

CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Unit Structure

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- 1.1 Introduction: What is International Relations?
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1.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the meaning, significance, approaches and concepts in International Relations. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain what International Relations is and how it can be used to observe, understand, explain and prescribe things about Global politics that all of us are a part of. This module will also make you familiar with the most important approaches of International Relations.
- Understand the basic concepts in International Relations like Power, National Interest and Balance of Power.

1.1 INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ?

The study and practice of international relations is interdisciplinary in nature, blending the fields of economics, history, and political science to examine topics such as human rights, global poverty, the environment, economics, globalization, security, global ethics, and the political environment.

Exceptional economic integration, unprecedented threats to peace and security, and an international focus on human rights and environmental protection all speak to the complexity of international relations in the twenty-first century. This means the study of international relations must focus on interdisciplinary research that addresses, anticipates, and ultimately solves public policy problems.

International relations (often referred to international affairs) has a broad purpose in contemporary society, as it seeks to understand:

- The origins of war and the maintenance of peace
- The nature and exercise of power within the global system
- The changing character of state and non-state actors who participate in international decision-making

For example, some institutions may study the psychological and social-psychological reasoning behind the actions of foreign policymakers, while others may focus their international studies on the institutional processes that contribute to the goals and behaviors of states. Ultimately, the area of international relations studied depends on the goals or objectives of the organization.

The Value of International Relations in a Globalized Society

Although international relations has taken on a new significance because of our increasingly interconnected world, it is certainly not a new concept. Historically, the establishment of treaties between nations served as the earliest form of international relations.

The study and practice of international relations in today's world is valuable for many reasons:

- International relations promotes successful trade policies between nations.
- International relations encourages travel related to business, tourism, and immigration, providing people with opportunities to enhance their lives.
- International relations allows nations to cooperate with one another, pool resources, and share information as a way to face global issues that go beyond any particular country or region. Contemporary global issues include pandemics, terrorism, and the environment.
- International relations advances human culture through cultural exchanges, diplomacy and policy development.

1.2 DEFINITION, SCOPE AND RELEVANCE :

Palmer and Perkins are the most important name in international relations because of their relevance in terms of definition and subject matter In International relations.

According to them, International relations discusses the forces, pressures, and processes that control the nature of human life, activities, and thought in all human and group relations in the world community. That is, the discussion of international relations involves both political and non-political issues.

Many scholars define International relations differently. Here I have mentioned most important definitions of IR (International Relations) given by three eminent scholars.

Hans J Morgenthau used the term International Politics and defined it as “International Politics include analysis of political relations and problems of peace among nations...it “is struggle for and use of power among nations”.

Quincy Wright

According to Quincy Wright, International Relations includes “relations between many entities of uncertain sovereignties” and that “it is not only the nations which international relations seek to relate. Varied types of groups-nations, states, government, people, regions, alliances, confederations, international organizations, even industrial organizations, cultural organizations, religious organizations-must be dealt with in the study of international relations, if the treatment is to be realistic”

Jackson and Sorensen

Jackson and Sorensen said that “at one extreme the scholarly focus is exclusively on states and inter-state relations; but at another extreme IR includes almost everything that has to do with human relations across the world. Therefore, IR seeks to understand how people are provided or not provided, with the basic values of security, freedom, order, justice and welfare”.

Goldstein

He opines that International Relations basically “concerns the relationship among the world’s governments”. But he also argues that IR is not just a relationship between governments. IR needs to be understood in terms of activities of Non-state actors also.

Scope of International Relations :

The international community is the instrument of international relations. The unimaginable changes in the international community over the past seventy years have drastically changed inter-state relations. International relations as a distinct curriculum has followed that trend in international society since the 1930s. For this reason, it is not possible to draw a permanent line on the scope of international relations. The scope of international relations are mentioned below-

a) Study of the behavior of States in International Politics

Just as when a nation builds good relations for the sake of its overall development, it becomes the subject of international relations, just as when there is a conflict of interest, bitterness develops among itself and that too becomes part of international relations.

Thus international relations consist of both cooperation and conflict. International relations are also a matter of forming alliances and dealing with the crisis.

b) Role of Non-State Actors in International Field

The content of international relations does not revolve only around the activities of the state and its formal institutions. The state is not the only active actor in the international community. There are many non-state actors whose activities affect international relations.

Multinational Corporations (MNCs), European Economic Community, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, NATO, SEATO, WARSAW PACT, ASEAN, Organization of American States, different terrorist organizations, Religious Organizations are the examples of the non-state elements in international relations.

c) Question of War and Peace

Today, international relations are not free from the discussion of the determination to save mankind from war. What was utopian in the past is becoming more and more realistic today.

The main purpose of establishing the United Nations is to ensure world peace and security. Large, and regional powers are often exchanging views to create an atmosphere of peace and security. All kinds of contacts for the welfare of various exchanges and globalization process in cultural and other fields are Gradually increasing. All this has become the subject of international relations.

d) Study of Foreign Policy

Another important issue in international relations is foreign policy. In the past, kings or prime ministers or a few individuals played an active role in determining foreign policy.

Today, not only statesmen but also the legislature and many citizens are involved in the formulation of foreign policy. The state of affairs or ideology in foreign policy and the ideological issues of the respective regimes are important parts of international relations.

e) Study of Nation States

The ethnic composition, geographical location, historical background, religion or ideologies of different states are not the same at all. And because of all these differences, the relationship between different states is different.

So international relations need to discuss all these differences in detail. When the social environment is different, his reaction falls on international relations.

f) International Organizations

The role of national and international organizations in international relations is no less important. People from different countries are involved with the US Congress of Industrial Organizations, the US Federation of Labor, the French Labor Organization, and the

The non-governmental organizations are also involved in the activities of the Coalition and its various expert organizations, such as UNESCO, the International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization. Therefore, international relations also discusses all national and international organizations.

g) Global Environmental Issues

Issues of the environment are one of the key matters of international relations now. During the 1970s environmental politics only focused on the question of resource issues. But from the 1990s environmental politics focused on the issue of 'Climate change' brought about through global warming. To overcome this issue, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC), Kyoto Protocol in 1997, the Paris Agreement on climate change, etc, have been initiated.

h) Role of People in International politics

The importance of public and public opinion in the international arena is also expanding rapidly. The end of imperialism, from international, disarmament, political and economic, has inspired movements and protests by the people of different countries. U.S. scientists, intellectuals-people from different societies have demonstrated against the Vietnam War. So what do people think about the international situation or their views also come under international relations.

i) Role of the Third World

The third emergence in recent world politics has brought about qualitative change. Most people in the world are third generation. In 1986, 101 countries participated in the Eighth Non-Alignment Conference. The growing role of non-aligned countries in building new international systems, easing tensions between the East and the West, disarmament, ending colonial rule, etc. is significant. Therefore, the role of the third world in world politics is also the relevant point of discussion in international relations.

The scope of international relations is becoming wider as it discusses various issues of dynamic nature. All the domestic policies that affect or are likely to affect other countries are now being covered by international relations. International relations currently discuss various decision-making processes. In the past, these issues were not related to international relations. Therefore, it can be said that the scope of international relations has expanded.

Relevance of International Relations

International relations have become an essential part of social science in every country. The importance of international relations is growing not only

as a subject included in the political science curriculum, but also as a separate academic discipline. Even many universities have linked it to the history curriculum at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Reasonably, the question arises,

- What is the reason for this growing importance of international relations?
- What is the usefulness and purpose of the international relations lesson?
- Why study international relations?

One thing will become clear if we look at the current world map and analyze the real situation, each country has become incomprehensible in international interdependence.

It is not possible to solve the problems of a country in isolation or to meet the growing needs of different kinds. In order to meet its own economic, cultural, and other needs, each state has to voluntarily enter into bilateral or multilateral agreements with other states. Instead of extreme self-reliance, therefore, an environment of interdependence and cooperation has developed.

There is currently no doubt about the usefulness of the international relations lesson. From a broadly constructive perspective, we can gain knowledge about how international relations will work, what issues need to be eliminated or accepted and considered, and how friendship can be established between different states. International relations make people aware of important issues such as war and peace, mutual security, disarmament, international law and trade, peaceful resolution of inter-state disputes, imperialism, colonialism, national liberation movement, etc. The history of international relations has given each country a wealth of experience in formulating and implementing its foreign policy. The breadth of its reading has created initiative and enthusiasm about the need to build an international community.

Just as international relations have inspired people towards the possibility of international society, so too it has presented the nature of disunity among different nations. International relations cannot be analyzed by mere sentimentality. Differences in the socio-economic structure of different countries are bound to affect their national and international policy. Establishing the usefulness of international relations on a broad basis requires, on the one hand, an objective review of real events, and on the other hand, one needs to be proactive in building a proper analytical approach and theoretical basis. The vast potential that the advancement of science and technology has created in other branches of sociology needs to be applied to international relations as well.

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) What is International Relations ? Explain its scope and relevance.

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1.3 APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: LIBERALISM AND REALISM

Any student of international relations can be counted on to study the basic foundations of IR, which are the theories behind the study of IR itself. Among the most prevalent of these theories are realism and liberalism. Until the present, professors still speak of the motto from the 1651 work of Thomas Hobbes, entitled *Leviathan*, that speaks of the state of nature being prone to what Hobbes calls *bellum omnium contra omnes* or the war of all against all (Hobbes : *De Cive*, 1642 and *Leviathan*, 1651), as well as Francis Fukuyama naming *Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government* (Fukuyama : *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1992). A Theory Of International Relations is a set of ideas that explains how the international system works. Unlike an ideology, a theory of international relations is (at least in principle) backed up with concrete evidence. The two major theories of international relations are realism and liberalism.

Liberalism is a defining feature of modern democracy, illustrated by the prevalence of the term ‘liberal democracy’ as a way to describe countries with free and fair elections, rule of law and protected civil liberties. However, liberalism – when discussed within the realm of IR theory – has evolved into a distinct entity of its own. Liberalism contains a variety of concepts and arguments about how institutions, behaviors and economic connections contain and mitigate the violent power of states. When compared to realism, it adds more factors into our field of view – especially a consideration of citizens and international organizations. Most notably, liberalism has been the traditional foil of realism in IR theory as it offers a more optimistic worldview, grounded in a different reading of history to that found in realist scholarship.

The basics of liberalism- Liberalism is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual person to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government. Consequently, liberals emphasize the wellbeing of the individual as the fundamental building block of a just political system. A political system characterized by unchecked power, such as a monarchy or a dictatorship, cannot protect the life and liberty of its

citizens. Therefore, the main concern of liberalism is to construct institutions that protect individual freedom by limiting and checking political power. While these are issues of domestic politics, the realm of IR is also important to liberals because a state's activities abroad can have a strong influence on liberty at home. Liberals are particularly troubled by militaristic foreign policies. The primary concern is that war requires states to build up military power. This power can be used for fighting foreign states, but it can also be used to oppress its own citizens. For this reason, political systems rooted in liberalism often limit military power by such means as ensuring civilian control over the military.

Wars of territorial expansion, or imperialism – when states seek to build empires by taking territory overseas – are especially disturbing for liberals. Not only do expansionist wars strengthen the state at the expense of the people, these wars also require long-term commitments to the military occupation and political control of foreign territory and peoples. Occupation and control require large bureaucracies that have an interest in maintaining or expanding the occupation of foreign territory. For liberals, therefore, the core problem is how to develop a political system that can allow states to protect themselves from foreign threats without subverting the individual liberty of its citizenry. The primary institutional check on power in liberal states is free and fair elections via which the people can remove their rulers from power, providing a fundamental check on the behavior of the government. A second important limitation on political power is the division of political power among different branches and levels of government – such as a parliament/congress, an executive and a legal system. This allows for checks and balances in the use of power.

Democratic peace theory is perhaps the strongest contribution liberalism makes to IR theory. It asserts that democratic states are highly unlikely to go to war with one another. There is a two-part explanation for this phenomenon. First, democratic states are characterised by internal restraints on power, as described above. Second, democracies tend to see each other as legitimate and unthreatening and therefore have a higher capacity for cooperation with each other than they do with non-democracies. Statistical analysis and historical case studies provide strong support for democratic peace theory, but several issues continue to be debated. First, democracy is a relatively recent development in human history. This means there are few cases of democracies having the opportunity to fight one another. Second, we cannot be sure whether it is truly a 'democratic' peace or whether some other factors correlated with democracy are the source of peace – such as power, alliances, culture, economics and so on. A third point is that while democracies are unlikely to go to war with one another, some scholarship suggests that they are likely to be aggressive toward non-democracies – such as when the United States went to war with Iraq in 2003. The ideal version of liberalism is marked by a shared commitment to four essential institutions. First, citizens possess juridical equality and other fundamental civic rights such as freedom of religion and the press. Second, the effective sovereigns of the state are representative legislatures deriving their authority from the consent of the electorate and exercising their representative authority free from all restraint apart from the requirement

that basic civic rights be preserved. Most pertinent, for the impact of liberalism on foreign affairs, the state is subject to neither the external authority of other states nor the internal authority of special prerogatives held, for example, by monarchs or military bureaucracies over foreign policy. Third, the economy rests on a recognition of the rights of private property, including the ownership of means of production. Property is justified by individual acquisition (e.g., by labor) or by social agreement or social utility. This excludes state socialism or state capitalism, but it need not exclude market socialism or various forms of the mixed economy. Fourth, economic decisions are predominantly shaped by the forces of supply and demand, domestically and internationally, and are free from strict control by bureaucracies. Liberal thinkers on international relations have always displayed a keen interest in the ethical dimension of foreign policy, based on the assumption that ideas, as well as material interests, ultimately determine state behavior. Thus, questions about the admissibility and desirability of military intervention to spread or uphold liberal values abroad were central to the political thought of seminal figures, such as Kant, Mazzini, and Mill. The classical realists, for their part, did not necessarily dismiss normative concerns entirely (unlike their contemporary followers); yet they were skeptical about the possibility for moral behavior in an anarchical environment where state survival was assumed to be constantly at stake.

The liberal state focuses on individual rights and freedom. It also argues for a neutral and minimal state. It replaces the divine right theory of the state and argues that a legitimate rule must be based on the consent of the people. States work for the common good of the society and its major activity is understood as to be maintaining law and order and ensuring that everyone is treated with equality without any discrimination. In other words, a liberal state regards individuals as moral and rational agents. State's role is seen as providing them with the conducive conditions for growth and prosperity.

Its origin and growth can be traced back to the political struggles that took place in England and France with the rise and growth of capitalism which had led to a free market economy. These struggles focused on individual dignity, self-respect, private property and power and status particularly of the emerging middle class of the society. With the coming of the liberal state, there were some significant changes occurring in the political organization of the society like representative and constitutional forms of government, rule of law, and governments based on the consent of the ruled. It stressed on a new discourse on rights, to uphold the natural and basic human-like rights - to life, property, freedom, justice and so on. For example, **Adam Smith**, a liberal thinker, emphasized on the individual urge to maximize economic interest or to achieve material gains and thereby improve their living standards or fortunes. Smith argued that if a state provides the condition of freedom to individuals to make material and moral decisions concerning his/her life, the resulting society would be a free and prosperous society. He talks about a free market economy and less interference by the state. He said that the role of the state should be like an 'invisible hand'. For liberals in general, commerce and trade would create a good and welfare-oriented government.

For liberals, the role of the state is to carry out a legal framework under which the market can function well. And, it should also maximise the opportunity and prosperity of everyone. State should thus focus more on adjudicative and legal roles. Liberals also argue that citizens have the right to overthrow a government if it does not fulfil the desired roles and functions such as creating conditions for human happiness and well-being.

Liberals wanted to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and therefore regard the state as a **necessary evil**. As per them, without legal authority in the form of state, individual lives and property would be under constant threat. And that would be detrimental to peace and prosperity of the society. Thus, State in a liberal framework should perform the minimum role of maintaining law and order and enforcing a contract.

Within this broad focus, however, along with the changing notion of individual liberty and freedom, the liberal tradition has journeyed through changing notions of the State and its role.

Neoliberalism

As a reaction to the growing thickness of the state as a welfare flag-bearer and interventionist mechanism in the economic sphere, a new stream of critique emerged. This is led by the neo-liberals or the Libertarians, chiefly amongst them are Friedrich A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, Isaiah Berlin and Robert Nozick. Their main opposition to the growing intervention of the state emerges from their concern for liberty and freedom. All of them support the negative view of liberty and argue for non-interference in the economic liberty of the individual. In short, they take the debate back to a possessive individual and laissez-faire state.

The features of Neoliberalism include the following:

- Minimalist and night watchman state
- Priority to economic liberty - economic liberty includes political liberty (Friedman, Nozick)
- Liberty as absence of coercion
- No relationship between liberty and equality or justice
- No welfare state

In the discipline of International Relations (IR), **Realism** is a school of thought that emphasizes the competitive and conflictual side of international relations. Realism's roots are often said to be found in some of humankind's earliest historical writings, particularly Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, which raged between 431 and 404 BCE. Thucydides, writing over two thousand years ago, was not a 'realist' because IR theory did not exist in named form until the twentieth century. However, when looking back from a contemporary vantage point, theorists detected many similarities in the thought patterns and behaviors of the ancient world and the modern world. They then drew on his writings, and that of others, to lend weight to the idea that there was a timeless theory spanning all recorded human history. That theory was named 'realism'.

The basics of realism- The first assumption of realism is that the nation-state (usually abbreviated to 'state') is the main actor in international relations. Other bodies exist, such as individuals and organizations, but their power is limited. Second, the state is a unitary actor. National interests, especially in times of war, lead the state to speak and act with one voice. Third, decision-makers are rational actors in the sense that rational decision-making leads to the pursuit of the national interest. Here, taking actions that would make your state weak or vulnerable would not be rational. Realism suggests that all leaders, no matter what their political persuasion, recognise this as they attempt to manage their state's affairs in order to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states live in a context of anarchy – that is, in the absence of anyone being in charge internationally. The often-used analogy of there being 'no one to call' in an international emergency helps to underline this point. Within our own states we typically have police forces, militaries, courts and so on. In an emergency, there is an expectation that these institutions will 'do something' in response. Internationally, there is no clear expectation of anyone or anything 'doing something' as there is no established hierarchy. Therefore, states can ultimately only rely on themselves.

As realism frequently draws on examples from the past, there is a great deal of emphasis on the idea that humans are essentially held hostage to repetitive patterns of behaviour determined by their nature. Central to that assumption is the view that human beings are egoistic and desire power. Realists believe that our selfishness, our appetite for power and our inability to trust others leads to predictable outcomes. Perhaps this is why war has been so common throughout recorded history. Since individuals are organised into states, human nature impacts on state behaviour. In that respect, Niccolò Machiavelli focused on how the basic human characteristics influence the security of the state. And in his time, leaders were usually male, which also influences the realist account of politics. In *The Prince* (1532), Machiavelli stressed that a leader's primary concern is to promote national security. In order to successfully perform this task, the leader needs to be alert and cope effectively with internal as well as external threats to his rule; he needs to be a lion and a fox. Power (the Lion) and deception (the Fox) are crucial tools for the conduct of foreign policy. In Machiavelli's view, rulers obey the 'ethics of responsibility' rather than the conventional religious morality that guides the average citizen – that is, they should be good when they can, but they must also be willing to use violence when necessary to guarantee the survival of the state. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Hans Morgenthau (1948) sought to develop a comprehensive international theory as he believed that politics, like society in general, is governed by laws that have roots in human nature. His concern was to clarify the relationship between interests and morality in international politics, and his work drew heavily on the insights of historical figures such as Thucydides and Machiavelli. In contrast to more optimistically minded idealists who expected international tensions to be resolved through open negotiations marked by goodwill, Morgenthau set out an approach that emphasised power over morality. Indeed, morality was portrayed as something that should be avoided in policymaking. In

Morgenthau's account, every political action is directed towards keeping, increasing or demonstrating power. The thinking is that policies based on morality or idealism can lead to weakness – and possibly the destruction or domination of a state by a competitor. In this sense pursuing the national interest is 'amoral' – meaning that it is not subject to calculations of morality.

In *Theory of International Politics* (1979), Kenneth Waltz modernised IR theory by moving realism away from its unprovable (albeit persuasive) assumptions about human nature. His theoretical contribution was termed 'neorealism' or 'structural realism' because he emphasised the notion of 'structure' in his explanation. Rather than a state's decisions and actions being based on human nature, they are arrived at via a simple formula. First, all states are constrained by existing in an international anarchic system (this is the structure). Second, any course of action they pursue is based on their relative power when measured against other states. So, Waltz offered a version of realism that recommended that theorists examine the characteristics of the international system for answers rather than delve into flaws in human nature. In doing so, he sparked a new era in IR theory that attempted to use social scientific methods rather than political theory (or philosophical) methods. The difference is that Waltz's variables (international anarchy, how much power a state has, etc.) can be empirically/physically measured. Ideas like human nature are assumptions based on certain philosophical views that cannot be measured in the same way. Realists believe that their theory most closely describes the image of world politics held by practitioners of statecraft. For this reason, realism, perhaps more than any other IR theory, is often utilised in the world of policymaking – echoing Machiavelli's desire to write a manual to guide leaders. However, realism's critics argue that realists can help perpetuate the violent and confrontational world that they describe. By assuming the uncooperative and egoistic nature of humankind and the absence of hierarchy in the state system, realists encourage leaders to act in ways based on suspicion, power and force. Realism can thus be seen as a self-fulfilling prophecy. More directly, realism is often criticised as excessively pessimistic, since it sees the confrontational nature of the international system as inevitable. However, according to realists, leaders are faced with endless constraints and few opportunities for cooperation. Thus, they can do little to escape the reality of power politics. For a realist, facing the reality of one's predicament is not pessimism – it is prudence. The realist account of international relations stresses that the possibility of peaceful change, or in fact any type of change, is limited. For a leader to rely on such an idealistic outcome would be folly.

Perhaps because it is designed to explain repetition and a timeless pattern of behaviour, realism was not able to predict or explain a major recent transformation of the international system: the end of the Cold War between the United States of America (US) and the Soviet Union in 1991. When the Cold War ended, international politics underwent rapid change that pointed to a new era of limited competition between states and abundant opportunities for cooperation. This transformation prompted the emergence of an optimistic vision of world politics that discarded realism as 'old

thinking'. Realists are also accused of focusing too much on the state as a solid unit, ultimately overlooking other actors and forces within the state and also ignoring international issues not directly connected to the survival of the state. For example, the Cold War ended because ordinary citizens in Soviet-controlled nations in Eastern Europe decided to rebel against existing power structures. This rebellion swept from one country to another within the Soviet Union's vast empire, resulting in its gradual collapse between 1989 and 1991. Realism's toolbox did not and does not account for such events: the actions of ordinary citizens (or international organisations, for that matter) have no major part in its calculations. This is due to the state-centred nature of the thinking that realism is built upon. It views states as solid pool balls bouncing around a table – never stopping to look inside each pool ball to see what it comprises and why it moves the way it does. Realists recognise the importance of these criticisms, but tend to see events such as the collapse of the Soviet Union as exceptions to the normal pattern of things. Many critics of realism focus on one of its central strategies in the management of world affairs – an idea called 'the balance of power'. This describes a situation in which states are continuously making choices to increase their own capabilities while undermining the capabilities of others. This generates a 'balance' of sorts as (theoretically) no state is permitted to get too powerful within the international system. If a state attempts to push its luck and grow too much, like Nazi Germany in the 1930s, it will trigger a war because other states will form an alliance to try to defeat it – that is, restore a balance. This balance of power system is one of the reasons why international relations is anarchic. No single state has been able to become a global power and unite the world under its direct rule. Hence, realism talks frequently about the importance of flexible alliances as a way of ensuring survival. These alliances are determined less by political or cultural similarities among states and more by the need to find fair-weather friends, or 'enemies of my enemy'. This may help to explain why the US and the Soviet Union were allied during the Second World War (1939–1945): they both saw a similar threat from a rising Germany and sought to balance it. Yet within a couple of years of the war ending, the nations had become bitter enemies and the balance of power started to shift again as new alliances were formed during what became known as the Cold War (1947–1991). While realists describe the balance of power as a prudent strategy to manage an insecure world, critics see it as a way of legitimising war and aggression. In addition, realism continues to offer many important insights about the world of policymaking due to its history of offering tools of statecraft to policymakers.

Realism is a theory that claims to explain the reality of international politics. It emphasises the constraints on politics that result from humankind's egoistic nature and the absence of a central authority above the state. For realists, the highest goal is the survival of the state, which explains why states' actions are judged according to the ethics of responsibility rather than by moral principles. The dominance of realism has generated a significant strand of literature criticising its main tenets. However, despite the value of the criticisms, which will be explored in the rest of this book, realism continues to provide valuable insights and remains an important analytical tool for every student of International Relations.

Neorealism or **structural realism** is a theory of international relations that emphasizes the role of power politics in international relations, sees competition and conflict as enduring features and sees limited potential for cooperation. The anarchic state of the international system means that states cannot be certain of other states' intentions and their security, thus prompting them to engage in power politics. It was first outlined by Kenneth Waltz in his 1979 book *Theory of International Politics*. Alongside neoliberalism, neorealism is one of the two most influential contemporary approaches to international relations; the two perspectives dominated international relations theory from the 1960s to the 1990s.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) Explain the main features of the liberal approach to International Relations.

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1.4 CONCEPTS: POWER, NATIONAL INTEREST AND BALANCE OF POWER

Power in International Relations

The subject of power has been an interest of social scientists for many decades, if not centuries, if one were to go back to writings of Aristotle, Plato, and Machiavelli. Despite such great deal of attention, however, there are still notable academic debates over power's specific definition and its features, which lead to the topic's complexity and ambiguity. In discussing power, it is important to note whose power one is referring to. For instance, Arendt defined power not as the property of an individual, but rather argued that it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. Meanwhile, Dahl proposed to call the objects in the relationship of power as actors. The term actor is inclusive and may refer to individuals, groups, roles, offices, governments, nation-states, or other human aggregates. One of the most influential definitions of power in the field of social science belongs to Max Weber who defined it as the probability of one actor within a social relationship to be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance. According to Weber, power is a zero-sum game and is an attribute that derives from the qualities, resources and capabilities of one subject. However, the Weberian definition attracted a number of criticisms. Martin pointed out that Weber did not define power, but rather provided the basis for a comparison between the attributes of actors. Moreover, the author argued that, by building the element of conflict

into his definition and viewing power solely in zero-sum terms, Weber disregarded the possibility of mutually convenient power relations. In contrast, Talcott Parsons offered a conceptualization of power, which did not define it in terms of conflict, but rather views it as a system resource. Parsons argued that power is a capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations by units in a system of collective organization, when obligations are legitimized with reference to the collective goals, and where in case of recalcitrance, there is a presumption of negative sanctions.

Power remains one of the critical subjects in political science, including the sphere of international relations. The discipline of International Relations incorporates a number of competing schools of thought, but for the long time, the discipline has treated power as the exclusive prerogative of realism. In fact, there is still a tendency among scholars and 3 practitioners to view power predominantly through the realist lens. To reiterate, the five basic assumptions of realists about the international system are that it is anarchic; all great powers possess some offensive military capability; states can never be certain about the intentions of other states; survival is the primary goal of states; and states are rational actors (Mearsheimer, 2001). The realists view the nation-states as the key actors in the international system. Hans Morgenthau famously proclaimed that international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power and ‘whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim’. According to the author, the ‘ubiquity of the struggle for power in all social relations on all levels of social organization’ made the arena of international politics a necessity of power politics (Morgenthau, 1954). Carr (1964) was in agreement with Morgenthau and asserted that politics, at its heart, is power politics. For all realists, calculations about power lie at the core of how states perceive the world around them (Mearsheimer, 2001: 12). While realists are in agreement that power is a key determinant in political relations, there is there is a variation in how individual realists understand the concept. For instance, classical realists posit that the permanent struggle for power stems from the fundamental human drive for power (Morgenthau, 1954). In contrast, for structural or neo-realists, it is the architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power and maximize their power position (Mearsheimer, 2001; Dunne, Kurki, and Smith, 2013). Furthermore, there are disagreements as to how the power should be conceived and measured (Walt, 2002). There are two dominant traditions of power analysis in IR: the ‘elements of the national power approach’, which depicts power as property of states, and the relational power approach, which depicts power as an actual or potential relationship. In other words, some realists define power in terms of resources, while others define it in a relational manner as the ability to exercise influence over other actors. Proponents of the elements of the national power approach associate power with the possession of specific resources. All of the important resources that a state possesses are typically combined to determine its overall aggregate power. The resources that are indicators of national power are the level of military expenditure, size of the armed forces, gross national product, size of territory, and population. In line with this tradition, Morgenthau equated power with the possession of identifiable and measurable resources and

listed geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military, and population as stable power elements of a nation. Carr argued that military power was the most important form of power in international politics, as it serves as both a means and an end in itself. However, one of the difficulties with the elements of the national power approach is the issue of power conversion; that is 'the capacity to convert potential power, as measured by resources, to realized power, as measured by the changed behaviour of others'. It is not the mere possession of power resources that matters, but the ability to convert these into actual influence. Hart argued that, with the control over resources approach, it is not always certain that actors will be able to use resources which are nominally under their control; some types of resources are extremely difficult to measure; and, finally, the focus on national power precludes the consideration of the role of non-state actors and the issues of interdependence, coalitions, and collective action.

As the discipline of international relations was evolving, the rigid interpretation of power slowly started to change. In particular, Joseph Nye (1990) argued that the changing nature of the international framework has re-emphasized the use of intangible forms of power, such as culture, ideology, and institutions. The growing social mobilization makes the factors of technology, education, and economic growth as, if not more, significant as geography, population, and resources. Conversely, Baldwin (2012) argued that the importance of military force has been previously exaggerated, while the role of nonmilitary forms of power has been underestimated. Nye splits power into two forms: hard and soft. For the purposes of this paper, the author is going to adopt Nye's definition of power: as an ability to affect others to achieve the outcomes one wants. Moreover, this paper adopts Nye's forms of power as a framework for the analysis. Hard and soft power can be considered two pure forms of power. Hard or command power is the oldest form of power; it is connected to the idea of an anarchic international system, where countries do not recognize any superior authority and thus have to focus on power politics. Hard power is defined as an ability to reach one's goals through coercive actions or threats, the so-called 'carrots' and 'sticks' of international politics. Historically, hard power has been measured by such criteria as population size, territory, geography, natural resources, military force, and economic strength. Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others, without the use of force, coercion or violence, but through intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values, institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority (Nye, 2008: 95). Legitimacy is central for soft power. One of the roots of soft power could be traced to Steven Lukes' argument on the third face of power (Lukes, 1974). The first face of power was associated with Dahl (1961), who stated that an actor who wins the argument on an issue has the power. Alternatively, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) argued that Dahl's approach neglected a second 'face' of power represented by the suppression of some issues, thus, in effect, keeping them from being considered. In other words, the second face refers to the ability to set the agenda (Baldwin,). Lukes (1974) introduced the third face of power; illustrating the ability of an actor A to get B to do something B would not otherwise do is to affect B's

preferences, desires or thoughts. The first two faces of power describe how power can be used to get someone to do what you want them to, even if it is against their own will. Conversely, the third face of power described how power could manipulate by changing what they want. In another example, one could trace the roots of soft power in Carr's (1946: 108) writings when he equated divided power into three categories: military power, economic power, and power over opinion. Military and economic powers are obviously the attributes of hard power, while the power over opinion could be viewed as the variant of Nye's soft power. To reiterate, legitimacy is central soft power. When a state is able to sincerely attract and convince others with use of its values and set of practices, the country is considered to have an effective soft power. For instance, the Fulbright program is an influential aspect of American educational soft power. In another example, Hollywood and Broadway are significant aspects of American cultural soft power.

National Interest

National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. It is the key concept in foreign policy as it provides the material based on which foreign policy is made. While formulating foreign policy, all statesmen are guided by their respective national interests. It is the purpose of foreign policy to conduct foreign relations to achieve national interest to the maximum extent. But it is not easy to determine exactly what a nation's national interest is. This concept is highly vague and difficult to define. The task of defining national interest becomes more cumbersome as the domestic and international activities overlap. It is appropriate if national interest is seen as a synthesis of the objective and subjective approaches. In most nation-states, the iron law of oligarchy is prevalent, implying that governmental decisions are made only by a few men and women. These decisions are often taken in such a way as to promote the national interest as this notion is perceived and defined by the decision-makers; at best, they are justified by being related to the national interest. A renowned British scholar of international relations, Hugh Section Watson, has recommended that the expression of national interest is a misnomer as governments, not nation-states, make foreign policy. According to Morgenthau, the concept of national interest is similar in two respects to the great generalities of the (American) constitution such as the general welfare and due process. It contains a residual meaning which is inherent in the concept itself. Still, beyond these minimum requirements, content can run the whole gamut of meanings logically compatible with it. That content is determined by the political traditions and the total cultural context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy. The residual meaning in the concept of national interest is survival. In **Morgenthau's** opinion, nation-states' minimum requirement is to protect their physical, political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states. Formulated into more specific objectives, the preservation of physical identity is equated with maintaining the territorial integrity of a nation-state. Preservation of political identity is equated with preserving existing politico-economic regimes, such as democratic competitive, communist, socialist, authoritarian, and totalitarian; preservation of cultural identity is concerned

with ethnic, religious, linguistic, and historical norms and traditions in a nation-state. Some of the prominent tools used to pursue national interest are as follows:

Diplomacy as a Means of National Interests:

Diplomacy is a universally accepted means for securing national interests. It is through diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations. It seeks to secure the goals of national interests. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other nations and conduct negotiations for achieving the desired goals and objectives of national interests of their nation. The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of the goals and objectives of national interest in such a way as can persuade others to accept these as just and rightful demands of the nation. Diplomats use persuasion and threats, rewards and threats of denial of rewards as the means for exercising power and securing goals of national interest as defined by foreign policy of their nation. Diplomatic negotiations constitute the most effective means of conflict-resolution and for reconciling the divergent interests of the state. Through mutual give and take, accommodation and reconciliation, diplomacy tries to secure the desired goals and objectives of national interest. As an instrument of securing national interest, diplomacy is a universally recognized and most frequently used means. Morgenthau regards diplomacy as the most primary means. However, all the objectives and goals of national interest cannot be secured through diplomacy.

Propaganda

The second important method for securing national interest is propaganda. Propaganda is the art of salesmanship. It is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals and objectives or ends which are desired to be secured. It consists of the attempt to impress upon nations the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve. "Propaganda is a systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose." —Frankel. It is directly addressed to the people of other states and its aim is always to secure the self-interests—interests which are governed exclusively by the national interests of the propagandist. The revolutionary development of the means of communications (Internet) in the recent times has increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.

Economic means

The rich and developed nations use economic aid and loans as the means for securing their interests in international relations. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries provides a big opportunity to the rich nations for promoting their interests vis-a-vis the poor nations. The dependence of the poor and lowly- developed nations upon the rich and developed nations for the import of industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid, armaments and for selling raw materials, has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic instruments of foreign policy. In this era of Globalisation, conduct of international economic relation has emerged as a key means of national interests.

Alliances and Treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common interests. This device is mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. However, even conflictual interests may lead to alliances and treaties with like-minded states against the common rivals or opponents. Alliances and treaties make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories of the treaties to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The alliances may be concluded for serving a particular specific interest or for securing a number of common interests. The nature of an alliance depends upon the nature of interest which is sought to be secured. Accordingly, the alliances are either military or economic in nature. The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding 'communist menace' led to the creation of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS etc. Likewise, the need to meet the threat to socialism led to the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact among the communist countries. The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the Second World War led to the establishment of the European Common Market (Now European Union) and several other economic agencies. The needs of Indian national interests in 1971 led to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the (erstwhile) Soviet Union. Alliances and Treaties are thus popular means for securing national interests.

War and Aggression have been declared illegal means, yet these continue to be used by the states in actual course of international relations. Today, nations fully realize the importance of peaceful means of conflict-resolution like negotiations, and diplomacy as the ideal methods for promoting their national interests. Yet at the same time they continue to use coercive means, whenever they find it expedient and necessary. Military power is still regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a nation for securing its desired goals and objectives.

All this makes it essential for every nation to formulate its foreign policy and to conduct its relations with other nations on the basis of its national interests, as interpreted and defined in harmony with the common interests of the humankind. The aim of foreign policy is to secure the defined goals of national interest by the use of the national power.

Balance of Power

The balance of power is considered one of the core principles of international relations. Although the theory doesn't have one, exact meaning, it is best understood as referring to a state of international order where power is balanced in such a way that nations avoid aggression out of fear of forceful retaliation. **Balance of power**, in international relations, the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by matching its power against the power of the other side. States can pursue a policy of balance of power in two ways: by increasing their own power, as when engaging in an armaments race or in the competitive acquisition of territory; or by adding to their own

power that of other states, as when embarking upon a policy of alliances. The term *balance of power* came into use to denote the power relationships in the European state system from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to World War I. Within the European balance of power, Great Britain played the role of the “balancer,” or “holder of the balance.” It was not permanently identified with the policies of any European nation, and it would throw its weight at one time on one side, at another time on another side, guided largely by one consideration—the maintenance of the balance itself. Naval supremacy and its virtual immunity from foreign invasion enabled Great Britain to perform this function, which made the European balance of power both flexible and stable.

The balance of power from the early 20th century onward underwent drastic changes that for all practical purposes destroyed the European power structure as it had existed since the end of the Middle Ages. Prior to the 20th century, the political world was composed of a number of separate and independent balance-of-power systems, such as the European, the American, the Chinese, and the Indian. But World War I and its attendant political alignments triggered a process that eventually culminated in the integration of most of the world’s nations into a single balance-of-power system. This integration began with the World War I alliance of Britain, France, Russia, and the United States against Germany and Austria-Hungary. The integration continued in World War II, during which the fascist nations of Germany, Japan, and Italy were opposed by a global alliance of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and China. World War II ended with the major weights in the balance of power having shifted from the traditional players in western and central Europe to just two non-European ones: the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was a bipolar balance of power across the northern half of the globe that pitted the free-market democracies of the West against the communist one-party states of eastern Europe. More specifically, the nations of western Europe sided with the United States in the NATO military alliance, while the Soviet Union’s satellite-allies in central and eastern Europe became unified under Soviet leadership in the Warsaw Pact. Since the 16th century, balance of power politics have profoundly influenced international relations. But in recent years—with the sudden disappearance of the Soviet Union, growing power of the United States, and increasing prominence of international institutions—many scholars have argued that the balance of power theory is losing its relevance.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

1) Elucidate on the concept of Power and National Interest.

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1.5 LET US SUM UP (SUMMARY/ CONCLUSION)

In this module we discussed the meaning, nature and important approaches to International Relations. Why international relations is important, is that it goes beyond peace and war, past poverty and business; rather it explores the key players in world politics, intrinsic political patterns, and identifies the theories for how resolution and cooperation can be reached. The module also emphasizes two most important approaches in this discipline. The module also reflects upon important key concepts like power, national interest, balance of power etc.

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WORLD ORDER

Unit Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction: Meaning of World Order
- 2.2 Cold War
 - 2.2.1 Bipolarity
- 2.3 Post- Cold War
 - 2.3.1 Unipolarity
 - 2.3.2 Multipolarity
 - 2.3.3 Non-Polarity
- 2.4 Summary/ Conclusion
- 2.5 References

2.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the meaning of world order and the changes that were witnessed in the nature of world order through the cold war and post-cold war periods. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain what world order is and how the international system is characterized by changes in the world order.
- Understand the nature of world order during the Cold War period.
- Understand the nature of world order during the Post-Cold War period.

2.1 INTRODUCTION: MEANING OF ‘WORLD ORDER’

Theories of international politics often refer to the term ‘World Order’. While the realists argue that the international order is characterized by anarchy and conflict between states, liberals argue that the order is characterized by mutual cooperation between states. What is this ‘order’ that the scholars are referring to? According to Lake, Martin and Risse, the term ‘Order’ refers to “patterned or structured relationships amongst units”, the units being states. ‘World Order’, as Heywood argues, reflects how power distribution amongst the states in the international system determines order. According to him,

- Power is distributed amongst states in the international system.
- Power distribution affects the level of stability within the system, i.e., power distribution will determine whether the international system

will be characterized by anarchy and chaos or characterized by cooperation.

Thus, 'World Order', as Richard Falk agrees, analytically, refers to the "arrangement of power and authority" in the international system with the power arrangement acting as the basis on which states conduct their foreign policies and diplomacy at a global level.

The nature of distribution of power in the international system has been changing over time. One of the ways to understand the nature of the international system and how power is distributed in the international system is through polarity. Polarity is determined on the basis of power/powers that dominate the international system, militarily and economically, at any given point of time. Historically, three typologies of polarity, explaining the distribution of power in the international system have been witnessed:

- **Unipolarity-** In a unipolar system, one state is considered to have the most military, economic, political, and cultural power. Balance of power is not possible in a unipolar system since one state is too strong or powerful for any other state to possibly balance it. Unipolarity, however, is not to be confused with hegemony whereby the strongest state/ entity 'controls' the foreign policy of all the other states. According to Martha Finnemore, a unipole maintains its status-quo in the international system through institutionalization and legitimation. Monteiro (2011) argues that a unipole, unlike a hegemon, does not have complete control over the foreign policy of other states. In order to obtain legitimacy, a unipole gives some degree of power to the other actors in the international system and wards off any kind of challenge to its power through institutionalization. [Witnessed during the Post -Cold War period]
- **Bipolarity** - Predominate power in a bipolar system is held by two states where one state constantly seeks to balance their power against the other. In this system, two of the most dominant states/ superpowers compete for power and the less powerful states ally with either of the two. Actors in the system are in a zero-sum game where if one of the superpower gains, the other loses. According to neo-realists, balance of power and stability is possible in a bipolar world order. [Witnessed during Cold War period]
- **Multipolarity** - In a multipolar system, more than two states / many equally powerful states vie for power. Historically, the multipolar system has been common as was witnessed both during World War I and World War II.

The above systems reflect the number of states that are competing for power in the international system. Each pole is further, assumed to be of comparable strength. The next section, in this context, goes on to elaborate the nature of world order during the Cold War period and its consequent implications on the international system.

Check your progress Exercise 1

Note (i) use the space given below for your answer

1) What is the meaning of 'World Order'?

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2.2 COLD WAR

The Cold War refers to the period of bipolarity from 1945-1989 when there was rising tensions between the two power blocs (led by USA and USSR). It is referred to as 'Cold War' since there was no open hostility (military war) but attack of one bloc against the other through methods of propaganda, economic sanctions, and a general policy of non-cooperation. At the end of WWII, there was massive destruction with the economies of most European countries being heavily affected. According to Norman Lowe, at the end of the war, USSR (current day Russia) suffered massive losses with 70,000 villages ruined, 70 percent of its industries and 1700 cities destroyed. Most of the countries in Europe were similarly affected. However, USA suffered little losses (except for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and brief occupation of the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska). Economically, USA not only came out of the Great Depression but also enjoyed economic supremacy and a war time boom.

Post- World War II, there was a quest for collective security and efforts towards creation of a new international structure designed to settle international problems. However, there were differences of principles and an ideological struggle for global influence between the communist states (led by USSR) and the liberal-democratic states (led by USA). While the Communist states believed in the collective ownership of wealth and central planning of the economy, Capitalist states were in favour of private ownership of country's wealth, profit-making and preservation of power.

USSR, as the flagbearer of communist states, was distrusted by the west since USA and its allies had the fear of communism spreading in Europe. Foreign policies of Stalin aggravated the tensions since he ordered occupation of a significant proportion of German territory and acquiring of a substantial portion of land from the countries of Poland, Finland, and Romania. These actions were seen as 'aggression' by the West. USSR, on its part, contended that Stalin was not informed about the exact nature of

the atomic bomb (the bomb that hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of WW II) though Churchill was informed about it. USSR's request of sharing occupation in Japan was further denied.

At the end of the war, Yalta and Potsdam conferences were held. Accordingly, decisions were taken on a number of issue areas-

- Germany was to be divided into three zones – Russian, American, and British.
- Berlin and Austria were to be further split up into corresponding zones.
- Free elections were to be conducted in rest of the states of Eastern Europe.
- The question of who rules Poland was an area of contention. It was ultimately decided that Poland was to be ruled by democratic leaders from Poland itself and by the Polish government abroad until free and fair elections are held to decide the permanent government in Poland.

However, no free and fair elections were held in Poland. Stalin not only captured all of Poland but also drove towards Berlin. According to Lowe, Stalin did not want any foreign power to have the opportunity to turn Eastern Europe against USSR. Pro-Communist governments were established in Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Poland, and Romania. By 1947, every state in Eastern Europe, except Czechoslovakia had a communist government. However, the Western powers argued that acceptance of USSR's expanse would be a repetition of the appeasement policy as was witnessed in the case of Hitler and thereby, would eventually lead to a war. US President Churchill announced that a 'Iron Curtain' has descended across the continent, referring to the widening rift between the East and the West. The West eventually adopted the policy of 'containment' as a strategy to contain the spread of Communism in Eastern Europe. As a part of its 'containment' policy, USA adopted the 'Truman Doctrine' and 'Marshall Plan' under which countries received massive amounts of aid. 13000 million dollars of aid flowed from USA to Europe. USSR came up with its own version of Marshall Plan, known as, Molotov Plan, wherein similar amounts of aid were promised to the countries of Eastern Europe.

Strategies of Threat Perception (perceiving any action made by the opponent as a threat, necessitating reaction) and Mirror-Image Syndrome (Replication of similar strategies) continued to dominate the Cold War period. The creation of a collective defence organization - NATO (North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation) in 1949 by the Western powers was countered by USSR through the creation of the Warsaw Pact. Similarly, Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan by USA was countered by creation of Cominform and Molotov Plan by USSR. The production of an atomic bomb by USA was further countered by production of Russian atom bombs in 1949. This paved the way for an acceleration of Arms Race wherein both the powers competed for military superiority. Some of the examples are as follows- While USA produced a hydrogen bomb in 1952, USSR produced the same in 1953. Similarly, while USSR produced the world's first Earth

Satellite -Sputnik 1 in 1958, USA produced its own satellite by 1959. The arms race continued post 1970s along with the powers competing for increasing their zone of influence, not only within Europe (e.g. – annexation of Czechoslovakia by USSR, 1968) but also outside Europe (as was witnessed in Korea and Vietnam).

2.2.1 Implications of Cold War Bipolarity

During the Cold War, we saw two superpowers emerging in the international system with a capacity to dominate and influence all the others. The Cold War thereby, is a practical example of a bipolar world order.

According to neo-realists, stability and order is maintained in a bipolar system since the system tends towards a balance of power. Despite USA and USSR engaging in an arms race, military equality between the two inclined them towards a strategy of deterrence. According to Heywood, power relationships were more stable during the cold war period since each bloc was forced to rely on their internal resources with lesser scope of relying on external means for expanding their power.

However, critical theorists criticise the bipolar world order on grounds that it strengthened the imperialistic tendencies of both USA and USSR who sought to extend and consolidate their spheres of influence. USA's political interference in the Vietnam War and USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Afghanistan reflect neo-colonial tendencies.

Critics also argue that the images of equilibrium/ maintenance of balance during the cold war period is misleading since USA and USSR were never on equal footing. Lowe argues that although USSR was a superpower, it was only a 'military superpower' and never an 'economic superpower.' USA, on the other hand, was a superpower both militarily and economically. The imbalance between the military capacity of USSR and its economic development made USSR vulnerable. By the 1980s, the vulnerability was visible when increasing US military spendings put pressure on the economy of USSR, eventually leading the way for Gorbachev to initiate a reform process, paving the way for the disintegration of USSR in 1991.

Check your progress Exercise 2

Note (i) use the space given below for your answer

1. What do you mean by Cold War and what are the implications of Cold War Bipolarity on the international system?

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2.3 POST-COLD WAR

2.3.1 Unipolarity

Unipolarity refers to an international system in which there is a single great power, a single pre-eminent state/ pole with an absence of any potential rival/competitor. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, unification of Germany and end of the Cold War, there was a burst of ideas of liberal internationalism and USA emerged as the world's sole superpower. US President Bush, in his speech in 1990, titled "Towards a New World Order" contended that –

- In the post-cold war order, US leadership will ensure the preservation of international rule of law.
- USA will protect the sovereign independence of all the nations, rather than prioritizing liberal democratic states only.
- USA will not only engage in a partnership with USSR but also look into the inclusion of USSR into world economic bodies.

Heywood argues that the above speech by Bush acted as an ideological tool to legitimize the global exercise of power by the USA and marked the emergence of a unipolar world order with unprecedented power and influence of USA. USA has been referred to as the global hegemon or as a hyperpower i.e. as a state that is vastly stronger than all of its potential rivals and thereby, dominates the world affairs. During the post cold war period, USA increasingly assumed a position of political, economic, and military leadership within the West and was a key architect of institutions like United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. US Corporations quickly achieved economic dominance and enjoyed privileges like the greatest share of votes in the IMF and World Bank (16% quota). This meant that USA could (and still can) veto those proposals in these multilateral institutions that do not suit its interests.

During the period of 1970s to 1980s, there was a rise of civil rights movements, counter-cultural movements and women movements that challenged the orthodox views of the liberals on matters of abortion, gender roles, race, and consumerism. In 1974, the Watergate Scandal led to the resignation of US President Nixon. This was followed by the defeat of USA in the Vietnam War and the Iran Hostage Crisis wherein 66 US citizens were held hostage for 444 days and the US embassy in Tehran was seized. Further, there was a rise of economic competitors like Germany, Japan and the 'Asian Tigers'. The tendency of 'Imperial Over-reach' by USA proved to be unsustainable since USA assumed military responsibilities that outstripped the growth of its economy domestically. These events led many to argue that US hegemony is in decline.

However, USA remained strong both politically and economically. Under President Reagan, US adopted a more assertive policy. Further, Germany and Japan began to falter economically during the 1980s and 1990s. USA's

productivity levels increased owing to its high-level spending on development, training, and research with it assuming a lead in the high-tech sectors of global economy. US model of liberal-democracy was adopted by many post-communist states who embarked on a 'shock therapy' i.e. transitioned from central-led-planning to free market capitalism. USA emerged as a hegemon and assumed the role of the world's police officer with its humanitarian intervention during the Gulf War. However, the events of 9/11 (Terrorist attack on twin tower in USA) altered the direction of US foreign policy and the balance of world order. Post 9/11, President Bush declared 'War on Terror' and the US led military regime toppled the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. North Korea, Iran and Iraq were further identified as the 'axis of evil'. 'War on Terror', however, became regime change in Iraq and was justified on the grounds of pre-emptive attack.

Unipolarity has been defended on the grounds that the dominant actor, acting as the world's police officer, can settle disputes, prevent wars, and set and maintain ground rules for economic behaviour. However, critics argue that unipolarity promotes fear and resentment amongst other actors in the international system. US foreign policy had a unilateralist tendency. Anti-Americanism peaked when USA went ahead with the invasion of Iraq despite failing to get clear UN approval for military action.

USA followed the foreign policy approach of 'Neo-Conservatism' which was a mix of neo-Reaganism and hard-Wilsonianism. Neo-Reaganism meant taking a Manichean worldview where the 'good' (USA) confronted the 'evil' (rogue states) and implied that USA should expand its global reach and achieve a position of unchallengeable strength in military terms. As an extension of the same, Hard- Wilsonianism meant the spread of US-style democracy throughout the world (regime-change) and imposing the same on countries by military means, if necessary. Heywood argues that such a system implies- 'Democracy from above'. Noam-Chomsky further contends that- the more powerful the state, the greater will be its tendency towards oppression and tyranny. He criticises the small- and large-scale military intervention by USA in Iraq, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Somalia, and Panama and contends that it was motivated by a desire to gain control over vital resources like oil. However, Chomsky is criticised by some who construct a positive view of US hegemony on the basis of the 'hegemonic-stability-theory'. According to the theory, a global hegemon can bring certain benefits to other states and the international system as a whole. They argue that the liberal image of USA as the land of freedom leads it towards multilateralism and self-restraint in world affairs.

The question of whether USA continues to remain the only 'pole' and whether the current world order is 'unipolar' is a subject of contention in recent times. The ones who argue that USA remains a global hegemon contend that USA continues to have global military dominance with an unchallengeable lead in air power and high-tech weaponry. They further argue that USA is economically resilient with high productivity levels and 40 percent of world's spending on development and research. Finally, they argue that USA is unrivalled in terms of its structural power with its

disproportionate influence over the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) and NATO.

As against this, the ones who argue in favour of US hegemony in decline contend that US military power has become redundant against the use of insurrectionary and guerrilla tactics as is reflected through its difficulty in winning asymmetrical wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and its forced withdrawal from Lebanon (1984) and Somalia (1993). They further argue that the US economy is in relative decline with the rise of competitors like China, who, possess the potential to outstrip USA economically. Finally, the soft-power reputation of USA has been hampered over debates on the treatment of its prisoners in the Guantanamo detention camp and over terror actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. This debate/contention necessitates an examination over the prospects of a multipolar world order as highlighted in the next section of the chapter.

Check your progress Exercise 3

Note (i) use the space below to write your answer

1) Discuss the relevance of unipolarity with examples.

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2.3.2 Multipolarity

Multipolarity refers to the international system in which there are three or more than three poles/ centres of power. According to liberals, cooperation, peace, and integration will be possible in a multipolar system since it tends towards multilateralism. As against this, neo-realists argue that a multipolar world order will lead to chaos and uncertainty which will eventually lead to war and instability. Multipolar system can be tripolar in nature (involving three powers) or can be non-polar in nature wherein power is too diffused for any actor to be potentially called a 'pole'. The modern world is said to be a one which is still unipolar but with a multi-polar trend since we have multiple emerging powers who has the potentially to become a great power in the 21st century. Certain states like China, Japan, European Union, and India have global influence since they account for 75% of world's GDP and over half of world's population. Certain other states have regional influence. While Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela are dominant in Latin America, Nigeria and South Africa have considerable regional influence in

Africa while Egypt, Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia have the capacity to change the course of West Asia's politics.

Based on the influences that the above states exert, certain scholars predict that just like the 20th Century was termed as the 'American Century', 21st Century will be called the 'Chinese Century'. There are many bases on which China is considered to have achieved a great power status-

- China was the World's largest exporter in 2009
- It overtook Japan to become the second largest economy in 2010
- Annual growth rates of China have been between 8% to 10% consistently for almost 30 years.
- In terms of arms expenditure, China is second to USA.
- Apart from having the largest population, China also has an inexhaustible supply of cheap labour and acts a huge manufacturing hub.

Some scholars argue that the rise of China is a part of a larger shift from 'West' to 'East', specifically, a shift to Asia. This leads them to argue that the 21st century is going to be a 'Asian Century'. India's emergence as a great power is however, constrained by illiteracy, poverty and unemployment with its economy performing poorly in recent times. Although the economy of Japan witnessed 10% growth rates in the 1950s, it stalled in the 1990s and its political significance currently is dependent on development of its relationship with other emerging powers in Asia. Apart from China, India and Japan, Russia has exhibited military assertiveness in terms of its relations with neighbours. The war with Georgia in 2008 and the Russia-Ukraine war in 2014 and again in 2022 are examples of its military assertiveness. Apart from that, Russia has also emerged as a 'energy superpower' and exerts considerable influence over Eastern Europe by control over the price and the flow of gas and oil resources.

The optimistic model of multipolarity indicates that USA's relative decline and the emergence of new power will lead to peace and keep rivalries under control. USA, on its part, has exhibited an accommodative approach towards its potential rivals while discouraging them from taking up greater roles. It encourages the emerging powers to 'band-wagon' (side with USA) rather than 'balance' (compete with USA). USA has drifted back to multilateralism in order to tackle the shifting powers and has attempted to integrate Russia into the global governance institutions while preventing return of Russian territorial influence. As against this, the pessimistic model of multipolarity as propounded by the neo-realists contend that more actors increase the possibility of conflicts and leads to a higher level of insecurity, intensifying the already existing security dilemma. They further argue that the shifting alliances witnessed in a multipolar order will lead actors to take risk and encourage ambition and restlessness. According to Mearsheimer, with the end of Cold War, Europe will drive into a 'back to the future scenario' i.e. to the WW I and WW II scenario where expansionist

policies were followed by ambitious powers. Conflict could arise from already existing issues like resource wars, human rights or claim over Taiwan, Tibet or Ukraine. According to neo-realists, hegemonic powers do not adjust peacefully to their declining status while rising powers seek to gain unparalleled politico-military dominance. Questions like whether China's rise will be peaceful or whether India-China enmity will be witnessed in a multipolar order are debated upon. However, the optimists argue that high level of economic interdependence between USA and China will prevent any outright conflict between China and USA with chances of a new form of bipolarity being created in the 21st century. Thus, while there is an agreement over that the current world order is witnessing multipolar trends, there is disagreement over whether multipolarity will lead to order or lead to chaos and over whether we can consider the current world order as being truly multipolar with multiple 'poles' emerging rather than trends emerging.

2.3.3 Non-Polarity

Non-polarity refers to the international system in which the nature of power is too diffused for any actor to be potentially called a 'pole'. Certain developments in recent times have indicated towards pluralization and fragmentation of global power. One of the primary developments has been the unfolding of globalization. Globalization has led to increased interdependence and interconnectedness between states leading to military rivalries being displaced by economic rivalry and thereby, indicating a change in the nature of rivalry itself. Apart from globalization, there has been a growing trend towards regional governance. Certain challenges confronting the states in the world today are transnational in character, necessitating, transnational solutions. Issues like climate change, pandemic, migration and terrorism can be tackled through transnational cooperation rather than individual measures taken up by states. Finally, the rise of non-state actors like NGOS, TNCs, international crime groups and terrorist networks has strengthened the role played by non-state actors in the international system.

If global power is dispersed amongst International Organizations and other non-state actors, the very idea of polarity can be brought to question since polarity is understood in terms of state actors. Thus, the world order is contended to be acquiring a non-polar character.

Check your progress exercise 4

Note (i) use the space below for your answer

1. Discuss the current nature of the world order with reference to the emerging concepts of multipolarity and non-polarity.

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2.4 LETS SUM UP

In this chapter, we discussed the meaning of world order and changes in the nature of world order through the cold war and post-cold war periods. World Order refers to the arrangement of power and authority in the international system through which the states determine their foreign policy and diplomacy. One of the ways to determine world order is through polarity. During the Cold war period, international system was characterized by a bipolar world order where two superpowers – USA and USSR competed for power and influence. At the end of the war, USA emerged as the only superpower leading to a change in the nature of international system from ‘bipolar’ to ‘unipolar’. USA remained the only pole in the system, the only power that continued to dominate the nature of international politics. The question of whether USA continues to remain the only ‘pole’ and whether the current world order is ‘unipolar’ is a subject of contention in recent times. While some believe that the system is still unipolar, others argue that the system is multipolar with multiple powers competing for power and influence. Some others still argue that the nature of world order is unipolar with trends of multipolarity. Emerging economies like China, Japan, Russia and India are said to have considerable global influence while regional powers are also emerging. Finally, some scholars believe that the world order is non-polar in nature, meaning, that the power structures are so diffused in the international system that no power can be called a ‘pole’.

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CONFLICT, PEACE, AND SECURITY

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction: Meaning of Peace, Conflict and Security
- 3.2 Types of Conflict and changing nature of Conflict
- 3.3 Approaches to Peace
 - 3.3.1 Disarmament
 - 3.3.2 Arms Control
 - 3.3.3 Collective Security
- 3.4 Changing idea of security: National Security to Human Security
- 3.5 Summary/ Conclusion
- 3.6 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the meaning of conflict, types of conflict, different approaches to peace and the changing idea of security. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain what conflict is and what the different types of conflict are.
- Understand the different approaches to peace like arms control, disarmament, and the idea of collective security.
- Explain the changing nature of security and the shift in focus from national security to human security.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Peace is referred to as the absence of war or a lack of any serious kind of conflict in the international system. Defined positively, Peace does not only mean the absence of war but also means that the system guarantees social and economic justice. In a peaceful world, people live in harmony and order and friendship prevails. While peace is considered to be synonymous to 'order' in the international system, conflict and violence are associated with 'disorder'. Conflict occurs when people differ in their thoughts, feelings and emotions and is an inevitable part of not only the international system but also humanity. Conflict arises when a lack of any problem-solving mechanism leads to an intensification of struggle between parties with incompatible goals. Both the parties mobilise resources to force the other to change their behaviour according to their wishes. When mismanaged, conflict can lead to violence and mass destruction.

There is no common agreement amongst scholars on the number of typologies into which conflict can be categorised. Conflicts can be intra – personal (within oneself), inter-personal (between people), person-group, inter-group or at a systems level. There can be caste conflict, group conflict, religious conflict, cultural conflict, economic conflict, ideological conflict, social conflict, inter-community conflict, ethnic/racial conflict, regional conflicts, intra-state conflict, inter-state conflicts, international conflicts and so on.

According to Quincy Wright (1990), conflicts can be of four major types-political conflict, physical conflict, legal conflict, and ideological conflict. In case of a political conflict, one group tries to impose its policies on other. As against this, in a physical conflict, two entities attempt to dominate the same space at the same time. In case of legal conflicts, demands/claims are adjusted amongst parties through procedures which are mutually recognized by the parties. Finally, ideological conflicts occur when thoughts/value system of parties clash with each other. Apart from these, Wright recognises a fifth category of conflict – War. War, according to him, occurs through a union of the four conflicts, mentioned above and is manifested by armies trying to occupy the same place and seeking to disarm, annihilate and capture each other.

Stuart Chase, in 1951, classified conflicts into 18 typologies – Personal Quarrels, family vs, family, feuds (clan vs clan), community quarrels, sectional quarrels (South vs North) , conflict between workers against managers, political parties (contesting elections) , races (whites vs blacks), religious conflict (Hindu vs Muslim) , antisemitism (racial / cultural antagonism) , ideological conflict (communism vs capitalism), occupational conflict, intra- industrial conflict , inter- industrial conflict, cultural conflicts, conflict between the east and the west and finally, conflict during the cold war. According to Chase, the list is not exhaustive and the number of conflicts that ensue are greater. As against Chase, LeVine (1961), provides a structural/ anthropological classification which is more compact in nature. According to LeVine, conflict can be interpersonal, intracommunity, and intercultural.

Other scholars who have provided a classification of conflict include Kenneth Boulding (1962) and John Galtung. According to Boulding, eight kinds of social conflicts are present in the international system. These include inter-personal conflict, boundary conflicts between various spatially segregated groups, ecological conflict, homogeneous organization conflict (between organizations with similar purposes and character), heterogenous organization conflict (between organizations with dissimilar purposes and character like state vs church or corporation vs union), person-group conflict (child vs family), person-organization conflicts (role conflicts), and group-organization conflicts. As against Boulding, Galtung gives a simpler classification and categories conflict into four typologies – Intra-system conflict (conflicts in the smallest sub-units of a system), Inter-system

conflict (conflict between different parts of a system with each sub-systems standing on its own), individual conflict, and collective conflict.

According to Sandole (2003), conflict is a continuous process which can be divided into stages like initiation, escalation, maintenance, de-escalation, and termination (either through resolution or through settlement). Sandole further differentiates conflicts into three kinds –

- Latent conflicts – Conflicts which are in the development stage but are not observable to anyone (not even to the parties themselves). This type of conflict is non-violent in nature. In this stage, parties question each other and question the existing values/ raise issues.
- Manifest Conflict Processes (MCPs) – Conflicts which are observable but not violent. E.g.- economic sanctions.
- Aggressive Manifest Conflict Processes (AMCPs) – These are high-intensity conflicts which are not only noticed/observed but also destructive to the parties. E.g.- civil war, armed conflicts, etc. These types of conflicts have a potentiality to turn into aggressive wars leading to “MAD”- Mutually Assured Destruction.

Thus, the typologies of conflict are diverse with different scholars focusing on varied issue-areas to define the nature of conflict.

Check your progress exercise 1

Note (i) use the space given below for your answer

- 1) **What do you mean by conflict and what are the different types of conflict?**

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3.3 APPROACHES TO PEACE:

3.3.1 Disarmament

Disarmament, as the word connotes, simply means doing away with weapons. If it is taken up as a goal by any country, it will mean that the country will no longer possess weapons/ will not possess a certain category of weapons. Since wars become destructive because of possession of

weapons, the idea is to do away with the access to weapons to avert the destructive consequences. The coming of nuclear weapons, highly explosive bombs and poisonous gases led countries to discuss the topic of disarmament on an urgent basis. The consequences of World War I and the massive damages accrued at the end of the war led the League of Nations to discuss the possibilities, if any, of disarmament with a conference on disarmament conducted in Geneva in 1932- 1934. However, the parties felt that countries were not disarming at an even rate / fairly. This led Hitler to withdraw Germany from the conference in 1934. Since the end of World War II, disarmament has been a goal of the United Nations (UN) with the United Nations Disarmament Commission (UNDC) primarily dealing with the issues of disarmament. The first committee of UN General Assembly, named 'The Disarmament and International Security Committee' is further devoted to the cause of disarmament.

However, although disarmament sounds simple, states in the international system, owing to their security dilemma are highly unlikely to accept complete disarmament in the first place. While peace movements and individual peace leaders since the mid- 19th century have been calling for disarmament, serious attempts towards disarmament were taken post World War II. Some of them are as follows:

- Baruch Plan, 1946 - Proposed by USA, this plan called for relinquishing atomic weapons in a stage-wise manner. However, the plan was rejected by USSR with USSR proposing the 'Gromyko Plan'.
- Antarctic Treaty (1961) – Prohibits establishment of any military base and conduction of any nuclear tests in Antarctica and declares that Antarctica will be exclusively used for peaceful purposes.
- Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), 1963 – Nuclear Weapon testing banned underwater, in the outer space and in the atmosphere.
- Tlatelolco Treaty/ Latin American Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, 1967- Bans possession, testing and deployment of any nuclear weapon in Latin America. Inspections and verifications of the same by IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) was further agreed upon. This treaty was signed by all the states except, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba and Chile.
- Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BTWC), 1972 - Banned manufacture and any kind of stockpiling of biological weapons. 168 nations have signed up for the agreement. An entire category of weapons has been attempted to be disarmed universally under international control for the first time.
- Chemical Weapons Convention, 1993- Bans development, production and any kind of stockpiling / use of chemical weapons. The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPWC) was further established as an implementation agency. Under its

supervision, a total of 10% of world's chemical weapon stockpile has been destroyed.

- Treaty of Rarotonga (1985) - created Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in South- Pacific.
- Treaty of Bangkok (1995) created Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in South-East Asia.
- Treaty of Pelindaba (1996) created Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in Africa.

Thus, though disarmament is difficult, it should not be assumed that it has been completely 'futile'. Although the Baruch Plan that aimed towards complete abolition of nuclear weapons failed, it took shape later in the form of 'Non-Proliferation Treaty' (NPT). Similarly, nuclear free zone pacts have been successful.

3.3.2 Arms Control

The process of arms control has evolved over thousands of years as world security structures have shifted. Modern arms control regime seeks to manage war and the causes and consequences of war. It seeks to address three issues – reducing the likelihood of war, managing costs of war, and limiting scope of violence in case it occurs.

While disarmament seeks to eliminate weapons, arms control aims at regulation of weapons. Arms control seeks stability in the international system by regulation of the arms race that takes place between countries. Agreements of arms control seek to limit the development, stockpiling and use of weapons. It can take place through three means –

- Arms Reduction – Lowering of level of arms / partial disarmament.
- Arms Limitation – Prevent accidental outbreak of war and limit the destructiveness of war.
- Arms Freezing- places ceiling on certain categories of arms.

According to the realists, the possession of nuclear weapons by country A will deter an enemy country B to attack first because of the fear of damage from nuclear weapons, that will be unleashed on B by A, in case A is attacked. Related to this is the idea of Mutually Assured Destruction/ MAD. According to this idea, if two states possess nuclear weapons and attack each other, they are opening themselves up for reciprocal damage. Although efforts on control of arms started since the Hague Conferences, there was a spike in efforts during the cold war years. Some of the most important arms control agreements are as follows:

- 1972- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1)- This treaty, signed between USA and USSR limits strategic nuclear weapons (like SLMBs, ABMs and ICMBs) and freezes ICMBs at 1972 levels.

- 1972- Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty (ABM) Treaty – Signed by Brezhnev and Nixon, this treaty limits the number of anti-ballistic missiles.
- 1979- SALT 2 – This treaty was signed by Carter and Brezhnev. However, it was not ratified by either side and expired.
- 1987- INF- Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty – This treaty was by Reagan and Gorbachev. It was decided that all- land based intermediate range nuclear weapons were to be scrapped over next 3 years. Strict Verification Provisions would be ensued so that both sides could check that the weapons were actually being destroyed.
- 1994- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (START) – Treaty between USA and USSR regarding limitations on strategic offensive arms. START II treaty banned use of Multiple Independent Targetable Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV).

3.3.3 Collective Security

Collective security is an arrangement through which states have tried to prevent or stop wars. According to the idea of collective security, 'attack on one' is considered to be synonymous to 'attack on all'. Aggression against one state is considered to be an aggression on all the other states who are a part of the collective security arrangement. All the states act together in order to repel the aggressor. The states thereby, defend each other in case of an attack. Thus, security of each state is considered to be of paramount importance.

The League of Nations and the United Nations originated on the basis of the principal of collective security. Collective Security is considered to be acting as a deterrent against aggression. According to Scheliecher, "In essence, Collective Security is an arrangement among states in which all promise, in the event any member of the system engages in certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against another member, to come to latter's assistance." All the nations are thereby, committed to pool all their resources for ending aggression.

Collective Security, however, is different from Collective Defence. While collective security is a universal system where all states in the world, without any differentiation, comes together to defend a state and fight the aggressor (any nation, any aggressor), collective defence is narrower in scope. A collective defence system is made by a group of nations who are in an alliance/ part of a collective defence pact and come to defend against a common enemy. While any aggressor is an enemy in a collective security system and no advance planning is possible, enemies are known in advance in a collective defence system with possibilities of advance planning. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is an example of collective defence system while UN is an example of the collective security system.

Chapter VII of the UN Charter and its articles -39-51, lays down the basis of the collective security system. The charter places the UN Security

Council with the responsibility of identification of threats to peace, breaches of peace or act of aggression. UNSC can take measures ranging from ceasefire to sanctions to military action in order to restore international peace and security. Article 43 specifically calls for creation of a 'Collective Security Force' in cases where UNSC demands military action. Articles 44-47 calls for maintaining a UN Peace Keeping Force and calls for all the member states of UN to assist in carrying out the measures decided by UNSC.

Although it is said to have been used during the Korean crisis, Collective Security as a concept, is idealistic in its scope and nature. Identification of 'aggressor' is value-laden and biased at times since it rules out any possibility of neutrality. Further, there are practical difficulties since there is an absence of any permanent peace-keeping force at the international level. Finally, the concept is limited since it engages in a war in order to counter the aggressor and thereby, self-negates itself.

Check your Progress Exercise 2

Note (i) use the space given below for your answer

- 1. Discuss the following approaches to peace: (a) Disarmament (b) Arms Control (c) Collective Security.**

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3.4 CHANGING IDEA OF SECURITY: NATIONAL SECURITY TO HUMAN SECURITY

Security studies, as a discipline, has been pre-occupied with four 'S's'- States, Status-quo, strategy, and science. States have been considered as the most important agents of security in international politics. Strategy has been vital since the states engage in devising the best intellectual strategy to tackle threats. Objective knowledge and scientific knowledge are further, highly regarded by states with states adopting methods of hard sciences. Traditional security studies thereby not only focused on state-centrism but also focused on preservation of status-quo of states.

National security focuses on defending the sovereignty of the nation-state and the institutions of the nation-state from external threats and relies on its military, economic and political power to safeguard state's security.

National security strategy (NSS) is adopted by certain states like USA, UK, Spain, and Sweden to organise their policies. Traditional security studies, by and large, solely focused on states and institutions surrounding the state as the focal point of security studies. The agency of peoples, environment or institutions other than the state were not considered to fall under the ambit of security studies. Although there were dissenting voices, studies solely focused on national security and believed that the main threat to security is only through military terms and states are the only entity facing threats.

With the end of the cold war, traditional security studies came under heavy criticism. According to Kanti Bajpai, the classical idea is unilateralist in its emphasis on force and restricts the scope of security to military threats from other states only. However, threats to the political integrity and territoriality of the state can come from not only other states but also from other non-state actors. Threats can also be cultural, environmental, or economic. Bajpai further argues that security cannot be restricted to the well-being of the state alone. Protection of citizens and welfare of individual citizens deserves equal consideration. Bajpai argues that “A conception of security that is centered above all on the sanctity of the individual may be called human security”.

The 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report is considered to be one of the most important documents laying the basis for human security. This report made a claim that human security is not about states but about individuals and peoples. Individuals, thereby, should be made the referent of security since individuals suffer at the hands of states. Human development and human security are conditions for peace. Mahbul Haq, one of the chief proponents of the UNDP report answers the questions of – ‘security from whom’ and argues that “human security pertains above all to the safety and well-being of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment”. Haq argues that drug, poverty, disease and terrorism are the main threats to the established values. Apart from that, the threats to human security are as follows –

- Threats to economic security – lack of employment and financial safety nets
- Threats to food security – lack of food entitlements
- Threats to health security- pollution, lack of access to health-care facilities, pandemic.
- Threats to environmental security – pollution, deforestation, ozone layer depletion, desertification
- Threats to personal security- drug trafficking, abuse of women and children, crime
- Threats to political security- human rights violation, militarization

- Threats to community security- genocide, ethnic cleansing, discrimination

Haq goes on to outline some proposals for human security as follows:

- Development through sustainability and equity of opportunities, ensuring global justice through restructuring of consumption, income and lifestyle patterns of the world.
- Reduction of arms expenditure, closing up of military bases, prohibition of arms transfers, elimination of subsidies to arms exports,
- North-South Restructuring- removal of trade barriers, equitable access to global markets.
- Institutional Restructuring of IMF, World Bank and UN with a focus on human development. Veto less UN Security Council
- Evolution of Global Civil Society through grassroot participation and democratic governance.

Thus, a shift has witnessed in the understanding of security in recent times. Traditional security studies solely emphasised on security of states and considered wars and external military threats as the only dangers against which states need to be protected. Human Security, in stark contrast, gives paramount importance to the security of individuals and believes that, individuals need to be protected against multiple threats of varied nature (not military threats alone). Development and not force, is the key to attain human security. States, NGOs and international organizations can further come together to decide the short-term and long-term norms of conduct in various areas of human security.

Check your progress exercise 3

Note (i) use the space given below for your answer.

- 1) **Discuss the threats to human security and the proposals of reform suggested by Mahbub ul Haq.**

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3.5 LET US SUM UP

In this chapter, we discussed the meaning, typologies and the different approaches to peace, conflict, and security. While peace reflects order in the international system, conflict reflects disorder. However, conflict is natural

and inevitable. Conflict can be of different types with a lack of any common agreement amongst scholars regarding its typologies. It can, broadly, range from being intra-personal to inter-personal to international to varied issues-areas like ideology, occupation, race, culture and so on. However, management of conflict is necessary for establishing peace in the international system. While there are different approaches to peace, we have discussed the approaches of disarmament, arms control, and collective security. While disarmament focuses on complete elimination of armaments, arms control focuses on limiting/controlling the armaments. The idea of collective security is based on the rationale of 'attack on one' being equivalent to 'attack on all'. It is applicable to all the states in the international system universally and aggression against any one state in the international system is to be considered as aggression on all the states, with all states coming together to defend the state which has been attacked by the aggressor.

Finally, in the third section of the chapter, we discussed the shift from national security to human security. It was observed that there has been a shift in recent times from the classical/ traditional idea of security that focused on state-centrism to the idea of human security where the referent object of security is the individual and security is achieved through development.

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction: International political economy
- 4.3 IMF, World Bank and, World Trade Organization
- 4.4 Regional Integration
- 4.5 European Union
- 4.6 Globalization
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Conclusion
- 4.9 References

4.1 OBJECTIVES

The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the international political economy. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the nuances of international political economy, and the interplay between political and economic factors in international relations.
- Explicate the role of non-state actors like MNCs in shaping international political economy
- Explain, Understand Regional Integration how EU has pioneered regional economic integration and emerged as an ideal model.
- Explain, Understand the dimensions of Globalization and its role in making the world a global village.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Internationalism brought a different approach focussing on soft power and challenging the realist world order based on hard power. It developed as a key theory in the liberal international order. Liberal institutionalism argues that in order for there to be peace in international affairs states must cooperate together and in effect yield some of their sovereignty to create 'integrated communities' to promote economic growth and respond to regional and international security issues (Caporaso J. and Jupille J, 1999). Namkoong, Young (2000) while analysing international political economy argue that relations between the actors are essentially harmonious.

Liberalists advocate free market economy and free trade with minimal barriers.

In July 1944, the World War II was drawing to a close and the world was discussing the structure of the Post- War international order. Delegates from 44 Allied nations gathered at a mountain resort in Bretton Woods, to discuss a new international monetary order. The purpose was to build a better monetary order with lessons learnt from the Great Depression and WWII. The great economic superpowers all have gathered. US has emerged as a stronger nation Post WWII while Britain and other European countries were weak and indebted after the destruction and loss of the WWII.

American interests were represented by Harry Dexter White, who prioritized the facilitation of freer trade through the stability of fixed exchange rates. Britain's position, was communicated by John Maynard Keynes who advocated the freedom to pursue autonomous policy goals, pushed for greater exchange rate and flexibility.

What came out of these deliberations was the fixation of a fixed rate wherein nations would peg their currencies to the U.S. dollar. U.S. in turn would peg the dollar to the gold to ensure that its currency was dependable, the U.S. would peg the dollar to gold, at a price of \$35 an ounce. (Wang, 2009)

In order to ensure compliance with the new rules, two international institutions were created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD; later known as the World Bank). The new rules were officially outlined in the IMF Articles of Agreement.³ Further provisions of the Articles stipulated that current account restrictions would be lifted while capital controls were allowed, in order to avoid destabilizing capital flows. (Bretton Woods Committee Report)

4.2 IMF

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is a global organization with 190-member countries with staff drawn from 150 countries. It is currently based in Washington, D.C. It was established in 1944 to tackle the great depression of 1930s. The fund's purpose is to promote financial stability and economic growth among other objectives. (IMF Factsheets)

The objective of IMF is to ensure stability of the international monetary system which is a system of exchange rates and international payments that enable countries to transact with each other. The IMF issues an international reserve asset known as Special Drawing Rights, or SDR that can supplement The SDR is an international reserve asset, created by the IMF in 1969 to supplement its member countries' official reserves. To date, a total of SDR 660.7 billion (equivalent to about US\$943 billion) have been allocated. This includes the largest-ever allocation of about SDR 456 billion approved on August 2, 2021 (effective on August 23, 2021). The value of the SDR is based on a basket of five currencies—the U.S. dollar, the euro,

the Chinese renminbi, the Japanese yen, and the British pound sterling. (IMF Factsheet ,2021)

The primary goals of IMF are:

- 1) Surveillance - To maintain stability and prevent crisis in the international monetary system, the IMF monitors member countries and promotes policies designed to foster economic stability, reduce vulnerability to economic and financial crisis and raise living standards.
- 2) Providing loans to member countries that are experiencing actual or potential balance of payments problems. In 2009 the IMF strengthened its capacity and approved major changes in its financial support mechanisms. (IMF Factsheets, 2019)
- 3) Capacity development- The IMF provides technical assistance and training to help member countries build better economic institutions and strengthen related human capacities.
- 4) The Rapid Financing Instrument (RFI) provides rapid financial assistance, which is available to all member countries facing an urgent balance of payments need. The RFI was created as part of a broader reform to make the IMF's financial support more flexible to address the diverse needs of member countries which has two windows. (i) a regular window, for situations described above, with access limits of 50 percent of quota in any 12-month period and 100 percent of quota on a cumulative basis, and (ii) a Large Natural Disaster (LND) window, for cases where the damage suffered as a result of a natural disaster is assessed to be 20 percent of GDP or more, with access limits of 80 percent of quota in any 12-month period and 133.33 percent of quota on a cumulative basis. (IMF Factsheets, 2022) India's quota in IMF is SDR 13114.4 million and is the 8th largest quota holding country in the IMF. (India and IMF)

The World Bank

The World Bank Group, like the IMF, was created at Bretton Woods in 1944. The group is self-funded and has its home office in Washington, D.C. Its goal is to provide "financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world" in an effort to "reduce poverty and support development." It consists of five underlying institutions, the first two of which are collectively referred to as The World Bank. (Burke)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). This is the World Bank's lending arm. It provides financial assistance to credit-worthy, middle- and low-income nations.

International Development Association (IDA). IDA provides loans and grants to poor countries.

International Finance Corporation (IFC). In contrast to the World Bank, which focuses its efforts on governments, the IFC provides money and advice to private sector entities.

Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency. MIGA seeks to encourage foreign direct investment in developing nations.

International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes. ICSID provides physical facilities and procedural expertise to help resolve the inevitable disputes that arise when money is at the heart of a disagreement between two parties.

The World Bank pursues its objectives by delivering financial assistance to developing nations. It gives low- or no-interest loans and grants to finance a wide array of investments in such areas as education, health, public administration, infrastructure, financial and private sector development, agriculture, and environmental and natural resource management. For example, the World Bank loaned India \$2.75 billion and \$400 billion in emergency lending in 2020 to support India's responses to the Covid-19 crisis. (World Bank in India)

The World Bank's efforts include providing advice and guidance in addition to working closely with the International Monetary Fund.

The World Bank Board of Executive Directors has approved a supplemental budget support package for Ukraine, called Financing of Recovery from Economic Emergency in Ukraine – or FREE Ukraine – for \$489 million. The package approved by the Board consists of a supplemental loan for \$350 million and guarantees in the amount of \$139 million and is also mobilizing grant financing of \$134 million and parallel financing of \$100 million, resulting in total mobilized support of \$723 million. (Britannica History)

India faced a balance of payment crisis in 1958 and asked World Bank for help. India is a founding member of World Bank and largest borrower too. It has received financial aid and support from World Bank through India Consortium, or Aid-India Consortium Group. Its purpose had shifted from providing emergency financial aid to coordinating long-term financing to India's development plan.

The World Trade Organization (WTO)

The World Trade Organization (WTO) claims to be the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. The WTO's efforts center on developing trade agreements between nations

to encourage cross-border commerce. This includes setting up the agreements, interpreting the agreements, and facilitating dispute settlement.

Officially founded in 1995, the WTO traces its roots back to Bretton Woods where the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was crafted in an effort to encourage and support trade between nations. Following up on GATT, the 1986-1994 Uruguay Roundtable trade negotiations resulted in the formal creation of the WTO.¹⁸ The WTO headquarters is located in Geneva, Switzerland. Like the IMF and the World Bank, the WTO is funded by its members. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is also a global association with 164-member countries. The organization's purpose is to promote fair trade between nations. The World Bank is also an international organization and has a goal to reduce poverty through financial assistance.

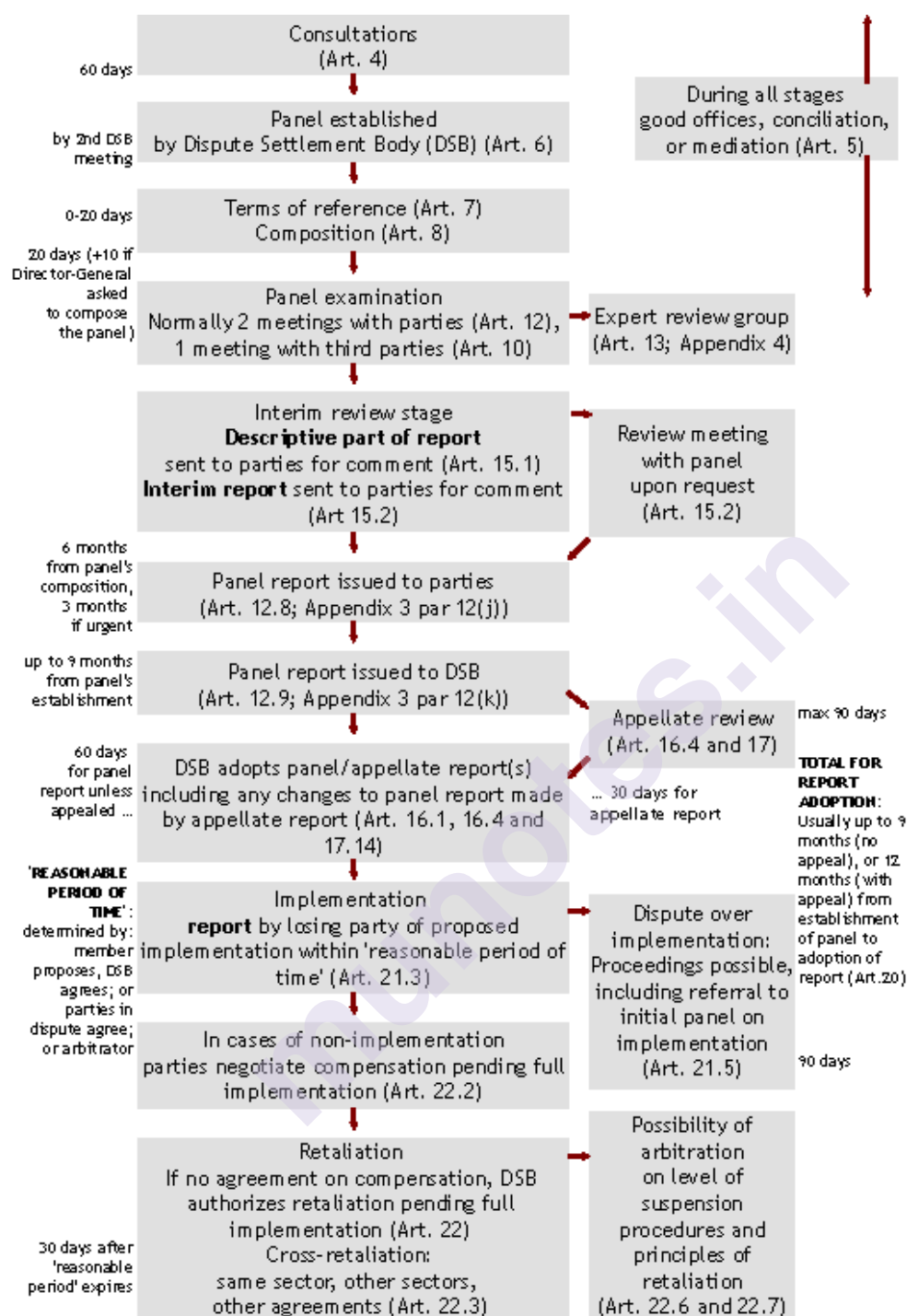
The Ministerial Conference is the highest organ of the WTO and is to meet at least once every two years. It is normally composed of all the Ministers of Trade of the Members of the WTO. The Ministerial Conference has supreme authority over all matters. The General Council is composed of representatives of all the members – normally country delegates based in Geneva. The General Council is in session between the meetings of the Ministerial Council. Besides there are Councils like Council for trade in Goods, Trade in services etc. to take up specific responsibilities.

The WTO operates through a network of multilateral agreements like TRIPS (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights), Agreement on Technical barriers to Trade, Agreement on Agriculture etc. WTO facilitates the implementation, administration, and operation of the Multilateral Trade Agreements, and provides the framework for the implementation, administration, and operation of the multilateral Trade Agreements.

To accelerate this plan of helping the needy countries, the heads of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank Group, World Health Organization and World Trade Organization had several discussions for playing a proactive role in Covid-19 affected countries. At a meeting held on 17 December 2021 high-level consultations with UNICEF and Gavi discussed an increasing access to COVID-19-related vaccines and other critical medical countermeasures in low— and lower-middle-income countries. The four agency heads — Kristalina Georgieva (IMF), David Malpass (World Bank), Dr Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus (WHO) and Dr Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala (WTO) — issued a joint statement on behalf of the Multilateral Leaders Task Force. (Joint statement, 2021)

Besides, the WTO along with facilitating the cross-border with large-scale trade initiatives, also facilitates trade dispute negotiations, such as a disagreement between USA and China. It has a proper framework of dispute settlement mechanism that was lacking in GATT (General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade) which preceded WTO.

Flow Chart of WTO Dispute Settlement process



Source: WTO

There are two main ways to settle a dispute once a complaint has been filed in the WTO: (i) the parties find a mutually agreed solution, particularly during the phase of bilateral consultations; and (ii) through adjudication, including the subsequent implementation of the panel and Appellate Body reports, which are binding upon the parties once adopted by the Dispute Settlement Board. (DSB). There are three main stages to the WTO dispute settlement process:

(i) consultations between the parties; (ii) adjudication by panels and, if applicable, by the Appellate Body; and (iii) the implementation of the ruling, which includes the possibility of countermeasures in the event of failure by the losing party to implement the ruling. (WTO Dispute Settlement process)

However, these institutions are also criticized for being discriminatory and harsh by the conditions imposed on developing countries while providing them development assistance. They often come with a number of strings attached. Developing countries have to shift their investment in social welfare and health to profit making enterprises. The organizations do provide financial assistance to countries in need, but like just about every other known method of obtaining financial resources, the money comes with conditionalities and the motives behind the initiatives are often in question. For example, Structural Adjustment program which a country must adhere to get loan from the IMF or World Bank have undermined access to affordable healthcare for poor in developing countries.

India has been fighting reforms in the WTO subsidy rules to enable developing countries to engage in public food stockholding for food security purposes. It also calls for making the multilateral trading system fairer and more inclusive.

Protests, including those in Davos, Switzerland, Washington, D.C., Cancun, Mexico, and other major cities are a regular feature at IMF, World Bank, and WTO events. Aside from the public protests, even some business leaders argue against the organizations. (Conway and Heynen, 2006)

Check your Progress Exercise 1

Note i: Use the Space given below for your answer

- 1.) Examine the structure and functions of WTO. How do Bretton Woods Institutions facilitate the process of Globalization.?

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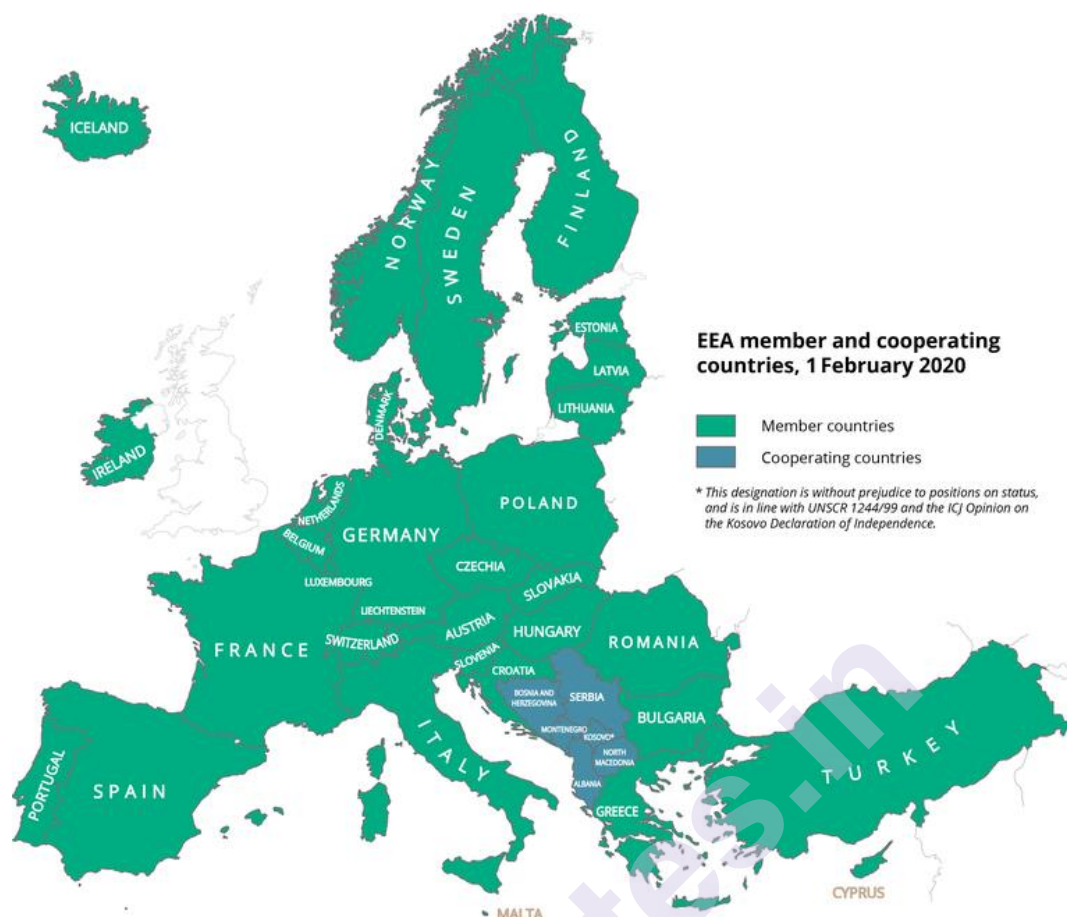
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4.5 REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Regional Integration is a process by which two or more nation-states agree to co-operate and work closely together for mutual progress, and realization of peace and stability. This cooperation begins with economic integration and gradually encloses within its ambit other areas of cooperation as well.



The European Integration

Sources: Eionet Portal

4.6 EUROPEAN UNION

European Union is a supranational organization an association of independent European nation states.

It consists of 27-member countries which have a common economic, social and security policy. Two treaties revised the policies and institutions of the EU. The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997 and entered into force on May 1, 1999

A second treaty, the Treaty of Nice, was signed in 2001 and entered into force on February 1, 2003. Negotiated in preparation for the admission of new members from eastern Europe, it contained major reforms as initially EU was confined to Western Europe but later expanded to eastern and Central Europe. (Factsheets of European Union)

EU was developed on the idea of Victor Hugo a European thinker who dreamt of a single European state. The idea was developed by Jean Monnet. The credit for actual European integration however goes to Robert Schuman, a French foreign minister who advocated the formation of European Coal and Steel community. Schuman plan proposed the formation

of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The six states of the Western Europe viz. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Netherlands, and Luxembourg formed the ECSC and concluded the treaty of Paris in 1991.

Treaty of Rome led to the creation of European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community. (EEC)

The European Union was founded on November 1, 1993 in Maastricht, Netherlands. The main decision-making bodies of EU are European Union – European Parliament, European Council, European Commission, Council of the European Union, Court of Justice of the European Union, European Central Bank and European Court of Auditors. Every member state is part of the founding treaties of the union and is subjected to binding laws within the common legislative and judicial institutions. In order for the EU to adopt policies that concern defence and foreign affairs, all member states must agree unanimously.

1. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in European Union was worth 15276.47 billion US dollars in 2020, according to official data from the World Bank. (World Bank Data)
2. E.U also has representation in the WTO. The Eurozone is a monetary union of 19-member states of the European Union that has adopted the euro as their primary currency and sole legal tender.
3. Euro is the 2nd most traded currency in the world and second largest reserve currency of the world.
4. A setback to this regional integration was BREXIT. On January 31, 2020, the United Kingdom (U.K) formally left the European Union. U.K is the first country to leave the E.U. The exit was in accordance with Article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union. UK therein became free to set its own trade policy and negotiate deals with other countries.
- 5) (BBC, 2020)
- 6)

Check your Progress Exercise 2

Note i: Use the Space given below for your answer

- 1) What is European Integration and how it is a role model for regional integration?

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Globalization is a phenomenon characterized by interconnectedness and inter dependence of world economies, cultures, trade and free flow of goods, services, ideas and people. The technological changes leading to dissemination of information related to finance, information series and transportation, communications, logistics, production and advancement of knowledge and competence has triggered globalization. This has led to rise of Knowledge based economies. Simultaneously there is flow of capital and technology and expansion of communication networks. Besides, in a Globalized world nation states are not the primary actors. Globalization process hence extends beyond, the boundaries of nation states. Multi national and Transnational corporations and Non-governmental organizations, multi-state/ regional organizations are also an important actor in a globalized world.

There has been an intense debate regarding the features of Globalization. Three schools of thought have emerged on globalization according to Held (1999). The Hyper globalizers like Ohmae argue that globalization has given birth to a new Skeptics such as Hirst and Thompson (1996), on the other hand, oppose the Hyper globalists and call it a myth. They cite social and economic inequalities to prove that nothing has changed in globalization. Transformationalists, one of whom is Giddens (1990, 1996), are convinced that globalization is an unprecedented major force causing the rapid social, economic and political transformation of the world. They are pragmatic and optimist in their assessment of globalization unlike the Hyper globalizers who are critical of the impact of globalization and perceive it as oppressive. The impact of globalization resulting from the technological diffusion has been distributed unequally dividing the world in to haves and have nots, insiders and outsiders. (Conway and Heynen, 2006) There have been desirable and undesirable outcomes of Globalization. Positive outcomes like increase in consumer choice, lowering of commodity prices, free and unrestricted flow of information have come with certain undesirable outcomes like curtailment of nation-state sovereignty, compromise of national interest and erosion of national identity. Critics also call it a new form of imperialism propelled by MNCs, under the guise of globalization.

Check your Progress Exercise 3

Note i: Use the Space given below for your answer

- 1) Define Globalization. What are the three perspectives of globalization?

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

International political economy studies the interdependence of economy and politics. It studies how economic factors influence political processes and how political factors shape economic policies. When we critically analyze the international political economy, then we understand the role of the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO in facilitating and aiding the process of globalization. WTO frames international trade governance and rules. World Bank provides financial aid and assistance for economic growth especially of the developing countries. IMF helps in maintaining global financial stability and providing financial consultation as well as technical help to countries.

When we talk about global integration, side by side regional integration is also an important development in understanding the world economy.

European Union is a successful model of Regional economic integration. It shows how Countries of a region could work together under the ambit of a supranational organization like EU to mutually prosper. Hence, integration at global and regional level assisted with economic governance by international economic institutions have supported Globalization. Globalization thus is all pervasive and all-encompassing with a network of communication, trade and technology and creating a global village.

The context of power today is not just military but also economy and technology. To understand World politics a thorough understanding of international political economy is a pre-requisite. International political economy, we come to know is the interaction between states as well as bargaining and cooperation between states in economic sphere. It takes place through regional integration like the EU model, also and through international economic institutions in a globalized world.

Thus, a state in the pursuit of security and prosperity needs to use further means like trade and economic cooperation to influence other actors in the international system. This viewpoint is supported by Institutional interdependence. Liberal intuitionist like Robert Keohane and Nye in understanding the international relations advocate institutional cooperation. They focus on international regimes, international institutions with rules, norms and principles and emphasis on soft power and diplomacy to foster international cooperation. (Devitt, 2011) International political economy epitomizes such mutually beneficial cooperation between countries which are having conflicting interests.

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