorism. Now USA and allies have stroked in Pakistan not on India's demand but due to the possibility of future 9/11. This has caused a coalition between India and USA.

Fourth, thesis of 'clash of civilizations' has also emerged as a result of international terrorism. S P Huntington has propounded this thesis in which he has talked about the struggle between the western world and eastern world. It was more Islamic world against Christian (western) world. Later event proved his thesis true. The joint strikes of USA, England, Australia, Canada and other western countries have proved that the war has been waged against the Islamic nations which were blamed to support the Islamic fundamentalism. The strikes on Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Jordon, Egypt etc were viewed as the part of larger strategy of eliminating the supporter of Islamic nationalism. The counter strike of ISIS and other outfits in response to these strikes have deteriorated the conditions.

Fifth, due to this, the world has been divided into the western world and eastern world. The Islamic states and Christian states are face to face. The older division of first world, second world and third world has lost its glow in the shadow of this new division. Many third world countries are joining hand with USA in its war on terrorism and some first world countries are remaining aloof of it. The economic division of the world has given way to the religious division.

Sixth, **s**ince the emergence of former USSR, the whole western world under the leadership of USA was fighting a proxy and cold war with it. Even after the disintegration of former USSR and birth of Russia this hostility was not done away with. But now international terrorism has attracted the attention of Western world more than the communism of Russia and its allies. Now North Korea, Cuba, Russia, China are not on the hit list of USA but those countries are which are considered the heavens for international terrorism. The coalitions are also being formed between Russia and USA to fight international terrorism. Thus the place once occupied by the communism has been taken by the terrorism.

Seventh, **t**he international terrorism and resulted war against terrorism has caused the change in the regime in Afghanistan and Iraq. After the 9/11 strike, USA forces have struck out the Taliban regime in Afghanistan under the blame of supporting terrorist (Osama Bin Laden). Iraq was attacked under the suspense of hiding the weapons of mass destruction and Osama. Both regimes were changed with the use of heavy force and newly established regimes are still vulnerable to the terrorist outfit for coup.

4.2.7 TERRORISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are relevant to terrorism as concerns both its victims and its perpetrators. The concept of human rights was first expressed in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which established "recognition of the inherent

dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family."The innocent victims of terrorism suffer an attack on their most basic right to live in peace and security. The suspected perpetrators of attacks also have rights, as members of the human family, in the course of their apprehension and prosecution. They have the right not to be subject to torture or other degrading treatment, the right to be presumed innocent until they are deemed guilty of the crime and the right to public trial. The "war on terror" focused human rights issues. The Al Qaeda attacks of September 11, the subsequent declaration of a "global war on terror," and the rapid development of more stringent counter-terrorism efforts have pitched the issue of human rights and terrorism into high relief. This is true not only in the United States, but in a number of countries who have signed on as partners in a global coalition to crack down on terrorist activity. Indeed, following 9/11 a number of countries that routinely violate the human rights of political prisoners or dissidents found tacit American sanction to expand their repressive practices. The list of such countries is long and includes China, Egypt, Pakistan and Uzbekistan. Western democracies with long records of an essential respect for human rights and institutional checks on excessive state power also took advantage of 9/11 to erode checks on state power and undermine human rights. The Bush Administration, as the author of the "global war on terror" has taken significant steps in this direction. Australia, the UK and European countries have also found advantage in restricting civil liberties for some citizens, and the European Union has been accused by human rights organizations of facilitating the rendition the illegal detention and transport of terrorist suspects to prisons in third countries, and where their torture is all but guaranteed. According to Human Rights Watch, the list of countries who found it to their benefit to use terrorism prevention to "intensify their own crackdown on political opponents, separatists and religious groups," or to "advance unnecessarily restrictive or punitive policies against refugees, asylum-seekers, and other foreigners" immediately following the 9/11 attacks includes: Australia, Belarus, China, Egypt, Eritrea, India, Israel, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Liberia, Macedonia, Malaysia, Russia, Syria, the United States, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe.

The human cost of terrorism has also been felt in virtually every corner of the globe. The United Nations has itself suffered tragic human loss as a result of violent terrorist acts. The attack on its offices in Baghdad on 19th August 2003 claimed the lives of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, and 21 other men and women, and injured over 150 others, some very seriously. Terrorism clearly has a very real and direct impact on human rights, with devastating consequences for the enjoyment of the right to life, liberty and physical integrity of victims. In addition to these individual costs, terrorism can

destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, and threaten social and economic development. All of these also have a real impact on the enjoyment of human rights. Security of the individual is a basic human right and the protection of individuals is, accordingly, a fundamental obligation of Government. States therefore have an obligation to ensure the human rights of their nationals and others by taking positive measures to protect them against the threat of terrorist acts and bringing the perpetrators of such acts to justice. In recent years, however, the measures adopted by States to counter-terrorism have themselves often posed serious challenges to human rights and the rule of law. Some States have engaged in torture and other ill-treatment to counter terrorism, while the legal and practical safeguards available to prevent torture, such as regular and independent monitoring of detention centres, have often been disregarded. Other States have returned persons suspected of engaging in terrorist activities to countries where they face a real risk of torture or other serious human rights abuse, thereby violating the international legal obligation. The independence of the judiciary has been undermined, in some places, while the use of exceptional courts to try civilians has had an impact on the effectiveness of regular court systems. Repressive measures have been used to stifle the voices of human rights defenders, journalists, minorities, indigenous groups and civil society. Resources normally allocated to social programmes and development assistance have been diverted to the security sector, affecting the economic, social and cultural rights of many. These practices, particularly when taken together, have a corrosive effect on the rule of law, good governance and human rights. They are also counterproductive to national and international efforts to combat terrorism. Respect for human rights and the rule of law must be the bedrock of the global fight against terrorism. This requires the development of national counter-terrorism strategies that seek to prevent acts of terrorism, prosecute those responsible for such criminal acts, and promote and protect human rights and the rule of law. It implies measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including the lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, and socio-economic marginalization; to foster the active participation and leadership of civil society; to condemn human rights violations, prohibit them in national law, promptly investigate and prosecute them, and prevent them; and to give due attention to the rights of victims of human rights violations, for instance through restitution and compensation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient

1. What is xeno-terrorism?

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_____
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2. Which Pakistan-based groups are considered as examples of State-sponsored terrorism?

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_____
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3. What is the "clash of civilizations" thesis?

_____
_____
_____

4.2.7.1 Impact of Terrorism on Human Rights

Terrorism aims at the very destruction of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It attacks the values that lie at the heart of the UN Charter and other international instruments: respect for human rights; the rule of law; rules governing armed conflict and the protection of civilians; tolerance among peoples and nations; and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Terrorism has a direct impact on the enjoyment of a number of human rights, in particular the rights to life, liberty and physical integrity. Terrorist acts can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, threaten social and economic development, and may especially negatively affect certain groups. All of these have a direct impact on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights. The destructive impact of terrorism on human rights and security has been recognized at the highest level of the United Nations, notably by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the former Commission on Human Rights and the new Human Rights Council. The international community has observed the following impact of terrorism on human rights:

- Threatens the dignity and security of human beings everywhere, endangers or takes innocent lives, creates an environment that destroys the freedom from fear of the people, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and aims at the destruction of human rights;

- Has an adverse effect on the establishment of the rule of law, undermines pluralistic civil society, aims at the destruction of the democratic bases of society, and destabilizes legitimately constituted Governments;
- Has links with transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering and trafficking in arms, as well as illegal transfers of nuclear, chemical and biological materials, and is linked to the consequent commission of serious crimes such as murder, extortion, kidnapping, assault, hostage-taking and robbery;
- Has adverse consequences for the economic and social development of States, jeopardizes friendly relations among States, and has a pernicious impact on relations of cooperation among States, including cooperation for development; and
- Threatens the territorial integrity and security of States, constitutes a grave violation of the purpose and principles of the United Nations, is a threat to international peace and security, and must be suppressed as an essential element for the maintenance of international peace and security.

International and regional human rights law makes clear that States have both a right and a duty to protect individuals under their jurisdiction from terrorist attacks. This stems from the general duty of States to protect individuals under their jurisdiction against interference in the enjoyment of human rights. More specifically, this duty is recognized as part of States' obligations to ensure respect for the right to life and the right to security. The right to life, which is protected under international and regional human rights treaties, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, has been described as "the supreme right". Reason being, without its effective guarantee, all other human rights are meaningless. Therefore, it is an obligation on the part of the State to protect the right to life of every person within its territory and no derogation from this right is permitted, even in times of public emergency. The protection of the right to life includes an obligation on States to take all appropriate and necessary steps to safeguard the lives of those within their jurisdiction. As part of this obligation, States must put in place effective criminal justice and law enforcement systems, such as measures to deter the commission of offences and investigate violations where they occur; ensure that those suspected of criminal acts are prosecuted; provide victims with effective remedies; and take other necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of violations. In addition, international and regional human rights law has recognized that, in specific circumstances, States have a positive obligation to take preventive operational measures to protect an individual or individuals whose life is known or suspected to be at risk from the criminal acts of another individual, which certainly includes terrorists. Also important to highlight is the obligation on States to ensure the personal security of individuals under their jurisdiction where a threat is known or suspected to exist. This, of course, includes terrorist threats. In order to fulfil their obligations under human rights law to protect the life and security of individuals under their jurisdiction, States have a right and a duty to take effective counter-terrorism measures, to prevent and deter future terrorist attacks and to prosecute those that are responsible for carrying out such acts. At the same time, the countering of terrorism poses grave challenges to the protection and promotion of human rights.

Therefore as part of States' duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction, all measures taken to combat terrorism must themselves also comply with States' obligations under international law, in particular international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law.

4.2.7.2 Counter-Terrorism Strategies and Protection of Human Rights

Since terrorism has a serious impact on a range of fundamental human rights, States have not only a right but a duty to take effective counter-terrorism measures. Effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights are complementary and mutually reinforcing objectives which must be pursued together as part of States' duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction. Terrorism was first addressed at the international level in 1937, when the League of Nations prepared the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism. Since then, the international community has engaged in resolute and swift action in taking measures to condemn terrorism, especially after the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001. The UN has adopted thirteen resolutions since the 1960s relating to terrorism, eleven of which emerged prior to the September 11, 2001 attacks. With the passage of General Assembly resolution 60/288 in 2006, member States agreed to cooperate in the global effort to eradicate terrorism, while ensuring that measures taken comply with the rule of law and human rights. The Security Council has also committed to this sentiment as demonstrated in resolutions 1373 (2001), 1456 (2003), 1566 (2004), and 1624 (2005). After the terrorist attacks of 11 September, 2001, the UN Security Council acted swiftly to strengthen the legal framework for international cooperation and common approaches to the threat of terrorism in such areas as preventing its financing, reducing the risk that terrorists might acquire weapons of mass destruction and improving cross-border information-sharing by law enforcement authorities. The UN Security Council also established a monitoring body – the Counter-Terrorism Committee – to supervise the implementation of these measures.

Since the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), proliferation of security and counter-terrorism legislation and policy has occurred throughout the world. Most countries, when meeting their obligations to counter terrorism by rushing through legislative and practical measures, have created negative consequences for civil liberties and fundamental human rights.

Besides this, regional approaches have also been developed in the context of the African Union, the Council of Europe, the European Union, the League of Arab States, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Organization of American States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and other organizations.

4.2.8 LET US SUM UP

Through the adoption of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly in its resolution 60/288, the international community has committed to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism. International Community has also resolved to take measures aimed at addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, and ensure that any measures taken to counter terrorism comply with their obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law. The World Summit Outcome, adopted by the General Assembly in 2005, also considered the question of respect for human rights while countering terrorism and concluded that international cooperation to fight terrorism must be conducted in conformity with international law, including the UN Charter and relevant international conventions and protocols. The General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights have emphasized that States must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international human rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, including measures to address terrorism as a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council has undertaken a number of counter-terrorism actions, notably in the form of sanctions against States considered to have links to certain acts of terrorism primarily in the 1990s and later against the Taliban and Al-Qaida, as well as the establishment of committees to monitor the implementation of these sanctions. In 2001, it adopted resolution 1373 (2001), which obliges Member States to take a number of measures to prevent terrorist activities and to criminalize various forms of terrorist actions, and calls on them to take measures that assist and promote cooperation among countries including signing up to international counter-terrorism instruments. Member States are required to report regularly to the Counter-Terrorism Committee on their progress.

In nutshell it can be argued that international terrorism promotes human rights' abuses at global level. The promotion and protection of human rights is an obligation of states and an integral part of the fight against terrorism. Counter-terrorism strategies of the states are required to prevent acts of terrorism, prosecute those responsible for such criminal acts, and promote and protect human rights and the rule of law. At the outset, it is important to highlight that the vast majority of counter-terrorism measures are adopted on the basis of ordinary legislation. In a limited set of exceptional national circumstances, some restrictions on the enjoyment of certain human rights may be permissible. States can effectively meet their obligations under international law by using the flexibilities built into the international human rights law framework.

4.2.9 EXERCISE

1. Explore the concept and nature of terrorism.
2. Discuss the different types of terrorism by citing relevant examples of each.
3. Critically examine the different causes of terrorism.
4. Analyse the implication of terrorism on international politics.
5. Analyse the impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism on Human Rights.

4.2.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

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4.3 WTO AND NORTH-SOUTH DYNAMICS

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- What is meant by North-South gap
- The reasons for North-South gap
- The demand for New International Economic Order to reduce north-south gap
- Other strategies advocated to reduce North-South gap

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

At the equator, the Earth is divided into two hemispheres – North and South which is an artificial line of demarcation and is meaningless except for use by cartographers to chart distance and location on maps. However, this divide also represents a popular way of describing the inequalities that separate rich and poor states at global level. These two groups are, by and large, located on either side of

the equator. This North-South divide generally refers to an economic and political divide of the globe. Life pattern of the people of the North Hemisphere is quite different from the people of the South Hemisphere. The disparity is deep and in many places appears to be growing. The division in power and wealth characterize the North.

4.3.2 THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP

The dominance in power and wealth characterize the North. The North includes rich and industrialized countries of the world located primarily in the Northern Hemisphere including the North America, Europe and developed parts of East Asia. In other words, the North is home to four of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and mostly covers the West and the First World, along with much of the Second World. Economically and politically, the North dominates the international relations. The South designates the less developed countries located primarily in the Southern Hemisphere, made up of Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia including the Middle East.

The South poses both moral and security problems. While poverty and inequality have existed throughout recorded history, today the levels have reached extremes. The poor countries find themselves marginalized, in a subordinate position in the global hierarchy. In the North, 95 percent population has enough food and shelter. As compared to in the South, only 5 percent population has enough foodand shelter. The South also lacks adequate and appropriate technology. It suffers from political instability. The economies of the South are disarticulated. Its foreign exchange earnings depend on primary product exports. From the economic perspective, a big gap exists between the North and the South. Only 30 percent population of the world lives in the developed countries and has the control over the 70 percent of the economic wealth of the world. Opposite to this, the South has control over 30 percent of the economic wealth of the world whereas 70 percent of the world's population lives in these countries. The South serves as a source for raw material for the North.

Countries those become economically developed, also become part of the North, regardless of geographical location. However any other nations which do not qualify for developed status are considered as a part of the South. According to Collier and Ferguson, the South also described as a "zone of turmoil" and an "axis of upheaval" in contrast to the peaceful and democratic North, most of the people in the Global South face chronic poverty amidst war, tyranny, and anarchy. In the poorest countries of the Global South where pre-existing conditions of dictatorships

and dismal financial prospects persist, the odds increase that these countries will experience civil wars and armed conflicts with each other. Indeed, more than 90 percent of the inter-state and intra-state conflicts and 90 percent of the casualties in the past 60 years occurred within the South. Democracy has spread rapidly and widely since the 1980s, becoming the preferred mode of governance throughout much of the South as a means of promoting both economic development and peace. Paul Collier points out many South countries lack well-developed domestic market economies based on entrepreneurship and private enterprise.

At least 84 percent of the world's population is poor is both a reflection and cause of these unequally distributed resources. The World Bank differentiates the low-income and low and middle-income, economies in developing countries, whose gross national income (GNI) is an average of 13,141 billion US dollars for each state, from the "high-income" developed countries, which average 39,686 billion US dollar for each state. Among the developed countries, wide variations in economic performance including the growth and inflation rates, debt burdens, and export prices, and international circumstances such as the availability of oil and other fuels are evident. More than 1,296 million people which comprised at least 20 percent of humanity live in the 49 Least Developed of the Less Developed Countries (LLDCs), where barter of one agricultural good for another rather than money typically is used for economic exchanges. These countries are the very poorest, with little economic growth and rapid population growth. These countries are not emerging or re-emerging to break the chains of their destitution. They are falling behind the other South countries.

A daunting scale of misery and marginalization is thus evident across the South, from which only a fraction of its countries have begun to escape. For most South countries, the future is bleak, and the opportunities and choices most basic to freedom from fear and poverty are unavailable. The aggregate pattern of international relations shows that more than 60 countries today are worse off than they were and are falling ever further behind the levels achieved by the countries in the North. Nearly all the population growth is occurring in the South. The poorest countries are cut off from circulation in the globalized marketplace. The developing countries of the South countries have been unable to evolve an indigenous technology appropriate to their own resources. In fact, they have been dependent on powerful multinational corporations (MNCs) of the Northto transfer technical know-how. Research and development expenditures are directed toward solutions of the North's problems, with technological advances seldom meeting the needs of the South. Hence in the information age, technology has not been distributed equally

geographically. The lowest density of computer connections to the Internet is in the South.

4.3.3 HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP

The roots of inequalities between North and South are the result of historical pattern and colonialism. It has been observed that prevailing worldwide conditions are part of a much longer historical pattern. The rules that govern the international politics today were constructed in the treaty of Peace of Westphaliain 1648 after the Europe's Thirty Years' War. These rules were formulated by the great powers at the time to serve their parochial self-interests in preserving their predominant positions at the top of the global pyramid of power by preventing less-powerful states from joining them. According to Kegley, Jr. and Blanton the origins and persistence of the inequalities of states stem in part from the fact that today's modern global system was initially, and remains, a socially constructed reality by, of, and for the most powerful states. The powerful did not design a global system for equals. The great powers followed the prescription of realist thought to always seek self-advantage. They did not build the global system with an eye to preventing the victimization of the weak and the disadvantaged. Moreover, the industrial revolution in Europe encouraged the colonization. The European countries conquered Asia, Africa and Latin America and the seized their territory for exclusively European gain. All of the independent sovereign states in the Southern Hemisphere were at one time colonies. Hence, inequality between the North and South is a product of this past colonization. Although colonialism has disappeared, yet its effects persist. Economic disparity between the rich North and the poor South is attributed in part to unequal and exploitative relations during the colonial period. Even today the South worries that in the future; even newer forms of great power imperialism might continue to destroy any South hopes for progress. The leadership of the South countries have found that freedom form the colonialism had not translated into autonomy, economic independence and domestic prosperity. This had ultimately led to the conflict between the rich North and the poor South.

4.3.4 NORTH-SOUTH DEBATE AND DEMAND FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The South also argues that western industrialized and developed countries organized the monetary and multilateral trading systems in a way that could serve their interests only. According to the developing countries, the existing international economic structure is against their interests and this is one of the factors responsible for their backwardness. Thus the end of colonialism had

brought more covert, cleaver and dangerous technique of exploitation of the developing countries of the South at the hand of developed countries of the North. For the economic independence and development, developing countries have demanded for a fair, just and equitable international economic structure in the form of New International Economic Order(NIEO). The developing countries of the South find following four defects in their relationship with the North:

1. The division of the world into exporters of the primary products and exporters of the manufactures;
2. Adverse terms of trade for the products of the developing countries;
3. Dependence of the developing countries on the developed for finance and;
4. Dependence of the developing countries on the developed for their engine of growth.

Thus due to the defective relationship of developed and developing countries the North-South debate emerged. The North-South debate refers to the process through which the developing and newly independent nations of the third world, predominantly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, engaged the industrialized countries of North America and Western Europe in negotiations over changes to the international economic system during the 1970s.

The developing countries have benefitted from global economic integration. Despite all this, the developing countries of the South have been born into a political economic order with rules they had no voice in creating. In order to gain control over their economic futures, they began coordinating their efforts within the United Nations, where their growing numbers and voting power gave them greater influence than they could otherwise command. After the Second World War, numerous Latin American countries became increasingly frustrated with US trade and tariff policies. At the same time, nationalist movements in Asia and Africa helped lead to widespread decolonization. The UN membership had increased from 51 countries in 1945 to 100 in 1960 and 150 by 1979. The sudden influx of new countries changed the balance of power in the General Assembly in favor of the South. In the 1960s, developing countries also formed a coalition ofthe world's poor, the Group of 77(G-77) and used their voting power to convene the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964. The UNCTAD created a forum through which the third world countries could propose economic policies, engaging the rich and industrially developed countries of the North. The UNCTAD later became a permanent UN organization through which the Global South would express its interests concerning development issues. A decade later, the G-77 having more than 120 member-countries again used its UN numerical majority to

push for a New International Economic Order (NIEO)to replace the international economic regime championed by the United States and the other capitalist powers since Second World War. Motivated by the oil-exporting countries' rising bargaining power, the Global South sought to compel the North to abandon practices perceived as perpetuating their dependence.

The term "North-South Dialogue" was used to distinguish this dynamic from the East-West conflict of the Cold War, and to stress the point that development issues were just as pressing as the ideological conflict between communists and capitalists. Several factors increased the willingness of the industrialized nations to negotiate with the South. One was the rising power of oil-producing countries in the Arab world, and another was the US loss in the war in Vietnam, that demonstrated to both the world and the industrialized North that not even wealth and power were enough to guarantee military victory. Both of these issues drew Western attention toward the global balance of economic power.

The dialogue began in a period of relaxed East-West tensions, which meant that the industrialized world could give more attention to issues like development. The Newly Industrializing Economies, meanwhile, believed the entrenched international economic system benefited developed countries at the expense of the developing world. They hoped to facilitate a reorganization of the international economic system to rectify this imbalance. The North-South Dialogue addressed issues pertaining to trade and tariffs, international finance, foreign aid, and the governance of multinational companies and institutions. During the era of détente in the 1970s, when East-West tensions were more relaxed, there was a willingness among industrialized nations to cooperate. Even as détente began to falter in themid-1970s, the parties to the North-South Dialogue continued their discussions. In May 1974, the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly was held in which Third World countries secured the passage of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. The resolution essentially calls for:

1. Expanding and diversifying trade, improving productivity and increasing export earnings of the developing countries;
2. Securing stable, remunerative and equitable prices for exported raw materials, and protecting their purchasing power;
3. Reducing or removing tariff and non-tariff barriers affecting the less-developed countries' exports;
4. Increasing the volume and improving the terms of development assistance;

5. Achieving the official development assistance target of 0.7 percent of donor countries' GNP by the end of this decade;
6. Increasing the LDCs' access on favourable terms to world capital markets;
7. Relieving debt burdens of the most seriously affected countries;
8. Giving the Third World a greater voice in the management of international financial institutions and larger access to their resources;
9. Increasing international control and surveillance over the creation and equitable distribution of world liquidity; and
10. Facilitating the process of industrialization in the developing world.

Developed countries of the North rebuffed many of the South's proposals. Nevertheless, in later 1974 General Assembly again reflecting the rolling majority commanded by the developing nations adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States. Prior to this, in its 25th session, UN General Assembly had declared period between 1st January 1971 and 31st December 1981 as the Second United Nations Development Decade and adopted an International Development Strategy for this decade. Despite the rejection of the majority of the proposals of the Global South by the Global North, some of the issues that were raised such as debt relief remain on the global agenda. For example in 2003 during the meeting of the World Trade Organization in Cancun, Mexico, the poor countries united to demand major concessions from the wealthy countries, especially with regard to foreign subsidies. In 2008 another step was taken when "Banco del Sur" (Bank of the South) was launched by founding members Brazil and Argentina to compete directly with the World Bank and thereby fund big infrastructure projects through the region's new oil wealth to go around the North interference.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Define the terms "Global North" and "Global South".

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2. What percentage of world's population lives in the Global South?

_____
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_____

3. In what geopolitical context did the term “North-South Dialogue” originate?

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4.3.5 STRATEGIES TO ERADICATE THE NORTH-SOUTH GAP

With the failure of reform envisioned by the NIEO, the integration of Global South countries into the globalization process may occur according to the rules dictated by the Global North. Hence, South states are looking to take advantage of growing economic interdependence to achieve their development goals through the regional arrangements. They are looking the regional economic arrangements as an approach to close the gap between the North-South. To promote growth through regional economic agreements, in the 1990s the global economy began to subdivide. It created three trade blocs – one in Europe, with the European Union (EU) as its hub; a second in the Americas, with the United States at the centre; and a third in the East, with Japan and China dominant. In recent developments, in the Americas, the Central America-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR) aims to emulate NAFTA and create a free-trade zone that includes the United States, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Intent on liberalizing US and Central American markets, the agreement is the first major sub-regional agreement between very unequal trading partners – the combined GDP of Central America is equal to 1 percent of the US GDP. The Mercosur, commonly referred to as the Common Market of the South, is the largest trading bloc in South America which includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela, with Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile holding associate membership status. In Asia, the association of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), an informal forum created in 1989. This has committed itself to creating a free-trade zone during the next twenty-five years. In addition, the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), first established in 1967 by Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand and now including Vietnam, agreed to set up a free-trade area. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is the largest of twelve regional free-trade areas in the region.

Foreign assistance is also considered as one of the strategies for closing the gap between the South and the North is through the distribution of foreign assistance. It is therefore the Chinese President Hu Jintao in February 2009 had urging the wealthy countries to help the poorest. He had declared that developed countries

should assume their responsibilities and obligations, continue to deliver their aid, keep their debt relief commitments, maintain and increase assistance to developing countries and effectively help them maintain financial stability and economic growth. Some foreign aid includes outright grants of money, some include loans at concessional rates, and some also include shared technical expertise. Although most foreign aid is bilateral and hence money flows directly from one country to another, yet an increasing portion is now channelled through global intergovernmental institutions such as the World Bank which termed as multilateral aid. Commonly stated foreign aid goals include not only the reduction of poverty through economic development but also human development, environmental protection, reduced military spending, enhanced economic management, the development of private enterprise, increased power for women, the promotion of democratic governance and human rights, and humanitarian disaster relief and assistance to refugees. However, security objectives have figured prominently as motives of donors' allocations of both economic aid and military assistance. For example, the United States continues to target Israel and Egypt as major recipients to symbolize friendship, maintain a balance of power, and tilt the scales toward peace in the Middle East. Security was also the primary motive behind the doubling of the US foreign assistance budget after the September 11 to provide funds for allies' use in the global war on terrorism. In the last fifteen years, foreign aid form the rich countries of the North to the poor South has increased. In 2008, North donors gave 119.8 billion US dollars to poor countries of the South.

Many aid donors have become frustrated with the slow growth rates of many of the Global South recipients and have grown impatient and doubtful of the effectiveness of their aid programs, despite strong evidence that foreign aid has made a positive difference. Donors are especially resentful that the countries seeking aid do not value the core Western values of hard work, economic competition, and entrepreneurial creativity believed to be crucial for progress and prosperity. Hence, the donors have grown increasingly insistent on conditionality, or demands that aid recipients must meet to receive assistance. Donors also persist in their habit of making development assistance tied to the donors for their benefit, such as requiring purchases from the donors, even though the World Bank estimates this practice reduces the value of aid by 15 to 30 percent, decreases its efficiency, and violates the same free-market principles that the Global North promotes.

On the other hand, South countries complain that the Global North donors have been promising for the past forty years to allocate 0.7 percent of their gross national product (GNP) to foreign aid, but only a few have kept the promise or even

come close. This is true despite the evidence that more assistance does indeed contribute to development when it is designed properly and is delivered in a sustained way to countries with records of improving democratic governance. Recently, however, many Global South leaders have joined Global North critics of foreign aid, interpreting it as an instrument of neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism and resenting the conditionality criteria for receiving aid imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other multilateral institutions.

The developing countries have long pleaded for trade, not aid to improve their global position. This request for greater trade through reduced barriers has met with success. Number of free-trade agreements between Global South and Global North countries increased to 186, from only 23 in 1990. Indeed, many countries of the Global South have benefited from a virtuous cycle, wherein trade leads to improved domestic conditions that in turn facilitate trade. In an effort to shore up the global economy and assist the Global South during the economic downturn, at the G-20 summit meeting in London in 2009, global leaders promised 1.1 trillion US dollars in additional loans and guarantees to bail out troubled countries and finance trade. Nonetheless, a North-South divide persists as the North-South gap has not narrowed in the globalization era.

Majority of the South countries have not been able to improve their basic infrastructure. Market access remains difficult because domestic pressure groups in these low-growth Global South countries have lobbied their governments to reduce the imports of other countries' products that compete with their own industries. Moreover, political barriers are also a hindrance for the free trade. The primary danger with this strategy is the potential for foreign investments to lead to foreign control and the erosion of sovereign governments' capacities to regulate the economy within their borders. An additional danger is the probability that the multinational foreign investors will not invest their profits locally but channel them abroad for new investments or disburse them as dividends for their wealthy Global North shareholders.

However, despite the risks, many developing countries have relaxed restrictions in order to attract foreign investors. They have given less emphasis on liberalizing investment restrictions and encouraging open domestic economic competition than on offering tax and cash enticements and opportunities for joint ventures. This has enhanced the flow of capital investments to the Global South. The impact of this new infusion of foreign investments in the developing countries has been substantial due to the relatively small economies of the Global South. It has paved

the way for emerging markets to expand their rates of economic development. The developing countries are intensifying their competition for foreign investment capital in order to liberate themselves from dependence and destitution. Foreign direct investment is the leading cause of the shift from farm work to service jobs in Global South. The urban areas of the Global South are lifting millions of people out of poverty while at the same time out sourcing skilled jobs from the Global North.

The prospects for foreign aid, trade and foreign direct investments to the future development of, and relief of poverty in, the Global South depends on its debt management. The World Bank estimates that Global South debt in 2007 exceeded 3,465 billion US dollars. Moreover, the debt-service payments of these countries were equivalent to over 25 percent of their gross national income. This is unsustainable and threatens their economic health and future growth. In an effort to provide debt relief within a framework of poverty reduction, the joint IMF-World Bank Initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) coordinated efforts through multilateral organizations and governments to reduce the severe external debt of HIPCs to a level that they could sustain. To provide even further debt relief, a group of developed countries of Global North proposed the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) in 2005. Under this program, four multilateral lending institutions – the International Development Association (IDA), International Monetary Fund (IMF), African Development Fund, and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) – provide 100 percent debt relief on eligible debts owed to them by HIPCs once those countries have completed key structural reforms as required by the HIPC Initiative process and have already received the initial HIPC Initiative assistance. This was partly done out of compassion. However, partially, this was a result of the economic self-interest of the Global North, which sees in debt relief a pragmatic method for preventing an economic collapse that could threaten the entire world economy in the age of interdependent globalization. Yet these reforms may not be as successful as their advocates claim. On the one hand, China and Singapore have enjoyed rapid economic growth without undertaking significant political liberalization. On the other hand, many Global South countries that have implemented economic liberalizing reforms have not experienced growth. Some have even experienced increased hardship, civil conflict, and human rights **repression.**

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Why and when was the G-77 formed?

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2. Which period is referred to by the UN General Assembly as the Second United Nations Development Decade?

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3. List some of the regional economic agreements and/or forums that have promote free trade.

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4.3.6 LET US SUM UP

In nutshell, it can be argued that passing through certain peculiar historical conditions Global South has emerged as a global actor in the international affairs. After the colonial exploitation a considerable change occurred in the Global South. After the Second World War decolonization took place and the relationships between the Global North and Global South also continued to change. As the Global South emerged as a significant political force it formed various platforms such as G-77 and demanded for a New International Economic Order leading to the North-South debate. In the era of globalization, development of the Global South is certain to depend on the activities of the Global North. The North-South cooperation can contribute to find the solutions to common problems ranging from commercial to environmental and security concerns. Relationship of the Global South and the Global North is remaining dominated by the great powers through the powerful international organizations, such as the United Nations, IMF and the World Bank. However, the increasing global interdependence provides an opportunity for the Global South to exert influence on world politics.

4.3.7 EXERCISE

1. What historical factors resulted in the widening of the North-South Gap.
2. What strategies are being pursued by the countries of the Global South for closing the North-South Gap.
3. Examine the political and economic context of the demand of the developing nations for the New International Economic Order (NIEO).
4. What reforms were proposed by the NIEO and why did they fail?
5. What strategies have been pursued by the countries of the Global South for the eradication of poverty?

4.3.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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4.4 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND THE GLOBAL COMMONS

- Suneel Kumar

STRUCTURE

4.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- What is meant by Global Warming
- How environmental issues are played out in contemporary international relations
- How environmental degradation is affecting global commons

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Environment is changing constantly at global. Our planet is poised at the brink of a severe environmental crisis. Current environmental problems make the mankind vulnerable to disasters and tragedies at present and in future. Mankind is in a state of planetary emergency, with environmental problems piling up high around us. Environmental issues are harmful aspects of human activity on the biophysical environment. Major current environmental issues include global warming, climate change, pollution, environmental degradation, Ozone depletion, loss of biodiversity,

resource depletion, deforestation and desertification. The conservation movement is emphasizing on the protection of endangered species and other ecologically valuable natural areas. Environmental issues are addressed at a regional, national or international level by government organizations.

4.4.2 GLOBAL WARMING

Since the late eighteenth century when the invention of power-driven machinery produced the Industrial Revolution, is caused by an increase in human-made gases leading to gradual rise in Earth's temperature resulting into global warming. The gas molecules, primarily carbon dioxide (CO2) and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), form the equivalent of a greenhouse roof by trapping heat remitted from Earth that would otherwise escape into outer space. Since 1950, the emissions of carbon dioxide from the burning of fossil fuels have climbed steadily and risen fourfold. Additionally, deforestation has contributed to global warming, as it accounts for 17 to 25 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions second only after energy use. As these gases are released into the atmosphere, they have created a greenhouse effect which has caused global temperatures to rise. The average global temperature on the Earth's surface since the late 1800s has increased between 0.4 and 0.8 degree Celsius. According to environment scientists there is a possibility of the enhancement of the average additional global temperature between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees Celsius by 2100. This reflects that the trend of global warming is accelerating. The globe's temperature has been projected to further increase dramatically by 2100 if rapid preventive measures are not taken by the global community. Although CO2 is the principal greenhouse gas, concentrations of methane in the atmosphere are growing more rapidly. Methane gas emissions arise from livestock populations, rice cultivation, and the production and transportation of natural gas. Interestingly, the largest concentrations of methane are not in the atmosphere. These are locked in ice, permafrost and coastal marine sediments. This enhances the possibility that warming will cause more methane to be released into the atmosphere, which would then increase global temperatures because of methane's strong warming potential. The human-induced greenhouse gases are at work. The temperature changes relate with level of carbon dioxide. The UN team of hundreds of atmospheric scientists from around the world known as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) first conclusively stated in 1995 its belief that global climate trends are unlikely to be entirely due to natural causes, that humans are to blame for at least part of the problem, and that the consequences are likely to be very harmful and costly in the form of natural

disasters, the melting of glaciers and the expansion of water resulting into massive floods, hurricanes and deadly storms and submerges of the areas of low-lying coastal lands especially in Asia and the US Atlantic coast.

4.4.2.1 Depletion of Ozone Layer

Depletion of Ozone layer is a serious environmental concern. Ozone is a pollutant in the lower atmosphere, but in the upper atmosphere. This provides the Earth with a critical layer of protection against the sun's harmful ultraviolet radiation. A marked depletion of the ozone layer has been discovered by the scientists in the form of an "ozone hole" over Antarctica that has grown larger than the continental United States. Scientists have conclusively linked the thinning of the layer to CFCs – a related family of compounds known as halons, hydro-chlorofluorocarbons (HCFCs), methyl bromide, and other chemicals. Depletion of the ozone layer exposes humans to health hazards of various sorts, particularly skin cancer, and threatens other forms of marine and terrestrial life. Scientists link halons and CFCs to ozone depletion since the early 1970s.

4.4.2.2 Loss of Biodiversity

Global biodiversity is also facing threat due to the environmental degradation. Global biodiversity refers to the Earth's variety of life. This encompasses three basic levels of organization in living systems: genetic diversity, species diversity and ecosystem diversity. Until recently, global attention was focused almost exclusively on preserving species diversity, including old forests, tall grass prairies, wetlands, coastal habitats, and coral reefs. Forests especially tropical forests are important to preserving biodiversity. Reason being, they are home to countless species of animals and plants. According to scientists the global habitat contains between eight and ten million species. Of these, only about 1.5 million have been named and most of them are in the temperate regions of North America, Europe, Russia, and Australia. Destruction of tropical forests, where two-thirds to three-fourths of all species are believed to live, threatens the destruction of much of the world's undiscovered biological diversity and genetic heritage. The globe is relentlessly heading toward major species extinction. Out of the 242,000 plant species which were surveyed by the World Conservation Union, 33,000are threatened with extinction as a result of clearing land for housing, roads, and industries. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change predicts that global warming increases the risk of extinction for almost 70 percent of species with Arctic animals such as the polar bear most likely to die out first.

Since much of the Earth's biological heritage is concentrated in the tropics, the Global South also has a growing concern about protecting its interests in the face of MNCs' efforts to reap profits from the sale of biologically based products. MNCs in the Global North are merchandizing the products derived from plant and animal genes that are the genetic bases for sustained life. Pharmaceutical companies in particular have laid claim to Global South resources. They actively explore plants, microbes, and other living organisms in tropical forests for possible use in prescription drugs. Global South argues that the genetic character of the many species of plants and animals is a part of the global commons and therefore available for commercial use by all for their medical benefit. Biogenetic engineering threatens to escalate the loss of global diversity. Biological resources including animal and plant species are distributed unevenly in the world. According to the UN, about fifty thousand plant and animal species become extinct each year as the global community wrestles with the ethics of biodiversity preservation and management policies.

4.4.2.3 Deforestation, Desertification and Shortage of Water

Since the 1980s, a dominating trend of deforestation has been noticed at global level. According to the World Resources Institute, over the last eight thousand years half of the forests once covering the Earth have been converted for ranching, farmland, pastures, and other uses. Three-fourths of the world's forests are located in the Global South. Deforestation is occurring most rapidly in the remaining tropical moist forests of the Amazon, West Africa, and parts of Southeast Asia. Destruction of tropical rain forests in such places as Brazil, Indonesia, and Malaysia is a matter of special concern because much of the world's genetic heritage is found in these areas. High population growth rates, industrialization and urbanization have increased pressure to farm forests and marginal land poorly suited to cultivation. This has led to deforestation and desertification. The world is also running out of fresh water. There's water everywhere, of course, but less than three percent of it is fresh, and most of that is locked up in polar ice caps and glaciers, unrecoverable for practical purposes. Lakes, rivers, marshes, aquifers, and atmospheric vapour make up less than one percent of the Earth's total water, and people are already using more than half of the accessible runoff. Water demand and water use in many areas already exceed nature's ability to recharge supplies and demand seems destined to exceed supplies since ground water overdraft and aquifer depletion are expected to increase 18 percent between 1995 and 2025. According to James Canton, by 2025 two out of every three people on the planet will live in a water-stressed area. According to the UN World Water Assessment Programme as the global warming is speeding up the hydrological cycle, mankind is leading towards a global water crisis.

The soil degradation has stripped billions of acres of the Earth's surface from productive farming. Soil erosion and pollution are problems both in densely populated developing countries and in the more highly developed regions of mechanized industrial agriculture. Global demand for food is projected to double in the next fifty years as urbanization proceeds and income rises. But arable land per capita is shrinking. The threat will surely increase because land degradation is increasing and deforestation continues at about eight thousand square kilometres a year. Indeed, land degradation has reduced agricultural productivity since 1980 by as much as 8.9 percent. In the Global North, reforestation has alleviated some of the danger. This is not the case, however, in many cash-starved Global South countries where the reasons for rapid destruction vary. South American forests, most notably the Amazon, are generally burned for industrial-scale soybean farming or cattle grazing. In Southeast Asia, forests are burned or cut for large-scale planting of palm to obtain the oil that is used in a wide array of products, including cosmetics and food processing. In Africa, individuals hack out small plots for farming. Deforestation is being spurred by the global demand for bio-fuels. Worldwide investment in bio fuels rose from $5 billion in 1995 to $38 billion in 2005 and is expected to top $100 billion by 2010. In Brazil, deforestation roughly doubled in 2008 alone due in part to the dramatic expansion in agriculture aimed at producing farm-grown fuels. While bio fuels such as ethanol are often touted as being eco-friendly, critics point out that ethanol destroys forests, contributes to global warming and inflates food prices. Brazil now ranks fourth in the world in carbon emissions, and most of its emissions come from deforestation.

4.4.3 ENVIRONMENT AND INTER]NATIONAL POLITICS

The global attention to the environmental problems commenced during the Cold War era particularly after 1972. In 1972, first international environmental conference, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which also known as the Stockholm Conference was held and attracted 114 participant countries including China. For policymakers and diplomatic representatives to the United Nations, stressed on the establishment of global administrative entities capable of nurturing environmental solutions into full-fledged environmental regimes. Thus as a result of the Stockholm Conference, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) was created. This is the largest international agency to address the environmental issues. There is an International Union for Conservation of Nature. Before 1972 in the area of international environmental treaties, there were less than thirty-six multilateral environmental treaties. Between the 1972 Stockholm Conference and 1992 United Nations Conference on

Environment and Development, several hundred bilateral and multilateral environmental treaties were signed.

States gradually began reflecting the concern, long voiced by environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), that environmental issues deserve as much attention as do traditional military related security concerns. The International Union for Conservation of Nature brings together 83 states, 108 government agencies, 766 Non-governmental organizations and 81 international organizations and about 10,000 experts and scientists from countries around the world. At present numerous international non-governmental organizations such as the Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and World Wide Fund for Nature are spreading awareness regarding the environmental issues. Governments formulate environmental policy and enforce environmental law. This is done to differing degrees around the world. Sustainability is the key to prevent or reduce the effect of environmental issues. There is now clear scientific evidence that humanity is living unsustainably, and that an unprecedented collective effort is needed to return human use of natural resources to within sustainable limits. For humans to live sustainably, the Earth's resources must be used at a rate at which they can be replenished. Concerns for the environment have prompted the formation of Green parties, political parties that seek to address environmental issues. Initially these were formed in Australia, New Zealand and Germany but are now present in many other countries.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What did the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) opine on climate change in 1995?

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2. What is the "ozone hole"?

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3. When was the Stockholm Conference held and how many countries participated in it?

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4.4.4 ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, GLOBAL COMMONS AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The 'global commons' are those parts of the planet that fall outside the national jurisdictions and to which all the nations have access. The UN report of the Commission on Global Governance lists the following as commons: The atmosphere, Outer space, the oceans beyond national jurisdiction and the related environment and life-support systems that contribute to the support of human life. International law identifies the High Seas, the Atmosphere, the Antarctica and the Outer Space as the four global commons. The global commons are considered as the common heritage of mankind. Resources of interest and value to the welfare of the global community such as tropical rain forests and biodiversity have lately been included among the traditional set of global commons as well. Despite efforts by governments or individuals to establish property rights and other forms of control over most natural resources, the Global Commons have remained an exception. The World Conference on Global Commons was held in 1999 in Japan. In its Tokyo Declaration on Global Commons, the global community sought new directions for proper management of the Global Commons from the perspective of sustainable development.

4.4.4.1 The Oceans (The High Seas)

The oceans that comprise the bulk of the hydrosphere is a classic global commons. The oceanic waters are interspersed by many smaller seas, gulfs, and bays. Most of the freshwater bodies ultimately empty into the ocean and are derived through the Earth's water cycle from ocean waters. The Law of Sea is a body of public international law governing relationships between nations in related to navigational rights, mineral rights and jurisdiction over coastal waters. Apart from being a significant means of transportation, a large proportion of all life on the Earth exists in its ocean, which contains about 300 times the habitable volume of terrestrial habitats. Specific marine habitats include coral reefs, kelp forests, sea grass meadows, tide pools, muddy, sandy and rocky bottoms. At a fundamental level, marine life helps determine the very nature of our planet. Marine life resources provide food especially food fish, medicines, and raw materials. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has identified several areas of need in managing the global ocean: strengthen national capacities for action, especially in developing countries; improve fisheries management; reinforce cooperation in semi-enclosed and regional seas; strengthen controls over ocean disposal of hazardous and nuclear wastes; and advance the Law of the Sea. Specific problems identified as in need of attention include rising sea levels; contamination by hazardous chemicals including oil spills; microbiological contamination; ocean acidification; harmful algal blooms; and over-fishing and other over exploitation. Although, there is a international legal framework to govern high seas which include the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) of 1982 and instruments governed by the International Maritime Organization and UNEP's Regional Seas Conventions to govern the high seas. However, no single international treaty or body addresses pollution and overfishing. In the high seas, bio-prospecting is not regulated by the UNCLOS, and other activities such as deep-sea fishing, mining and research, hydrocarbon exploration and extraction, carbon sequestration and storage, and ocean fertilization are expected to increase as well. A confusing patchwork of sea basin cooperation groupings, regional fisheries management organizations and pollution monitoring agreements is in place. The integrated marine policy of the EU recognizes the need to improve governance of the seas while avoiding treaty congestion. While no unifying treaty or body to manage maritime issues is likely to appear that may lead to greater coherence and cooperation in managing environmental threats.

4.4.4.2 The Atmosphere

The atmosphere is a complex dynamic natural gaseous system that is essential to support life on planet Earth. Main concern for management of the global atmosphere is air pollution, the introduction into the atmosphere of chemicals, and biological materials that cause discomfort, disease, or death to humans, damage other living organisms such as food crops, damage the natural environment. As a result of air pollution, stratospheric depletion of Ozone has long been recognized as a threat to human health as well as to the Earth's ecosystems. Pollution of breathable air is a central problem in the management of the global commons. Pollutants exist in the form of solid particles, liquid droplets and gases. The Convention on Long - Range Transboundary Air Pollution (CLRTAP) of 1979 is an early international effort to protect and gradually reduce and prevent air pollution. This has been implemented by the European Monitoring and Evaluation Programme (EMEP), directed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE).

The Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer Montreal Protocol is an international treaty designed to protect the ozone layer by phasing out the production of numerous substances which are responsible for ozone depletion. The treaty was opened for signature on 16th September 1987 and entered into force on 1st January 1989. The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is an international environmental treaty that sets binding obligations on industrialized countries to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. This prevents potentially harmful anthropogenic interference in the climate system. Acceptance of the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer Montreal Protocol has led to a huge 90 percent reduction since the late 1980s in global atmospheric concentrations of chlorofluorocarbons. The expansion of the ozone regime was made possible by growing scientific evidence and by having an active NGO epistemic community to actively promote the treaty. However, in spite of reductions in CFCs over the past twenty years, the ozone hole over Antarctica continues to expand, and depletion of the protective ozone shield is expected to continue before it begins to regenerate itself. Production of CFCs in the Global North declined sharply in the 1990s as the largest producers and consumers of these ozone-damaging products prepared for their complete phase-out.

However, production in the Global South surged, and increased demand for refrigerators, air conditioners, and other products using CFCs offset the gains realized by stopping production in the Global North. Developed countries agreed to provide aid to help the developing countries adopt CFC alternatives, but they have failed to provide all of the resources promised. Without this support, many in the Global South may not be able to keep their end of the global bargain. Meanwhile, a significant illegal trade in both virgin and recycled CFCs has emerged, threatening to further undermine the positive effects of the ozone regime. Success at containing ozone depletion has raised hopes that other environmental threats also can be given higher priority than vested financial interests. Forests are critical in preserving the Earth's biodiversity and protecting the atmosphere and land resources. For these reasons, they have been a rising ecological issue on the global agenda. Some rules have emerged to guide international behaviour in the preservation of biodiversity, but issues concerning forests have proven much more difficult to address.

4.4.4.3 The Antarctica

Antarctica is facing rapid environmental degradation due to human pressures such as pollution, and the effects of global warming. At present, the Antarctica Treaty and related agreements, collectively called the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) regulate international relations with respect to Antarctica. Earth's only continent without a native human population. The treaty, entering into force in 1961 and currently having 50 signatory nations, sets aside Antarctica as a scientific preserve, establishes freedom of scientific investigation and bans military activity on this continent.

4.4.4.4 The Outer Space

Management of outer space as a global common has been contentious since the successful launch of the Sputnik satellite by the former Soviet Union on 4th October 1957. There is no clear boundary between Earth's atmosphere and space. Nevertheless there are several standard boundary designations: one that deals with orbital velocity, one that depends on the velocity of charged particles in space, and some that are determined by human factors such as the height at which human blood begins to boil without a pressurized environment. The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 provides a basic framework for international space law. It covers the legal use of outer space by nation states. The treaty states that outer space is free for all nation states to explore and is not subject to claims of national sovereignty. It also prohibits the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space. As of mid-year, 2013 the treaty has been ratified by 102 states and signed by an additional 27 states. Beginning in 1958, outer space has been the subject of multiple resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly. Of these, more than 50 have concerned the international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space and preventing an arms race in space. Four additional space law treaties have been negotiated and drafted by the UN's Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. Still, there remain no legal prohibitions against deploying conventional weapons in space and anti-satellite weapons have been successfully tested by the US, USSR and China. The Moon Treaty of 1979 turned the jurisdiction of all heavenly bodies including the orbits around such bodies over to the international community. However, this treaty has not been ratified by any nation that currently practices manned spaceflight.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. How many state and non-state participants does the International Union for Conservation of Nature bring together?

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2. What parts of the planet comprise the "Global Commons"?

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3. What is the Antarctica Treaty System (ATS)?

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4.4.5 LET US SUM UP

In brief, our planet is facing critical environmental challenges, most importantly climate change and global warming, the depletion of the Ozone layer, and rapid environmental degradation in the Antarctica. The international community acknowledges the need to conserve the global commons for development and human well-being. Thus the international community has adopted a number of conventions and treaties to govern global commons. Antarctica is facing rapid environmental degradation due to human pressures such as pollution, and the effects of global warming. The Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) ensuring the protection of the Antarctica fauna and flora; a multitude of international environmental treaties that administer and protect the atmosphere and deal with the air pollution and atmospheric depletion, like the UNFCCC and the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer; and the Treaty on Principles governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space. The frameworks covering the global commons are complex and fractured. Developing countries face a particular challenge in undertaking expensive environmental impact assessments and monitoring of the global commons. Global South often lacks sophisticated technology to carry out exploitation as well as environmental conservation activities. Moreover, the landlocked developing countries and other geographically disadvantaged countries are also required be supported to promote their effective participation in the activities related to ocean fisheries, mining and exploration of global commons, as stipulated in the UNCLOS. A global governance regime, under the auspices of the UN can ensure the preservation of the global commons for future generation.

4.4.6 EXERCISE

1. Examine the causes and consequence of Global Warming?
2. What problems do loss of biodiversity and deforestation and desertification pose for the environment?
3. Write a note describing the role of international bodies in preventing climate change.
4. Explain the Global Commons in the framework of international law.

4.4.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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