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Previous Year Questions

- Discuss the Political Economy approach to the comparative analysis of politics (10M, 2021)
- “Marxist approach to the study of international relations has lost its relevance in the post-cold war era.” Comment (10M, 2021)
- Discuss the subject matter of comparative politics. Outline the limitations of comparative political analysis. ((10M, 2020)
- Examine the significance of Comparative method in political analysis. Discuss its limitations. (20M, 2019)
- Describe the changing nature of Comparative Politics. Briefly explain the Political Economy approach to the study of comparative politics. (10M, 2018)
- Explain the Political Sociological approach in the field of comparative politics and discuss its limitations. (10M, 2017)
- Critically Examine the Marxist aspect of political economy approach to the study of comparative politics. (10M, 2016)

Introduction

The event of World Wars was not just a new beginning for the whole outlook of world, but also for the discipline of political science. Academicians, political scientists, etc started finding out the limitations of political science as a discipline as it had been unable to predict what led to the world wars and why the basic needs of the society / state that was based on distribution of resources by ensuring justice, equality, rights, etc. was remained unfulfilled.

Comparative politics as being a methodological sub discipline of Political science, started to rethink its traditional form which started from the times of **Aristotle** (known as the Father of Comparative Politics) who compared 153 constitutions of his time. There started coming a divide between the traditional studies in comparative politics and the emerging modern studies which were to be based on scientific comparisons and more application based analysis.

Before delving into this modern comparative field of analysis of politics we need to have an oversight as to why within political science there was such an advanced branch of studying societies, institutions, processes, etc. so as to put forward a methodological analysis of understanding political science.

We therefore pose questions like:

1. What is **Comparative Politics**?
2. What is this **traditional** comparative politics?
3. What **differentiates** Traditional comparative politics with Modern comparative politics?
4. Why Political science experienced the **renewal** of a new branch of study of political science?
5. What is the **nature, scope and significance** of political science? Etc. etc.

Note: we as humans are **wired to look at things in relative** and comparative terms. Whether in present times of the world or at the ancient times. Look at **Aristotle**, he laid the foundation of the traditional Comparative politics by comparing at different constitutions of different states and coming to a conclusion that *“Polity is the best practicable form of government.”* It is no doubt that Polity remains the best practicable. This shows the strength of relative comparisons in formation of theories. Thought there remains one or the other drawbacks that was seen in this discipline during the World wars and it is due to this fact that Modern Comparative Politics originated...

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

As the term itself points out, comparative politics is about comparing political phenomena. The emphasis is on both the method of inquiry i.e., comparative, and the substance into which inquiry is directed i.e., political phenomena.

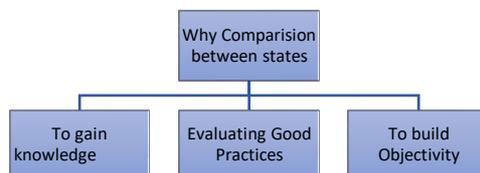
- According to **John Blondel**, *“Comparative Politics is the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world.”*
- It can be understood as the study of the domestic politics, political institutions, and conflicts of countries. It involves comparisons among countries and through time within single countries, emphasizing key patterns of similarity and difference.
- Comparative politics is the systematic study and comparison of the diverse political systems in the world.

NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- The nature and scope of comparative politics has been determined historically by changes in what constituted it, i.e. The subject matter of study, the choice of theories and lastly the political perspective over which comparative politics theoretical research was based on and how the outcome of the study was thought.
- Nature of the field of study is based on **two major themes** – that is there a distinct field of comparative political analysis or is it a sub discipline subsumed within the larger field of political science.
- Also, the field is largely an **interdisciplinary** study which is still **evolving** as a methodological sub-discipline of political science.
- We need to understand that **comparative politics shares the subject matter and concerns of Political Science**, i.e. democracy, constitutions, political parties, social movements etc. Within the discipline of Political Science thus the specificity of comparative political analysis is marked out by its **conscious use of the comparative method to answer questions which might be of general interest to political scientists**.
- In this regard, Comparison is at the heart of Comparative Politics. At the same time, gathering of information about individual countries with little or at the most implicit comparison involved doesn't make Comparative Politics comparative.
- The distinctiveness lies in a **conscious and systematic use of comparisons** to study two or more countries with the purpose of identifying and eventually explaining differences or similarities. For a long time, comparative politics appeared merely to look for similarities and differences, and directed this towards classifying, differentiating or polarizing political phenomena.
- Comparative political analysis is however, not simply about identifying similarities and differences. Scholars argue that **nature of Comparative Politics is beyond identifying**

similarities and differences. Rather it is ultimately the study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationships. For eg. Understanding India's Political system, its political culture, etc and getting outputs like nature of Voting Behavior in the scope of elections, understanding coalition governments in Europe (mature and stable) and India (developing).

Thus, one can say that one does Comparison in order to:



ADVANTAGES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- Interdisciplinary nature helps in a better way of analysis of different constitutions, polities, countries, etc and helps us to differentiate and understand similarities.
- helps people understand the nature and working of political frameworks around the world.
- Started in true sense the study of developing societies after World War II and understand their indigenous political systems, eg. Political Development approach.
- Helps to Understand how countries evolve, discover patterns, and why they evolve in the way they do.
- Let us understand how certain political as well as social regimes work for purposes of international relations and foreign policy.

LIMITATIONS

- Mostly **ethnocentric** in nature – thus, it becomes impossible to compare drastically different or completely identical countries on a single monolithic European political system
- It **favours status quoism** and doesn't favour much dynamic analysis.
- Too much emphasis on study of political institutions
- **Too much data driven, methodological analysis kills the indigenous research** models as well creativity in understanding diverse nations like that of India where ascriptive factors like caste, religion, etc play a larger impact in elections as compared to Western nations.
- It has been seen that political scientists in the comparative analysis rely **too much on comparison that the basic premises** on individuality of state or society is lost.
- **Too much comparison based on datas, studies,** etc sometimes might be falsified by other set of data and studies, thus it can make the approach volatile to changing times.
- The study of developing societies that was targeted majorly by the Modern Comparative approach has inherent fallacies of Orientalism and Colonial understanding.

APPROACHES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The field of Comparative Politics is divided into two segments

- Traditional Comparative Politics
- Modern Comparative Politics

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

The traditional approach to the study of comparative governments emerged as a response to the period of historicism of the 19th century. It stressed the historical examination of Western political institutions from the earliest to the modern times.

The traditionalists, either theoretically philosophized about political systems like democracy and other subjects, or made a formal and legal study of governmental institutions. For eg. **Machiavelli's** The Prince Work.

The analysis was basically configurative and each system was treated as a unique entity. The approach was heavily descriptive rather than problem-solving, explanatory, or analytic in its method, and its description was incomplete and limited to forms of government and of foreign political systems.

Major approaches included

PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

- Philosophical approach is conventional approach to study politics. Customarily, the study of politics was subjugated by philosophical reflections on universal political values that were regarded as essential to the just state and the good state. The oldest approach to the study of politics is philosophical.
- Principles of political theory were laid with the help of **history, law, ethics and philosophy**. This approach significantly contributed to literature on normative political theory. Thinkers like **Plato and Burke** successfully laid down the principles of political theory and developed concepts like liberty and equality, rights, law and justice.
- On the one hand, with traditional approach, **Plato, Kant and Hegel** idealized the state; on the other hand, **Aristotle, Hobbes and Machiavelli** became more practical and developed theories of the state which could be practiced for real

HISTORICAL APPROACH

- This approach states that political theory can be only understood when the historical factors are taken into consideration. It highlights on the study of history of every political reality to analyse any situation.
- Political theorists like **Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning** believed that politics and history are strongly inter-related, and therefore, the study of politics always should have a historical viewpoint. Sabine considered that Political Science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writings of different political thinkers since Plato.
- **Comparative history** is commonly used rather loosely to refer to any study in which two or more historical trajectories are of nation-states, institutional complexes, or civilizations are juxtaposed. Some studies which fall in this genre, like **Charles, Louis and Richard Tilly's** *The Rebellious Century 1810-1930*, aim at drawing up a specific historical model which can be applied across different national context.
- Others, such as **Reinhard Benedix's** *Nation Building and Citizenship* and **Perry Anderson's** *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, use comparisons primarily to bring out contrasts among nations or civilizations, conceived as isolated wholes. Skocpol herself subscribes to the second method, i.e., comparative historical analysis, which aims primarily to develop, test, and refine causal, explanatory hypothesis about events or structures integral to macro-units such as nation-states. This it does by taking 'selected slices of national historical trajectories as the units of comparison',

to **develop causal relationship about specific phenomenon (e.g., revolutions) and draw generalizations**

LEGAL-INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

- eg. **Aristotle's** work –
- There is a strong belief that philosophy, history and law have bestowed to the study of politics and it is in the field of institutional approaches. It deals with the formal aspects of government and politics and is concerned with the study of the formal political structures like legislature, executive, and judiciary.
- For political scientists using this method, law and justice are not limited to being the matters of jurisprudence but the state itself is treated as in charge of an equitable and effective system of law and order.
- Therefore, for political scientists, **organizational matters, as well as those related to jurisdiction and independence of judicial institutions, are matters of concern.**
- State has been analysed as a corporation or a juridical person by analytical jurists from **Cicero** in ancient times to **Dacey** in the modern period.
- Politics thus became a **science of legal norms, independent of the science of the state as a social organism.** This approach, therefore, **treats state as the prime entity to craft and implement laws.** Applied to the study of national and international politics, the legal method presumes that any action which is to be taken in case of an emergency is prescribed in law.

Roy Macridis in his work "*Modern Political Regimes*" points out that the approach has been essentially non-comparative, descriptive, parochial, static and monographic.

Almond and Powell have identified **five major premises that have dominated the criticism of the approach to comparative government** feature of the pre-World War II period. These premises are as follows:

- Parochialism and ethnocentric – study mostly centered to Europe and West.
- configurative analysis – based on behavioral thinking.
- Formalism – formal in nature and analysis
- static and Eurocentric in their study – forwards status quoism.
- lacking scientific vigor – lack of modern scientific studies.

Now, due to these deficiencies in working, the external environment also forced the traditional studies to take modern forms.

MODERN APPROACHES

The modern approaches to the study of comparative governments and politics, while attempting to remove the defects inherent in the traditional approaches, seek to understand in a clearer perspective, and objectively review the major paradigms, conceptual frameworks and contending models so to understand it better.

Sidney Verba sums up the principles behind this revolution, saying, "*Look beyond description to more theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political processes and political functions; and look beyond the countries of Western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.*"

Almond and Powell considered it as a new revolution in the field of comparative analysis and rightly point out toward

- (a) the search for more comprehensive scope,
- (b) the search for realism,
- (c) the search for precision,
- (d) the search for the theoretical order.

So, what changes were made in this process?

- Under the influence of the **behavioral reform**, the institutional mode of analysis has been restored by the **process mode**.
- Behaviorist's **study the behaviours of people and groups rather than the structure, institutions, ideologies or events**.
- It is now largely agreed that the process mode **avoids the static quality of structural analysis**.
- It has a **dynamic dimension** that is particularly valuable in accurately capturing the mercurial quality of political life.
- State was no more regarded as the central organizing concept, and **attention was now paid to the empirical investigation of relations among human beings**.
- Starting of **redefining of institutions as systems** of related individual behaviour or systems of social action. For example, instead of studying the India's Parliament, Judiciary etc as isolated institutions, behaviourists enquire about the behaviour patterns of the legislators in gaining votes (eg. **Milan Vaishnav's** Market Theory of Elections) or the role of factors like caste in shaping Parliament as a political system of legislation (eg. Christophe Jaffrelot's work on Caste in India).

Another important phenomenon / movement / event that changed the field of Modern Comparative Politics was the coming up of Behavioural Movement or Behavioralism.

BEHAVIOURALISM

Under the spell of behaviouralism, facts and values were separated. This started with a mission to make Comparative Politics a **scientific enterprise**. The reason for this was so that the **results, findings and conclusions can be uniformly applicable** and tested in any situation. There was an attempt to **bring perfection and objectivity and make it closer to natural science**.

Charles Merriam is considered as the **Father of Behavioral Revolution** in Political science. He led to the process of change that made Normative approach side lined with the scientific approach involving statistical method, quantification tools and techniques, etc.



Charles Merriam

There was also influence of other disciplines like **Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology**, etc as seen in the emergence of specific approaches like the Political Sociology Approach, Political Culture Approach, etc.

Another major proponent of this approach was **David Easton**. From 1942 through the 1970s, behaviouralism gained support. It was probably **Dwight Waldo** who coined the term for the first time

in a book called "*Political Science in the United States*" which was released in 1956. It was David Easton however who popularized the term. It was the site of discussion between traditionalist and new emerging approaches to political science.

Prior to the "behaviouralist revolution", political science being a science at all was disputed. Critics saw the study of politics as being primarily qualitative and normative, and claimed that it lacked a scientific method necessary to be deemed a science. David Easton was the first to differentiate behaviouralism from behaviourism in the 1950s. In the early 1940s, behaviourism itself was referred to as a behavioural science and later called behaviourism. The two disciplines were given distinct meanings by Easton.

Behaviouralists used **strict methodology and empirical research** to validate their study as a social science. The behaviouralist approach was innovative because it changed the attitude of the purpose of inquiry. It moved toward research that was supported by verifiable facts.

However, the longevity of behaviouralism was of just two decades. After the WWII it surfaced in the American continent and one of its exponents was David Easton who in the 1960s brought post-behaviouralism revolution in order to revise the basic tenets of behaviouralism that seemed to be its disadvantages. According to Easton, "*political scientists were in their ivory towers perfecting their methodology unconcerned with the normative and relevant issues that had arisen.*"

Issues with the Behavioural approach:

- The 1960's America saw numerous movements for black rights, environmental concerns, improvement of inequality and reduce differences, etc.
- Behaviouralists gave **too much focus to methodology** and were in a race to prove political science a science through giving more objectivity and value-neutrality and this harmed the inherent value based and normative nature of political science.
- Wrong concept of political behaviour was understood by the behaviouralists.

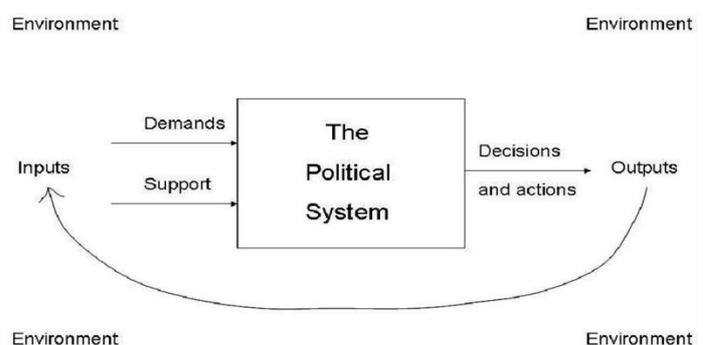
In his speech to the APSA (American Political Science Association), he introduced them post-Behaviourism based on "**Credo of relevance**" i.e. creative theory, with its focus on

a) Action

b) Relevance

He laid the base of **8 intellectual foundation stones** ->

1. regularity,
2. technique,
3. systematization,
4. verification,
5. measurement,
6. value neutrality,
7. pure science
8. and integration.



This helped in shaping the Modern Comparative Politics approaches.

We will now understand the major Modern Approaches one by one:

SYSTEMS APPROACH

The most well-known among these are a number of systematic approaches, which stem from the **general systems theory** (by **Ludwig Von**) and the Systems approach for Sociology by **Talcott Parsons** based on Social System. The Systems approach is the **study of inter-related variables forming one system**, a unit, a whole which is composed of many facts, a set of elements standing in interaction. This approach assumes that the **system consists of discernible, regular and internally consistent patterns in the form of a political system, input-output functions, etc**, each interacting with another, and giving, on the whole, the picture of a self-regulating order. It is, thus, the study of a set of interactions occurring within, and yet analytically distinct from, the larger system.

The systems theory had its origins in natural sciences, but on the whole, the theory originated in movements aimed at amalgamation of science and scientific analysis. It is based on the idea that objects or elements within a group are in some way related to one another and in turn, interact with one another on the basis of certain identifiable processes.

David Easton is the major proponent of this approach. In his theory, **State as a unit of analysis was replaced with Political systems** (structure + processes)



Systems Approach

His mission was to **make Comparative Politics a scientific enterprise** so that the results, findings and conclusions can be uniformly applicable and tested in any situation.

Here, the Function of political systems is the **authoritative allocation of values. And this is based on the Input-Output mechanism.**

- **Political system** - Political system is a system of **regularized persistent patterns of relationships** among the people and institutions within it. Like any natural system, has in it a **self-regulating system** by which it is able to change, correct and adjust its processes and structures.
- **Input and Output Functions** - Inputs through **demands and supports** put the political system at work while outputs through policies and decisions throw back what is not accepted as feedback.
- For eg, The Political system can be understood as Parliament and input functions is the inputs given by political parties and representatives which produce an output function of legislations, bills, acts which regulate the environment. The feedback by people are given in the form of participation in elections, Social Audits, etc.

David Easton's **The Political System (1953)**, conceived the political system as integrating all activities through which social policy is formulated and executed—that is, the **political system is the policy-making process.**

Easton defined **political behaviour as the “authoritative allocation of values,”** or the distribution of rewards in wealth, power, and status that the system may provide. In doing so, he distinguished his

sense of the subject matter of political science from that of **Lasswell**, who had argued that political science is concerned with the distribution and content of patterns of value throughout society.

Easton's conception of system **emphasizes linkages between the system and its environment**. Inputs (demands) flow into the system and are converted into outputs (decisions and actions) that constitute the authoritative allocation of values.

Applicability

Systems analysis was applied to international relations to explain how the forces of the international system affect the behavior of states.

The American political scientist **Morton Kaplan** delineated types of international systems and their logical consequences in *System and Process in International Politics* (1957).

Critics

By the 1970s, systems approaches to domestic politics were criticized and generally abandoned as unverifiable abstractions of little explanatory or predictive power.

- Marxists criticized this approach of being **status quoist** for forwarding the capitalist statism in state or political system construction.
- Professor **S.P Verma** regards it as an abstraction, whole relation to empirical politics (which is classic) is impossible to establish
- Many critics argued it to be **ethnocentric** – as the political systems was largely based on European / Western state processes
- Traditionalist say that this approach just made **cosmetic changes** to the field of Comparative Politics.
- Only collection of data becomes possible due to this approach.
- criticised due to complexity and for using jargons.
- There was no consensus among political scientists concerning the system that developed after the end of the Cold War.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

The structural functional analysis is another derivative of the systems approach. Coming in through sociology and originating mainly in the writings of anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, and adopted in political science, especially in comparative politics by **Gabriel Almond**, structural functional analysis is basically concerned with the phenomenon of system

Maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition of this approach is that all systems exist to perform functions through their structures. The central question of this approach, as Young says, is: **'What structures fulfil what basic functions and under what conditions in any given society'?**

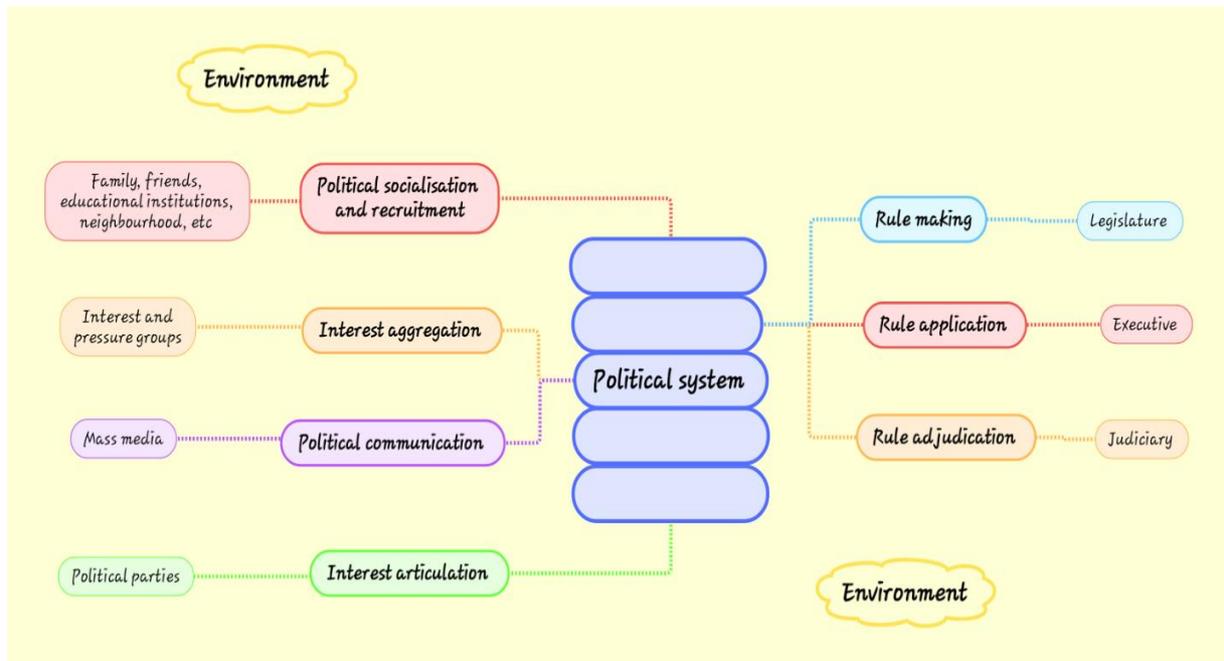
Main features / assumptions of the approach:

- Society is a **single inter-connected system** in which each of its elements performs a specific function and whose basic goal is the maintenance of the equilibrium
- Presence of inter-related parts
- Stability provided by the own built mechanism of the system

- System has its own structure, with its own aims, principles and functions

The structural-functional derivative speaks of the political system as composed of several structures as patterns of action and resultant institutions with their assigned functions.

Gabriel Almond in his work **'The Politics of the Developing Areas, 1960'** has given the Structural Functional approach as an amendment to the Systems approach of Easton. According to him, All political systems have a structure, i.e. legitimate patterns of human interactions by which order is maintained; all political structures perform their respective functions, with different degrees in different political systems.



Almond's Structural Functional Approach

Input functions are

1. **political socialisation and Recruitment;**
2. **interest articulation;**
3. **interest aggregation;**
4. **political communication;**

Output functions include

- i) rule-making, (as done by the Legislature)
- ii) rule-application, (Executive role)
- iii) rule-adjudication (Judiciary)

Political system thus can be understood in his words as *"the system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform **the functions of integration and adaptation** by means of the employment or threat of employment of more or less legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in the society."*

In this regard, **Interest articulation** is the expression of political interests and demands for action.

Interest aggregation is the combining of those interests and demands which are articulated by interest groups and political parties. Political communication helps all these political functions. Political socialisation, recruitment, articulation and aggregation occur through communication.

Significance

- it seeks to identify and analyze the structures in a political system. For eg the judicial, executive and legislative organs of the government and their working culture.
- It can be used as a tool of investigation for comparing political systems.
- Dynamic view of pol system unlike static view in systems approach
- Can be helpful in analyzing political processes of developing countries

Criticism

- It talks about the functions of the structures and **ignores the interactions** which are characteristics of the numerous structures as parts of the political system.
- It is just a **micro-level analysis and remains ethnocentric** as well for it explains the western political system, or to be more specific, the American political system.
- There is **undue importance on the input aspect**, and much less on the output aspect in his explanation of the political system, giving, in the process, the feedback mechanism only a passing reference.
- Like Easton, it also remains **Status-Quoist in nature**.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Since the above two approaches were being criticized mainly for their status quoism and ethnocentric nature, newer approaches in the field of Comparative politics started getting developed that tried to work on these criticisms and come up as a newer field of analysis of not just western world but the Non-western world as well, including studying the developing societies.

One such approach is Political Development approach which is seen as a movement from traditional system of governance towards modern liberal system of governance. It is based on the study of developing areas and their comparisons. It gained recognition in 1960s. Prior to the 1960s, comparative politics had tended to focus on the forms of government that prevailed in the advanced industrial world, that is, Europe and the former Soviet Union.

However, with the emergence of a number of states in Asia and Africa as a result of the breakup of Europe's empires and the cold war conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, which provided alternative paths to development, comparative politics began to focus on what became known as the 'new', the 'emerging', the 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' nations.

With modernization theory emerging as a new paradigm in social sciences, studies on comparative politics became preoccupied with the linkages between economic development, social change and democratization. In the early 1960s when political modernization became a preoccupation of comparative political studies in America, the term was used as synonym for political development.

Political development was seen as a **transition towards democratic politics** as reflected in the growth of interest group activity, development of bureaucracies and political parties and development of capacities of democratic institutions.

The dependency theory which developed in Latin America alongside the modernization theory replaced the latter as a dominant explanatory theory in comparative politics in the 1970s.

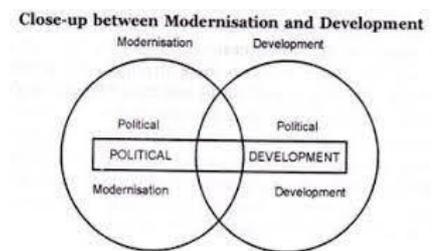
Political development emphasis on three things:

- Importance of democracy,
- Importance of change in society,
- The dimension of the consequences of change in society.

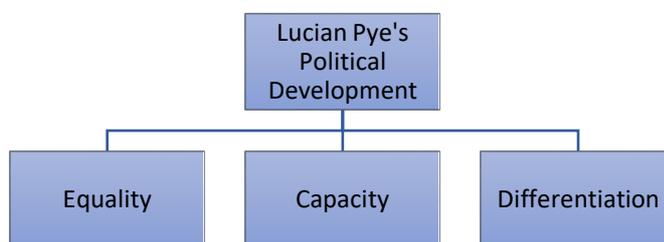
Lucian W. Pye, Almond and Powell, Samuel Huntington, Edward Shills and Fred W. Riggs are the main proponents of the Western theory of political development.

Lucian Pye and Political Development

Lucian W. Pye is the first political scientist who defines the concept of political development in a clear and precise manner. He defines it as the cultural diffusion and adaptation; fusion and adjustment of old patterns of life to new demands.



In his work **'Aspects of Political Development'**, he argues that evolution of the nation-state system is the first step towards political development. The important characteristics of political development is based on three parameters:



Equality

- Political development means the participation of the mass of people as a whole in the political activities of the nation which may be either democratic or totalitarian in nature.
- The subjects of the system should be active citizens. Equality also denotes that "laws should be of a universalistic nature, applicable to all and more or less in their operation".
- All people are equal before the law and there should not be any distinction on the basis of rich or poor, strong or weak regarding submission to the rule of law.

Capacity

- Capacity deals with the outputs of the political system. It is generally related to the performance of the government and the conditions, which affect such performance.
- It also connotes the sheer magnitude, scope and the scale of political and governmental performance, which ultimately lead to effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy.

Differentiation

- It is based on specialization of structures and the process of diffusion. According to Pye, *“differentiation is not fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration.”*

Huntington’s View of Political Development in the context of Political Decay

Political decay is a political theory, originally described by Samuel P. Huntington, which describes how chaos and disorder can arise from social modernization increasing more rapidly than political and institutional modernization.

According to him, Political Development is *“the institutionalization of political organizations and procedures”*. He considers this process to be linked with the issue of **political stability of institutions, its adaptability and change**. However, when a system cannot change but society is changing, what we find is political decay rather than political development.

Modernization	Institutional Development
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Huntington finds political development as modernization, where political decay is the opposite of the linear idea of social progress.● Why political decay takes place? – Huntington says that <i>“modern and modernizing states can change by losing capabilities as well as by gaining them. In addition, a gain in any one capability usually involves costs in others.”</i>● It is lined with the linear progression of political institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Here political decay occurs when institutions fail to change or adapt when they become unnecessary due to social or economic changes.● political decay can be observed as a decrease in competence and credibility and establishment of institutional corruption over a period of time

F.W. Riggs view of Political Development as Development Trap as a criticism of Lucian Pye’s approach:

Riggs has given the model of Development Trap in the field of analysis of political development approach.

According to him, increased **structural differentiation** is the key variable of political development. Belonging to the Structuralism school, he maintains that governmental or political structure can be borrowed or transferred independent of cultural considerations. He regards **governmental institutions and practices as ‘technology’**. It can be transplanted anywhere across political systems and political cultures.

Men or societies want political development to enhance their freedom of choice and pursue goals, called ‘political goods’ by Political Scientist **Pennock**. The ratio between the two variables – ability and environment, provides one of the many tests of the level of development attained by a system.

Political development is interaction and interplay among the independent variables like challenges posed by environment, system efforts for betterment, and efforts to change the system and dependent variables based on performance level, differentiation level and degree of integration or absorption level.

The above Diagram presents paradigm of **dialectical theory of political development**. The Political System is based on the diagonal path of political development and thus the equilibrium between equality, capacity and differentiation becomes the key theme for development.

The system falls towards a **development trap when structural differentiation is compromised with equality or capacity**. Thus, Only the balance between the two enables the system to heighten the level of structural differentiation, and realise higher degree of capacity and equality.

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION APPROACH

Political modernization emerged as a major approach in comparative politics in the late 1950s. It is concerned with **changing the characteristics of the political system and social life in diverse spheres**. It refers to the changes in political structure and culture characteristics, **transformed by modern ideas** like liberalism, secularism, transparency industrialization. It is also concerned with a change in the outlook, political culture, and rural and urban social life. This process, it was said, involved, among other things, the ending of the dominance of religion/church and the establishment of a secular and central political authority.

The modernization theory has long been divided into two major streams. The first is the **Marxist description**, which argues that economy, politics, and culture are intimately associated since economic development determines a society's political and cultural characteristics. The second, **Weberian version**, maintain that culture shapes the economy and political life.

Overall, we can say that

- political modernization is an approach of comparing modern political systems
- political institutions and values keep on changing. Changes are made by revolution often, but in many cases, societies undergo gradual evolutionary changes. In this regard, various sociological and political researchers have tried to measure these factors of change. And the various methods of measuring this process of change are collectively known as Political Modernization.
- **Almond** has classified measures into traditional, transitional and modern.



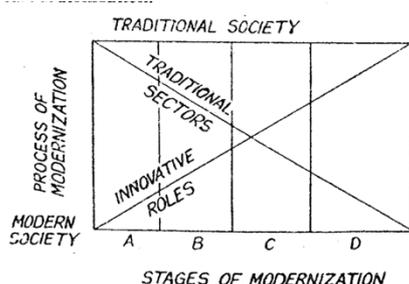
Figure 3 Process of Change in Political Modernization by Almond

According to Almond, development is inevitable. Like the flow of goods and services in economic life, modernization takes place where it is most easily accepted to wanted. We will call modernization the transfer of role from metropole to periphery.

David Apter in his work 'Introduction to Political Analysis' tells about four stages of modernization.

- In the first stage, there was **contact** between colonial and local populations. As local elites formed, new social formations arose.
- In the second stage, local people drew into closer contact with the foreigners. The foreign elites created urban centers, or transformed those that already existed. This was the process of consolidation of empire. "*The mystique of empire was that if the 'civilised' nations would bring the benefits of the markets, education and Christianity to the 'savages', the later would prosper.*" Thus, '**primitive**' countries were **opened** up. But, exploitation was carried out. In Africa, for example slave trade was promoted.
- In the third stage, **demand for independence** was made mainly by those who were educated by the rulers themselves. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, had been calling a movement in England. Later in India he led the movement for India's freedom. Mass movements were created. local elites demanded share in the governance of the country.
- The fourth stage, according to **Apter**, is marked by **political rather than economic modernization**. Most nations achieved independence, and decided to develop themselves economically and politically. Today, the problem for developing nations is to use political independence to produce more reliable and effective communities.

Political change and modernization is to be examined in the context of interrelationship or industrialization, urbanization, education, commerce, sociological development.



According to **Coleman**, "A modern society is characterized, among other things, by a comparatively high degree of urbanization, wide-spread literacy, comparatively high per capita income, expensive geographical and social mobility, a relatively high degree of commercialization and industrialization of the economy, an extensive and penetrative network of mass communication media, and in general by widespread participation and involvement by

members of the society in modern, social and economic process."

All the traditional social and political structures have undergone substantial changes as a result of modernization. One important aspect of political modernization is changed relationship between elite and common man.

Critique

- Political scientists did not attempt systematic comparative analyses of similar processes or functions in different political systems or general comparisons of political systems as systems.
- **SP Huntington** argues that changes are caused by tensions within the political and social system, and criticizes modernization theory, contending that its argument for economic change and development being the prime factors responsible for the creation of stable, democratic political systems is flawed.
- Modernization is a complex process. It cannot be easily reduced to a single factor or to a single dimension.

POLITICAL CULTURE APPROACH

There is a tendency within political science to treat political culture like a familiar piece of furniture. Everyone is vaguely aware of its existence, but only rarely do they comment upon it (usually when they bump into it accidentally); and few bother to ask how it came to be there.

The intellectual roots of this attitude can be found in Marxism and functionalism. Both treat culture as subservient to material forces or systemic requirements.

In 1963, the argument over the explanatory usefulness of political culture was galvanized by the publication of **Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba's "Civic Culture"**. Its focus on culture meshed with challenges to Marxist materialism and mechanical structural-functionalism, while its empirical methodology clashed with an emerging doubt about positivism.

The collapse of Marxist regime and the rise of nationalism have drawn attention to the way regimes legitimate themselves and the way citizens identify themselves, both processes which suggest an important mediating role of culture.

So, we can say that, political culture approach is a **by-product of modernisation and development theories**. **Almond, Verba and Pye** have been its pioneers. Borrowing concepts from Sociology and Anthropology, Almond has developed a methodology for comparative studies of political cultures. He believes that all political cultures can be comparatively studied on that basis.

For Almond, political system is a system of roles which can be empirically observed and understood scientifically. He studied, besides legal-institutions, family relations, mass-behaviour, electoral system, power, influence and the like.

In 1963, two political scientists, **Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba**, published a **study of the political cultures** associated with five democratic countries: Germany, Italy, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and the United States. According to Almond and Verba, there are **three basic types of political culture**, which can be used to explain why people do or do not participate in political processes.

1. In a **parochial political culture**, like Mexico, citizens are mostly uninformed and unaware of their government and take little interest in the political process.
2. In a **subject political culture**, such as those found in Germany and Italy, citizens are somewhat informed and aware of their government and occasionally participate in the political process.
3. In a **participant political culture**, like the United Kingdom and the United States, citizens are informed and actively participate in the political process.

Other theories of political culture address **how political culture takes root and is transferred from generation to generation** through **political socialization** and include

- **Seymour Martin Lipset's formative events theory**, which describes the long-lasting effects of key events that took place when a country was founded;
- **Louis Hartz's fragment theory**, which explains the long-lasting effects of European colonization on countries and societies; and
- **Roger Inglehart's post-materialism theory**, which explains the long-lasting effects of childhood economic and social conditions.

Criticism

- **Biased approach and ethnocentric** - 'civic culture' of Almond and Verba suffers, centring on the political cultures of USA or Great Britain, from bias and prejudice.
- Political culture **cannot be standardized** into a single piece of analysis.
- There always remains a **debate** over which type of political culture remains the best.

POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

One of the most interesting approach in Comparative Politics is the Political Economy approach as it lies at the confluence of Politics and Economy which is very challenging to understand. According to **Oxford Handbook on Political Economy**, Political Economy Approach is the "Study of economic policies of the state and its political and economic processes."

Here the comparison is done irrespective of the political systems, i.e., based on the theme to understand the nature of state by broadened scope of the subject.

The earliest works can be seen as **Kautilya's Arthashastra**, which focused on Political Economy as well. The evolution of Modern Political Economy approach started with the work of **Adam Smith** who in his '**The Wealth of Nations**' 1776. Another earliest exponent was **David Ricardo** who gave The **Theory of Comparative Advantage**.

The greatest attribution of the economic approach to the study of politics emanates from the writings of **Marx and Engels**. The principle of class struggle, increasing impoverishment and capitalism's exploitation are based on economic factors. Marx and Engels have highlighted the **heterogeneity of interests between the classes**.

Classes are formed on the basis of economic interests. Capitalist's profit making motive leads to exploitation of workers. To liberate from exploitation, the workers are enforced to struggle. The idea of emancipation is associated with economic terms. Marx stated that politics is controlled by the persons who own sources of production and manage the process of distribution. Outside economic influence, politics has no independent authority. In the words of **Friedrich Engels**, Political Economy is "*The science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society.*"

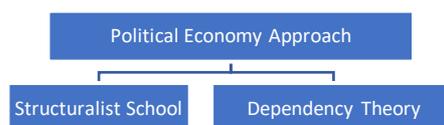
Over its long lifetime, "political economy" has had cultivated many different meanings:

- The science of managing the resources of a nation so as to provide wealth to its inhabitants for Adam Smith;
- The study of how the ownership of the means of production influenced historical processes for Marx;
- The study of the inter-relationship between economics and politics for some twentieth-century commentators; and for others,
- As a methodology emphasizing individual rationality (the economic or "public choice" approach) or institutional adaptation (the sociological version).

Overall, the political economy approach to the study of comparative politics affirms that there exists a relationship between politics and economics and that this relationship works and makes itself manifest in several ways.

Now we will look at various theories of this approach

Majorly, The Political Economy Approach is divided into two schools:



Modernisation Theory (Where Development is seen as Modernisation)

This theory is based upon separation or dualism between traditional and modern societies. The distinction between traditional and modern societies was derived from **Max Weber via Talcott Parsons**.

Traditional societies	Modern societies
<p>They are characterised by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low level of division of labour ● Dependence on agriculture ● Low rates of growth of production ● Restricted administrative competence ● Diffused roles and responsibilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They are modern due to the nature of social system based on achievement, universalism and individualism, as a world of social mobility, equal opportunity, the rule of law and individual freedom. ● They have highly differentiated roles and responsibilities

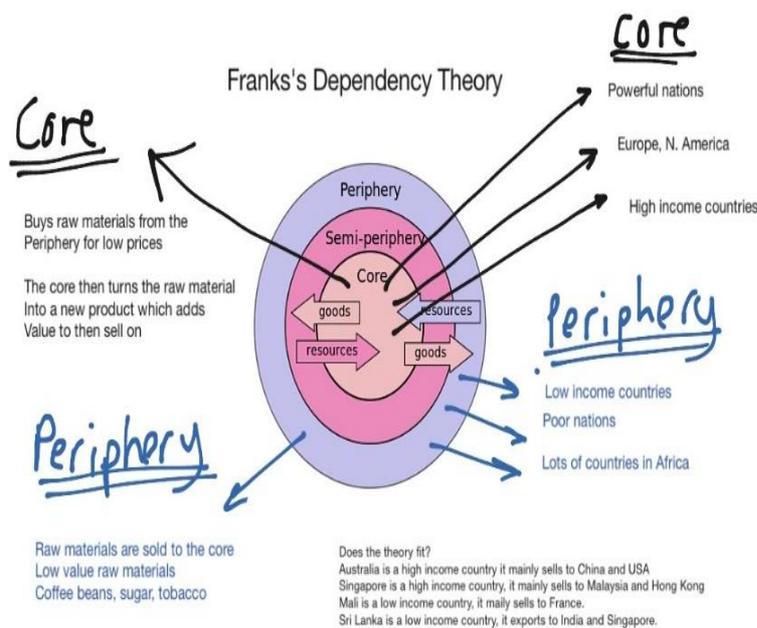
So, modernisation referred to the **process of transition** from traditional to modern principles of social organisation. This process of transition was not only seen as actually occurring in the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also seen as the goal these countries had set for themselves to achieve.

WW Rostow in his work 'The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto' 1960 argued about **five stages of development** through which all societies passed. These were: (i) the traditional stage; (ii) the preconditions for take-off; (iii) take-off; (iv) the drive toward maturity and (v) high mass consumption. Third World societies were regarded as traditional, and so needed to develop to the second stage, and thus establish the preconditions for take-off.

Dependency Theory (Development as Underdevelopment)

Dependency theory arose in the late 1950s as an extended critique of the modernization perspective. This school of thought is mainly associated with the work of **A.G. Frank**. In the 1960s, Frank examined Third World countries at close hand, and criticized the dualist thesis (of the modernization school), which isolated modern and traditional states, and argued that the two were closely linked.

Frank's central argument is that the creation of 'First' world (advanced capitalist societies) and the



'Third' world (satellites) is a result of the world system based on production for the market which is inherently steered by Capitalist states since 16th century. The ties of dominance and dependence, Frank argues, run in a chain-like fashion throughout the global capitalist system, with metropolises appropriating surplus from satellites, their towns removing surplus from the hinterland and likewise.

According to the dependency perspective, the contemporary developed capitalist countries (metropolises) were never

underdeveloped as the Third world (satellites) but were rather undeveloped.

Underdevelopment, instead of being caused by the peculiar socio-economic structures of the Third World countries, is the **historical product of the relations** (relations of imperialism and colonialism) which have obtained between underdeveloped satellites and developed metropolises.

In short, **development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin**, two poles of the same process. metropolitan capitalist development on a world scale creates the **'development of underdevelopment'** in the Third World. He gives the example of Latin America as underdeveloped.

WORLD SYSTEM THEORY OF WALLERSTEIN

Though AG Frank developed the Dependency theory by taking core and periphery, but it had some limitations within. To overcome those limitations, **Immanuel Wallerstein** came up with his World Systems Theory. He developed the idea of the world capitalist economy in his world-system analysis.

According to this theory, dualism or feudalism does not exist in the Third World. The modern world-system is unitary in that it is synonymous with the capitalist mode of production, yet disparate in that it is divided into tiers - **core, semi-periphery, and periphery** - which play **functionally specific roles** within the system as a whole.

World-system theory places a new emphasis on the multilateral relations of the system as a whole (core-core and periphery-periphery relations become important to the analysis as do core-periphery

ones), rather than on the unilateral relations of the system of metropole and satellite characteristic of dependency theory.

Wallerstein's basic argument was that the creation of the world capitalist economy in the Sixteenth century led to a new period of history, based on expanded accumulation rather than stagnant consumption. This was attributable to the emergence of three key factors:

- an **expansion of the geographical size** of the world in question (through **incorporation**),
- the **development of variegated methods of labour control** for different products and different zones of the world economy (**specialisation**) and
- the creation of **relatively strong state machineries** in what would be the core states of this capitalist world economy (to assure the **transfer of surplus to the core**).

In the formation of the world economy, core areas emerge as countries where the **bourgeoisie got stronger and landlords weaker**. The important relationship that determines whether a country is to be a core or part of the periphery is dependent on the strength of its state.

According to him, those countries that could achieve the process of 'statism', i.e., the **concentration of power in the central authority**, became the core countries of the world economy.

On the other hand, the strength of the state machineries is explained in terms of the "*structural role a country plays in the world economy at that moment of time*".

A strong state enables the country as an entity to get a disproportionate share of the surplus of the entire world economy. **The stability of the world capitalist system is maintained due to three factors:**

- (i) concentration of **military** strength in the hands of the **dominant forces**,
- (ii) pervasiveness of an **ideological commitment** to the system as a whole
- (iii) **division of the majority** into a large lower stratum and a smaller middle stratum

Criticism

- Although the world-systems theory has been advanced further by several thinkers like **Oliver Cox, Samir Amin and Giovanni Arrighi**, it has been widely criticized for its **primary focus on the 'system imperative'**.
- Also, the theory explains **the contemporary capitalist world inadequately**, since it focuses attention on the market, failing to take into account the processes of production.
- It neglects understanding of Constitution, and Political Institutions by turning its focus to economic aspects of polity.
- Studies related to the approach uses nomenclature like North-South countries, Developing-Developed countries, Third world countries which has made political economy approach biased.
- Political Economy studies are costly due to sophistication, and due to such numerous fault lines, it can't give comprehensive understanding of the subject.

Overall,

SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

- Helped in the understanding study of the **inter-relationship between economics and politics** which would have been difficult to establish in separate studies

- It helps to give a broad view on the politics behind distribution of resources which has become a major topic of debate in developing as well as developed countries. Eg Political Economy of India due to Green Revolution that led to rise of bullock capitalists as per **Rodrigues and Rodrigues**.
- Gives a **broad** view of understanding society which is laid on economic base.

Limitations

- It **neglects understanding of Constitution, and Political Institutions** by turning its focus to economic aspects of polity.
- Studies related to the approach uses nomenclature like North-South countries, Developing-Developed countries, Third world countries which has made political economy approach **biased**.
- Mostly looks **normative**, and specialized knowledge is needed for quantitative techniques utilized by it.
- Political Economy studies are **costly** due to sophistication, and due to such numerous fault lines, it can't give comprehensive understanding of the subject.
- **Samuel Huntington** exclaimed that challenge to reconcile economic determinism, with political determinism remains in this approach.

Conclusion of Political Economy approach

The political economy approach emerged in the wake of decolonisation to understand and explain the relationship among nations and socio-political phenomena. At the basis of this approach was the assumption of a relationship between the domains of politics and economics.

The modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency, world systems, articulation of the modes of production, class analysis, state-centred analysis and the neoliberal analysis are dominant among the various explanatory frameworks which have emerged in the last few decades.

While, the analytical tools of all these frameworks have varied, almost all have 'development' as their key problem. In the process of exploring this problem within a comparative perspective, they have, inevitably seen the world in terms of a hierarchical whole. They do, however, provide important insights into the intricacies of economic forces and the manner in a symbiosis of economy and polity works within and in connection with external forces.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

As behaviouralism had a deep impact on the comparative studies, some of the fields like sociology and anthropology even made the nature of comparative analysis more grounded to societal level or sociological level analysis from the prevalent micro level analysis.

Amongst several approaches, political sociology explores to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision making authorities and conflicting social forces and interests. It is **the study of interactions and relationships between politics and civilization**; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. Thus, it is primarily concerned with **relationship between State and Society**.

1. In the words of Prof **AK Mukopadhyaya** – “*Political Sociology is like a marriage of political science and sociology, wherein, the child has characteristics of both discipline, but also different from its parents.*”
2. According to **SM Lipset**, “*political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state.*”

In this regard, the area of analysis of this approach lies at the interface of politics and society. The subjects of study involve

- Social stratification eg. Caste-Class relations
- Elite Structure
- Political Parties, Pressure Groups, Social Movements, etc
- Legitimacy, Authority

Marxian View	Weberian View	Behaviouralist view
<p>In the present times, at the initial level, the study was undertaken by Karl Marx, who is also regarded as the Father of Modern Political Sociology.</p> <p>In order to understand politics, it is important to understand the basic structure of the society. In this regard, politics is shaped by caste-class relations</p>	<p>Max Weber laid the foundation of Weberian school of Political sociology. It challenged the basic premises of Marxian view of politics.</p>	<p>They have introduced scientific methods of studying society. It includes Quantitative techniques, Field Works, etc.</p>

Present status of Political Sociology approach as a discipline in Political Science

- It has transformed not just as an approach but as a new discipline of hybrid nature combining politics and society
- Utility – studying developing societies.
- Major works on Indian politics can be seen by
 - **Prof Rajni Kothari** – in study of role of Caste in India and **Party System of India** etc.
 - **Andre Beteille** – social structures of India.
 - **Paul Brass** – in study of party system in India as well as Political parties,
 - **Prof Yogendra Yadav** – role of caste especially OBCs in India.
 - **Christophe Jaffrelot** – role of Religion and caste in Indian Politics
- Later onwards, it made politics a dependent variable on society. However, there was a possibility of Political science losing its independent identity as a discipline. In this regard, Scholars like **Theda Skopol** vouched for “*Bringing the state back in.*” This gives way to emergence of Neo-institutionalism.

Critics of the Political Sociology Approach

- Due to favoring sociology more than states, it led to dispersion in thinking of states which led to state losing its autonomous character.

- Such an orientation has been criticized, both by political scientists and by sociologists, because **it reduces various political events to a social by-product** and hence **fails to consider the consequences of varying types of political institutions on societal change**.
- It is also believed that the social stratification view of politics has been described by Samuel P Huntington as a form of sociological reductionism that has inherent limitations because of the exclusion of institutional and cultural factors.

NEO-INSTITUTIONALISM

- Due to incoming inherent weaknesses in the overtly sociological approach of Political Sociology, the reliance on understanding state was getting reduced among the political scientists.
- Hence, critics called for reviving the studies on state upon which the major level of politics was involved. **Theda Skopol** was among those who called for a revival in the study of state to keep the Political Sociology approach unbiased.
- Neo-Institutionalism emerged as a revival of Institutional approach. It was suggested that in developing countries, political sociology marginalized the understanding the role of the state. As in these countries, state does not just respond to socio-cultural factors rather the state itself shape socio-cultural factors. For eg. The Indian state under the leadership of Pt. Nehru tried moving towards Modern Society, but later wards, the electoral politics post 1967, made it back to a certain level of traditional arena. (Study Prof. Rajni Kothari and Prof Yogendra Yadav's works in detail for this)
- Neo-Institutionalism thus, shows the **revival of interest in the study of institutions** which was lost because of the 1960s wave of Behavioral movement.
- Political scientists like **Easton** criticized institutionalists for decline of Political Theory making it just static in nature. Thus, there was a need to make this approach focus on Political behavior studies.
- Skopol's calling of "**Bringing the State back in**" published in 1985 suggested that state institutions should remain central in the study of comparative politics being a primary actor which is autonomous and have the capacity to shape relations.
- There was also a calling for "Reinventing Government" (**March and Olsen**) suggesting the separated themes between social and political institutions. Thus, there was a shift in the analytical focus on study of state by de-emphasizing role of micro-processes and methodological individualism. Rather focus shifted on how institutions, rules, procedures constrained the behavior of actors. (But remember that rule and procedures do shape interests, behavior and choice of actors)
- Thus, neo-institutionalists study varied aspects of institutions
 - How institutions govern themselves?
 - How institutions recruit members?
 - How they protect their interests?

Conclusion

However, to summarize, the comparative methods, whether the Systems approach or the Political development approach, made the field of Political Science revive its purpose, taste and reach. It made Political science aware of coming challenges, societies, happenings, problems, etc. that political scientists can sit and work upon. It helped in making the complex political realities more easier to understand and theorize.

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STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Syllabus- State in comparative perspective: Characteristics and changing nature of the State in capitalist and socialist economies, and, advanced industrial and developing societies.

Previous Year Questions

- 2000 Comment on: Rethinking on sovereign state
- 2009 Is it necessary to evolve a distinct theoretical framework for analysis emergent politics in the developing world?
- 2013 A minimal State ensures maximum of Individual Liberty.' Examine the concept of Minimal State.
- 2015 'The struggle for democracy has been marked by bitter strife and tribulations.' Examine the statement, illustrating the cases of Pakistan, Nepal and Myanmar.
- 2015 Do you subscribe to the view that the modern constructs of the State and politics are pre-eminently Eurocentric and not indigenous and appropriate for the analysis of non-western societies ?
- 2016 "A combination of internal pressures (ethnic and regional forces) and external threats (EU, UN, TNC, global market, etc.) has produced what is commonly referred to as a 'crisis of the nation-state'." Elaborate.
- 2018 Describe the changing nature of the State in the developing societies in the context of inclusive growth in the 21st century.

What is state

The State is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. The State is a natural institution. **Aristotle** said that the 'Man is a social animal and by nature s/he is a political being.' To him, to live in the State and to be a man were identical. The state is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of good life. The aims, desires, and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the State.

What is the meaning of capitalist economy?

Capitalism is an economic system in which private individuals or businesses own capital goods. The production of goods and services is based on supply and demand in the general market—known as a **market economy**—rather than through central planning—known as a planned economy or command economy. The purest form of capitalism is free market or **laissez-faire** capitalism. Here, private individuals are unrestrained. They may determine where to invest, what to produce or sell, and at which prices to exchange goods and services. The laissez-faire marketplace operates without checks or controls.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF STATE IN CAPITALIST ECONOMY?

- The nature of state in the capitalist countries can be regarded as a **highly democratic** state.
- The people in these countries have struggled hard to establish the kind of state that we witness in the present era. There is high awareness of privileges among citizens in these states.
- However, this awareness does not guarantee the realization of such available rights.
- As suggested by the Marxists scholars like **Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels**, the states in these countries are largely an instrument of the capitalist class. There is not much surety that the state policies will result in the benefit of all people.
- As suggested by some of the elitist scholars like **Vilfredo Pareto**, in capitalist economies, power always lie with the elites & is always exercised for their benefit.
- Increasing nature of globalization and the outsourcing in these countries have also led to job losses and unemployment in the long term.

- The economic growth rate has largely stagnated. And at times, we have also witnessed the backlash protests against the state. For example- **Occupy Wall Street, Yellow Vest movement, Black Lives Matters movements etc.**

CHANGING NATURE OF STATE IN CAPITALIST ECONOMIES

- When the capitalism comes into crisis, we have seen the emergence of two trends- either the rise of right or left.
- In some countries there is a trend of rise of left, just like the **France, Greece and Britain.**
- In some places, there is also the growth of rightist groups e.g. In **USA, Britain, France, Netherlands and Sweden.**
- There is a fear of the rise of neo-fascism group in the capitalist countries of the world under the pressure of eventually rising financial crisis.

SHIFT FROM LASSEIZFARE TO WELFARE STATES

- Further, According to **John Locke**, state is created by man to remove the inconveniences that were present in the state of nature. Thus, state is considered to be a neutral arbiter among conflicting interests.
- But Marxist scholars challenge the neutrality of the state in class divided societies. Marxist scholars like **KarlMarx**, believe that the capitalist state is an executive committee of the bourgeoisie class.
- In Liberal countries, there was the concept of Laissez faire state seen, also called as the night watchman state. However the emergence of 2008 financial crisis that led to the economic depression in the world economy, the laissez faire states were totally replaced by the welfare states.
- This led to liberal scholar's point of view that the state was making positive interventions in the economy on behalf of the backward sections of the society.

IMPACT OF COVID ON CAPITALISM

- Economist **Mariana Mazzucato** believes that the COVID-19 pandemic will shine light onto societal and economic systems all across the world, exposing some of the flaws of a capitalist society.
- Capitalism is facing at least three major crises. A pandemic-induced **health crisis** has rapidly ignited an economic crisis with yet unknown consequences for **financial** stability, and all of this is playing out against the backdrop of a **climate crisis** that cannot be addressed by "business as usual."
- The COVID-19 crisis is exposing still more flaws in our economic structures, not least the increasing precarity of work, owing to the rise of the gig economy and a decades-long deterioration of workers' bargaining power.
- A killer virus has exposed major weaknesses within Western capitalist economies. Now that governments are on a war footing, we have an opportunity to fix the system. If we don't, we will stand no chance against the third major crisis – an increasingly uninhabitable planet – and all the smaller crises that will come with it in the years and decades ahead.

CHANGING NATURE OF STATE IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Socialist economies are based on the idea of thinkers like- **Karl Marx, Lenin, Mao**. The major countries which follow the socialistic principles are- Russia [Former USSR], **North Korea, China, Yugoslavia**, etc.

- Country like China has repeatedly shifted its focus from socialist economy to a state controlled market economy.
- When the socialistic principles started collapsing in the countries of eastern Europe, some other countries like- Cuba and North Korea, also started shifting towards market based models, just like China.
- Socialist countries emerged with the hope that the state will eventually wither away. However, on the other hand, after the communist revolutions, very powerful states came into existence.
- In place of dictatorship of proletariat classes, that existed earlier, now these states became the dictators of the communist parties.

Perspectives of scholars

- According to **Samuel P Huntington** and his articles on the "third wave of democracy"- as far as the Russia and other east European countries are concerned, communism gradually collapsed and the countries started adopting democracy
- **Karl Marx** believed these states to be a kind of people's democracy. He said that, "If liberal states are dictators for capitalists, the socialist states are dictators for proletariats."

What have been the changes in socialist states?

- However, the eventual transition from authoritarianism government towards that of democracy remained a far-fetched dream for them.
- Majority of the countries have even gone back, towards the path of authoritarianism and some to semi-authoritarianism. e.g., Russia, Countries of Central Asia, some East European countries like Belarus, Ukraine and even Hungary.
- These countries also show the neo-fascist authoritarian trends like the earlier trends.
- Similarly in countries like **China**, we have seen the eventual tightening of the control of the communist party on the entire society and further tightening of the control of the party by the main leader.
- There has been no change in dictatorial trend in some countries like North Korea.
- Some of the other islands of socialism like Cuba, still continues to be one-party-state but it is not that much exploitative as the other socialist countries.
- There has also been rise of socialist parties in some Latin American countries like Venezuela and Bolivia.
- Venezuela is still facing multiple crisis for external and internal reasons.
- Even when the socialist economies are coming to a standstill, it has been a handy weapon in successfully fighting the COVID-19 pandemic because of its welfare principle and the policy of optimum utilization of resources.

CHANGING NATURE OF STATE IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL STATES

- The advanced industrial states are those countries where the industries are the dominant mode of production. In this regard, the industrial revolution first took place in these countries. e.g., UK, France, USA, Canada, Germany and some east European countries also like Russia.
- The developed countries are also known as advanced industrial states. They have largely been the imperial powers in the past and still continue to have dominance in the field of politics,

economics, cultural and ideological sphere, even after the formal end of the colonization process.

- These countries can be called as the **collective global north**. The OECD countries are also part of advanced industrial states due to their high industrial output.
- In the Marxist terminology, these are **the core countries** and thus according to the Marxist point of view, the **drain of wealth is still continuing** because of the existence of these economies.

POST WAR PERIOD IDEOLOGY

The end of World war II period divided the world in 2 ideological blocks- Capitalist and socialist economies. On one hand, the capitalist economies believed in giving free hand to market, which will autocorrect the market tendencies on basis of demand and supply; the socialist economies talked about the common ownership and optimum distribution of the resources for the welfare of the society.

- The ideological differences led to continuous struggle and power show off between the two blocks that led to a situation called Cold war.
- The members of socialist block countries could not sustain themselves with changing times and the USSR finally collapsed in 1991.
- With the collapse of the communist ideology, they also began adopting the western model of politics and economy. According to **Francis Fukuyama**, this event was an “**end of history**”, because the USA was stranded as a sole global power, with no other country or block to challenge its supremacy.
- Most of these countries have now become a type of developing countries despite having the industrial base initially.
- Similarly, since the end of cold war, till the beginning of 21st century the western countries had also been in a very dominant position. However, since 2001 onwards, there has been a decline in the hegemony of the western power, marked by the rise of the eastern power.
- Eventually, the center of gravity started shifting towards Asia Pacific from Atlantic.

Recent changes

- Even the groupings like- BRICS- started giving challenge to these countries in different sectors. Most affected sector in these countries is that of manufacturing and the most affected section is that of low-skilled workers.
- With the advent of global financial crisis, these countries have not been facing only economic crisis, but also the political crisis.
- Whether in the western Europe or in countries like USA, there is a rise of neo-rightist and neo-fascist ideology.
- Thus, these countries have become susceptible to the political agenda of different populist parties.
- The populist parties also got new lease of life because of the powerful combination of the economic crisis, growing migration crisis, emerging trans-national terrorism and so-called rising of islamophobia.
- The victory of the rightist groups started from countries like- Poland, Hungary and eventually reached France, Germany, Netherland and then even to Sweden.

- Almost same is the situation in superpower USA.
- Thus, it can be summarized that, these countries are also in the state of transition.
- COVID has once again brought the advanced economies to a standstill. They were largely depended on the developing economies for variety of raw materials and the access to market. But the decrease in the value of globalization in the recent times have ensured that these conditions are not met.

CHARACTERISTIC AND CHANGING NATURE OF STATE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

- The developing countries, are post-colonial societies, which are also known as **global south**.
- They suffer from various issues like- malnutrition, large scale poverty, deprivation from basic needs, etc.
- The study of the developing economies has been the major pre-occupation of most of the scholars of modern comparative politics.
- The nature and the changing trend can also be discussed by utilizing variety of methods which had been developed in comparative politics, that are primarily logical for these countries only.
- For example, if we decide to apply the **political development approach**, then these countries can be called as '**prismatic societies**' in the words of F W Riggs.
- Similarly, **Gunnar Myrdal** has given the **concept of "soft state" in case of India**.
- Also, the **The Asian Values Thesis** claims that Asia's collectivistic traditions create immunity against the West's individualistic emphasis on emancipative values and liberal democracy. More importantly, it is held that Asia's immunity persists even under the imprint of economic modernization.
- If we apply the idea of **Samuel P Huntington**, then most of these states have witnessed some kind of '**political decay**'.
- In the statement of Riggs, they are under the concept of '**development trap**'.
- The scholars of neo-Marxist school of thought, calls these states as periphery states, where the ruling class act as the instrument of the bourgeoisie class which is sitting in the main metropolitan or the core regions.
- Scholars like- **Hamza Alvi** while using the structuralist approach, have called the post-colonial states as some kind of "**overdeveloped states**."
- This region has been in some kind of transition state. Although, these countries adopted the state of democracy but here the democracies did not sustain for long time and it was replaced by the authoritarian regimes.
- In these types of states, we have an exception of India, which has been able to sustain its democracy.

Shift in status

- Many countries among the developing states have also adopted the communist model.
- Since 1990s (after collapse of USSR) most of these types of countries have shifted towards the model of liberal democracy but with the exception of China, North Korea, Cuba, Iran and the monarchies of the Gulf and few pockets in Africa.
- Among these countries too, again with the exception of India, democracy has remained too fragile and they still continue to be in some kind of semi-authoritarian states.
- The states of these nations are not isolated from the global trend. Around the world there is a gradual decline of the liberal world order.

- Even in the third world countries, there is evidence of the rise of rightist parties and gradually the authoritarian leaders.

Impact of COVID

- Even the COVID has impacted the developing nations the most. The issues of poverty, hunger, malnutrition, poor health- was already existant in these nations. The emergence of COVID has widened the problem.
- The problem of accessibility of COVID vaccines for countries like Bangladesh and Nepal has made them dependent on other nations.

Conclusion

- Thus it can be summarised that despite having various approaches, the state has remained at the centre in the realm of comparative politics.
- And each of these type of economies have gradually evolved to form the present structure of the state in their respective systems.
- So, it should be understood that, in any type of economic system, change is inevitable with time, where the functions and role of state will keep changing and evolving with the demands of the time.

POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

PYQ's:

- Is the rise of social movements a sign of opening up of popular space in the political process or decline of representative politics? Examine. (200 words) (2013)
- Party system in India is neither western nor indigenous. Explain. (2014)
- In what respect is the new social movement new in nature? Discuss. (2014)
- What is the difference between Interest Groups and Pressure Groups? Are the Pressure Groups in India in a position to fully protect or promote the interests of their members? (2015)
- Comment on the decline of political parties and examine whether new social movements shall be an alternative strategy for establishing link between government and society. (2016)
- Do interest groups help to promote democracy or to undermine it? Give your opinion. (2016)

- Examine the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movement in developed societies and how it is affecting the political participation in developing societies. (2017)
- How big a role does identity play in determining political participation in developing countries? Discuss your answer with suitable illustrations (2018)
- Explain the reasons for low voter turnout in democratic countries with suitable examples. (2019)
- Write an essay on New Social Movements' in developing countries. (2019)
- Analyze the contribution of liberal democratic principles in the democratization of Indian polity (2020)
- Has the increased participation of the underprivileged in the political process of the developing societies strengthened the democracy or created political chaos and conflict? Comment (2021)

Political parties and Party systems

Introduction:

- Political parties are essential for **'interests aggregation'** and effective working of not only democratic states but also non-democratic states. In fact, political parties have become obvious phenomena of every political system in the world.
- The rise of political parties has led to the formation of a field for studying them, called **'Soteriology.'**
- Political parties can be by two perspectives:
 1. **Normative approach:** Edmund Burke explains this perspective as political parties consist of a group of people having **common ideology, purpose or aim, come together** and collectively strive for national interests.
 2. **Behavioral approach:** Scholar like Otto Von Kirchheimer says that the only aim of political parties is to **acquire power**. Rise of **'Catch all parties'** is a golden sign of decline of normative value like ideology.
- Professor **Harold J. Laski** had underlined the importance of parties when he wrote, *"There is no alternative to party governments which save us from dictatorship, in any state of a modern size where people follow the party in a systematic organized way."* This statement correctly separates dictatorship/autocracy, which is one person's arbitrary rule, from democracy where **people make a free choice of their representatives to rule**, on their behalf. Also, a **mob doesn't have any place here**.
- People do follow here in an **organized way**. The parties identify issues on which they seek popular verdicts. Periodic elections provide opportunities to the parties to present these issues, and if supported by the people they become bases of governance by the representatives elected by the people.
- **Zoya Hasan** says the political party is *"a keystone political institution in the representative regime"*.
- **Parties regularly fulfil three crucial functions.**
 1. Nominating candidates for public offices.
 2. Formulating and setting the agenda for the public.
 3. Mobilizing support for candidates and policies in an election.

Other institutions also perform some of these functions, but as **A.H. Somjee** says, *“what distinguishes parties is their emphasis on **linkage**. Parties are seen, both by their members and by others, as agencies for forging links between citizens and policy-makers.”* A Representative government cannot function without them.

But, **Giovanni Sartori** pointed out that it did not mean that party members are not self-seeking.

“Party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed.” - **Edmund Burke**



DEFINITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

According to **G. Sartori**, *“Any political group who is identified by official label, present at the election, and has the capability of placing candidates through elections for public office.”*



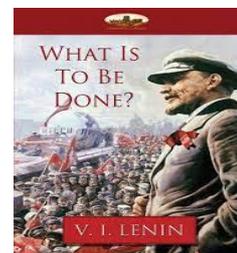
According to **H.J. Laski**, *“Political parties are big or small groups of people organized to establish their legitimate control over the government of the country, through the process of elections.”* The primary goal of the parties is to install their leaders in the government and to ensure their continuation as long as possible. For this purpose, they adopt various methods of securing popular support, including public rallies, distribution of literature, use of media and even organizing musical evenings.



THEORIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES:

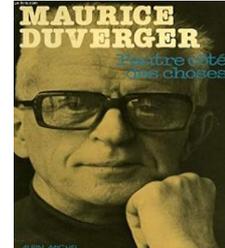
THE MARXIST CONCEPT OF PARTIES

- **Basis of perspective:** According to them the parties in capitalist countries represent class interests. Thus, they are instruments of protection of different classes. The party that represents the working people alone has the right to exist. The bourgeois parties do not represent the true democratic process. Therefore, they must be eliminated.
- **V. Lenin (“What is to be done”)** has propounded that a party (communist party) is a well-organized group of few elite people having a hardened sense of traits in Marxism. It is a chosen group of political activists in the sense that election processes and party training enable them to be totally loyal to the party and a cause of revolution. They will maintain the purity of Marxism and always teach and strive for revolution to bring the government of Proletarians.
- According to Lenin, such a party will act as a **‘Vanguard’** for revolution as according to him workers can not bring revolution on their own. The party will act like a **‘Secret society’** and work in the manner of the **bottom-up approach** which he called **‘Democratic centralism’** (Democracy + centralism).



- Communist parties enjoyed constitutional sanction in socialist countries. There was practically no difference between the party and the government. **For Example**, The 1977 Constitution of the former Soviet Union described and analyzed Lenin’s leadership for the success of the Great Revolution of 1917. Also the 1982 Constitution of the People’s Republic of China declares the National People’s Congress, under the leadership of the Communist Party, as the highest organ of state power.

MAURICE DUVERGER’S THEORY ON POLITICAL PARTIES: (DUVERGER’S LAW)



- **Basis for law:** As a scholar of behaviorist school, in his series of papers between 1950- 60s, he propounded that *‘on studying the electoral system of a particular society one can conclude the type of party system acquired there.’*
- **Duverger’s law:** says that
 1. single-ballot (first past the post) are structured in favor of a two-part system (**India is an exception of Duverger law**).
 2. Proportional representation favors **multi-partyism**
 3. Plurality system prefers the **runoff elections**.
- **Analysis:** In his analysis of political parties, he said that the primary objective of the parties is to acquire political power, or to share the exercise of such power. He wrote, *“political parties have as their primary goal the conquest of power or a share in its exercise. They try to win seats at elections, to name deputies and ministers, and to take control of the government.”*
- On the basis of internal structure he has classified parties into four types,
 1. Branch Parties: Liberal Parties
 2. Cell parties: Communist parties
 3. Caucus parties: Elite parties (mostly associated with rightist parties)
 4. Militia parties: Fascist parties (parties having arm wing)

ROBERT MICHAEL’S THEORY OF POLITICAL PARTY:

- **Introduction:** He was an Italian sociologist who contributed to **‘elite theory’** by describing the political behavior of intellectual elites.
- **Iron law of oligarchy:** His law is based on **‘behavioral movement’**. (He and his associates roamed and studied various electoral behaviors and patterns to come at “Iron Law of Oligarchy”)
- He analyzed the internal functioning of socialist parties of Germany and came to the conclusion that unlike marxist’s understanding, there is no difference between principles and international functioning of socialists parties and liberal democratic parties.
- In his famous book **“Political parties”** published in 1911, he propounded **“Iron Law of Oligarchy”** while describing the nature of political parties. Law says Power in a party is controlled by only a few members. Irrespective of any party there is always an ‘Oligarchy’ that has all power and that can not be changed. That is **‘Power always remains in the hands of elites.’**
- **For example**, In case of India, INC (Indian National Congress) since its formation has been criticized by many as a party of few elite people.

SIGMUND NEUMANN’S PERSPECTIVE:

- According to him the success of democracy depends on the efficient working of parties. Whether the government is a parliamentary or presidential democracy, it cannot succeed in the absence of

parties. He said an unorganized mob of people cannot govern the state. Its organized form is a political party.

- He opined that in view of sharp differences between the democratic and authoritarian parties, it was impossible to give a single accepted definition. According to him, a political party is representative of social interests which act as a bridge, a link, between the individual and the society.
- (To be noted here) His definition was on the basis of a two-party or multiparty system. He opines, in a one-party system, there is the total absence of competition and distinct policies and programs. A party must have a second part, or a competitor, which is missing in one-party states. Thus, in a one-party system, the party becomes totalitarian.

CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- The classification of political parties that was presented by **Maurice Duverger in 1951** is now generally accepted. He had classified parties on the organizational basis as (i) the elitist or traditional parties, and (ii) mass parties. (Later a third category known as the intermediate type of parties was added).

THE ELITIST OR TRADITIONAL PARTIES:

- Elitist Parties do not have their support among the masses and are represented by the elite class and which are not cadre-based are elitist parties. Membership or entry in these parties is exclusive and not open for all.
- Elitist parties are normally divided into **(a) the European Type (b) the American Type.**

THE EUROPEAN TYPE PARTY:

- Admit a very limited number of people. Whether these parties are liberal or conservative or progressive, they are against admitting anybody and everybody to their membership. These parties emphasize quality rather than numbers. They seek the support of prominent and influential persons. The wealthy people occupy a prominent place in these parties. It is generally believed that these elitist parties are flexible i.e. Legislators are free to vote as they wish. **For example**, in 2003 as many as 122 Labor Party (ruling party) members of the House of Commons voted against a resolution that sought the use of force against Iraq. Though there was massive defiance, yet, no action was taken against such a large number of members.

THE AMERICAN TYPE:

The prominent differences are

- the nature of presidential government in a federal set-up, as against British parliamentary democracy in a unitary state, and
- the U.S. parties have remained limited to the elite, away from the masses.
- The U.S. parties are essentially election-oriented. American parties are led by professional politicians, many of whom are not democratically elected.
- Despite this, American parties have been able to establish better contacts with the masses than most of the European parties.

- An important feature of contemporary US parties is that their local committees have become very powerful, state committees enjoy lesser powers, and the central organization is rather weak. Another feature of the American system is the lack of party discipline among the members.

THE MASS PARTIES

- Parties that emerged with a popular support base, especially from the common man, are mass parties. Generally, people's movements are more likely to become mass parties.
 - **For example**, Several parties in the newly independent third world countries are generally mass parties. (INC, AAP, and others). Some of the parties of the developed world like the 'Popular Republican Movement' (P.R.M.) of France may also be placed in the category of mass parties. They are classified into **1. Socialist parties 2. Communist parties and 3. Fascist parties.**

SOCIALIST PARTIES

- **Socialist Parties:** 'The British Labor Party' was described as the pioneer of the socialist parties the world over. Unlike elitist parties, the socialist parties try to enlarge their membership and take contributions from their members. The parties preferred contributions from common men and women, rather than the rich business houses. At their origin, Britain's trade unions supported these candidates.
- In socialist parties, generally party leadership dominates over its members. These parties believe in socialism to be brought about by the peaceful democratic means of parliamentary process. They sought to abolish capitalism through legislative measures.
- But, with the commencement of rapid liberalization in the decade of 1990s, the talk of destruction of capitalism suddenly gave way to adoption of a capitalist path even by democratic parties.

Socialist parties in India:

Socialism as a party ideology had appeared late in India in the 1930's (**Congress socialist party**). The Indian concept of socialism is different due to its rejection of the orthodox so-called scientific socialist doctrines that focus on the dictatorship of the workers.

The Indian model holds that socialism cannot be achieved through the state apparatus. Indian socialism became aligned with the Gandhian principle that stresses on right means as well as outcome.

Examples of socialist parties, 1. Socialist party of India 2. Samajwadi party of India

- **The Communist parties:** The communist parties based on the ideology of Marx and Lenin seek close contacts with the masses. Communist parties follow the principle of 'democratic Centralism', which implies democratic participation of members in party structure, but centralized decision making and supervision.
- Critics to communist concept of democracy say that there is hardly any democracy in these parties, as all decisions are made by a handful of top leaders, who ensure strict obedience and

discipline. No other party anywhere in the world, except perhaps the Fascist parties, is so rigidly based on ideology as the communist parties are.

- **The Fascist Parties:** Fascist advocates all powerful states and call for one party system. The fascist parties support open competition and capitalism, but blindly follow one leader. War and violence are important tenets of fascism. Fascists talk of mass-base, but they use armed forces to inculcate military discipline and impart military training to the masses. The fascist youth are not only given military training, but they even wear military uniform, carry out daily disciplined exercises, and are often punished for defiance.

INTERMEDIATE TYPE PARTIES

Propounded by **Maurice Duverger**. He says there is a third category of political parties. These are different from both elitist and mass parties, yet they are closer to the mass parties.

These are: **1) Indirect Parties** **2) Parties in developing/third world countries**

- **Indirect Parties :** At times a number of big or small committees perform political functions leading to the setting up of a political party. This may be described as an indirect party. The birth of the 'British Labor Party' in 1906 was somewhat this situation.
- **Parties in Developing Countries:** In the post-Second World War period a large number of political parties have come into existence in the third world developing countries. Most of the developing countries followed the UK model or USA model or remained communist. All of them have been described as intermediate types because they were yet to be fully organized as disciplined parties.

HITCHNER AND LEVINE'S CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES:

They observed that normally people are associated with one party or the other on the basis of their personal views and that depends on several other socio-economic forces. People do associate themselves with one party or the other, taking into account their class, economic interests, hereditary interests, and interests of a particular group.

Based on the above observation, political parties are classified into three categories. These are,

1. pragmatic parties
2. Doctrinal parties
3. Interest parties

Pragmatic parties: These are normally not committed to any particular ideology. Their policies are adjusted according to the requirements of situations. Most of these parties are usually influenced more by the leader of the day and less by the party ideology. Pragmatic parties are a more common phenomenon in developing and underdeveloped countries. In the Indian context, Congress was earlier an ardent doctrinal party but in recent time can be a good example of a pragmatic party especially after 2018.(as its shift among centrism, leftism, and rightism)

Doctrinal parties: The parties that are committed to a particular ideology and believe in certain principles may be described as the doctrinal parties. The policies are often changed or adjusted according to domestic or international environmental changes, but their ideologies remain unaltered. Socialist parties may be included in this category. There can be even parties of the right in liberal democracies that fall in this category. **For example**, the Bharatiya Janata Party in India has a definite

ideology, but since 1998 it has made several adjustments. On the other hand the Communist parties and the Fascists are totally doctrinal parties.

Interest parties: These parties are described as 'interest-oriented' parties. When an interest group converts itself into a party, either temporarily or permanently, it comes in this category. Nature of interests may vary according to local conditions and demands. In India, there are a number of such interest-oriented parties. **For example,** include the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Peasants and Workers Party of Maharashtra, or even the Bahujan Samaj Party committed to the upliftment of the dalits.

PARTY SYSTEM:

Party System is the notion used in comparative political science concerning the system of government by the political party. The concept was originated by European scholars, especially **James Bryce** and **Moisey Ostrogorsky**.



Categorisation of parties (as we did above) is useful to study politics but the real character of a party in a country and eventually the character of politics in that country can be analyzed by studying the party system. **G. Sartori** gave the most widely used classification of party systems when he said, 'party system should be classified on the basis of relevant parties (not just parties) who have capability to form government.' Hence, party systems can be distinguished on the basis of the number of relevant parties.

Definite sort of stability comes to exist, on the basis of the long period of evolution in any country's political parties in respect of their numbers, their internal structure, their ideologies, alliances and relations with the opposition. A comparative study of different party systems enables us to understand the political systems of the countries concerned.

Several recent scholars have offered their classifications of party systems,

Duverger broadly divided all the party systems into two.

These are **(i) pluralistic party systems** and **(ii) one-party systems**.

Pluralist party systems can be classified into: **1) Multi-party systems** and **2) Two-party systems**.

One party system can be classified into: **(1) one-party systems** and **(2) the dominant party systems**.

MULTI PARTY SYSTEM

- **Multi Party system:** Technically when a country contains more than two relevant parties it is called a multi party system. There are several countries like France, India, and Italy who follow a multiparty system. India has more than 50 parties who have their relevance in government either at center or state. In a multi-party system, three, four or more parties may get together at any point of time to form coalition governments. Such governments generally adopt a common minimum programme for governance, as they do not have commitment to any one ideology.
- The winning candidates may not necessarily secure even half of the total votes cast. In a multicandidate election, the candidate getting the largest number of votes is declared elected, whatever percentage of total votes this may be.

Evolution of multi-party system in India:

India has the distinction of having such a large number of parties that, for some time now, it is impossible for any single party to be able to win a majority on its own. For almost 40 years after independence (with the exception of 1977-79 period), Congress Party dominated the Indian political scene.

Since the early 1990s the position has changed. Several parties formed the United Front Governments in 1996 and 1997, with outside support of Congress and the CPIM. The elections held in 1998, and again in 1999 threw up hung Parliament, and BJP led several party coalitions came to power. The 24-party National Democratic Alliance Government led by Atal Behari Vajpayee provided unique stability for over 5 years, which is very uncommon for a coalition of so many parties. The NDA included parties of different hues.

Merits of multi-party system

- It is more democratic, and none of the parties can become arbitrary or authoritarian.
- The respect of the legislature is enhanced as its decisions are taken after due deliberations on the floor of the House.
- Ongoing check and balance process between government and opposition.
- This system ensures representation to minorities, and also protects their interests

Demerits of multi-party system

- Breeds indiscipline, and leads to frequent formation and collapse of coalition governments.
- The leadership has to make compromises, and the government often suffers from indecision.
- Instability and lack of discipline are major shortcomings of the multi-party system.
- This system is most unsuitable for crises, when quick decisions are required, but cannot be taken because of the involvement of several parties, ideologies and leaders.

TWO PARTY SYSTEM:

The leaders and scholars of western world consider '**dualism**' (**two party**) as the best system though it has not become very popular. In the two-party system, there is constant competition between the two parties for securing a majority of popular votes and seats in the legislature.

Besides, there may be one or more smaller parties also in the two-party system. But, the smaller parties neither come to power nor do they normally influence the outcome of elections, though at times smaller parties may associate themselves with one or the other major party.

James Jupp has talked about the **indistinct** and **strict** two-party system. The most prominent example of indistinct type is the United States. According to him Britain is the best example of a strict two party system as both the parties there have definite organization, they remain within party discipline, and members of Parliament ordinarily do not defy their leadership.

Merits:

- It ensures the stability of the government.

Demerits:

- They say that this system presents just two

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● It is relatively easy for the Prime Minister to form the Cabinet. ● In a disciplined two-party system the task of the Prime Minister is easy, unless there is a weak leader and unless the party is faction-ridden. ● The task of voters is easy in a two party system, as they have only two alternatives to make their choice. ● Since there is a strong opposition, its voice is carefully heard by the ruling party, and its views taken into serious consideration. 	<p>alternatives to the voters. Many voters can hold views which are not represented by the two parties. They do not get the opportunity to have their true representation in the legislature.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The majority party can have any legislation adopted by the legislature on the basis of its absolute majority. The opposition does get an opportunity to express its views, but the power of the Parliament is, in effect, limited. ● Members of legislature merely carry out the wishes of party whips, and their initiative is often checked.
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ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

It implies the existence of only one party in a country. The countries committed to certain ideologies such as Marxism or Fascism normally do not allow the existence of any opposition party. In one-party states, there is, therefore, no opposition. Parties other than the ruling party are either constitutionally debarred, or they are crushed by the rulers.

This system originated with the establishment of the rule of the Communist Party of the USSR after the Bolshevik Revolution. Mustafa Kemal Pasha's one-party rule in Turkey was claimed to be democratic, while Fascist Party in Italy (1922-43) and Hitler's Nazi rule in Germany (1933-45) were typical examples of the dictatorship of one man who led the only party system.

The term one-party system was initially used after 1930 by certain Fascist writers. Prominent among them were **Manoilescu** and **Marcel Deat**. They tried to find similarity between Fascist/Nazi and Communist regimes. However, communist writers strongly opposed any such similarity. The western writers place all one-party systems in one category of non-democratic regimes.

James Jupp has described three different forms of one-party rule,

- **Liberal one-party rule:** There is internal democracy in the party, leadership is willing to listen to its criticism, and local governments enjoy a certain amount of autonomy. Thus, this may be called democratic one-party system.
- **Rigid one-party rule:** The party is under absolute control of a leader, and there is no internal democracy. Elections are not permitted even for party units.
- **Authoritarian rule:** The regimes of Hitler in Germany or Mussolini in Italy described as dictatorial/authoritarian.

DOMINANT PARTY SYSTEMS

Dominant party system is the system of governance where one party dominates and wins elections over other parties for a long period of time. This makes other parties or opposition practically insignificant. **For example, India.**

The party system during the first two decades after India's independence was termed as the Single Dominant Party system. It was a multi-party system where the ruling party played an overwhelmingly dominant role. Although a number of other political parties existed and operated politically, yet the central space of politics was occupied by the Indian National Congress only.

ROLES OF POLITICAL PARTY:

- Political parties are responsible for selecting candidates who will run for political office. The parties choose candidates who believe in the party's platform. These candidates represent the party's members and help to spread the party's message during elections.
- Act as mediator between citizens and government.
- Political parties are not policymaking organizations in themselves. They certainly take positions on important policy questions, especially to provide alternatives to the position of whichever party is in power.
- Amplify people's issues.

INTEREST GROUPS & PRESSURE GROUPS

People having common interests often get together. When they organize themselves to protect and promote their interest they are known as interest groups. **Example: FICCI.**

Interest groups have been defined by a number of prominent writers. Many prefer to use the term pressure groups, while others call them interest groups. But there is a clear distinction between the two, though it is not always easy to lay down clear demarcation.

- Interest groups are associations for interest articulation. For defining Interest groups **Almond and Powell** say, "by 'interest group' we mean a group of individuals who are linked by particular bonds of concern or advantage and to achieve their objectives by articulating the interest among society."

Interest articulation:

The process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision-makers we call interest articulation.

- Interest groups are not political parties as they do not participate in electoral politics, and on their own have no direct role in the governance of the country.
- **Finer** calls interest groups as "**Invisible empires.**"
- Writer **V.O. Key** was of the opinion that the interest groups are such private organizations who are established to influence public policy. They do not take part in the selection of candidates or the legislative processes. They devote themselves to pressurizing and influencing the government in order to promote their interests.
- Pressure groups or interest groups come under the field of '**Pluralist Democracy.**' Therefore, one can see a drastic increase in the presence of these groups in those countries where democracy is adopted as a system of government.
- According to the **Rajani Ranjan Jha**, '*pressure groups in recent times have been playing a very crucial role in strengthening democracy and influencing decisions of public policy in India. Since the paradigm shift from government to governance and further to good governance, pressure groups have emerged as a strong mechanism for making democracy participatory, transparent, accountable and responsive.*' In India's reference he also cites the example of **Anna Hazare** who

had launched an epic **anti-corruption movement** for passing a legislation regarding the Jan Lokpal in India.

- **PB Mehta** writes, *'outside of political parties' sphere there is enough vitality, creativity and reciprocity, where the people are expressing themselves in all their concreteness, individuality and complexity, more than enough to sustain faith in the face of political disillusionment. Interest groups have emerged as an effective mode of tool to capture that.'*

“Modern democracy is everywhere characterized by the presence of numerous pressure/interests groups & associations.” - **Roche & Stedman**

What is the difference between interest groups and pressure groups then?

- In general way behaviouralists thinkers calls these groups as 'Interest groups' and others called them as 'Pressure groups.'
- **J.D. Reynaud**, while explaining the difference between both, says, “when interest groups act at the political level and create pressure on the government they are called as Pressure groups.” That is, When interest groups endeavor to influence the political process, and thereby get favorable decisions in matters such as enactment of legislation, imposition of taxes and duties, framing of rules and issuance of licenses, etc. then these interest groups transform themselves into pressure groups.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESSURE GROUPS/INTERESTS GROUPS:

- Lobbying is only one of the methods of pressure politics, yet it is the most effective. Lobbying is, peculiarly American practice.
- Represent a diverse section of society.
- They attempt either to strengthen or change the direction of government policy.
- Sometimes have very specific objectives and sometimes have wider objectives.
- Flexible in nature (i.e. philosophy or ideology wise)
- Can be a professional group or spontaneously (from any social movement) made also.

Functions of Pressure groups:

- **Create pressure:** Pressure groups create pressure on the government for fulfillment of demands of people they represent. **Example:** FICCI sought support for the MSME sector in the budget 2022.
- **Vital link:** Pressure groups act as a vital link between the government and the governed. They keep governments more responsive to the wishes of the community, especially in between elections. **Example:** ABVP, Bharatiya Kisan Union
- **Minority representation:** Pressure groups are able to express the views of minority groups in the community who might not otherwise receive a hearing. **Example:** Jamaat-e-Islami
- **Advice government:** Pressure groups offer an alternative source of advice to the government, separate from that coming from the Public Service. **Example:** FICCI, All India kisan sabha
- **Deepening of democracy:** Pressure groups generally promote opportunities for political participation for citizens, without the need to join a political party. Moreover, they allow for the democratic rights of freedom of speech, assembly and association to be upheld.
- **Role in Judicial Administration:** They use judicial machinery for securing and safeguarding their interests.

TECHNIQUES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

- **Electioneering:** Placing a candidate in office or legislator through the election process who is in favor of demands and ideology of a particular group. **Example:** RSS, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)
- **Lobbying:** Persuading the public bearers to adopt and enforce the policies which groups think beneficial for them.
- **Propagandizing:** Creating public opinion in their favor by various means to indirectly influence the government, as in democracy public opinion decides governments future.

TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

G. Almond presented four types of pressure groups.



- **Institutional Interest Groups:** These groups consist of professionally employed persons. Normally are a part of government machinery. Whenever such an association raises protest it does so by constitutional means and regulations. (Dominant in developed and especially in developing countries because of their nature of being overdeveloped state)
Example: IAS Association or IPS Association, State civil services association, etc.
- **Associational Interest Groups :** These are organized specialized groups based on particular organizations formed for interest articulation, but to pursue limited goals. These include trade unions, organizations of businessmen and industrialists and civic groups. (Mainly dominant in developed countries)
Example, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Amnesty international, Greenpeace foundation, Trade Unions such as AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress), Students Associations such as NSUI etc.
- **Anomic Interest Groups or Promotional group:** By anomic pressure groups we mean more or less a spontaneous breakthrough into the political system from the society. Such groups may influence the political system in numerous unconventional ways.(dominant feature of underdeveloped countries) Example, Mobs, riots, demonstrations. **Examples:** United Liberation Front of Assam, All Assam Students Union, and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.
- **Non-Associational Interest Groups:** Groups based on ethnic, regional, status and class groups that articulate interests on the basis of individuals, and religious heads. These groups have informal structure. These include caste groups, language groups, etc. These types of groups are dominant features of developing countries. **Example:** Marathi bhashik manch, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and Tamil Sangh etc.

JEAN BLONDEL'S CLASSIFICATION OF INTEREST/PRESSURE GROUPS:

Interest groups have been classified by Blondel on the basis of factors responsible for their formation.

Broadly speaking there are two categories of groups. These are,

(i) community interest groups

(ii) associational groups

Both the categories are further divided into two sub-categories each.



Community interest groups:

The community interest groups are formed **to promote community interests**. The social relations are at the back of their formation. Community life brings people together. Most of the community groups are informal and only some are formally organized. They put pressure on the government to seek state protection and assistance. The community groups are divided between **(a) customary** and **(b) institutional groups**.

- **Customary group:** The groups that essentially follow the customs and traditions of the community fall in the category of customary groups. The groups of castes and subcastes in India are of this type.
- **institutional groups:** Blondel has described those community groups as institutional groups who are formed by people living together for a long time, and who develop common social relationships. Some of the examples of this type can be welfare associations of serving or retired soldiers like the veterans unions, the civil servants welfare associations, or the senior citizens' welfare bodies.

Associational groups:

The associational groups identified by Blondel generally follow the pattern of Almond. These groups have two sub-categories **(a) protective groups** and **(b) promotional groups**.

- **Protective groups:** The protective groups try to protect the interests of their members like those of trade unions and associations of traders or professionals. They, thus, have more or less homogeneous clientele. The protective groups generally manage to have greater influence over policy making process
- **Promotional groups:** The promotional groups, on the other hand, have membership of large cross-sections of the community. The promotional groups may include groups for disarmament, or the Greens seeking promotion of environmental security. The promotional groups generally manage to have lesser influence over policy making process than the protective groups.

MAURICE DUVERGER'S CLASSIFICATION

Maurice Duverger, who prefers to use the term pressure groups, talks of two main problems.

- First, whether those groups should be called pressure groups whose only function is to exert political pressure, or even those can be called pressure groups which have multi-dimensional activities.

- Second, whether the term pressure groups should be used only for non-official groups or even official groups can be brought in this category. It is in the context of these two questions that Duverger offered the following classification.
- In the context of his first question, Duverger distinguishes between **(i) Exclusive Groups** and **(ii) Partial Groups**.
 1. **Exclusive Groups:** Those groups whose only function is to put pressure on the political system through the device of lobbying.
 2. **Partial Groups:** The partial groups, on the other hand, are essentially set up to be the promoters of interests of their members, but in that process do occasionally use pressure tactics. There are numerous such partial groups in every democratic country including Britain and India. Several associations of professionals (doctors, lawyers, chartered accountants, and architects), of university or school teachers, or women activists, or those concerned with cultural activities also, if needed, try to put pressure on civil servants, legislators and others.
- On the second basis, Duverger makes a distinction between **(i) Private Groups** and **(ii) Public Groups**
 1. **Private Groups:** When private institution groups began to use pressure on the state apparatus, called private groups. The first country to have experienced private pressure groups was the United States.
 2. **Public Groups:** When public servants or official members of government form a pressure group it is called a public group. The official groups may even include those officials who secretly align themselves with one or more pressure groups to serve certain interests.
 - Duverger also refers to what he calls **pseudo-pressure groups**. These groups include specialists who use pressure politics not for themselves, but for others. This is often done for monetary consideration. Duverger includes in this category, the technical experts as well as information (mass) media.

Pressure Groups in India

- **Business Groups:** FICCI, Federation of All India Foodgrain Dealers Association (FAIFDA), etc
- **Trade Unions** – All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)
- **Professional Groups** – Indian Medical Association (IMA), Bar Council of India (BCI),
- **Agrarian Groups**- Bharatiya Kisan Union, etc
- **Student's Organisations**- Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), All India Students Federation (AISF),
- **Religious Groups** – Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Jamaat-e-Islami, etc.
- **Caste Groups** – Harijan Sevak Sangh, Nadar Caste Association, etc
- **Linguistic Groups** – Andhra Maha Sabha, etc
- **Tribal Groups** – Tribal National Volunteers (TNU) in Tripura, United Mizo federal org, Tribal League of Assam, etc.
- **Ideology based Groups** – Chipko Movement, Women's Rights Organization, India Against Corruption etc.

- **Anomic Groups** - Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Dal Khalsa, etc.
- **For women:** Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) Ladies Organization (FLO)

Shortcomings of pressure groups:

- **Narrow selfish interests:** Many times pressure groups work to acknowledge their narrowness that may lead to unconstitutional activities, spread of communalism, etc.
- **Corruption:**
- **Misuse of power:** Instead of the pressure groups exerting influence on the political process, they become tools and implements to subserve political interests.
- **Propagating hatred or extremism:**
- **Instability:** Example, the Naxalite movement started in 1967 in West Bengal.

Intelligence Bureaus’ report one of the pressure groups, that is NGOs (2014)

- A significant number of Indian NGOs (funded by some donors based in the US, the UK, Germany, The Netherlands and Scandinavian countries) have been noticed to be using people centric issues to create an environment which lends itself to stalling development projects in India.
- Foreign donors lead local NGOs to provide field reports which are used to build a record against India and serve as tools for the strategic foreign policy interests of the Western government.
- Identifies seven sectors/ projects that got stalled because of NGO-created agitations against nuclear power plants, uranium mines, coal-fired power plants, farm biotechnology, mega industrial projects, hydroelectric plants and extractive industries.
- These include a campaign against palm oil imports from Indonesia and disposal of e-waste of Indian IT firms, organizing construction workers in urban areas, protests against identified projects such as Gujarat’s Special Investment Regions, Par Tapi Narmada River Interlinking Project and the Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor.
- Report says, the NGOs become the central players in setting the agenda, drafting documents, writing in the media, and government.
- All the above is used to build a record against a country or an individual in order to keep the entity under pressure and under a state of under-development.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTY:

Pressure group/Interest group	Political party
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● They seek to influence public policy-makers, but without attempting to take over directly the control and conduct of the government. ● Pressure groups are the representation of homogeneous interests seeking influence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Political parties are primarily concerned with governance , to contest elections and try to secure a majority of seats in the legislature. ● Political parties strive to acquire power and exercise it—by electing—mayors and

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Pressure groups do not participate directly in the acquisition of power or in its exercise; they act to influence power while remaining apart from it and exert pressure on it. ● Pressure groups seek to influence the men who wield power, not to place their own men in power, at least not officially. ● The interest/ pressure groups are essentially non-political associations. Their primary functions may be economic, social, religious or humanitarian. Pressure is not their main business. They do so if necessary for the promotion of the interests of their members. 	<p>deputies, and by choosing cabinet ministers and the head of state.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Professor S.R. Maheshwari wrote, "It is the task of a political party to reconcile and aggregate their competing demands of interest groups and put them into coherent programmes and action plans." ● Political Parties are committed to a wide-range of issues and policies; their goal is political power.
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GENERAL DIFFERENTIATION OF PRESSURE GROUPS IN WEST VS EAST

West	East
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Association based ● Highly institutionalized ● One person is generally admitted to only one group. ● Profession has more weightage than identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Identity based ● Relatively unorganized (Anonymous) ● One person is generally admitted to only multi groups. ● Identity has more weightage than profession.

Conclusion:

- Pressure groups are now seen as an **inseparable** and **helpful** element of the democratic process as society has become highly complex and people cannot pursue their interests on their own. They need **collective support**(participation of everyone) to amplify their demands and put pressure on the government.

The similar way **Hannah Arendt** in her **theory of Action** calls for people to participate in politics or political action. According to her, when man performs political action, he achieves the '**human condition**'.

- Democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, through negotiation and some amount of bargaining is also involved. Thus, it is very essential for the government to consult these organized groups at the time of policy formulation and implementation.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Definitions:

- **The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1972)** defines a social movement *as a variety of collective attempts to bring about change. The attempts may be to bring about change in certain*

social institutions and to create an entirely new social order. Or the attempts may represent a socially shared demand for change in some aspects of the social order.

- **Turner and Kilhan** define a social movement as “a loosely organized effort by a large group of people to achieve a particular goal within the limit of constitution.”
- **Toch (1965)** emphasizes that a social movement is an effort by a large number of people to collectively solve a problem they feel they share in common.

Hence, above definitions clearly specify two important qualifying features of a social movement,

- **Firstly**, social movements involve collective action as against actions of a small group of individuals.
- **Secondly**, the collective attempt is designed to promote change or resist change in the society in which the attempt is made.

Why does social movement need to be used as a tool for conveying demands when we have Pressure groups and Political parties?

- Pressure groups or political parties carry many limitations, formality and restrictions. On the other hand, social movement is the least institutionalized, informal and easy to join collective movement for any group of people to showcase their wants.
- Also the highest form of pressure can be created using social movement. **For example**, Chipko movement, Anna Andolan.

Does terrorist activities come under Social movements (as both use collective efforts to convey demands)?

- **NO!** Social movements (as definition say) is something where demonstrations occur by adhering to the limits of the constitution of the land.

WAY OF CLASSIFYING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: OLD AND NEW

1. Old social movements:

- Most of the twentieth century social movements were class based such as working class movements and peasant movements or anti-colonial movements.
- While anti-colonial movements united entire people into national liberation struggles, class-based movements united classes to fight for their rights. The most far-reaching social movements of the last century thus have been **class-based or based on national liberation struggles**.
- **Examples:** 1. Workers’ movements in Europe 2. Formation of communist and socialist states across the world, most notably in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba, these movements also led to the reform of capitalism. 3. National struggle against colonialism in eastern countries like India.
- The old social movements functioned within the frame of political parties. The Indian National Congress led the Indian National Movement. The Communist Party of China led the Chinese Revolution. Hence, the old social movements clearly saw reorganization of power relations as a central goal.

2. New social movements:

- Today some believe that 'old' class based political action led by trade unions and workers' parties is on the decline. Others argued that in the affluent West with its welfare state, issues of class based exploitation and inequality were no longer central concerns.
- So the 'new' social movements were not about changing the distribution of power in society but about **quality-of-life** issues such as having a clean environment.
- **Rajni Kothari** attributes the surge of 'new' social movements in India in the 1970s to people's growing dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy. Kothari argues that the institutions of the state have been captured by elites. Due to this, electoral representation by political parties is no longer an effective way for the poor to get their voices heard. People left out by the formal political system join social movements or non-party political formations in order to put pressure on the state from outside for better quality of life. That led to the emergence of new nongovernmental organizations, women's groups, environmental groups and tribal activists.

Role of globalization in surge of new social movement:

- This is very true that globalization has been re-shaping peoples' lives in industry and agriculture, culture and media.
- Often firms are trans-national. Often legal arrangements that are binding are international such as the regulations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Environmental and health risks, fears of nuclear warfare are global in nature. Not surprisingly therefore many of the new social movements are international in scope.
- What is significant, however, is that the old and new movements are working together in new alliances such as the World Social Forum that have been raising awareness about the hazards of globalization.

Emergence of new social movement:

- The decades after the Second World War witnessed the end of empire and the formation of new nation-states as a result of nationalist movements in India, Egypt, Indonesia, and many other countries. Since then, another **wave of social movements occurred in the 1960s and early 1970s**.
- This was the time of the war in Vietnam where forces led by the United States of America were involved in a bloody conflict in the former French colony against Communist guerrillas.
- In Europe, Paris was the nucleus of a vibrant students' movement that joined workers' parties in a series of strikes protesting against the war.
- Across the Atlantic, the United States of America was experiencing a surge of social protest. The civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King had been followed by the Black Power movement led by Malcolm X. The anti-war movement was joined by tens of thousands of students who were being compulsorily drafted by the government to go and fight in Vietnam.
- The women's movement and the environmental movement also gained strength for anti war struggle during this time of social ferment.
- It was difficult to classify the members of these so-called 'new social movements' as belonging to the same class or even nation. Rather than a shared class identity, participants felt that they shared identities as students, women, blacks, or environmentalists.

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements can be classified under various typologies depending on such factors like the aim of the movement, organization, means adopted to achieve the aims, value, strength and so on. Some of the types are:

- **Migratory movements:** When a large number of people migrate due to discontent and or due to the shared hope for a better future in some other land, we talk of migratory movements. **For example**, the mass migration of people from Bangladesh to India during troubled times.
- **Reform movements:** This type of a movement constitutes a collective attempt to change some parts of a society without completely transforming it. Such movements are mainly possible in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism. **For example**, the socio-religious reform movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in India aimed to remove evil social practices.
- **Revolutionary movements:** Such a movement seeks to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a totally different one. For example, the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution.
- **Resistance or Reactionary movements:** These arise among people who are dissatisfied with certain aspects of change. **For example**, the Islamic Fundamentalist movement or Ku klux klan movement.
- **Alternative movement:** Movements that seek limited societal change. They target a small group of people and a specific behavior, and attempt to change the behavior of individual people in relation to that issue.

Origins of social movement

Introduction:

- Social movements are not new. Throughout history, individuals have come together peacefully to demand change from dominant elites.
- Examples include the movement to end the transatlantic slave trade dating back to the sixteenth century, movements to gain women's suffrage emerging in the late nineteenth century, and the peace, environmental, feminist and LGBT rights movements of the twentieth century.
- Over the past several decades, social mobilization has continued to expand and increase across the globe. Example, in established democracies (the **"Occupy"** movements and **"Black Lives Matter"** movements in the US, the UK and beyond), in more recently democratized upper middle-income countries (Brazil, India, Turkey); and in countries that are undergoing major transformations (those in the Middle East and North Africa, Venezuela).

Evolution in India:

- Social movements have had significant role-play in Indian politics since much before the establishment of India as a new state in 1947. (Peasants movements, workers movements)
- At the time of the Nehruvian age, from Independence to Nehru's demise in 1964, **poverty mitigation was a basic standard** in opposition to which policy schemes and political assertions were calculated. During this period, social movement activism was straightaway liable to this state discourse.

- Nevertheless, the role of social movements in India has changed in the last quite a few decades along with a new political focus **from state to market** and **from supreme ideologies of secularism to beliefs of religion-based nationalism**.

What are the social conditions or motivational forces that are necessary and sufficient to the generation of a social movement?

M.S.A. Rao identified three factors relating to the origins of social movements,

- **Relative Deprivation:** A social movement usually starts because the people are **unhappy about certain things**. In other words, they feel that they are **deprived of something**. The Naxalite movement would have this as a cause when the peasants felt that they were being exploited and deprived of their rights and the fruits of their labor.
- **Structural Strain:** When the prevailing value system and the normative structure does not meet the aspirations of the people, the society faces strain. So a new value system is sought so as to replace the old. This leads to conflicts and tension and individuals violate social norms. **For example**, Inter Caste marriages in fairly strict societies.
- **Revitalisation:** Revitalisation is the third factor associated in the emergence of a social movement. Though social movements express dissatisfaction and dissent against the system, they may also offer a positive alternative. Indeed they may be started for **revitalizing** the existing system which is undergoing structural strain. This urge for revitalisation can generate a movement.

Conclusion:

The school of political science revolves around the individual and his impact on society (and vice-versa). Social movements perhaps best show this relationship. They arise because individuals and social groups seek to change their conditions. Thereby they change both themselves and society.

GLOBALIZATION: RESPONSES FROM DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Previous year questions:

1. Bring out linkages between environmental degradation and neo-corporatism in the globalized era. (2012)
2. How do you explain the growing importance of multinational corporations (MNCs) and civil society in contemporary international politics? (2014)
3. What is a "global village"? Elaborate its main characteristics and also the factors that contributed to its growth. (2014)
4. Is globalization essentially a process of 'universalisation' of capitalist modernity? (2015)

5. How is it that economic and neo-liberal globalization is being interrogated from inside even in developed countries? What are the economic consequences of such globalization? (2015)
6. Discuss the impact of globalization on the internal functioning of the state. (2016)
7. Critically examine Globalization in the past 25 years from the perspective of the Western world. (2017)
8. "Some feel Multinational Corporations (MNCs) are a vital new road to economic growth, whereas others feel they perpetuate under development." Discuss. (2018)
9. Critically examine the impact of globalization from the perspective of countries of the global south. (2020)
10. What is globalization? Why is there an intense debate over globalization and its consequences?(2021)

INTRODUCTION:

- **Steve Smith** and **John Baylis** say '*globalization refers to processes whereby social relations acquire relatively distanceless and borderless qualities, so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world as a single place*'.
- According to **Martin Albraw**, "*Globalization refers to all these processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, a global society.*"
- Globalization is also defined as compression of time and space. (**Anthony Giddens**)
- Integration of the world into one single unit or a 'Global village.' (**M. McLuhan**)
- The other view which is highly **critical of globalization** defines it as '*What we in the Third World have for centuries called Colonization.*' (**Martin Lehor**). That is globalization is also defined as extension of colonization, called '**Neo-colonisation.**'
- Overall, scholars at last unanimously came to the conclusion that one can not tell the exact definition of globalization as it's a complex phenomena and has broader meaning.

Difference between 'International' and 'Globalization'

The international system envisages relations between various states with clearly defined boundaries in which they are sovereign and this sovereignty is to be respected and maintained. But globalization is supposed to be supra territorial as the global field is a web of trans-border networks which cut across the national territories and States have little control over them.

Example:

Indian-Russian governments relations are 'International relations'

Indian-Russian peoples relations in terms of education, personal, trade, or culture is called 'Globalization.'

EVOLUTION OF GLOBALIZATION:

Scholars have varying opinions with respect to the origin of globalization as it is **very difficult to determine the exact period or time when this process started**. There are many people who would like to trace the process from the dawn of civilization. Many find origins of globalization in the

expansion of imperialism in Asia and Africa by the European Powers. There are still many people who argue that globalization came about with the revolution in transport and communication technology in the middle of either 19th century or 20th century.

PHASES OF GLOBALIZATION:

<p>First phase of globalization</p>	<p><u>From the industrial revolution to End of world war1</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● First major expansion of world trade and investment took place in the 18th century following the Industrial Revolution in Europe, which made these countries producers of manufactured goods.
<p>Dormant State (Interwar period)</p>	<p><u>Between WW1 to WW2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Due to the havoc of WW1 almost every industrialized country (others were colonies) found themselves under economic crunch. ● The period of 1919 to 1940 witnessed the Great depression. ● By the end of WW2 many great empires (Example: Great Britain) declined under war efforts.
<p>Second Phase of globalization</p>	<p><u>The end of the Second World War to end of cold war</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● It brought another great expansion of capitalism with the rise of Multinational companies which internationalized production and trade. ● In the economic field, the new Bretton Woods system helped in the rise of international financial markets. ● In political terms, decolonization created a New World Order with the emergence of a number of new states.
<p>Third Phase of globalization</p>	<p><u>Started from the end of cold war</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, which ended the Cold War between the forces of capitalism and socialism, leaving the former triumphant. ● Formation of the WTO is called the real time when the world accepted globalization. (Almost every country now accepted the liberal world order)

Marxist criticism to phases of globalization:

According to marxist like **Rosa Luxemburg** and **Samir Irani**, Globalization is another form of capitalism. Globalization is a soft form of colonization or Neo-colonialism. And calls for revolution against this new form of colonization.

Example: Marx had criticized Britain's rule in India as the rule of capitalists.

FEATURES OF GLOBALIZATION:

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

Economic globalization: Economically the world is increasingly becoming one unit and economic events in one country affect other countries. There is a tremendous flow of trade and finance throughout the world. We have global currency like the dollar, pound, and yen. There is a substantial rise in global factories and global products. The rise of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) has unleashed a powerful global force.

Economic globalization implies that the national economies lose their autonomy and merge with the global economy. For developing countries, this has been termed as liberalization and privatization. As a result many developing economies are undergoing transformation. In many cases they have been forced to change as international aid has been linked with liberalization, and privatization.

Example, World Bank and IMF cajoled India to implement LPG reforms

POLITICAL GLOBALIZATION

- **Political globalization:** It is an assertion of liberal values. It means **defense of democracy and human rights**. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the establishment of democracy in erstwhile socialist states, democracy has become a globally accepted form of government.
- 'The nation state in the international system that had been regulated under the **Westphalian Treaty (1648)** which recognises the equality of states, internal and external sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs of one state by another.
- While in theory the system persists, the sovereign structure of a nation state is heavily influenced by global tendencies. This has eroded the sovereignty of the state both externally as well as internally.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECT OF GLOBALIZATION

- **Socio-cultural aspect of globalization:** Now we have a common global language- 'English' for communication and interaction. The western society which is essentially open, permissive and a market society is spreading globally.
- The jean culture with rock music, the Hollywood films are fashioning the new culture which is spreading globally. The cities around the world are becoming the same, so much so that they resemble each other.
- These developments are creating a feeling of single consciousness which will further increase as the time passes.

THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION

LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE:

- Liberalism provided an **institutional core** under which globalization thrived. They believe that globalization has brought peace and prosperity in the world and widens the scope of opportunity.
- **Theodore Levitt** argues that globalization moves the economy towards a new paradigm from custom-made commodities to worldwide homogenous products, which are -low priced, advanced, reliable and functional.
- **Francis Fukuyama** is of the view that globalization has opened the market economy which is resulting in domination of liberal democracy all over the world.
- **Jonathan Paraton (1999)** identified three schools of thought in the study of globalization namely the **hyper- globalists, the skeptics and the transformationalists**.

HYPERGLOBALISTS THEORY OF GLOBALIZATION:

- Proposed by **Kenichi Ohmae** says (In his concept of '**Borderless world**') that 'Globalization has surpassed the control of the state and now it is not under the control of nation states. Globalization is an **irreversible process**, and globalization is a new epoch of history in which traditional nation-states have become 'unnatural, even impossible business units in a global economy'.



Borderless world (K. Ohmae)

Theory says, political borders are becoming less and less important, as there is formation of an interlinked economy. In the Interlinked Economy, corporations and consumers are more closely connected across borders than ever, and politicians, bureaucrats and the military are declining in importance.

- They say, International markets and multinational corporations have become strong and **states have lost their earlier authority** and legitimacy and have little control over what is happening within their borders.
- Thus, the old **north-south divide**, or the **core-periphery** based international relations, is disappearing and a more complex architecture of economic, political and social power is emerging.
- Gradually it has got to have an effect on people the world over. **The national segmentations would dwindle down and a global fraternity would be founded.**
- **Example:**
 1. **Donald Trump had met Apple chief executive Tim Cook** in 2019 to discuss how a trade war with China would affect Apple's interests, which demonstrates that the leading multinationals are political actors, not bystanders.
 2. **Controversy over the coal mining project of Adani corporations** (set up in Australia) went so far ahead that ministers of both countries had to intervene to ensure the controversy of a multinational company dont repulse into positive relations of two nations.
 3. Global level NGOs create at par impact on people as their respective states do. (Example: Gates foundation)

SKEPTICAL THEORY OF GLOBALIZATION:

- According to **Ralph Dahrendorf**, 'globalization is fully controlled by states and even allowed and regulated by states only.' Hence, he calls the approach given by hyperglobalists a '**myth.**'
- **It is not the market that rules, but the state that regulates all economic activity.** The forces of globalization are themselves dependent upon the regulatory power of national governments to make states globalize, and privatize. Thus, **politics and not economics alone are important** determining the relations among states in an increasingly interdependent world.



- Scholars of this approach also **criticize western domination**. The skeptics point out that there has been no re-structuring of the world economy, most trade and investment still favors the North and marginalizes the South, as a result of which inequalities between the two areas are increasing, and the old international division (Imperialism and Colonies) is becoming stronger.
- **Example:**
 1. The Indian government's recent decision of **banning many Chinese applications** led to substantial loss of corporations. (This is how state regulates corporations)
 2. States meet at summits and bilateral meetings to regularize bilateral ties and movements of goods and people in between the countries. The non-state actors have to follow the rules strictly.

TRANSFORMATIONALIST THEORY OF GLOBALIZATION

- Propounded by **Anthony Giddens** and **Ulrich Beck**.
- They came up with a mean path that in some way the globalization is winning and at other the states have their dominance intact.
- They also believe that globalization has impacted the state's sovereignty at a larger stake and is **'transforming'** the world and they see it as a driving force behind the rapid social, political and economic changes that are reshaping modern societies and a world order.
- Globalization is conceived as a powerful transformative force, which is responsible for a **'massive shake-out'** of societies, economies, institutions of governance and world order.

MARXIST THEORY OF GLOBALIZATION: (CRITIQUE)

- Marxists believe that globalization is **another form of colonialism, a new form of Imperialism**.
- They see it as an extension of the **neoliberal conservative** policies practiced by the advanced western countries to put their own economies in order. These developments have led to introduction of competitive market forces and dismantling of welfarism within the developing states, leading to greater class and regional inequalities within them.
- Globalization has led to a decline of third world states and their ability to manage in a world of open economies. **A.G. Frank** has recently pointed out that the *'impact of globalization has proved Dependency theory correct, but paradoxically, the theory is hardly used today in studies on globalization.'*

Dependency theory (by Raul Plebisch)

- Underdeveloped countries offer cheap labor and raw materials on the world market. These resources are sold to advanced economies, which have the means to transform them into finished goods.
- Underdeveloped countries end up purchasing the finished products at high prices, depleting the capital they might otherwise devote to upgrading their own productive capacity.
- The result is a vicious cycle that perpetuates the division of the world economy between a rich core and a poor.

- **Andre Gunder Frank**, argued that the only way out of dependency was the creation of a **non-capitalist (socialist) national economy**.

- **Mick Brooks** looks at the different meanings of globalization and explains them from the standpoint of **Lenin's theory of imperialism**. He says Globalization is the latest hope embraced by capitalist commentators for the salvation of their system i.e. 'Global capitalism.' The gap between poor and rich widened, and global capitalism is the reason why. The institutions that regulate world trade are set up so that big business can systematically mug the world's poor.
 - **Example:** The domination of developed countries (especially USA) on world institutions like WB, IMF or WTO and their (allegedly) use of these institutions for keeping domination intact over developing and underdeveloped countries.

POST-COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE:(CRITIQUE)

- Called globalization as '**neo-colonialism**' and has been curbing the rights of indigenous people.
- **Prof. Diana Brydon** says that the legacies of globalizing processes in the twenty-first century include institutionalized misogyny and racism, a dearth of opportunities for developed countries to spread neo colonialism and a widespread societal ignorance of Indigenous culture.



EVALUATION OF GLOBALIZATION

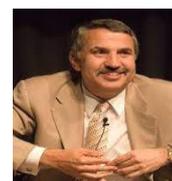
Thomas Friedman in his 2005 book '*The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*' noted that three different types of globalizations have occurred throughout history.

- **Globalization 1.0:** Lasted from 1492 to the 1800s. Transportation technologies, colonial projects, and geographic know-how shrunk the world in terms of geographical reach paving the way for sustained international trade. During this period, according to him, "*the main agent of globalization was the nation-state globalizing for the Empire, or for resources, or for power.*"
- **Globalization 2.0:** Began in the 1900s and ended around the turn of the twenty-first century. Called the "**era of globalization**", it was spearheaded by companies globalizing for markets, for labor, and for resources. The activities related to this phase further broke down the barriers of international borders, trade, and cross-cultural connections.
- **Globalization 3.0:** The third and current phase of globalization began around the year 2000. Friedman noted that "*what's really new, really exciting, and really terrifying about this era of globalization is that it is built around individuals, individuals that can compete, connect, and collaborate globally as individuals.*" This provided equal opportunity for everyone to take part. According to him, the invention of the internet boomed this stage of globalization.

DEBATES OF SCHOLARS ON GLOBALIZATION:

Positive Views:

- **Joseph Stiglitz:** In his work "*Making globalization work*" says globalization has remained one of the most revolutionary activities by humans and technological progress has contributed immensely in the development of globalization. But he also suggests some of the changes in the current form of globalization by creating more transparency, participation and democracy in globalization.

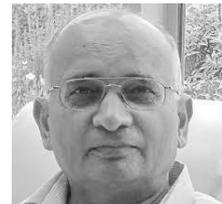


- **Jagdish Bhagwati:** In his book *“In defense of globalization”* he said *“Globalization is the most powerful tool to achieve the social goals”* (Poverty, inequality, racial discrimination). He believes the negative effects of globalization have been exaggerated by its critics. He believes that every state will have to cope up with globalization because *‘globalization is not going away any time soon. Instead of opposing globalization, one should advocate policies which use globalization for benign effects.’*
- **Amartya Sen:** “Countries which did not join globalization have performed the worst.”



Views against globalization

- **Prof. Ramesh Thakur:** Professor Ramesh Thakur in his book **“the dark side of globalization”** said *“Globalization has resulted into the deepening of poverty and inequality, prosperity for a few countries and people, marginalization and exclusion for the many.”* Also called globalization as **‘Indirect capitalism.’**



The rapid growth of global markets has not seen the parallel development of social and economic institutions to ensure balanced, inclusive and sustainable growth. Labor rights have been less sedulously protected than capital and property rights, and global rules on trade and finance are inequitable. This has asymmetric effects on rich and poor countries.

- **J. Heine:** In the work *“Dark side of globalization”*, called ‘globalization led to inequality and soft capitalism.’
- **Feminist scholars:** Thinkers like **Simone de Beauvoir** says, Globalization did not ensure women empowerment as it did with male empowerment. Globalization has focused and promoted male dominance.
- **Arundhati Roy:** In her work *“Capitalism a ghost story”* (Book) says *“Globalization is a mutant form of colonization.”*
- **Noam Chomsky:** The rise of industrial state capitalism has changed the scale and character of globalization. Transnational corporations are the driving force, and their political power largely shapes state policy in their interests. Transnational corporations have increasingly constructed **global value chains (GVCs)** in which the “lead firm” outsources production through intricate global networks that it establishes and controls.

Global value chains (GVCs)

Big industrial companies (Example, Apple) involve thousands of firms and enterprises that have no formal relationship with them, and at the lower tiers, and may be entirely unaware of the destination of what they are producing.

Example: Apple, its iPhone is designed in the US. Parts from many suppliers in the US and East Asia are assembled mostly in China in factories owned by the huge Taiwanese firm Foxconn. Apple’s profit is estimated to be about 10 times that of Foxconn, while value added and profit in China, where workers toil under miserable conditions, is slight. Apple then sets up an office in Ireland so as to evade US taxes.

- **Immanuel Wallerstein:** His '**world system theory**' composed of the core, the periphery and the semi-periphery.

The core is the dominating economic power. The periphery provides raw materials to the core and relies on the core's expensive products. The semi-periphery is exploited by the core, like periphery, and, like the core, exploits the periphery.

The world-system may have originated as early as 1500 AD as the result of new technological developments and globalization has helped it to reach its peak in the 20th century because capitalism was finally able to reach all parts of the globe.

RESPONSE TOWARDS GLOBALIZATION

RESPONSE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

Introduction:

The current process of globalization is more towards integration of national economies across the world specially integrating their systems of production and finance. This process is driven by a package of policies unleashed by the industrially advanced countries seeking liberalization of trade and investment of capital across the world.

The pace of the current globalization process is reflected largely in respect of the incredible growth in the size of cross-border flows of goods, services and capital, but it has created skepticism between the countries and has put forward the question that, is globalization providing even growth for all states?

CONCERNS AMONGST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:

- **Uneven impact:** The impact of the current process of globalization is extremely uneven, both with and between nations. Consequently, it has resulted in rising income inequality with countries as well as between countries.
- **Skewed income distribution:** The less developed countries experience a more skewed income distribution. It has also led to greater polarization across countries because technology, the prime factor responsible for the current wave of globalization-still remains concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries.
- Globalization is perceived by many less developed countries to be a system typified by the apex economic institutions such as the IMF and WTO in which the developed countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less developed countries especially in areas such as trade and capital investment. They feel that the current globalization process has led to the worsening of structural poverty in less developed countries. In fact to compete in economic globalization they had to take external debt which further deteriorated their situation.

Joseph Stiglitz in his book '***Globalization and its discontent***' share his views,

- Globalization is real and has happened but did not impact equally.
- No country is untouched by globalization, but impact varies with respect to individual countries. Therefore it is said that there is a lot of regional and intersectoral differentiation in terms of depth of globalization.
- Developing countries and underdeveloped countries are though initially showed discontent towards globalization (Example, India) but today they all have adopted globalization.
- Though at first glance it seems globalization has led to development, careful observation shows that industrially strong countries have got disproportionately high benefits compared to underdeveloped countries.

Response by developing countries against negatives of globalization:

- With respect to the adverse effects of the current economic globalization, many of the developing countries are engaging in reforming, to the extent possible, the international trading and financial institutions to cater to their critical economic needs.
- Leading among these are countries like India which have taken initiatives to re-examine the evolving rules of the WTO in respect of issues such as intellectual property rights, anti-dumping restrictions, subsidies to agriculture and other countervailing measures.
- Another concern related to developing countries is market access in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Cumulatively their demands are in respect of enlarging their access to international trade through seeking lowering of tariff, and exemptions on a number of lion-tariff barriers.
- According to **Joseph Stiglitz**, Biggest benefit of globalization is taken by China, which led to at least a fourfold increase in China's trade and is now all set to challenge the current hegemony of the USA.

Impact of globalization on India:

The Indian economy was in major crisis in 1991 when foreign currency reserves went down to \$1 billion. It was only after the LPG policy that is Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization launched by the then Finance Minister Manmohan Singh that India saw its development in various sectors.

Advent of New Economic Policy

The following measures were taken to liberalize and globalize the economy:

- Devaluation: To solve the balance of payment problem Indian currency was devalued by 18 to 19%.
- Disinvestment: To make the LPG model smooth many of the public sectors were sold to the private sector.
- Allowing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): FDI was allowed in a wide range of sectors such as Insurance (26%), defense industries (26%) etc.
- NRI Scheme: The facilities which were available to foreign investors were also given to NRIs.

Benefits of Globalization of Indian Economy

1. **More Employment Opportunities**: The introduction of globalization brought an influx of foreign investments and the favorable policies of the Indian government also helped companies to set up units in this country. This has resulted in new employment opportunities. In a nutshell, the

employment opportunities in this country rapidly progressed after globalization and Indian business merged.

2. **Increase in per-capita Income:** As a direct effect of more employment opportunities, the per-capita income of Indian households also increased after globalization. Resultantly, it altered their standard of living and improved the purchasing power of an average Indian. This gave birth to a new middle-class and recorded an increase in demand for consumer products in this country.
3. **More Choices for Consumers:** Globalization and the Indian economy provided Indian consumers with a plethora of choices. Indian, as well as foreign manufacturers, brought various products of the same kind, and consumers got a chance to select their preferred one. This increase in competition prompted manufacturers to create better products at a much lower price point.
4. **Access to Untapped Markets:** A noticeable benefit of globalization is that it provides access to many untapped markets with huge potential. The globalization of the Indian economy means it allowed foreign companies to operate in the Indian market. Also, Indian businesses got an opportunity to operate on a global scale. As a result, the import-export sector in India saw an astonishing rise after 1991.

Demerits of Globalization

1. **Westernization of culture:** Use of Jeans, listening western pop music, use of English has become normal phenomena and that led to what we called 'Mcdonaldization of society' (**George Ritzer**). This has tremendously harmed the indigenous culture.
2. **Neo-colonialism:** Scholars have (especially post colonial) called globalization as a new form of colonialism where more emphasis is 'economic drain' by exploiting the Indian market and natural resources.
3. **Spread of disease:** Surpassing the economic and cultural losses globalization has now has contributed to spreading the diseases across the globe due to interconnection. The spread of Covid 19 is the biggest example.
4. **Rising dependency:** The more technologically advanced countries are able to sell their products gradually less-developed countries becoming dependent upon the superior nations. India is highly dependent on western nations for technology (defense, telecommunication)
5. **Rising inequality:** Globalization has contributed towards increasing the gap between the rich and the poor. Rich and wealthy people are able to exercise more control over the national resources through capital. Poor people become more poor by using them as cheap labor. Example, In India top 1% rich hold more than 50% wealth.

RESPONSE OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES:

Responses to globalization by developed countries need to be seen in phases. Can be divided into,

1. Promotion of globalization
2. Skepticism
3. Deglobalization

1. Promotion of globalization:

- First major expansion of world trade and investment took place in the 18th century following the Industrial Revolution in Europe.
- Later it was the USA who dictated the term of globalization by introducing liberal world order. The new Bretton Woods system helped in the rise of the international global market.
- Rise of Multinational companies which internationalized production and trade.
- Formation of the WTO is called the time when the world accepted globalization.

2. Skepticism:

- The **attack of 9/11** led to the slowdown in economic globalization and was heralded by skeptics as marking the end of globalization. Though the accelerating pace of globalization in the military, technological, and cultural domains revived globalization quickly.
- After 2008, the world again witnessed the rise of the wave against globalization with the '**2008 market crash tragedy.**' That led to Slow and steady rise of '**Protectionism.**'
- The vast bulk of international economic and political activity remained concentrated within the group of OECD states.
- All these activities led to a rise of critics (Post colonial, Marxist) which said, Globalization is at best a self-serving myth or ideology which reinforces Western and particularly US hegemony in world politics.

3. Deglobalization

According to **Joseph Stiglitz (Globalization and its discontent),**

- The incidents like BREXIT, EU crisis, criticism of Bretton Woods institutions, and the crisis in Greece made the situation all the more worse.
- In recent years we even started witnessing backlash against globalization from the developed world. (USA's America first policy, protectionism and rise of right wing)
- Everything was slowly coming into place but suddenly pandemic started and that has led to 'Collapse' of globalization.

"Covid crisis has written the death note of Globalization"- C. Rajamohan

"Covid has shown the fractures in current global international systems."- PM Modi (NAM summit)

CONTEMPORARY FORM OF GLOBALIZATION

Introduction:

Contemporary globalization is a **multilevel process**, it operates within all aspects of social life from politics to production, culture to crime, and economics to education. It is implicated directly and indirectly in many aspects of our daily lives, from the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the knowledge we accumulate, through to our individual and collective sense of security in an uncertain world. Hence, evidence of globalization is all around us.

Patterns of contemporary globalization

- **Economic:** In the economic sphere, patterns of worldwide trade, finance, and production are creating global markets and, in the process, a single **global capitalist economy**. Multinational corporations are organizing production and marketing on a global basis.
- **Military:** In the military domain the global arms trade, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the growth of transnational terrorism, the growing significance of transnational

military corporations, and the discourse of global insecurity point to the existence of a global military order.

- **Legal:** The expansion of transnational and international law from trade to human rights alongside the creation of new world legal institutions such as the International Criminal Court is indicative of an emerging global legal order.
- **Ecological:** A shared ecology involves shared environmental problems, from global warming to species protection, alongside the creation of multilateral responses and regimes of global environmental governance.
- **Cultural:** Involves a complex mix of homogenization and increased heterogeneity given the global diffusion of popular culture, global media corporations, communications networks, etc., simultaneously with the reassertion of nationalism, ethnicity, and difference.
- **Social:** Shifting patterns of migration from South to North and East to West have turned migration into a major global issue as movements are now becoming a headache for the local population.

Views of Ashutosh Varshney:

1. Globalization is retreating/eroding.
2. Erosion of globalization is leading to an increase of nationalist forces/nationalism which has resulted in an increase of right wing ideology. (**Trump, Boris Johnson**)

Views of P.B. Mehta:

1. Globalization is leading to the '**Pincer movement.**' (that is attack (on globalization) not only from third world countries but also western countries which were historically promoter of globalization)
2. We have witnessed changes in globalization, converting into a 'Hybrid' form of globalization which is called "**Glocalization.**" (Simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies in the contemporary world.)
3. In the article '**globalization in question**' he says,
 - *'There was always some degree of opposition to globalization but current conjuncture is making that more imminent because unlike anti-globalisation movements of the recent past, **the current anti-globalisation sentiment is now working through the electoral politics of almost all democracies and states.** This makes it more subtle and powerful.'* (Brexit, America first policy, Atmanirbhar Bharat)
 - **Increased chauvinism:** The nationalist critique of globalization is gaining ground. Proponents of globalization did make many societies deeply multicultural but underestimated the political and cultural challenges to assimilation. As a result globalization has turned to embracing **chauvinism.**(Excessive or blind patriotism)
 - **Increased military power:** The fantasy of globalization was to render territoriality less salient and to mitigate great-power military conflict. But territory based conflict never deteriorates. From China to Russia the temptation to use power to exercise influence is growing.
 - **Depletion of Pax-Americana:** For the US, globalization was an intelligent way of enhancing its pre-eminence and influence. For a powerful hegemon like the US, it was easy to sustain the illusion of national power and globalization both growing together. **Therefore, the US's Liberal internationalism was just smarter nationalism.** But now this is challenged from all



sides. The ground realities of emerging **multipolarity** and the rise of China (thanks to globalization) made sustaining hegemony harder.

- Globalization's critics point that it is **oversold, uneven** in its effects, and **does not do enough** for losers.

THE FUTURE PROSPECT OF GLOBALIZATION:

Amidst debates, fears, and probable retreat of globalization, we cannot ignore a central reality that much of it is not reversible or even resistable. Therefore, the allover retreat of globalization is equally impossible. So below are some of the institutional reforms that needed at global level to determine better course of globalization:

- **Economic Chain:** The theory of comparative advantage hasn't gone away. It remains both cost effective and efficient for firms to source their supply chains from across the globe. Digitalization is driving that process even faster in the globalization of services. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown us how costly and difficult it can be to unwind these chains (even when every country was trying hard). It would be a mistake to expect firms and states sourcing everything locally in the post-pandemic world. Hence, it is not as easy to say goodbye to globalization.
- **Widening the aperture of trade:** Rules and policies have traditionally focused on benefits for global consumers based on comparative advantage. Going forward, countries will need trade rules and rule adjustments that allow them to also pursue other national objectives – labor and environmental standards, urgent health needs, and gains for job-creating, green, and socially beneficial producers.
- **Demographics:** The scale of both migration and displaced populations has become a major source of international debate and domestic political tensions in a growing number of countries. Yet, migration and labor mobility are an essential feature of a world when the population is aging in some countries and becoming young elsewhere. Therefore, New international agreements and governance structures will have to be built to help manage and share the short-term costs of migration for receiving countries, along with better strategies for integrating migrants into productive employment.
- **Reconciling globalization with national security:** Globalization must mutate to suit the national interest more broadly. Economic realities will be part of the national interest as well as the need to cooperate on global threats, but these will need to be balanced against the need to reduce linkages with countries that are less reliable.

Bottom line is that globalization has to be linked with national interests for making globalization equitable towards every nation.

Conclusion:

Globalization is a double edge sword, an ethical impulse as well as a box of great opportunities. The only condition is, if not handled carefully will lead to tools in the hand of elites to exploit others for their own interests.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Syllabus: Approaches to the study international relations: Idealist, Realist, Marxist, Functionalist and Systems theory

Previous year questions:

1. Examine major principles of State centric world views. (2013)
2. How does Marxist approach explain contemporary International Relations? (2013)
3. Write a note on Intellectual precursors of Realism. (2013)
4. 'Building 'peace by pieces' is the basis of functionalism'. Elaborate. (2013)
5. The Feminist approach to international politics is biased." Comment (2014)
6. "Morton A. Kaplan's system theory is contrary to the fundamental precepts of systems approach." Comment. (2014)
7. Do you endorse that the conventional discourse on human rights has failed to include women's rights? Explain in the context of feminist theories? (2015)
8. Identify the major differences between the classical realism of Hans J. Morgenthau and the neorealism of Kenneth Waltz. Which approach is the best suited for analyzing international relations after the Cold War? (2015)
9. Critically examine the functional and system approaches to the study of international relations (2016)
10. Is Realist Approach the best method to understand International Relations? Examine this in the context. (2017)
11. Bring the major differences between the classical realism of Hans Morgenthau and Neorealism of Kenneth Waltz of Classical Realism. (2018)
12. Critically examine the functionalist approach to the study of international relations. (2018)
13. Explain the relevance of Marxist approach in context of globalization (2019)

14. What are the core assumptions of idealism as an approach to study International Relations? Explain its continuing relevance in peace building. (2020)
15. "Marxist approach to studying international relations has lost its relevance in the post cold war era." Comment (2021)
16. Discuss the emergence of neo-realism and its basic tenets (2021)

Introduction:

- **International relations** is the study of interaction between sovereign nation states and non-state organizations in various fields like economic, politics, diplomatic, security, etc.
- International relations as said to be formally begins with the commencement of '**Treaty of Westphalia' 1648**, as treaty led to recognition of '**Nation state**.' Also the treaty concluded the '30 years war in Europe' and led to recognition of the **principle of sovereignty**.

Nation state is a specific form of **sovereign state** (a political entity on a territory) that is guided by a **nation** (feeling of oneness), has defined **borders**, and which derives its legitimacy from successfully serving all its **citizens**.

PHASES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

1ST PHASE: FROM 1648 TILL 1ST WW 1919 (WESTPHALIAN WORLD ORDER)

- With the establishment of Westphalian world order (with commencement of Westphalian treaty), **sovereignty** of a nation became utmost important which led to territorial integrity and non-interference in the domestic affairs.
- The period witnessed mainly **politics among European nations** (thus international politics was essentially the regional politics) because the USA was following isolationist policy (Monroe doctrine) and the rest of the world was a colony.

The Monroe Doctrine is a foreign policy statement made by former US President **James Monroe** on December 02, 1823. President Monroe made three important points to the European powers in his address

- First, the Western hemisphere is no longer an open area for influence or colonization by any external power.
- Second, the US has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the European nations and, therefore, Europe should keep away from the internal affairs of the Western hemisphere nations.
- Lastly, America would consider any attempt by European powers to control newly independent nations of the Western hemisphere as a hostile act against the US.

- Politics in Europe was shaped by the **policies of great powers**. Hence it is rightly said that international politics is great power politics.
- European politics can rightly be described by the **Billiard Ball model** given by **Arnold Wolfers** and is based on Westphalian world order.

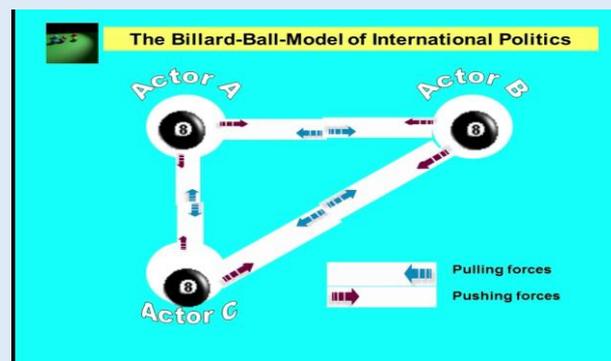
2ND PHASE: INTERWAR PERIOD (1919-1939)

- Attempts were made to change the manner in which politics is conducted among states. The period led to the establishment of theories to study international politics. Woodrow Wilson, the former president of the USA was one of the scholars of this period.
- Woodrow Wilson suggested a new form of world order different from Westphalian world order, and proposed a '**Liberal world order.**'
- The notion of **balance of power** is now replaced by the concept of '**Collective security.**' Hence, the first step towards that was the formation of the '**League of nation.**'
- The League of Nations remained ineffective largely because of non-participation of the US in the league (due to its internal politics) and at the same time in 1917, Communist revolution took place in the USSR, which frightened the capitalist world and that led to UK and France neglecting fascist rise (Fascism to curb the communism).
- Hence they overlooked expansionist actions by Italy, Germany and Japan. They allowed the League of Nations and collective security to collapse. Old politics continued and ultimately world witnessed 2nd WW. And that led to the formation of a '**realist school.**' This led to the first great debate in international politics i.e. the debate between realists and liberals.

Billiard Ball model:

1. There were 4-5 great powers, but no superpower ,constantly colliding with each other.
2. Universal actors are also absent. i.e. world government or international actors.
3. Hence it was a situation of anarchy. Each country will have to depend on itself for its own survival. (For sovereignty and territorial integrity).
4. The only way of survival is '**Power.**'(This leads to the development of the notion that international politics is a **continuous struggle for power.**) Hence, nations will go for internal and external balancing to maintain the **balance of power.** (Balance of power, in international relations is the posture and policy of a nation or group of nations protecting itself against another nation or group of nations by not letting any nation gain '**preponderance of power.**')
5. Nations will consistently collide with each other like the freestanding balls with hard shells in a game of billiards. Hence, the model also shows that there are no permanent friends and enemies.

Example: The balance was disrupted by Napoleon which threatened the sovereignty of all states. Hence, all states together defeated him in the **battle of Waterloo 1815.**



Liberal World order:

Woodrow Willson proposed '**Fourteen points speech**' in US congress whose ultimate aim was to establish '**peace**' in international politics. According to him, '**Security dilemma**' and '**Protectionist policies**' of nations are the main reasons for instability and anarchy.



He proposed a '**World government**' (League of nations) to bring '**collective security.**' Also proposed '**Free trade policy**' to tackle the protectionism by nations.

Rise of realist school of international politics

- Realist school is based on the fundamental concepts of Westphalian world order. For realists '**Power**' is the most important notion for the security of a nation.
- **E H Carr**, the famous realist historian and the author of '**Twenty Years Crisis**' argued that Woodrow Wilson's ideas were '**utopian**'. Power will never loose its importance and hence, international politics realism is '**Timeless wisdom.**'
- The realist school thus emerged as the dominant school in international politics.

3RD PHASE: COLD WAR

- After the end of WW2, we see the beginning of the **cold war**. World got divided into two ideologies. Western world led by the USA called for world order based on '**liberal principle**' and '**Market economies**'. The USSR challenged this idea on the basis of 'closed' and '**state owned economies.**' This led to '**Bipolar world order.**'

How was the Cold War world order different from the Westphalian world order?

1. Unlike major powers of Westphalian world order, here emerged two extraordinary powers, having power more than all other states. Other states lost sovereignty in a real sense. sovereignty of the states became just a formality.

2) Collapse of the traditional balance of power politics giving rise to "**Deterrence**", deterrence of nuclear power.

- International politics became '**international**' in a true sense. Westphalian world order was multipolar, cold war world order was bipolar.
- This period also witnessed short time lived '**Detente period**'

'Détente period' (1969-1979)

- Between the late 1960s and the late 1970s, there was a thawing of the ongoing Cold War

between the United States and the Soviet Union. It began with vast improvements in bilateral relations during the 1970s.

- Reasons for detente period:
 1. The ongoing nuclear arms race was incredibly expensive
 2. Both nations faced domestic economic difficulties as a result of the diversion of resources to military research.
 3. The United States faced an increasingly difficult war in Vietnam, and improved relations with the Soviet Union were thought to be helpful in limiting future conflicts.
- The following are the instances when detente manifested itself:
 1. A clear sign that a détente was emerging was found in the signing of the **Nuclear Arms Proliferation treaty in 1968.**
 2. In 1971, Communist China was allowed to become a member of UN
 3. In 1972, the signing of the **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)**
 4. In 1975, the **Helsinki Agreement** in which the USA, Canada and European countries accepted the European frontiers which were created after the Second World War.
- The cracks had begun again between the two countries in late 1970s. The United States and the Soviet Union had different visions of what détente meant and what its pursuit would entail. By the time the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the spirit of cooperation had been replaced with renewed competition and only restarted when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union.

FOURTH PHASE: END OF COLD WAR & COLLAPSE OF USSR

- The collapse of the **Berlin Wall** led to the end of the Cold War in 1989. The then US president H.W. Bush declared the new world order. Majority of the countries joined **liberal world order**.
- The new world order denoted the global world order which led to formation of '**Proliferation of actors**' and growth of '**non-state actors**'. Global world order denotes interdependence. International politics moved away from **state centric geopolitics** to **geo-centric economics**. Hence, in all, '**Neo-liberalism**' started rising.
- Period witnessed the birth of **Thatcherism**.

Thatcherism

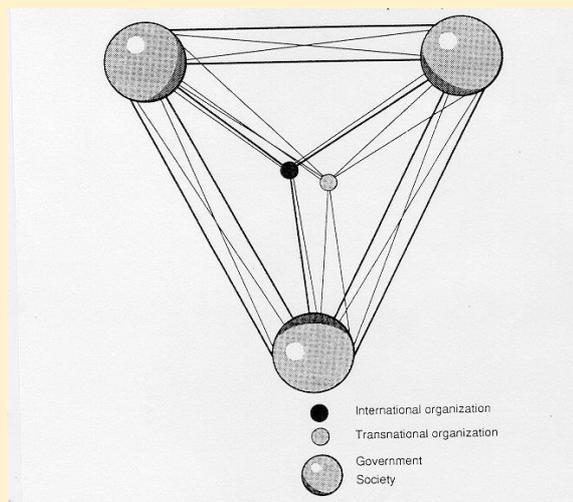
- Margaret Thatcher's policies as prime minister of Britain brought substantial changes in public life, and were collectively called Thatcherism.
- Thatcherism represents a belief in **free markets** and a **small state**.
- Rather than planning and regulating business and people's lives, the government's job is to get out of the way. It should be restricted to the bare essentials: **defense of the realm** and **the currency**. Everything else should be left to individuals, to exercise their own choices and take responsibility for their own lives.



- According to **Baylis** and **Steve Smith**, the world looks like a **multiplex**. As territories are becoming irrelevant, domestic and international politics are becoming interdependent or overlapping. Billiards ball model is now replaced by the '**Cobweb model**'. (**Complex interdependence**).

Cobweb Model: given by John Burton

- It says, World order is no more state centric as multiple actors have now come into existence.
- State isn't the only gateway for international relations. Societies are now interacting with each other through multiple ways. (MNC's, NGO's, Trading groups, Educational institutes)
- Hence, there is a shift towards global politics. This has led to a drastic increase in interdependence.



Present Scenario

Since the 2008 Global Financial Crisis, we are witnessing the decline of liberal world order, and countries are returning to the old style like, State-centric geopolitics, rise of protectionism, Russia's attack on crimea, BREXIT, regionalism (Example, QUAD), America first policy, Atmanirbhar Bharat, and the two years of pandemic have 'highlighted the faults in current world order' (PM Modi in NAM summit 2021).

"Covid 19 has written the death note of liberal world order."- C Raja Mohan

The very recent event i.e. war between Ukraine and Russia, the failure of NATO, UN and other international bodies to restrict the war, failure of USA as hegemon to stop the war, and rising military expenditure of countries like China, according to many scholars is the '**last nail in the coffin**' for Liberal world order.

There are many approaches to the study of international relations. Every approach of international relations treats International History as the laboratory from which meaningful conclusions could be drawn. Two of the main schools of the traditional approach are Realism and Idealism and in later times other schools like Marxists and Neo-realism also emerged.

REALIST SCHOOL

Inception:

- Realism is the hegemonic school of thought in international politics with basic assumptions like **state centrism, anarchical structure of IR, dilemma of security, and power as the only maxim.**

Intellectual precursors:

- **Thucydides:** In his work '**History of peloponnesian war**' says, human nature is power seeking.

Any moral principle can not deviate people from taking benefits of what power brings. His representation of **power politics as a law of human behavior**. The drive for power and the will to dominate are held to be fundamental aspects of human nature. *"The behavior of the state as a self-seeking egoist is understood to be merely a reflection of the characteristics of the people that comprise the state."* It is human nature that explains why international politics is necessarily power politics.

- **Kautilya:** According to him, interstate relations are a state of war, where the strength of the lion prevails.
- **Sun Tzu:** In his work '**Art of war**', he has given the ideas of various types of war.
- **Machiavelli:** According to him, national interests are supreme and nothing can come in the path of national interests. He gave a concept called '**Raison d'etat**' (Reason of the state) i.e. anything is justified in the interest of the state.
- **Thomas Hobbes:** In 'state of nature' he talks about human nature and how humans always look for establishing power, how that leads to anarchy and a security dilemma.

- The story of Realism as a school often begins with a mythical tale of the idealist or utopian writers of the inter-war period (1919-39). Writing in the aftermath of the First World War, the '**idealists**', focused much of their attention on understanding the cause of war so as to find a remedy for its existence.
 - According to the realists, the inter-war scholars' approach was flawed in a number of respects. They, for example, ignored the role of power, overestimated the degree to which human beings were rational, mistakenly believed that nation-states shared a set of common interests, and were overly optimistic that humankind could overcome the scourge of war.
 - The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 confirmed the inadequacies of the idealists' approach to studying international politics. A new approach, one based on the timeless insights of Realism, replaced the discredited idealist approach.
 - Histories of the academic field of International Relations describe a **Great Debate** that took place in the late 1930s and early 1940s between the inter-war idealists and a new generation of realist writers, which included **E. H. Carr, Hans J. Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr**, and others. The standard account of the Great Debate is that the realists emerged victorious, and the rest of the International Relations story is, in many respects, a footnote to Realism.

"Realism is timeless wisdom" - **Barry Buzan**

"The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must" -**Thucydides**

Base of realists ideology

Taking inspiration from **Kautilya** and **Machiavelli**, the leading twentieth century realists George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau argued that,

- **Struggle for power** is the central point of all international relations.
- **Human nature** believes that others are always trying to attack and destroy them, and therefore, they must be continuously ready to kill others in order to protect themselves. This

basic human instinct guides the States as well. Thus, **rivalry and strife among the nations** in some form or the other are always present.

- **Anarchy in international politics:** Due to absence of **world government** and rule based system international politics is under constant state of anarchy.
- **Security dilemma**(The idea first described by the British historian **Herbert Butterfield**): In the state of anarchy, the only means to maintain existence is acquisition of power. Hence, the state always remains under a 'security dilemma' of constantly raising power.
- **Just as self interest** guides the individual's behavior, similarly **national interest** also guides the foreign policy of nation-states.
- **Struggle for power:** Continued conflict is the reality of international relations and **realists attribute this to the struggle for power**. Thus, national interest, as **defined in terms of power, is the only reality of international relations**.
- The realists do not attach much significance to means, for them **national interest is the end**, and it must be promoted at all costs.
- Recognize that **great powers can coexist** even if they have antithetical values and beliefs.

Realism can be classified into:

- Classical Realism (Hans Morgenthau)
- Neo-Realism (Which further gets divided into)
 1. Defensive realism (Kenith Waltz)
 2. Offensive realism (J. Mearshimer)
- Neoclassical realism (Stephen Walt)
- Subaltern or postcolonial realism (Mohammad Ayub)

CLASSICAL REALISM

The reduction of Realism to a condition of human nature is one that frequently reappears in the leading works of the realist canon, most famously in the work of the high priest of post-war Realism, **Hans J. Morgenthau**. Morgenthau is known as '**Father of Classical Realism**.' He has written a famous book called '*Politics among nations*' where he notes, '*international politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.*'

Objective of H. Morgenthau behind this theory:

He was a patriotic American citizen and worried about the USA's future as the USA was enjoying their ideological win (Liberal world order). He tried to explain that not to avert reality. It's realism that runs the international politics and the USA should play power game to maintain its hegemony.

H. MORGENTHAU'S SIX PRINCIPLES OF REALISM:

1. International politics governed by objective laws based on **human nature**:

The nature of international politics can trace their origin to human nature (**Animus dominandi**). He says that laws of politics are **permanent** and **unchanging** as these are inherited in human nature. However, each and every theory of politics must be subjected to

a dual test of: **reason and experience**. For realism, a theory of politics is meaningful if it consists of ascertaining facts and conveying meaning through reason.

2. National interests: Just like man seeks self interests, international relations seeks national interests. National interest according to Morgenthau is defined in **terms of power**. That is, nations always define and act for securing their national interests by **means of power**.
3. National interests are highly dynamic: The idea of national interest is the essence of politics and is unaffected by the circumstances of time and place. However, the content of national interest is **always changing in nature and scope**. It is not static. It changes with changes in the political and social environment. National interest is dynamic and has to be continuously analyzed for examining the policies and actions of a state.
4. Role of Ethics: Political realism realizes the importance of moral principles but holds that they cannot be applied to state actions. Moral principles do not determine policies and actions of states. National interest is the sole moral applied to international politics.
5. Role of Ideology: Political realism refuses to identify any role of ideology in international relations. Ideology is just the mask to hide real intentions.
6. Autonomy of International Politics: Morgenthau's Realism accepts the autonomy of International Politics as a discipline and presents its own repercussions.

Morgenthau's classification of states:

Classified the states into three categories,

1. Status-Quoists (Example: USA)
2. Revisionist (Example: China, Russia)
3. Imperialists or Expansionist (Germany)

He warned US to be aware of Revisionist powers

CRITICISM OF CLASSICAL REALISM:

- According to **Stanley Hoffman**, in international politics we see not only conflict but also cooperation. Hence, classical realists showed only one sided view.
- **Kenneith Waltz** argued that no scientific theory can be built on human nature as human nature is unpredictable, and hence classical realism is not scientific.
- According to feminists scholars, out of all disciplines, international politics is most masculinist. **Ann J Tickner** asserted that International relations are based on the understanding of human nature as a masculinist view is only the view of '**men.**'

Ann J Tickner in her book "**Gender in international relations** " reformulated six principles of realism which is based on recognition of ethics in international politics and how realism is only concerned about the security of the state and ignores '**Human security.**'

- **Human Nature:** According to her human nature is **musculinist as well as feminist**, unlike unscientific view of Morgenthau who only stressed upon masculinist human nature.
- **National interests:** National interest is a multidimensional concept and cannot be defined in mono terms of 'struggle for power.' In fact 'cooperation' is another way of serving national interests.
- **Empowerment:** Power can't be defined only in a masculinist sense of domination. Power can also be used in constructive sense of empowerment.
- **Role of ethics:** Ethics is very important in international politics. Humanity cant survive without ethics. When we don't recognise ethics in IR then we are absolving politicians from moral consequences of their action.
- **Ideology:** Every consequence in IR has an ideology behind it. The international relation as a field is itself an ideology of acquiring power for realists.
- **Autonomy:** Autonomy of IR can't be accepted, it's a very narrow view of IR.

Conclusion:

Classical realism, though being called unscientific, no doubt has provided a very **realistic** view of international politics because we can see that in the contemporary world no country can fully rely on collective security and free trade. The recent example of the **Russia-Ukraine crisis** has all the more recognised the inefficiency of liberal school of thought and failure of collective security (NATO). Hence, as said by **E.H. Carr**, realism has remained timeless wisdom.

NEO-REALISM/STRUCTURAL REALISM

Introduction:

- Neo-realism is an influence of the growth of **positivism**. Neorealism is an ideological departure from Hans Morgenthau's writing on classical realism.
- Classical realism originally explained the machinations of international politics as being based on **human nature** and hence scientific. But according to neo-realists, theory based on human nature can not be scientific because human nature is **unpredictable** (as also said by **Machiavelli**), fickle minded. Hence, cannot be **generalized** or **trusted upon**.
- Therefore, Neorealist thinkers instead propose that **structural constraints (Structure of IR)**—not strategy, egoism, or motivation—will determine behavior in international relations.

In simple words,

Neo(new)+Realism= Neo-realism

Where, the word 'Realism' carries the same tenets that of classical realism, i.e. 1. Struggle for power 2. International politics is a state of anarchy 3. Self help

But by 'Neo' it means, unlike classical realism which called 'Human nature' as a reason behind

anarchy, Neo-realism called 'structure' of international relation is the reason behind anarchy.

- Neo-Realists believe that **might is right** in a system which is essentially **Hobbesian (full of strife)** in nature. The structure has, more or less, remained one (or try to maintain one structure) of anarchy though the prominent actors have been changing. Hence due to the anarchical structure of IR, states are compelled to increase their own power for **'self help.'**
- The term 'structure' has been referred to "**how the actors in a system stand in relation to each other.**" That is, all nations do the same work of accumulation of power but their degree of power is different (Example: India and US both increase respective armory but level strength (structure) of military is different).

Analyzing recent attacks on Ukraine by Russia through the lens of 'Structural realism' :

- According to the structural realist arguments, the NATO expansion and the European Union association process are two major factors that must not be neglected in relation to the Ukrainian crisis.
- NATO made an attempt at getting Ukraine closer to the West. Stated that "NATO welcomes Ukraine's and Georgia's Euro-Atlantic aspirations for membership in NATO" and "these countries will become members of NATO". The declaration of intent above may be considered as a direct threat from the Russian point of view.
- The expansion of the European Union had a similar but more direct effect on the conflict. The European Union had planned to sign an association agreement with Ukraine. This association would have meant the economic integration of Ukraine in the West. However, this act would have been a hostile action to Russia's interest.
- The structural realist (both offensive and defensive realist) interpretation of the events is straightforward: Ukraine's incorporation into the Western, either economic or military, would have upset the balance of powers, and Russia could not let that happen. The reason why Putin answered aggressively was not of his personal attitude or irrationality but since the structure of the international system made him act so. As Western actions attempted to alter the status quo of the relative power which would reduce Russia's sense of security, the principles of realists' self-help world forced Putin to react by military means.

- One can divide neo-realism into two realms,

1. Defensive realism (K. Waltz)

2. Offensive realism (J. Mearshimer) .

While sharing many of the same basic assumptions between both the thoughts, both differ when it comes to describing the **behavior of states**. Most fundamentally, **'offensive realism parts company with defensive realism over the question of how much power states want'**.

DEFENSIVE REALISM

Kenneth Waltz: Work, “Theory of international politics” (Book)

Context:

- The ‘period of detente’ (in the 1970s) led to the questions on the very existence of realism. There were criticisms from all sides on the notion of ‘timeless wisdom of realism.’ In such a time **K. Waltz** came up with his book ‘**the theory of international politics**’ to revive realism.



Introduction:

- **K. Waltz** is called as proponent of ‘**Defensive realism**’
- Waltz calls his theory **scientific realism**. He argues that states have to be sensitive to the capabilities of other states to maintain the structural status quo. The possibility that any state may use force to advance its interests results in disturbance of current(ongoing) international structure. All states get worried about their survival and security. According to Waltz, **power is a means to the end of security**.
- In a significant passage, Waltz writes ‘*because power is a possibly useful means, sensible statesmen try to have an appropriate amount of it*’. He adds, ‘*in crucial situations, however, the ultimate concern of states is not for power but for security*’. In other words, **rather than being power maximizers, states, according to Waltz, are security maximizers**.

K. Waltz is also known as ‘**Detente realists**’

- The term is most often used to refer to a period of general easing of the geopolitical tensions between the USSR and the USA that was a distinct lessening of the Cold war. It began in 1969, as a core element of the foreign policy of US President Richard Nixon, in an effort to avoid nuclear escalation. Period promoted greater dialogue with the Soviet government, including regular summit meetings and negotiations over arms control and other bilateral agreements.
- Hence, the question mark came on the relevance of ‘realism’ as peace and cooperation was increasing among world powers and organizations.
- In the answer to these questions, **K.Waltz** wrote his book “**A theory of international politics**” (1979). In the book he has proved that the structure of IR remains anarchical and realism is ‘timeless wisdom.’
- In the same year i.e. 1979, The USSR’s invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 decisively ended any talk of detente. Thus established the **hegemony of realism**.

K. Waltz’s criticism of H. Morgenthau and others

- Human nature cannot be the base for International politics because **human nature is unstable** and changes very quickly. Therefore, this is not scientific either.
- Waltz argues that power maximization often proves to be **dysfunctional** because it triggers a counterbalancing coalition of states.

India’s nuclear missile programme is an example of ‘**Defensive realism**.’

K. Waltz has given following features of international system while comparing with domestic politics:

- **Anarchy and hierarchy:** Hierarchy is the ordering in domestic politics, whereas due to absence of any world government anarchy is the ordering of international politics.
- **Functional differentiation:** In domestic politics there is functional differentiation. Example: Three branches of government. But there is no differentiation in IR. All states have to perform similar functions and that creates a tussle.
- **Capabilities:** Every state in IR performs similar functions but differs in capabilities (already seen above). And this distribution of power is called polarity.

K. Waltz's concept of 'Polarity of Power'

- According to Waltz, the key factor in international relations is the polarity of the system, that is, whether it is dominated by one, two, or many superpowers (unipolarity, bipolarity, and multipolarity, respectively).
- He considered the unipolar system that prevailed in world politics after the fall of the Soviet Union to be the **most unstable and dangerous configuration**, because it left one superpower (USA) free to engage in foreign adventures and that way it '**over stretches**' itself.
- Example, according to **Joseph Nye**, end of US hegemony is often linked to the USA's wars in Iraq, Iran, Vietnam, and recently Afghanistan.

OFFENSIVE REALISM

(J. Mearsheimer): "Tragedy of great power politics"(book)

Reason for theory:

- His thought came forward when the Cold War had just ended and liberalism started to rise again.
- Cooperation again started increasing. Example, Emergence of the WTO for economic cooperation was seen as the epitome of success of liberal world order. It was seen as America having emerged victorious and won the war of world order.
- **J. Mearsheimer**, being worried about the USA, warned the USA that the international structure has not changed. There is still the security dilemma and that requires self help. The rise of China can't be considered as '**Peaceful.**' The USA should have a policy to contain China.
- According to **J. Mearsheimer**, China is a revisionist power and bound to challenge the status quoist power i.e. the USA, and this is what he called the '**Tragedy of great power politics.**'
- Hence, the USA must prepare itself at all times and must increase its power as much as possible. Hence known as '**Offensive realism.**'

Theory:

- In terms of methodology **Mearsheimer** is in agreement with **K. Waltz** but in terms of foreign policy he comes close to **H. Morgenthau**.
- A different account of the power dynamics that operate in the anarchic system is provided by **John Mearsheimer's** theory of **offensive realism**, which is another variant of structural realism.

- While sharing many of the same basic assumptions with Waltz’s structural realist theory, which is frequently termed defensive realism, **Mearsheimer differs from Waltz when it comes to describing the behavior of states.**
- Most fundamentally, *‘offensive realism parts company with defensive realism over the question of how much power states want’ (Mearsheimer).* According to Mearsheimer, the structure of the international system compels states to maximize their relative power position. Under anarchy, he agrees that self-help is the basic principle of action. Yet he also argues that not only do all states possess some offensive military capability, but there is a great deal of uncertainty about the intentions of other states. Consequently, Mearsheimer concludes that there are no satisfied or status quo states; rather, **all states are continuously searching for opportunities to gain power at the expense of other states.**
- Contrary to Waltz, Mearsheimer argues that states recognize that the best path to peace is to accumulate more power than anyone else. Hence, He believes in **power maximization.**
- Indeed, the ideal position, although one that Mearsheimer argues is virtually impossible to achieve, is to be the global hegemon of the international system. Yet because Mearsheimer believes that global hegemony is impossible, he concludes that the world is condemned to perpetual great power competition.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO THEORIES:

Offensive realism	Defensive realism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For them power is an end in itself. • States are power maximisers. • Hegemony should be the aim and hence no amount of power is sufficient. • Prefers ‘Bandwagoning’ than ‘Power balancing.’ • War is an endemic feature. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For them power is means and security is the end. • States are security maximisers. • Unending search for power is counter productive. • Prefers ‘Power balancing’ than ‘Bandwagoning.’ • War is a sporadic feature.

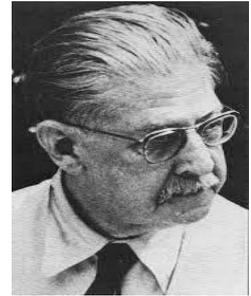
Criticism:

- While offensive realism makes an important contribution to realism, some contemporary realists are skeptical of the notion that the international distribution of power (structure of international politics) alone can explain the behavior of states.
- They believed ‘structure’ does have a lot of importance but, there are other things like domestic behavior of a state, leaders' perception, and peoples' thoughts (basically human nature) also affect the international relations of a state. This new school of realism is called **‘Neoclassical realism.’**
- Liberals criticized realists as **‘children of darkness.’**

NEOCLASSICAL REALISM

Neo(structure of IR) + Classical(Human nature)= Neoclassical realism

- It says ‘Structure’ of international politics and state ‘actors’ both contribute to foreign policy of a state.
- According to **Stephen Walt**, the causal logic of neoclassical realism ‘places domestic politics as an intervening variable between the distribution of power and foreign policy behavior’. One important intervening variable is leaders themselves, namely how they perceive the international distribution of power.
- There is no objective, independent reading of the distribution of power, rather, what matters is how state leaders derive an understanding of the distribution of power. While structural realists assume that all states have a similar set of interests, neoclassical realists such as **Randall Schweller (1996)** argue that historically this is not the case. Not only do states differ in terms of their interests, but they also differ in terms of their ability to extract and direct resources from the societies that they rule.
- He argues that with respect to **K. Waltz**, ‘the assumption that all states have an interest in security results in neorealism exhibiting a profoundly status quo basis.’ Neoclassical realists argue that different types of states possess different capacities to translate the various elements of national power into state power. Thus, contrary to K. Waltz, all states cannot be treated as ‘like units’.
- **Fareed Zakaria (1998)** introduces the intervening variable of ‘state strength’ into his ‘theory of state-centered realism.’ State strength is defined as the ability of a state to mobilize and direct the resources at its disposal in the pursuit of particular interests.



SUBALTERN REALISM

- In the end of 1980s, **Mohammad Ayoob**, a scholar of international relations, proposed and developed the subaltern realism theory.
- The theory provides a critical tool for the root and main causes of current conflict and state behaviors in the Third World. It emphasizes the differences between conditions of the industrialized core states and the Third World.
- It says recently liberated colonial countries have different problems and challenges because these countries are not only facing the ‘Security dilemma’ but also facing the ‘Insecurity dilemma’.
- Insecurity dilemma means there are various security problems within the country itself. (Example, process of nation building)
- Hence, according to this school realism must have been seen with respect to third world countries also.



Conclusion:

Realists have consistently held that the continuities in international relations are more important than the changes, but that have been analyzed to be very problematic in the present age of globalization. But the importance of Realism has not been diminished by the dynamics of globalization. It is not clear that economic interdependence has made war less likely. The state continues to be the dominant unit in world politics. And globalization should not be seen as a process that is disconnected from the distribution of power in the international system.

There are good reasons for thinking that the twenty-first century will be a realistic century. Outside Europe and North America, many of the assumptions which underpinned the post-war international order, particularly those associated with human rights, are increasingly being seen as nothing more than a Western idea backed by economic dollars and military 'divisions'.

'If China continues its rate of economic growth, it will be more economically powerful than the USA by 2020.' (Mearsheimer). By then, realism leads us to predict that Western norms of individual rights and responsibilities will be under threat. Rather than transforming global politics in its own image, as Liberalism has sought to do in the twentieth century, the West may need to become more realist in order for its traditions and values to survive the twenty-first.

LIBERALISM/IDEALIST SCHOOL

Introduction:

- Liberalism (Whose scholars also called as children of light) is a school of thought within international relations theory which can be thought to revolve around three interrelated principles,
 1. **Rejection of power politics** as the only possible outcome of international relations.
 2. It questions security/warfare principles of realism and tries to accentuate **mutual benefits and international cooperation**.
 3. **It implements international organizations** and nongovernmental actors for shaping state preferences and policy choices.
- Historically, liberals have agreed with Realists that war is a recurring feature of the anarchic states system. But unlike realists, they do not identify anarchy as the cause of war.
- How then, do liberals explain war? Certain strands of Liberalism see the causes of war located in **imperialism**, others in the **failure of the balance of power**, and still others in the problem of **undemocratic regimes**. And ought this to be remedied through collective security, commerce, or world government.
- **Reinhold Niebuhr** in his book, '**Children of light, children of darkness**' calls Liberals as children of light as they have optimistic ideas about how society could be rid of evil and governed by enlightened reason.

Lifecycle of Liberalism:

- Although Realism is regarded as the dominant theory of international relations, Liberalism has a strong claim to being the historic alternative.
- In the twentieth century, liberal thinking influenced policy-making elites and public opinion in a number of Western states after the First World War, an era often referred to in academic international relations as **Idealism**.
- There was a brief resurgence of liberal sentiment at the end of the Second World War with the birth of the **United Nations**, although this beacon of hope was soon extinguished by the return of cold war power politics.
- In the 1990s, Liberalism appeared resurgent as Western state leaders proclaimed a New World Order and intellectuals provided theoretical justifications for the inherent supremacy of their liberal ideas over all other competing ideologies.
- After 9/11, Realism again started rising as the USA and its allies have sought to consolidate their power and punish those whom they define as terrorists and the states that provide them with shelter.
- After that, liberalism is making its space again but the recent **Russia-Ukraine** crisis pendulum has once again swung towards the realist pole.

Sources of influence

- **John Locke:** Enlightened view of human nature. Cooperation between men in the state of nature.
- **Immanuel Kant:** In his note, 'perpetual peace' calls for creating peace in the world (Europe) using traits like democracy, trade, and commercial relations.
- **Norman Angell:** In his 'Europe's Optical Illusion' (Book) pointed out that the integration of the economies of European countries had grown to such a degree that war between them would be entirely futile, making militarism obsolete.

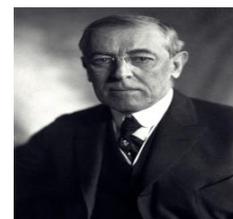


Broad areas of study within liberal international relations theory include:

- Liberal institutionalism
- Sociological liberalism
- Functionalism theory
- Interdependence theory
- Democratic peace theory
- Complex interdependence

LIBERAL INSTITUTIONALISM

- Liberal institutionalism is a modern theory of international relations which claims that international institutions and organizations can increase aid and cooperation between states.i.e. calls for Track 1 diplomacy.
- Proponent: Woodrow Wilson. Believes in creation of world level institutions (Example, UN, League of Nations, and Brettonwood institutions) to discuss peace and cooperation between the states based on the concept of '**Collective Security.**' As president of the USA, he presented a **14 point program** to establish collective security.



- Contemporary Institutionalists like **Graham Allison** argue that the rise in globalization and concerns over terrorism, climate change and pandemics such as Covid-19 has shown that states can no longer react unilaterally to these threats and that it is only through global institutions that policy responses can be coordinated to deal with new security threats.

Advantages of institutions:

- As they say, ‘**dialogue prevents war.**’ Gives more scope for sorting the issue by **discussion**.
- Greater emphasis is given to **soft power** and **cooperation** through forms and procedure of international law,

“Institutions can convert jungle into zoo”- **Woodrow Wilson**

Success of Liberal institutionalism

According to **Hedley Bull**, (English school) “*World is not in complete anarchy now.*” He recognizes the role of global institutions in converting international politics from anarchy to anarchical society.

1. The United Nations has attracted far wider support and established itself as a seemingly permanent feature of global politics.
2. Globalization of democracy.
3. Free trade under WTO.
4. No one can deny the path breaking efforts of WHO, WTO and all other international institutions during the recent pandemic of Covid-19. Hence, **states collectively achieved outcomes unavailable to them individually.**
5. **Nina Tannenwald** in her book ‘**The nuclear taboo**’ recognises and appreciates the work of international institutions in preventing the nuclear attacks.

Criticism of Liberal institutionalism:

1. Scholars argue that though there is some progress due to this theory, no such significant impact has world institutions made on international politics. Power politics is still the dominant force. (Example: Russia-Ukraine war or Afghanistan crisis)
2. According to **Joseph Nye**, “*Negotiations in these world institutions are Quasi negotiations.*” (i.e. partial solutions or superficial solutions). Hence, these institutions act like ‘**toothless tigers**’ as they don’t have substantial power, binding rules, and even work on state fundings.
3. Major weakness – lack of
 1. Transparency
 2. Accountability
 3. Representativeness



Hence there is question of crisis of credibility.

SOCIOLOGICAL LIBERALISM

Introduction:

- Sociological liberals see international relations in terms of relationships between people, groups and domestic organizations instead of relationships between the institutions of respective countries.
- Many sociological liberals believe that increased transnational relations could help create new forms of human society. That is, **they call for track 2 and Track 3 diplomacy more than track 1.** Also rejects the realist claim of international relations being relations between two states and calls it a very narrow view.
- They believe that people of respective countries never want wars, in fact they say it's the political institutions who go for war. Society centric views can make things softer.

Scholars:

- **John Burton** argues that the state is not the only gateways through which people interact and calls for a concept called 'Global society cooperation.'
- His **cobweb model** (already seen in fourth phase of IR) is based on similar concept of global society
- **Karl Deatsche:** introduced the concept of '**security community**' as an alternative to '**Security dilemma.**' According to him, more the interactions, more the intact relations.

Security community: It is the way of cooperation and peace between the countries instead of seeing other countries as threats. That is to go from trust deficit to trust building.

Methods for sociological liberalism:

- Globalization, Transborder migration, Visa facilities, open borders (EU countries), Internet and communication networks, educational exchange, MNC's, NGOs, entertainment, and international arts, etc. are some of the methods that have made sociological liberalism more diverse.

Conclusion:

- Theory of sociological liberalism has become one of the most practically implementable schools of liberalism with a substantial rise of connectivity between the **Tier 2** and **Tier 3** peers of societies across the world.
- The increased people to people cooperation (volunteers from war ridden Ukrainian refugees), transfer of knowledge (in corona times), humanitarian work (Gates foundation), and research has helped to maintain a '**security community.**'

FUNCTIONALISM:

Introduction:

- Functionalism as a concept believes in term '**Peace by pieces**', that is to solve the issues one by one (by distributing them into pieces)

- According to **David Mitrany** in his 'Functional theory of politics' (book), cooperation among technical experts in a functional area will result in the creation of an international agency that will push nations to cooperate rather than wage war. Cooperation in one functional area will have '**ramifications**' in other functional areas.

Steps to follow for functionalism,

- First segregate the issues in '**Doable**' and '**Non-doables**'.
- 'Doable' are those issues which have low levels of conflict and can be initiated at first for increasing cooperation.
- 'Non-doable' are those issues which are conflict ridden and require pre-cooperation and good relations among parties to start.
- The cooperation of doable issues will ultimately have a spillover effect on non-doable issues and will act as a catalyst to even solve tedious issues. Hence, 'Peace by pieces.'

- But one precondition is to keep the **political class away** from the cooperation process. (**Richard Cobden**)
- **Gdh Cole** has given the concept of **functional sovereignty**, in which he advocated to shift decision making from politicians to non-political persons like technicians.
- **Ernst B. Haas** further came with an upgradation in theory called '**Neo-functionalism.**' Basically theory is like 'functionalism' only but unlike functionalism, neo-functionalism acknowledges the fact that after some point of cooperation a strong political participation is needed to proceed with functionalism.



A case study of European Union and South Asian region on the basis of functionalist theory:

- Once upon time (till end of 19th C) **Europe** was one of the most less integrated regions. Countries had enormous issues in between and witnessed wars like no other region had. But today the region has 'cooperation' like no other. The approach of 'Neo-functionalism' adopted by European countries at the regional level made all this possible.
- In 1952: European countries (Germany, France, Luxembourg, Italy, and others) joined hands for cooperation on the less conflict ridden issue of Steel and Coal to form the '**European steel and coal community.**' (also symbolic because these are the main ingredients for making weapons)
- In 1957: Countries came together to form the '**European Economic Community**'. Gradually also formed '**Euratom**' (European atomic energy project). In 2002 adoption of the **euro as the euro zone's single currency** and subsequent efforts were made to create a common foreign and defense policy. Hence, attempts were made to use these original limited, functional successes to advance the larger **project of the EU.**
 - **The South Asian** region is called one of the least integrated regions in the world. There are many factors behind this like colonial past, divide and rule policy, religious sentiments, and security dilemma of small states. According to many scholars the main reasons for disintegration are not those factors, but **lack of 'functionalist approach'** used by states of the region.
 - **Example:** The relations between India and Pakistan could have been better if it was initiated at lighter issues like Trade, water, and culture (though few steps were made) but the whole talks between the two south asian countries revolved around the most contentious issue of

'Kashmir.' Hence, effective relations never improved much.

Criticism:

- Critics questioned the basic assumption that it is possible to separate functional and political issues. They argued that peace creates (after political intervention) the conditions for functional cooperation between states, rather than functional cooperation creating the peace.
- Scholars have also suggested that functionalism relied too much on an almost **deterministic belief** in the ability of technical solutions to resolve political disputes.

Conclusion:

Though there are some criticisms, the approach of functionalism has given a **unique** and **fresh** way of handling international relations.

INTERDEPENDENCE LIBERALISM:

- Interdependence liberalism is a strand of liberal international relations thinking which argues that increased interdependence between countries reduces the chance of them engaging in conflict. It mainly takes inspiration from the theory of '**Golden Arch**' by **Thomas Friedman**.
- Interdependence liberals see modernisation as increasing the levels and scope of interdependence between states leading to greater cooperation (Here cooperation is mainly in economic terms)
- **Example:** India and China, After 1962 even though there were many instances of military conflict and heightened tensions, the two countries never went to war because of economic interdependence between the two.

The Golden Arches Theory

Proposed by economist Thomas Friedman as a way of explaining how globalization affects foreign policy and conflict. Essentially, the Theory points out that no two countries that **both have McDonalds franchises have ever gone to war.** The reasoning behind this correlation, Friedman says, is that once economies become sufficiently integrated, both the cost of going to war and the amount of contact between two countries will increase. Both these factors lead to more effective conflict resolution, as states will attempt to pursue the more economically beneficial option.

- **Richard Rosecrane** theory of '**Trading states**' perfectly sums up the theory of interdependence liberalism when he calls countries to move from 'Military state to trading states.'

Trading States theory:

In 1986, **Richard Rosecrance's** *'The Rise of the Trading State'*(Book) says, international relations are evolving toward a greater **emphasis on economics rather than security**. In the current era, states were much more likely to improve their welfare by pursuing an economic or "trading" strategy.



According to him the most powerful and successful states of the late twentieth century were those that had eschewed territorial expansion through military dominance and were aiming to develop their economies through international trade and investment.

The models to emulate were **Japan** and **West Germany**. The losers in international competition were those continuing to pursue economic self-sufficiency through the domination of vast swathes of territory, such as the **Soviet Union**.

Criticism

- Scholars argue that rising trade between two countries can not guarantee long or ever lasting cooperation. **For example:** Trade between India and Russia is around \$9 billion. Both nations do have cordial relations. At the same time trade between Russia and Ukraine is more than \$ 10 billion. Recently both countries witnessed war.
- Scholars also criticize theory for '**economic determinism.**'

DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY/REPUBLICAN PEACE THEORY

Introduction:

- Theory posits that **democracies are hesitant to engage in armed conflict** with other identified democracies and hence democracy do not go for war.
- **Michael Doyle** is considered as one of the important proponents of this theory. He was inspired by **Immanuel Kant's** thoughts on democracy. (Kant's theory was that a majority of the people would never vote to go to war, unless in self-defense. Therefore, all being republics will abstain from war.)
- According to **Michael Doyle**, '*While autocratic or authoritarian states are seen to be inherently militaristic and aggressive, democratic states are viewed as naturally peaceful*'. Hence, naturally they abstain from war. He urged countries to go for democratic form of government.



Reasons for not to go on war:

- Democracies being republics always have **pressure from the public**. Normally citizens being neutral dont go for war and hence restrains the government too.
- Democracy naturally creates space to **resolve disputes by dialogue**.

"If all nations were republics, it would end war because there would be no aggressors"-Immanuel Kant

"In democracy people are treated as ends, not as means."- Michael Doyle

Criticism:

- Critics argued that adoption of democracy can not be the only solution and blamed the US for trying '**regime changes setting false narrative**' to bring democracies.
- Example, **India and Pakistan** are democracies, yet witnessing longstanding conflict and two wars.
- **Douglas M. Gibler** and **Andrew Owsiak** in their study argued peace almost always comes before democracy and that states do not develop democracy until all border disputes have been settled.
- All the nations in the world are not democracies yet not all non-democratic countries have gone for war.

COMPLEX INTERDEPENDENCE THEORY

Introduction:

- The model of 'Complex Interdependence' was developed by **Robert O Keohane** and **Joseph S. Nye** in the late 1970s. It is the '**descriptive**' theory and not normative.
- The school of complex interdependence posed a major challenge to fundamental assumptions of traditional and structural realism which focused on military and economic capabilities to explain state behavior.
- Focus is on the rise of international regimes and institutions that compensated traditional military capabilities and gave more importance to welfare and trade in foreign policy matters compared to status and security issues. Hence, Complex Interdependence highlighted the **emergence of transnational actors** in relation to the state.
- **Example:** India and China, though have contentious relations at the state level, cooperate with each other on global trade problems (WTO cooperation), have interdependence in trade, and also cooperate at climate change initiatives. Hence, there is complex interdependence.
- Basically this is the only theory which describes in practical terms '**how peace has come**' unlike others which only talks about '**how to bring the peace.**'

Timeline:

- The post-Cold War world underwent great transformation. The political agendas of traditional military power and national security were now dominated by the actors.
- There was realization among the developed countries that the criteria for achieving real power is no more the sophisticated weapons and large military establishments alone, rather it required a secure foundation through economic efficiency and technological advancement.
- Following these developments, an interesting debate started between realists and liberals, each trying to convince that their arguments were more valid and relevant to prevailing global trends.
- That's how 'Complex interdependence theory' emerged that pretty impressively validated global trends.

The Key Characteristics of Complex Interdependence:

Robert O Keohane and **Joseph S. Nye** in their book '*Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*', described three main characteristics of Complex Interdependence,

- **Multiple Channels In international politics:** With advancement of globalization after the cold war now there are multiple channels connecting the societies, including all the interstate, transgovernmental, and transnational transactions.
- **Absence of Hierarchy among Issues:** In the world of Complex interdependence, there is no hierarchy among the issues. The dividing line between domestic and foreign policy becomes blurred and there is no clear agenda in interstate relations
- **Minor Role of Military Force:** As opposed to the central role that force is given in the realist's world, complex Interdependence assumes that in international relations force is of low salience. When Complex Interdependence prevails, military force could be irrelevant in resolving disagreements on economic issues among members of an alliance.

Criticism:

- Theory has been unable to explain the ever rising '**Budget**' on defense departments of almost every nation even after there is substantial interdependence between the countries. Example, India and Pakistan.
- No explanation on wars in Ukraine, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan.
- There are contradictory examples of countries having very cordial relations with minimum interdependence(India-Switzerland), and yet there are examples of countries having hostile relations even after having substantial interdependence (India-China).

Conclusion:

Complex interdependence as an approach has explained the contemporary phenomena (Interdependence) for reduced military tensions and rise in cordial relations. But it is also true that military force and power still plays a substantial role for securing the sovereignty of nations.

WHAT IS THE PRESENT STATE OF LIBERAL WORLD ORDER?

- World order means the 'conduction of politics outside the national territories.' It involves understanding of **1. Actors 2. Norms 3. Distribution of power(polarity)**

- Scholar **John Ikenberg** has explained the present world order into phases. According to him liberal world order can be divided into three phases,
- **Liberal World Order 1.0:** Came after World War 1, **Woodrow Wilson** came forward with '**Institutional liberalism**' which stressed on establishing world government (institutions) to bring cooperation among states for peace in the international arena. But with the commencement of WW2 Liberal World Order 1.0 came to an end.
- **Liberal World Order 2.0:** Came after WW2. The USA took charge and came forward to build institutions like the UN, IMF, and GATT to bring peace to the international arena using cooperation and peaceful resolution of issues. Order comparatively remained successful but **with the commencement of the Cold War**, LWO 2.0 went into a state of hibernation.
- **Liberal World Order 3.0:** After the end of the Cold War, liberal world order thrived to its peak. LPG reforms by almost every country LWO very successful. In fact, the formation of WTO (1995) is considered the **zenith of LWO**.
- **Ian Bremmer**, author of '**Every Nation for Itself**', takes a different tack of present world order. He recounts how international arrangements have begun to reflect the new economic reality, most notably with the **replacement of the G-8 by the G-20**. What we've really got now, he argues, is not the **G-20 but the G-Zero, a world where no one's in charge**. He writes. *"It's all but impossible when they don't share basic political and economic values as there are numerous actors on stage."* Therefore, the result is a very **unsettled order** until a new order emerges.
- **Robert Kagan** in his article '**The twilight of liberal world order**' talks about how there is decline of present world order. He says,
 - The liberal world order established in the aftermath of World War II may be coming to an end, challenged by forces **both without and within**.
 - The external challenges come from the ambition of dissatisfied large and medium-size powers to overturn the existing strategic order dominated by the United States and its allies and partners. Their aim is to gain hegemony in their respective regions. **China and Russia** pose the greatest challenges to the world order because of their relative military, economic, and political power and their evident willingness to use it.



CHALLENGES AFTER CURRENT WORLD ORDER:

(Given by 'Royal Institute of IR' in London conference 2015)

- **Problem of legitimacy:** For a system based on rules to have effect, these rules must be visibly observed by their principal and most powerful advocates. In this respect instances like the decision by the US to invade Iraq in 2003 under a contested UN authorization, and leaving the 'Iran nuclear deal', continues to cast a long shadow over America's claim to be the principal defender of a rules-based international system. This has opened the space for other countries to pursue a '**might is right**' approach to their own policy priorities (Russia attacks Ukraine, The China claims over islands in the South China and East China seas).
- **Problem of equity:** Democracy and respect for human rights were established in Western Europe, but not in the East. Decolonization reduced formal Western influence in Africa and Asia, but this was often replaced by the informal constraints of debt and foreign economic domination of key

market sectors and finance. Freer movement of trade, investment and people stimulated economic growth in the developed and developing worlds, but also threatened cherished notions of culture, identity and religion.

- **Problem of self-confidence:** The longevity of the current international system may have led to the assumption that it was in some way the natural order of things, requiring only occasional repair and defense against particular challengers. Example: Rise of China

Conclusion:

Hence, the above challenges and incidents like the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, rising protectionism, Brexit, America first policy, pandemic of covid-19, and recent Russia-Ukraine war, is according to scholars bringing the end of LWO.

MARXIST SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction:

- Marx did not have any direct say on International relations, rather later marxist interpreted Marx's ideas in terms of international relations.
- Many marxist's have interpreted the theory differently and that is why there are many diverse schools in it, but few tenets are common for everyone,
 1. Demand for changing the current regime/system altogether. (unlike previous theories who justifies the system)
 2. Economic analysis as the basis of international politics.
 3. Concerned with exposing capitalism as a system of class oppression.
- Due to its primary demand for change and due to its criticism of current theories, also called '**Critical theory.**'

Basis of theory:

- In the 19th century, **Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels** wrote that the main source of instability in the international system would be **capitalist globalization**. According to them the current world order is full of inequality and exploitation. Exploitative towards least developed or underdeveloped countries.
- Capitalism is now working at an international level and that is paving the way for **neo-colonialism**.

Within Marxism there are 3 traditions

1. Instrumentalist/dependency/orthodox school
2. Critical/Frankfurt school
3. Gramscian school

INSTRUMENTALIST/DEPENDENCY/ORTHODOX SCHOOL

- The theory arose as a reaction to **modernization theory**, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development.
- Dependency school rejects this theory and says, third world countries now have become '**instruments**' of capitalist developed countries, calling it '**neo-colonialism**' and a '**development of underdevelopment**'

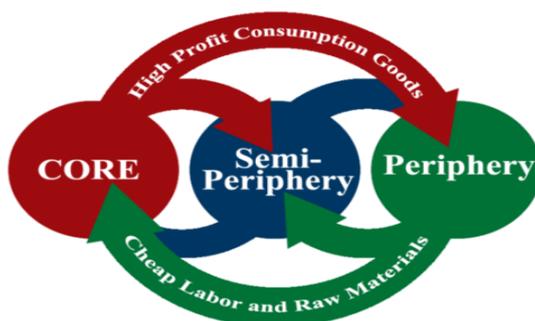
- There is a divide of **‘Core and Peripheral’** countries where there is unequal trade, unequal communication and unequal dependency among them all.
- Prosperity of west is dependent upon non development of east.

An example of the dependency theory is that during the years of 1650 to 1900 Britain and other European nations took over or colonized other nations. This began an economic system in the Americas, Africa, and Asia to then export the natural materials from their land to Europe.

After shipping the materials to Europe, Britain and the other European countries made products with these materials and then sent them back to colonized parts of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. This resulted in the transfer of wealth from these regions’ products to Europe for taking control of the products.

Immanuel Wallerstein explained the above situation in **‘world system theory.’**

- It says nation state and sovereignty is a myth as in today’s world system nations are trapped in such a way that they cannot take independent decisions.
- He asked not to see the world into the nation's system but to look at them as one **‘global society’** where few have more power and some have few.
- World is now divided into three types,
 1. **Core countries:** Core countries are dominant capitalist countries that exploit peripheral countries for labor and raw materials. Example, USA, UK
 2. **Semi periphery countries:** Countries who got exploited once by core countries, but now making their mark and now show characteristics of both. They acts as shock absorbers for core countries in case of turbulence in system
 3. **Periphery countries:** Peripheral countries are dependent on core countries for capital and have underdeveloped industry.
- That is, in the world system some are benefiting and others are losing.



Wallerstein's World System Theory Model

- The important feature of World-Systems Theory is that it is useful in understanding world history and the core countries' motives for imperialization and other involvements.

Criticism:

1. Rise of China is in contrast to world system theory.
2. Also theory has been caught under the cycle of economic determinism.

CRITICAL/FRANKFURT SCHOOL

- **Max Horkheimer** defined critical theory as social critique meant to effect sociological change and realize intellectual emancipation, by way of enlightenment that is not dogmatic in its assumptions.
- Theory basically focuses on **emancipation of masses**. Focuses on how to develop **mass centric (Grassroot democracy)** international politics because it's the masses(people) and not the states who define relations.

GRAMSCIAN SCHOOL

- **Robert Cox** in his article 'Social forces, state and world order', criticizes liberals and realists by saying that 'every theory is written by someone with some purpose.' That is here the purpose of liberals and realists is '**development of the west**' using ideological influence.
- A major influence on theory has been the ideas of **Antonio Gramsci**. Gramsci argued that the capitalist class system is upheld not simply by unequal economic and political power, but by what he termed the '**hegemony**' of bourgeois ideas and theories.
- Therefore **Robert Cox** said the theories like liberalism and realism are to **spread the soft power of the west** in the name of international theories. He even cites the example of the US that how the **US established its hegemony using soft power**. (Example, establishment of liberal world order)

Importance of theory:

- Importance of this theory can never be undermined because this is the only theory that has the capability to keep under check the current liberal global order.
- Marxist theory is relevant because it tries to prescribe a new world order based on emancipation of oppressed sections of the society (Third world).
- One of the most important aspects of every marxist theory is its stress on **emancipation of masses** rather than keeping international politics as an intellectual affair.

Criticism of overall Marxist theory:

- Post-colonial thinkers like **Edward Said** called Marx as '**orientalist**' ('**orientalism**' refers to the construction of the East (by West) as primitive, pagan, savage, undeveloped, criminal and needing reform.)
- **John Hobson** calls Marx as **Eurocentric** in contemporary times.



Conclusion:

Marxist perspective of International relations is ultimately the criticism of '**Capitalism**' predominantly spread by western countries. Hence, According to Marxists, the driving force of international relations is not **national interest** but '**capitalist interests.**'

THE FEMINIST APPROACH

Introduction:

- As the name suggests, this is a recent but influential approach that believes international relations are competitive, power-oriented and exploitative mainly because of male domination in politics.
- The argument is that international relations would be more balanced and effective **if women were given their due share in politics through several ways.**

- **Liberal feminists** believe that education, political mobilisation and pressure to change will bring about the desired results. But **radical feminists** feel that capitalism is the main cause of gender inequality and therefore, adoption of socialism will hasten the process of gender equality, which in turn will ensure peace in the world.
- One of the most influential works in feminist IR is **Cynthia Enloe's** *'Bananas, Beaches and Bases'* sought to chart the many different roles that women play in international politics – as plantation workers, diplomats wives, and sex workers on military bases. She criticizes men for assuming women as just instruments in international relations.
- **Carol Cohen** in her article *'Sex and death'* says, due to exclusive masculinist view of international politics we are not able to see emotions in international politics, it has become totally ruthless.
- Thus, the feminist theory traces all problems of international relations to gender inequality and domination by men.



Importance of feminist approach:

- Feminist international relations scholars seek to illuminate how the International Relations are a gender construction, in which both men and women are essential actors in the real world. They try to explain that gender has always been there in constructing the international framework, but because there is a maleness in the International Relations theory, it has been neglected.
- Feminists' theories can offer some **new insights on the behaviour of the states** and the **needs of individuals.**
- A feminist perspective based on the experiences of women can add **new dimensions** to understand the world politics system.
- A feminist perspective on International Relations can help to acquire a more realistic understanding of how it works.
- Also it would help to achieve those missing aspects that are not considered in international policy and decision-making, such as **human security.**

Rising relevance:

- Growing influence of feminist and women-centric approaches within the international policy communities. Examples, **Sweden adopted feminist foreign policy and UNSC resolution of 1325** is more reflective of the liberal feminist emphasis on equality of opportunity for women.
 - UN have also suggested to acquire feminist approach while tackling the **issues of Climate change and refugees.**
- **Critics** however point out that gender differences are natural, rooted in biology, and it is not men but the society in which we grow which is to be addressed for remedies.

Conclusion:

The value for a feminist perspective on International Relations could be that, it will introduce a humanitarian and more sensitive vision that would help to understand how the world actually works. But as was mentioned above, a feminist perspective is only a piece in order to resolve the complex puzzle of International Relations.

SYSTEM THEORY

- A system is defined as a set of elements interacting with each other. Another important feature of the system is that it has a boundary which separates it from the environment, the latter however, influences the system in its operations.
- Generally speaking, a system may be either natural (e.g. solar system), or mechanical (a car, a clock or a computer), or social (e.g. family). The social system itself may be related either to "society, or economy, or politics, or international systems."
- **Stanley Hoffman's** defines systems theory in his work 'System and Process in International Politics' as "*An international system is a pattern of relations between the basic units of world politics which is characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by these units and of the tasks performed among them, as well as by the means used in order to achieve those goals and perform those tasks*".
- **Prof. Morton Kaplan** is considered the most influential in the systems theorizing of IR. He presented a number of real and hypothetical models of global political organization. His six well known models were (i) balance of power system, (ii) loose bipolar system, (iii) tight bipolar system, (iv) universal actor system, (v) hierarchical system, and (vi) Unit Veto system. The first two are historical realities, the remaining four are hypothetical models.



POST-COLONIALISM

- Theory is based on the views of '**third world**' scholars who want to decolonise international relations theories from western scholars. It is a critical theory approach to International relations (IR), and is a non-mainstream area of international relations scholarship. Unlike western scholars who cite phenomena of 'security dilemma', postcolonial scholars argue that the 3rd world is rather suffering from the '**insecurity dilemma**.' (that is chaos within the country. Example, colonial past, terrorism, demands for partition, coup)
- Postcolonial thinkers like **Gayatri Spivak** challenge the **eurocentrism of IR**—particularly its parochial assumption that third world countries are ideologically redundant and Western Enlightenment thinking is superior, progressive and universally applicable.
- **For Example**, 'Morgenthau: Africa is politically empty' or 'Kenith Waltz's, No point in studying the IR of east', a story of a "white man's burden."
- **Edward Said** who is founder of the academic field of postcolonial studies in his work 'Orientalism'(1978) says, '**orientalism**' refers to the construction of the East (by West) as primitive, pagan, savage, undeveloped, criminal and needing reform. Europe and the Orient were discursively represented as binary **opposites** and also justified the colonial presence in the East. This is the way of influencing the East ideologically to compel them to continue colonialism. He asks third world countries to come out of this delusion and form an original view.
- **Homi K Bhabha** gave the unique concept of '**Hybridity**' where his analyses of colonizer/colonized relations stresses the intermixing of cultures and which leads to schizophrenic state (multiplicity of culture). This leads to the emergence of a new identity. Colonizers promote this hybridity as it helps in imperialism. **Example:** Promotion of british identities and culture in pre-independent India.
- He also gave the concept of **Mimicry** (that is to imitate someone). That is when colonized countries try to imitate the colonizer. Colonizers encourage mimicry because this leads to psychological and

ideological positive grooming of colonized countries towards colonizers. **Example:** During the Indian freedom struggle, moderates first tried to mimic (adorn British culture) Britishers as they thought Britishers are here to civilize the Indians.

Conclusion: International relations between the state and non-state actors have become so dominant that in today's world there is hardly anyone who has remained untouched. Globalization and advent of internet made international relation a personal affair. Hence, approaches to study IR presents us every possible view by observing, analysing, and criticising the process of IR. Every approach counter balance the other with an ultimate goal of making IR more inclusive, equitable, and to make earth a single unit for living.

KEY CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Syllabus- Key concepts in International Relations: National interest, Security and power; Balance of power and deterrence; Transnational actors and collective security; World capitalist economy and globalisation.

PYQ

1. Collective Security and Collective Defence are the institutional and State mechanisms to sustain the domination of powers that be in international politics.' Elaborate. (15M, 250W, 2013)
2. 'National Interests are Dynamic'. Identify the dynamic nature of National Interests in the contemporary world politics with suitable examples. (15M, 2013)
3. Critically assess the changing nature of the concept of national security. (15M, 2014)
4. Discuss the theory of Nuclear Deterrence. Did Nuclear Deterrence prevent a superpower war ? (15M, 2014)
5. "The notion of balance of power is notoriously full of confusion." In the light of this quotation, do you think that the concept of balance of power is relevant? (15 M, 2016)
6. Explain the instruments and methods devised for the promotion of national interest. (20M, 2016)
7. Why does global human security need to be emphasized along with economic security? Explain with examples. (20M, 2016)
8. How has the development of Global Capitalism changed the nature of socialist economies and developing societies? (15M, 2017)
9. What, according to Joseph Nye, are the major sources of a country's soft power? Discuss its relevance in the contemporary world politics. (10M, 2018)
10. How big a role does identity play in determining political participation in the developing countries ? Discuss your answer with suitable illustrations. (10M, 2018)
11. Discuss the utility of Nuclear Deterrence Theory in the context of the recent standoff between India and Pakistan. (10M, 2019)
12. Given the recent developments in the region, do you think that there is a need to change India's 'No First Use (NFU)' nuclear policy? (15M, 2019)
13. Critically examine the impact of the process of globalization from the perspective of the countries of the Global South. (15M, 2020)
14. Explain the concept of balance of power. What are the various techniques of maintaining balance of power? (15M, 2020)
15. Enumerate the challenges in the operation of the principles related to collective security in the UN Charter. (15M, 2020)

16. What is globalisation ? Why is there an intense debate about globalisation and its consequences ? (15M, 2021)
17. Critically examine the decline of the United States of America as a hegemon and its implications for the changing international political order. (10M, 2021)
18. Examine the evolution of India's role in the global nuclear order. (10M, 2021)

NATIONAL INTEREST

'National Interest' is a key concept in the field of International Relations. Every nation is always engaged in the process of fulfilling and securing the goals of their national interests. It is often seen that the foreign policy of each nation is formulated focusing on its national interest and it always works for securing its goals. It is considered a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests.

A state even always tries to justify all its actions on the basis of its national interest. Even the behavior of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests. Therefore, it is very essential for us to know the meaning and content of National Interest.

According to **Morgenthau**, "The main aim of national interest is to ensure survival, i.e., protection of physical, economic, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states".

Definition of national interest-

1. According to **Charles Lerche**- National Interest means- "The fulfillment of general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving."
2. According to **Vernon Von Dyke**- The main aim of National Interest is that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means the fulfillment of desires on the part of sovereign states.
3. According to **Brookings Institution**- What a nation feels is necessary to its security and wellbeing ... National interest reflects that general and continuing end for which a nation act.

COMPONENTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST

1. Necessary/Vital components
2. Variable/Non-Vital components

NECESSARY COMPONENTS OR VITAL COMPONENTS

- Morgenthau emphasizes that the most vital component of any nation's national security is its **survival or identity**. It can be divided in 3 parts- Physical, political and cultural identity.
 - **Physical identity** includes **territorial ambitions**.
 - **Political identity** means political and economic system and
 - **Cultural identity** stands for the historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage.
- **Examples-**
 - **Russia's advancement on Ukraine** to get hold of areas like Luhansk and Donetsk- to serve its national interest;

- **US taking Diego Garcia island** in Indian ocean to militarise it in order to monitor the Indo-Pacific.

These are called vital or necessary components because these are utmost essential for the survival of the nation and these can be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war if it has to, for securing or protecting her vital interests.

The main aim of any nation while formulating its foreign policy decisions is to secure and strengthen its security and national interest. All these attempts to secure international peace and security, that nations are currently indulged in, are being made because today the security of each state stands inseparably linked up with international peace and security. Thus, **security is considered a vital component of national interest**. Each nation always tries to secure its vital interests even if it by means of war.

VARIABLE OR NON-VITAL COMPONENTS

- The non-vital components can be those parts of national interest which are determined either by **circumstances or are necessary to secure the vital components**.
- These are decided by a host of factors—the bureaucrats, public's opinion, party's politics, different sectional or group interests and political and moral narratives.
 - **Examples-** while formulating the foreign policy between India and Sri Lanka, the cultural interest of the Tamilian populations are always kept in mind,
 - **Example-** While transferring some conclaves to Bangladesh, India took care of all the people living in those areas, so that they don't feel left out and worked for their better rehabilitation.

These variable interests are those desires of individual states which they do wish to get fulfilled but for which they will not prefer to go to war. Whereas on one side, the vital interests may be taken as goals, the secondary interests or variable components may be termed as objectives of foreign policy.

These objectives have been mentioned by **V.V. Dyke** and his list includes the following: **Justice, Prosperity, Peace, Ideology, Prestige, Aggrandizement and Power**. Each state defines these objectives in a manner which suits its interests in differing circumstances, yet these objectives are common to almost all states.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF NATIONAL INTEREST-

Thomas W Robinson has categorized the national interest in **6-fold classification**-

1. **Primary interests**- For these, the nation cannot compromise. E.g. To preserve the political, cultural and physical identity.
2. **Secondary interest**- These are less important than primary interest but still they are very vital in preserving the sanctity and existence of a state. E.g., protecting citizens abroad, Diplomatic immunities to important citizens.
3. **Permanent interest**- These are relatively constant and long-term interest of the state. E.g., USA tries to preserve its spheres of influence in all oceans for its permanent interest of being global superpower.

4. **Variable interest-** These are vital for a nation in a given set of circumstances. Sometimes, they can even diverge from both- primary and secondary interests. These are influenced by the personality of the leader, party politics, political narratives, etc.
5. **General interests-** These are those positive interests which apply to a large number of nations in several specified fields such as economic, trade, diplomatic relations etc. E.g., to **maintain international peace, disarmament, arms control**, etc.
6. **Specific interest-** These can be considered as the logical outgrowths of the general interests and these are often defined in terms of time and space.
 - a. E.g., **to secure economic and political rights of third-world countries** through securing a new international economic order is a specific interest of India.

WHAT ARE THE METHODS OF SECURING THESE NATIONAL INTERESTS?

The foremost right and duty of every nation is to secure the goal and objective of its national interest. Nations are continuously at work with an aim of securing their national interests and in doing so they adopt a number of methods.

DIPLOMACY-

- It is a universally accepted means for securing national interests. It is through the means of diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations in international sphere.
- It seeks to **secure the goals of national interests** of each country. Diplomats are entrusted to establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other important nations and conduct negotiations for achieving the desired goals, ambitions and objectives of national interests of their nation.
 - **Example-** Through the method of diplomacy, India has strengthened the people to people relations between India and Bhutan and also with Bangladesh. The problems like Teesta water dispute and that of BBIN agreement have been solved through diplomacy only.

PROPAGANDA-

- It is the **art of salesmanship**. It is the art of convincing other nations about the justness of one's goals and objectives which are desired to be secured.
- It consists of the attempt to bring on the desired nations on the negotiating table for the necessity of securing the goals which a nation wishes to achieve for its own benefit.
- The development of the Internet in the recent times has created a revolution and vastly increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interest.
 - **Example-** USA had used the method of propaganda to bring the Taliban on negotiating table to solve the conflict in Afghanistan.

ECONOMIC MEANS-

- The rich and developed nations often use **economic grant, aid and loans as the means for securing their interests** in international relations. The present era sees a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries and it provides a big opportunity to the rich nations to promote their interest's vis-a-vis the poor nations.

- **The over-dependence of the poor** and low- developed nations on the rich and developed nations for the imports of industrial goods, technological support, foreign aid, grants, weapons & armaments and for selling raw materials, has been responsible for strengthening the role of economic instruments of foreign policy of those regions.
 - **Examples-** To solve the economic crisis in Sri Lanka, the Indian govt. has provided the grant in assistance of \$500 million along with deferment of several outstanding loans for Sri Lanka.

TREATIES AND ALLIANCES-

- Alliances and Treaties can be concluded by two or more states for securing their respective common interests. This device is mostly used for securing political, identical and complementary interests.
- Alliances and treaties try to make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories- to work for the promotion and achievement of agreed common interests.
 - **Example-** The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding 'communist ideology' led to the creation of military alliances like NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS, AUKUS, QUAD etc.
- Likewise, the need to meet the threat to socialism from the capitalist world- led to the conclusion of Warsaw Pact among the communist countries.

COERCIVE MEANS OR WAR-

- The role of power in international relations is a vastly recognized fact. It is an unwritten law of international politics, that nations can use force for securing their national interests.
- International Law also recognizes coercive means which are short of war as the methods that can be used by respective states to fulfill their desired goals and objectives.
- Steps like- Intervention, Non-intercourse, embargoes, sanctions, boycotts, reprisals, retaliation, severance of relations and pacific biocides are the popular coercive means which are used by a particular nation to force other countries to accept a particular course of behavior or to refrain from a particular course which is considered harmful by the nation using coercive means.
 - **Example-** Russia's invasion in Ukraine to serve its security interest, USA's invasion in Iraq and Afghanistan

DIASPORA

- **People to people contact** play a very important role in increasing the influence of a nation with other nations.
- Responsible citizens of a country bring to the table- the domains of cultural relations, remittances, technology transfer, etc.
 - **Example-** India has been able to improve relations with Nepal and Bhutan largely because of huge impact of the diaspora of both countries who mix with each other to increasing the bonding between the two nations.

TECHNOLOGY

- The advanced economies can increase their relations with the developing states, with the transfer of technology for their development.
- The current advancement in technology at a global level has increased the scope of diplomatic relations with various nations using the technology too. **Eg.** Virtual summits

- There have been also incidences of technology transfer which has helped in strengthening relations. Eg. Technology transfer from Russia to India has helped in building relations at a larger sphere.

NON-STATE ACTORS

- The non-state actors like media, NGOs, civil society organizations- that work without a boundary has often helped various nations to come together and work for a common goal.
- Institutions like Red Cross society, World food programme, have worked day and night to ensure that various national govts work together and promote common agendas.
 - **Example- World food programme** is working with India to ensure the proper distributing of food grains in Afghanistan during Taliban insurgence.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

- Some of the global level organizations also work to strengthen the national interests of individual countries by promoting things of common interest.
- Bodies like United Nations, World health organizations, work in their respective fields to create conducive environments to bring all nations at the negotiating tables.
 - **Example- UNSC and UNGA** has worked hard to ensure humanitarian aids in war torn nations like **Afghanistan and Ukraine.**

JUSTIFICATION OF ACTS DONE IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL INTEREST-

National Interest is a very vague and ambiguous term that carries a meaning as per the context in which it is used. Statesmen and policy-makers have time and again used it in ways suitable to them and keeping in view their objective of justifying the actions of their states.

1. **Germany's chancellor Hitler had justified expansionist policies** in the name of ensuring the "German national interests."
2. Since decades, US presidents have always justified their decisions to continue their development of more and more destructive weapons in the interest of "US national interest."
3. For building up a **strong nuclear base at island of Diego Garcia**- USA justified it in the name of meeting the challenge posed by erstwhile USSR as well as for the protection the US interests in the Indian Ocean.
4. During 1979-89, **former USSR justified its intervention in Afghanistan** in the name of ensuring "Soviet national interests".
5. **China has time and again justified its border disputes** with India and the Soviet Union in the name of attempts to secure the national interests of China.
6. The **recent trend of P-5 countries** talks of non-proliferation and arms control is seen in terms of the national interests of all the nations.
7. **Recent example of Russia invading Ukraine** to fulfill its national interest has been justified in the name of protecting the Russian ethnic groups in Donetsk and Luhansk and also to protect itself from the expanding NATO.

Points to remember

- While formulating the goals and objectives of national interest, all the nations must make honest and integrated attempts to make these as compatible as possible with the international interests

of Peace, harmony, Security, environmental protection, protection of human rights and Sustainable Development.

- Some international norms like- Peaceful coexistence, peaceful conflict-resolution between parties and purposeful mutual cooperation for development, are the common and shared interests of all the nations.
- Therefore, along with the promotion of their respective national interests, every nation must try to protect and promote common interests in the larger interest of the whole international community and humanity.

SECURITY AND POWER

National Power can be defined as the ability or capability of a particular nation to secure its goals and objectives in relation with other nations. It also involves the capacity to use force or to give the threat of use of force or the influence over others for securing the goals of their respective national interest.

SECURITY

Security is the most important value and concept in international politics. The concept of security is said to be closely related to the concept of power in the International politics.

Security is considered to be the deepest and most abiding issue in politics. While the domestic realm is kept in ordered and stable position due to the existence of sovereign states, similarly the international realm is also anarchical and therefore threatening and unstable in character.

Different schools of thought gives their own conception of security-

- **REALISTS**- Realist scholars like **Rousseau**, and **Max Weber** believe that security of state is needed from another state. This is because of the anarchical position in the international arena. The main methods used for this type of security is- the balance of power, concept of deterrence and diplomacy.
- **LIBERALS**- On the other hand, liberals like, **Thomas Gordon** and **Denis Diderot** talk about the security of both- state as well as individuals. Again this is because of the anarchical state and the protectionist policies followed by various states.
- **MARXIST**- the proponents of this school of thought like- **Friedrich Engels** and **Gramsci**, talks about the human security from capitalism. They give the solution as “end of capitalism” to ensure security at the global level. In this perspective, **Immanuel Wallerstein** has given the concept of World-system theory to ensure security at the larger level.
- **FEMINIST**- The proponents of Feminist school of thought like- **Germaine Greer** and **Naomi Wolfe** talks about the concept of human security from the menace of war and poverty. They talk about ending the patriarchal institutions and bringing the women’s perspective in international perspective to achieve the security at international level.
- **SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVIST**- Proponents of Social Constructivist school of thought, like **Alexander Wendt, Peter Katzenstein and Elizabeth Kier** also talk about maintaining human security by the means of communication, assurance and the development of new value system.

SECURITY DILEMMA

In International politics, philosophers [like John Herz](#) had developed the concept of security dilemma by using the Hobbs state of nature concept. It was further developed by [Robert Jervis](#) with the concept of “**Offence-Defence theory**”. This theory is nowadays used to explain the severity of security dilemma.

According to this theory, the international politics is an state of anarchy just like Hobbes state of nature and here security dilemma leads to arms race like problems.

On the contrary, the 3rd world realist scholars like- [Mohammad Ayub and Prof. Amitabh Acharya](#) have given the concept of **Insecurity dilemma**. It represents the internal security threats faced by the third world countries. They say that the third world developing countries face insecurity dilemma more than the security dilemma.

Gradually, it has also been seen that the concept of **insecurity dilemma** has not limited itself to just the third world nations, rather some countries in the north like Ireland, have also started to face this threat. The Game theorist scholars like [Thomas Schelling and Robert Aumann](#) have developed the concept of “**Prisoners dilemma**” on the basis of concept of security dilemma.

Finally, the social constructivists suggest that the security dilemma is interpreted in a particular way by the realist thinkers that have led to the arms race, and thus communication or negotiation can be a way to reduce this security dilemma.

DEFINITION OF POWER

There have been varied definitions by various political scientists on the definition of power and use of force. Some of those are-

1. As per [Morgenthau](#), Power is the power of man on others and it is like a man’s control over the minds and actions of other men.
2. [Schwarzenberger](#) believed that, Power is a capacity of imposing the will of a country on others by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.
3. As per [Schleicher](#), Power can be defined as the ability to exercise such control as to make others do what they otherwise would not do by rewarding them, or by depriving them of something they value.

FEATURE OF NATIONAL POWER

1. **Power is both- a means and end in international politics-** it can control the behaviours of other states. It can act as currency which can help in securing various desired values of a nation- like, progress, status, development
2. **It can act as an ability to secure various goals of national interest-** it is a relationship in which a nation can achieve its desired goals
3. **It is dynamic and relative in nature-** it always acts in relation to time and space.

E.g. The narrative that India suffered loss in the 1962-war with China, considerably reduced the national power of India in relations with other neighbouring nations. But a good war in 1965 and 1991 with Pakistan helped India in regaining the influence back.

4. **No two nations can be said to have equal power-** the power of any country is always more or less when compared to other similar countries
5. **Actual and potential power-** actual power is immediately available with a country, whereas potential power is the one that can be generated in times of need. The potential power of a country can be said as the crisis management ability of that nation.

ELEMENTS OF POWER

GEOGRAPHY

- Amongst the elements of National Power, geography is one of the most stable, tangible, permanent and useful element
- While describing -the importance of geography in the realm of international relations, Napoleon, observed that “**The foreign policy of any country is determined by its geography.**”

SIZE

- Size is another geographical element of national power. The large size of a particular country can help in accommodating a large population, offer better natural resources to population and raw materials, and is more helpful in the defence of any country.
- A large size can also help the country in defending by retreat in the event of an attack.

LOCATION

- Location of a nation can be a helping and a hindering factor for its national power. It will determine whether a nation will be a sea-power or not and who all will be its neighbours.
 - **For example:** England was able to become a big naval power and thereby an imperial power because of mainly its location.

CLIMATE

- Climate largely determines the food production, the economy and even the culture of any nation. It can be a source of big limitation or a large help for the human capabilities.
 - **For example,** the cold climatic conditions of Arctic zone and Antarctic region and the excessive heat zone of the Tropical zone and Sahara have kept the development of life largely backward in these areas.

NATURAL RESOURCES

- The industrial and military capabilities of any nation as well as its economic well-being are more or less dependent upon the existence of natural resources in that nation.
- A level of self-sufficiency in certain key resources can be a big source of power for a nation.
 - **For example,** The USA has been in a position to be a super power in the world largely due to its near self-sufficiency in respect of several key natural resources of the world.

DIMENSIONS OF POWER

Power can be characterized in 3 dimensions- military, economic and psychological power. These 3 forms are totally inseparable from each other. Without economic power, there can be no military power. Similarly, without psychological power, no country can have a strong base in IR.

1. **Military power**- it is regarded as absolutely essential form of power for any country. It can help in achieving the objectives and security of all the countries. It is mainly considered the primary concern of every nation to work for securing its Security. No country can get recognition as a superpower or big power without becoming a big military power first. The USA is a superpower Because it is a big military power.
2. **Economic power**- It aims for a nation to satisfy its own needs and to control the behavior of other states by affording or denying access to economic goods and services. In the present era, it is one of the most important, vital means Which can be used for influencing the actions and behavior of some other states. No state can even think of becoming a large military power without having adequate economic power.
3. **Psychological power**- It Provides the power of opinion and image of a particular nation. It includes the role of propaganda and persuasive negotiation. The improvement in the means of communication, Increased influence of mass media and electronic media, And the role of NGO's and social movements have increased the Role of this dimension.

MEASUREMENT OF POWER

A nation with developed technology, surplus food, giant industrial production, healthy and developed economy, sensible natural resources— significantly oil, uranium, gas etc., will exercise additional power over different nations. Thus, by measurement the scope of resources and capacities of a nation we are able to live the scope of power of a nation.

On the basis of amount of power, countries can be categorized under the following-

1. **Super power**- A country could be a super power state with a dominant position characterized by its in-depth ability to exert influence or project power on a world scale. This can be done through the combined powers of economic, military, technological, political and cultural strength along with diplomatic and soft power influence. Historically, superpowers are the greatest among the large powers. E.g., USA
2. **Great powers**- these countries have the ability to protect their own hegemony and interest in the international sphere. EG. China, Russia.
3. **Middle power**- these countries take help of the super and great powers to protect their interest. E.g., Allies of USA, Russia, even India and Pakistan who take help of super powers in times of needs.
4. **Small powers**- these countries are totally dependent on others for their national interest protection. E.g., Nepal and Bhutan.

TYPES OF POWER

Power is an ever-changing concept which changes with the demand of the situation. Joseph Nye has classified power in 2 types- hard and soft power. However, the country that is aware of the way to utilize each effectively at the correct time succeeds economically and politically.

1. **Hard Power**- Hard power is when a particular country uses the military and economic means as a sphere of influence on the behavior or interests of other countries. It is a form of political power which is often aggressive because it uses coercion. It is also most immediately effective when imposed by one country upon another of lesser military and/or economic power.
2. **Soft power**- It is defined as the capability to attract and co-exist, rather than coercing and also shaping the preferences of others through appeal and attraction.
 - India was granted a nuclear waiver in 2008 despite not being a member of NSG because of its history of non-alignment and strong political ideals.
 - PM Modi's effort in getting the United Nations declaring the International Day of Yoga on June 21, 2020, each year is a practical example of soft power usage.

Hard Power	Soft Power
Ability to change others' position by force or inducement	Ability to shape preferences of others by attraction
Military and economic power	Cultural Power
Coercion, force	Co-option, Influence
Absolute	Relative, context based
Tangible, easy to measure, predictable to certain degree	Intangible, hard to measure, unpredictable
Ownership specified	Unspecified, multiple sources
controlled by State or organizations	Mostly non-state actors, uncontrollable
External, action, push.	Internal, reaction/ response, pull
Direct, short-term, immediate effect	Indirect, long-term, delayed effect
Manifested in foreign policies	Communicated via nation branding

SOFT POWER IN INDIA

- Along with the world's largest democracy, India is also home to the world's largest number of impoverished people. So, India is variously described as a model of soft power or a country that makes remarkably poor use of it.
- For some experts, its rich culture and democracy stand in contrast to other authoritarian and revisionist great powers like China, and indeed that's why many Indian leaders speak positively about the country's soft power potential.
- As clear from its absence from **The Soft Power 30 Index**, India evidently does not yet benefit as much from international awareness, positive associations or investments in cultural diplomacy as many other countries but still it is one of the fastest emerging hegemonic powers in the present context.

EMERGENCE OF SMART POWER

In the recent times, apart from hard and soft power, the concept of Smart power has emerged in international politics. It has been given by **Joseph Nye**.

Smart power is defined as the capacity of any country to combine elements of hard power and soft power in such ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the one's countries purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently.

- It draws from both hard and soft power resources. It is an approach that underlines the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in alliances, partnerships, and institutions.
- India's present foreign policy is placed on the concept of smart power only.
 - **For example**, India resisted Chinese invasion in Doklam by rapid troop management at the border during the crisis to showcase its hard power but at the same time meetings like Wuhan Summit, Commander level talks- depict its soft power approach.
- Similarly, India and Pakistan also maintain effective military presence in disputed border areas but continue to find new ways of engagement through efforts like **Kartarpur Corridor and diplomacy.**
- The **launching of SAARC satellite** by India in 2020 and allowing free usage of its services to all SAARC neighboring countries is a perfect example of using economic strength to generate trust among Neighbours and gaining hegemonic influence.

SHARP POWER- It is the use of manipulative diplomatic policies by one country to influence and undermine the political system of a target country. It was given by **Christopher Wilker**. This approach has taken advantage of the asymmetry between the free and unfree systems of the world which has allowed the authoritarian regimes to both- limit the free expression and to distort the political environments in democratic countries while parallelly shielding their own domestic public spaces from any kind of democratic appeals coming from abroad. This is used mainly by countries like Russia and China.

FAST POWER - The concept was developed by **John Chipman**. According to him, the speed has become a major determinant of national power. He gave the Principle of **Neo-Darwinism** which means 'Survival of the fastest' in the present era.

FAST-TRACK DIPLOMACY

- Former external affairs minister Sushma Swaraj had emphasized that the India's goal is "**fast-track diplomacy**" and it had three objectives- being proactive, strong and sensitive.
- In 2014, External Affairs Ministry also published a booklet called "**Fast Track Diplomacy**" show-casing the achievement made in the foreign policy arena.
- While hard power and soft power are necessary attributes of sustainable power projection by different nation, smart and fast power can help nations, big and small, find their way through or adapt to complex and rapidly changing political environments.

BALANCE OF POWER

Balance of Power can be considered a device of both power management and power limitation. Its underlying principle is that the **power of several equally powerful countries can be a source of limitation on their powers.** The major global powers should maintain a sort of balance in their power positions.

No state should try to become unduly powerful as it can endanger the balance of international power politics. If a state becomes or tries to become unduly powerful, another state or states should collectively pool their powers and create a preponderance of power against the offending state. The collective groups can make the use of force or coercion or other devices, and then these states should act to reduce the power of the threatening state and restore the balance.

- It should be kept in mind that, no state should be eliminated completely but the power of the state should be kept under control in the name of 'balance'.
- **Balance of power** places restraints upon the states by preventing all attempts at an unjustified increase of power on the part of any member of the balance of international power system.
- This concept was first used in the 19th century by the major European states for adjusting their relations.
- This system was even successful in preventing the outbreak of any major war during 1815-1914 period.
- Currently the device of Balance of Power is used only at the regional or sub-regional level to maintain the balance. At the global level it has lost much of its relevance and applicability because of rise of USA as global power.

TECHNIQUES OF BALANCING THE POWER-

1. **Internal balancing-** It involves efforts to enhance one's power by increasing one's economic resources and military strength in order to be able to rely entirely on independent capabilities in response to a potential hegemony
2. **External balancing-** It involves strengthening and enlarging one's external military alliances and interstate cooperation in order to prevent a hegemonic power or counter a rising power

Apart from these, other techniques like- arms race, the method of disarmament, partitioning of the large territory and creation of buffer state- also work for balancing power in the international arena.

BALANCE OF POWER IN PAST

Historical examples of power balancing have been found throughout history in different regions of the world, which has led to some scholars characterizing the balance of power as a universal and timeless principle.

1. In 400 BCE in Warring States in China, the development of large, cohesive states used to accompany the creation of irrigation systems, bureaucracies, and large armies used to equip with iron weapons. As a result, the Chinese states pursued power through a constantly shifting network of alliances.
2. **In ancient Greece** also, during the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE, the rising power of Athens used the formation of a coalition of city-states that felt threatened by Athenian power. The **alliance, led by Sparta, was successful in defeating Athens** and restoring a balance of power among Greek cities.
3. Early in the 19th century, French emperor **Napoleon I** repeatedly made invasions to conquer large areas of European countries. As a result, a broad coalition of European states—including Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—defeated France in a series of major battles that ended with **Napoleon's defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.**
4. **During World War II** in 1945, rising power, aggressive conquests, and alliance of Germany with Italy and Japan triggered yet another coalition of opposing states—among the capitalist democracies of Britain and the USA, and the Communist USSR.

BALANCE OF POWER IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT-

- The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to uni-polarization of the global power phenomenon and left the United States as the world's sole superpower. Balance of power

theory suggests that without the Soviet challenge, the United States, as the dominant world power, will face difficulties in its relations with such states as China and the European powers.

- **For example**, Major powers such as China, Russia, France, and Germany all opposed the US's invasion of Iraq in 2003 in international forums and diplomatic arenas such as the United Nations. Yet this opposition had no meaning and it did not stop the United States from acting as per its wish. It also led to exposing of the significant gap in military capability that now exists between the USA and the rest of the world.
- Small states which fear the USA, are no longer able to join a counterbalancing coalition to protect their security because of dissolution of USSR. Instead, in order to save themselves, many are developing nuclear weapons in an attempt to dramatically expand their military capability.
 - **For example**, North Korean leaders claimed in 2003 that it was developing nuclear weapons to balance against U.S. power and protect its national interest.
- The evolving nature of power in the contemporary international system has further complicated and stressed the operation of the global balance of power.
- Increase in Globalization, rise of the Internet, creation of weapons of mass destruction, and many other technological developments have made it possible even for small states and non-state groups to acquire significant power like great powers.
- These factors have also diluted the relative importance of military power.
 - **For example**, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States tried to assemble a **broad coalition to invade Afghanistan, using military force to topple the Taliban government** and to end the Taliban's support for al-Qaeda non-state actors from international sphere. But Al-Qaeda forces too had highly sophisticated weapons that they used against USA in the war.
- In the **present Russia-Ukraine war** too, one of the major reasons of the war has been the continuous eastwards expansion of NATO. To balance this growing power, Russia is trying to have control on countries like Ukraine, Georgia and Belarus, and this has caused the increase in severity of the war. Presently, **USA too is trying to balance the rise of Russia through allies like Poland and Hungary which are immediate neighbours of Ukraine.**
- In the future, the balance of power may continue to be operative among states engaged in prolonged disputes, but it will be less applicable in conflicts involving terrorists and other non-state groups.

Various scholars have given different meanings to BOP-

MORGANTHAU- He has given 4 meanings to BOP-

1. It is a policy aimed at certain state of affairs
2. It is an actual state of affairs
3. An approximately equal distribution of power
4. Any distribution of power

Ernst Haas- He has given 8 meanings of BOP-

1. Equilibrium resulting from equal distribution of powers among states
2. Equilibrium resulting from unequal distribution of power among states
3. Equilibrium resulting from the domination of one state
4. A system providing for relative stability and peace
5. A system characterized by instability and war

6. A way of saying power politics
7. A universal law of history
8. A guide for foreign policy maker

Conclusion

Thus, it can be said that in the changing context in 21st century, the use of balance of power has increased at a large pace. The problems like Afghanistan power struggle, Russia-Ukraine crisis have once again reiterated the importance of balance of power in the international arena. The challenge to US' unipolar world order by various countries like Russia, China and India can be seen as an attempt to once again balance the world order and bring the world to multilateralism.

DETERRENCE

Deterrence is a psychological and relational concept. It assumes that the actors are rational. Deterrence will work only when the opposing power believes in the credibility of deterrence. The adversary needs to be communicated in strong words, that if it prefers to attack or start war, the victory will come at the cost which is not worth paying.

Deterrence is a traditional concept, earlier was used for conventional weapons. However, these days it has got associated with the usage of nuclear weapons. This is the reason that number of times, deterrence is emphasized as an alternative approach to use of balance of power.

The concept of deterrence is developed by proponents of **Game theorists**. Prominent scholars supporting concept and use of deterrence includes **Bernard Brodie, Herman Kahn, Mearsheimer and Thomas Schelling**.

The theory of deterrence has developed with the evolving nature of the superpowers and specifically the superpower USA in context of its security. It was thought that USA's security cannot be simply dependent on merely conventional weapons. Conventional weapons might convert the local wars into world wars, which is not desirable.

MAD [MUTUALLY ASSURED DESTRUCTION]

Therefore, it was believed that, if nuclear deterrence is developed, it can largely ensure that the major war is avoided. Logically, USA's security policy during cold war was based on deterrence only. The only way to avoid war with USSR for NATO was to achieve 'MAD' [Mutually assured destruction].

In simple words, MAD can be understood as nuclear balance phenomenon. It may be also called as the "**balance of terror**". MAD is heavily dependent on the capacity of a country to convince the other power that if it starts any war, it is actually starting suicidal mission for itself.

The principal idea of MAD is mainly based on the development of second-strike capability. It means to survive the initial attack by the opponent and then retaliating and inflicting unparallel damage on them. If necessary, it might also involve targeting the civilians in the second strike. Some experts in USA even suggested to pursue the **NUTS Policy, Nuclear Utilization Target Selection**. It is believed to be synonymous with developing 1st strike capacity.

However, one thing is sure that it will require huge investment and may push all the countries towards the dangerous arms race in international arena. In a case study, during cold war, we have also seen that USA under **J F Kennedy** administration shifted towards 'Flexible response' policy, which means the ability to respond in both manners- 1st and 2nd strike as and when required.

1) **development of Strategic weapons** – developing long range weapons, targeting civilians in times of need

2) **developing Tactical weapons**– developing the nuclear warheads, to be used in battlefield [also as deterrence]

At present, some countries like, Pakistan is developing tactical weapons (HATF missile). Alongside, India is also developing **Prahar** missile system. This deterrence can also be of 2 types- direct deterrence or extended deterrence of some other country. **e.g.**, Japan, South Korea, Germany, NATO members are under USA's extended deterrence.

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

Nuclear Deterrence is principally a military doctrine which says that the possibility, that a country might use the nuclear weapons that it possesses in retaliation to the 1st strike will deter an enemy from attacking.

This doctrine is based on the proven destruction philosophy which signifies that the nuclear weapons are so destructive that no country would ever use them, because such use would surely cause massive humanitarian crisis and no political leader in the world would be willing to risk the possible death of millions of their and other country's citizens.

Advantages-

1. **Nuclear Weapons act as a deterrent to Global Conflict:** The fear and threat of being attacked or having mutually-assured destruction even by a small power like North Korea, is enough to prevent the world's superpowers like USA, from escalating a conflict to the point that a military confrontation becomes necessary.
2. Similarly, in The **Nuclear Taboo** concept, **Nina Tannenwald** argues that the rationalist cost-benefit evaluations and realist emphasis on self-interest and power do not fully account for the non-use of nuclear weapons since 1945.
3. Similarly, **Waltz** in 1981 argued in "**The spread of nuclear weapons**" that 'more nuclear weapons may be better to secure the international order. This argument normally stands apart from the majority view that nuclear non-proliferation plays an integral role in international stability. He held that **nuclear weapons ensured cold war remains cold**.
4. Experts amongst the deterrence enthusiasts claims that nuclear weapons not only just protect countries against use of nuclear weapons by others, but also **prevent war and promote stability in the region**.
5. It **enhances Bargaining Power of a Country**- it is seen that the development of nuclear weapons gives a geo-strategic advantage even to smaller countries. **For example**, North Korea has independently developed this technology, which has led to giving it a seat at the negotiation table with the USA, which was not possible before.

6. Nuclear weapons can be launched from any place like- Land, Water and Air. This ensures much flexibility to nuclear weapons with respect to their conventional counterparts. This uniqueness can prove to be a definite advantage while considering the scope of deterrence doctrine of nuclear weapons.

Disadvantages

1. **It doesn't help in stopping Warfare at Small Scale:** it is often seen that the nuclear weapons have not been shown to prevent small scale warfare. And there is always a possibility of escalation of these small-scale conflict into bigger wars, so the chance of Nuclear Warfare cannot be eliminated there.
2. According to **Henry Kissinger**, Nuclear weapons may have increased the deterrence between major nuclear-armed states, but it is increasingly difficult to deter them in other related campaigns. There are situations when a state may be able to use nuclear weapons to their advantage, and deterring against this requires hard work by a lot of nations.
3. **It gives unequal Advantage to some countries:** in the present era, there is an unequal distribution of nuclear capabilities in today's world, where it is seen that certain nations are at an immediate advantage over other countries due to possession of nuclear technology.
4. As per the recent data, Since WW II, the United States, Russia, UK, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan, and North Korea are among the countries that have armed themselves with nuclear weapons that are estimated to possess much more destructive power in comparison to those that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan.
5. **These threats are not Applicable Against Non-State Actors:** It does not protect against nuclear terrorists, who are not bonded by a specific nation or any specific treaty against the use of these weapons.
6. **It provides no Guarantee of World Peace:** There is no definite assurance of peace even when both the conflicting countries may possess nuclear weapons. The most famous of these cases is the **1962 Cuban Missile Crisis** where the war happened despite both powers deterring each other with nuclear.

NEW CHALLENGES TO NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

1. **Emergence of the New Cold War like conditions in the present era:** the world has seemed to enter into a phase of a new Cold War between US and China, and thus the chances of nuclear conflict have again resurfaced.
2. Further, the growth of nuclear capabilities leads to **diminishing of inter-state trust**, which results into high chances of stumbling a war into nuclear war.
3. Among the risks of nuclear use, one of the threats is of **inadvertent escalation due to miscalculation** or misperceptions by any country.
4. **It may also lead to emergence of Rogue States:** Rogue nation or state are those which are regarded as breaking international law and which might pose a threat to the security of other nations. Due to possession and assimilation of nuclear weapons with present regime North Korea, many countries perceive it as a rogue state.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be summarized that although bilateral disarmament is the best solution to solve nuclear issue but the decisions taken should be mutually acceptable to both the parties. Alongside, time and again using nuclear power as a deterrence won't work in the long run because it would create fear in

the minds of non-nuclear nations. The need of the hour is such that the nuclear nations must come together and act to create a nuclear free world where no country is pressurized or forced to do anything in fear, thus increasing the tension.

POLARITY OF POWER

Polarity of Power is a concept in international relations that refers to the structure of international systems- whether they are mainly dominated by a single Great/Super Power, unipolar power system, two Powers- bipolar system or multiple Great Powers- multipolar system.

Here, the Balance of Power is an attempt by each Great Power in an international arena to ensure its protection against rivals through a combination of alliance formation, also called as external balancing and building up its own capabilities, aka internal balancing. The concerted efforts made in this regard by various countries inhabiting an international system are called as Balance of Power politics in IR.

Theoretically, it can be said that the Balance of Power politics ceases to operate in a unipolar international system because there won't be any counter power to balance its rise. A good recent example is **America's 'unipolar rise' which dawned after the demise of the Soviet Union after cold war.**

It is also to be seen that, over the last 25 years, China has also gradually risen to Great Power status and a nascent bipolar international system can be discerned in the making. Not referring to a gradual American decline, but there are some indications which show that the United States may actually again rise because of the consequences of its recent imperial stretches, like the shale gas revolution in oil and gas sector, the increasing domestic backlash against globalization and the gradual shrinking of the cost differential between domestic and overseas manufacturing capacity.

The rising belief that the international system might actually become multipolar in character with the eventual Rise of the Rest (including India) does no longer appears to be a certainty and may well prove to be a distant mirage in the IR arena right now. Be whatever may, it is in the field of the return of bipolarity or multipolarity character, that the practice of Balance of Power has returned to the international system.

Unipolarity- Unipolarity is a specific condition in which one nation under the condition of international anarchy enjoys a preponderance of power and faces no other competitor states.

- **William Wohlforth** has argued that the condition of unipolarity is durable and peaceful because it reduces the likelihood of any kind of hegemonic rivalry because in this context no state is powerful enough to challenge the unipole and so it reduces the salience and stakes of balance of power politics among the major states, thus largely reducing the likelihood that attempts at balances of power causing major war. Example- Hegemony of USA after the cold war period.

Bipolar world order- Bipolarity is a kind of distribution of power in which two different states have a preponderance of power. In the condition of bipolarity, the spheres of influence and alliance systems have been frequently developed around each pole.

- **For example**, in the Cold War period, most of the Western and capitalist states would fall under the influence of the USA, while most Communist states fell under the influence of the USSR.
- **Kenneth Waltz's influential Theory of International Politics** argued that bipolarity at that time tended towards the greatest stability because the two great powers- USA USSR, would engage in rapid mutual adjustment, which would prevent inadvertent escalation and reduce the chance of power asymmetries forming.

Multipolar world order- Multipolarity is a type of distribution of power in which more than two nation-states have nearly equal amounts of power in the international sphere.

- The 'Concert of Europe,' which was a period from after the Napoleonic Wars to the Crimean War, was an example of peaceful multipolarity international order- here, the great powers of Europe often used to assemble regularly to discuss international and domestic issues
- Same was the contention during the Interwar period.
- **Examples** of wartime multipolarity world order includes the times of World War I, World War II and the breakout of Thirty Years War.

Views

Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics has argued that bipolarity normally tends towards the greatest stability because the two great powers would eventually engage in rapid mutual adjustment, which would prevent inadvertent escalation and thus reduce the chance of power asymmetries forming. This can be a big solution to rising unipolarity in the global system.

Similarly, **Mearsheimer** also argues that polarity in the international system is the main cause of war. That is especially true in the concept of unbalanced multipolarity in which there is a potential hegemon and rest are small states. On the other hand, the Balanced multipolarity in which there is no potential hegemon has a less-asymmetrical distribution of power and so is less feared. This was also given to solve the issue of unipolarity at a larger extent.

HEGEMONIC STABILITY THEORY

Introduction

Hegemonic Stability Theory as a theory has been developed by many political scientists like, **George Modelski, Robert Gilpin and Stephen Krasner**.

Who is a Hegemon?

A hegemon is considered to be a state that has the capacity and the will power to lead and overpower other states in the international system arena. **Krasner** has defined two states to be the hegemons, especially when looked from an international political economic perspective- the former British Empire until the beginning of the 20th century, and the United States of America from that point onwards.

Conditions to be a hegemon

To be a Hegemon state, a state must have three simultaneous attributes-

1. The capacity and the Capability to enforce the rules of the international system
2. The Will power to do so
3. A strong Commitment to such a system which is perceived as mutually beneficial to the all the major states.

IMPORTANCE OF HEGEMONS

- The system is considered a collective good which means that it is plagued by a "free rider" syndrome on its inside.
- Thus, a hegemonic country must induce or coerce other states to support the prevalent system. The USA tries to produce democracy and capitalism in the world, and so, it champions human rights and free trade among them.
- Other nations shall try to enjoy the benefits of these institutions created by USA, but they will try to avoid paying the costs of producing these themselves.
- Thus, it is important that the USA must remain committed to the idea of free trade even if its major trading partners like China and Russia erect barriers to trade someday. The same contention is being seen today in the world trade order, where the problems of Trade war has started to emerge between China and USA. Similarly, the breakout of Russia-Ukraine war has also started to challenge the US' hegemony. In retaliation, the US can also erect its own barriers, but then the system will collapse for the worst.

Problems

- Although Hegemonic Stability Theory is regarded to be one of the most useful theories to identify and analyze cooperation between different states in the international systems, this theory also has some shortcomings.
- Beyond Krasner's evaluation of his theory **lacking through a dependent variable**, several other issues also appear to be prevalent throughout his work.
- One of the major issues is to try to stabilize the world order amidst international issues which often times leads to violence among the hegemons.

Conclusion

It has been seen that, over the years, there has been an uneven growth of power within the system as new technologies and methods have developed. **John Lewis Gaddis** on the eve of "the end of cold war" has held that we have killed the python but have given rise to numerous poisonous snakes. An unstable system will result into chaos, if economic, technological, and other changes erode the international hierarchy and undermine the position of the dominant state, i.e., US presently. Even some pretenders to hegemonic control will emerge if the benefits of the system are viewed as unacceptably unfair by some states.

TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS

At the International scene, there are many actors engaged in the game of international Politics. One of the oldest, most important and universally acknowledged actors on the international world stage is the state.

The two main types of actors involved in international relations include State and non-state actors. State actors represent a legitimate government while a non-state actor does not. However, they have huge influence on the working of state actors.

Of significant importance in international relations are transnational actors that put a considerable influence on geo-politics in IR across borders, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), various multinational corporations (MNCs), religious actors, terrorist rebels, even criminal actors, and country's diasporas and various ethnic actors.

There has been a shift in the thinking when the definition of the world politics involving only states as the principal actors have been challenged since the late 1960s, since gradually many other actors have also become way more involved in the process of international political relations in the present context. Due to this, IR these days, promotes the concept of international pluralism, which fosters national interactions among various actors.

ROLE OF TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Transnational relations can be defined as the regular cross-border interactions in which non-state actors involve with state actors and play a very significant role. This opens up the need of a wide research area in the context of globalization where various actors participate in growing global exchanges off late. Out of these, particular importance in international relations is given to transnational actors that put considerable influence on politics across international borders, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multinational corporations (MNCs).

View of various schools

According to **Realist** scholars, Trans-national actors have no role in International politics. They believe that realism is a state-centric concept and even the bodies like MNCs and Terrorist organizations are sponsored by some or other states.

On the other hand, **liberals** have a positive view with respect to the role of these transnational actors. On one side, they act as the agents of development and modernization, and on the other hand they also contribute to peace and stability.

Similarly, **Feminists** believe that women have been adversely impacted by the policies of MNCs. John Burton in his cob-web model, Keohane and Joseph Nye in their complex inter-dependence model have acknowledged the role of non-state actors.

During the 25 years after the end of World War II, it is seen that the transnational organizations have-

- (a) increased in number far beyond anything that remotely existed in the past
- (b) they have individually grown in size far beyond anything that existed in the past times
- (c) they also performed functions which they had never performed in the past
- (d) they started operating on a truly global scale that was never possible in the past.

Transnational organizations have been designed in such a way, as to facilitate the pursuit of a single interest within any national units. One thing that the transnational organization requires is the access to the nations. The restraints that are on a transnational organization are largely external, which stems from its need to gain operating authority in different sovereign and independent states. So, in this sense the rise and growth of transnational organizations on the international arena involves a pattern of cross-cutting cleavages and associations which are overlaying those associated with the nation-state theory.

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS (MNCs)

- Arguable, the most prominent contemporary NGOs today, are the multinational corporations (MNCs). They are basically huge firms that own and control organizations and offices in at least more than one country and sells and exports their goods and services across the world.
- Some of them are even larger corporations that have branches and subsidiaries operating on an international basis in many countries simultaneously.
- MNCs are considered to be the "one of the major drivers of global economic integration plans" and "they have established unprecedented linkages among economies whole worldwide".
- The primary objective of MNCs is their **profit maximization**. They are also considered very effective in directing and helping out with the foreign policy of states, including that of the most powerful ones, and they even set agenda for international politics.
- They have largely become a major factor in national economic decision-making process in the present times.
 - **Example**, the view and reports of MNCs like **Pratham** and **Vanavil Trust** are used by government in taking decisions in education sector, similarly the reports of NETRA foundation have been used by the govt to add the concept of age reliability low-vision problems under the ambit of **Ayushmaan bharat**.
- MNCs have been recognized as the instruments of economic development, especially for less developed economies.
- However, while analyzing the functions they perform in host countries, it is seen that they develop a **very strong bond with the home government** which sometimes becomes a source of concern for host countries.
- And it happens that the **MNCs start challenging the state sovereignty of host countries**. This might result in **host countries losing control over their economies**.
- Thus, these MNC's create some kinds of **political and social division and even prevent the development of domestic industries** in the respective countries.
 - **For example**, the bodies like Riddhi Siddhi Welfare and Charitable Trust work continuously to uphold the social welfare among the society. They have their focus on helping the poor and vulnerable sections of the society and have helped in getting the rights of many of these population recognized over time.

TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

- There are some Trans national organizations that lack political legitimacy or economic power, still they are able to exploit the benefits of markets, economies, and people.

- Scholars and political scientists have recognized the augmented importance of even the dark side of TNAs— that is transnational criminals, which can be- money launderers, sea pirates, human traffickers, international weapons smugglers, drug smugglers, terrorist networks, etc.
- However, they have emerged only in the past decade and half. Along with that, failed states also provide fertile ground for these illegal activities which is based on the lack of basic security and order.
- Some factors like- Private mercenaries exploiting nation’s resources, questionable practices by multinationals companies, and also the disruptive civil protest movements add complexity in the absence of governmental control in these regions.

Noam Chomsky has blamed USA for promoting the role of terrorist organizations in the international politics. He has called USA as the 1st terrorist-state in the world.

John Lewis Gaddis on the eve of “the end of cold war” has held that we have killed the python but have given rise to numerous poisonous snakes.

NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATION

- NGOs are voluntary organizations working in various sectors. These are popularly known as NGOs because they are generally free from governmental control in their functioning and daily works.
- They are largely democratic and are open to all those wishing to become member of the organization voluntarily and have aim of serving the society.
- Therefore, off late, they have assumed a significant space in civil society, which is fast emerging in today’s era due to the weakening of the state.
- NGO is a very popular term, which has gained importance at global level and commands respect in society due to its welfare services in the society and nation.

ROLE OF NGOs IN DEVELOPMENT-

NGOs have played an immense role in bringing about the social change and development and it is also being experienced from different parts of the country in different sectors.

Development, is largely a multi- faceted process, which essentially involves the involvement and aggressive participation of the citizens that would not be possible unless they are at least educated, awakened and motivated.

In this field, the NGOs are taking up this job sportingly and successfully.

1. The NGOs are very much active to promote sectors like education, particularly among those section of population, which has remained un-benefited or less benefited by the various measures adopted by the government. Here also, the education of girls, and other deprived section of people, particularly the SCs and STs, OBCs, have been their target objective.
2. Women are the one of the largest vulnerable section of society. Gender discrimination is a ubiquitous cultural reality in societies of India. Here, girls are discriminated in the upbringing pattern in the family itself. It has been seen that larger numbers of the undernourished are from amongst the girls.
 - a. Similarly, retention of girls in schools is much less as compared to boys in the area.

- b. Women are also forced to work as housewife and are denied participation in gainful economic activities outside their homes.
 - c. About three-fourths of the work done by women is un-monetized even in 21st century. These NGOs work hard in each of these sectors.
3. It has been seen that, since the second half of the preceding century started the change in the status of women with their active participation in areas like- political, social and economic activities, which has gained acceleration since the last quarter of the preceding century.
- a. More and more women have started moving out of the four walls of their houses and involving themselves actively in the social sphere outside their homes. This all has been largely possible because of the role of NGOs in doing so.

Example- The role of various women voluntary organizations towards this cause has been marvelous. Like- Sewa, Sathin, Eklavya, Disha, Environmental Action Group and Agrani Foundation etc. are some of the examples of NGOs known for their role in development by creating large awareness among people and interventions, if required and working to uplift their status in the society.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Collective Security system is the one that **guarantees the security of each state of the world** against any external war or aggression that may be committed by any state against any other state.

It can be seen like an insurance system, in which all the nations are bound to protect the victim state of an aggression or war by neutralizing the aggression or war against the victim- by collectively deterring the aggressor state.

Collective Security in the present era is regarded as the **most promising approach to achieve international peace**. It is considered to be a **valuable device of crisis management** in international relations. It has been designed to protect international peace and security against war and aggression in any part of the world by any country of the world system.

Even the UN Charter has included a system of collective security which has been designed to meet an international crisis resulting from any war or aggression or a threat of war or aggression in any part of the world system.

In the present era, the concept of balance of Power has lost its relevance as a device of power management and thus the Collective Security has gained recognition as a modern device of power management and balancing of powers, which can enable the international community to meet any kind of crisis situations.

NATURE

1. Peace and Security is the chief goal of all the countries. Currently, the security of each nation stands inseparably linked with the security of all other nations. Similarly, the need of National security is also a part of the international security system. Any attack on the security of any nation, is in fact an attack on the security of all the nations. And that's why, it is the collective responsibility of all the nations to defend and protect the security of the victim nation.

2. The term 'collective', as a part of the theory of collective security, indicated the method through which security has to be defended in the time of any war or aggression against the security of any victim nation. Similarly, the power of the aggressor state has to be met with, through the collective power of all the rest of the nations combined. And for that, all the nations are required to create a global pre-ponderance of power to negate the aggression or for ending a external war.
3. The main principle of Collective Security is- **One for All and All for One**. So, any aggression or war against any one nation is a war against all the rest of the nations. So, all the nations here act collectively against every War inflicting/Aggressor nation.

CHARACTERISTICS-

1. Collective Security is considered to be a device of power management or crisis management in times of need. It aims to preserve international peace through crisis management in the event of any war or aggression at the international arena.
2. It accepts that the violations of the security and sovereignty of a nation are bound to occur and that the wars and aggressions cannot be totally eliminated from international arena.
3. It believes that, in the times of violation of international peace, because of any aggression in any part of the world, all the rest of the nations are committed to pool their power, resources and if needed military, for taking effective steps against every aggressor state for restoring international peace and order.
4. It asks for the creation of a universal agreement of power involving all the nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. And under it, all the nations are ready for defending the international peace and security through collective military action against the aggressor state.

IDEAL CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY:

1. There should be a common agreement on the definition of Aggression or war.
2. There is a need of broad based and more powerful United Nations to solve international problems.
3. There is also a more powerful and important role of UN Security Council & other UN bodies, and the need of strong commitment of its permanent members [P-5] in the Favour of collective security for the achievement of international peace and security.
4. There is a dire need of existence of a permanent international peace keeping force.
5. There should also be an established procedure for the termination of every collective security action.
6. The popularization of peaceful means of conflict resolution among member states is also the need of the hour.
7. The prominence of sustainable socio-economic development of all the nations is ideal.
8. Finally, there is a need for strengthening of peaceful means of crisis-management and international peace-keeping, so that the situation of war never arises.

ADDITIONAL POINT OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE

The concept of Collective Defense refers to the organization of a collective machinery to meet any aggression done by the enemy country against any member of the collective defense system. A collective defence agreement can be made by a group of countries, who have a common perception of threat to their security from a common enemy or enemies.

Usually, a collective defence system is organised as an ever-growing alliance which involves a regional defence system among the regional partners. Therefore, it covers only the members of the collective defence system.

And against this, the concept of Collective Security stands for a type of universal system in which all states of the world, without any discrimination or categorization, decide to nullify any aggression, that is done anywhere in the system, and against any aggressor in the world. It has been designed to act as a deterrent force against any aggression against any aggressive nation.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND BALANCE OF POWER

Collective Security and Balance of Power are two of the most popular devices for power management which have some similarities, but also a large number of dissimilarities.

Similarities

1. Both Balance of Power and Collective Security are **defensive systems** in nature. Both aim at the protection of the states while being within the system.
2. Both stand for the **creation of a pre agreement of power politics** as a means for preventing or for defeating aggression against any member of the system.
3. Both, Balance of Power and Collective Security **accept war and aggression** as a **means for checking the violation of the international system** by an aggressor country.
4. Both have **assumed the continued existence of sovereign states** who are willing and who can coordinate their actions and will against aggression.
5. Both also envisage the possibility that **even those states which are not themselves attacked, should be willing and be ready to go to war for defending the security of the victim country.**

Dissimilarities

1. The theory of Balance of Power involves the existence of competitive alignments in international arena. It has assumed the division of states into more or less hostile camps. But the, Collective Security stands for a universal and global cooperative system for action in which all the members of the international community are considered to be equal members in terms of power and security.
2. Balance of Power gets into action through the policies of major powers who are the key actors in this type of policy. While, the Collective Security, gets operationalized through the commitment of all the nations of the world to act collectively to defend the International Security against war on victim state.
3. The alliances which go with the balance of power are aiming at a specific potential enemy. Thus, they are specific in nature. While the Collective Security system is aimed at any aggressor state that may be present in any part of the world. Thus, it is a system of general agreement and cooperation.
4. In a Balance of Power system, the enemy state is the major aggressor which becomes unduly powerful and so threatens the balance. But in Collective Security, any enemy state which commits aggression is always from within the larger international community. It is always a member of the system acting against another member of the system.
5. In a Balance of Power system only P-5 members or the major powers are involved. They are in agreement to defend only certain selected frontiers and not to defend against every

aggression or war of the world. But against this, in the domain of the Collective Security system, every nation of the world is committed to fight aggression or war against any state that initiates it. They are in agreement to defend every state of the international system against any aggression.

UN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

Pre-UN model of Collective security-

Pre United nations, the 1st experiment was done with collective security in the form of **League of nations**. However, it failed to protect the countries which ultimately led to WWII.

Example- when China approached league of nations against Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, it got no help from the League.

Similarly, In 1936, **Ethopia also approached the league of nations against invasion by Italy**, but once again they got no help.

WHY COLLECTIVE SECURITY FAILED UNDER LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

1. The major theory that was given was that the concept of League of Nations was an **idealistic** concept Which assumes that nations will forget their long-term interests and will provide their forces in the interest of World Peace or for the protection of any other country.
2. One of the major factors was that **USA was not a part of League of Nations**. Ironically, collective security was idea of USA only.
3. So in the absence of USA, the responsibility was on the European powers, that is France and Britain.
 - a. They had **no experience of collective security**.
 - b. They even **did not prefer collective security**, but had to accept it under the USA pressure.
 - c. They **continued their old balance of power politics**.
 - d. They also used to believe, as if communism is a bigger threat than fascism, so they went for appeasement of fascist powers.
4. As per the Charter of League of Nations, the **collective security will work only when there is a consensus**. It means that all the members of League of Nations should authorize it. And because of these factors the league of nations failed.

Rise of United Nations

- During the decade of the 20th century, the Collective Security System has begun to be acting as a popular and useful device for the **preservation and sustenance of international peace and security**.
- The Charter of the UN has regarded the preservation of international peace and security as one of its most major objectives.
- In this Charter the term-'**International Peace and Security**' has been used 32 times. Even in its very first article, while explaining the purposes of the United Nations, it has made the preservation and safety of international peace and security as its first priority. It even lays down a collective security system for the fulfillment of this purpose.

- The method of Collective Security system has been laid down in Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter and is under the title of- 'Action with respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.'
- Here it contains 13 Articles, from Art. 39 to 51, which together provides for the maintenance of the collective system for preserving international peace and security.
- One of the principal organs of UN, the **UN Security Council** has been assigned the responsibility and power to initiate collective security action against any state to meet any perceived threat to international peace and security by any war or aggression.

CRITICISM AGAINST COLLECTIVE SECURITY:

1. The concept of Collective Security is designed to be based upon certain idealistic assumptions which make its implementation very difficult.
 - a. E.g. It has assumed that there can be a complete global understanding, regarding the nature of all threats or aggressions which are possible, against international peace and security but the recent Russian attack on Ukraine has nullified this assumption.
2. One of the major **defects of the Collective Security system** can be said that it has completely wrongly assumed that, in the event of any war or aggression against any nation, the aggressor and the nature of its aggression can be totally and easily identified.
3. But in practice, it is very tough to determine and name the aggressor pin-pointedly as well as to identify the nature and main aim of the aggression. It is seen that, often the aggressor acts in the name of self-defense and justifies its aggression as a defensive action against its interests.
 - a. Eg. **Russia's invasion on Ukraine**
4. Collective Security has proven to be **self-negating in so far as it first denounces war or aggression as an illegal activity** and then it indirectly accepts that wars and aggressions are bound to remain present in international relations forever.
5. It also wrongly believes that, the **most effective way to deal with such situations is to undertake a collective security war**, thus totally **bypassing the value of negotiations.**
6. **The concept of Collective Security has made it an international obligation for all the nations to collect their resources and then undertake collective action in the event of an aggression or war. It, totally, rules out the concept of neutrality.**
 - It has been seen that, many nations often prefer to remain away from war and thus not be bounded by the events of collective security.
 - But It makes Collective Security war an international obligation and wrongly assumes that all nations are willing to participate in such a war, without even asking them first.
7. The underlined concept of Collective Security in the U.N. Charter, has two major limitations.
 - It provides the states the right to undertake war or aggression, as a measure of self-defense against any other aggression.
 - But in practice, this provision somewhat gives a legal basis to any aggressor or war inducing nation to start a conflict in the name of action in self-defense.

JUSTIFICATION OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM

However, despite these points of criticism and internationally recognized weaknesses of the Collective Security system worldwide, it certainly cannot be denied that the system has not been totally meaningless and without any positive features.

1. It has first of all, brought into vision the idea of the possibility of emergence of the collective steps for the preservation of world peace and harmony through crisis management in any worldly problems.
2. This ensures that, the chances for a more purposeful and successful use of Collective Security in this post-cold war world have emerged. Presently, it is also being implemented in several different parts of the world.
3. **Collective Security has been constituted as a modern device for crisis management** in the world arena. Here, all the members of community of nations are expected to act and save the humanity from the increasing fear of war and aggression and also to use the collective security system for this purpose.

India's view

- India has been against the defence pacts and military blocks. However, **India has been in favour of the system of collective security**. One of the objectives of non-aligned movement was to stay away from the military blocks and to strengthen the United Nation collective security system.
- India has taken this position because the collective security is supposed to be better for developing countries and joining military blocs goes against their interests.
- According to **Pandit Nehru**, the **idea of collective security is contradictory to collective defence**. So, he said that, if one goes for collective defence, it means that he has no faith in collective security system of the United Nations.

USA's view

- It was USA which started the formation of military blocks.
- According to USA, there is no contradiction because Article 51 of the United Nations Charter provides for the right to self-defence to every single country. So according to USA, Collective defence is the only practical way to achieve the concept of collective security.

UN PEACEKEEPING

UN Peacekeeping as a concept helps various countries navigate the difficult path from conflict to that of peace. It deploys military troops and police from around the world, integrating them with civilian peacekeeping forces to address a range of mandates set by the UN Security Council (UNSC) and the United Nations General Assembly.

ROLE OF INDIA

1. Presently, there are more than 6,700 troops and police from India who have been deployed to various UN peacekeeping missions, which is the fourth highest amongst troop-contributing countries.
2. Here, more than 200,000 Indians have already served in 49 of the 71 UN peacekeeping missions established around the world since 1948 period.
3. India has had a long tradition of sending women forces on various UN peacekeeping missions.
4. In 2007, **India became the first country ever to deploy an all-women contingent** to a UN peacekeeping mission.
5. Indian peacekeepers have also served in UN peacekeeping missions around the world.

WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY

- Capitalism is a type of economic system in which each individual in his capacity as a consumer, producer, and resource owner is engaged in some or other economic activity with a large measure of economic freedom defined to him.
- Individual economic actions are in conformation to the existing legal and institutional framework of the larger and societal interests, which are governed by various factors- like, the institution of private property, the profit motive of each individual, increasing freedom of enterprise, and the consumers' sovereignty in his individual sphere.
- All the factors of production in this system- land, labor, capital & entrepreneurship, are privately owned and managed by individuals.
- The raw materials, the machines, the firms, and the factories are also owned and managed by individuals for maximum profit motive- who are at a liberty to make use of them within the existing laws of the country.
- Individuals also have the freedom to choose any occupation, any profession and to buy or sell any number of goods and services within or outside the system.

FEATURES OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY

1. **The focus is on private Property**- the institution of Capitalism thrives on the institution of private property. It indicates that the owner of a firm or factory or any mine may use it in any manner he/she likes.
 - If they want, they may hire it to anybody, sell it, or lease it at will, as long as they are in accordance with the existing laws of the country.
 - The state's role here, is confined in the protection of the institution of private property through the legitimate laws. The institution of private property has one benefit- as it induces its owner to work hard, to properly organize his business and also to produce more, thus benefiting not only himself but also the community at large.
2. **The emphasis on the profit Motive**- The real motive behind the working of the capitalist system is the profit maximization motive. The decisions of businessmen, group of farmers, any producers, including that of wage-earners are always based on the profit motive.
 - Here, the profit motive is equated with the desire for personal gain. It is this attitude of acquisitiveness which is behind individual initiative and risk taking enterprise in a capitalist economy.
3. **The system of Price Mechanism**- Under the system of capitalism, the price mechanism operates automatically without any direction and control by the state authorities, which is called as **lassiez faire system**. It is the profit motive which determines production, which keeps on increasing with increase in demand.
 - Here, the Profit is the difference between outlay and receipt of a product, the size of profit depends upon the prices. Larger the difference is between prices and costs, the more is the profit.
 - But also, the higher are the prices, the greater are the efforts of the producers needed to produce the desired quantities and qualities of products. Ultimately, it is the consumers' choices which decides, what to produce, in what quantity to produce, and how to produce to ensure profit.

- Thus, capitalism can be called a system of mutual exchanges where the price-profit mechanism plays a crucial role in the development of the market.

Merits

1. **Arthur Young** wrote that, **the proper usage of property can turn even the sand into gold**. This observation holds good only in a free enterprise economy where every producer, trader or businessman can hold property and use it in any way he likes to. He tries to bring in improvement in production and thus increases productivity because the property belongs to him. This leads to larger increase in income, saving, and investment, and these money are again used in steps to progress.
2. **Max Weber** has considered market exchange as the defining characteristic of capitalism. In practice, the capitalist systems vary in the degree to which private ownership and economic activity are regulated by various governments. It has assumed various forms in industrial societies in present era.
3. The twin freedoms provided for consumers and producers lead to the development of quality products, and also leads to lowering of costs and prices. Thus, the **society as a whole stand benefitted under the system of capitalism**.
4. The prevalence of competition under capitalist system also leads to increase in efficiency in the market, which encourages producers to innovate further and thereby helps in bringing progress and prosperity in the country as a whole. As mentioned by **Seligman**, **'If competition in biological field leads indirectly to road of progress, competition in economical field is the very secret of that progress.'**
5. The **automatic determination of the price mechanism under capitalist system brings efficiency** in the production and distribution of goods and services without the need of any central plan, and thus promotes the maximum welfare of the society.
6. Under capitalist system, it is seen that, producers often undertake the production of only those goods which appear to yield maximum profits in anticipation of the prevalent demand in the market. This then leads to optimum utilization of resources.

Demerits

1. The existence of competition, which is regarded as the very base of capitalist system, contains within itself the tendency to destroy competition, and thus leading to monopoly.
 - It is often the profit motive under capitalist system which leads to the prevalence of cut-throat competition, and ultimately to the formation of trusts, cartels, and combinations.
 - This leads to reduction in the number of firms actually engaged in production of goods & services. As a result, small firms are often seeming to be eliminated in this process.
2. The prevalence of private property creates inequalities of income and wealth among different classes under capitalism. Also, the price mechanism through competition brings huge profits to big producers, the businessman, the risk-taking entrepreneurs, and also the mercenaries who accumulate vast amount of wealth. While the rich seem to be rolling in wealth and luxury, the poor's thrive in poverty and squalor.
3. From the perspective developed by **Karl Marx**, capitalism is often organized around the **concept of CAPITAL which implies the ownership and control of the means of production** by those who employ workers to produce goods and services in exchange for wages.
4. Many experts have opined that, **consumers' sovereignty is a myth under the system of capitalism**. Consumers indirectly have to buy only those commodities which are manufactured

and supplied by the producers in the larger market. It is often seen that, the majority of the consumers are not very rational buyers and are often under the veil of ignorance about the utility and quality of the products available at the stores or markets.

5. They are also **hugely misled by the false advertisement and propagandas** about the usefulness of the products. Products which are produced by monopoly institutions are often of an inferior quality and are priced high.
6. Thus, it can be rightly said that **there is no consumers' sovereignty in the seller's market.**
7. Capitalism is always characterized by business fluctuations and prevalence of unemployment in the society. So, excessive competition and unplanned production may lead to over production and thus decline in demand and supply of commodities in the market and thus ultimately depression and unemployment.
8. It has been also seen that, capitalism has failed to produce goods in keeping with the society's requirements and demands. Frivolous luxury goods and obnoxious articles are produced to satisfy the wants of the few rich population at the expense of the necessities needed by the poor's. Thus, there is social wastage of economy's resources on producing a few goods.

GLOBALISATION

Globalisation can be seen as a conscious and active process of expanding various business and trade across the borders of all the existing states. It mainly stands for expanding the cross-border facilities and the economic linkages. This is supposed to be done with a view to secure an integration of economic interests and activities of the people living in all the parts of the globe. The prime objective of making the world a entirely inter-related, totally inter-dependent and developed global village, mainly governs the on-going process of globalisation.

The term globalization refers to the opening up of the economy for world market by attaining international competitiveness. Thus, the globalisation of the economy indicates the interaction of the developing countries relating to production, trading and financial transactions with the developed industrialized countries of the world.

According to **Edward S. Herman**, "Globalisation is both an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing."

According to Baylis and Smith, "Globalisation is the process whereby social relations acquire relatively distance-less and borderless qualities."

It has 4 parameters-

1. Permitting the free flow of goods by removing and reducing the existing trade barriers between the concerned countries
2. Creating barrier free environment for flow of required capital between the countries
3. Allowing free flow in technology transfer from developed to developing economies
4. Creating sustainable environment for free movement of labor between the countries of the world.

Thus, taking the entire world as a hypothetical global village, all these 4 components are equally important for attaining a smooth path for the emergence and sustenance of globalisation.

The concept of Globalisation has been envisaged by integrating nation states within the frame work of World Trade Organization (WTO) as an alternative version of the- **Theory of Comparative Cost Advantage** as propagated by the classical economists. This was for assuming and ensuring unrestricted flow of goods and services between the countries for mutual benefit, especially from industrialized economies like, Great Britain to other less developed countries or to their existing or former colonies.

ADVANTAGES OF GLOBALISATION

1. Globalisation helps in the boosting of long run average growth rate of the economy of the country through-
 - The perceived Improvement in the allocative efficiency of resources
 - Marinating an Increase in labor productivity
 - Ensuring the reduction in capital-output ratio.
2. Globalisation also paves the way for removing any inefficiency in the production system. It is seen that, the prolonged protective scenario in the absence of globalisation often makes the production system careless about cost effectiveness which can then be attained by following the policy of globalisation once again.
3. The main aim of globalisation is to attract the entry of foreign capital along with foreign updated technology which then improves the quality of production.
4. Globalisation helps in restructuring of the production and trade pattern, thus **favouring labour-intensive goods and labour-intensive techniques** as well as expansion of trade in services of the host country.
5. It is seen that, in a globalized scenario, the domestic industries of developing countries become more conscious about price reduction and quality improvement for their products, to face and match the foreign competition.
6. Globalisation also tends to **discourage the uneconomic import substitution** and then Favour the cheaper imports of capital goods from other countries, which reduces the capital-output ratio in manufacturing industries. This cost effectiveness and price reduction of manufactured commodities further tends to improve the terms of trade in the Favour of agriculture.

DISADVANTAGES OF GLOBALISATION

1. Globalisation paves the way for the **redistribution of economic power at the world level**, which leads to domination of a particular country's economy by economically powerful nations.
2. Globalisation usually results in the **greater increase in imports than relative increase in exports** which leads to growing trade deficit and balance of payments problem in developing countries.
3. Although globalisation tends to promote the idea, that technological change and increase in productivity could lead to more jobs & employment and higher wages among the workers, but during the last few years, such **technological changes occurring in some developing countries have resulted in relatively more loss of jobs than they have created**. It has led to fall in employment growth rates of the country.
4. Globalisation has converted the village and small-scale industries and now sounds like a death-knell to it, as they cannot withstand the competition arising from well-organized and well-funded MNCs.
5. Globalisation has also been showing down the process leading to poverty reduction in some developing and underdeveloped countries of the world and thereby **enhancing the problem of inequality in those countries**.

Conclusion

Thus, it can be summarized that the rapidly changing world in the 21st century has come closer due to globalization. It has provided many benefits to be seen in areas like economy, trade, polity; but on the other hand it has also caused various issues. To reap the benefits of globalization, the leaders of the world must come together and focus on the good and must try to solve the regional issues with help of globalised technologies. Only then, the world order in post-pandemic era will be filled with peace and harmony.

CHANGING INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ORDER

Syllabus-

Changing International Political Order:

- a) Rise of superpowers; strategic and ideological Bipolarity, arms race and Cold War; nuclear threat;
- b) Non-aligned movement: Aims and achievements;
- c) Collapse of the Soviet Union; Unipolarity and American hegemony; relevance of non-alignment in the contemporary world.

Past year UPSC questions

1. Do you think that Iran's 'victory' in the NAM on the nuclear issue has brought in a new debate on the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement.?
2. Compare and contrast Non-alignment 1.0 and Non-alignment 2.0 (10 Marks , UPSC 2019)
3. Do you endorse the view that the end of Bipolarity and rise of multiple regional organisations has made Non alignment Movement (NAM) more or less irrelevant . (15 marks , UPSC 2017)
4. Comment on India's contribution to Non alignment movement and its contemporary relevance. (10 Marks, UPSC 2016)
5. Non alignment has been the basic principle of Indian foreign policy since independence. Discuss its relevance in contemporary context . (10 Marks , UPSC 2015)
6. "India's policy of non-alignment has been guided by the genius of Indian people and their interests" Explain (15 marks , UPSC 2014)
7. Highlight the major features of Non-alignment 2.0 document
8. Identify the challenges to American hegemony in post Soviet world.
9. "Ukraine crisis is a product of power politics and geo-politics." Comment.
10. Discuss the collapse of the Soviet Union and its impact on international politics
11. 'Non-alignment' has been the basic principle of india's foreign policy since independence. Discuss its relevance in the contemporary context.
12. Examine in brief the rise and fall of the Cold War.
13. Discuss the positive and negative impacts of Soviet Union's disintegration on developing nations
14. "The development or advanced missile technology and nuclear threat by North Korea has challenged the American hegemony in South-East Asia." Evaluate the above statement in the context of recent developments in the region.
15. Do you endorse the view that the end of Bipolarity and the rise of multiple regional organisations has made Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) more or less irrelevant?
16. Discuss the significance of Non-Aligned Movement as a unique contribution of the Non-Western world to World Politics

Introduction-

International relations scholars of all stripes have long been interested in the idea of "international order." At the most general level, international order entails some level of regularity, predictability, and stability in the ways that actors interact with one another. At a level of higher specificity, however, international orders can vary along a number of dimensions (or fault lines). This includes whether order is thin or thick, premised on position or principles, regional or global in scope, and issue specific or multi-issue in nature.

COLD WAR

What is Cold war?

Cold War can be defined as a state of intensely unhealthy competition between two global powers across various fields— political, economic and ideological—which falls just short of an armed conflict between the states.

As a concept in IR, it denotes a state of constant conflict, rising strains, gradual tensions and perpetual strife maintained, leading to political and psychological warfare between USA and USSR- but without a direct war between the two sides.

Why cold war is called so? - As World War II was ending, the Cold War began. This was to be a long lasting and continuing confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, lasting from 1945 to 1989. It was called the Cold War because neither the Soviet Union nor the United States officially declared war on each other.

The term Cold War was for the first time used by **Bernard Baruch**, an American statesman, but was popularized by **Prof. Lippman**. He used it for describing the tense situation which had come to develop between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Political-ideological differences and opposed views on social and economic policies made the USA and USSR adopt a policy of intense and aggressive competition. Intense conflict came to characterize their relations and war-like tensions became the order of day.

The term "Cold War" came to be used for describing the situation in which war was not actually fought but a warlike hysteria was created and maintained **Nehru** described this situation as a "a brain war, a nerve war and a propaganda war in operation."

According to **K.P.S. Menon** Cold war, as the world experienced, was a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism), two systems (Bourgeoisie Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship), two blocs (NATO and Warsaw Pact), two states (the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and two personalities (John Foster Dulles and Stalin).

Difference between Hot war and cold war- Cold war and Hot war are two types of war that are described figuratively in order to stress the intensity and the nature of war. Cold war is normally a political war wherein violence is not employed. On the other hand, hot war is exactly the opposite of the cold war. In other words, it can be said that hot war is a serious war between two countries wherein guns and other deadly weapons are used.

HOW THE COLD WAR BEGAN?

The peace that came after the end of Second World War in 1945 was neither any healthy nor enduringly effective. The possibilities of outbreak of a Third World War were constantly keeping the world under serious stress and strain. Hard attained Peace in 1945 was constantly under the shadow of war-like tensions and perpetual strains because of the emergence of a dangerous cold war between the superpowers- the USA and the USSR.

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, each of the two super powers- USA and USSR, got engaged in confrontational policies, decisions and actions which were designed to limit and harm the power of the other one. Gradually, the relations between them became highly tensed and strained.

The period saw the rise of alliance politics and growing of ideological conflict, which further acted as a source of additional tensions and disputes, which then combined to make the international relations arena a system of cold war. The Cold War continued to remain a very basic feature of international relations between the periods of 1945-90, with just one small interval of ten years between 1971-80.

Mutual fear and distrust among the Western powers and the USSR got manifested in the form of several opposed policies and decisions over several international issues and problems.

In March 1946 British Prime Minister Churchill, in his famous Fulton speech (the Iron Curtain speech), strongly attacked the policies of USSR and role of communist international. He warned that the USSR was out to export communism to different parts of the world, particularly to Greece, Turkey and Iran.

- **Truman Doctrine**: In March 1947, US President Truman announced a new doctrine—the Truman Doctrine in which he pledged full US support for “free people who were resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities and outside pressures.”
 - Its real purpose was to announce the decision that the USA will provide all help to such state as were resisting the Soviet pressures. It was an American attempt to check the possibility of growing Soviet power in international relations.
- **The US Marshall Plan**: A little later, the USA formulated and announced the European Recovery Programme—the Marshall Plan, for helping the socio-economic reconstruction of Europe.
 - In reality, it was also an attempt to win over the states of Western Europe and to keep them away from communism and Soviet advances.
 - Technically, Marshall Plan Aid was for all European states, however, in reality it covered only free states i.e. only democratic and non-communist European states.
- **Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)**- Against Marshall Plan, the USSR established the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) for helping the economic consolidation of socialist states. Cominform was also established for coordinating the policies of communist parties of socialist states of the world.
 - Truman Doctrine—Marshall Plan vs. Comecon—Cominform signaled the emergence of cold war in international relations.
 - After two preparatory years (1945-47) a full scale cold war came to characterize the relations of the USA & the USSR, which a little later got developed into the cold war between the USSR Bloc and the Soviet Bloc.

Features of cold war period

- **Formation of two power block**- the cold war period saw the emergence of two power blocs- USA and USSR in the international politics. Each of the two started working for the isolation and weakening of the other. They used the methods of propaganda and psychological warfare and started making attempts at winning friends and also consolidating its power through the conclusion of many security alliances which were directed against each other.
- **Rise in proxy wars**- During the cold war period, no bullet was fired and no blood was shed and yet war like tensions, gradual risks and strains were constantly kept alive. There were proxy wars, that were fought in different regions of the world but the two super powers always tried to avoid a direct military confrontation. Long and hectic planning and preparations for war were made but actual war was avoided at all cost.

- **Unhealthy competition**- The Cuban Missile crisis and the Sino-Soviet differences had made the Soviet Union more conscious of the need for mending fences with the United States. The USA also realized the growing danger of cold war and the unhealthy race and competition that it had generated.
 - ✓ The success of several non-aligned nations towards the building of cooperative and friendly relations with both communist and capitalist states also brought home the futility of the thesis of incompatibility of relations between the Soviet and American Blocs.
 - ✓ Such a thinking gave rise to the hope that both the super powers could try to build peaceful and cooperative relations in post-1963 period.
 - ✓ However, the two super powers—the USA & USSR remained involved in cold war and it became evident at the time of India-Pak war of 1965, Arab Israel War of 1987 and Berlin Crisis of 1969.

Causes for the Emergence Cold War

1. **Western country's fears of growing Soviet Power**- many Anglo-American nations were dissatisfied with several decisions of Soviet during the course of the WW II. The growing military strength of the USSR and the regular demonstration of its power during the Second World War made the Western powers fearful about the growing communist powers in international relations.
 - The war time cooperation and positive relation between the East and West was a necessary evil and hence, as soon as the war ended, it was quite natural for the Western powers to work towards containing the growing power of the USSR.
2. **The Ideological Conflict between Communism and Capitalism**- The communist ideology of inevitability of conflict between socialism and capitalism, and about the final triumph of socialism, also made the democratic western states highly apprehensive of the growing strength of the Soviet Union and its constantly rising policy of exporting socialism to other countries. The differences between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies at that time were the direct product of contradicting ideologies of communism and capitalism.
3. After the **arrival of Socialist Revolution (1917)** within the Russia, labor movements became extremely popular and powerful in the majority of the states of Europe. The emergence of socialist parties in varied states of Europe led to greatly alarming among the capitalist states. They felt that socialist movements were extremely subversive movements as these were guided by the ideology that categorical interests were stronger than national interests and the people of the community had no country of their own.
4. **Soviet's refusal to withdraw its forces from Northern Iran**- By an agreement of 1942, the Soviet Union and the Western powers had united to withdraw their forces from Iran, within six months of the surrender of the Germany. As agreed, after the war the USA and UK promptly withdrew their armies from Iranian soil and they also expected that the Soviet Union would shortly imitate the same as agreed. However, the latter wasn't quite willing to withdraw its forces from Northern Iran. This was completely opposed by Western powers.

5. **USSR's Pressures on Greece and Turkey**- The efforts created by the Soviet Union and its camp followers to secure the institution of leftist and pro-communist or communist governments in Greece and Turkey were conjointly and largely opposed by the Western powers.
6. **Communist Activities within the U.S.A. and Canada**- The post-war years witnessed a spurt in communist activities within the U.S.A. and Canada. It came to be largely believed by the individuals of those 2 countries that the Soviet Union was behind the multiplied anti- nationalist and anti-democracy propagandas that was being disbursed in numerous components of the world, and notably within the U.S.A. and Canada.
7. **To keep the 'hegemony'**- USA and USSR had grown as the two power blocs during the cold war period. Both wanted to assert their dominance over the other by getting support of other countries. So, they started compiling weapons, space missions, technological progress, etc. so that they could overpower each other. This unsaid proxy war between the two superpowers was also one among the reasons of growing severity during the cold war period.
8. **Geographical factors**- USA have geographical advantage due to its isolated location, while USSR is comparatively unprotected from the natural barriers. So USSR started moving towards left and tried to assert its dominance over the European nations. This was seen by USA as a step by USSR to grow its military footprint in Europe, which led to USA conceptualizing the NATO and adding the European nations as members. This added fuel to already increasing Cold war conditions.
9. **Mackinder's heartland theory**- Mackinder's paper suggested that the control of Eastern Europe was vital to control of the world. Mackinder postulated the following, which became known as the Heartland Theory:
 - Who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland
 - Who rules the Heartland commands the World Island
 - Who rules the World Island commands the world

The "heartland" he also referred to as the "pivot area" and as the core of Eurasia, and he considered all of Europe and Asia as the World Island.

ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT COLD WAR TENSIONS

1. **Hot Line Communications between the USA and USSR**- Hot Line Communications between the USA and USSR- The Cuban Missile Crisis tested to be a blessing in disguise in to this point because it created each of the super powers alert to the risks of conflict that may lead them into a very harmful war.
 - Both of them came forward to simply accept the requirement for augmented mutual contacts and regular direct communications. For this purpose, it was decided to form a "hot line" between the 2 capitals was taken and promptly initiated.
 - Next came the conclusion of the **Moscow Partial ban treaty** on 5 August 1963, between the U.S.S.R.—U.S.A. and UK. This accord placed total finish to the follow of conducting uncontrolled nuclear explosions within the atmosphere. proved to be a restricted however welcome step towards the arms control.

2. **Various Compulsions of the USA and USSR**- The Cuban Missile crisis, 1962 and therefore the Sino-Soviet differences had led to the country being additional awake to the requirement for mending fences with the USA.
 - The USA conjointly realised the growing danger of conflict and therefore the unhealthy race and competition that it had generated.
 - The success of many non-aligned nations towards the building of cooperative and friendly relations with each communist and capitalist states conjointly brought home the uselessness of the thesis of incompatibility of relations between the Soviet and USA Blocs.
 - Such a thinking gave rise to the hope that each of the super powers might attempt to build peaceful and cooperative relations in post-1963 period.
3. **Decline of conflict and Birth of easing of 1970s**- 1970s saw the emergence of an easing between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Many necessary developments helped the method of decline of conflict and therefore the emergence of easement.
 - A conscious attempt was created by the 2 super powers to cut back areas of tension, to stem the additional step-up of conflict and to aim the event of friendly co-operation and collaboration in their bilateral relations.

History of New Cold War 1980-87

The termination of Detente in 1979 led to the emergence of a new Cold War period. The following developments led to an end of detente phase and the emergence a New Cold War in international relations arena.

1. **Changing policies of USA & USSR**- Changes within the United States policy and a brand-new opposition to Soviet Policies-
 - (A) To rescue the United States standing as number one power within the world
 - (B) To reject the idea that the sole various to detente was war, and
 - (C) to prevent over marketing detente, gave a giant blow to relief spirit.
 - The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics felt afraid at these changes.
 - The USA held the view that USSR's conduct in Angola, Mideast and in various international organization was carefree and that it had been harmful to the United States interests, which it violated the spirit of detente.
2. **What did USA's policy focused upon?**- The United States policy, even throughout Seventies, concerned the conceive to deepen the division between China and the USSR with a view to secure a strategic advantage vis-a-vis the USSR by cultivating relations with China.
 - Further, it concerned the policy to persuade the socialist states of eastern Europe through exaggerated economic relations and creating European states tuned in to European security within the era of nuclear weapons.
 - Specially, the United States wished to strengthen easement in Poland. Of these United States attempts were designed to contain the Soviet influence over eastern Europe.
 - Naturally such moves were powerfully dislikable by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and it initiated counter measures to envision such United States policies
3. **What did USSR's policy focused upon?**- The Soviet attempt at keeping leftists in power in Islamic State of Afghanistan and also the ulterior Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, were

regarded by the USA as an unadorned and large violation of detente, that were designed to extend Soviet power within the gulf region.

- It had been thought to be a heavy threat to the US interests within the region additionally on American relations with the Gulf countries. The Soviet march into Islamic State of Afghanistan, positively gave an enormous blow, virtually a death blow to the relief of the 1970s.

THE FINAL END OF COLD WAR AND THE FALL OF SOVIET UNION

Reasons for end of cold war-

Three events heralded the end of the Cold War. Each was brought about or shaped by the demands and actions of ordinary Europeans, who were determined to instigate change.

- **The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989**- The Berlin wall crisis of 1961 brought the USA and USSR to the verge of a full hot war.
 - ✓ In August 1961, the construction of a wall by the Soviet Union for separating the Soviet sector from the Western sector of Berlin city, was strongly opposed by the U.S.A.
 - ✓ Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. moved their tanks to the frontiers and war appeared to be a distinct possibility.
 - ✓ However, a wiser sense prevailed on both sides and several mutually agreed steps were taken to diffuse the tension.
 - ✓ Berlin Wall, the symbol and physical manifestation of cold war in Europe got demolished. The U.S.S.R. pulled out of Afghanistan.
- **The reunification of Germany in 1990**- In respect of Germany, the U.S.S.R. came to adopt a policy which was strongly opposed by the Western powers. The division of Germany into Federal Republic of the Germany (Pro West) and German Democratic Republic (Pro USSR) was affected in the process of attempts made by the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers to maintain their powers in their respective occupation zones.
 - ✓ These changes brought these states quite near to the Western European states.
 - ✓ A new era of cooperation among European states had its birth.
 - ✓ West Germany and East Germany got united into Germany.
- **The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991**- In August 1991, there was an attempted coup in Moscow against Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership. This coup failed, but the U.S.S.R. also failed to preserve its identity as a single state.
 - ✓ In November, 1991, all the Republics declared their independences. Nine of them joined hands to form a Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—a loose organisation of sovereign republics of former U.S.S.R.
 - ✓ Russia came to be recognised as the successor state of the U.S.S.R.
 - ✓ Finally on 31st December, 1991, the U.S.S.R. faded into history.

- ✓ The collapse of the U.S.S.R. gave a final burial to the cold war. Russia being a weak economic power and being a state faced with internal political turmoil was incapable of pursuing a cold war policy towards the U.S.A. and the West.

The final moments

The final end of new cold war, however, came within the last months of 1991 once the Russia folded as a state and got disintegrated. The state that continued to be a brilliant power throughout 1945-91 didn't maintain itself as one integrated state because of internal political and economic pressures. Around 1988, the Russia had started developing cracks and its leadership had failed to control the case.

Coup in 1991

During the dawn of August 1991, there was an attempted coup in Moscow against **Mikhail Gorbachev's** leadership. This coup was unsuccessful, but the U.S.S.R. conjointly couldn't preserve its identity as one state. In November, 1991, all the Republic countries declared their independences. 9 of them joined hands to make a Commonwealth of independent States (CIS)—a loose organization of sovereign republics of former U.S.S.R. Russia came to be recognized because of the successor state of the U.S.S.R.

Final blow

Finally on 31st Dec, 1991, the U.S.S.R. was buried into history. The collapse of the U.S.S.R. gave a final burial to the conflict. Russia being a weak economic power and being a state two-faced with internal political turmoil was incapable of following a chilly war policy towards the U.S.A. and the West.

Thus, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. completed the method of decline of the new cold war and also the world witnessed the last of cold war. Then various states of the globe came forward to simply accept the principles of liberalization, democratization, open competition, peaceful beingness and mutual cooperation for sustainable development.

Effect of the end of USSR

The end of new cold war came as a really welcome development for the world. However, the emergence of USA as the sole extant super power after the disintegration of Soviet Union and also the emergence of a weak Russia, led to the birth of unipolarity in diplomacy. The changes that came along with the end of cold war gave a replacement dimension to International System. It came to be characterized by unipolarity, ideologic unipolarism, a rise within the role of the UN, a weak Non-aligned Movement and a global community concerned with the method of adjusting with the new realities.

The twenty first century dawned as a century filled with new hopes and aspirations for an additional peaceful world impelled by the need to attain sustainable development and protection of human rights of all.

However, very shortly it found herself faced with the problem of terrorist act. Presently all the members of the international community are attempting to finish the menace of terrorist act.

Similarly, as for securing human rights, sustainable development, a multi-centric or polycentric International System and an additional broad primarily based, additional democratic and additional localized UN council.

Consequences of end of cold war-

- The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s changed the foreign policy equation radically. It has been replaced by a multi-polar world, in which the United States is the dominant military power, but finds itself among competing power centers in Europe, China, India and Russia, with radical change occurring in the Middle East and North Africa, potential conflicts with Iran, and the threat of global terrorism a reality since the tragedies of 9-11 (terrorist attack in US).
- So while this is a world still defined by anarchy, it is not a world that appears to sit on the edge of some version of World War III. The issues that define foreign policy may have more to do with resource allocation and environmental protection than with negotiating a nuclear standoff.
- So the end of the Cold War coincided and perhaps accelerated the rise of other organizations who are now players in the field of international relations. While some of these institutions grew out of the end of World War II, their role in the world perhaps been magnified since the 1990s.

RISE OF SUPER POWER

The word “**Detente**” is a French term which means the making of conscious attempts at the normalization of hostile and unfriendly relations between two super powers.

Positively, it means the attempt for the promotion of cooperative and collaborative relationship in place of strained and tensed cold war relations between the rival states. During the 1970s, both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. mutually decided to replace the cold war tensions by collaborative and competitive relations. These efforts led to the production of a positive change in international relations. The attempts made for normalization of this relationship later came to be known as Detente between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

Prof. **A.P. Rana** has defined “Detente” as the Collaborative and competitive behavior of the two super powers- USA & USSR. Détente thus, means the existence of both involvement and healthy competition between the two states which previously had been engaged in a cold war for a long time.

Factors leading to the formation of super powers & detente

After having remained heavily engaged in Cold War tensions between 1945 to 1970, the USA and USSR got involved in a detente phase during 1970s. The following factors influenced the two-

1. **Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962**- The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, which had almost brought the two super powers- USA & USSR, to the brink of a war and conflict, also made them conscious of the dire need to limit the scope of the cold war by developing collaborative and friendly relations.
2. **The Fear of Nuclear War [MAD- Mutually assured destruction]**- The fear of the nuclear war that resulted from the unchecked arms race between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. also pointed the view against the cold war for both.

3. **Increase in differences between the USSR and China**- The emergence of difference between the China and the U.S.S.R. also heavily influenced the USSR in Favour of détente because they lost the support of another communist nation. It also led to U.S.A. to develop relations with the communist states and try to solve the tensions.
4. **Increase in the role of USSR and its bloc in World Politics**- The increased influence and saying of the rise of Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc in international relations also influenced the U.S.A. in Favour of detente.
5. **Soviet Policy of “Peaceful Co-existence”**- The evolution of Soviet foreign policy in Favour of ‘No War’ and ‘Peaceful Coexistence’ also influenced the thinking in Favour of detente.
6. **Role of NAM**- The progress and gradual evolution of Non-Aligned Movement and the success & ease with which the NAM countries, like India, developed friendly relations with both the communist and non- communist states also compelled the USA and Soviet Union to accept the possibilities of friendship and cooperation- leading to peace and harmony between Communist and Democratic nations. It also encouraged them to work for the development of friendly cooperation between the two.

PROGRESS OF DETENTE OF 1970S

During the period of Detente, a gradual and conscious attempt was made by the USA & USSR to reduce all such areas of tensions that could cause war and to prevent the further escalation of cold war situation and also to attempt the development of friendly co-operation and collaboration in their bilateral relationship.

During the period of 1970s, on one hand, several key issues and problems of international relations were peacefully resolved for good and on the other hand a rapprochement between the U.S.A. and China got under the way. There also appeared a visible improvement in the relationship between the communist and non-communist states at large.

During the period of Detente of 1971-79, some important agreements were reached by various state parties and these showed the new spirit of cooperation between them-

1. **The Moscow-Bonn Agreement of 1970**- The Treaty of Moscow was signed in August 1970 by representatives of the Soviet Union and West Germany. It sought to end tension between the two nations and is considered an early foundation of Cold War
2. **The Berlin Agreement of 1971**- Finalised in September 1971 during the period of Detente, the Four Powers Agreement on Berlin was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. It re-established travel and communications between East and West Berlin, and contributed to the easing of tensions between the Western and Soviet blocs
3. **The Korean-Agreement of 1972**- A joint statement of the Republic of Korea and North Korea was issued on July 4, 1972 calling for an independent and peaceful reunification of the divided country with the trend toward easing international tensions as the background.
4. **The East Germany-West Germany Agreement of 1972**- The Basis of Relations Treaty, or Basic Treaty as it became known, was signed by East Germany and West Germany in December 1972. Signed at the peak of Ostpolitik and Detente, the treaty acknowledged the sovereignty of the two nations, restored diplomatic communications and paved the way for “good neighbourly relations”

5. **The Helsinki Conference (1973) and the Helsinki Agreement 1975**- The Helsinki Final Act, also known as Helsinki Accords was the document signed at the closing meeting of the third phase of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe held in Helsinki, Finland. All then-existing European countries (except pro-Chinese Albania and semi-sovereign Andorra) as well as the United States and Canada, altogether 35 participating states, signed the Final Act in an attempt to improve the détente between the East and the West.
6. **The End of war in Cambodia (1975)**- After five years of savage fighting, the Republican government was defeated on 17 April 1975 when the victorious Khmer Rouge proclaimed the establishment of Democratic Kampuchea. The war caused a refugee crisis in Cambodia with two million people—more than 25 percent of the population—displaced from rural areas into the cities

Along with these major signatories, the USA & USSR were also successful in improving their bilateral relations and easing the inherent tensions. Both increased their mutual contacts, increased their trade relations and also signed two important arms control agreements– named as **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks**- SALT I & SALT II.

Thus, during the period of 1971-79, several positive developments took place in the mutual relations of the USA & USSR. The rise in the development of friendly cooperation, mutual thoughts against the cold war that had characterized their relations since 1947. Gradually, such a detente between the two super powers resulted in a decline of cold war in international relations.

Unfortunately, detente was not able to continue for a long time and eventually towards the end of 1979, a new cold war appeared on the international scene, that was called as new cold war.

FACTORS THAT LED TO USA-USSR DIFFERENCES-

Due to USSR's involvement and intervention in Afghanistan and some other decisions, which were aimed at increasing its power and influence, the USA gradually got dissatisfied with the concept of detente. So, the USA then decided to become number one power in the world and with this result in view took several decisions aimed at increasing its own powers and role at the international sphere.

- **The delay in the Opening of Second Front against Germany**: When the German forces were rapidly advancing into the USSR, the Russian leaders believed that there was an urgent need to immediately open a second front against Germany.
 - ✓ As against such a view, the Western leaders maintained that it was not possible for them to immediately open a second front against Germany as it required a long and full preparation.
 - ✓ The delay in the opening of second front as well as the Western decision to choose a different area for operations against Germany, greatly annoyed the USSR.
- **Western Relations with Fascist Italy**: The USSR was of the view that the rise of fascism in Italy was backed by the capitalists as they considered it as an effective bulwark against communism.
 - ✓ The Western leniency in conducting the peace settlement with Italy and the eagerness shown by the USA, the UK and France in developing relations with fascist Italy made the USSR more convinced that the enemies of communism were out to limit the role of USSR in world politics.

- **The American Secrecy over the Atom Bomb**: The American decision to maintain secrecy over her atomic capability and in respect of the decision to drop atom bombs over Japan without taking the USSR into confidence greatly annoyed the Soviet leaders.

This decision of USA was opposed by the collectivity of USSR. And this resulted into- a new cold war, which came to develop in international arena. This further led to the detente of 1970s getting replaced by a New Cold War in 1980s.

Emergence of a New Cold War

The resultant emergence of a new Cold War after the détente period made the international scene once again highly confusing, tense and quite explosive, which could have bursted any time. The nature and future of the international system once again became dependent on the policies and decisions of the two super powers- USA & USSR.

But this time, the role of their alliance partners suffered a gradual and massive decline. The strength which armaments race had gained earlier, constituted a very big threat to international peace and security.

At the same time, the conflict between China and the U.S.S.R. led to addition of a new dimension to the new Cold War. The situation that became prevalent at this time was- the emergence of Washington-Beijing-Pindi-Tokyo group v/s Moscow-Hanoi- Kabul group, and this came as a very dangerous development.

Once again, the dilution of new Cold War situation came with the emergence of New Detente period between the USA & USSR. During 1987-91 the world saw massive development on this front- with the progress of this detente, the gradual collapse of the USSR, the supposed liberalization of Eastern European countries, the resultant unification of Germany and the trend that was in Favour of international cooperation that reflected in the Gulf war (1991)- these all ensured the end of New Cold War. The success of New Detente also became manifested in the period of 1990s with the final end of New Cold War in international relations arena.

STRATEGIC AND IDEOLOGICAL BIPOLARITY

What is Bipolarity?

Bipolarity is defined as a system of world order where the majority of international economic, military and cultural influences are held between two major states. The classic case of a bipolar world can be understood through that of the Cold War between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which largely dominated the second half of the twentieth century.

Significance of Bipolarity

The concept of bipolarity has large implications for global order.

1. Two rival powers cannot remain in equilibrium forever. One has to surpass the other at some point and so the conflict is inevitable in a bipolar world.

2. Along with increasing importance, there is also the emergence of power blocs, which arises as lesser powers start falling under the influence of one or other of the superpowers.
3. In this situation, global order cannot be termed stable during periods of bipolarity, but instead, warfare seems to be necessary for the resolution of rivalry between the two concerned superpowers.
4. In this context, it is logical to describe a bipolar world as the one that is in dynamic equilibrium, where the two sides are although equal in power but still one may achieve a higher power, maybe even for a short time before the other again matches that power to re-establish the balance.

Views of Scholars

According to scholars like **Morgenthau**, the bipolarity is a mechanism that contains in itself the potential for unheard-of good as well as for unprecedented evil. According to him, it was bipolarity, that made the hostile opposition of two gigantic power blocs like USA & USSR possible, but it also held out the hope of balancing that opposition through symmetry of power maintained by moderate competition.

According to other scholars like **Waltz**, the conditions and probability of war during bipolarity were less than in multi-polarity. He believed that the war arose primarily because of some miscalculation. States sometimes misjudge the power and cohesion of opposing parties' coalitions. Thus, Waltz believed that the international system was underway a very peaceful transition from bipolarity to multi-polarity and so he suggested that the international system should remain bipolar even after the breakup of the Soviet Union.

While states may still be the most important actors in global affairs, **Nye and Keohane [Neo-liberals]** maintained, that with the expansion of world markets they could no longer claim exclusive power to determine outcomes. Thus, the state-centrism of traditional realist theory was no longer relevant in understanding the open and advanced economies of the industrial world.

According to **Mohamed Sid-Ahmed**, with the end of bipolarity and the disappearance of barriers between people, lies the emergence of a unipolar world

Effect of globalization on bipolarity

By the decade of 1990s, several complex interdependences were replaced by a new concept, globalization. With this concept, the world was starting to be seen as a global village with neither boundaries nor frontiers. The revolution in communications and information led to elimination in distances and this disappearance of distance in terms of time has brought about a disappearance in terms of space also.

Governments could no longer be considered the most powerful actors in world politics. Globalization led to increase of the distances between various sectors of the global community where it is seen that, a rich minority is becoming richer and a poor majority, poorer. Incidentally, while the disappearance of boundaries has contributed to bringing people closer and together, it has simultaneously also highlighted the contrasts and disparities between them.

According to **Kenichi Ohmae**, “Globalization is political, technical and cultural, as well as economic.” All these dimensions are characterized by increasing interconnectedness and openness. Therefore, Ohmae defined globalization simply as the onset of a borderless world.

End of bipolarity

Gradually, with the end of bipolarity and the disappearance of barriers between people, the situation led to the emergence of a unipolar world. Experts have spoken of a new bipolarity in the world order which they believe is between those who identify with the new order and those who oppose it. This is not because of ideological affiliation to any specific alternative world order but it is because they are alienated by what they see as the failure of the new order to respond to their aspirations.

Ultimately, bipolarity can be considered to be based on constant tension, which led to competition, and ultimately, the situation of war. International political economy has time and again been regarded as the principal focus of the forces of globalization and also the main way in which globalization is transmitted throughout the world order. It is now clear that the world is a very complex one which not only includes the issues arising from the challenges to state power and questions of legitimacy, but it also includes deeper analysis of the changes taking place at the global, country and local levels. Thus, Globalization is clearly a multi-faceted occurrence which is resistant to simplification.

Emergence of new bipolarity between USA and China

As the post-Cold War period evolved, we began to see clearly that China was a rising power. The successes of Chinese economic reform since 1978 were finally bearing fruit. The Chinese economy is now slowly approaching the size of the US economy. Its military capabilities are growing and its diplomacy is becoming much more active. In other words, China is becoming the natural hegemonic power in Asia.

Unlike the old bipolarity, where neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had any serious security problems with India. So the new bipolarity is really a change in the international environment, and it's not a favorable change for India.

- Unlike the old bipolarity, where neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had any serious security problems with India. So the new bipolarity is really a change in the international environment, and it's not a favorable change for India.
- After China opened up its economy in the late 1970s, rather than contain or isolate it, the United States sought to co-opt China to share the burdens of combating collective problems and to make China a “responsible stakeholder” in world politics.
- China is now the world's second-biggest military spender after the United States, accounting for 13 percent of global military expenditures (and 20 percent of non-U.S. spending), a share that has been steadily rising over the past two decades
- China has also been modernizing its nuclear arsenal, including equipping its most powerful missile—the DF-5, which can reach the United States—with multiple warheads. While China's soft-power appeal is limited compared with that of the United States, it far surpasses that of the Soviet Union

- China's rise is so portentous because of its mass and its potential. In 1990, China spent less than 4 percent of what the United States spent on defense. By 2000, the figure was below 8 percent, and by 2010, it was still below 17 percent. But by 2015, China was spending 36 percent of what the United States was spending on its military
- In 1990, China's economy was one-sixth the size of the United States. By 2010, it was up to 40 percent, and by 2015, it was 60 percent. Most projections expect China to surpass the United States sometime in the next decade to become the world's biggest economy.

ARMS RACE

What is Arms race?

Arms race is a pattern of competitive acquisition and development of military capability between two or more super power countries. The term is often used quite loosely to refer to any type of military buildup or spending increased finances on military capability by a group of countries. The competitive nature of this buildup often reflects an adversarial relationship between the two powers.

Why arms race started?

- **Usage of atomic bomb**- President Truman did not inform Stalin that the atomic bomb was going to be used. This created mistrust. He USA wanted to show that it was stronger than the USSR, and vice-versa. This competitive nature led to an arms race - not only to become the strongest, but also the most able and intelligent.
- **Missile technology**- Both sides competed with each other to obtain more nuclear weapons than the other. They also tried to develop more powerful weapons. The USA believed there was a 'Missile Gap' in the 1950s and massively increased spending to try to catch up. The first atomic bombs were delivered by bombers, but these could be slow and there would have to be airbases positioned around the world. Both the USSR and USA began to develop missile technology that could put rockets in space. This opened up new possibilities for the delivery of nuclear weapons.
- **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**- Nicknamed 'Star Wars' by the American media. In 1983, President Reagan announced research into SDI. This initiative would give the USA the ability to destroy nuclear missiles from space. The USSR saw this as a major threat, as it would allow the USA to achieve a First Strike. Because of financial and technological constraints, this never became a reality.

Examples of Arms race

1. **Between UK and Germany**- One example of an arms race can be understood through relations between Germany and Britain prior to World War I. In the early 20th century, Germany, which was a rising power at that time, sought to challenge the UK's traditional naval dominance.
 - In 1906 Britain launched a new and more-advanced warship- the HMS Dreadnought, which triggered a naval arms race between Germany and UK. Between 1909 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Britain launched a further 19 dreadnoughts ships and along with them also nine battle cruisers.

- At the same time, responding to all these, Germany also launched 13 dreadnoughts and five battle cruisers in the same time period. This arms race is often considered as one of the major causes of World War I.
2. **Between USA & USSR-** Similarly, the Cold War nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union can also be considered as another example of a 20th-century arms race.
 - The US' use of nuclear weapons to end World War II led to a determined and willful effort by the Soviet Union to acquire such weapons too. It followed a very long-running nuclear arms race between the two superpowers- USA & USSR.
 - Here, The Soviet Union conducted its earliest nuclear test in 1949. By the end of 1956, the United States had more than 2,100 strategic warheads and closely following Soviet Union had 84 of them. Those numbers kept on increasing rapidly over the next 30 years.
 - The U.S. arsenal reached its peak in 1967 where it had more than 31,000 warheads, and gradually the Soviet arsenal peaked about 20 years later reaching at more than 40,000. Finally, the end of the Cold War by the early 1990s ended that arms race.
 3. **Between India and Pakistan-** India and Pakistan, South Asia's nuclear neighbors, conducted 26 missile tests in 2021, making it a year of intense arms rivalry. While India tested 16 ballistic and cruise missiles, Pakistan tested 10 missiles with nearly identical capabilities in a tit-for-tat response. This equates to two missile tests in a month.
 4. **Middle east arms race-** The first Gulf state to sign up to normalisation, the United Arab Emirates, has edged closer to getting a prized fighter jet from the US. And Israel, already the region's most advanced military power, may consequently bristle with yet more powerful arms. The US administration views such potential sales as helping tilt the power balance further towards its regional allies and against Iran, which it sees as a global threat and seeks to isolate. Yet it is rattling nerves in the Middle East, with warnings of a new cycle of proliferation and fears of more bloodshed in corners of the region where big powers fight proxy wars.

Consequences of arms race

- Arms races are frequently regarded as negative occurrences in both economic and security terms. Large-scale arms acquisitions require considerable economic resources. If two countries spend large sums of money just to cancel out each other's efforts, the expenditure might well be seen as wasted.
- There is, however, considerable debate surrounding the economic effect of military spending. Some argue that it provides benefits through technological spin-offs, job creation, and infrastructure development. Others argue that it displaces more-productive forms of investment, while its final output is not itself productive.
- Certainly, countries that must import arms will see more negative economic effects of an arms race, and arms imports are a major contributor to debt in the developing world. Even for arms-producing countries, excessive military expenditure is likely eventually to have negative economic consequences.

- An arms race may heighten fear and hostility on the part of the countries involved, but whether this contributes to war is hard to gauge. Some empirical studies do find that arms races are associated with an increased likelihood of war.
- One may also consider the gains for a country that “wins” an arms race in the sense of gaining a decisive military advantage. Arguably, the collapse of the Soviet Union, which left the United States as the sole global superpower, was partly due to the cost of attempting to keep up with the United States.

DISARMAMENT

Disarmament is the process of reducing or eliminating military forces and weapons through cooperation, treaties, and oversight.

Disarmament is not something that can be easily defined in a few words. In truth, there are four key parts to it:

1. Reduction in quantity of military items
2. Formal meeting and treaty to achieve
3. Emphasis on weapons and tools
4. Body or group overseeing the process

These four parts lead to a detailed definition, and a detailed plan of action as well. Disarmament is usually focused on weapons, but can include other areas, such as tools and technologies.

Role of UN- The United Nations (U.N.) has been a mediator in arms reduction since the 1960s. They pass resolutions (formal statements of their position), have special committees focused solely on negotiating for disarmament, and have special units that oversee and help with the process.

Why is disarmament needed?

- This contribution of disarmament to the realization of ‘peace within and between societies, including equality and non-discrimination, justice and the rule of law and freedom from fear and want’ is not limited to, but is most obvious in relation to so-called ‘humanitarian disarmament’ – multilateral disarmament and weapons control measures grounded in humanitarian principles.
- Disarmament practice can also help support the international rule of law. This is perhaps most obvious where the rule of law is under most strain. In their reactions to the use of chemical weapons and recent threats to use nuclear weapons, many States emphatically reaffirmed their commitment to a rules-based international system.
- Disarmament processes offer an important chance for transformation towards more peaceful and less violent ways of resolving conflicts. They do so by changing the perception of threats in the relations between actors and by building confidence.
 - ✓ The transformative potential of disarmament will, ultimately, depend on its capacity to foster an understanding and a conviction that violence-free relations and peaceful conflict resolution are possible and sustainable.

- Disarmament mechanisms contribute to the institutionalization of a cooperative security order – a system of collective security. Disarmament institutions can promote multilateralism, uphold the rule of law and develop and maintain norms for the common good.
 - ✓ As is well known, however, the multilateral disarmament machinery suffers from critical shortcomings, including in terms of diversity.

Points in Favour of Disarmament and Arms Control-

1. **Just like Armaments lead to War, similarly disarmament can lead to Peace-** every people on the world want peace and there is a common belief that since armaments lead to war, disarmament can lead to peace.
 - Armaments have in the past led to armament race and armament race have gradually led to the advent of war. Hence armaments directly cause the war and thus by eliminating the cause through disarmament, war can be eliminated for once and all. For example- the **Arms Trade Treaty**, adopted in 2013, which, among other objectives, aims to prevent arms transfers that could be used to ‘commit or facilitate a serious violation of international human rights law’
 - Disarmament constitutes a direct appeal and prospect to peace and here arms control constitutes advance measures and remedies against the war. Armaments are believed to aggravate tension and fear among different nations.
2. **Armaments lead to Militarization which leads to War-** It is believed that the process of armaments make war not only physically possible because of prominence of weapons available, but also politically probable.
 - Armaments encourage militarism and militarism further leads to tensions and fear among smaller countries. Rather than creating a sense of security among them, armaments create a feeling of insecurity. It gives rise to mutual jealousy and rivalry among different nations and thereby making the situation tensed enough to get countries involved in wars and armed conflicts.
3. **Disarmament may also reduce many tensions in International Relations-** it is a famous proverb that, destruction of instruments of war can help in securing peace among nations. Thus, by ending the instrumentalities of war, the process of disarmament can end war.
 - It is largely believed that by doing away with one of the typical manifestations of the struggle for power on the international scene, one can do away with the typical efforts of that struggle international anarchy which often leads to war.
4. **Economic Arguments-** through the process of disarmament, the humankind can save a very large amount of funds and finances, which is currently being wasted on the fruitless and dangerous production of weapons.
 - These funds can be used for human welfare and developmental purposes of the backward sections of society. It can release huge financial resources which can be used for securing the developmental needs of all the people of world.

5. **It is a Universal Objective**- the present craze for acquiring more weapons is further aggravating the MAD situation and is thus making humankind more and more dependent upon war machines.
- It has increased the emergence of risk of an all-destructive accidental war.
 - It is also a recognized fact that when machines start ruling men, they might escape control and run rampant.
 - The growing dangers of modern electronic warfare might be the biggest danger to humankind from an accidental war leading to total destruction of the mankind itself.
 - Therefore, the need is to take timely action in the Favour of Disarmament and Arms Control which will lead to saving the humankind from the present dangerously posed MAD situation in international relations.

Consequences

Arms races is frequently regarded as a negative occurrence in both-economic and security terms. Large-scale weapons acquisitions require considerable economic resources. If at any time, two large countries spend large sums of money just to cancel out each other's efforts, the resultant expenditure might well be seen as wasted.

However, there is considerable debate surrounding the economic effect of military spending. Some scholars argue that it provides benefits through technological advancement, increase in job creation, and large-scale infrastructure development.

Some argue that it leads to displacement of more-productive forms of investment, while its final output is not itself any productive. Certainly, those countries that must import arms will see more negative economic effects of rising of an arms race, and arms imports are surely a major contributor to debt in the developing world.

Even for arms-producing nations, excessive military expenditure is likely to have negative economic consequences in the long term. The USSR's economic difficulties were certainly visible by the very high proportion of the gross domestic product devoted to the arms race in 1980's, which ultimately led to the decline of USSR.

Steps taken to control arms race-

- India has spent the 12 years since its 1998 nuclear tests operationalizing "credible minimum deterrence." This process has involved steps such as building a warhead stockpile, establishing robust command and control, and developing, testing, and deploying reliable delivery vehicles of requisite ranges.
- Multilateral nuclear arms control, such as through the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) or a fissile material cutoff treaty (FMCT), could be an effective tool for constraining capabilities of the adversaries.
- At the bilateral level, it would enable India to nudge the strategic stability architecture into a form that suits it best. Bilateral initiatives with China and Pakistan could enhance deterrence stability. If agreements could be formalized as treaties, they would carry the weight of law, making it easier to invoke international action in case of violations.

Conclusion

People have been hoping for disarmament and trying to control weapons and armed forces for thousands of years. Yet weapons systems have been modernized again and again as spending on arms rises. True, history has repeatedly seen breakthroughs by these efforts to agree arrangements on disarmament and arms control. But the world is still far from achieving anything like the goal of “general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control”, to which almost every country committed itself in 1968 by signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

COLD WAR 2.0

Introduction- during Donald Trump’s presidency, the term “Cold War 2.0” was popularized in the context of U.S.-China rivalry, which has been spurred by China’s economic rise.

- By becoming the fastest growing economy around the globe, China is challenging the U.S.-led economic system and laying the foundation to become a military superpower.
- As the second-largest military spender after the United States with a speculated military expenditure of nearly \$250 billion, China is using its military might to assert its territorial claims in the South China Sea (SCS).
- China is constructing artificial islands across the SCS while also establishing its first-ever foreign military base in Djibouti at the strategic chokepoint of Bab el-Mandeb. These actions are influencing U.S. perceptions that China’s rise is a threat and, hence, a new global competition between the United States and China for hegemonic status has begun.

Similarity with cold war 1.0

The Cold War 2.0 shares similarities with the original Cold War (1945-1991) in many aspects.

- During the Cold War, the **United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were the prime contenders for superpower status**; however, the threat of an active military conflict between the two was largely defused due to the nuclear deterrence.
 - ✓ Hence, this allowed both the United States and USSR to collaborate on major global challenges, like resolving the 1956 Suez Canal Crisis.
 - ✓ Although nuclear deterrence is still viable today, the context of the U.S.-China rivalry is far more beholden to economic interdependence—trade relations amounted to \$660 billion in 2018—whereas U.S. trade with the USSR remained low throughout the Cold War.
 - ✓ Nevertheless, the ongoing U.S.-China “trade war” has somewhat reduced their mutual dependency, providing space for more divergent foreign policy behavior.
 - ✓ China has also sought to exclude the United States from its ambitious Belt and Road Initiative which is aimed at enhancing its economic presence through the multi-channel yet interconnected global framework.
- The pivot of Cold War rivalry between the United States and USSR was **centered across Europe in its western and eastern parts**, respectively. To prevent the expansion of USSR, the United States

deployed military assets to Europe and formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance.

- ✓ In Cold War 2.0, the epicenter of U.S.-China rivalry is Asia.
 - ✓ The United States has formed new networks of aligned states to “encircle” China—including the Quad (consisting of the United States, Japan, India, and Australia) and AUKUS (the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia)—and routinely deploys the U.S. Navy into contested sea lanes to deter Chinese military adventurism.
 - ✓ Moreover, the United States also shares strategic partnerships with South Korea and Japan and has troops positioned on their territories.
 - ✓ This positioning of troops reflects the idea of “extended deterrence” which revolves around bringing the aligned states into the U.S. “security umbrella” to deter hostile states like China.
- The Cold War **was largely dominated by proxy warfare around the globe**. Instead of actively engaging in direct military conflict, the United States and USSR financed and armed the oppositional groups on foreign territories—culminating in three major proxy conflicts: the Korean War (1950-1953), Vietnam War (1955-1975), and Afghanistan War (1979-1990).
 - ✓ Although no such proxy conflict is present between the United States and China to date, both countries are supporting rival factions abroad, either militarily or diplomatically.
 - ✓ China opposes U.S. policies in the states like Syria and Iraq, opposing regime change in the former and seeing the U.S. presence in the latter as the main source of instability and provocation.
 - ✓ On the other hand, the United States has a history of arming militant groups to pursue its foreign policy agenda, whether in Afghanistan during the 1980s or in the current Syria conflict.

Is Cold war the practical result between USA and China?

- The Cold War rivalry was **based on ideological differences**. The spread of communism in the decolonized states was seen as a threat to the Western liberal order’s capitalist nature. Similarly, Western capitalism was largely perceived by the other bloc as a part of an imperialist agenda to consolidate authority over the global structure. The respective ideologies entailed emotions and fears, hence, leading towards the formation of guerrilla forces and bloc alignment.
 - ✓ However, in contemporary proceedings, **ideological differences are less present between the United States and China.**
 - ✓ China has opened up to the outside world and has greatly benefitted from capitalism. In economic terms, China has now restructured its economy in public-private partnership and neither upholds the tenets of communism nor echoes its support to communist factions in its foreign policy outlook.
 - ✓ The United States also considers China as more of a geopolitical competitor than ideological threat. This non-ideological competition has prevented the first Cold War’s arrangement of starkly evident bloc formation.

- Unlike USSR, **China is neither willing nor capable of confronting the United States in an armed conflict**, either actively or passively.
 - ✓ China is challenging U.S. dominance over the international economic structure but doesn't possess any danger to the United States' various security partnerships.
 - ✓ Correspondingly, China is the largest consumer of energy—mainly from the Middle East—and the swift transportation of oil and gas to China is so far ensured due to the presence of the U.S. naval fleet which is perceived as the security guarantor by the regional states.
- Similarly, despite being the second-largest military spender in the world, **China still lags behind the United States and Russia in weapons sophistication**. This has narrowed down the scope of Chinese security partnerships with the middle or weak states in an effort to expand its clout. In contrast, China is dependent upon certain states in extending its economic ties with multiple regions.

Assessment of Cold war 2.0

- It is evident that the feasibility of a second cold war in the wake of U.S.-China rivalry is minimal. Instead, the more appropriate definition of Cold War 2.0 would be the formation of an anti-U.S. nexus in different spheres.
- For example, China is challenging U.S. economic dominance while Russia's formidable nuclear and conventional military might pose problems for U.S. military power. However, Russia's economy is facing challenges due to its semi-developed industrial base, leaving the country reliant upon energy and arms exports. In this way, there is a clear division of labor between Russia and China in competing with the United States.

Conclusion

- Conclusively, a potential Cold War 2.0 differs from the original Cold War in that bloc politics have been replaced by nexus politics where middle powers are seeking equidistance from the competing great powers.
- For example, despite being part of the Quad, Indian bilateral trade with China surpassed \$100 billion in 2021.
- Likewise, the EU's strategic relations with the United States didn't prevent it from engaging China, as mentioned in its September 2021 Indo-Pacific policy paper.
- wherein Sino-U.S. competition has clearly manifested in the South China Sea, the Russian role in confronting the United States cannot be overlooked, especially in the context of the Ukraine Crisis.
- Hence, Cold War 2.0 must be analyzed in a multipolar framework instead of through a focus on any one state. The United States faces challenges at multiple fronts which are united in counterbalancing U.S. supremacy in international politics.

NAM

According to **JL Nehru**, 'Non-alignment is a policy that means an attempt by a nation to keep itself off from the military blocs. It means trying to view the things as far as possible, not just from military

point of view though that has to come in sometimes, but everyone must have independent view point and must have friendly relations with every country.’

Scholars have referred to six terms—isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralization, unilateralism and non-involvement, which are in some way similar to non-alignment but none of these could be used for defining the policy of non-alignment.

1. **Isolationism** means the policy of aloofness, but on the other side the non-alignment stands for aloofness only from military alliances and cold war and not from international relations.
2. Likewise, **non-commitment** refers to the politics of detachment from other powers in a multi-corner relationship only- not similar to NAM
3. **Neutrality** describes the legal and political status of a state which decides to remain neutral in any war
4. **Neutralization** means the permanent legal status of neutrality conferred on any state e.g. Switzerland
5. **Unilateralism** means the policy of taking calculated unilateral risks and decisions
6. **Non-involvement** means to keep away from the struggle between different ideologies and powers.

Although, these terms are nowhere near to the non-alignment but they help in understanding the concept. Non-alignment can be said to be neither a legal status nor a diplomatic means, nor even a principle of aloofness and inaction, rather a culmination of some points from all of these.

Non-alignment simply denotes a foreign policy which opposed cold war principles, alliances and aggressive power politics and which stands for independence in foreign relations based on some principles like peace, friendship and cooperation with all the nations.

NAM as per JL Nehru

Nehru additionally represented non-alignment because of the principle of independent policy it preached. In straightforward words, non-alignment suggests such an overseas policy, that while keeping herself free from conflict and military alliances, actively participates in diplomacy.

It suggests that an overseas policy supported national interest, moreover as on the demands of international objectives of peace and security. The term is often accustomed describe the foreign policies of these states that don't enter into any security alliance with either the communist or the anti-communist states.

To sum up we can say that non-alignment is the feature of a foreign policy which is supposedly opposed to cold war policies and ideologies; and further away from the military alliances of the power blocs. It stands for the policy of various countries acting independently in international relations and taking all decisions on the basis of national interests and an independent view of the world. It stands for each nations’ full participation in international relations.

- According to **Appadorai**, Non-alignment can be best defined as “not entering into military alliances with any country and in particular with any country either of the western or of the communist bloc.”

- As per **M.S. Rajan**, “Specifically and negatively Non- alignment means the rejection of military or political alliances. Positively it means taking of ad-hoc decisions on international problems, as and when they came up according to the merits of each case.”

Details about NAM-

- **Members-** The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is a forum of 120 countries that are not formally aligned with or against any major power bloc.
- After the United Nations, it is the largest grouping of states worldwide.
- **Formed-** In 1961, drawing on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement was formally established in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, through an initiative of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah and Indonesian President Sukarno
- This led to the first Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries. The term non-aligned movement first appears in the fifth conference in 1976, where participating countries are denoted as "members of the movement".
- The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations' members and contain 55% of the world population.
- Membership is particularly concentrated in countries considered to be developing or part of the Third World, although the Non-Aligned Movement also has a number of developed nations.
- The movement persisted throughout the entire Cold War, despite several conflicts between members, and despite some members developing closer ties with the Soviet Union, China, or the United States.
- In the years since the Cold War's end in 1992, it has focused on developing multilateral ties and connections as well as unity among the developing nations of the world, especially those within the Global South.

BANDUNG CONFERENCE PRINCIPLES

The result of the 1955 Asian-African Conference was known as the Ten Principles of Bandung, a political statement containing the basic principles in the efforts to promote peace and cooperation in the world.

The following are the Ten Principles of Bandung:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6. Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers, abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligation.

EVOLUTION OF NAM

The rise and development of Non-aligned Movement has been a key development that has modified the nature and character of latest diplomacy in many vital ways. It originated as a solution to the conflict and was designed to serve each the interests of the new states similarly as the objective of securing international peace and security.

1. The **first stage** within the emergence of NAM came within the style of adoption of non-alignment as a basic principle of their foreign policies by many states, notably by India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Yugoslavia and Ghana.
 - These countries became the torch bearers of non-alignment. Their prospering and fruitful adherence to non-alignment, despite stiff opposition from both the super powers and their camp followers, gave an incredible quality to non-alignment.
2. The **second stage** within the organization of Non-aligned Movement came once a number of the leaders of the non-aligned countries set to determine and develop contacts and cooperation among the new states.
 - The lead that India took in holding the Asian Relations Conferences in New Delhi and therefore the success with that the distinguished leaders of Asia and Africa might organize the **Bandung Conference** in April 1955, went a long way in making ready the bottom work for the emergence of the movement of the Non-aligned in peacekeeping.
3. The **Bandung spirit** and therefore the 10 principles that were adopted by this historic conference provided the much-needed terra firma to Non-aligned movement. several countries came forward to understand the justness and soundness of the idea of non-alignment. They adopted it and commenced taking keen interest in spreading and strengthening it.

What was the major aim of NAM?

- To eliminate all those causes which would lead to war.
- To protect the nascent freedom of the newly born independent countries of Asia and Africa from colonial domination.
- To oppose colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.
- To advocate sovereign equality of all states.
- To encourage friendly relations among countries.

- To advocate peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- To oppose the use of force and the use of nuclear weapons.
- To strengthen the United Nations as an organ of world peace.
- To protect human rights and to protect the environment.
- To build a new international economic order based on equity, equality and justice.

Achievements of NAM

1. The origin of non-alignment came at a time once the USA and (erstwhile) Russia had got concerned in an exceedingly cold-war. The peace after the WW II was a tense peace because the conflict between the 2 super powers was keeping the planet at the brink of a brand-new war at all times.
 - Each of the 2 tried to convince alternative states, notably the new sovereign states to join their blocs. International peace was preached and cooked, however cold war was practiced.
 - Many states like India thought of conflict as a very harmful exercise against international peace and security and so they decided to oppose the conflict by remaining far away from it.
 - Non-alignment opposed conflict as an abnormal and dangerous policy and projected the choice to stay faraway from its tensions and unwell practices.
2. Non-alignment, clearly means non- alignment with military blocs. Non alignment is an opposition to all kinds of military/political/ security alliances that are nothing but means of tensions and gunboat diplomacy.
 - It opposes security alliances like NATO and Warsaw accord (1955-90) etc. as the instruments of conflict. Such alliances established a supply of pressure because these were utilized by super powers as for the maintaining their political system or management over the members of their several alliances.
3. Non-alignment emerged as an anti-power politics construct in the cold war era. It rejected the construct of struggle to be additional powerful than others.
 - While accretive of the right of a nation to be powerful for satisfying the goals of its national interests, it rejected the thesis for increasing power for the sake of strengthening a reserve of power in competition with opponents-or rivals.
 - Non-alignment rejected the unhealthy struggle for native, regional, continental or world domination. It was also against the construct of power for the sake of power or standing.
4. Non-Aligned Movement has helped in easing the tension between the two power blocs. It also contributed a lot to bringing an end to the Cold War.
5. NAM acted against the arms race of the superpowers during the time of the Cold War.
6. It has supported the cause of international peace, justice and freedom. It has opposed all forms of injustice, including the Suez Crisis of 1956, the aggressive policies of Israel and the unilateral American attack on Iraq.
7. It has advocated the creation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) based on greater economic cooperation and justice. In fact, the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in 1964 was largely a result of the efforts of the Non-Aligned countries.

8. NAM has made the developed countries realize that the continued deprivation of the third world would negatively affect the global economy and their own prosperity.

Fundamental characteristics of NAM-

1. Independent foreign policy based on the idea of Non-alignment and Peaceful Co-existence of all
2. The idea of opposition to colonialism and support for liberation movements in the country
3. Non-membership of any kind of military alliance or bloc.
4. Absence of any bilateral military base on the territory of any state.
5. Absence of any foreign military base on the territory of any state.

Relevance of NAM in contemporary world

As the world faces greater threat from a unipolar world led by US after the disintegration of Soviet Union, the NAM can act as a check against undue dominance and hegemony of any country or block.

The developed (North) and developing (South) world have divergent views over several global and economic issues. The NAM may provide a forum for third world countries to engage the developed nations in a productive dialogue.

The NAM can prove to be a powerful mechanism to forge South-South cooperation, which is essential for their collective self reliance in the present market driven global order.

NAM can provide an important forum for developing countries to discuss and deliberate upon various global problems, issues and reforms including the reform of UN and other international financial institutions like World Bank and IMF in order to make them more democratic and effective.

According to **Indira Gandhi**, NAM is the biggest peace movement in the world.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the first NAM Conference in 1961 highlighted the principles and objectives of NAM. In his words, "The power of nations assembled here is not military power or economic power, nevertheless it is power. Call it moral force". He further added, "We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation." Nehru proposed that India should avoid entering into "other people's quarrels ", unless, and this is important and "our interest is involved."

1. NAM is required for maintaining Independence of Action in International Relations. The members of NAM, however, regarded this as a brief quick-sighted view.
 - They held that the principal objective of the NAM was to exercise independence of judgment and action in peacekeeping.
 - It concerned an extension of relations among non-aligned nations into the international sphere.
2. Countries like India advocated that in several respects the changes within the International System of Units constituted a vindication of what the NAM has stood for- the end of conflict, end of philosophical divisions within the world, the dissolved boundaries of the power blocs, associate improvement within the world political and security setting, and sensible prospects for securing disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts, of these constituted a vindication of the NAM's principles, policies and objectives.

3. It gave emphasis on new momentum towards democracy, multiparty system, respect of human rights, and opening of economies and their integration with the worldwide economy. These are perfectly in tune with the spirit of non-alignment in the present context too. The new focus upon peaceful coexistence, cooperation and peaceful resolution of conflict doubly vindicates the principles of NAM.
4. NAM continues to be a worldwide movement, a movement of all the Third World countries, that represent 2/3rd of the overall membership of the globe community.
 - It's right along been a movement against neo-colonialism. Since the rich and powerful nations are continuing their power and control over the economies and also the policies of the third world countries, there continues to be very strong reason for the continuances of NAM, that stands designed to fight the third world battle against neo-colonialism.
5. NAM thus continues to be the requirement of the time. it's not been solely a negative movement against cold war and alliance politics. Rather, it has conjointly been a movement for the unity of the new nations, for ending of imperialism and victimization, for the securing of demobilization and demilitarization, significantly nuclear disarmament.
 - This has been also very successful in securing the economic and political rights of the third world countries vis-a-vis the developed countries.
 - These goals are nevertheless to be totally achieved, and thus there's every need for the continuance of NAM.

Relevance of NAM for India-

- As far as India is concerned it would be useful to distinguish between the philosophy and ideology of "Non-Alignment" which lays emphasis on strategic independence and autonomy, and the "Non Aligned Movement" which seeks to take a collective position on challenges faced by the developing world.
- **Integral part of foreign policy:** NAM as foreign policy is very much relevant today. Many developing countries like India still follow NAM policy. The policy to avoid colonization and imperialism continues to remain valid for all small and developing countries.
- **Base of 'South-South' co-operation:** NAM acts as catalyst to foster the co-operation between South-South nations. It raises issues that are of major concern for the south countries. It initiate economic, political and social development corner to achieve desired results of moving from developing to developed nations.
- **Shashi Tharoor** in his article "Is the Non-Aligned Movement relevant today?" has also questioned relevance of NAM post-cold War. In his words, "with the end of cold war, there are no longer two rival blocks to be non-aligned between and many have questioned the relevance of NAM whose very name signifies the negation of choice that is no longer on the world's geopolitical table."
- According to **S Jaishankar**, in contemporary global politics, blocks and alliances are less relevant today as we are moving towards largely loose arrangement. Alliances and blocks are as much a cold war concept as nonalignment. During the Cold War, the glue that held countries of an alliance together was composed of ideological convergence and an existential military threat. With the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the Warsaw Pact, this glue dissolved and the international options of alliance partners widened, just like those of NAM countries.

- **Harsh Pant** added that NAM was oaky when India wasn't economic or military power, now India has to compete with China which is increasingly taking lead over India's leadership status. According to him, there is need to pursue new goals and policies and no point sticking to old shibboleths.
- **G Parthasarathy** holds that Non alignment gave India flexibility, but NAM never been forum of any consequence.
- **C Raja Mohan** has questioned the relevance of NAM even before end of cold War. According to him, NAM was irrelevant even before end of cold war. It didn't have any concrete achievement as it was extremely idealist to harmonize interest of so many countries which have collective interest. It never acted as platform for advancement of collective interest of 3rd world.
- **Vijay Gokhale** during Raisina Dialogue held that India has moved from its non-aligned past. While highlighting change in Indian foreign policy he held that India is aligned only with its interest.
- **Harsh V Pant** has also commented on relevance of NAM in context of PM Modi's recent speech in NAM summit. According to him, India has buried NAM for good. As international institutions rarely disappear, NAM will also continue with its mothballed existence. In his words, "to construe the recent speech in NAM summit as Modi's embrace of a now redundant philosophy of global engagement would be a big fallacy."

NAM 2.0

- Non-Alignment 2.0: A foreign and strategic policy for India in the 21st century, is a report released by a group of foreign policy experts, which identifies the basic principles and drivers that would make the country a leading player on the world stage while preserving its strategic autonomy and value system. This report aims to identify the basic principles that should guide India's foreign and strategic policy.
- It echoes Nehruvian/Liberal perspective on foreign policy, which is, by and large, the establishment perspective on foreign policy issues. According to Chinmay Ghare khan, the report offers a comprehensive view of foreign policy and makes sensible suggestions to deal with geopolitical flux.
- The report deals with India's approach towards the 'Asian theatre,' the international order, hard power, internal security, non-conventional security issues like energy and nuclear options, the knowledge and information foundations of power as well as the state and democracy.
- The report emphasises that-
 1. For its strategic and foreign policy to be successful, India must sustain domestic economic growth, social inclusion and democracy.
 2. Its approach must be to secure the maximum space possible for its own economic growth in order for the country to become reasonably prosperous and equitable.
 3. Although India's competitors will put roadblocks in its path, "the foundations of India's success will depend on its developmental model."
 - ✓ The report has warned that underlying factors like, favourable growth prospects, demographic profile and international environment, that are propitious for our growth may not last long.

- ✓ As per the report, India's big challenge will be to aim at not just being powerful but to set new standards for what the powerful must do, because in international relations, "idealism not backed by power can be self-defeating and power not backed by the power of ideas can be blind."
- ✓ Further, India's legitimacy in the world will come from its ability to stand for the highest human and universal values and at the global level, "India must remain true to its aspiration of creating a new and alternative universality."

CONCLUSION

- As **T.P Sreenivasan** says that quintessence of NAM lies in 'strategic autonomy'. In the complex reality of International Politics and geo-political flux, dialogues and cooperation will allow postcolonial societies to form alternate constructions to safeguard their interests.
- While India needs selective and multiple alignment to replace non-alignment as economic and political power is redistributed globally, it cannot allow deft balancing to degrade into opportunistic and sequential agreeing with whichever world leader is in town.
- Non- Alignment has not lost any of its relevance rather it has stood the test of time. NAM can play the most important role in protecting the economic interest of the third world countries as well as promoting south- south co- operation.
- NAM should develop a progressive agenda on the fundamental values of democracy, human right and multiculturalism. There are so many worldwide issues like greenhouse gas emissions, health concerns specially AIDS, drug trafficking, rising instances of poverty, food crisis and unemployment, NAM's spectrum could be enlarged with these increasing concern.

UNIPOLARITY AND AMERICAN HEGEMONY

Unipolarity- Unipolarity is a condition in which one state under the condition of international anarchy enjoys a preponderance of power and faces no competitor states. A unipolar state is not the same as an empire or a hegemon that can control the behavior of all other states.

- **The emergence of the USA as the sole surviving Super Power in the Post-Cold War world.** The dominant role that the USA played in the Gulf War and willingness of almost all the major nations to support the US policies and moves in the United Nations; the strength gained by it due to the end of Cold War; weakness of Russia and inability of other states to challenge the US power; its ability to expand and control NATO even after the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact; its increased control over the UN Security Council decisions; and its continued military, economic, industrial and technological superiority, all combined to strengthen the US power in world politics.
- As a result of these Unipolarity came to characterize the international system. Decision-making at the global level started for reflecting the increased US role in world politics.
- The increased role of the United States of America in peace-keeping operations in the post-Gulf War world.
- The universal acceptance of the principles of democracy, decentralization, market economy, globalization, denuclearization, demilitarization and development gave rise to ideological

unipolarism in the world. It gave strength to the emergence of unipolarity in the international power structure.

- The demolition of Berlin Wall and the unification of East Germany with West Germany into United Germany compelled Germany to concentrate upon the need for consolidation of its internal socio-economic system and unity. German economy came under pressure resulting from the need to achieve the economic development of its East German counter parts.

Hegemony- hegemony refers to the ability of an actor with overwhelming capability to shape the international system through both coercive and non-coercive means. Usually this actor is understood to be a single state, such as Great Britain in the 19th century or the United States in the 20th and 21st century.

- **Robert Gilpin** considers hegemony to be a particular structure that has periodically characterised the international system. For Gilpin, a hegemonic structure exists when “a single powerful state controls or dominates the lesser states in the system.” This is essentially an imperial type of structure that is less anarchical and more hierarchical.
- Unipolar systems are by definition those with only one predominant state.
- As **William Wohlforth** explains “unipolarity is a structure in which one state’s capabilities are too great to be counterbalanced.”
 - ✓ According to Wohlforth, “once capabilities are so concentrated, a structure arises that is fundamentally distinct from either multipolarity (a structure comprising three or more especially powerful states) or bipolarity (a structure produced when two states are substantially more powerful than all others)”
- **Christopher Layne** argues that “hegemony is about structural change, because if one state achieves hegemony, the system ceases to be anarchic and becomes hierarchic”. Layne, who is a neoclassical realist, posits that there are four features of hegemony.
 - ✓ First, and most importantly, is that it entails hard power. Like Mearsheimer, Layne argues that hegemons have the most powerful military. They also possess economic supremacy to support their preeminent military capabilities.
 - ✓ Second, hegemony is about the dominant power’s ambitions; namely, “a hegemon acts self-interestedly to create a stable international order that will safeguard its security and its economic and ideological interests.”
 - ✓ Third, “hegemony is about polarity,” because if one state (the hegemon) has more power than anyone else, the system is by definition unipolar.
 - ✓ Finally, “hegemony is about will.” Layne writes, “not only must a hegemon possess overwhelming power, it must purposefully exercise that power to impose order on the international system”

Factors

1. The end of cold war in international relations arena
2. The disintegration of the U.S.S.R. as a global power
3. The liberalization and development of Eastern European countries.

4. The economic and financial dependence of Russia and other republics of the erstwhile U.S.S.R. on the American and western economic aid.
5. The rise and emergence of the U.S.A. as the sole surviving super power in the post-Cold War and the post-U.S.S.R. world.
6. The increase in role of the United States of America in peace-keeping operations in the post-Gulf War world.

During cold war

In the post-cold war world during 1990s, the policy of NAM was not very successful in reviving its traditional role in changing world politics. The end of the cold war, which was followed by a disintegration of the U.S.S.R., produced some big changes in the international system arena. These changes came at such a time when NAM was headed by a self-destroying Yugoslavia, which was struggling to meet its internal pressures resulting from the policies of Islamic lobby within the NAM.

Under those prevailing circumstances, NAM developed such an inertia that led many scholars to believe that it had lost much of its relevance in the new environment. Although NAM constantly demonstrated its unity and continued relevance at the time of various NAM Summits, but it also became evident that NAM still needed to determine its new agenda and take up some of its tasks in the post-cold war world. According to some scholars, no one doubted NAM's ability to affect and influence international decision making and also to check the growing US' role in the UN system and at the global stage at large but for the time being its role suffered a gradual decline.

Post-cold war

In the post-Cold War and post-Gulf War era of international relations, the United nation's role, particularly its conflict-resolving and peace-keeping role got emphasized. It got importance from the fact that, it began simultaneously undertaking peace-keeping operations in many different parts of the globe. However, along with this, it also got reflected as an increasing U.S. dominance on its decision-making.

Almost all the U.N. Security Council choices on Asian and African countries like, Libya, Bosnia, Serbs-on issues like, Human Rights, NPT, CTBT, issue of Nuclear free zones and even the U.N. vote on Zionism, mirrored the growing U.S. dominance over the UN. many experts and philosophers even said to the extent of perceptive that the UNO was starting to behave like the U.S.O. but it was not a legitimate statement nonetheless it definitely contained some truth.

Sole power standing

With its standing as the sole existing super power in the world, the U.S.A. gained a brand new "vitality and strength within the International System. No different major international actors like—Japan, Germany, France, Russia, China, EEC, NAM and even the United Nations—had the need and skill to act as a serious check on the U.S. power.

Ideological unity of the international arena gave an extra boost to the role of the U.S.A. in peacekeeping. Also, the flexibility of the USA to secure different associates' indefinite extension of NPT on 11 may, 1995, despite opposition from the NAM and also Third World, mirrored the United States of America domination of the International System. The problem of CTBT additionally mirrored

U.S. dominance over international decision-making. Thus, the Unipolarity or unipolarism, emerged as a brand-new reality of post-cold war peacekeeping.

CORRODING THE U.S.-LED INTERNATIONAL ORDER

- Finally, since the end of World War II, successive U.S. administrations have recognized that maintaining systemic primacy through the use of military force alone would be a costly and ultimately subversive enterprise because it would in time provoke balancing coalitions aimed at neutralizing American hegemony.
- To avert this possibility and to secure political, economic, and ideational outcomes that were conducive to U.S. interests, Washington constructed and maintained what has now come to be known as the liberal international order—a regime of interlocking norms, rules, and institutions intended to protect democratic states and expand their prosperity in the face of strategic competitors.
- This regime, which encompassed arrangements pertaining to collective defense, trade liberalization, economic and political development, and democracy promotion, was underwritten substantially by U.S. resources not as a favor to its partners but fundamentally out of self-interest, as all other hegemonic powers have done throughout history.
- The United States, accordingly, provided security to its allies, permitted asymmetric access to its markets, and created various global institutions as a public good. In return, it expected its partners to collaborate in realizing goals that the United States had a privileged interest in, while at the same time providing legitimacy to U.S. actions undertaken in defense of either its own primacy or some collective ends.
- By definition, the allied contribution to these efforts could never match that of the United States because the latter was the hegemonic power and its benefaction was essentially what sustained its relative superiority over other partners and adversaries alike.
- In time, this arrangement served to make the United States' alliances meaningful instruments for upholding global order more generally and on terms that, although beneficial to its protectees, were uniquely favorable to maintaining American primacy. This compact thrived on the prospect that the United States would continue to protect the core interests of its allies in exchange for which the partners would pool their resources—political, economic, and military—in support of U.S. goals.
- Subsidizing the provision of such collective goods has been the hallmark of hegemonic stability since the earliest Western reflections first found in Thucydides.
- Although subordinate officials in the Trump administration have frequently reiterated the importance of alliances to U.S. interests, the president himself has rarely, if ever, done so. Rather, viewing U.S. alliances solely as undesirable burdens, he has consistently questioned their utility and value, and on occasion even expressed satisfaction at the possibility of their dissolution.
- This disregard for the alliance system that the United States has carefully nurtured now for over half a century is grounded fundamentally in a failure to appreciate its importance for both the effectiveness and the legitimacy of American primacy in international politics.

- All previous administrations intuitively understood the benefits that the alliances provided in material, institutional, and ideational terms and consequently sought to preserve, if not actually deepen, them.

CONCLUSION

- Preserving American hegemony over the long term thus must begin with consolidating Washington's leadership within the largest single bloc of material power in order that it may be effective beyond.
- Ensuring this outcome requires the United States to take seriously—and deepen meaningfully—the special geopolitical ties it has nurtured throughout the postwar period, which would among other things enable it to better shape the world's engagement with China to advance its own interests.
- The management of the global pandemic thus far raises doubts about the United States' ability to sensibly expand its power and to manage the evolving rivalry with China intelligently and in league with the nations that will be most needed for success. This is unfortunate given this administration's otherwise astute recognition of the return of strategic competition.

EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM: FROM BRETTON WOODS TO WTO

NOTE- This section has been made keeping in mind the exact demands of the PSIR paper. All sections that are relevant for the exam, has been discussed in detail. All the angles and dimensions have been thoroughly covered. The candidate is advised to revise this document again and again and keep some points ready under each heading- which can be directly used in the examination.

After the candidate has completed the document and revised it often- it is advised to remember the bullet points given before each point. This will help in proper structuring and maximum retention during the paper.

Syllabus-

Evolution of the International Economic System: From Bretton woods to WTO; Socialist economies and the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance); Third World demand for new international economic order; Globalization of the world economy.

Previous year questions

1. How would you describe the contemporary words beyond the language of 'North/South' and 'Developed/Developing'? Is the present transformation driven by domestic compulsion, or external overall crisis of the global economy?
2. Identify the major changes in the International Political economy in post-Cold War period.
3. Identify the role and place of Gender in the global economy.
4. Sketch the journey of global political economy from Washington consensus to the present.
5. How far are the world governance mechanisms, dominated by IMF and world bank, legitimate and relevant? What measures do you suggest to improve their effectiveness in global governance?
6. "The IMF, World Bank, G-7, GATT and other structures are designed to serve the interests of TNCs, banks and investment firms in a 'new imperial age'." Substantiate with examples of governance of new world order.

What is international economic system-?

- The current international economic system is modelled mainly on the economic systems of the industrialised countries, especially that of the United States.
- It promotes free trade, free investment, free markets and strict market discipline. But the latest sub-prime crisis revealed some problems with the US system. Economists have since raised questions about the effectiveness of monetary policy, financial regulations and the international reserve system.
- While there might not be consensus about what should happen next, there is general consensus that this system needs to be adapted to suit the new global economic and market conditions. The world economy is indeed very different today from more than 60 years ago when the current system was first set up. Towards the end of World War II, most developing economies collapsed, suffering from serious and widespread poverty problems.
- They received financial assistance for, and policy advice on, poverty alleviation and economic development from international organisations and industrialised countries; however, these developing countries made little contribution to the design and enforcement of international economic rules.

Arising needs of change and reform in international economic system-

- **Reforms as per the rising challenges**- The global economic landscape has undergone profound changes since the end of the Cold War. After the global financial crisis, the world economy entered a “new normal,” and there are mounting challenges that need to be managed. Unfortunately, the global governance system has not kept pace with the scale and complexity of these challenges.
- **Post-war institutions**- The post-war architecture of world economy was to a large extent fashioned by the United States, with the hope of reconstructing a liberal international economic system.
- ✓ **The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)** laid the foundation for the postwar global economic order, and international trade and capital flows gradually started to resume.
- **USA supported economic development of its allies**- To solidify its supremacy in the shadow of Cold War, the United States supported the economic development of its allies through aid, such as the **Marshall Plan** aimed at Western Europe and enormous funding directed to Japan during the Korean War.
- **Demand for New International Economic Order**- In the 1970s, however, U.S. hegemony began to wane, as a host of developing countries arising from the postwar National Liberation Movement flocked to the United Nations, pressing for a so-called New International Economic Order that would be more in favor in Third World countries.
- ✓ Moreover, the **collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1973** meant that the United States had to rely more on macroeconomic policy coordination mechanisms with other developed countries to maintain the international monetary order.
- **Asian financial crisis**- The eruption of the 1997–1998 Asian financial crisis sparked extensive suspicion of the manner of governance adopted by the **IMF and the “Washington Consensus”** behind it, and accelerated a rising awareness of regional cooperation across Asia.
- ✓ The **outbreak of the 2007 subprime mortgage crisis** in the United States, as well as the 2010 sovereign debt crisis in Europe, changed the long-established belief that developed economies are immunized from financial crises.
- **New set of challenges emerging**- As the international economic system has become increasingly incapable of dealing with the detection, prevention, and treatment of crises caused by the wave of globalization, regional or cross-regional economic governance platforms are playing an ever more important role.
- ✓ **New institutions formed to deal with them**- This development can be seen in the multilateralization of the Chiang Mai Initiative, the strengthening of the BRICS, and the rise of mega-regional free trade agreement negotiations like the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP).

Bretton woods institution-

Background-

- **Economic conditions after WWI & WWII**- The world economic depression brought about by the effect of 1st World War (1913- 1918), the beginning of the 2nd World War (1939) and the inability of the so-called world super powers to salvage the economic predicaments at

that time, necessitated the demand for 'a set of multilateral institutions' to rebuild, to provide a safety net, and to structure the postwar economy

- **Failure of league of nations**- The League of Nations was founded in 1919 to maintain the peace. Neither the United States nor the Great Britain had the resources to single-handedly prevent the worldwide depression. The move to salvage the countries of the world from this post-World War I economic shackles pave the way for the emergence of the concept "Bretton Woods Institutions".
- **Bretton woods institutions formed**- With this vision at heart, a meeting held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944 spearheaded by the big nations (United States and United Kingdom) founded the **IMF** (International Monetary Fund), the **IBRD** (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) later called (the World Bank), and the **ITO** (International Trade Organization) later replaced by GATT and WTO. Thus, these institutions are popularly known as the Bretton Woods Institutions.

What do Bretton woods institutions stand for? -

- **Breaking the word "Bretton woods institution"-** **The** Concept "Bretton Woods Institutions" is a compound words made up of "Bretton Woods" and "Institutions".
- ✓ The former being a name of a place located in New Hampshire, USA.
- ✓ Though the latter has no unanimous definition, but **Hudgson** has defined it as any structure or mechanism of social order governing the behavior of a set of individuals within a given community.
- **Institutions**- But in its technical sense, Bretton Woods Institutions refer to the International Economic Organizations viz: - World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF).
- **Aim**- Their aims were to help rebuild the shattered postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation.
- **WTO**- The original Bretton Woods agreement also included plans for an International Trade Organization (ITO) but this was dormant until the World Trade Organization (WTO) was created in the early 1990s.

Creation of Bretton woods institutions-

- **Emergence of the idea**- The creation of the World Bank and the IMF came at the end of the Second World War. They were based on the ideas of a trio of key experts – US Treasury Secretary **Henry Morgenthau**, his chief economic advisor **Harry Dexter White**, and British economist **John Maynard Keynes**.
- **Aim behind the idea**- They wanted to establish a postwar economic order based on notions of consensual decision-making and cooperation in the realm of trade and economic relations.
- **Need of a multi-lateral framework**- It was felt by leaders of the Allied countries, particularly the US and Britain, that a multilateral framework was needed to overcome the destabilizing effects of the previous global economic depression and trade battles.
- **Henry Morgenthau's views on Bretton Woods institutions**- In his opening speech at the Bretton Woods conference, **Henry Morgenthau** said: "bewilderment and bitterness" resulting from the Depression became "the breeders of fascism, and finally, of war".
- ✓ Proponents of the new institutions felt that global economic interaction was necessary to maintain international peace and security.

- ✓ The institutions would facilitate, in the creation of a dynamic world community in which the peoples of every nation will be able to realize their potentialities in peace”.
- **Importance of IMF**- The IMF would create a stable climate for international trade by harmonizing its members’ monetary policies, and maintaining exchange stability. It would be able to provide temporary financial assistance to countries encountering difficulties with their balance of payments.
- **Importance of world Bank**- The World Bank, on the other hand, would serve to improve the capacity of countries to trade by lending money to war-ravaged and impoverished countries for reconstruction and development projects.

The IMF Mandate

- **Main function**- The IMF promotes international monetary cooperation and provides policy advice and technical assistance to help countries build and maintain strong economies.
- **Giving advices to nations**- The Fund also makes loans and helps countries design policy programs to solve balance of payments problems when sufficient financing on affordable terms cannot be obtained to meet net international payments.
- **IMF Loans**- IMF loans are short and medium term and funded mainly by the pool of quota contributions that its members provide.
- **IMF Staff**- The IMF staffs are primarily economists with wide experience in macroeconomic and financial policies.

The World Bank Mandate

- **Main function**- The World Bank promotes long-term economic development and poverty reduction by providing technical and financial support to help countries reform particular sectors or implement specific projects.
- **For example**, building schools and health centers, providing water and electricity, fighting disease, and protecting the environment.
- **World Bank loan**- The World Bank assistance is generally long term and is funded both by member country contributions and through bond issuance.
- **World bank staff**- World Bank staffs are often specialists in particular issues, sectors, or techniques. And because of this specialty, the bank is now crystallized to World Bank Group.
- The "World Bank Group" consists of **four multilateral financial institutions**:
 - The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
 - The International Development Association (IDA)
 - The International Finance Corporation (IFC)
 - The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA).
- **IFC**- The goal of the International Finance Corporation (IFC) is to invest in commercial enterprises in the developing world and to support private sector initiatives.
- **IBRD & IDA**- The main goal of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA) is to foster economic and social progress as well as to reduce poverty.
- **MIGA**- The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) aims to encourage direct foreign investment in member countries by protecting investors against non-commercial risk, notably that of war or limits on repatriation of profits.

How the Institutions (World Bank and IMF) Work

- **Framework for cooperation-** In the discharge of their independent mandates, both institutions work on the platform of “Framework for cooperation”.
- ✓ In other words, they collaborate and work hand in hand by **complementing each other.**
- ✓ The IMF and World Bank collaborate regularly and at many levels to assist member countries and work together on several initiatives.
- **High-Level Coordination:** During the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the IMF and the World Bank in 1987, Governors consult and present their countries’ views on current issues in international economics and finance.
- ✓ The **Boards of Governors** decide how to address international economic and financial issues and set priorities for the organizations.
- ✓ A group of the IMF and World Bank Governors also meet as part of the **Development Committee**, whose meetings coincide with the Spring and Annual Meetings of the IMF and the World Bank.
- ✓ This committee was established in **1974** to advise the two institutions on critical development issues and on the financial resources required to promote economic development in low-income countries.
- **Management Consultation-** The Managing Director of the IMF and the President of the World Bank **meet regularly** to consult on major issues. They also issue joint statements and occasionally write joint articles and have visited several regions and countries together.
- **Staff collaboration-** The staffs of the IMF and the Bank collaborate closely on country assistance and policy issues that are relevant for both institutions. The two institutions also often conduct country missions in parallel and staff participates in each other’s missions.
- ✓ The IMF assessments of a country’s general economic situation and policies provide input to the Bank’s assessments of potential development projects or reforms.
- ✓ Similarly, Bank advice on structural and sectoral reforms is taken into account by the IMF in its policy advice.
- ✓ The staffs of the two institutions also cooperate on the conditionality involved in their respective lending programs.

Other areas where IMF and World Bank works together-

- **Reducing debt burdens-** The IMF and World Bank also work together to reduce the external debt burdens of the most heavily indebted poor countries under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative and the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI).
- ✓ The **objective** is to help low-income countries achieve their development goals without creating future debt problems.
- ✓ IMF and Bank staff **jointly prepares country debt sustainability analyses** under the **Debt Sustainability Framework (DSF)** developed by the two institutions.
- **Reducing poverty-** In 1999, the IMF and the World Bank initiated the **Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) approach**—a country-led plan for linking national policies, donor support, and the development outcomes needed to reduce poverty in low-income countries.
- ✓ **PRSPs underpin the HIPC Initiative** and most concessional lending by the IMF (in particular, the Extended Credit Facility (ECF)) and World Bank.

- **Monitoring progress on the MDGs-** Since 2004, the Fund and Bank have worked together on the **Global Monitoring Report (GMR)**, which assesses progress needed to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- ✓ The report also considers how well developing countries, developed countries, and the international financial institutions are contributing to the development partnership and strategy to meet the MDGs.
- **Assessing financial stability-** The IMF and World Bank are also working together to make financial sectors in member countries resilient and well regulated.
- ✓ The **Financial Sector Assessment Program (FSAP)** was introduced in 1999 to identify the strengths and vulnerabilities of a country's financial system and recommend appropriate policy responses.

Achievements of Bretton Woods Institutions

It will not be out of place to argue that the IMF, the World Bank, and GATT- the full complement of the Bretton Woods institutions- have met virtually all the aspirations of their original architects. To sum it up, the achievements of these institutions include the followings-

- **Rapid growth over the years-** The world economy has experienced a remarkable period of rapid growth, expanding international exchange, and relatively full employment in the past 70 years after World War II; and the Bretton Woods institutions deserve some of the credit.
- **World trade**, for example, grew in the quarter century from 1950 to 1975 at nearly double the rate at which world production grew. Liberalization of exchange controls generated truly international money and capital markets in which vast cross-border flows now take place around the clock.
- **Degree of order in international monetary affairs-** The IMF exchange-rate rules imparted a degree of order to international monetary affairs, if only by reminding members of the international community of agreed upon norms.
- **Short term financial support by IMF-** The IMF also provided short-term credit, albeit in limited amounts, to countries in temporary balance of payments difficulties to reduce the likelihood of their resorting to "measures destructive of national or international prosperity (Article 1, IMF Charter).
- **Long term financial support by WB-** The World Bank directed long-term credit, which private markets would not otherwise have provided, first to the war-devastated areas for reconstruction and then to the developing countries for overall growth and development (Global Economic Prospect, 2012).
- **Non-discrimination in trade-** GATT produced a series of tariff bargaining rounds that resulted in substantial reductions in tariffs on manufactured products in the industrialized world. And its basic principles of non-discrimination, variety of closely interrelated national markets.
- ✓ Transnational corporations, now based in a growing number of developing as well as developed countries, increasingly integrated their worldwide operations and developed their own internal planning systems.
- **Changing roles with emergence of new spheres-** In a whole variety of other areas; space, the oceans, the environment, data flows, to name just a few. The resolutions of major new policy problems became impossible within traditional national boundaries but were now made possible

- **Multilateralism and transparency** are now order of the day. Moreover, changes in the world economy have been so rapid and so great that they have out-stripped the adaptive capacities of even the most flexible international machinery.

Impact of Bretton Woods Institutions on the Development of the International Economic system-

- **It provided guidelines for both state and non-state actors on the international scene:**
 - For example, the Fund and the Bank are mostly using National and Transnational Corporations in the execution of Developmental Projects.
- ✓ Transnational Corporations (TNCs) not only occupy an important status as economic actors on the international scene, but they are also political actors who are increasingly involved in the progressive development and enforcement of the regulatory structures of the international economic system.
- **Changing function with changing world market-** The IMF and the World Bank was able to ensure that their mechanisms and operations meet the requirements of the new world of integrated global markets.
- **Cottage industry-** The IMF and the World Bank have become some form of a cottage industry on good governance and the rule of law.
- **Setting standards-** The Bretton Woods Institutions' basic principles of non-discrimination, multilateralism, and transparency even when abused in practice, have set standards against which the trading practices of individual member countries are judged.
- **Setting precedents-** They were able to set precedents in constructing an international economic framework that reduces the risks of cumulative downward spirals, such as the one they had just suffered as a result of the post-World war crises.
- **Special field of research and training-** The emergence of these institutions has paved way for the development of a special field of research and training in International Economic Law, Financial Houses and Organizations, Governmental Organizations, NGOs, International Economic Institutions and Relations.
- **Dealing with international problems-** The Bank and the Fund as specialized economic agencies of the United Nations are not mere appendages of the central organization.
 - ✓ They are the means for dealing with vital international economic problems. The economic program of the United Nations is a new and bold venture in international cooperation.
 - ✓ Its object is to restore world trade, to free such trade from restrictions and discriminations, and to prevent the formation of conflicting economic blocs.
 - ✓ A program of this character, if it is to be effective, cannot be dealt with merely by agreement on abstract principles.
- **Positive actions-** In the field of international trade and financial relations, positive action for dealing with continuing problems has been and is being achieved through these institutions with broad authority).
- **Acted as a role model for other institutions-** Above all, the emergence of Bretton Woods Institutions is the pioneer economic institutions that set precedents that brought about the proliferations of International Economic Institutions, Instruments, Bilateral and Multilateral agreements, as well as International and National Economical Integrations

Criticism on the Operational Mechanism of the two Institutions

- The Fund and the World Bank have, however, been confronted from time to time with other new types of crises not explicitly envisaged by their charters, such as the **debt crisis (Fatima 1998), the environmental crisis (Action against Bretton Woods, 1994), the crisis of governance (Bardo, 1995)**, the crisis generated by the failure of governments to respect human rights, and the crisis presented by tumultuous political upheavals and internal conflicts and above all aggressive legalism
- Criticism of the World Bank and the IMF encompasses a **whole range of issues** but they generally concerned about the approaches adopted by the World Bank and the IMF in formulating their policies-
 1. **Don't follow rule of law-** That the two institutions in the course of discharging their mandates through the multi-lateral corporations do not observe the rule of law and violate human rights of some nations.
 2. **Conditions imposed for granting loans-** That the conditionality imposed in terms or covenants for the grant of the loans succeeded in promoting mass un-employment and poverty in the benefiting nations.
 3. **More benefits to developed nations-** That the guidelines and principles set out by the institutions and those came after them are more favorable to the developed nations as opposed to the less developed nations.
 4. **No fair representation-** That membership of the international institutions does not reflect fair representations of all members' nations.
 5. **Compromising sovereignty-** That the operation of the standards and principles of the international economic law with reference to the monetary and investment aspects which these two institutions laid the basic standard, has succeeded in doing away with traditional principles of sovereignty.

Conclusion-

It is worthy to mention that inspite of these achievements of these institutions, it is faced with a new form of criticism ranging from its operational mechanism through other agencies that are fond of abusing the rule of law, stringent measures in loan conditionality that encouraged poverty, un-employment, environmental degradation, lack of fair representations by member nations etc.

Bearing these shortcomings and criticism in mind therefore, there is the need for the total overhaul of the institutions in terms of their structures, policies, operational mechanisms to address these complaints and grievances from the nations concerned in order to improve global macroeconomic management.

Evolution of World Trade Organization

Introduction-

- **Earliest attempt-** An attempt to create an international organization to look after matters of trade and commercial policy were made as early as 1947.

- **Charter for an International Trade Organization**- Although a charter for an International Trade Organization was drafted at the Havana Conference, it was never ratified due to differences between those who wanted a free multilateral trading system and those who placed emphasis on full employment policies on a nation basis.
- **American proposal accepted**- However, the American proposal for a general agreement on tariffs and trade was agreed upon, and many nations signed.
- **Formation of General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade**- So emerged the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade with no formal organization and no elaborate secretariat. It is though increasing liberalization of world trade and through GATT negotiations that the world Trade Organization emerged in 1995.

Features of GATT-

- The two outstanding features of GATT were the **principle of non-discrimination and the principle of reciprocity** with the purpose of promoting fair and free international trade among members.
- **Non-discrimination**- To ensure non-discrimination the members of GATT agreed to apply the principle of MFN (Most Favored Nation) to-all import and export duties. This meant that each nation shall be treated as well as the most favored nation.
- **Economic integration**- However, GATT did not prohibit economic integration such as the formation of free trade areas or customs unions, provided that the purpose of such integration was to facilitate trade between constituent territories and not to raise barriers to the trade of other parties.
- **Aim**- Several rounds of GATT negotiations aimed at reduction of tries and non-tariff barriers to trade led to the lowering of duties on trade, involving more than two-third of the world's States
- **Increased the growth rate for a brief period**- Under GATT's auspices, eight successful rounds of multilateral negotiations for reducing barriers to trade were concluded. The liberalization of trade barriers under successive rounds resulted in remarkably rapid growth in trade, at nearly 8 percent a year on average, in the volume of world trade between 1950 and the first oil shock in 1973.

Why GATT Failed?

- **Slowing down of growth rate**- In the roughly two decades thereafter (1973-90), which included the second oil shock of 1979 and the debt crises of the 1980s, average trade growth slowed to around 4 percent a year. During 1990-2002, it recovered to an average of slightly less than 6 percent a year. In all these periods, trade grew faster than output, so that the share of trade in output increased substantially.
- **Indifferential trade barriers**- Trade barriers in commodities of export interest to developing countries were not reduced to the same extent as trade barriers in commodities mostly traded among developed countries.
- **Agriculture not included in beginning**- Agriculture, a sector of great interest to developing countries largely remained outside the GATT framework until the Uruguay Round.
- **Discrimination with developing nations**- GATT only promoted the interests of developed and industrialised countries. In sum, the GATT was unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to the interests of developing countries.

Uruguay Round and World Trade Organization

The last round of multilateral trade negotiations known as the Uruguay Round (held in Punta del este in Uruguay), which was the eighth round, centered around three main issues -

1. Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)
 2. Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) and
 3. Trade in Agricultural Commodities
- **Views of third world countries**- The third World countries have been by and large dissatisfied with GATT negotiations. Liberalization of trade related intellectual property rights would mean that the less developed countries would have to compete with the advanced countries or the transnational companies.
 - **TRIPS agreement**- TRIPS covering copyrights, patents and trademarks is likely to harm the indigenous technology and nascent industries - particularly pharmaceutical and drug industry.
 - **Service sector in GATT**- GATT covers the service sector as well under TRIMS. This is likely to affect the employment conditions in the developing countries as they will be swamped by professionals from the advanced industrial countries.
 - **Agriculture issue in GATT**- Agriculture is another contentious issue under GATT. While the USA insisted on free trade in agriculture, withdrawal of state subsidies; the EEC countries particularly France, which heavily subsidize their agriculture objected.
- ✓ The US threatened to use a law called **super 301**, under which punitive action is taken against countries which do not follow a free trade regime.

World Trade Organization

- **Dunkel Draft**- The Uruguay Round was scheduled to be completed by 1990, that is within four years after its commencement. However, as the negotiations reached a deadlock over several contentious issues, the Director General of GATT - Arthur Dunkel intervened and proposed a draft that is known as the Dunkel Draft, also decisively called **DDT (Dunkel Draft Text)**.
 - **Importance of Dunkel draft**- The Dunkel proposals called for reduction in domestic and export subsidies, and replacement of non-tariff barriers, like quotas and quantitative restrictions by tariffs.
- ✓ Then proposals also called for require longer enforcement of copy rights and trade marks in case of India. Such a provision requires a change in Indian legislation on patents to conform to the Paris Convention.
- **Formation of WTO**- The Dunkel Draft was signed by member nations of December 15, 1993. After seven years of intensive negotiations, the new GATT agreements of Uruguay Round were ratified in December 1994 by the Indian Cabinet. The significant aspect of the GATT agreement is the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) that supersedes the GATT

Overview of Functioning of WTO-

- **Regarding democracy**- The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the most powerful legislative and judicial body in the world. By promoting the free trade agenda of multinational corporations above the interests of local communities, working families, and the environment, the WTO has systematically undermined democracy around the world.
- **One of the most powerful bodies**- Unlike United Nations treaties, the International Labor Organization conventions, or multilateral environmental agreements, WTO rules can be enforced through sanctions. This gives the WTO more power than any other international body. The WTO's authority even eclipses national governments.
- **Importance of negotiations**- The WTO was born out of negotiations, and everything the WTO does is the result of negotiations. The bulk of the WTO's current work comes from the 1986–94 negotiations called the Uruguay Round and earlier negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).
- ✓ The WTO is currently the host to new negotiations, under the 'Doha Development Agenda' launched in 2001.

Developing vs. Developed countries issues in WTO-

- Recently, U.S. President had put pressure on the WTO to change how it designates developing countries, singling out China, with which the United States is engaged in a trade war, for unfairly getting preferential treatment.
- The United States also recently proposed, that in current and future negotiations, following should not invoke the self-declaration option:
 - ✓ Members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
 - ✓ Members of the Group of 20 (G-20)
 - ✓ High income countries as per the World Bank definition, or
 - ✓ Countries that account for 0.5% or more of global merchandise trade.
- In a rebuttal to the US approach, China, India, South Africa, and others submitted a proposal of their own. While reiterating that self-declaration is appropriate in the WTO context, they make the point that per capita indicators must be given top priority when assessing development levels.
- Global supply chain disruption caused by the Great Lockdown caused a massive dislocation of global trade.
 - ✓ This underscored several countries' arguments in favour of protectionist policies like high tariffs and stricter customs procedures.
 - ✓ Such protectionist policies reduced the relevance of the global trade regime and adversely impacted employment, economic growth, purchasing power etc., across the globe.

Achievements of WTO over the years-

Main function- In the years 2008 and 2009, the WTO witnessed increased economic uncertainty. Its main function is to ensure the smooth and free flow of global trade. The WTO administers

agreements, handles trade disputes and monitors country-specific trade policies while training and cooperating with developing nations and other international organizations

- **Eradicated tariff barriers**- The WTO has not only enhanced the value and quantity of trade but has also helped in eradicating trade and non-trade barriers.
- **Increased scope of world trade**- WTO has also broadened the trade governance scope to trade in investment, services and intellectual property.
- **Surpassed GATT**- It has emerged as a greater institution than GATT and expanded the agenda by including developmental policies which further helped in settlement of disputes and improved monitoring by introducing the Trade Policy Review and the World Trade Report as well as increased transparency by removing green room negotiations.
- **Sustainable trade development**- WTO also encouraged sustainable trade developments.
- **Dispute settlement**- As trade expands in volume, in the numbers of products traded, and in the numbers of countries and companies trading, there is a greater chance that disputes will arise. The WTO system helps resolve these disputes peacefully and constructively - in reality, a lot of international trade tension is reduced because countries can turn to organizations, in particular the WTO, to settle their trade disputes.

NOTE- The increasing number of disputes brought to GATT and its successor, the WTO, does not reflect increasing tension in the world, it rather reflects the closer economic ties throughout the world, the GATT/WTO's expanding membership and the fact that countries have faith in the system to solve their differences.

- **Reducing inequalities**- The fact that there is a single set of rules applying to all members greatly simplifies the entire trade regime. The WTO cannot claim to make all countries equal. But it does reduce some inequalities, giving smaller countries more voice, and at the same time freeing the major powers from the complexity of having to negotiate trade agreements with each of their numerous trading partners.
- **Increasing consumers choices**- WTO members are now reducing the subsidies and the trade barriers which give consumers more choices, and a broader range of qualities to choose from.
- **Equal chance to all to defend themselves**- The system shields governments from narrow interests of the GATT-WTO system which evolved in the second half of the 20th Century helps governments take a more balanced view of trade policy. Governments are better placed to defend themselves against lobbying from narrow interest groups by focusing on trade-offs that are made in the interests of everyone in the economy.
- **Represents majority of earth's population**- The World Trade Organization is the single most effective international agency. With the pending inclusion of China, governments that represent 85 percent of the world's population and about 95 percent of world trade have chosen to bind themselves to the WTO's rules and dispute settlement procedures.
- **Other agencies using WTO platform**- The WTO has been so successful that numerous groups have petitioned to use the WTO to enforce a range of non-trade rules affecting labor, the environment, and competition policy.
- **Supervises majority of the trade**- The WTO is the world's only international organization that supervises 95% of the world's global trade. The WTO agreements include numerous provisions giving developing and least-developed countries special rights or extra leniency —

“special and differential treatment”. Among these are provisions that allow developed countries to treat developing countries more favorably than other WTO members.

What additional safeguards have been given to developing economies?-

Both GATT and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) allow developing countries some preferential treatment. some of these are-

- **Extra time** for developing countries to fulfil their commitments (in many of the WTO agreements)
- **Increasing trade opportunities-** Provisions designed to increase developing countries’ trading opportunities through greater market access (e.g., in textiles, services, technical barriers to trade)
- **Safeguarding their interest-** Provisions requiring WTO members to safeguard the interests of developing countries when adopting some domestic or international measures (e.g., in anti-dumping, safeguards, technical barriers to trade)
- **Helping them-** Provisions for various means of helping developing countries (e.g., to deal with commitments on animal and plant health standards, technical standards, and in strengthening their domestic telecommunications sectors).
- **Giving extra-attention-** The least-developed countries receive extra attention in the WTO. All the WTO agreements recognize that they must benefit from the greatest possible flexibility, and better-off members must make extra efforts to lower import barriers on least-developed countries’ exports.

Since the **Uruguay Round agreements were signed in 1994**, several decisions in Favour of least-developed countries have been taken.

- In **2002**, the WTO adopted a work program for least-developed countries. It contains several broad elements: improved market access; more technical assistance; support for agencies working on the diversification of least-developed countries’ economies; help in following the work of the WTO; and a speedier membership process for least-developed countries negotiating to join the WTO.
- **MFN Treatment: Non- discrimination between countries** – the Most Favored Nation principle is one of the most fundamental principles of the WTO. It requires member states to accord the most favorable tariff and regulatory treatment given to the product of any one member and/or non-member at the time of export or import of “like products” to all other WTO members.

Critique / Failures of WTO-

- **Failure to uphold the principle of democracy-** The foremost failure of WTO is its failure to uphold the principle of democracy. WTO is fundamentally undemocratic.
 - ✓ The policies of the WTO impact all aspects of society and the planet, but it is not a democratic, transparent institution.
 - ✓ The WTO rules are written by and for corporations with inside access to the negotiations. The lack of transparency is often seen as a problem for democracy.
- **Policy Laundering-** Politicians can negotiate for regulations that would not be possible or accepted in a democratic process in their own nations.

- ✓ "Some countries push for certain regulatory standards in international bodies and then bring those regulations home under the requirement of harmonization and the guise of multilateralism." This is often referred to as Policy Laundering.
- **WTO is highly biased towards the developed and rich nations**, instances of which are as follows-
 - ✓ Rich countries are able to maintain high import duties and quotas in certain products, blocking imports from developing countries (e.g., clothing)
 - ✓ The increase in non-tariff barriers such as anti-dumping measures allowed against developing countries
 - ✓ The maintenance of high protection of agriculture in developed countries while developing ones are pressed to open their markets
 - ✓ Many developing countries do not have the capacity to follow the negotiations and participate actively in the Uruguay Round
 - ✓ The TRIPs agreement which limits developing countries from utilizing some technology that originates from abroad in their local systems (including medicines and agricultural products)
- **Doesn't take into account labor and human rights**- The WTO Tramples Labor and Human Rights, its rules put the "rights" of corporations to profit over human and labor rights.
 - ✓ The WTO encourages a '**race to the bottom**' in wages by pitting workers against each other rather than promoting internationally recognized labor standards.
 - ✓ The WTO has also ruled that it is **illegal** for a government to ban a product based on the way it is produced, such as with **child labor**.
 - ✓ It has also ruled that **governments cannot take into account "non-commercial values"** such as human rights, or the behavior of companies that do business with vicious dictatorships such as Burma when making purchasing decisions.
- **Privatizing essential public services**- WTO is seeking to privatize essential public services such as education, health care, energy and water.
 - ✓ Privatization means the selling off of public assets - such as radio airwaves or schools - to private (usually foreign) corporations, to run for profit rather than the public good.
 - ✓ The WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services, or **GATS**, includes a list of about 160 threatened services including elder and child care, sewage, garbage, park maintenance, telecommunications, construction, banking, insurance, transportation, shipping, postal services, and tourism.
 - ✓ In some countries, privatization is already occurring. Those least able to pay for vital services - working class communities and communities of color - are the ones who suffer the most.
- **Environment destruction**- The WTO is also destroying the Environment to a great extent – The organization is being used by corporations to dismantle national environmental protections, which are attacked as "barriers to trade."
 - ✓ The very first WTO panel ruled that a provision of the US Clean Air Act, requiring both domestic and foreign producers alike to produce cleaner gasoline, was illegal.
 - ✓ The WTO declared illegal a provision of the Endangered Species Act that requires shrimp sold in the US to be caught with an inexpensive device allowing endangered sea turtles to escape.
 - ✓ The WTO is attempting to deregulate industries including logging, fishing, water utilities, and energy distribution, which will lead to further exploitation of these natural resources.
 - ✓ The "free trade agreements" threaten to erode many of the advances in global environmental protection, endangering our planet and the natural resources necessary to support life.
- **Non-Agricultural Market Access**- Corporate interests are also negotiating the expansion of the WTO through an agreement on Non-Agricultural Market Access, or NAMA.

- ✓ Primarily involving industrial manufactured goods, NAMA also includes trade in natural resources such as forest products, gems and minerals, and fishing and fish products.
- ✓ NAMA aims to reduce tariffs as well as decreasing or eliminating so-called Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs), which can include measures for environmental protection and community development.
- ✓ Eliminating tariffs in natural resources would dramatically increase their exploitation. The World Forum of Fish-harvesters and Fish-workers has warned of the devastation to fish conservation posed by NAMA.
- **Free trade is not working for the majority of the world.** During the most recent period of rapid growth in global trade and investment (1960 to 1998) inequality worsened both internationally and within countries.
 - ✓ WTO rules have hastened these trends by opening up countries to foreign investment and thereby making it easier for production to go where the labor is cheapest and most easily exploited and environmental costs are low
 - **Market forces controlling agricultural policies-** In developing countries, as many as four out of every five people make their living from the land. But the leading principle in the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture is that market forces should control agricultural policies-rather than a national commitment to guarantee food security and maintain decent family farmer incomes. WTO policies have allowed dumping of heavily subsidized industrially produced food into poor countries, undermining local production and increasing hunger.
 - **Less opportunities to poor nations-** WTO supposedly operates on a consensus basis, with equal decision-making power for all. Involvement of the poor countries is less in the decision-making process and they have less bargaining power. Many countries do not even have enough trade personnel to participate in all the negotiations or to even have a permanent representative at the WTO.
 - **Inactive dispute resolution body-** The Dispute Settlement Body, consisting of all WTO members, is responsible for resolving dispute cases.
 - ✓ This body has the sole authority to set up 'panels' of experts to consider the dispute case and to accept/reject the panels' rulings or results of an appeal based on the consensus of the members.
 - ✓ Yet, this elaborate process came to a grinding halt in December 2019 due to the dispute over the appointment of new judges to the Appellate Body.
 - ✓ The US repeatedly vetoed all proposed new judges.
 - ✓ The main reasons for Washington's rejections are its concern towards Appellate Body's functioning, overarching verdicts and its breach of sovereignty.

Conclusion

Currently, the WTO trumps all other international agreements. The WTO must be scaled back so that the human rights, environmental, labor and other multilaterally agreed public interest standards already enshrined in various international treaties can serve as a floor of conduct for corporations seeking the benefits of global trade rules. For instance, the International Labor Organization provides core labor standards; there are more than 200 multilateral environmental treaties covering toxics, air

pollution, biodiversity and waste dumping; and the World Health Organization and the U.N. Charter on Human Rights provide many standards on access to medicine and food security.

SOCIALIST ECONOMIES AND THE CMEA (COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE)

Introduction

- **Formation-** CMEA, also called as Comecon or Organization for International Economic Cooperation, was established in January 1949 to **facilitate and coordinate the economic development of the eastern European countries belonging to the Soviet bloc.**
- **Members-** Comecon's original members were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.
- ✓ Albania joined in February 1949 but ceased taking an active part at the end of 1961.
- ✓ The German Democratic Republic became a member in September 1950 and the Mongolian People's Republic in June 1962.
- ✓ In 1964 an agreement was concluded enabling Yugoslavia to participate on equal terms with Comecon members in the areas of trade, finance, currency, and industry.
- ✓ Cuba, in 1972, became the 9th full member and Vietnam, in 1978, became the 10th.
- **Headquarters** were established in Moscow.

Socialist economies and CMEA-

- **Reason of socialist countries joining-** The socialist economic system in Eastern Europe—the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—was established in 1949.
- ✓ Most of the countries there did not join the CMEA because they genuinely believed in its purpose of rivaling the capitalist half of Europe.
- ✓ Stalin forced in order to protect Soviet influence there.
- **Socialist countries started to withdraw-** Several socialist states opted out of the idea of an integrated socialist economic system within two decades—Yugoslavia, China, Albania, and Romania.
- **Reforms initiated by USSR-** Because the USSR was the dominant member, it initiated several rounds of reforms from the mid 1950s to the 1970s to provide the CMEA with greater purpose and direction in the competition with the capitalist West. But the structural and ideological foundations, which Stalin had put in place before 1953, remained remarkably resistant to change.
- **Turned into an economic liability for socialist nations-** Thus, within two decades of the end of World War II, Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe turned from a source of reparations into an economic liability for the USSR. By the late 1970s, virtually all CMEA members understood that the organization had failed to deliver it had set out to do.

Formation and Evolution-

- **Formed in 1949-** Comecon was formed under the aegis of the Soviet Union in 1949 in response to the formation of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation in western Europe in 1948.

- **Between 1949 and 1953**, however, Comecon's activities were restricted chiefly to the registration of bilateral trade and credit agreements among member countries.
- **After 1953** the Soviet Union and Comecon began to promote industrial specialization among the member countries and thus reduce "parallelism" (redundant industrial production) in the economies of eastern Europe.
- **In the late 1950s**, after the formation of the European Economic Community in western Europe, Comecon undertook more systematic and intense efforts along these lines, though with only limited success.
- **School of thought followed**- COMECON members were united by their commitment to **Marxism–Leninism**, Soviet–style central planning, and economic development.
- **Acted as a counterweight**- COMECON served as an organizational counterweight first to the Marshall Plan and then to the European Iron and Steel Community and its successor, the European Economic Community.
- **From 1949 to 1953**, Stalin used COMECON primarily to redirect member trade from outside COMECON to within COMECON and to promote substitution of domestic production for imports from outside COMECON.
- **The COMECON economic integration function** was stepped up in 1956, the year of the Soviet invasion of Hungary, with the establishment of eight standing commissions, each planning for a different economic sector across the member countries.

Challenges faced by CMEA-

The economic integration envisaged by Comecon in the early 1960s met with opposition and problems.

- **Incompatibility of the price systems**- A major difficulty was posed by the incompatibility of the price systems used in the various member countries.
- ✓ The prices of most goods and commodities were set by individual governments and had little to do with the goods' actual market values, thus making it difficult for the member states to conduct trade with each other on the basis of relative prices.
- ✓ Instead, trade was conducted mainly on a barter basis through bilateral agreements between governments.

Achievements of CMEA-

- **Eastern Europe's railroad grid**- Comecon's successes did include the organization of eastern Europe's railroad grid and of its electric-power grid
- **International Bank for Economic Cooperation**- The creation of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (1963) to finance investment projects jointly undertaken by two or more members
- **Friendship oil pipeline**- The construction of the "Friendship" oil pipeline, which made oil from the Soviet Union's Volga region available to the countries of eastern Europe.
- In 1971 COMECON initiated a **compromise Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration** as a counterweight to integration within the European Economic Community.

- **Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress**- COMECON continued planning various integration and coordination efforts through the 1970s and 1980s. In 1985-1986 these efforts culminated in the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress to the Year 2000.

What was overall impact of COMECON on Russia?-

- COMECON's impact on Russia was largely economic. Russia was the largest republic among the Soviet Union's fifteen republics. The Soviet Union was the dominant member of COMECON.
- **The strategic purpose of COMECON was to tie Eastern Europe economically to the Soviet Union- For that**- COMECON trade became largely bilateral with the Soviet Union, mostly Russia, supplying raw materials, notably oil, to Eastern Europe in return for manufactured goods, notably machinery and equipment.
- ✓ **Reversal of historic trade trend**- This is the opposite of the trade flow between historically dominant countries and their colonies and dependents. The historical norm is for raw materials to flow from the colonies and dependents to the dominant center, which exports advanced manufactures and services in return.
- **Advantage for Russia**- The comparative advantage for Russia within COMECON was, however, as a raw material and fuel exporter.
- **Russia's loss**- Russia's loss was that it received in return shoddy and obsolescent COMECON machinery and equipment rather than Western machinery with Western technology embedded in it.
- ✓ The Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress to the Year 2000 was only one effort to remedy this problem.
- ✓ Russia also lost out on its potential gains from OPEC's increase in the price of oil beginning in 1973.

Breakdown of CMEA-

- After the collapse of communist governments across eastern Europe in 1989–90, those countries began a pronounced shift to private enterprise and market-type systems of pricing.
- By January 1, 1991, the members had begun to make trade payments in hard, convertible currencies.
- Under agreements made early in 1991, **Comecon was renamed the Organization for International Economic Cooperation**, each nation was deemed free to seek its own trade outlets, and members were reduced to a weak pledge to “coordinate” policies on quotas, tariffs, international payments, and relations with other international bodies.

Conclusion

It seems evident that the COMECON was structurally unable to organize an economically rational planning coordination among the socialist countries, in order to elaborate a common planned model of development at bloc scale. Not only because of internal problems specific to the socialist economic system did it fail, but also because the organization was pushed by its members to mirror more and more the evolutions of the EEC's regional economic integration in the 1960s

Introduction-

- **Establishment of NIEO-** At the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1975, a declaration was made for the establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO). It is regarded as “a **turning-point** in the evolution of the international community.”

- **What is NIEO based on?**

NIEO is to be based on “equity, sovereign equality, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social and economic systems, which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations.”

- **When did the idea of NIEO originated?** - Though the declaration on the NIEO by the General Assembly (GA) is of recent origin, the idea is not altogether a new one.
 - ✓ In fact, a similar resolution was adopted by the GA itself long back in 1952.
 - ✓ Again, similar demands were raised from time to time by the UNCTAD since its inception in 1964.
 - ✓ **A.K. Das Gupta**, however, says that what is spectacular about the NIEO Declaration is “its timing”.
- **Aim of NIEO-** The NIEO aims at a development of the global economy as a whole, with the setup of interrelated policies and performance targets of the international community at large.

Origin of NIEO

- **Failure of existing bodies-** The movement for the establishment of the NIEO is caused by the existing deficiencies in the current international economic order and the gross failures of the GATT and the UNCTAD in fulfillment of their vowed objectives.
- **What's wrong with present economic order?** - The present international economic order is found to be asymmetrical in its working. It is biased. It is favoring the rich-advanced countries.
 - ✓ There has been over dependence of the South on the North. Rich countries tend to have major control over vital decision making in the matter of international trade, terms of trade, international finance, aids, and technological flows.
- **U.N. Resolution 1971-** As a matter of fact, the basis for the NIEO is constituted by the U.N. Resolution in 1971, in the seventh special session on “Development and International Economic Co-operation” with various reforms in the area of international monetary system transfer of technology and foreign investment, world agriculture and **cooperation among the Third World Countries.**
 - ✓ The Resolution categorically mentions that “Concessional financial resources to developing countries need to be increased substantially and their flow made predictable, continuous and increasingly assured so as to facilitate the implementation by developing countries of long-term program for economic and social development.”

- **Global interdependence**- It emphasizes global interdependence. It seeks radical changes in allied social, economic, political and institutional aspects of international relations.
- **New developing sovereign countries of the South have insisted on the NIEO**. It has been further supported by the non-aligned nations which vehemently criticized the politicalisation of development and trade issues by the developed nations.

Developing countries calling for NIEO-

- **To participate in decision-making in larger bodies-** The developing nations are now asserting their right to participate in the decision-making processes of the international institutions like the IMF, World Bank, GATT, UNCTAD, etc.
- **Afro-Asian Conference**- The origin of North-South dialogue for a new economic order may be traced back to over 30 years ago, at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung held in 1955.
- **Algiers Conference**- However, the formal idea of the NIEO was put forward in the Algiers Conference of non-aligned countries in 1973.
- **UNCTAD 6th session**- In 1975, a declaration for the establishment of NIEO was adopted along with a program of action in the Sixth Special Session of the UNCTAD.

What factors are responsible for the emergence of demand of NIEO by the third world countries?

- **The big gap between the Developed and Developing countries-** A big economic gap exists between the developed and the lowly developed countries. The former with about 20% of world population, control more than 80% of world income and wealth.
 - ✓ **More population- less resources-** The latter has to satisfy the needs of about 80% of world population with the help of less than 20% of resources.
 - ✓ **Restricted economic relations-** This wide gap between the North and the South seriously limits the scope of economic relations and trade between them.
 - ✓ The affluence of the developed compared with the poverty, scarcity and under-development of the developing world makes the existing international system unequal and imbalanced.
- **Continuously Increasing Gap-** The existing big economic and development gap between the North and the South has been increasing at an alarming rate. The developed are becoming richer and the developing are becoming poorer.
 - ✓ By virtue of being technologically advanced and industrially developed, the countries of the North are strengthening their control over international trade and income.
 - ✓ Both UNCTAD and WTO have virtually failed to prevent this widening gap between the rich and the poor.
- **Global Interdependence but continued low role of the Developing Countries-** Despite the big gap that exists between the developed and the developing countries, the global interdependence has increased in our times. Both the developed and the developing countries today find themselves increasingly dependent upon each other.
 - ✓ However, this global interdependence continues to be exploited by the former for strengthening their economic positions.
 - ✓ The hope that the developed countries would come forth with international actions augmenting the transfer of resources and liberalization of trade, has proved to be wrong.

- ✓ In actual practice the **developed countries have failed** to appreciate properly the global interdependence and have continued to pursue their desired objectives in international trade and economy without much regard to the perceptions and needs of the developing countries.
- ✓ This has been a source of grave dissatisfaction for the developing countries.
- **Economic Neo-Colonialism**- Despite the sovereign equality of all the members of international community, the developing countries find themselves living in an era of neo-colonialism in which the developed countries continue to control their economies and policies.
 - ✓ The dawn of independence and the resulting sovereign status has made them free only politically, economically and in actual practice they continue to be dependent upon the developed countries.
 - ✓ Being poor and under-developed they find themselves helplessly dependent upon the developed states for securing foreign aid.
- **Excessive Exploitation of World Income and Resources by the Developed Countries**- The continued heavy exploitation of world resources and income by the developed countries has given strength to the demand for NIEO.
 - ✓ Under multifarious disguises, the rich countries have been successful in maintaining the appropriation of world resources to the detriment of poor and weak countries.
 - ✓ Being technologically and industrially advanced and economically affluent, the developed countries continue to have a virtual control over the raw material markets, what practically amounts to a monopoly over manufactured products and capital equipment.
- **The inadequacy of WTO**- Even the new GATT—the WTO has failed to satisfy the aspirations and needs of the developing countries. The attempts on the part of the developed countries to incorporate a ‘social clause’ have further been a source of concern for the developing countries.
 - ✓ Such attempts are viewed by the Third World as attempts of the developed world at strengthening its neo-colonial control over it.
 - ✓ The failure of the WTO to take note of the need for a North-South dialogue over NIEO has again been a source of strain on the relations between the developed and the developing countries.
- **The Need to protect the Rights and Interests of the Third World countries in the era of Globalization and WTO**- The dawn of the era of globalization and WTO regime has given rise to the new need for securing the rights and interests of the developing countries against the attempts of the developed countries to hijack WTO and to establish their hegemony in the grab of globalization.

NOTE- All these factors mentioned above have combined to make the Third World countries rally around the demand for NIEO.

The North-South Dialogue

- **Funding for developing nations**- In 1977, there was a negotiation between the North and South at the Paris talks. The developed countries agreed to provide an additional U.S. 1 billion towards the Aid Fund for the development of the poor nations.
- **Willy Brandt Commission**- In December 1977 the Willy Brandt Commission was set up with a view to review the issues of international economic development. The WB Commission’s Report (1980) stresses the need for North-South co-operation.
- **Recommendations of the commission**- Beside establishment of a common development fund, its recommendations include strengthening the structure of development lending a

code of conduct for the multi-national co-operation as well as the need for inter-governmental co-operation in monetary and fiscal areas along with the trade policies.

- **Increasing participation of developing nations-** It also proposed for the increasing participation of developing nations in the decision-making processes at international level.

As **Mehboob-ul-Haque** observes, the demand for NIEO is to be viewed as a part of historical process rather than a set of specific proposals. Its important facets are the emergence of non-aligned movement, the politicization of the development issue and the increased assertiveness of the Third World countries.

- **What has NIEO done to solve problems of developing countries-** The NIEO led to a serious thinking on the part of the developed countries (DC) to solve the problems of trade of LDCs. There has been a move towards programmed actions in two directions-
 1. **Commodity Agreements-** with a view to stabilize prices of exportable of LDCs
 2. **Compensatory Financing-** through IMF's liberal loans to LDCs having deficits due to fluctuations in prices.

What are the objectives of the NIEO?

- **Social justice between developed and developing economies-** In essence, the NIEO aims at social justice among the trading countries of the world. It seeks restructuring of existing institutions and forming new organizations to regulate the flow of trade, technology, capital funds in the common interest of the world's global economy and due benefits in Favour of the LDCs. It has the spirit of a 'world without borders.'
- **Better allocation of resources-** It suggests more equitable allocation of world's resources through increased flow of aid from the rich nations to the poor countries.
- **Reducing disparities-** It seeks to overcome world mass misery and alarming disparities between the living conditions of the rich and poor in the world as large.
- **To give chance to developing nations to have their say-** Its aim is to provide poor nations increased participation and have their say in the decision-making processes in international affairs.
- **Proposal to form new international currency-** NIEO also envisages the establishment of a new international currency the implementation of SDR aid linkage, the increased stabilization of international floating exchange system and the use of IMF funds as interest subsidy on loans to the poorest developing countries.
- **Promote economic development-** The crucial aim of the NIEO is to promote economic development among the poor countries through self- help and South-South co-operation.
- **Specific problems of south-** The NIEO intends to deal with the major problems of the South, such as balance of payments disequilibrium, debt crisis, exchange scarcity etc.

What has been the program of Action for the NIEO?

- **Source of Program of action-** In essence, the UNCTAD resolutions provide a source of programme of action for the international economic order.

- **Regarding free market**- The NIEO is not in favour of the existing system of free market orientation. It is biased in the less developed countries through interventionist approach.
- **Regarding economic development**- Its action programme narrates the need for a more rapid economic development of the poor countries and their increasing share in the world's trade at favourable terms of trade.
- **Regarding discrimination with developing countries**- Its line of action is to adopt discriminatory approach in trade favouring the LDCs.
- **Regarding politicalisation**- It also insists on de-politicalisation in the flow of official as well as private direct investment from the rich to the poor countries.
- **Regarding financial aid**- It contains that aid has to be of multi-lateral form with a view to facilitate structural adjustments in the less developed countries.
- **Regarding International monetary system**- It also stresses the need for restructuring the international monetary system.

Conclusion- So far, however, no result-oriented action programme has been undertaken. Nevertheless, the zeal for an NIEO should be continued in the interest of the global welfare.

- **Response of developed nations**- There has been always a great opposition from the rich countries. They have vested interests which do not allow for the healthy outcome and actions in various negotiations and their implementation.
 - ✓ Again, the poor countries have weak bargaining power in negotiations.
 - ✓ Further, there is very weak trade link between LDCs and the socialist blocs.

What can the developing countries do to secure NIEO?

- Expand and strengthen South-South cooperation
- Use the platform of **NAM** to keep their unity and solidarity as well as for forcefully advocating the need for NIEO
- Work for securing an expansion of UN Security Council as well as for ending western control over international economic institutions like IMF, WB, and others
- Adopt coordinated policies and collective approach towards all international issues and problem, particularly economic and developmental issues and problem under WTO.
- Work for the promotion of regional cooperation for development among the developing countries. It can be a very effective means for rapid socio-economic development which can strengthen the bargaining power of the South vis-a-vis the North.

Conclusion

The Third World regards the securing of NIEO as a vital necessity of contemporary international relations. It feels that this is the only alternative for halting the fast deterioration of their economies in the present state of international economic order. The concerted opposition and protectionist policies of the developed countries are further destined to keep South's path towards development difficult and problematic. As such NIEO alone appears to be the best solution for ending the existing discriminatory, partial and unjust international economic order. The developed countries, however, are not prepared to accept it as a priority.

Introduction

- **Force of globalization**- Globalization is a powerful real aspect of the new world system, and it represents one of the most influential forces in determining the future course of the planet. It has manifold dimensions: economic, political, security, environmental, health, social, cultural, and others.
- **Coining of term “globalization”**- The term "globalization" in economic context was coined in the 1980's, but the concept is an old one that has different interpretations to different people.
- **What is globalization in economic context?**

"Globalization "is understood majorly as increases in worldwide trade and exchanges in an increasingly open, integrated, and borderless international economy.

- ✓ There has been remarkable growth in such trade and exchanges, not only in traditional international trade in goods and services, but also in exchanges of currencies; in capital movements; in technology transfer; in people moving through international travel and migration; and in international flows of information and ideas.
- **Making the world borderless**- Globalization has involved greater openness in the international economy, an integration of markets on a worldwide basis, and a movement toward a borderless world, all of which have led to increases in global flows.

Reasons for emergence of globalization in world economy-

There are several sources of globalization that have led to its proliferation in the world economy over the last several decades.

- **Technological advancement**- One such source has been technological advances that have significantly lowered the costs of transportation and communication and dramatically lowered the costs of data processing and information storage and retrieval.
 - ✓ The latter stems from developments over the last few decades in electronics, especially the microchip and computer revolutions
- **Liberalization**- A second source of globalization has been trade liberalization and other forms of economic liberalization that have led to reductions in trade protection and to a more liberal world trading system.
 - ✓ This process of wider liberalization started in the last century, but the two World Wars and the Great Depression interrupted it.
 - ✓ It resumed after World War II through the most-favored-nation approach to trade liberalization, as embodied in the 1946 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that evolved into the World Trade Organization (WTO).
 - ✓ As a result, there have been significant reductions in tariffs and other barriers to trade in goods and services.
- **Institutional reforms**- A third source of globalization has been changes in institutions, where organizations have a wider reach, due, in part, to technological changes and to the more wide-ranging horizons of their managers, who have been empowered by advances in communications.

- ✓ Thus, corporations that had been mainly focused on a local market have extended their range in terms of markets and production facilities to a national, multinational, international, or even global reach.
- ✓ These changes in industrial structure have led to increases in the power, profits, and productivity of those firms that can choose among many nations for their sources of materials, production facilities, and markets, quickly adjusting to changing market conditions.

According to **Waltz**, these global firms are seen by some as a threat to the scope and autonomy of the state, but, while these firms are powerful, the nation state still retains its traditional and dominant role in the world economic and political system and is likely to remain in this role.

- **Global agreement on ideologies-** A fourth reason for globalization has been the global agreement on ideology, with a convergence of beliefs in the value of a market economy and a free trading system.
 - ✓ This process began with the political and economic changes that started in the 1978 reforms in China and then involved a “falling dominoes” series of revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe starting in 1989 and ending with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991.
 - ✓ This process led to a convergence of ideology, with the former division between market economies in the West and socialist economies in the East having been replaced by a near-universal reliance on the market system.
 - ✓ This convergence of beliefs in the value of a market economy has led to a world that is no longer divided into market-oriented and socialist economies. A major aspect of this convergence of beliefs is the attempt of the former socialist states to make a transition to a market economy
- **Cultural developments-** A fifth reason for globalization has been cultural developments, with a move to a globalized and homogenized media, the arts, and popular culture and with the widespread use of the English language for global communication. Partly as a result of these cultural developments, some, especially the French and some other continental Europeans, see globalization as an attempt at U.S. cultural as well as economic and political hegemony.

Impacts of Globalization on National Economies

Presented both opportunities and challenges- Whether one sees globalization as a negative or as a positive development, it must be understood that it has clearly changed the world system and that it poses both opportunities and challenges. It is also clear that the technological, policy, institutional, ideological, and cultural developments that have led to globalization are still very active.

Impact of globalization- Globalization has had significant impacts on all economies of the world, with manifold effects. It affects their production of goods and services. It also affects the employment of labor and other inputs into the production process. In addition, it affects investment, both in physical capital and in human capital. It affects technology and results in the diffusion of technology from initiating nations to other nations. It also has major effects on efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness.

Some of these impacts are-

- **Growth of FDI**- The growth of foreign direct investment (FDI) at a prodigious rate, one that is much greater than the growth in world trade. Such investment plays a key role in technology transfer, in industrial restructuring, and in the formation of global enterprises, all of which have major impacts at the national level. They have been especially significant in China.
- **Impact of globalization on technological innovation**- new technologies, as already noted, have been a factor in globalization, but globalization and the spur of competition that it entails have also stimulated further advances in technology and sped up its diffusion within nations through FDI.
- **Services trade**- growth of trade in services, including financial, legal, managerial, and information services and intangibles of all types that have become mainstays of international commerce.
- **Age of competence**- As a result of the growth of services both nationally and internationally, some have called the current age as one of competence, underscoring the importance of lifelong education and training and the investment in human capital in every national economy.

Benefits of Globalization on world economy-

- **Growing competition**- Globalization has led to growing competition on a global basis. Competition and the widening of markets can lead to specialization and the division of labor, as discussed by Adam Smith and other classical economists writing in the eighteenth century on the benefits of a market system at the beginning of the industrial age.
- ✓ Specialization and the division of labor, with their implications for increases in production, now exist not just at the national level but also on a worldwide basis
- **Trade benefits to every country**- Benefits from trade in which both parties gain in a mutually beneficial exchange, where the "parties" can be individuals, firms and other organizations, nations, continents, trading blocs, or other entities.
- **Increase in productivity**- Globalization can also result in increased productivity as a result of the rationalization of production on a global scale and the spread of technology and competitive pressures for continual innovation on a worldwide basis.
- **Benefits all stakeholders**- Overall, these beneficial effects of competition stemming from globalization show its potential value in improving the position of all parties, with the potential for increased output and higher real wage levels and living standards
- **Human resource development**- The result is a potential for greater human well-being throughout the world. Of course, there is the distributional or equity issue of who does, in fact, gain from these potential benefits of globalization.
- ✓ As one important case in point, however, China has benefited enormously from globalization as a result of which hundreds of its people have been lifted from poverty, with China becoming the factory for most of the world.

Challenges of globalization of world economy-

Globalization involves not only benefits, but also has costs or potential problems that some critics see as great perils. These costs could lead to conflicts of various types, whether at the regional, national, or international level.

- **Who gains from its potential benefits**- There can be substantial equity problems in the distribution of the gains from globalization among individuals, organizations, nations, and regions. Indeed, many of the gains have been going to the rich nations or individuals, creating greater inequalities and leading to potential conflicts nationally and internationally.
- **Crisis in one region might impact others**- A second cost or problem stemming from globalization is that of major potential regional or global instabilities stemming from the interdependencies of economies on a worldwide basis. There is the possibility that local economic fluctuations or crises in one nation could have regional or even global impacts.
- **Virtual shifting of sovereign control**- the control of national economies is seen by some as shifting, in part, from sovereign governments to other entities, including the most powerful nation states, multinational or global firms, and international organizations.
- ✓ The result is that some perceive national sovereignty as being undermined by the forces of globalization.
- ✓ Thus, globalization could lead to a belief among national leaders that they are helplessly in the grip of global forces and an attitude of disaffection among the electorate
- **Unemployment in the high wage industrialized economies**- The relatively low unemployment rates in many high wage nations and their high rates in many low wage nations appear to disprove this allegation. National policy and technological trends are much more important determinants of employment than global factors.

Negative effects of globalization can even lead to some world-wide problems-

There are potentially very important noneconomic impacts of globalization involving great risks and potential costs, even the possibility for catastrophe.

- **Security**- Here, the negative effects of globalization could lead to conflicts, as suggested above, and even possibly another world war. Indeed, the very process of globalization leading to integration of markets could make conflicts escalate beyond a particular region or raise the stakes of conflict, for example, from conventional weapons to weapons of mass destruction.
- **Political crisis**- It could escalate from local to largescale challenges
- **Environment and health**- the greater interconnectedness stemming from globalization could lead again to catastrophic outcomes, such as global warming and pandemics, repeating the great influenza pandemic of 1918 and COVID-19.

Way forward-

Is globalization beneficial or harmful for the world economy? - The answer depends crucially on the nature of the world system. In a world beset by conflicts, globalization would probably have a net negative impact. Conversely, in a cooperative world, globalization would probably have a net positive impact.

- **Challenge and an opportunity**- Thus, globalization represents a major challenge and at the same time an unprecedented opportunity in terms of the possibilities for conflict or cooperation. The challenge is to create a new world system in the aftermath of the cold war and the movements toward globalization that would enhance its generally beneficial effects and that would minimize its actual or potential costs.

- **Co-operation among nations**- The key to such a world system will be cooperation among the nations of the world and dynamic innovation, including the establishment of new institutions.
- **Global cooperation**- Global cooperation through formal or informal institutions provides an increasingly important mechanism to ensure the proper treatment of global problems, including those stemming from globalization trends.
- ✓ Through such global cooperation it should be possible to ensure equity and stability in a globalized world, leading to economic growth for all, the transition to a market economy for former socialist states, and economic development for the poorer nations.

Conclusion

Regardless of the downsides, globalization is here to stay. The result is a smaller, more connected world. Socially, globalization has facilitated the exchange of ideas and cultures, contributing to a world view in which people are more open and tolerant of one another. This will also largely impact the economic globalization which will help in making the world a better place to trade and to live.

UNITED NATIONS

Syllabus- United Nations: Envisaged role and actual record; specialized UN agencies-aims and functioning; the need for UN reforms

Previous Year questions-

1. Bring out the objectives of India seeking permanent seat in Security council. (10 Marks, 2013)
2. Is India's quest for a permanent in the Security Council a possibility or just a pipedream? Elaborate with reasons. (10 Marks, 2014)
3. Evaluate India's participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations over the years. (15 Marks, 2014)
4. Has the reform of economic and social arrangements of the United Nations been effective? (20 Marks, 2015)
5. Critically analyze China's role in international politics against India's demand for permanent seat in UN security council. (15 Marks, 2016)
6. Do you endorse that the United Nations needs major changes in its structures and functioning? Suggest the changes for efficient improvements. (15 Marks, 2016)
7. Uniting for consensus also known as Coffee club has opposed the claims of India and other countries over permanent membership of UN Security Council. Point out their major objections. (15 Marks, 2017)
8. "India has been the largest and consistent country contributing to the UN peacekeepers worldwide". Examine India's role in this perspective. (10 Marks, 2017)
9. Do you agree with the view that despite the limitations in functioning of the UN, it has distinguished and unique achievements to its credit? (15 Marks, 2017)
10. Discuss the various impediments in India's way to a permanent seat in the Security Council. (15 Marks, 2018)
11. Discuss the relevance of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on the security of women in conflict zones. (20 Marks, 2018)
12. Analyze the trends in India's role in the UN peacekeeping operations. (15 marks, 2019)
13. How far have the UN reform efforts of 2004-05, transformed the concept of 'Sovereignty' as a fundamental principle of International Law? Do you think that UN reform discourse represents a 'biopolitical reprogramming' of contemporary sovereignty and global governance? [15 marks, 2020]
14. Argue a case for U.N. reform in the context of changing global milieu. [15 marks, 2021]

UNITED NATIONS

Introduction

- The United Nations Organisation (UNO) is the global international organisation of sovereign independent states. It was established on 24 October 1945.
- **Main reason for its formation**- The destruction caused by the Second World War compelled the people to establish an international organisation for keeping the world away from war and in Favour of friendship and cooperation among all the nations.
- The UNO was designed to save the future generations from the scourge of war by promoting international peace and security.

Process of its formation-

- **International Peace Conference**- In 1899, the International Peace Conference was held in The Hague to elaborate instruments for settling crises peacefully, preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare.
- **Convention adopted**- It adopted the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began work in 1902. This court was the forerunner of UN International Court of Justice.
- **League of Nations**- The forerunner of the United Nations was the League of Nations, an organization conceived in circumstances of the First World War, and established in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles "to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security."
- **Formation of ILO**- The International Labour Organization (ILO) was also created in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles as an affiliated agency of the League.
- **Changes after WWII**- After the end of the Second World War, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union (Former USSR) some other states held several meetings and planned to establish an organisation for preserving peace and promoting social, economic and political co-operation among all nations.
- **Formation of UN**- As a result of their efforts, the United Nations Organisation came into existence in 1945 when the representatives of 51 nations signed the Charter of the UNO at San Francisco.
- **Naming of the UN**- The name "United Nations" was suggested by US President Franklin Roosevelt. It was first used in the Declaration of the United Nations made on January 1, 1942.
- ✓ At San Francisco Conference, it was unanimously adopted as the name of the new international organization as a tribute to the late President of the United States.
- ✓ India had not achieved its independence by then and yet it became one of the founder members of the United Nations.
- **Signing of UN Charter**- All nations pledged themselves to the UN Charter. In the UN Charter they pledged "to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war" They also promised to "promote social progress and better standards of life." The Charter came into force on **October 24, 1945** after a majority of the signatories deposited their instruments of ratification. Since then, every year, 24th October is celebrated as the United Nations Day.

The United Nations Charter-

- **What is it?** - The Charter is the Constitution of the United Nations Organisation. It was made in October 1944 by the Dumbarton Oaks (Washington DC) Conference.
- **Constituents**- It lays down the rules which govern the organisation and functions of the UNO and all its organs.
- The Charter has a Preamble, 19 Chapters and 111 Articles which explain the purposes, principles, organs, and operating methods of the UN.

Purpose of UN Charter-

The purposes of the UN are defined in **Article 1 of the UN Charter**. These are-

1. To maintain international peace and security and to take adequate steps to avert wars.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations on the basis of equality.

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.
4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Principles of United Nations-

The principles are the means to achieve the objectives of the UN. These are contained in **Article 2** of the UN Charter-

1. All the member states are equal.
2. The member states shall fulfill their obligations to the UN honestly.
3. The member states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means.
4. The member states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other state.
5. The member states shall give to the UN every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the UN Charter.
6. The states which are not members of the UN, should also act in accordance with these principles for the maintenance of international peace and security.
7. No member state shall interfere in the internal affairs of any other state.

Headquarters of UN

- The headquarters of UN is located at First Avenue, UN Plaza, **New York** the USA.
- The UN building stand on a 17-acre tract of land donated, by **John D Rockefeller on Manhattan Island**, a suburb of **New York**.
- It is a 39-storey building which can house about 8000 employees.

The UN Flag

- The UN General Assembly adopted the UN Flag on October 20, 1947.
- The white UN emblem is superimposed on a light blue background.
- The emblem consists of the global map projected from the North Pole and embraced in two Olive Branches (symbol of peace)

Membership of the UN

- Under the UN Charter, membership of this global organisation is open to all “peace loving” states who accept the obligations of the organization as contained in the Charter.
- New members are admitted by two thirds vote of the UN General Assembly and on the recommendations of the UN Security Council.
- The present strength of UNO is 193.

Languages used by the UNO

- The UN conducts its business in six official languages- Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

UN ORGANS AND THEIR ROLES

The Charter of UN establishes six principal UN organs. These are-

1. The UN General Assembly

- The General Assembly is the highest deliberative organ and the main policy-making organ of the UN. It is also called the **World Parliament of Nations**.
- **AIM**- Comprising all Member States, it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion of the full spectrum of international issues covered by the Charter of the United Nations.
- Each member state sends five representatives to it but each state has only one vote.
- **Responsibilities**- The UNGA also makes key decisions for the UN, including:
 - ✓ appointing the Secretary-General on the recommendation of the Security Council
 - ✓ electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council
 - ✓ approving the UN budget
- **Sessions**- The session of the General Assembly is convened on third Tuesday in the month of September every year. It discusses specific issues through dedicated agenda items or sub-items, which lead to the adoption of resolutions.
- The opening day of the session stands designated as the International Day of Peace.
- **HQ**- Its headquarter is located at New York (the USA).
- **In times of COVID**- In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the UN General Assembly has been carrying out its work since 2020 via novel means to guarantee business continuity and mitigate the spread of the disease.
 - ✓ **Specific examples** include the use of virtual platforms to conduct meetings and the adoption of e-voting through procedure for decision-making when an in-person meeting is not possible.

Thought for conclusions in any answer on UNGA-

The pandemic is not the only issue the world faces. Racism, intolerance, inequality, climate change, poverty, hunger, armed conflict, and other ills remain global challenges. These challenges call for global action, and the General Assembly is a critical opportunity for all to come together and chart a course for the future.

2. The UN Security Council

- **Executive body**- The Security Council is the executive body of the UN. It is called “**the Power House**” of the UN.
- **Members**- It is made up of 15 members out of whom 5 are permanent members, each with a veto power. These are the USA, Russia, China, France and United Kingdom.
- Remaining 10 are non-permanent members who are elected by the General Assembly by a 2/3 majority for a term of two years.
- Under the Charter of the United Nations, all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions.
- **Aim**- The Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- **Power**- The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement.

- ✓ In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security.
- **Decisions**- The decisions of the Security Council are taken by a majority and vote but each of its five permanent members has the right to veto its decisions.
- **Uniting for peace resolution**- Under the “uniting for peace resolution” adopted in November 1950, the UN General Assembly can direct the Security Council to act for meeting any threat to international peace by taking collective security action against aggression.
- **HQ**- The Security Council is a powerful organ of the UN. It’s headquarter is located at New York in USA.
- **India’s vision**- India now wants to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

3. **The Economic and Social Council**

- **Members & term**- The Economic and Social Council has 54 members; they are elected by the UN General Assembly for a term of three years.
- One-third members (18) out of these retire every year and, in their place, new members are elected.
- **Aim**- This Council helps the UN in solving the economic and social problems of the world. It also supervises the work of some other UN bodies.
- **Objective**- The Economic and Social Council is at the heart of the United Nations system to advance the three dimensions of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental.
 - ✓ It is the central platform for fostering debate and innovative thinking, forging consensus on ways forward, and coordinating efforts to achieve internationally agreed goals.
 - ✓ It is also responsible for the follow-up to major UN conferences and summits.
- **Motto**- ECOSOC brings people and issues together to promote collective action for a sustainable world
- **HQ**- It’s headquarter is located at New York in the USA.

4. **The Trusteeship Council**

- **Aim**- The Trusteeship Council supervises the administration of those backward and disputed territories, the responsibility for the development of which has been taken over by the UNO.
- **Objective**- The main goals of the International Trusteeship System were to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence.
- **Has the aim been fulfilled?** - The aims of the Trusteeship System have been fulfilled to the extent that all Trust Territories have attained self-government or independence, either as separate States or by joining neighboring independent countries.
- **Members**- Apart from the permanent members of the Security Council, the administering countries of the trust territories are its members.
- **Term**- These are elected for three years by the UN General Assembly the Trusteeship Council monitors the development of trust territories.
- **Power**- Under the Charter, the Trusteeship Council is authorized to examine and discuss reports from the Administering Authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the peoples of Trust Territories and, in consultation with the Administering

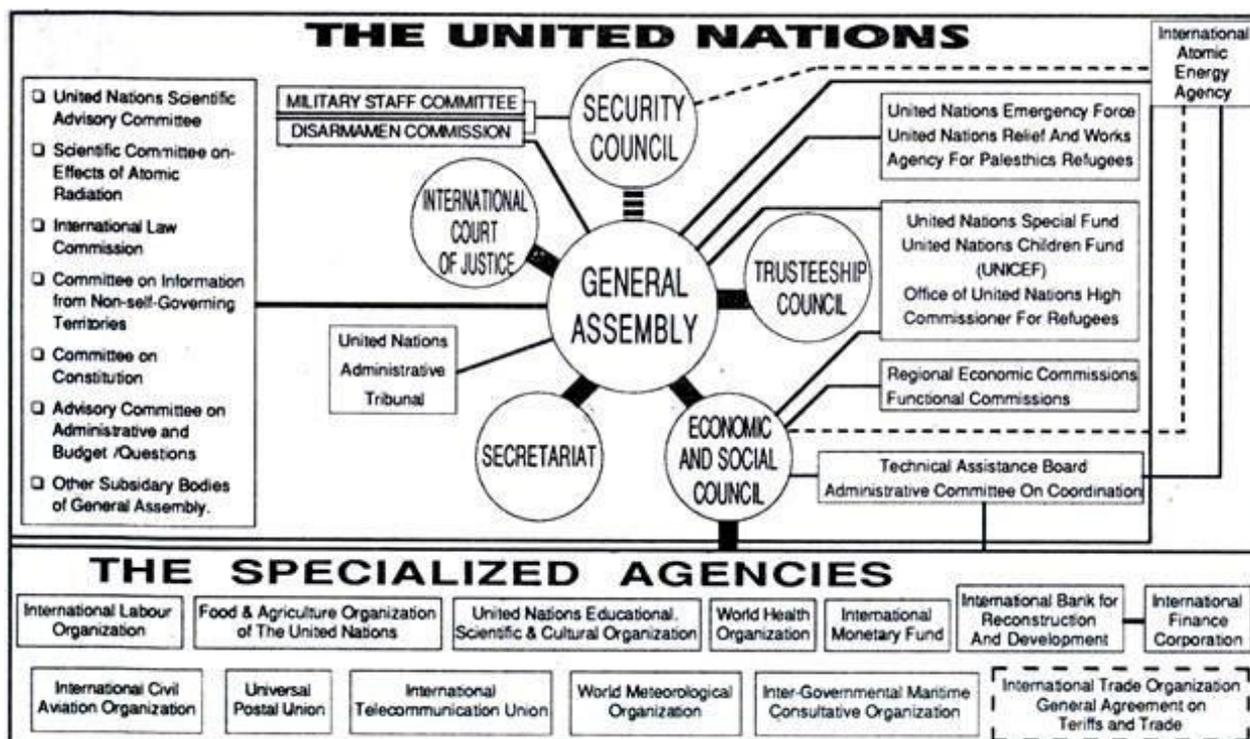
Authority, to examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to Trust Territories.

5. The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

- It is the chief judicial body of the UN. It is also called “**the World Court.**” It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946.
- **Judges**- It consists of 15 judges who are elected by the General Assembly on the recommendations of the UN Security Council; each judge of ICJ holds a tenure of 9 years. It's one third judges retire after three years and in their place new judges are elected.
- **Languages**- Its official languages are English and French.
- **Powers**- The International Court of Justice gives its verdict on such disputes/cases which are brought to it by the concerned states by their mutual consent. It gives advisory opinion on legal matters to the organs and special agencies of the UN when solicited.
- **HQ**- It's headquarter is located at The Hague (Netherlands). Of the six principal organs of the United Nations, it is the only one not located in New York (United States of America).

6. The UN Secretariat

- **Aim**- Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UN. It implements the policies and decisions taken up by organs of the UN. It carries out the day-to-day work of the UN as mandated by the General Assembly and the Organization's other main organs.
- **Members**- It consists of international civil servants who, while serving the UN, must forget their national loyalties and work for securing the interests of the UN. There are about 4000 employees of the UN Secretariat. Their salaries are paid by the UN.
- **Chief executive**- The Secretariat General is the head of the Secretariat. He is called the “Watchdog of the UN”. He is appointed for a term of 5 year by the UN General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. At present. **Mr. António Guterres** is the UN Secretary General.
- **How it functions**- The Secretariat is organized along departmental lines, with each department or office having a distinct area of action and responsibility. Offices and departments coordinate with each other to ensure cohesion in the UN's program of work. Much of the UN Secretariat is located in New York City, USA.
- **Fodder point for MAINS**- Serving the cause of peace in a violent world is a dangerous occupation. Since the founding of the United Nations, hundreds of brave men and women have given their lives in its service.



Specialized Agencies of the UN

United Nations Specialized Agencies are autonomous organizations working with the United Nations and each other through the coordinating machinery of the United Nations Economic and Social Council at the intergovernmental level, and through the Chief Executives Board for co-ordination (CEB) at the inter-secretariat level.

- **Objective**- One of the principal objectives of the UN is to solve economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems through international cooperation. Several specialized agencies have been set up to achieve these goals
- **Specialized bodies**- These are agencies which may or may not have been created by the United Nations, but they are incorporated into the United Nations System by the United Nations Economic and Social Council acting under Articles 57 and 63 of the United Nations Charter
- **Total 15 bodies**- At present, the UN has in total 15 specialized agencies that carry out various functions on behalf of the UN. They are listed below-

Specialized agencies and their main functions-

1. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

- **Basic info**- FAO is the largest of the UN agencies. It was established in 1945 and its headquarters is in Rome, Italy.

- **Significance**- The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations leads international efforts to defeat hunger.
- **Equal platform for everyone**- Serving both developed and developing countries, FAO acts as a neutral forum where all nations meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy.
- **Aim**- FAO's mandate is to raise levels of nutrition, improve agricultural productivity, better the lives of rural populations and contribute to the growth of the world economy.

2. **International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)**

- **Founding**- The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) was founded in 1947.
- **Significance**- It codifies the principles and techniques of international air navigation and fosters the planning and development of international air transport to ensure safe and orderly growth.
- **HQ**- Its headquarters are located in the Quartier international de Montréal of Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
- **Aim**- The ICAO Council adopts standards and recommended practices concerning air navigation, prevention of unlawful interference, and facilitation of border-crossing procedures for international civil aviation.
- In addition, ICAO defines the protocols for air accident investigation followed by transport safety authorities in countries signatory to the Convention on International Civil Aviation, commonly known as the Chicago Convention.

3. **International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)**

- **When & how formed**- The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was established as an international financial institution in 1977, as one of the major outcomes of the 1974 World Food Conference and a response to the situation in the Sahel.
- **Aim**- It is dedicated to eradicating rural poverty in developing countries. Its headquarters are in Rome, Italy.

4. **International Labour Organization (ILO)**

- **HQ**- Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland.
- **Founding**- Founded in 1919, it was formed through the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles and was initially an agency of the League of Nations.
- It became a member of the UN system after the demise of the League and the formation of the UN at the end of World War II.
- **Aim**- The International Labour Organization (ILO) deals with labor issues.
- **Objective**- Its Constitution, as amended to date, includes the Declaration of Philadelphia on the aims and purposes of the Organization. Its secretariat is known as the International Labour Office.

5. International Maritime Organization (IMO)

- **Founding**- The International Maritime Organization (IMO), formerly known as the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), was established in 1948 by the United Nations to coordinate international maritime safety and related practices.
- However, the IMO did not enter into full force until 1958.
- **HQ**- Headquartered in London, United Kingdom, the IMO promotes cooperation between government and the shipping industry to improve maritime safety and prevent marine pollution.
- **Governance**- IMO is governed by an Assembly of members and is financially administered by a Council of members elected from the Assembly.
- The work of IMO is conducted through five committees, and these are supported by technical sub-committees.
- Member organizations of the UN organizational family may observe the proceedings of the IMO. Observer status may be granted to qualified non-governmental organizations.
- The IMO is supported by a permanent secretariat of employees who are representative of its members.
- **Members**- The secretariat is composed of a Secretary-General who is periodically elected by the Assembly, and various divisions including, inter alia, marine safety, environmental protection, and a conference section.
- It also promotes international cooperation in education, science and culture.

6. International Monetary Fund (IMF)

- **Member but independent**- International Monetary Fund (IMF) is part of the United Nations system and has a formal relationship agreement with the UN, but retains its independence.
- **Significance**- The IMF provides monetary cooperation and financial stability and acts as a forum for advice, negotiation and assistance on financial issues.
- **HQ**- It is headquartered in Washington D.C., United States of America.

7. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

- **Aim**- The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) was established to standardize and regulate international radio and telecommunications.
- **Founding**- It was founded as the International Telegraph Union in Paris on 17 May 1865.
- **Objective**- Its main tasks include standardization, allocation of the radio spectrum, and organizing interconnection arrangements between different countries to allow international phone calls — in which regard it performs for telecommunications a similar function to what the Universal Postal Union (UPU) performs for postal services.
- **HQ**- It has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, next to the main United Nations campus.

8. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

- **Founding**- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations established in 1945 with its headquarters in Paris, France.
- **Aim**- Its stated purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting international collaboration through education, science, and culture to propagate further universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the UN Charter.

9. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

- **Aim**- United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) is the specialized agency of the United Nations, which promotes inclusive and sustainable industrial development (ISID)
- **Significance in present world**- The Organization addresses some of the most pressing issues of our time and works to accelerate economic growth to bring prosperity to all while at the same time safeguarding the environment.
- **Works parallel to SDG**- UNIDO's mandate is fully aligned with the global development agenda, which underlines the central role of industrialization and its importance as a key enabler for all 17 Global Goals, and especially for SDG9.
- **HQ**- Vienna, Austria.
- The Director General is **Gerd Müller**.

10. Universal Postal Union (UPU)

- **Aim**-The Universal Postal Union (UPU), coordinates postal policies between member nations, and hence the worldwide postal system.
- **HQ**- Berne, Switzerland,
- **Uniformity in functioning**- Each member country agrees to the same set of terms for conducting international postal duties.

11. World Bank Group (WBG)

- **Member but independent**- The World Bank Group is a part of the United Nations System and has a formal relationship agreement with the UN, but retains its independence.
- **Institutions that are part of WBG**- The WBG comprises a group of five legally separate but affiliated institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Development Association (IDA), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).
- **International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)**- The IBRD makes loans to developing countries for development programs with the stated goal of reducing poverty. It is part of the World Bank Group (WBG).
- **International Development Association (IDA)**- The IDA's mandate is close to that of IBRD, with a focus on the poorest countries. It is part of the World Bank Group (WBG).

- **International Finance Corporation (IFC)**- The IFC is the largest multilateral source of loan and equity financing for private sector projects in the developing world. It is part of the World Bank Group (WBG)
- **Significance**- It is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world.
- **Aim**- Its mission is to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors.
- **HQ**- The WBG headquarters are located in Washington, D.C., United States.

12. World Health Organization (WHO)

- **Aim**- The World Health Organization (WHO) acts as a coordinating authority on international public health and deals with health, sanitation, and diseases and sends medical teams to help combat epidemics.
- **Founding**- Established on 7 April 1948, the agency inherited the mandate and resources of its predecessor, the Health Organization, which had been an agency of the League of Nations.
- **World Health Day**- 7 April is celebrated as World Health Day every year. ‘
- **Members**- The WHO is governed by 194 Member States through the World Health Assembly.
- **HQ**- Its headquarters is in Geneva, Switzerland.

13. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

- **Founding**- The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations created in 1967 and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland.
- **Aim**- Its purpose is to encourage creative activity and to promote the protection of intellectual property throughout the world. The organization administers several treaties concerning the protection of intellectual property rights.

14. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

- **Predecessor**- The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) originated from the International Meteorological Organization (IMO), which was founded in 1873.
- **Founding**- Established in 1950
- **Aim**- WMO became the specialized agency of the United Nations for modern meteorology (weather and climate), operational hydrology and related geophysical sciences.
- **HQ**- It has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

15. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

- **Founding**- The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO or WTO) was established in 1974 in Madrid, Spain, to replace the International Union of Official Tourist Publicity Organizations (IUOTPO).

- **Members**- UNWTO has 160 member states and 350 affiliated members representing private organizations, educational institutions, and others.
- **HQ**- It is headquartered in Madrid, Spain.
- **Significance**- The World Tourism Organization serves as a forum for tourism policies and acts as a practical source for tourism know-how.

Achievements of UN over the years

The main objective of the UN as a body was to maintain peace and security at a global level. Largely it has been successful in various areas. Some of the most important achievements of UN over the years are-

Peace and Security

1. **Maintaining Peace and Security**: By sending peacekeeping and observer missions to the world's trouble spots over the past six decades, the United Nations has been able to restore calm, allowing many countries to recover from conflict.
2. **Preventing Nuclear Proliferation**: For over the five decades, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has served as the world's nuclear inspector. IAEA experts work to verify that safeguarded nuclear material is used only for peaceful purposes. To date, the Agency has safeguards agreements with more than 180 States.
3. **Supporting Disarmament**: UN treaties are the legal backbone of disarmament efforts:
 - ✓ the Chemical Weapons Convention-1997 has been ratified by 190 States
 - ✓ the Mine-Ban Convention-1997 by 162 states
 - ✓ the Arms Trade Treaty-2014 by 69 states
 - ✓ At the local level, UN peacekeepers often work to implement disarmament agreements between warring parties.
4. **Preventing genocide**: The United Nations brought about the first-ever treaty to combat genocide—acts committed with the intent to destroy a national, ethnical, racial or religious group.
 - ✓ The **1948 Genocide Convention has been ratified by 146 States**, which commits to prevent and punish actions of genocide in war and in peacetime.
 - ✓ The **UN tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda**, as well as UN-supported courts in Cambodia, have put would-be genocide perpetrators on notice that such crimes would no longer be tolerated.

Economic Development

1. **Promoting Development**: Since 2000, promoting living standards and human skills and potential throughout the world have been guided by the Millennium Development Goals.
 - ✓ **The UN Development Programme (UNDP)** supports more than 4,800 projects to reduce poverty, promote good governance, address crises and preserve the environment.
 - ✓ **The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)** works in more than 150 countries, primarily on child protection, immunization, girls' education and emergency aid.

- ✓ **The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)** helps developing countries make the most of their trade opportunities.
- ✓ **The World Bank** provides developing countries with loans and grants, and has supported more than 12,000 projects in more than 170 countries since 1947.
- 2. **Alleviating Rural Poverty:** The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) provides low-interest loans and grants to very poor rural people.
- 3. **Focusing on African Development:** Africa continues to be a high priority for the United Nations. The continent receives 36 per cent of UN system expenditures for development, the largest share among the world's regions. All UN agencies have special programmes to benefit Africa.
- 4. **Promoting Women's Well-being:** UN Women is the UN organization dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women.
- 5. **Fighting Hunger:** The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) leads global efforts to defeat hunger. FAO also helps developing countries to modernize and improve agriculture, forestry and fisheries practices in ways that conserve natural resources and improve nutrition.
- 6. **Commitment in Support of Children:** UNICEF has pioneered to provide vaccines and other aid desperately needed by children caught in armed conflict. The Convention on the Rights of the Child-1989 has become law in nearly all countries.
- 7. **Tourism:** The World Tourism Organization is the UN agency responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism. Its Global Code of Ethics for Tourism seeks to maximize the benefits of tourism while minimizing its negative impact.
- 8. **Global Think Tank:** The United Nations is at the forefront of research that seeks solutions to global problems.
- ✓ **The UN Population Division** is a leading source of information and research on global population trends, producing up-to-date demographic estimates and projections.
- ✓ **The UN Statistics Division** is the hub of the global statistical system, compiling and disseminating global economic, demographic, social, gender, environment and energy statistics.
- ✓ **The United Nations Development Program's annual Human Development Report** provides independent, empirically grounded analyses of major development issues, trends and policies, including the groundbreaking Human Development Index.
- ✓ **The United Nations World Economic and Social Survey**, the World Bank's World Development Report, the International Monetary Fund's World Economic Outlook and other studies help policymakers to make informed decisions.

Social Development

1. **Preserving Historic, Cultural, Architectural and Natural Sites:** The UNESCO has helped 137 countries to protect ancient monuments and historic, cultural and natural sites.
 - ✓ It has negotiated international conventions to preserve cultural property, cultural diversity and outstanding cultural and natural sites.
 - ✓ More than 1,000 such sites have been designated as having exceptional universal value - as World Heritage Sites.
2. **Taking the lead on global issues:**
 - ✓ The **first United Nations conference on the environment (Stockholm, 1972)** helped to alert world public opinion on the dangers faced by our planet, triggering action by governments.

- ✓ The **first world conference on women (Mexico City, 1985)** put women's right, equality and progress on the global agenda.
- ✓ Other landmark events include the **first international conference on human rights** (Teheran, 1968), the first world population conference (Bucharest, 1974) and the first world climate conference (Geneva, 1979).
- ✓ Those events brought together experts and policymakers, as well as activists, from around the world, prompting sustained global action.
- ✓ Regular follow-up conferences have helped to sustain the momentum.

Human Rights

1. UN General Assembly adopted the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** in 1948.
 - ✓ It has helped to enact dozens of legally binding agreements on political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights.
 - ✓ UN human rights bodies have focused world attention on cases of torture, disappearance, arbitrary detention and other violations.
2. **Fostering Democracy:** The UN promotes and strengthens democratic institutions and practices around the world, including by helping people in many countries to participate in free and fair elections.
 - ✓ In the 1990s, the UN organized or observed landmark elections in Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, Mozambique and Timor-Leste.
 - ✓ More recently, the UN has provided crucial assistance in elections in Afghanistan, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Nepal, Sierra Leone and Sudan.
3. **Ending Apartheid in South Africa:** By imposing measures ranging from an arms embargo to a convention against segregated sporting events, the United Nations was a major factor in bringing about the downfall of the apartheid system.
 - ✓ In 1994, elections in which all South Africans were allowed to participate on an equal basis led to the establishment of a multiracial Government.
4. **Promoting Women's Rights:** The 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, ratified by 189 countries, has helped to promote the rights of women worldwide.

Environment

1. **Climate change** is a global problem that demands a global solution.
 - ✓ **The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)**, which brings together 2,000 leading climate change scientists, issues comprehensive scientific assessments every five or six years.
 - ✓ IPCC was established in 1988 under the auspices of the **United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization** for the purpose of assessing “the scientific, technical and socioeconomic information relevant for the understanding of the risk of human-induced climate change.
 - ✓ **UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)** provides foundation for UN members to negotiate agreements to reduce emissions that contribute to climate change and help countries adapt to its effects.
 - ✓ **UNFCCC-1992** is an international environmental treaty adopted and opened for signature at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992.

- ✓ **Global Environment Facility**, which brings together 10 UN agencies, funds projects in developing countries.
- 2. **Protecting the Ozone Layer**: The UNEP and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) have been instrumental in highlighting the damage caused to Earth's ozone layer.
- ✓ **Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer-1985** provided the framework necessary to create regulatory measures for international reductions in the production of chlorofluorocarbons. Convention provided foundation for Montreal protocol.
- ✓ **The Montreal Protocol-1987** is an international environmental agreement with universal ratification to protect the earth's ozone layer by eliminating use of ozone depleting substances (ODS) such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and halons.
- ✓ **Kigali amendment** (to the Montreal Protocol)-2016: was adopted to phase down production and consumption of hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs) worldwide.
- 3. **Banning Toxic Chemicals**: The Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants 2001 seeks to rid the world of some of the most dangerous chemicals ever created.

International Law

1. **Prosecuting War Criminals**: By prosecuting and convicting war criminals, the UN tribunals established for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda have helped to expand international humanitarian and international criminal law dealing with genocide and other violations of international law.
 - ✓ The International Criminal Court is an independent permanent court that investigates and prosecutes persons accused of the most serious international crimes—genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes—if national authorities are unwilling or unable to do so.
2. **Helping to Resolve Major International Disputes**: By delivering judgments and advisory opinions, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) has helped to settle international disputes involving territorial questions, maritime boundaries, diplomatic relations, State responsibility, the treatment of aliens and the use of force, among others.
3. **Stability and Order in the World's Oceans**: The 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which has gained nearly universal acceptance, provides the legal framework for all activities in the oceans and seas. It also includes mechanisms for settling disputes.
4. **Combating International Crime**: The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) works with countries and organizations to counter transnational organized crime by providing legal and technical assistance to fight corruption, money-laundering, drug trafficking and smuggling of migrants, as well as by strengthening criminal justice systems.
 - It has played a key role in brokering and implementing relevant international Treaties, such as the **UN Convention against Corruption-2005** and the **UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime-2003**.
 - It works to reduce the supply of and demand for illicit drugs under the three main UN **conventions on drug control**:
 - ✓ the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 (amended 1972)
 - ✓ the Convention on Psychotropic Substances-1971
 - ✓ the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances-1988
5. **Encouraging Creativity and Innovation**: The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) promotes the protection of intellectual property rights and ensures that all countries are in a position to harness the benefits of an effective intellectual property system.

Humanitarian Affairs

1. **Assisting refugees:** Refugees fleeing persecution, violence and war have received aid from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
 - ✓ UNHCR seeks long-term or "durable" solutions by helping refugees repatriate to their homelands, if conditions warrant, or by helping them to integrate in their countries of asylum or to resettle in third countries.
 - ✓ Refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons, mostly women and children, are receiving food, shelter, medical aid, education, and repatriation assistance from the UN.
2. **Aiding Palestinian Refugees:** UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), a relief and human development agency, has assisted four generations of Palestinian refugees with education, health care, social services, microfinance and emergency aid.
3. **Reducing the Effects of Natural Disasters:** The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has helped to spare millions of people from the calamitous effects of natural and man-made disasters.
 - Its **early warning system**, which includes thousands of surface monitors, as well as satellites,
 - ✓ has made it possible to predict with greater accuracy weather-related disasters,
 - ✓ has provided information on the dispersal of oil spills and chemical and nuclear leaks and has predicted long-term droughts.
4. **Providing Food to the Neediest:** The World Food Programme (WFP) is fighting hunger worldwide, delivering food assistance in emergencies and working with communities to improve nutrition and build resilience.

Health

1. **Promoting Reproductive and Maternal Health:** United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is promoting the right of individuals to make their own decisions on the number and spacing of their children through voluntary family planning programs.
2. **Responding to HIV/AIDS:** United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) coordinates global action against an epidemic that affects some 35 million people.
3. **Wiping Out Polio:** Poliomyelitis has been eliminated from all but three countries—Afghanistan, Nigeria and Pakistan—as a result of the Global Polio Eradication Initiative.
4. **Eradicating Smallpox:** A 13-year effort by the World Health Organization (WHO) resulted in smallpox being declared officially eradicated from the planet in 1980.
5. **Fighting Tropical Diseases:**
 - **WHO programme** - African Programme for Onchocerciasis Control reduced levels of river blindness (onchocerciasis) in 10 West African countries while opening up 25 million hectares of fertile land to farming.
 - ✓ Guinea-worm disease is on the verge of being eradicated.
 - ✓ Schistosomiasis and sleeping sickness are now under control.
 - ✓ Halting the Spread of Epidemics
 - **Other diseases-** Some of the more prominent diseases for which WHO is leading the global response for some of the more prominent diseases including Ebola, meningitis, yellow fever, cholera and influenza, including avian influenza.

Some recent achievements by UN- can be directly used in MAINS answers

[If there is any question on UN's relevance/achievements- directly write these]

- **Indonesia and the Netherlands dispute**- The UNO promptly came to diffuse the tension that mounted between Indonesia and the Netherlands. It is through the mediation of the UNO that Indonesia could attain her independence from the Netherlands.
- ✓ Thus, the Republic of Indonesia came as a new nation in the map of the world. This was no mean achievement for the UNO.
- **Situation in middle-east**- A war-like situation prevailed in Iran, Syria and Lebanon, because foreign troops had taken control of these countries and the self-government of these nations were jeopardized.
- ✓ The situation was saved, by the timely intervention of the UNO, which secured the independence of these states. This was another glorious record of the UNO.
- **Palestine**- The performance of the UNO in Palestine in 1948 was definitely commendable. It set up a Truce Commission in April 1948 and this Commission intervened when the war broke out.
- ✓ Finally, in 1949 an agreement for armistice was reached through the mediation of the Commission.
- ✓ Moreover, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees did a lot of good service in the Middle East.
- **Greece** - The UNO played a vigorous role in the civil war in Greece which was engineered by the foreign powers in that country.
- ✓ The UNO's efforts were crowned with success by removing the foreign dangers from Greece and resolving the civil war there.
- ✓ The same efforts succeeded in freeing Morocco and Tunisia from the domination of France.
- **Indo-Pak crisis**- When the Indo-Pak crisis reached the point of war over the Pakistani raids in Kashmir in October 1947, the UNO intervened and ordered for a ceasefire and did a very useful job.
- ✓ The same good zeal was exhibited by it when Pakistan attacked India in 1965 and 1971. In all the three occasions the UNO came as the impartial umpire to restore peace over Kashmir.
- ✓ It did what could be the best under the circumstances.
- **Korean War**- The UNO did a formidable task in tackling the Korean War which began in 1950. North Korea, that had attacked South Korea, was pulled out by the UNO army under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. The ceasefire was followed by permanent peace in the region.
- **Israel-UAE dispute**- It was a testing time for the UNO when Israel invaded the United Arab Republic in 1956 to be followed by an Anglo-French aggression on the Suez Canal.
- ✓ The war cloud began to lurk when the USSR, in protest against the Anglo-French aggression, threatened to join the issue.
- ✓ It is through the tireless mediation of the UNO that a real war was averted and the aggressors had to vacate the Suez Canal.
- ✓ The Arab-Israel conflict again came to the surface in 1967 and 1973 and in these two occasions also the UNO did not allow the friction to get into a conflagration.
- **Upliftment of vulnerable groups**- The UNO perhaps has been playing a greater role in the upliftment of the social, economic and educational standard of the world through its

specialized agencies like the UNESCO, WHO, ILO, IMF, etc. to make the world safe for prosperity. This is something unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Challenges faced by UN over the years

Administrative & Financial-Resources Challenges

1. **Development Reform:** Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2030) will require bold changes to the UN Development System (UNDS) for the emergence of a new generation of country teams, centered on a strategic UN Development Assistance Framework and led by an impartial, independent and empowered resident coordinator.
2. **Management Reform:** To confront global challenges and to remain relevant in a fast-changing world, United Nations must empower managers and staff, simplifies processes, increases accountability and transparency and improves on the delivery of our mandates.
 - ✓ There are concerns for improving efficiency, avoidance of duplication, and the minimization of waste in the functioning of the entire UN system.
3. **Financial Resources:** Contributions of the Member States should have, as their fundamental underpinning, the capacity to pay principle.
 - ✓ The Member States should pay their contributions unconditionally, in full and on time, as delays in payments have caused an unprecedented financial crisis in the UN system.
 - ✓ Financial reforms hold the key to the future of the world body. Without sufficient resources, the UN's activities and role would suffer.

Peace and Security issues

1. **Threats to Peace and Security:** The range of potential threats to peace and security that UN has to face, are following poverty, disease, and environmental breakdown (the threats to human security identified in the Millennium Development Goals),
 - ✓ conflict between states
 - ✓ violence and massive human rights violations within states
 - ✓ terrorism threats from organized crime
 - ✓ proliferation of weapons - particularly WMD, but also conventional.
2. **Terrorism:** Nations that support groups that are widely linked to terrorism, such as Pakistan, are not held accountable specifically for these actions. To this date, the UN still does not have a clear definition of terrorism, and they have no plans to pursue one.
3. **Nuclear Proliferation:** In 1970, the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was signed by 190 nations. Despite this treaty, nuclear stockpiles remain high, and numerous nations continue to develop these devastating weapons.
 - ✓ The failure of the non-proliferation treaty details the ineffectiveness of the United Nations and their inability to enforce crucial rules and regulations on offending nations.

Security Council reforms

1. **Composition of Security Council:** It has remained largely static, while the UN General Assembly membership has expanded considerably.
 - ✓ In 1965, the membership of the Security Council was expanded from 11 to 15. There was no change in the number of permanent members. Since then, the size of the Council has remained frozen.
 - ✓ This has undermined the representative character of the Council. An expanded Council, which is more representative, will also enjoy greater political authority and legitimacy.
 - ✓ India has been calling for the reform of the UN Security Council along with Brazil, Germany and Japan (**G-4**). The four countries support each other's bids for the permanent seats in the top UN body.
 - ✓ Any expansion of permanent members' category must be based on an agreed criterion, rather than be a pre-determined selection.
2. **UNSC Veto power:** It is often observed that UN's effectiveness and responsiveness to international security threats depends on judicious use of the UNSC veto.
 - ✓ **Veto Power:** The five permanent members enjoy the luxury of veto power; when a permanent member vetoes a vote, the Council resolution cannot be adopted, regardless of international support. Even if the other fourteen nations vote yes, a single veto will beat this overwhelming show of support.
 - There are proposals on future of Veto power:
 - limiting the use of the veto to vital national security issues;
 - requiring agreement from multiple states before exercising the veto;
 - abolishing the veto entirely;
 - Any reform of the veto will be very difficult: Articles 108 and 109 of the United Nations Charter grant the P5 (5 permanent members) veto over any amendments to the Charter, requiring them to approve of any modifications to the UNSC veto power that they themselves hold.

Non-Conventional Challenges

1. **Changing nature of challenges-** Since its creation, UN is working with goal of safeguarding peace, protecting human rights, establishing the framework for international justice and promoting economic and social progress. New challenges, such as climate change, refugees and population ageing are new fields it has to work.
2. **Climate Change:** From shifting weather patterns that threaten food production, to rising sea levels that increase the risk of catastrophic flooding, the impacts of climate change are global in scope and unprecedented in scale. Without drastic action today, adapting to these impacts in the future will be more difficult and costly.
3. **Growing population:** The world population is projected to increase by more than one billion people within the next 15 years, reaching 8.5 billion in 2030, and to increase further to 9.7 billion in 2050 and 11.2 billion by 2100.
 - ✓ The world population growth rate must slow down significantly to avoid reaching unsustainable levels.
4. **Population Ageing:** It is poised to become one of the most significant social transformations of the twenty-first century, with implications for nearly all sectors of society, including labor and financial markets, the demand for goods and services, such as housing, transportation and social protection, as well as family structures and intergenerational ties.
5. **Refugees:** The world is witnessing the highest levels of displacement on record.

- ✓ An unprecedented 65.6 million people around the world have been forced from home by conflict and persecution at the end of 2016.
- ✓ Among them are nearly 22.5 million refugees, over half of whom are under the age of 18.
- ✓ There are also 10 million stateless people, who have been denied a nationality and access to basic rights such as education, healthcare, employment and freedom of movement.

Critical Analysis of working of UN

The new millennium presents the most appropriate time to review the history of this institution, its successes and failures, and expectations for its future.” Opinions may differ about the successes and failure of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace and security. But everyone will agree that it has played a crucial role in the economic and social advancement of the people.

- **Evolving functions of UN**- United Nation’s efforts in the early Cold War era concentrated on the relationships between nations and the issues of war and peace.
 - ✓ Not long into its existence, however, the UN was confronted with the challenges arising from global interdependence and social and economic inequalities.
 - ✓ These new realities served to broaden the scope of UN activities and chart the future course of its global involvements
- **New areas of involvement**- with the end of the Cold War, international concerns expanded to include the increasing economic competition between developed countries, problems of development, environmental degradation, population growth, and the threat of nuclear proliferation, the violation of human rights, and political fragmentation or civil wars within national boundaries.
 - ✓ It is the UN that is called upon to confront these new challenges and to develop solutions.
 - ✓ Some, concerned with a potential loss of national autonomy, prefer unilateral to multilateral action. But, because of its mandated principles, many believe that the UN is the only actor capable of tackling such daunting problems, although they are aware of the UN’s inadequacies in putting its principles into action.
- **Need of a multi-lateral forum**- The Iraq war represents the failure to resolve an international problem through multilateral channels. For the critics of the United Nations, it represents a failure of that organization.
 - ✓ In fact, the UN has been buried many times by critics, but it has survived.
 - ✓ It has survived because the world does need a multilateral forum and a framework of international rules to create order and assist security.
- **Relevance will always be there**- The UN system continues to the international norms by which every member state should abide. In today’s globalizing world, no member state, no matter how powerful it is, can disengage from multilateralism entirely.
 - ✓ The UN remains a relevant organisation and will continue to have a central role to play in the 21st century

UNITED NATIONS REFORM

Reforms in the past-

- Since its establishment in 1945, the UN has been subject to a number of reforms, adapting it to the changing needs and expectations of the international system.
- Over the years, former secretary-generals have tasked subsidiary bodies with making proposals for reform.
- These reforms have encompassed a variety of issues, including restructuring the permanent membership of the UN Security Council (UNSC), increasing UN secretariat transparency, accountability and efficiency, financial reform, calling for diversity and democracy through the implementation of a representative voting system in the General Assembly (UNGA), and reforming the human rights petition system, among other examples.

Recent proposals of Reform-

- **ECOSOC**- On 30 June 2017, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) meeting received a report by the Secretary-General announcing the possibility of repositioning the UN development system in order to deliver on the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda
- **2017 UNGA meet**- At the 72nd United Nations (UN) General Assembly on 18 September 2017, 120 countries expressed their commitment to the reforms proposed by UN Secretary-General António Guterres.
- **Donald Trump**- Most notably, on 25 September 2018, US President Donald Trump delivered a speech at the UNGA in which he questioned the need for global governance, the importance of UNSC decisions, such as the Iran nuclear deal, and the efficiency of the UN Human Rights Council – from which the US withdrew on 19 June 2018.

Need of reforms-

- **Change in times**- The need for reform of the United Nations is widely accepted. The organisation has been in existence for over 50 years. In that time, the world has changed significantly: the Cold War strategic influences have declined; the membership of the UN has increased almost fourfold; and the expectations of what the UN might do have grown
- **Demands of reforms are not new**- UN reform has been on the agenda for over 15 years under two previous Secretaries-General, Perez de Cuellar and Boutros-Boutros Ghali, and accelerated under the current Secretary-General, Kofi Annan.
- ✓ The program of reforms currently being considered is comprehensive. It involves administrative reform, which the Secretary-General can implement, and organizational and financial reform, much of it requiring either changes to the Charter or, at best, the broad consent of the members.
- ✓ It is clear that any changes that require the agreement of the member states will be slow. Some, affecting the entrenched power of the veto powers, may be unachievable.

- **The current composition of the Security Council reflects the geopolitical situation of 1945**: The Council's present composition is no longer representative of a world that has seen 142 new countries join the United Nations since 1945. In particular, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean do not have permanent representation on the Council.
- **Encroaches on state sovereignty**: The UNSC is the international community's principal organ for peacekeeping and conflict management. Unlike the decisions made by the General Assembly, its decisions (known as resolutions) are binding on all member states. That means it has wide-ranging powers and can, if necessary, take actions – e.g., the imposition of sanctions – that encroach on state sovereignty.
- **Lack of recognition**: Alongside geographically balanced distribution of seats, the Charter of the United Nations also expressly states that countries that make considerable contributions to the UN should be members of the Security Council. This is why India, Germany and Japan are regarded as candidates for new permanent seats.
- **Limited attempts at UNSC reform**: The UNSC was last reformed in 1965 when it increased its nonpermanent members from 11 to 15 and increased the necessary votes for the adoption of resolutions from 7 to 9. The UNSC reforms again became an international agenda only in 1992 with a UN resolution titled, "The Question of Equitable Representation on and increase in the membership of the council."

Types of reforms-

- **Lack of clarity in term "reform"**- The term 'reform' has proved troublesome for UN member states on account of its lack of clarity and the lack of consensus as to execution.
- ✓ This is particularly apparent in the scepticism expressed by the United States (US) in 2018 regarding the need for global governance, the importance of UN Security Council decisions such as the Iran nuclear deal, and the efficiency of the United Nations.
- The United Nations reform agenda centers on **three key areas: development, management, and peace and security**-
 1. **Development reform**- It will bring a bold change to the UN development system in order to achieve the goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This will be centered on the creation of a new generation of country teams led by an independent team of UN country experts
 2. **Management reforms** - Second, the simplification of processes, increased transparency and improved delivery of mandates will form the basis of a new management paradigm for the secretariat.
 3. **Peace and security reform**- It will be underpinned by placing priority on conflict prevention and peacekeeping, increasing the effectiveness and coherence of peacekeeping operations and political missions.

Understanding the reforms in detail-

1. Proposals for development system reform-

- A new generation of UN country teams (UNCT), to be demand-driven, skilled, and tailored to meet country-specific priorities.

- A coordinated and restructured regional approach to support work in the field more effectively
- A renewed space for UN member states to ensure coherent, transparent and accountable results underpinned by system-wide evaluations
- A stronger UN institutional response and system-wide approach to partnerships for the 2030 Agenda
- A funding compact to bring better quality, quantity and predictability of resources coupled with increased transparency to deliver on the 2030 Agenda
- Necessary concrete steps to accelerate the alignment of the development system with the 2030 Agenda

Current update on development reforms- UN member states supported the vision and direction of Guterres' reform package for the development system.

- On 31 May 2018, the UNGA adopted Resolution 72/279 on the 'Repositioning of the United Nations development system in the context of the quadrennial comprehensive policy review of operational activities for development of the United Nations system'.
- The UN is expected to implement this change process within a timeframe of two to four years.
- The establishment of the UNCT and the RC system is currently under way with the aid of a transition team in order to make the process as smooth as possible with a view to full implementation by 2019.

Implications of restructuring the development system- The repositioning of the UN development system should ensure that it can provide tailored assistance for individual countries in the most effective and efficient manner.

- **The first key area concerns changes at country level.** The resolution outlines a new 'generation' of UN country teams centered on strategic plans. These strategic plans are to be developed in consultation with governments and led by an impartial UN resident coordinator.
- **The second area involves a coordinated restructured regional approach** to complement and support work on the ground. The regional level must offer a platform to deliver on integrated policy advice, norms and regional priorities. The Regional Economic Commissions need to be re-profiled and the linkages between the UN and these commissions strengthened.
- The third priority area agreed upon by member states involves a **funding compact to improve the quality, quantity and predictability of resources** in order to deliver the goals outlined in the 2030 Agenda more quickly. The UN development system funding base is currently highly fragmented, leading UN member states to define specific mutual accountability targets.
- The fourth pillar of the resolution relates to the **UN's partnerships**. The UN member states have agreed to take further steps to strengthen the UN's institutional response and approach to partnerships for the 2030 Agenda.
- ✓ This involves strengthening the capacity of the UNCTs and other teams responsible for partnerships, in order to increase the organization's engagement with civil society, the private sector, and financial institutions for instance.
- The fifth and final axis of the resolution states that while primary accountability will remain at country level between the UNCT and the host government, the **UN development system will improve its multilateral oversight of system-wide activities.** The resolution

highlights the preferential role of ECOSOC working alongside executive boards in order to strengthen and ensure the coherence of collective actions and decision-making.

2. Restructuring the UN peace and security pillar

- In nearly 50 conflict zones around the world, 1.5 billion people are living under the threat of violence. In many cases, the primary enforcers of order are neither the police officers nor government soldiers but rather the blue-helmeted troops of the United Nations.
- Despite US President Trump's decision to cut UN funds, the UN has deployed more than 78 000 soldiers and 25 000 civilians scattered across 14 countries.
- UN peacekeepers make up the second-largest military force deployed abroad, after the US military.

Areas of peace and security reform

- Creation of a department of Political and Peace building Affairs and a department of Peace Operations
- Establishment of a single political-operational structure under Assistant Secretaries-General with regional responsibilities, reporting to the Under-Secretaries-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and for Peace Operations
- Establishment of a Standing Principals Group of the Secretary General and the Under Secretaries-General for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and for Peace Operations
- Enhancement of certain priority areas to ensure coherence and coordination across the peace and security pillar
- Introduction of several non-structural changes in the way the peace and security pillar works

Two new departments-

- **The Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA)** will combine the strategic, political and operational responsibilities of the current department of Political Affairs (DPA) and the peacebuilding responsibilities of the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO).
- The new DPPA will have global responsibility for political and peacebuilding issues and will manage a variety of commitments within conflicts, such as: a more holistic approach to conflict prevention and resolution, electoral assistance, peacebuilding, and sustaining peace.
- The DPPA is geared to provide strategic, political, operational and management advice, and direction for political missions

- **The Department of Peace Operations (DPO)** will serve as an integrated 'center of excellence' for UN peace operations.
- The department will be responsible for preventing, responding to and managing international conflict.
- Equally, the DPO will be charged with peace keeping within countries; in line with peace operation mandates.

- These mandates may include facilitating and implementing political arrangements, providing integrated strategic and political management advice, direction and support of peace operations.
- Moreover, the new department will be in charge of developing political, security and integrated strategies that will lead to an integrated analysis and overall planning of peace operations.

3. **Management reforms**- During the UNGA's Administrative and Budgetary Committee (5th Committee) meeting on 4 December 2017, Secretary-General Guterres relayed his report findings regarding the pitfalls of the secretariat management, highlighting six reasons why administrative reform was necessary within the UN system:

- slow and unresponsive service delivery
- A fragmented management structures
- Weak performance management
- Gaps in resources
- A lack of transparency and accountability
- A trust deficit between UN member states and the secretariat.

In order to make improvements and achieve a paradigm shift, Guterres proposed **seven avenues for action**-

- ✓ **Switching from a biennial to an annual budget, and shortening the planning and budgetary cycle from five to three years**- This change will simplify and streamline the planning and budget cycle while securing coherence as activities will be clearly linked with legislation and their individual mandates. Moreover, these budget documents would hold programme managers accountable for their effective implementation, while allowing member states to be more involved in assessing the performance of UN action (or inaction).
- ✓ **Granting additional authority to the Chief Administrative Officer** to redeploy resources of up to 20 % per section as necessary within parts of the same budget line, to ensure that it fulfils its original objectives and is not used for other purposes. This will ensure, for example, that budgets allocated to development should only be used for such purposes.
- ✓ **To extend the scope for 'unforeseen and extraordinary expenses'**, effectively enabling the UN to respond rapidly to unanticipated events in security and peace as well as development and human rights.
- ✓ **An increase in transparency and more frequent reporting** to member states of monitoring, evaluation, programme and financing performance, and resource use. More streamlined communication would strengthen the culture of performance management, ensure effective use of resources and increase trust between member states and the organisation.
- ✓ The **establishment of two new departments**, the Department of Management, Strategy, Policy and Compliance as well as the Department of Operational Support, would eliminate overlaps, and improve the speed and responsiveness of service delivery.
- ✓ The **use of a global service delivery model** for administrative transactions would centralize and improve speed of delivery.

- ✓ **To streamline and simplify human resources ensuring efficiency** of resource management in order to achieve gender parity and geographic diversity within the organisation.

PM Narendra Modi's address at 75th UN General Assembly

Prime Minister Narendra Modi addressed the 75th United Nations General Assembly session on September 26, 2020.

- The Indian Prime Minister began his statement by congratulating each and every member country on the 75th anniversary of the United Nations on behalf of 1.3 billion people of India. He stated that India is proud of the fact that it is one of the founding members of the United Nations.

About need of UN Reforms-

- **Changing times**- PM Modi highlighted that **world of 1945 was significantly different from today's world** and the current global situation. He stated that the form and composition of the United Nations, which was established with the aim of global welfare, were in accordance with the prevailing situation of those times.
 - ✓ But today, he stated that we are in **a completely different era and in the 21st century**, the requirements and challenges of our present as well as our future are vastly different from those of the past.
- **Change is the need of the hour**- Therefore; he said that the international community today is faced with a very important question: Whether the character of the institution, constituted in the prevailing circumstances of 1945, is relevant even today? PM Modi pointed out that if century changes and we don't, then strength to bring changes becomes weak.
- **Need of serious introspection**- While acknowledging that there have been several achievements in the last 75 years of the United Nations, PM Modi highlighted that there have also been several instances that call for serious introspection for the United Nations.
 - ✓ He stated that while one could say **that we have successfully avoided a third world war, we cannot deny that there have been several wars and many civil wars**. He highlighted how several terrorist attacks shook the world and there have been bloodsheds.
- **Wars and refugees**- PM Modi pointed out that the people who lost their lives in these wars and attacks were human beings and thousands of children, who would have otherwise enriched this world, left us prematurely. Besides this, so many people lost their life savings and became homeless refugees.
- **Ineffectiveness of UN during COVID**- PM Modi further noted that the whole world has been fighting the global pandemic of Corona for the last 8-9 months. However, he questioned where is the United Nations in this joint fight against the pandemic? Where is its effective response?

- **Urgent need of reforms**- Prime Minister Narendra Modi highlighted that reform in the responses, in the processes, in the character of the United Nations is the need of the hour.
 - ✓ He stated that the faith and respect that the United Nations enjoys in India is unparalleled but it is also true that the people of India have been waiting for a long time for the completion of the reforms of the United Nations and today, the same people are concerned whether this reform-process will ever reach its logical conclusion?

On India's role expansion in UN decision-making

- **Rationale of including India in decision making**- PM Modi further questioned the decision of keeping India out of the decision-making structures of the United Nations.
 - ✓ He argued saying that India is the largest democracy of the world, a country with more than 18% of the world population, a country with hundreds of languages, hundreds of dialects, many sects and ideologies and a country that was a leading global economy for centuries and also one that has seen hundreds of years of foreign rule.
- **Time for India to step up**- PM Modi stated that when India was strong, we did not trouble the world and when we were weak, we did not become a burden on the world. He further stated how long a country would have to wait particularly when the changes happening in that country affect a large part of the world.

India's contributions to UN

- **Welfare centric**- The Prime Minister highlighted that India has always given priority to the welfare of the whole world. He stated that India is the country, which sent its brave soldiers to about 50 UN peacekeeping missions.
- **Peacekeeping missions**- He also highlighted that India is the country that has lost the maximum number of its brave soldiers in the course of establishing peace and today each Indian while seeing India's contribution to the United Nations, aspires for India's expanded role in the United Nations.
- PM Modi further emphasized that it was India that initiated the 'International Day of Non-Violence' on October 2nd and 'International Day of Yoga' on June 21.
- Similarly, it was due to India's efforts that the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure and the International Solar Alliance came into being.
- The Prime Minister stated that India has always thought about the interests of the whole humankind and not about its own vested interests and this has been the driving force of India's policies.

INDIA AND UNITED NATIONS

Introduction-

- As the world grapples with a pandemic and multilateralism is under stress, India's presence on the international stage got a boost with it winning a non-permanent seat to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for the 2021-22 biennium.
- This would be India's eighth term on the UN Security Council. India's overall objective during this tenure in the UN Security Council would be achievement of N.O.R.M.S: a New Orientation for a Reformed Multilateral System.
- As UNSC reaches 77th year of its genesis in 2022, its reformation is considered inevitable for survival of multilateralism. India along with other countries has been fighting for reforms in the UNSC.

India and UNSC-

- India is a **founding member** of the UN, signing the UN Charter, along with 50 other countries in 1945.
- India has served as a **non-permanent member** of the UNSC for 7 terms, viz. in 1950 – 1951, 1967 – 1968, 1972 – 1973, 1977 – 1978, 1984 – 1985, 1991 – 1992, and 2011 – 2012.
- Except for the first time, when India held the seat earmarked for the Commonwealth group, every other time it has held the seat on behalf of the Asian group.

Achievements in India's term at UNSC-

- **First term [1950-51]**- India emphasized the need for the UN to bring about a peaceful, that is, non-military, resolution to the conflict.
- In subsequent years, India consolidated its reputation as a champion of peaceful conflict resolution in the UN, variously contributing troops, senior officials, military observers and humanitarian assistance to a diverse set of UN operations in west Asia and Africa.

- **Second term [1967-68] and third term [1972-73]**-
- This period saw heightened tensions in west Asia, notably a military conflict between Israel and its Arab Neighbours. In keeping with its Third World identity at the time, **India criticized Israeli aggression**, stressing the need to protect the sovereignty and rights of the Arab countries.
- Advent of the **nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) in 1968**, which **India strongly opposed** on grounds of fairness and the sovereign equality of states.
- In 1974, India conducted the **first public nuclear test by a non-P5 state**. The international response centered on US-led efforts within the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to tighten proliferation controls, resulting in the formation of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

➤ **Fourth term [1977-78] and Fifth term [1984-85]-**

- India joined in the unanimous **condemnation of apartheid in South Africa** and in the imposition of an arms embargo on the South African government.
- India co-sponsored- resolution on the **withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory** and resolutions strongly condemning the minority white regime in Zimbabwe.

➤ **Sixth term [1991-92]-**

- It was a time of geostrategic change spurred by the end of the cold war and an emergence of **new unity among the P-5** (Permanent members of UNSC).
- India, internally driven by coalition politics and an economic crisis, **struggled** to keep a consistent policy on global matters.
- For instance, **Delhi's response to the Iraq-Kuwait dispute in particular appeared haphazard**, first condemning the US invasion, then supporting it and allowing
- **US air planes to refuel on Indian Territory** and finally withdrawing use of this facility under domestic political pressure.
- In the UNSC, **India abstained on two crucial votes relating to Iraq** in this period.

➤ **Seventh term [2011-12]-**

- India joined the UNSC in 2011 after a gap of 19 years. During this absence, India's relationship with the body had **changed dramatically**.
- The world in 2011 was further down the **post- cold war path to multipolarity** with the rise of new powers such as China and India, and with North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) countries humbled due to their misadventures in Afghanistan.

What are India's goals regarding the UN reforms-

1. Making the UNSC more effective and legitimate
2. Enhancing India's standing as a responsible world power
3. Reforming the UNSC's working methods
4. Expanding the UNSC's permanent membership
5. The primacy of state sovereignty from UN-sanctioned military interventions

What is India's interest in pursuing permanent seat in the council-

The origins of the Indian interests in the Security Council can be traced back to the founding of the UN itself when Mahatma Gandhi felt that India, then including Pakistan and Bangladesh, should become a veto-wielding member of the Security Council.

According to **to Harsh V Pant**, “For New Delhi, sitting in the Security Council pulpit—however briefly—allowed it to demonstrate to the world that it can deftly navigate the uncertainties of global governance. The presidency gave New Delhi the opportunity to exhibit clout, creativity, and diplomacy, while targeting its adversary China without directly naming it in presidential statements”.

According to **C Raja Mohan**, “Delhi needs to revitalise its engagement with its traditional partners in the “global south” by articulating their peace and security concerns in the UNSC. Two sub-groups of the global south should be of special interest. The numerous small island states around the world face existential challenges from global warming and rising sea levels. They also struggle to exercise control over their large maritime estates”.

India in UN System

- **Active participant**- India has been an active participant in all initiatives undertaken by the UN and the various UN organs including the various discussions on the Agenda for Peace and the Agenda for Development, the Sustainable Development Goals, and various UN summits, including most importantly on climate change.
- **Signing of G-77**- India has been instrumental in establishing the G77 of developing states at the UN, other than supporting the establishment of various bodies like the UNICEF on a permanent basis, the UNDP, the UNEP etc.
- **Peacekeeping operations**- In the arena of peacekeeping, India has remained among the largest cumulative contributor of UN peacekeeping troops with more than 200,000 Indian troops having served in 49 of the 71 UN peace keeping operations (UN PKO) up till 2019. India has almost twice the number of peace-keepers deployed in the ground as do the P5 combined.
- ✓ **The first deployment** of Indian Armed Forces was during the **Korean War in the 1950s**. Other operations include Indo-China, Congo, Somalia and Ethiopia among others.
- **Financial contributions**- In terms of financial contributions to the UN, this year, India was the 4th country to make full contributions within the specified time frame this year.
- ✓ Last year also, India was among the only 34 UN member states that had paid their regular budget dues in full and on time to the UN.

India’s Intrinsic Value

- **Should India be qualified?** - By any objective criteria, such as population, territorial size, GDP, economic potential, civilizational legacy, cultural diversity, political system, India is eminently qualified for permanent membership.
- **Demography and democracy**: Being second most populous country remains the primary reason why India should be in the Council.
- ✓ For India, “population represents both an expression of the principle of democracy and an element of power.
- ✓ With increasing emphasis on the principle of democracy at the national level, there is a need for extending the principle to the international level also.”
- **India’s rising economic stature** globally has added to Indian claims as well. India has been one of the fastest growing major economies in the world, and currently stands among the top 5 global economies (Asia’s third largest).

- **India's status as a Nuclear Weapons State (NWS)** (acquired in 1998) also makes India a natural claimant as a permanent member, similar to the existing permanent members who are all Nuclear Weapon States.
- ✓ Despite non recognition by the NPT, India now stands recognized as a de facto NWS due to the nuclear deal signed by India and the United States in 2005 and the NSG waiver in 2008.
- ✓ India has also developed a credible image as a responsible nuclear power based on its no first use policy.

India's Great Power Ambitions

- **Mantle of international peace and security**- Being a permanent member of the Security Council, India would assume the mantle of international peace and security decision-making. India sees itself carrying the necessary abilities, actual and potential, which entitles it to a permanent seat at the Council.
- **To ensure India's interest**- Indian strategic interest in the Council seat will ensure Indian interests are not sacrificed at the altar of great power politics.
- ✓ Further, the seat on the UNSC would provide it the much-needed leverage to expand its geopolitical and geo-economic clout globally.
- ✓ It would serve as an equalizer to increasing Chinese influence - an ever increasing strategic and security concern in India's immediate neighborhood and beyond.
- ✓ Also, with regard to geo-political leadership role in Asia, India has always considered itself as a democratic alternative to authoritarian China.
- **India's desire to shape international groups**- India's joining of various regimes like Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), Australia Group, Wassenaar Arrangement, and the ongoing campaign to join the NSG amply indicate India's desire to shape and align various international norms and rules to suit Indian ideas and interests.

Areas of reforms initiated by UNSC and India's stand on them-

1. **Categories of membership**- India has called for expansion in both permanent and non-permanent memberships and not only in nonpermanent category.
 - ✓ Increase in non-permanent category only would not address the issue of accountability and lack of checks and balances in the council.
 - ✓ Supporting groups include the two largest groups- **Africa** with 54 members and **L-69** with 42 members- and **CARICOM** (The Caribbean Community and Common Market), and G4 (India, Brazil, Japan, Germany).
 - ✓ India has highlighted the **need of Africa to be represented in both categories**. This directly challenges the proposed "so called" intermediate models wherein a longer term and immediate re-election are seen as compensations for a permanent membership

2. Question of veto

- ✓ India has called for the **abolition of veto** and till it exists; it needs to be **provided to all members** of the permanent category of the Security Council.
- ✓ **India is not in Favour of quantitative reform** (of extending it immediately to new permanent members) but of **quality** - of introducing restrictions.

3. Regional representation

- ✓ India has argued for an **equitable geographical representation and urgent need for mitigating the non-representation** and under-representation of some regions in both permanent and nonpermanent categories.
- ✓ The demand for regional representation has been made on **multiple grounds** including historical injustice, entire regions not equitably represented or even unrepresented in a key category, and hope of moving beyond the nation state as the primary actor in international affairs

4. Size of an enlarged council and working methods of the Council

- ✓ Even though global population has trebled, and UN membership has grown by about 4 times since 1945, India, realizing the need to be realistic, has **not called for a three-fold expansion in the membership of the Council**. Instead G4 suggests a total of 25 or 26 members.
- ✓ On the working methods, **G4 would like 14/25 or 15/26 affirmative votes for a decision**.
- ✓ G4 & L69 groups would like the **non-permanent members to hold the presidency** of the Council **at least once** in their tenure

5. Relationship between the Security Council & the General Assembly

- ✓ India opines that it should **not be competitive or adversarial**, but “one of **synergy and complementarity**” that benefits the UN objectives of the promotion of international peace and security.
- ✓ A relationship with the General Assembly based on **transparency, mutual trust and frequent interaction** with all Member States will increase the credibility of the Council, which includes increase in dialogue between the Council and the Assembly.
- ✓ India thus has called for a **greater transparency and consistency** to improve the relationship between the two.

Strategy by India to achieve permanent seat-

- India has adopted a multi-layered strategy. It consists of two components:
 1. Maximizing support in the UN General Assembly
 2. Minimizing resistance in the UN Security Council.

It is reflected in various steps taken as described below-

- **Leadership of various Global South forums**- India hopes that its continued leadership of various Global South forums such as G-77 and NAM would garner much needed numbers in the UNGA.
- ✓ This is reflected in India’s strong defense of the principle of sovereignty and the constant criticism of the “Responsibility to Protect” principle.
- **G4**- India has also formed the G4 along with Brazil, Germany, Japan, as “coalition of the willing”, and a “collaborative strategy” to negotiate reforms of the Council.
- ✓ Joint Press Statement issued by the Foreign Ministers of the G4 countries in September’2019 reiterated their strong commitment to an early and comprehensive reform of the Security Council, as envisaged by Heads of State and Government in the 2005 World Summit.

G-4

- In 2005, **Germany** co-drafted a resolution for Security Council reform with **India, Brazil, and Japan** (the G4). The proposal included the following elements:
- Adding **six new permanent members** to the Security Council (two seats each for Asia and Africa and one seat for the Western European and Others Group and the Latin American and Caribbean Group respectively.)
- Adding **four non-permanent members** to the Security Council (one seat each for Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as Eastern Europe.)
- Reforms in working methods.
- Review of the reform 15 years after the amendment to the Charter has entered into force.

Roadblocks for India in Permanent seat-

- **The status quo bias amongst the existing P5:** despite the General Assembly consensus, remains the overriding obstacle to adding permanent seats. Whilst all permanent members accept the reform in principle, they have often fought popular reform proposals.
- **India as part of G4 seems to have limited its options to negotiate a seat solely for itself:** It is estimated that greater powers and regional politics would circumscribe the G4 attempts to win permanent seats for all as a group.
- ✓ It is also understood that China is fundamentally opposed to Japan's candidature and thus cannot support G4
- **Regional rivals-** Regional rivals such as Coffee Club have opposed permanent membership of G4 with a veto power and have instead favored the expansion of the non-permanent category of seats with members to be elected on a regional basis.
- **Intrinsic weaknesses in India's pursuit for a permanent seat-**
- ✓ Lack of enough Indian government resources for multilateral diplomacy
- ✓ **Lack of staff:** Within the UNSC, India had one of the smallest missions among all of the major powers in 2011 with 24 officials (compared to the 130 officials of US).
- ✓ **Finances:** According to the assessment made for the years 2019-21, India is only the 21st largest contributor to the UN regular budget behind Germany, Japan, Brazil and Italy.
- ✓ **An over-reliance on entitlement (intrinsic value)** to permanent membership as opposed to strategy of multilateral diplomacy has led to lack of in-depth engagement on key international debates and trends.

Conclusion

- As a founder Member, India views the UN as a forum that could play a crucial role to guarantee and maintain international peace and security.
- Its quest for strengthening peace and security has not been an easy one with new and emerging challenges, some of which have been outlined above. India has worked with other

partners to strengthen the UN system to combat new global challenges such as terrorism, piracy, disarmament, human rights, peace building and peace keeping.

- In this task, permanent membership of the Security Council flows as a natural concomitant of India's great power status and its legitimate rights and obligations to ensure international peace and security in an extended regional neighborhood as well as in the Indian Ocean.

REGIONALISATION OF WORLD POLITICS

Syllabus

Regionalization of World Politics: EU, ASEAN, APEC, SAARC, NAFTA.

Previous Year questions-

1. The effort in restricting illegal migration from Mexico to U.S.A. and Canada has been one major gain for the United States through NAFTA. Comment.
2. Give reasons for Regionalism of world politics.
3. Substantiate APEC as a regional economic and trade arrangement.
4. The European Union has become, the most politically influential, economically powerful and demographically diverse regional entity in the world' Discuss.
5. A combination of internal pressures (ethnic and regional forces) and external threats (EU, UN, TNC, global market, etc) has produced what is commonly referred to as a 'crisis of the nation-state'." Elaborate.
6. How does the regionalism shape the world politics? Explain with examples
7. American President: Donald Trump's proposal to withdraw from the 'NAFTA' would bring unforeseen consequences to the regionalisation of world politics. Elaborate.
8. How has 'BREXIT' affected the regionalisation process initiated by European Union and what could be its likely impacts in the regionalisation process of world politics?

Regionalization is defined as intensification of political and economic interdependence among various nations and other actors in any particular geographic region. At the broader level, regional cooperation has various forms, like- Economic level cooperation, political cooperation, security level cooperation, cooperation in foreign policy etc. These are usually limited arrangements, which are agreed between states to work together and to achieve some goals. It is primarily a state-led process.

Regional integration can be understood as one step further than the process of cooperation. It is comparatively more permanent in nature. It may also involve interlinkages between societies. Further, it may or may not be state led, in some cases, state may just act as a facilitator. Here, economic integration is specifically distinct with practices like customs union, common market, monetary union etc. And the entire region may act with single voice at international level, at least in tariff policy. However regional cooperation and integration are not entirely mutually exclusive terms. Rather, all regional arrangements usually contain the mixture of both.

Why do the countries tend to pursue regional integration?

1. It helps in management of independence of nations— many newly independent states want to re-define and settle down their relations with their neighbors and colonial powers. This also aims to ensure security in the concerned region.
2. It helps in defining their economic and social relations wrt others.
3. It also helps to expand their markets to increase their domestic production.
4. It also helps the concerned region to assert more weight at various international forum when they act together rather than acting alone on a common matter. For examples, EU countries acting together can manage US unilateralism more effectively than acting alone. Similarly, ASEAN also works better when acting together.

How the process of regionalism enhances the prospects of multilateralism?

1. It helps in promoting the internal conditions of individual states to change in a way, that is more conducive to international multilateralism.
2. It shows the demonstrating effect i.e., it shows the various actors involved in the effects of globalization.
3. Each successive regional agreements reduces the margin of preference. Thus, it gradually weakens the opposition to multilateralism.
4. Regional agreements have been seen to often more doing with strategic and political alliance than trade liberalization.
5. Regionalism also has more positive than negative effects, like- when countries experience as, how they are getting benefitted by increasing regionalization, they will be more optimistic about cooperation at international level.

How the process of regionalism makes multilateralism more difficult to achieve?

1. The net result of the preferential agreements can be some trade diversion from international to regional market.
2. There can also be instances of 'attention diversion' with countries becoming less interested in multilateralism,
3. Competitional arrangement may create an incompatible situation of regional and multilateral agreements for nations
4. Creation of several legal frameworks and some dispute settlement mechanism may weaken the discipline and efficiency of the organization
5. It might also lead to more competition and friction between several economic blocs.

EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union is a group comprising 28 countries that operates as a single and cohesive economic and political block.

19 of these 28 countries use Euro as their official currency. Out of these, 9 EU members namely, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Sweden- do not use the euro.

The EU was formed out of a desire to form a single and trans-continental European political entity to end centuries of warfare among European countries that comprised WWI and culminated with World War II and thus decimated much of the continent.

The EU has been able to develop an internal single market throughout the continent, through a standardized system of laws that apply to all member states in matters, where members have agreed to act as one.

Goals of EU

1. To promote peace, values and the well-being of all the citizens of EU region.
2. To offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders.
3. To work for sustainable development based on principles of balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and also environmental protection
4. To combat social exclusion and discrimination
5. To promote scientific and technological progress

6. To enhance economic, social and political cohesion, and solidarity among EU countries
7. To respect all of its rich cultural and linguistic diversity
8. To establish an economic and monetary union whose currency shall be euro.

Who are considered to be the Founding fathers of the European Union

The founding fathers of the European Union are total of 11 men officially recognized as major contributors to European union unity and the development of a group, what is now the European Union. All but one- Winston Churchill from the United Kingdom, were from the Inner Six of the European Union.

Particularly emphasized are three men for unification: Mr. Konrad Adenauer of Germany, Mr. Alcide De Gasperi of Italy and Mr. Robert Schuman of France.

Evolution of EU

- After World War II, European integration was seen as a method of cure to the excessive nationalism which had devastated the continent since last century.
- **1946**- University of Zurich, Switzerland- Winston Churchill went ahead and advocated for the emergence of a United States of Europe.
- **1952- European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)** was founded- this was formed under the **Treaty of Paris** (1951) by 6 countries called Inner Six- Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherland- to give up parts of their sovereignty by placing their coal and steel production in a common market, under it.
- **European Court of Justice**- established in 1952 under Paris Treaty.
- **European Atomic Energy Community**- is an international organization established by the **Euratom Treaty, 1957**- with the aim of creating a specialized market for nuclear power in Europe with an aim of developing nuclear energy and distributing it to its member states while also selling the surplus to non-member states.
 - It had same members as the original European Union and is also governed by the European Commission (EC) and Council, thus operating under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice.
- **European Economic Community (EEC)**- it was created by the **Treaty of Rome** (1957). Its main aim was to bring economic integration, including a common market and customs union, among its 6 founding members.
 - It was repealed by Lisbon Treaty, 2007 and its activities were amalgamated in EU.
- **Merger Treaty, 1965, Brussels**- a common agreement was reached to merge the three communities of- ECSC, EAEC, and EEC- under a single set of institutions and constitution, thus creating the European Communities (ECs).
 - The Commission and Council of the EEC were supposed to take over the responsibilities of its counterparts of ECSC and EAEC in other organizations.
- The **ECs began to expand in 1973** when nations of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom became members. Greece also joined in 1981. Soon, Portugal and Spain followed in 1986.
- **Schengen Agreement, 1985**- it paved the way for creation of much ambitious open borders without passport controls between most of the member states. It came to be effective in 1995.
- **Single European Act, 1986**- it was enacted by the European Community that committed its member countries to a timetable for their economics merger and also the establishment of one European currency and also the common foreign and domestic policies.

- **The Maastricht Treaty-1992-** it was also called as the Treaty on European Union- it was signed by the members of the European Community in Maastricht, Netherlands to encourage further European integration. It also received a great push with the end of the Cold War in 1990s.
- **Monetary union** was established in 1999 and came into effect in 2002. It is composed of 19 of the EU members states which uses the euro as common currency. The nations are- Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, the Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain.
- Treaty of Paris (1951) expired in 2002 & ECSC also ceased to exist, thus its activities were fully absorbed by the European Community (EEC).
- **Treaty of Lisbon 2007-**
 - European Community was decided to be ceased and its activities were incorporated in EU.
 - EAEC is the only remaining community organization which is legally different from the European Union, and still has the same membership, and is still governed by many of the EU's institutions.
- **Euro Crisis-** The EU and the European Central Bank had struggled with high the twin problems of sovereign debt and collapsing growth- in some countries like- Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain, since the 2008 financial crisis.
- Nations of Greece and Ireland even received financial bailouts from the community in 2009, which were then accompanied by fiscal austerity.
- Portugal also joined in 2011, along with a second Greek bailout.
 - In these nations, multiple rounds of interest rate cuts and economic stimulus packages failed to resolve the problem.
 - Some northern countries such as Germany, the UK and the Netherlands have increasingly resented the financial drain from the south.
- **Awarded the Nobel Peace prize in 2012-** the European Union received the Nobel Peace Prize for its "contribution to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy, and human rights in continent of Europe".
- **2016 Brexit:** A referendum called Brexit was held by U.K. government in 2016, and the UK voted to leave the EU. Now that process has been finalized by the UK Parliament and UK is officially no more a part of EU.

GOVERNANCE OF EUROPEAN UNION

1. The European Council

- It was formed as a collective body that shall define the European Union's overall political direction and main priorities.
- It will comprise the heads of states or governments of the EU member states, along with the President of the designated European Council and the active President of the European Commission.
- The active High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy will also take part in its meetings.
- It was originally established as an informal summit in 1975- then, the European Council was formalized as an institution in 2009 by the Treaty of Lisbon.
- The decisions of its summits are generally adopted by consensus.

2. The European Parliament

- It is the only parliamentary institution representing the European Union, which is directly elected by the citizens of EU, aged 18 years or older. Along with the Council of the European Union, it exercises the entire legislative function of the EU.
- It is to be noted that, the European Parliament does not possess as much legislative powers as its member countries' parliaments do.

3. The Council of the European Union

- It is also part of the bicameral EU legislature and thus represents the executive governments of all the EU's member states.
- In this Council, the ministers from each EU country meet regularly to discuss, amend and adopt laws. These ministers also have the authority to get responsibility on behalf of their governments to the actions agreed on in the meetings.

4. The European Commission

- It was formed as an executive body of the European Union, which is responsible for proposing various legislation, implementing decisions, upholding the concerned EU treaties and thus managing the day-to-day business of the EU.
- This Commission operates as a cabinet government, with 27 members. There is a policy of one member per member state. These members are proposed by individual member countries and the European Parliament gives final approval on them.
- The Commission is divided into various departments known as Directorates-General that can be linked to various departments and ministries- it is headed by a director-general who is responsible to a commissioner of EU.
- The position of High Representative (HR) of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is also appointed by the European Council by the process of voting and The President of the EC must be in agreement with the prescribed decision.

5. European Court of Auditors (ECA)

- It has been given role to investigate the proper management of finances within both the EU entities and EU funding provided to its member states.
- It can even refer unresolved issues to the European Court of Justice to discuss on any alleged irregularities.
- ECA members are generally appointed by the Council, after consulting with the Parliament, for a renewable 6-year terms.

6. Court of Justice of the European Union

- It has been tasked with interpreting the EU law to make sure that it is applied in the same way in all EU countries, and also aims to settle legal disputes between national governments and EU institutions.
- It also has provision of being approached by individuals, companies or organizations to take action against any EU institution, if they do feel their rights are infringed under the EU system.

- In this, each judge and advocate general are appointed jointly by the concerned national governments.
- It is headquartered in Luxembourg.

7. European Central Bank

- It is the prescribed central bank for the euro currency zone and also administers monetary policy within the Euro zone.
- It comprises of 19 member states of the European Union.
- Here, the Governing Council is the main decision-making body of ECB. It consists of an Executive Board and the governors of the national central banks from euro zone countries.
- Executive Board handles the day-to-day operations of the ECB. Its members include- the ECB President and Vice-President and 4 additional members appointed by national governments of euro zone countries.
- It has been given power to set the interest rates at which it lends to commercial banks in the euro zone, thus helping in controlling the money supply and inflation.
- It also may authorize production of euro banknotes by euro zone countries.
- It ensures the safety and soundness of the entire European banking system.
- It is headquartered in Frankfurt in Germany.

8. European system of financial supervision (ESFS)

- It was formed in 2010.
- It consists of twin bodies of the European Systemic Risk Board and the 3 European supervisory authorities, namely-
 - ✓ the European Banking Authority
 - ✓ the European Securities and Markets Authority
 - ✓ the European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority

Functions of the European Union

- The EU's law and regulation are aimed to create a single and strong economic entity of its countries, with an aim that the goods can flow freely across the borders of its member nations, without tariffs, with the ease of one currency Euro, and the creation of one enlarged labor pool from all countries, which creates a more efficient distribution and use of labor
- There is also the concept of pooling of financial resources, so that each member nations can be "bailed out" or lent money for investment in times of need
- European Union's expectations in areas such as human rights and the environment also have several political implications for member countries. EU has the power to exact a heavy political cost such as severe cutbacks and an austerity budget on its members as a condition of giving aid in perilous times
- This is a great experiment, in perspective of cooperation amongst nations, who wish to be economically unified with a common market, while ceding as little political and national power as possible.

Trade Relations among EU members

One of the principle aims of EU was- the promotion of Free trade among its members. This has been successful, because of the single market. Beyond its borders, the EU is also committed to liberalization of the world trade.

The European Union is right now the largest trade block in the world. It is additionally the world's biggest exporter of manufactured goods and services, and the biggest importing market for over 100 countries and thousands of products.

Humanitarian aid by EU members

The EU has been committed to helping the victims of man-made and natural disasters throughout the world and also supports over 120 million people each year.

EU and its constituent countries are the world's leading donor of humanitarian aid in times of needs.

Challenges & Reforms in European Union

Internal challenges-

1. It is not cent percent confirm that all old member states will stay in the Union. The Treaty of Lisbon had a clause where it gave the members the right to leave the EU. The financial crisis that hit Greece hard, had led many people to believe for a long time that the country might exit from the Union sometime soon.
2. Factors like- Layoffs, redundancies and migration of various jobs to such countries where the labor is cheap, affects the daily lives of European citizens. The EU is expected to find the solutions to these economic problems and employment.
3. There is also demand for the formation of standard labor agreements on existing terms of employment and working conditions that should apply across Europe and even worldwide. As an important member of the WTO, the EU is also in a very important position to influence developments worldwide.
4. Europe is experiencing a sort of revived renaissance in terms of national sovereignty and integration that is supported by a nationalistic turn of events in public opinion and is represented by parties on both sides of the political spectrum involved.
5. EU has imposed far too many rules on business and has already charged billions of pounds per year in membership fees for comparatively very little in return.
 - The EU added 8 eastern European countries in 2004, which triggered a wave of immigration that strained public services in the concerned countries. For example, In the countries of England and Wales, the share of foreign-born residents had increased to 13.4 percent of the population by 2011, which is roughly double the level that was in 1991.
 - Brexit supporters also want Britain to take back full control of its international borders and thus reduce the number of people who are coming here to live or work.
 - The process of withdrawal from the EU is governed by Article 50 of the EU Treaty.

External challenges-

1. The decisions of USA to- withdraw itself from the Paris climate change deal, similarly by pulling out of the Iran's nuclear deal, and also by attacking the integrity of the international trading system through the unilateral imposition of tariffs and sanctions, has called into question the

Europeans' formerly unshakeable faith in diplomacy as a way to resolve disagreements and to protect Europe.

2. European leaders now fear that the transatlantic security guarantee like NATO, will center not on alliances and common interests but purchases of American new technology and materials.
3. Like the USA, the EU has also been forced to reconsider its relationship with a more assertive Russia with implications for European security and stability. The EU has also sought to support Ukraine's political transition, and has condemned Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014, and strongly urged Russia to stop backing separatist forces in eastern Ukraine.
 - Democratic regressive thoughts in Ukraine combined with a hardening attitude in Moscow imposes various constraints on the Ukrainian government's freedom of maneuver in pursuing its European Union membership.

The relations between EU & India

Positives-

- The EU has worked closely with India with an aim to promote peace, to create jobs, to boost economic growth and also to enhance the sustainable development across both the regions.
- As India evolved gradually from low to medium income country, the EU-India cooperation has also simultaneously evolved from a traditional financial assistance type relation towards a partnership which now has a focus on common priorities.
- At the 2017 EU-India Summit, leaders from both the regions reiterated their intention to strengthen their cooperation on the implementation of the 2030 sustainable Development agenda and also agreed to explore the continuation of the EU-India Development Dialogue, that is in progress off late.
- **Trade-** Trade in services between the EU and India reached €30.4 billion in 2020. The EU's share in foreign investment stock in India reached €87.3 billion in 2020, up from €63.7 billion in 2017, making the EU a leading foreign investor in India.
- The Union's share in foreign investment inflows into India has also more than doubled from 8% to 18% only in the last decade, which makes the EU the first and largest foreign investor in India.
- The **BTIA**, INDIA-EU Bilateral Trade and Investment Agreement- is a type of Free Trade Agreement between India and the EU countries, which had initiated in 2007. Although, even after more than a decade of negotiations, India and EU have failed to solve certain issues which have led to a deadlock- both are gradually moving towards it.
- The recognition of "Data Secure" status, which has not been granted by EU to India- is affecting prospects of India's IT-enabled exports to EU nations.
- Presence of certain non-tariff barriers on some of the Indian agricultural products in the group of sanitary and Phyto-sanitary measures, which are too strict & harsh, have allowed the EU to bar many Indian agricultural products from entering their markets.
- One principal feature is that, the EU wants India to liberalize its accountancy and legal services. Whereas, India denies this on the ground of already shortage of jobs.
- EU also demands tax reduction on wines and spirits products but in India these are regarded as 'sin goods' and thus the states which get huge revenue from liquor sales would be largely reluctant to cut the taxes.
- Reduction of taxes on automobiles is also not acceptable to India because its domestic automobile industry would not be able to match the competition from EU automobiles as of now.

- India has also rejected an informal attempt by the EU to work towards a global investment agreement at the WTO level that aims to incorporate a largely contentious Investor-State Dispute Settlement mechanism, which allows the corporations to take even the sovereign governments to international arbitration.
- The non-tariff barriers in pharmaceuticals sector that EU has time & again imposed includes the requirement of WTO—GMPC, Good Manufacturing Practice certification, which accounts for- import bans, various anti-dumping measures and also the pre-shipment inspection among others.
- India has also cancelled most individual bilateral investment agreements with EU member states on the grounds that they were outdated as per present needs. By doing this India is putting pressure on EU to sign BTIA on its favoring terms.

Challenges-

- The BTIA is nowhere near finalization despite 16 rounds of discussions due to several contentious issues, including the trade in services and goods, intellectual property rights (IPR) and data security
- Indian legislation bans both “ever-greening of patents (extending the time coverage of patents just before they expire, through minor changes to the product) and the exclusivity of test data (protection of clinical trial data), saying they jeopardise the sale of low-priced generic drugs and chemicals”
- Another contentious aspect is the Investor-State Dispute Settlement mechanism in which EU wants detailed provisions while India is reluctant to accept this provision
- The abrogation of article 370 and 35A and the passing of Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), 2019 received considerable attention from the EU, with a large number of Members of European Parliament speaking out on possible human rights
 - ✓ At the same time, the EU has remained silent when it comes to China’s blatant human rights violations in Xinjiang and Tibet. It did not even question the draconian National Security law in Hong Kong.

Recent developments

As the world’s two largest democracies, the EU and India share a commitment to protecting and promoting human rights, a rules-based global order, effective multilateralism, sustainable development and open trade. In 2022, the EU and India celebrate 60 years of bilateral relations.

1. INTENSIFIED COOPERATION ON TRADE-

- ✓ Resume negotiations for a balanced, ambitious, comprehensive free trade agreement, and start negotiations for a stand-alone investment protection agreement and a separate agreement on geographical indications
- ✓ Find solutions to long-standing market access issues
- ✓ Enhance coordination on global economic governance in the World Trade Organization and in the G20

- ✓ Intensify regulatory cooperation and cooperation on resilient value chains

2. BUILDING GLOBAL HEALTH PREPAREDNESS AND RESILIENCE – COVID-19 AND BEYOND

- ✓ Work together for defeating the pandemic through global cooperation and solidarity
- ✓ Support universal, safe, equitable and affordable access to COVID-19 vaccines
- ✓ Recognize the role of extensive immunisation as a global public good
- ✓ Collaborate to ensure a better, safer, sustainable and inclusive recovery
- ✓ Better prepare and respond to global health emergencies
- ✓ Advance global health security, including by strengthening the World Health Organization

3. PROTECTING OUR PLANET AND FOSTERING GREEN GROWTH

- ✓ Address climate change, biodiversity loss and pollution
- ✓ Accelerate the deployment of renewable energy, promote energy efficiency, collaborate
- ✓ on smart grid & storage technology and modernize the electricity market
- ✓ Work together to decarbonizes the industrial sector and further accelerate transport electrification
- ✓ Support green and sustainable modernization of the economy, circularity, resource efficiency, and more sustainable urbanization
- ✓ Cooperate on food, nutrition and agriculture
- ✓ Scale up cooperation on water management and air pollution

4. FOSTERING INCLUSIVE GROWTH THROUGH TRADE, CONNECTIVITY AND TECHNOLOGY

- ✓ Work together to ensure a swift post COVID-19 economic recovery
- ✓ Promote sustainable growth and decent jobs
- ✓ Open markets and create a level playing field
- ✓ Encourage interaction between EU and Indian businesses
- ✓ Continue cooperation on space and transport, including on aviation
- ✓ Pursue digital transformation to create quality jobs and improve the lives of citizens, including through e-governance solutions
- ✓ Encourage people-to-people interactions
- ✓ Further advance cooperation and mobility on research and innovation

5. STRIVING FOR A SAFER, PROSPEROUS AND MORE DEMOCRATIC WORLD

- ✓ Protect and promote human rights
- ✓ Enhance parliamentary exchanges

- ✓ Coordinate on regional issues of common interest
- ✓ Commitment to a free, open, inclusive and rules-based Indo-Pacific region
- ✓ Enhance cooperation between EUNAVFOR Atlanta and the Indian Navy in the Indo-Pacific region
- ✓ Enhance synergies in the cooperation with interested partners in Africa, ASEAN and SAARC
- ✓ Support for the comprehensive reform of the UN Security Council, to make it more effective, transparent, representative and accountable
- ✓ Strengthen cooperation on international security, including between Europol and India's Central Bureau of Investigations

Conclusion

As strategic realities evolve rapidly in an era defined by Covid-19 and its aftermath, India and the EU have a new opening to re-evaluate the fundamentals of their engagement. Both sides should realise this potential and must further the growth of the bilateral ties with a strong political will. Whether the two “natural partners” can make the most of this unique synergy remains to be seen. As highlighted by **EU strategy on India 2018**, India-EU should take their relations beyond “trade lens”, recognizing their important geopolitical, strategic convergences.

ASEAN [ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH-EAST ASIAN NATIONS]

- The Association of Southeast Asian Nations is a form of regional organization which was established with an aim to promote political and social stability during the times of rising tensions among the Asia-Pacific's post-colonial states.
- The main idea and motto of ASEAN is “**One Vision, One Identity and One Community**”.
- ASEAN Day- 8 August
- ASEAN Secretariat and HQ – Jakarta, Indonesia
- **Idea behind ASEAN-** ASEAN is represented as “the collective will of the nations of Southeast Asia to bind themselves together in friendship and cooperation and, through joint efforts and sacrifices, secure for their peoples and for posterity the blessings of peace, freedom and prosperity.”

Evolution of ASEAN

- In 1967 – ASEAN was first established with the signing of the ASEAN Declaration aka **Bangkok Declaration**, by its founding members
- Founding members of ASEAN are-the group of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.
- During 1990s – its membership doubled after the change in the conditions in the region led by the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 and the Cold War in 1991.

- Further addition of Brunei in 1984, Vietnam in 1995, then Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and Cambodia in 1999, gave it the present outlook.
- In 1995 – all the members signed a deal to create a nuclear-free zone in entire South-east Asia.
- In 1997 – it was decided to Adopt the ASEAN Vision 2020.
- In 2003 – Bali Concord II was signed for the establishment of an ASEAN Community.
- In 2007 – members decided to sign the Cebu Declaration- to further accelerate the establishment of ASEAN Community late by 2015.
- By 2008 – ASEAN Charter came to force and became a legally binding agreement.
- In 2015 – finally, the ASEAN Community was launched. ASEAN Community comprises of three main pillars-
 1. Political-Security Community
 2. Economic Community
 3. Socio-Cultural Community

Objectives of ASEAN

- The main goal is to accelerate the economic growth, the social progress and the cultural development for a prosperous and peaceful community of all the Southeast Asian Nations.
- It also aims to promote regional peace and stability by giving respect for justice and the rule of law and adhering to the principles of the UN Charter.
- It gives priority to promote active collaboration among members and mutual assistance on the matters of common interest, especially in the economic, social, cultural, technical and administrative fields.
- It also wants to collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of agriculture products and the allied industries, thus leading to the expansion of their trade, the improvement of the means of transportation, the communications facilities and causing factors leading to raising of the living standards of peoples.
- It also aims to promote Southeast Asian studies among the member countries.
- Finally, it aims to maintain close and mutual cooperation with existing international and regional organizations in the region.

The ASEAN fundamental principles

1. To provide mutual respect towards the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national identity of all the nations in the region
2. It gives each state the right to lead its national existence free from external interference, any type of subversion or coercion by any second nation
3. It aims to promote non-interference in the internal affairs of one another
4. It also talks about the settlement of differences or disputes in a peaceful manner
5. It advocated for renunciation of the threat or use of force on any member
6. It promotes the principle of effective cooperation among themselves.

How does ASEAN work?

- The Chairmanship of ASEAN rotates annually, which is decided on the alphabetical order of the English names of Member States
- The **ASEAN Summit** has been formed to be the supreme policy making body of ASEAN.

- As it is at the highest level of authority in ASEAN, it sets the direction for all the ASEAN policies and objectives.
- Under the Charter, it has been prescribed for the Summit to take place twice a year for frequent discussions among the member states.
- **ASEAN Ministerial Councils:** The ASEAN Charter establishes 4 important Ministerial bodies-
 1. The Coordinating Council
 2. The Political-Security Community Council
 3. The Economic Community Council
 4. The Socio-Cultural Community Council
- For all the decision-Making process- ASEAN relies on consultation and consensus among the member states.
- The Charter also mentions the principle of **ASEAN-X** – it means that if all the member states are in agreement, a policy for flexible participation on any law may be used, so that all those members who are ready- may go ahead; while those members who need more time for implementation may apply a flexible timeline to follow any law.

Which are the forums led by ASEAN

- **ASEAN Regional Forum-** it was launched in 1993, with 27-members. It was developed to encourage cooperation on political and security issues which aimed to contribute to regional confidence-building and preventive diplomacy.
- **The ASEAN Plus Three group-** This is a consultative group which was initiated in 1997. It aims to bring together the ASEAN's ten members, along with China, Japan, and South Korea.
 - ✓ This would effectively mean that the, among the 16 countries negotiating the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), all except India, Australia and New Zealand would get included in the proposed pact.
 - ✓ The ASEAN+3 proposal is **intended to put pressure on India** to give China concessions similar to those given by other countries at the RCEP negotiations.
- **East Asia Summit Forum-** it was first held in 2005. It seeks to promote security and prosperity in the region and is usually attended by the heads of all the states from ASEAN, Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Russia, South Korea, and the USA. ASEAN here plays a central role as the agenda-setter of the summit.
- **ASEAN +6-** The ASEAN+6 group comprises the ten countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and six other countries in the Asia-Pacific region: Australia, the People's Republic of China ("China"), India, Japan, Korea and New Zealand.
 - ✓ This group includes the world's fastest-growing and most dynamic energy consumption centers. They are led by China, India and ASEAN, the emerging Asian economies, whose share of global energy demand is expected to reach 40% by 2040, up from only 20% in 2000.
 - ✓ Energy demand in the ASEAN+6 countries is set to take diverse paths. In India, for example, low per capita energy use and a high population growth rate indicate the potential for substantial energy demand growth.
 - ✓ In Japan, by contrast, a declining population and increasing energy efficiencies are contributing to a continuous fall in energy consumption.
 - ✓ Given their shared geographical location, they could help one another meet these energy security challenges by deepening regional co-operation.

Opportunities for ASEAN

- ASEAN represents far greater influence on the Asia-Pacific related trade, along with the political, and security issues than its member states could achieve individually.
- In terms of demographic dividend, it makes the 3rd largest population in the world, among which, more than half is below 30 years of age- thus providing great workforce.
- ASEAN group is the 3rd largest market in the world economy. It is larger than the EU and whole of North American markets.
- It is also the 6th largest economy in the entire world, and 3rd largest in whole of Asia.
- ASEAN also has Free-trade agreements with important economies like- China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand.
- It is considered to be the 4th most popular investment destination globally.
- ASEAN's share of global exports has gradually risen, from just 2 percent in 1967 to more than 7 percent by 2010's, indicating the gradual rising importance of trade in ASEAN's economic prospects.
- The promotion of ASEAN Single Aviation Market and the Open Skies policies have also increased its transport and connectivity potential at the global level.
- ASEAN has contributed large to the regional stability among ASEAN by building much-needed norms and fostering a neutral environment to address the shared challenges.

Challenges Infront of ASEAN

Internal challenges-

- **Trade-** There are certain regional imbalances in the economic and social status of its individual market economies that needs to be tackled
- **Social-** The gap between the rich and poor ASEAN member states still remains very large and they also have a mixed record on income inequality.
- **Developmental-** Many regional initiatives that were started were unable to be incorporated into national plans, as the less developed countries faced large resource constraints to implement their regional commitments.
- **Political-** The ASEAN members' political systems are largely mixed with democracies, communist, and authoritarian states- which are heterogeneous in nature
- **Overemphasis on consensus-** The over emphasis on consensus, sometimes becomes a chief drawback for the regional bodies. Here, difficult problems have been largely avoided rather than confronted.
- **No enforcing mechanism-** There is also no central mechanism to enforce compliance within the members.

External challenges-

- **Human rights issues-** While the South China Sea has been the main issue which has exposed the organization's rifts. ASEAN has also been divided over major issues of human rights. Like-crackdowns in Myanmar against the Rohingya communities.

- **China**- ASEAN has also been largely unsuccessful in its inability to negotiate a unified approach with respect to China, especially in response to its widespread maritime claims in the South China Sea part.
 - ✓ China's territorial claims in the oil and gas-rich South China Sea, and building up of artificial islands can prove to be a threat for freedom of navigation in region.
 - ✓ The South-China sea dispute has resulted into many ASEAN nations aligning with China.
- **Myanmar**- ASEAN was largely unsuccessful in containing the Rohingya refugee crisis
- **Drugs trafficking**- Cross country organized crime like drug trafficking between Myanmar, Thailand and Laos forming the Golden Triangle could not be contained by ASEAN.

RCEP and India-

- The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) was signed into existence by 15 countries led by China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the 10-state ASEAN grouping, creating one of the world's largest trading blocs.
- India had been a part of negotiations for almost nine years till it pulled out in November 2019, stating that inadequate safeguards and lowering of customs duties will adversely impact its manufacturing, agriculture and dairy sectors.
- However, by staying out, India has blocked itself from a trade bloc that represents 30% of the global economy and world population, touching over 2.2 billion people.
- Further, as the summary of the final agreement shows that the pact does cover and attempt to address some issues that India had flagged, including rules of origin, trade in services, movement of persons. Therefore, this makes the case of India to review its decision and look RCEP through the lens of economic realism.

Reasons for India of withdrawing from RCEP-

- **Unfavorable Balance of Trade**: Though trade has increased the post-Free Trade Agreement with South Korea, ASEAN countries and Japan, imports have risen faster than exports from India.
 - ✓ According to a paper published by NITI Aayog, India has a bilateral trade deficit with most of the member countries of RCEP.
- **Chinese Angle**: India has already signed FTA with all the countries of RCEP except China. Trade data suggests that India's deficit with China, with which it does not have a trade pact, is higher than that of the remaining RCEP constituents put together.
 - ✓ Trade deficit is the primary concern for India, as after signing RCEP cheaper products from China would have flooded the Indian market.
 - ✓ Further, from a geopolitical perspective, RCEP is China-led or is intended to expand China's influence in Asia.
- **Non-acceptance of Auto-trigger Mechanism**: To deal with the imminent rise in imports, India had been seeking an auto-trigger mechanism.

- ✓ Auto-trigger Mechanism would have allowed India to raise tariffs on products in instances where imports cross a certain threshold.
- ✓ However, other countries in the RCEP were against this proposal.
- **Protection of Domestic Industry**: India had also reportedly expressed apprehensions on lowering and eliminating tariffs on several products like dairy, steel etc.
 - ✓ For instance, the dairy industry is expected to face stiff competition from Australia and New Zealand.
 - ✓ Currently, India's average bound tariff for dairy products is on average 35%.
 - ✓ The RCEP binds countries to reduce that current level of tariffs to zero within the next 15 years.

Relations between India and ASEAN

- India's relationship with ASEAN countries is a key pillar of its foreign policy and also the foundation of its Act East Policy.
- India has formed a separate Mission to ASEAN and the EAS in Jakarta to improve relations.
- India and ASEAN already have an existing 25 years of Dialogue Partnership, more than 15 years of Summit Level interaction and around 5 years of Strategic Partnership

Economic Cooperation b/w India and ASEAN

- ASEAN is India's fourth largest trading partner in terms of good and services. Currently, India's trade with ASEAN stands at approx. 10.6% of India's overall trade globally.
- India's export to ASEAN nations stands at approx. 11.28% of our total exports.
- Further, the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area has been completed recently.
- An initiative called ASEAN India-Business Council was also set up in 2003 with an aim to bring key private sector players from India and the ASEAN countries on a single platform to discuss and further their respective interests.

Socio-Cultural Cooperation b/w India and ASEAN

- Many Programmes have been started to boost People-to-People Interaction with ASEAN, like- inviting ASEAN students to India for R&D, Special Training Course for ASEAN diplomats in Indian institutions, Exchange of Parliamentarians from time to time, etc.
- India has also provided financial assistance to ASEAN countries from some of the Funds like-
 1. The ASEAN and India Cooperation Fund
 2. The ASEAN and India S&T Development Fund
 3. The ASEAN and India Green Fund
- There has also been the signing of Delhi Declaration in 2006, with an aim to identify Cooperation in the Maritime sector, as the key area of cooperation under the ambit of ASEAN-India strategic partnership.
- Delhi Dialogue was also signed in 2022, with an annual Track 1.5 event scheduled for discussing political, security and economic issues between ASEAN members and India.

- The formation of ASEAN-India Centre, with an aim to undertake various policy research, promote advocacy and networking activities with organizations and think-tanks within India and the ASEAN.
- India has also placed ASEAN at the center of its Indo-Pacific vision of maritime Security and Growth for All in the Region, through SAGAR initiative.

Way forward-

- ✓ ASEAN must put in extra efforts to sustain and enhance its existing successes and achievements. The bloc has been regarded as a catalyst for peace; therefore, it is vital that ASEAN increase its strengths and step up to promote rule of law in the region.
- ✓ ASEAN must also promote transparency and work to reduce corruption. At the same time, this association needs to enhance closer coordination and regional connectivity. More collective efforts are required to address the development gap, especially regarding health care, education, technology adoption, and infrastructure development.
- ✓ More importantly, ASEAN must work hard to enhance the development of good governance, inclusive growth, sustainable development, and democracy, which is in decline. It needs to work together to help less developed members to catch up with others in the region. Closer attention and investment should be placed on the development of the knowledge-based and digital economy.
- ✓ ASEAN also needs to enhance cooperation and coordination as well as proactively engage regional and global powers, especially Australia, China, Japan, India, South Korea, and the United States, to support the realization of its goals and vision as well as to address regional challenges the bloc is facing.
- ✓ Also important is the need to strike a good balance between commercial gains and environmental protection if ASEAN wishes to achieve inclusive growth and sustainable development. The association must work in unison to tackle critical issues concerning the Mekong River and the disputes in the South China Sea.
- ✓ Both bilateral and multilateral mechanisms should be pursued and prioritized. The way forward for ASEAN to thrive despite the growing uncertainty in the region and the world is to stay united and resilient. ASEAN needs to uphold a rules-based international order, work to conclude the South China Sea Code of Conduct, and promote the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific.

Conclusion

ASEAN needs to work collaboratively rather than individually, particularly with regard to a regional response to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the face of the COVID-19 storm, it is not the time for ASEAN members to adopt isolationism, protectionism, and nationalism. Rather, ASEAN must support and embrace regionalism and multilateralism by constructively and genuinely working together to achieve common goals and realize the ASEAN Community Vision.

Introduction-

- ✓ The necessity of a permanent body to coordinate the economic relations among the market-oriented nations of the Pacific Rim was voiced by the then Australian Prime Minister, Robert Hawke, in January 1989.
- ✓ The **Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC)**, which consisted of a group of business, academics and government representatives and had been holding informal discussions since 1980, endorsed this proposal, and the first meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was held in Canberra, Australia, on November 6-7, 1989.
- ✓ The meeting was attended by five Pacific industrial economies (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the US), the then members of ASEAN (Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Republic of Korea and Brunei) and South Korea.
- ✓ In the beginning, the forum remained an informal and unstructured arrangement for 'dialogue' among participating countries, primarily because ASEAN nations were concerned about being overshadowed by economic giants such as Canada, Japan and the US in a regional organization.
- ✓ However, as the concept of regional economic groupings gained ground throughout the world, it was decided to institutionalize the grouping.
- ✓ The 1991 Ministerial Meeting at Seoul, South Korea, adopted a declaration outlining the objectives and organizational structure of APEC, and approved the membership of China, Hong Kong (Hong Kong at that time was still under lease to the UK) and Taiwan.
- ✓ The institutionalization of APEC was completed in 1992 when the Bangkok Ministerial Meeting decided to establish a permanent Secretariat in Singapore.

Basic facts-

- It was established in 1989
- Since 1993, it has been a rule of APEC to have an annual Economic Leaders' Meeting. But in 2020, due to the COVID pandemic, the APEC had its first ever virtual Economic Leaders' Meeting and issued the Kuala Lumpur Declaration.
- Member Countries- Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Chinese Taipei, Thailand, Vietnam and the United States.
- India is not a member
- It recently launched APEC Putrajaya Vision 2040- during the 27th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting, which aims for the balanced growth, prosperity of all and a peaceful Asia-Pacific regional structure.

Evolution of APEC

- The region felt the necessity of a permanent body which can help in coordinating the economic relations member countries of the Pacific rim.
- The need was voiced by the then Australian Prime Minister, Robert Hawke, during January 1989 meet.

- Already existing, Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), which at that time consisted of group of business, academics and various government representatives, which had already been holding informal discussions since 1980, decided to further this proposal, and thus the first meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was conducted in Canberra, Australia, on Nov 6-7, 1989.
- The first meeting was attended by five Pacific industrial countries- Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the USA along with the then members of ASEAN- Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Republic of Korea & Brunei, and the south Korea.
- Initially, the forum remained an informal and largely unstructured arrangement for 'dialogue' among all the participating countries, primarily because the ASEAN nations were concerned about being overshadowed by economic giants like Canada, Japan and the US in a regional organization.
- However gradually, as the concept of regional economic groupings gained importance throughout the world, it was decided to institutionalize this grouping too.
- Gradually, the 1991 Ministerial Meeting at Seoul, South Korea, decided to adopt a declaration with an aim to outline the objectives and organizational structure of APEC, and then approved the membership of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan as new members.
- The evolving nature led to institutionalization of APEC which was finally completed in 1992 when finally, the **Bangkok Ministerial Meeting** decided to establish a permanent Secretariat at Singapore summit.

Major Objectives of APEC

- The main objective is to provide a platform for discussion on a wide range of economic issues, along with the promotion of multilateral cooperation among the market-oriented economies of the region.
- APEC mainly aims to further promote economic and technical cooperation among the members by stimulating gradual flow of goods, services, capital and technology and also to develop a liberalized trade and investment regime with an aim to encourage private investment, and to support 'open regionalism' in the entire region.

Structuring of APEC

- The group of APEC consists of Annual Ministerial Meetings, simultaneous Senior Officials Meeting, various Working Groups and a Secretariat.
- The prime governing body of APEC is the Annual Ministerial Meeting of the foreign & trade ministers of all the enlisted member-states.
- The chairmanship of the meetings rotates annually among the member countries.
- The platform of Senior Officials Meetings, which consists of representatives of all the member-states, are also held every year and are largely responsible for the implementation of policies that are framed by Ministerial Meetings.
- There are ten main working Groups which deal with Telecommunications, the matters of Trade and Investment Data, along with sectors like- Fisheries, Tourism development, Transportation, Trade Promotion, Investment and Technological factors, Human Resource Development, Regional Energy Cooperation and Maritime Resource Conservation,

- It also has 2 ad hoc groups which deal with the Regional Trade Liberalization and Economic Policy functions.
- The Secretariat of APEC is headed by the post of Executive Director who holds a term of one year at a time.

Why India has not been included so far?

- APEC Countries think that India is not enough liberalized as of now.
 - ✓ The ostensible reason for India's non-inclusion in the APEC is its **extra-regional status**. APEC is essentially a group of 'Pacific' countries that came together in 1989 to form an economic community.
 - ✓ Its guiding motive **was to resist protectionist policies** by individual member states, and the promotion of trade liberalization and economic cooperation within the affiliated Asia-Pacific economies. By that description, India did not seem to fit in.
 - ✓ Since **2012**, when APEC's leaders decided not to extend the moratorium on new membership (in force since 1997), there has been a renewed push to grant membership status to India. A majority of members now believe that India must be brought into the fold for it has shown progress in reforming and liberalising its economy.
- India needs to reform its labor laws and its ease of doing business.
- Apart from these, India also needs to improve infrastructure, and needs improvement in skill development sector.

Why India is important for APEC?

- In the present age of global economic slowdown, India has emerged as a sweet spot.
- According to **World Bank 2021 data**, India is the fastest growing among all the emerging economies at the speed of 7.3%.
- India is also emerging as a fast-growing knowledge-based economy. India has become 4th country among the Asian countries, to have registered for patents.
- APEC countries can take advantage of IT sector growth of India.
- India has also started the implementation of trade facilitation agreement of WTO.
- India is cutting red tapism by bringing e governance in the nation. It has introduced GST and thus, India's ranking in ease of doing business is gradually improving. India is ranked **63** among 190 economies in the ease of doing business, according to the 2021 World Bank annual ratings.
- At present India has stable govt. which brings large scale certainty of policy.

What will be advantages for India?

1. **Trade**- There is a fear of collapse of WTO. Thus, India needs a large trade-based organization.
 - ✓ RCEP has not come into existence. So, India needs a large trading bloc
 - ✓ India's growth trajectory aligns with APEC's agenda of enhancing regional integration through trade and investment liberalization and facilitation across the Asia-Pacific.

- ✓ India is projected to become the third-largest economy and will need over \$1 trillion in investment to achieve this potential. APEC will provide a huge market and source of investment.
 - ✓ APEC represents a synergy of processes and guidelines. APEC membership will facilitate India's economic reform spree with the inculcation of best practices.
2. **FTA**- So far India has FTA with only ASEAN and it needs to further proliferate
- ✓ India must pro-actively lobby for its membership in APEC, or else India might be left out.
 - ✓ India has extensive investments in many APEC countries. APEC membership will only help this economic cooperation to grow.
 - ✓ The trade bloc membership will boost trade competitiveness and the ease of doing business through higher trade volumes and greater physical connectivity.
 - ✓ It is a low-risk venture for a country like India.
3. **Regional block**- APEC represents more than a third of the world population, 47% of global trade, and 60% of world GDP.
- ✓ India is one of the six largest global economies and its share of world GDP has more than doubled in the last 30 years. India has been engaged with extensive trade with the world. It has nowhere to grow but outwards.
 - ✓ As India looks to engage even more with the East through its Act East policy, APEC membership provides a perfect space for India to improve this engagement.
 - ✓ India sees the region as Indo-pacific and the vision of Indo-pacific has convergence in the visions of important member countries like Japan, the USA, Australia. Membership will boost strategic engagement in the region.
4. **Political**- APEC membership will boost the Indo-USA relationship by demonstrating American commitment to help India gain a greater role in global institutions.
- ✓ APEC model of soft regionalism.

What are the prospects?

1. APEC countries will expect India to change. But this is a poor prospect because there is a reluctance in Indian bureaucracy towards change.
2. The factor of divisive politics in India
3. APEC countries has expressed interest for India to liberalize its agricultural sector. But, in context of farmers movements and continuous elections, there is hardly any scope for this.
4. India is on backfoot because it already has huge trade deficits with some countries.

What is the ultimate significance?

- Joining APEC is a part of India's broader initiative of furthering its interest of Act-East policy.
- By joining APEC, India will become significant player in the region and gradually the world.
- There is No point being protectionist.
- Thus, India must try to be competitive.

Conclusion

At a time of global and regional geopolitical disturbances, Covid pandemic situation and domestic challenges, it is of immense importance to find a wise solutions that are designed to promote sustainable and equitable growth and development according to the specific circumstances of the Asia-Pacific region. With the rise of India as one of the global economic power and its changing regional economic and political influence, necessitates that India is included APEC. This would ensure a free and open trade and investment in the Indo-Pacific region and foster growth.

SAARC [SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL CO-OPERATION]

- It was established after signing of the **SAARC Charter** in Dhaka on 8th December, 1985.
- The main idea for forming a regional cooperation at South Asia level was first raised in November 1980.
- After successive consultations, the foreign secretaries of the seven founding fathers—India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka—decided to meet for the first time in Colombo, SL in April 1981.
- Gradually, Afghanistan became the newest member of SAARC at the 13th annual summit in 2005.
- The HQ and the Secretariat of the SAARC are at Kathmandu in Nepal.

What were the main principles on which SAARC was formed?

It wanted Cooperation within the framework of the SAARC nations to be based on-

1. Mutual respect for the upliftment of principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inherent political independence, total non-interference in the internal affairs of another State and furthering the mutual benefits.
2. This cooperation shall not be a substitute for bilateral and multilateral cooperation but shall complement them at all times.

Members of SAARC-

SAARC comprises of 8 member States- Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka

There are also 9 Observers to SAARC- Australia, China, the European Union, Iran, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Mauritius, Myanmar & the United States of America.

In which areas does SAARC co-operates?

1. The main area is of human Resource potential Development and Tourism b/w all nations
2. Agriculture and Rural Development in individual countries

3. Environment, Natural Disasters and Biotechnological researches
4. Economic, Trade and Finance among members
5. Social Affairs among each other's nations
6. Information and Poverty Alleviation among the members
7. Energy, Transport, Science and Technology fields
8. Education, Security and Cultural spheres

What are the main objectives of SAARC

1. It aims to promote the welfare of the people of South Asia and to improve their standard of living.
2. To further the economic growth, advancement of social progress and cultural development in the region and also to provide all individuals with the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their individual full potentials.
3. It also longs to promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among all the countries of South Asia.
4. It also wants to contribute to the mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of each other's problems.
5. It aims to further promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific areas.
6. To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries is also its major objective
7. Along with that, it also aims to strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on areas of common interests
8. Finally, it aims to cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes to further its common agendas.

How does SAARC Functions?

- There is a provision of meeting of Heads of State and the Government at the Summit level usually on an annual basis.
- Standing Committee of Foreign Secretaries- has been formed to provide overall monitoring and coordination, to determine priorities, to mobilize resources, and also to approve projects and financing. Among members
- There is a **secretariat of SAARC**-
 - It was established in Kathmandu in January 1987.
 - Its main objective is to coordinate and keep updating the implementation of all the SAARC activities, along with to service the meetings of the association and serve as a prime channel of communication between SAARC and other international organizational forums.
 - The SAARC Secretariat comprises the- secretary-general, 7 directors, and the general services staff among its members.
 - In this, the secretary-general is appointed by the Council of Ministers on the principle of rotation, for a tenure of three years, which is non-renewable.

Organs within SAARC

1. **SAARC Development Fund**- Its main aim is to fund the project-based collaboration in social sectors like- poverty alleviation, development, etc.
 - It is largely governed by a Board which consists of representatives from the Ministry of Finance of all the Member States.

- The Governing Council of SDF also oversees the functioning of the Board as a whole.
2. **Formation of South Asian University**
 - It is an international university which is located in India.
 - The degrees and Certificates awarded by this university are at par with the respective Degrees and Certificates awarded by the National Universities and Institutions in individual nations.
 3. **South Asian Regional Standards Organization**
 - It has its Secretariat at Dhaka in Bangladesh.
 - It was formed to achieve and enhance coordination and cooperation among all the SAARC member states in the main fields of standardization and conformity assessment and is also aimed to develop harmonized Standards for the region to facilitate the intra-regional trade and to have larger share in the global market.
 4. **SAARC Arbitration Council**
 - It is a kind of inter-governmental body which has its office in Pakistan and is mandated to provide a legal framework within the region to ensure fair and efficient settlement of all the commercial, industrial, trade, financial, investment and such any other disputes, that may be referred to it by the member states and their citizens.

Why is SAARC important

1. It comprises more than 3% of the world's area, around 21% of the world's population and more than 3.8% of the global economy, amounting to US\$2.9 trillion.
2. It is the globe's most densely populated region and one of the most fertile areas in entire world.
3. All the SAARC countries have largely common tradition, dress, food & beverages and common cultural and political aspects thus synergizing their actions.
4. All the SAARC countries have common issues like rising poverty, large illiteracy, rising malnutrition, risk of natural disasters, occurrences of internal conflicts, various industrial and technological backwardness, low GDP and thus poor socio-economic condition
5. There is a common interest of uplifting their living standards thus creating common areas of development and progress having common solutions to all the members.

What has SAARC achieved in recent times?

1. Formed in 1985, SAARC is comparatively a new organization in the global prospects. The member countries have established a Free Trade Area which will help in increasing their internal trade and thus, lessen the trade gap of some states considerably.
2. South Asia Preferential Trading Agreement, **SAPTA**- has been formed to promote trade amongst the member nations.
3. **SAFTA** was signed in 2006. It is a Free Trade Agreement that is confined to goods, but excludes all the services like information technology.
4. **SATIS** [SAARC Agreement on Trade in Services] was formed following the GATS-plus 'positive list' approach for increasing the trade in services liberalization.
5. Member countries have established a **SAARC university** in India along with a food bank and also an energy reserve in Pakistan for common usage by the members.

Why is SAARC important for India?

1. In India's Neighbourhood first policy, India plans to give Primacy to the country's immediate neighbours.
2. SAARC can help in countering China's OBOR initiative by engaging Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives and Sri Lanka in the development process and economic cooperation's.
3. SAARC can also help in creation of mutual trust and peace within the members of the region.
4. SAARC offers India a strong platform to showcase its leadership skills in the region by taking up extra responsibilities of neighboring countries.
5. It can be a game changer for India's Act East Policy. By linking South Asian economies with South East Asian region can bring further economic integration and prosperity to India's mainland mainly in the Services Sector.

What are the challenges faced by SAARC in recent times?

- More engagement and meetings are required by the member states. Instead of meeting at biennial frequencies, the meetings should be held every year.
- Broad area of cooperation may lead to diversion of energy and resources, which need further distribution among the members
- The implementation of SAFTA has not been satisfactory at all as the Free Trade Agreement is confined to goods, and all the services like information technology are excluded from it.
- the biggest problem is the escalated tension and conflict between India and Pakistan, which has severely hampered the prospects of SAARC in the long term.

What can be the solutions to solve the issues?

- In a region like South Asia, which is increasingly targeted by Chinese investment and loans, SAARC can emerge as a common platform to demand more sustainable alternatives for development, and to oppose trade tariffs in a combined form, to demand better terms of engagement for South Asian labor force around the world.
- SAARC, as a united organisation, reflects the South Asian identity of the member countries, both- historically and contemporarily. This is a naturally made geographical identity. Along with these, there is a cultural, linguistic, religious and culinary affinity that defines South Asia.
- The potential of SAARC to maintain peace and stability in the South-Asian region should be explored by all the member countries of the region.
- SAARC should be allowed to grow and show its progress naturally and similarly the people of South Asia, who make up almost one-fourth of the world's population should be offered more people-to-people contact among them.

SAARC during COVID-

- **United all-** The unprecedented coronavirus (COVID-19) crisis has united the SAARC countries as they adopted international travel bans, enforced strict lockdowns, announced special economic packages, set up a joint fund and banned all religious gatherings to battle the pandemic, earning them a praise from the World Bank for their quick response.
- **Initiative by India-** Throughout South Asia, the countries have responded proactively to the daunting challenge with India taking the lead by pledging USD 10 million toward a COVID-19 emergency fund, an initiative led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in bringing the SAARC leaders together

- **Vaccine pledging**- Subsequently, Nepal and Afghanistan pledged USD 1 million each; Maldives committed USD 200,000 ; Bhutan USD 100,000; Bangladesh USD 1.5 million; Sri Lanka USD 5 million and Pakistan pledged USD 3 million to the fund .

Conclusion

In a region increasingly targeted by Chinese investment and loans, SAARC could be a common platform to demand more sustainable alternatives for development, or to oppose trade tariffs together, or to demand better terms for South Asian labor around the world. SAARC, as an organization, reflects the South Asian identity of the countries, historically and contemporarily. This is a naturally made geographical identity. Equally, there is a cultural, linguistic, religious and culinary affinity that defines South Asia. The potential of organization to maintain peace and stability in the region should be explored by all the member countries.

NAFTA [NORTH-AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT]

- It is a free trade agreement among Canada, the USA, and Mexico. NAFTA came into force on January 1, 1994.
- NAFTA can also be referred as the tripartite trading bloc of North American countries.
- Through NAFTA, it was decided to remove duties on almost all the U.S exports shipped to Mexico and Canada.
- The agreement eventually phased out all other tariffs and duties over a period of total of 14 years.
- Restrictions on some of the categories like, automobile parts, motor vehicles, computers, textiles and agriculture were also decided to be removed.
- The treaty also dealt with intellectual property rights and thus talked about the removal of restrictions on investment among the 3 countries.
- A supplemental agreement was signed in 1993 and for that, the provisions were made regarding worker rights and environmental protection in the member nations.
- This agreement was like an expansion of the earlier Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement of 1989, in which Mexico was also given an important place.
- NAFTA is remarkably different from the European Union, as it does not create a set of supernational governmental bodies, nor does it create any body of law that is superior to the national law. NAFTA is thus a treaty under the ambit of international law.

What is the scope of NAFTA?

- NAFTA is comparatively more comprehensive in its scope & nature and was complemented by the twin agreements of- North American Agreement for Environmental Cooperation and the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation.
- The NAAEC agreement was planned as a response to the environmental concerns that non-native companies relocating to either of the three countries would have to lower their standards regarding environmental safety, in case they did not achieve a unanimous regulative standard on the environment.
- The NAAEC is much more than only a set of environmental regulations. It helped to establish bodies like- the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation- which is a mechanism to address the trade and environmental issues; and it also helped in formation of- the North American Development Bank for assisting and financing the investments for pollution reduction and the Border Environmental Cooperation Commission.

- Though majority of the economists agree with the fact that it is difficult to assess the direct impact of the NAALC, it is however agreed that there has been a convergence of labor standards in North American region.
- Given its limitations, NAALC has not produced any convergence in employment, productivity or salary trend within the North American region.

Why has NAFTA been in controversy?

- NAFTA has been at the midst of controversy since its inception year.
- Many transnational corporations have supported NAFTA in the belief that probably the lower tariffs would increase their profits.
- The trade and Labor unions in Canada and the United States of America however, are strongly opposed to NAFTA because they fear jobs would begin to shift to Mexico due to the lower labor costs there.
- Even some politicians have opposed this free trade concept because of the fear that it will turn countries like Canada, into permanent branch plant economies in the region.

The issue about Chapter 11

- Another problematic issue in NAFTA, is the impact of the investment obligations that are contained in Chapter 11 of the NAFTA pact.
- Chapter 11 of the act allows the corporations or individuals to even sue Mexico, Canada, or the U.S.A government- for compensation when actions taken by those governments have adversely affected their investments in harsh way.
- This chapter has been invoked several times in cases where any government has passed laws or regulations with an intent to protect their own citizens. Language in the chapter defining its scope also states that it can't be used to prevent any Party from providing such a service or performing a function such as individual country's law enforcement, correctional services, income security or insurance claims, health, and child care, in such a manner that is not inconsistent with the defined Chapter.
- Further, it has also been argued that the chapter benefits more- the interests of Canadian and American corporations disproportionately as compared to the Mexican businesses, which often lacks the resources to pursue any suit against the much wealthier nations.

United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA)

- The House of Representatives has passed the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement — the replacement for NAFTA, or the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement. The new deal includes stronger labor and environmental provisions. American labor groups have backed the new trade deal.
- It's basically NAFTA 2.0, with major changes on cars and new policies on labor and environmental standards, intellectual property protections, and some digital trade provisions.

The changes from NAFTA 1.0-

- **Country of origin rules:** Automobiles must have 75% of their components manufactured in Mexico, the US, or Canada to qualify for zero tariffs (up from 62.5 percent under NAFTA).
- **Labor provisions:** 40 to 45 percent of automobile parts have to be made by workers who earn at least \$16 an hour by 2023. Mexico has also agreed to pass laws giving workers the right to

union representation, extend labor protections to migrant workers, and protect women from discrimination. The countries can also sanction one another for labor violations.

- **US farmers get more access to the Canadian dairy market:** The US got Canada to open up its dairy market to US farmers, which was a big issue for Trump.
- **Intellectual property and digital trade:** The deal extends the terms of copyright to 70 years beyond the life of the author (up from 50). It also extends the period that a pharmaceutical drug can be protected from generic competition.
- **New provisions-** It also includes new provisions to deal with the digital economy, including prohibiting duties on things like music and e-books, and protections for internet companies so they're not liable for content their users produce.
- **Sunset clause:** The agreement puts in a 16-year "sunset" clause — meaning the terms of the agreement expire, or "sunset," after a set period of time. The deal is also subject to a review every six years, at which point the US, Mexico, and Canada can decide to extend USMCA.

NAFTA and INDIA

- The globalization process rarely follows capital flows. The contribution of process like-liberalization and deregulation in the past have helped India strongly to cascade the FDI flows.
- However, the extent of such inflows was inconsistent throughout the territory. For instance, any area lacking in technology got a significant boost in the technological sector due to the arrival of foreign firms which led to a rise in employment.
- There is a specific term prevalent in Mexico called Maquiladora. It signifies the foreign owned firms. Such firms are there to boost the employment and resources, thus increasing the productivity in the industrial sector and thus facilitating the society with economic needs.
- Similar scenario existed in India too whereby foreign companies started setting up their bases in India
- Re-negotiating such trade pacts that have promoted globalization over the last 50 years is a serious concern. Because it is seen that, if each country attempts to protect its businesses individually and adopts a tariff structure according to one's own needs, then there will largely be chaos because countries with the exportable surplus will start dumping their products in other markets. This will affect global growth and the developing countries in the long run.
- The relation between India and NAFTA could become a major threat to countries like China, because it will give a near veto-power to the USA over any attempt by Canada or Mexico for trying to reach a similar agreement with countries of non-market economy status which China is still yet to acquire.
- Indian imports and exports will be largely affected because the new deal will once again realign the demand-supply equations among several commodities in both the regions.
- The biggest impact can be in the automobile section that stipulates specific conditions like, manufacturing a greater portion of vehicles in the three countries along with high-wage labour in the USA and China.

Conclusion

Significance of this agreement lies in its application in interlinking trade relations between countries along with maintenance of good relations between the countries. Mexico and Canada, both being neighbouring states, the significance of such relationship stands atop all. Moreover, if such re-

negotiation takes place, India is likely to get affected significantly, creating an order of chaos between the countries, thereby affecting the diplomatic relationship of the two states.

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CONCERNS

Syllabus-

Contemporary Global Concerns: Democracy, human rights, environment, gender justice, terrorism, nuclear proliferation.

Previous Year Questions-

1. Is 'terrorism' an essentially 'contested' concept? What are the different manifestations of 'terrorism' as a concept, and as practice?
2. Bring out linkage between environmental degradation and neo-corporatism in the globalised era.
3. State the place of Gender Justice in global agenda.
4. "Global commons belong to global society and require global attention". Comment.
5. Do you agree that the U.N. has failed to contain transnational terrorism? Elaborate your answer with examples.
6. Discuss the grounds for India's opposition to NPT.
7. What are the real objectives of Millennium Development Goals (MDG)? Do you think that millennium development goals have been able to achieve the desired goals of poverty alleviation and sustainable development?
8. Why does global human security need to be emphasized along with economic security? Explain with examples
9. Discuss the evolution of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the post-Cold War period.
10. Examine the main problems and challenges involved in looking after environmental concerns in world politics.
11. Explain the socio-economic impacts of arms race and identify the obstacles in the way of disarmament
12. Examine the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movement: in developed societies and how it is affecting the political participation in developing societies

13. Give an assessment of the Feminist critique of contemporary global issues.
14. The recent move of USA to withdraw from the Paris climate Agreement is a setback in the consensus achieved on protecting the world environment. In this context, assess the future prospective on climate control.
15. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) has failed to achieve the ultimate objective of Global Nuclear Department. Discuss the deficiency in the provision of NPT.
16. Would you agree that the on-going debates on international environmental politics continue to be marred by a new North-South ideological divide over historical responsibility and developmental model ? Illustrate your answer with suitable examples

DEMOCRACY

- The word 'democracy has its genesis in a Greek term '**demokratia**,' which means 'rule by the people'. It is a kind of political system in which people, and not monarchs, like kings & queens or aristocrats like lords' rule.
- **Theodore Parker** defined democracy as 'a type of government of all the people, by all the people and for all the people'.
- **Seymour Lipset** also gave a working definition of democracy as 'a type of political system which supplies regular and gradual constitutional opportunities for changing the government, by allowing the citizens and the population to choose between alternative sets of policy makers.
- **Amartya Sen** states that he has always been a firm believer in democracy and applauds its vast progress since Independence. He has always maintained that it is the most stable way of governance. However, he believes that unless the government focuses on improving and developing the terrible social conditions and infrastructure that plagues the majority of the Indian population, there can be no rapid economic growth.
- **Ashutosh Varshney** states that- "A democracy which speaks with one voice, which elevates citizen duties over citizen rights, which privileges obedience over freedom, which uses fear to instill ideological uniformity, which weakens checks on executive power, is a contradiction in terms."

Democracy as a part of society and representation

- Democracy can be understood as a type of social system in which everyone is given an equal share of power. In larger and complex societies, however, it is nearly impossible for every citizen to be involved in the desired political process. Thus, when we are referring to the 'demo-cratic' power structure, we actually mean those structures in which people are allowed to vote for their desired elected representatives.
- Most of the societies that describe themselves as political democracy kind are actually a type of representative democracies, where the citizens elect the politicians who actually hold and exercise the political authority on behalf of the people. Pure democracy is quite rare in the present era. This is basically because, the definition of 'everyone' always and every time excludes some portion of population.

History of democracy

- The origin of the concept of democracy as an idea and as practice tends to go back to the city-states of Greece during the 5th century BCE. But contemporary democracies are considered to be very different from the ancient Greek model. It is a big paradox that although the concept of the modern democracy first emerged in the Greece region, yet the Greeks were largely suspicious of democracy.
- They generally felt that, in democracy, the people often made bad decisions that usually went against their interests. In this type of system, People could be easily manipulated by demagogue leaders and vested interests of different political groups.
- Later, the pattern that emerged in England in the 17th century and that slowly became the model for the entire world was one of representative democracy, also called as parliamentary democracy.
- Similarly, in India, this type of democratic political system developed after the period of independence. It is said that in ancient India, the people led a democratic way of life, signified by the concept of Ram Rajya and Buddhist Sangha. But the political democracy of the modern form did not exist at that time.
- In practical scenes, the politicians in a democracy usually belong to those parties which propose general policies, rather than who respond to the citizens on issue-by-issue basis. Parties in democratic setup, thus become independent centers of power.

Recent democratic trends

- The practical experience of the 20th century seems to show that the citizens' interests are best represented by either two or at the most three political parties—as in UK or the United States of America.
- Although there are many one-party systems seen in the world which claims to be democratic on the basis that they represent the collective will of the people. Example- **Isaias Afwerki's People's Front for Democracy and Justice Party** in Eritrea.
- Political processes like, elections and political socialization are the main pillar of all types of democracies. Similarly, political organization, political competitiveness, the big political gesture of the parties—all these are very integral to democracy.

Ideal conditions for democracy

It is widely argued and agreed that for the consideration of the real democracy, some necessary conditions must be fulfilled-

1. Free and fair elections
2. A genuine choice between candidates and policies
3. Real parliamentary power
4. Civil rights for all citizens
5. Rule of law and equality before law
6. Inter-party competition
7. Real representation of different interests
8. Free and responsible media
9. Personal freedom

SIGNIFICANCE OF DEMOCRACY

Democratic peace theory: Democratic peace is a postulated theory that says that the democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. The democratic peace theory says that democracies are hesitant to engage in armed conflict with other identified democratic countries.

In the project for a **Perpetual Peace**, Kant also envisioned the establishment of a “zone of peace” among the states constituted as republics. Here, **Kant’s definition of republicanism**, which emphasizes the representative nature of republican government, also corresponds to current understanding of liberal democracy. Thus, the terms democratic peace and Kantian peace are today often used interchangeably for the same matter.

According to **Michael Doyle**, While autocratic or authoritarian states are seen to be inherently militaristic and aggressive, democratic states are viewed as naturally peaceful.

Similarly, **Habermas** also argues that humans can have rational communication that will lead to the democratization of society and consensus.

Amartya Sen states that he has always been a firm believer in democracy and applauds its vast progress since Independence. He has always maintained that it is the most stable way of governance.

- ✓ However, he believes that unless the government focuses on improving and developing the terrible social conditions and infrastructure that plagues the majority of the Indian population, there can be no rapid economic growth.
- ✓ Although Sen believes in democracy as the best form of governance, he states that sometimes it could lead to ineffectivity when it comes to execution for ongoing deficiencies, although it is great for crisis management.
- ✓ For instance, he says that if tomorrow a flood was to hit the Bay of Bengal, then the government would ensure that the 200 people living by the coast were safely evacuated.
- ✓ However, in the case of, say, improving healthcare conditions, putting money into state schools and hospitals would take forever considering that substantial time would be spent in just deliberations and convincing the concerned authorities to get on board.

Types of Democracies-

1. **Participatory democracy-** It is a type of democracy in which decisions are made directly by those affected by them. This is the type of original democracy that was practiced in ancient Greece and India at the Gram Panchayat level, from where the idea of democracy originated.
 - Participatory democracy is of very limited importance in modern societies, where the majority of the population has political rights, and it would be largely impossible for everyone to participate actively in the making of all the decisions.
 - And that's why, only a small minority of population actually participates in this type of political process and political organizations on a local or national level.
 - **Example-** Switzerland follows participative democracy and they value micro-based quality-of-life indicators as complementary to macroeconomic indices. They follow this system since long.

2. **Monarchical democracy**- There are some examples of modern states, like UK and Sweden, where traditional rulers, like the king or the queen acts as the heads of constitutional monarchs and they continue to head the elected government.
 - Although, their power is severely restricted by the constitution, which largely vests authority in the elected representatives of the people.
 - In most cases the constitutional monarchs are just the symbols of national identity rather than person having any direct power in political life.
 - The vast majority of modern states are republican in nature. In such countries, there is no king or queen. Almost everyone, including the constitutional monarchies always professes adherence to democratic values in this type of system.

3. **Liberal democracy**- It is a framework designed for the expression of diverse views and interests of the people. It does not specify how we should behave; it only tells that we should respect the views of others in a nation.
 - It is very compatible with the pluralism of attitudes and different ways of life. In practice, a liberal democracy is a representative multi-party democracy, like in India, where citizens can vote for one of at least two parties.
 - Liberal democracy can be understood as a theory about the relationship between the majority of the people and their leaders.
 - Liberal theorists state that the democratic political elites are truly the representative of the people and are ultimately accountable only to them.
 - In liberal democracies, voters can decide and choose between two or more political parties and the mass adult population has the right to vote, according to the adult franchise principle.

Problems of Democracy

Democracy has become a worldly force off late. While it has become widespread globally, but all is not going well with this type of political system. It has got into some difficulties almost in every country. Democracy is in trouble even in the countries of its origin like, UK, the US and several European countries.

Surveys show that majority proportions of people are dissatisfied with this type of political system, or are indifferent towards it. Political participation is decreasing on a daily basis, as is largely evident from the percentage of voters' turnout during the elections and at the hosting's and the attendance in the parliament and assemblies during debates.

CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS-

- The Clash of Civilizations is a theory which says that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War period. The US political scientist **Samuel P. Huntington** also argued that future wars would be fought not between various countries, but between different cultures.
- S. P. Huntington began this type of thinking by surveying and analyzing the diverse theories about the nature of global politics during the post-Cold War period. Some theorists and

writers even argued that the theories like- human rights, liberal democracy, and the capitalist free market economy are the only remaining ideological alternative for nations in the post-Cold War times. Specifically, philosophers like, **Francis Fukuyama** also argued that the world had reached the 'end of history' in a Hegelian narrative sense.

- Huntington also believed that while the age of ideology had ended presently, the world had only reverted to a normal state of affairs characterized by regular cultural conflict. In his thesis, he said that the primary axis of conflict in the future will mainly be along cultural lines .

Major civilizations as per Huntington-

Huntington divided the world into the "major civilizations" in his thesis-

- **Western civilization**, comprising the United States and Canada, Western and Central Europe, Australia, Oceania and most of the Philippines.
 - ✓ Whether Latin America and the former member states of the Soviet Union are included, or are instead their own separate civilizations, will be an important future consideration for those regions, according to Huntington.
 - ✓ The traditional Western viewpoint identified Western Civilization with the Western Christian (Catholic-Protestant) countries and culture
- **Latin American civilization**, including South America (excluding Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana), Central America, Mexico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic may be considered a part of Western civilization. Many people in South America and Mexico regard themselves as full members of Western civilization.
- **Orthodox civilization**, comprising Bulgaria, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, Romania, great parts of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.
 - ✓ Countries with a non-Orthodox majority are usually excluded e.g. Muslim Azerbaijan and Muslim Albania and most of Central Asia, as well as majority Muslim regions in the Balkans, Caucasus and central Russian regions such as Tatarstan and Bashkortostan, Roman Catholic Slovenia and Croatia, Protestant and Catholic Baltic states
- **The Eastern world** is the mix of the Buddhist, Chinese, Hindu, and Japonic civilizations.
 - ✓ **The Buddhist areas** of Bhutan, Cambodia, Laos, Mongolia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand are identified as separate from other civilizations, but Huntington believes that they do not constitute a major civilization in the sense of international affairs.
 - ✓ **The Sinic civilization** of China, the Koreas, Singapore, Taiwan, and Vietnam. This group also includes the Chinese diaspora, especially in relation to Southeast Asia.
 - ✓ **Hindu civilization**, located chiefly in India, Bhutan and Nepal, and culturally adhered to by the global Indian diaspora.
 - ✓ **Japan**, considered a hybrid of Chinese civilization and older Altaic patterns.
- **The Muslim world** of the Greater Middle East (excluding Armenia, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Georgia, Israel, Malta and South Sudan), northern West Africa, Albania, Pakistan, Bangladesh, parts of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei, Comoros, Indonesia, Malaysia, Maldives and southern Philippines.

DEMOCRATIC INTERVENTIONS

- A democratic intervention is a type of military intervention by external forces with the aim of assisting democratization of any country where the intervention takes place.
- Examples for this type of system, includes intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq by USA. Democratic intervention has also occurred throughout the mid-20th century, as evident in Japan and Germany after World War II, where democracies were imposed by military intervention type.
- States often engage in democratic intervention for a variety of reasons, starting from national interests to international security. Some proponents of democratic intervention also acknowledge the superiority of democratic theories to autocratic regimes in areas of peace, economics and human rights.
- According to philosophers like, **Nils Petter Gleditsch**, in the post-Cold War period, the western politicians used democratic peace theory for the further spread of democracy assisted by military means, like in the Balkans or in the Middle East. According to them, the increased focus on global human rights in international politics has also made it easier for many sceptics to tolerate military intervention in their areas.
- Several criticisms of democratic intervention are around the infringement of the state sovereignty of the country where the intervention takes place and also the failure of democratic intervention to consider a nation's cultural complexities as a whole.
- Further, even though these interventions have put countries like Afghanistan on a course towards democratic government, but they did not create stable democracies. Instead, the result was a large and unstable semi-democracy. The countries in a grey area between the stable dictatorship and stable democracy experience comparatively more, and not fewer, armed conflicts.
- Even the western liberal democracies like the US are in favor of democratic intervention, while some other countries such as China and North Korea view it as a method of furthering the hegemony of an intervening state.

DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Deliberative democracy theorists have harshly criticized the IMF and the World Bank for their lack of accountability. Philosophers like, **Joseph Stiglitz** argues that the World Bank and IMF- both suffer from lack of accountability.

- There are four major factors that might lead to democratic deficit in global governance-
 1. **The issue of procedure**- some international bodies often operate with unaccountable and non-transparent process. This makes it very difficult to identify the steps in a causal chain which links transnational rule-makers with rule-takers.
 2. **Often the limited scope**- the current arrangements of transnational institutions seem largely incapable of tackling the most pressing issues of a globalizing world —like the climate change, sudden spread of infectious diseases, volatile financial markets, enormous poverty rates, unjust supply chains and others.

3. **Growing Issue of constituency:** globalization has actually reshaped those who constitutes 'the people' due to democratic standing in the decision-making processes.
 - ✓ As some philosophers like, **Andrew Linklater** notes, globalization largely generates post national communities of fate which is not based on national boundaries but on shared problems and mutual allegiances.
 - ✓ As globalization also erodes the idea that the citizenry represents a natural embodiment of 'the people', there is a severe need to search for alternate ways to justify the democratic inclusion.
4. **Dominance of western countries-** the present decision-making process in the institutions of global governance is tilted in favor of the western countries. Their actions are based focusing on narrow national interests instead of achievement of common global good. This widens the gap between North and South as seen in WTO.

UNDERMINING DEMOCRACY

- The financial disasters, recessions, and important security issues and dilemmas are on rising trends in democratic states in the west and the east. Globalization has introduced new international dangerous problems to states and to the idea of sovereignty and it also undermines the democratic norms by making them weak and vulnerable compared to other political regimes.
- For instance, the **Asian economic crisis** of 1997 has showed that countries that had more democratic links with the west, suffered the most and that was a warning sign which showed that globalization is very dangerous. In this context, the focus on 'Asian Values' has justified authoritative governments in order to maintain order and ensure economic prosperity in the region.
- **Mahathir Mohammad** was a leading proponent of 'Asian Values' in the 1990s, when he was leader of Malaysia. Alongside Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, Mahathir strongly argued that individual freedom, in his view a western ideal, was not compatible with Asian societies which preferred the harmony brought by more authoritarian rule.
- some scholars like **Jens Bartelson** also argue that globalization poses a threat to the democratic state instead of aiding its expansion because it undermines the essential requirements of state autonomy, patriotism and the national identity.
- Globalization is also causing the decline of the nation state, as governments no longer have the control over their economy, their trades and their borders. Now, some trans-national companies are becoming increasingly imperative to the economy, and the state is becoming obsolete in nature. This also supports the argument that the globalization is reducing the power of democracy and the state, which is resulting in hollow democracy.
- Similarly, scholars like **David Held** have highlighted the weakening of democratic states due to decision making at global levels. He has also highlighted the need for new democratic theories in order to rethink democracy in relation to growing interconnectedness between different states and societies. In this context, he has also proposed 'cosmopolitan model of the democracy'.
- some post-modern and Radical theorists like **Noam Chomsky** asks to consider the democratic interventions as an excuse for regime change agendas and promoting geo-political aims.

Recent example of democracy being undermined-

- ✓ **Nepal**- In 2021, Prime Minister Khadga Prasad Sharma Oli dissolved Parliament. Further, he moved to consolidate control over key constitutional bodies that are supposed to serve as checks and balances to the government
- ✓ **Sri Lanka**- Sri Lankan Parliament had drafted 20th amendment to the constitution. It will lead “to a system of autocratic government” in Sri Lanka. It would bring to “an effective end” its “parliamentary democracy and liberal democratic traditions and institutions.
 - Sri Lanka’s descent into autocratic rule is all the more disturbing, even tragic, as the island-nation is Asia’s oldest democracy, with socio-economic indicators that are far better than other South Asian countries.
- ✓ **Pakistan**- The social dominance of the military power in Pakistan has been encouraged involuntarily and this is the reason why the elected parties are often overthrown.
 - There is a lack of support to Pakistan from the international organizations for the democratic rule.
 - The US and other countries have supported the military set up, due to their own interests. The global fear against Islam and the assumption that Pakistan has a nuclear weapon which can be used for mass destruction also put the stability in question.
- ✓ **African nations**- The presidents in some countries, such as Kenya, Liberia, and Ghana, have abided by their countries’ two-term limit; others have used legislatures subservient to the president to change their constitutions to allow them to stay in power beyond those two terms, and, in some cases, indefinitely.
 - In addition, these and other recent institutional changes have created conditions that make it very difficult for the opposition to participate competitively in elections.

Impact of declining value of democracy

For its failure, it should not be the institution itself which is to be blamed; it is the process it has worked or the way it's working has been distorted by those in power. It is because of the vested interests of a few people in power that the tangible gains could not go to the large masses of people in democratic setup.

Despite of many problems and difficulties in liberal democracy, it is not only persisting in some of the countries, where this system was practiced but it is also spreading to those countries, where other political system was operating earlier. The freedom that exists in the liberal societies, cannot be undervalued.

Within largely defined limits, people can speak their minds and organize themselves for a just cause. Private lives should be largely left private by the state—so that in their own homes at least people can ‘be themselves’.

These freedoms might not seem so precious if we did not experience the agony of totalitarianism that was practiced in Germany and Soviet Union in the 1930s or during Taliban’s Afghanistan and Saddam Hussain regime in Iraq. Perhaps the major argument in the Favour of liberal democracy is that there is every scope to bring improvement in this system overtime. This is why Winston Churchill once described liberal democracy as ‘the least bad system’.

Despite of its many pitfalls and weaknesses, democratization can be considered to be one of the major political forces in the world today. Like many aspects of contemporary societies, the realm of government and politics is also undergoing major changes.

In many parts of the world, pro-democratic movements have largely been successful in toppling the authoritarian regimes. Like, in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, communism was overthrown by such movements after some struggle.

But democracy is still not a reality in China, though a movement in Favour of democracy was launched in 1989 and a student demonstration was held in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, but it was crushed by the communist government. Democratic forms of government have also been established in the last few years in much of Latin America and some countries in Africa and Asia like, Afghanistan, Iraq and some Arab countries.

Movements for democracy-

1. **2018–2022 Arab protests**- They were a series of anti-government protests in several Arab countries, including Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan, Sudan, Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Oman, and Syria. Economic protests also took place in the Gaza Strip
 - **Iraq**- The deadliest incident of civil unrest in Iraq since the fall of Saddam Hussein resulted in its Prime Minister being replaced.
 - **Sudan**- Sustained civil disobedience in Sudan resulted in the overthrow of president Omar al-Bashir in a military coup d'état, the Khartoum massacre, and the transfer of power from a military junta to a combined military–civilian Sovereignty Council that is legally committed to a 39-month transition to democracy.
2. **1989 Tiananmen Square protests and massacre**- It was a student-led demonstrations held in Tiananmen Square, Beijing during 1989. The government troops armed with assault rifles and accompanied by tanks fired at the demonstrators and those trying to block the military's advance into Tiananmen Square.
3. **Pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong**- The Hong Kong Citizens Support Patriotic Democracy Movement Federation (Stake) was established on May 21, 1989 to support the Chinese democracy movement. The Stake is a large-scale grassroots democracy promotion organization in Hong Kong, committed to "freeing the pro-democracy activists; rehabilitating the 1989 pro-democracy movement; holding accountable for the massacre; ending the one-party dictatorship; building a democratic China."

Conclusion

Just as Aristotle warned of apathy, another bit of ancient wisdom might be appropriate here, summarized by **Professor Steve Muhlberger** recounting a situation whereby a king of Maghada in ancient India, who wished to destroy the Vajjian confederacy, sent a minister to the Buddha to ask for his advice and whether his attack would be a success or not? In his response, the Buddha said the people of Vajjia could avoid decline if they continued their open and inclusive tradition.

The Buddha saw the virtues necessary for a righteous and prosperous community, whether secular or monastic, as being much the same. Foremost among those virtues was the holding of “full and frequent assemblies.” In this, the Buddha spoke not only for himself, and not only out of his personal view of justice and virtue. He based himself on what may be called the democratic tradition in ancient Indian politics—democratic in that it argued for a wide rather than narrow distribution of political rights, and government by discussion rather than by command and submission.

HUMAN RIGHTS

- These are the rights which are inherent to all the human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, any religion, or any other status.
- These include various rights like, the right to life and liberty, freedom from any type of slavery and torture, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and various others.
- Nelson Mandela had said that ‘To deny people of their human rights means to challenge their very humanity’.
- ‘Human rights’ essentially have been defined to include all the aspects of dignified human existence which make every human being an equal member of the humanity family.
- Human dignity is the prime essence of human rights. It is often the wide understanding of this aspect and appreciation of the range of dignity of the individual which actually defines the true scope of human rights.
- According to **Amartya Sen**, “Human rights are moral claims on ... individual and collective agents, and on the design of social arrangements. Human rights are fulfilled when the persons involved enjoy secure access to the freedom or resource (adequate health protection, freedom of speech) covered by the right”.

Basic Concept of Human Rights

The first person credited with developing a comprehensive theory of human rights was British philosopher **John Locke**.

- Locke wrote that people form societies, and societies establish governments, in order to assure the enjoyment of “natural” rights. Locke defined government as a “social contract” between rulers and ruled.
- Citizens, he believed, are obliged to give allegiance only to a government that protects their human rights. Those rights may even have precedence over the claims and interests of the government. Government can only be legitimate when it systematically honors and protects the human rights of its citizens.

There are a number of ways of classifying the human rights. Some of them are given below-

1. **Classical**- These include the civil and political rights and generally they restrict the powers of the state in respect of actions affecting the individual.
2. **Fundamental and Basic Rights** - With the recent rise in the number of human rights, a concern has arisen that some of the rights will become watered down eventually. Consequently, the phrase fundamental rights tend to be used to indicate more importance of those certain rights.

- Some rights are so much important that they must always be given precedence in the national and international policy. They include all those rights pertaining to individual dignity as well as to their material needs.
- 3. **Collective and Individual Rights** – generally, most of the human rights relate to the individual only. It however, becomes apparent that some of them can only be exercised by some kind of groups. This is especially true when the ability of exercising rights is linked to membership of a particular group.
- 4. **First, Second and Third Generation Rights-** Normally, this classification follows the historical development of these rights.
 - The first ones are the civil and political rights and second are the social, economic and cultural ones.
 - In last few years, academicians have started to talk about the existence of a third generation of rights also- which are solidarity rights, like the right to peace, the right to development, the right to food and to a clean environment.
 - Thus, the human rights are necessarily dynamic.
- **Timeline of these generational rights-**
 - **The first generational rights** date back to the Magna Carta of 1215 and the Rights of Englishmen, which were expressed in the English Bill of Rights in 1689. A more full set of first-generation human rights was pioneered in France by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789, and by the United States Bill of Rights in 1791.
 - **Second-generation human rights** are related to equality and began to be recognized by governments after World War II. In the United States of America, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed a Second Bill of Rights, covering much the same grounds, during his State of the Union Address on January 11, 1944. Today, many nations, states, or groups of nations have developed legally binding declarations guaranteeing comprehensive sets of human rights, e.g. the European Social Charter.
 - **Third-generation human rights** are those rights that go beyond the mere civil and social, as expressed in many progressive documents of international law, including the 1972 Stockholm Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and other pieces of generally aspirational "soft law".
 - **Fourth generation human rights-** still emerging
- 5. **Emergence of Fourth generation rights-** Several analysts claim that a fourth generation of human rights is emerging, which would include rights that cannot be included in the third generation, future claims of first and second generation rights and new rights, especially in relation to technological development and information and communication technologies and cyberspace.

What are the essential Features of Human Rights?

1. **People have rights mainly because they are human.** All the people have the right to lead a dignified and humane life, and thus these work towards achieving this for all people. The human rights thus cannot be denied on the basis of caste, colour, religion or gender.
2. **Human rights are universal in nature.** They take no consideration of any nation, race, sex or colour. Here, people of all nations, colour, race or religion have the same rights everywhere. Even the developed and developing countries in every continent of the world must guarantee same rights to all their citizens.
3. **Human rights treat all people as equal beings.** This follows the basic idea that “all human beings are born free and are equal in rights and dignity” and therefore everyone deserves the same opportunities and treatment. Every government must therefore work to create the same set of opportunities for all the people in the country. This may involve extra work for the government to make those opportunities the same for certain sections in society e.g., women, children, and the disabled, but it is very necessary.
4. **These rights belong primarily in the individual sphere.** It means that they are concerned with the relationship between an individual and the government. Thus, it is for the government to create such a society where each individual can enjoy and freely exercise his or her rights to the fullest.
5. **The Human rights truly encompasses the fundamental principles of humanity.** These rights are considered to be most basic for the development of human personality and also for the sake of human dignity. Examples of such rights can be the right to life, freedom from any kind of slavery and freedom from torture.
6. **The promotion and protection of these human rights are not limited to any specific national boundaries** but rather they stipulate certain ideals that apply the world over. These Human rights hold different nations accountable for meeting the conditions which gradually satisfy the promotion, protection and respect for these rights.

International Human Rights Conventions and Bodies:

1. **The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948-** It has 30 rights and freedoms which include civil and political rights. For example, the right to life, liberty, free speech and privacy and economic, social and cultural rights, and the right to social security, health and education, etc.
 - India was an important member in drafting of the UDHR.
 - The UDHR is thus not a treaty, so it does not directly create any legal obligations for the member countries.
2. The UDHR, along with the **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [1966]** and its two voluntary Protocols- on the complaint's procedure and on the death penalty, along with the formation of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and its Optional Protocol, also form the so-called **International Bill of Human Rights**.

Other Conventions:

1. The Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide- signed in 1948
2. The International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination- signed in 1965
3. The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women- signed in 1979
4. The Convention on the Rights of the Child- signed in 1989
5. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities- signed in 2006)

- ❑ India is a party to all of these above mentioned international Conventions.

UN Human Rights Council:

- It is an inter-governmental body which works within the United Nations system, and is responsible for strengthening of the promotion and protection of human rights.
- It is made up of a total of 47 UN Member States which are elected by the UNGA.
- The most innovative and important feature of the Human Rights Council is its Universal Periodic Review. This unique mechanism involves the review of the human rights records of all the 193 UN member states every four years.
- Additionally, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights also serves as the secretariat for the Human Rights Council office.

Amnesty International:

- It is an international organization of those volunteers who campaign for the upliftment of human rights.
- This organization brings independent reports on the subject of violation of human rights from all over the world.

Human Rights in India

- **It has been specifically enunciated in the Constitution-** Since the inception of Indian Constitution, it has incorporated most of the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration of human rights in two main parts- the Fundamental Rights and the provisions of Directive Principles of State Policy.
- **The Fundamental Rights:** It has been explicitly mentioned from Article 12 to 35 of the Constitution. These basically includes the Right to Equality, Right to Freedom, Right Against Exploitation, Right to Freedom of Religion, the Cultural & Educational Rights, protection of Certain Laws and finally the Right to Constitutional Remedies.
- **The Directive Principles of State Policy:** It has also been mentioned from Article 36 to 51 of the Constitution. These include the- right to social security, right to work, the free choice of employment, and protection against the unemployment, right to equal pay for equal work, right to existence worthy of human dignity, equal justice & free legal aid and the principles of policy to be followed by the State.

Statutory Provisions:

- **The Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993-** It provides for the formation of a National Human Rights Commission at the Union level, which will steer the State Human Rights Commission in the individual States and also the Human Rights Courts for the better protection of Human Rights and also for matters connected with or incidental thereto.

CURRENT Situations

- **Ukraine war**- Russia's invasion of Ukraine is a manifest violation of the United Nations Charter and an act of aggression that is a crime under international law. The invasion has triggered a huge human rights, humanitarian, & displacement crisis that has the makings of the worst such catastrophe in recent European history. Russia is breaching the sovereignty of Ukraine & challenging the global security architecture.
- **Afghanistan**- Parties to the conflict in Afghanistan continued to commit serious violations of international humanitarian law, including war crimes, and other serious human rights violations and abuses with impunity.
 - Indiscriminate and targeted killings reached record levels. Human rights defenders, women activists, journalists, health and humanitarian workers, and religious and ethnic minorities were among those targeted by the Taliban and non-state actors.
- **Yemen**- All parties to the conflict in Yemen continued to commit violations of international humanitarian and human rights law with impunity.
 - The Saudi Arabia-led coalition, supporting the internationally recognized Yemeni government, and Huthi forces continued to carry out attacks that unlawfully killed and injured civilians and destroyed civilian objects, including food infrastructure.
 - Southern Transitional Council (STC) forces carried out summary killings.
 - Parties to the conflict carried out harassment, arbitrary detentions, enforced disappearances, torture and other ill-treatment, and unfair trials, against individuals on the basis of their political, religious or professional affiliations, their peaceful activism or their gender. All parties perpetrated gender-based violence and discrimination.

Human Rights and COVID-19

- **Forced curtailment of Human rights**- In view of the exceptional situation and to preserve life, countries have no choice but to adopt extraordinary measures. Extensive lockdowns, adopted to slow transmission of the virus, restrict by necessity freedom of movement and, in the process, freedom to enjoy many other human rights. Such measures can inadvertently affect people's livelihoods and security, their access to health care (not only for COVID-19), to food, water and sanitation, work, education – as well as to leisure
- Guaranteeing human rights for everyone poses a challenge for every country around the world to a differing degree. The public health crisis is fast becoming an economic and social crisis and a protection and human rights crisis rolled into one
- Human rights guide States on how to exercise their power so that it is used for the benefit of the people and not to do harm. In the current crisis, human rights can help States to recalibrate their response measures to maximize their effectiveness in combating the disease and minimise the negative consequences. The centrality of protection, which underpins the response in humanitarian settings, ensures that we collectively preserve our common humanity and dignity
- Human rights law recognizes that national emergencies may require limits to be placed on the exercise of certain human rights. The scale and severity of COVID-19 reaches a level where

restrictions are justified on public health grounds. Nothing in this paper seeks to tie the hands of States in shaping an effective response to the pandemic. Rather it aims to signal to States possible pitfalls in the response to the crisis and to suggest ways in which attention to human rights can shape better responses.

According to **Amartya Sen**, Human rights are norms that aspire to protect all people everywhere from severe political, legal, and social abuses. Thus, for him the most important human rights are- right to freedom of religion, the right to a fair trial when charged with a crime, the right not to be tortured, and the right to education.

ENVIRONMENT

Introduction-

- The environment is considered as the archetypal type of example of a global issue due to its characteristics of transnational character.
- Numerous environmental changes have been identified in the world- like the desertification, the destruction of the tropical rainforest and gradual declines in forest cover, the large modification of coastal ecosystems, the depletion of soil resources, the over-exploitation of the fisheries, increasing food shortages, many species extinction and the large loss of biodiversity, large stratospheric ozone depletion, increasing and rising levels of fossil fuel and demand for energy supplies and climate change.
- The number, magnitude and complexity of all these issues can seem overwhelming and some philosophers have even argued that they amount to a cumulative, sustained human impact on the environment that can have profound impact and can transform the surface of the Earth.
- Increasing globalization, huge population growth, need of economic and social development, natural resource exploitation and scarcity of resources, climate change and urbanization are external drivers in the world today.
- In the era of Anthropocene, marked by the central role played by humankind in geology and ecology, global sustainability today appears as a civilizational imperative.

Evolution-

- Together with the widening realization of the problem of poverty, there has been an increasing awareness of the existence of a second global crisis: that of environmental degradation.
- Concerns about the state of the environment have deep historical roots, but those concerns came to prominence during the 1960s following the publication (in 1962) of a seminal book by **Rachel Carson, Silent Spring**, and the emergence of the modern environmentalist movement in some countries (Carson 1962).
- Since then, and particularly since the 1980s, considerable scientific efforts have been made to investigate and to document the state of the global environment and the nature of global environmental change.
- Those efforts have been prompted by widespread concerns that the pace and extent of development in many parts of the world have far outstripped the capacity of natural ecosystems to absorb the impacts of human activities.

Major problems rising gradually

- The problems like- water wars, drug wars, large scaling diamond wars and oil wars-gave the proliferation of resource wars in an era of scarcity-climate change. Deforestation or pollution are now widely used expressions in international relations.
- The environment, in general, and natural resources, in particular, is here deeply linked with security, which is one of the largest controversial concepts of international politics.
- Although it is difficult to define, it seems fair to say that it involves in an objective sense the absence of threats to acquired values, in a holistic sense the absence of fear that such values will be attacked, especially those which, if left unchecked, threaten the survival of a particular referent object.
- In particular terms, and according to philosophers like **Soroos**, the concept of security can be defined as the assurance to people have that they will continue to enjoy the things which are most important to their survival and well-being.
- In a rapidly changing world, environmental issues are now framed in the security concept, because traditional notions of security, which are focused on military security, currently lack relevance in a world of transnational phenomena capable of affecting a wide variety of human referent objects.
- Environmental security extends the concept of security by considering all the risks posed by environmental change to the things that people value today.
- Such risks also include problems like- climate change, growing deforestation, impact of soil erosion and desertification, rapid loss of biodiversity, air, land and water pollution, ocean acidification, depletion of the ozone layer, disruption of the nitrogen and phosphorus cycles, among others.

Recent changes in environment and related concerns

- **The rise of industrial Revolution**, driven by the rise of technological development, agriculture, urbanization and the development of transport, as a response to population growth and the resulting increase in per capita demand, promoted consumption levels of goods and services that also require, for example- large amounts of water, consumption levels which currently seem to be increasingly difficult to maintain.
- **Climate change** has also exacerbated this situation. Especially in the last 60 years or so, the global water usage has increased almost twice as fast as the population, and the projected population growth for decades to come, as well as GDP growth, which added with the demand for energy, and food transformations in several developing countries point to a greater number of regions subject to water scarcity.
- **Poor management of resources**- Economic development and security are thus threatened by overtime poor management of the resources.
- **Inter-dependent problems**- In present era, the climate change and water are two inseparable realities, since the former has and will have a strong impact on water supply, while this is the main mediator of the effects of climate change on the economy, society and the environment, a evolving relationship intrinsically linked to other sectors, including energy and food production.

Environmental protection

- **Environmental protection**, which is also called as, environmental security, usually covers food security, energy security, economic security and also the access to fundamental natural resources, which leads us immediately to the concept of human security and reflects the fact that the environment is a multidimensional phenomenon.
- **Human security** also involves the environmental, economic, food, health, community, political and personal aspects, and is a concept that suggests security should also focus on individuals and not only on state-centric threats and national defense, and on the analysis of processes susceptible to undermine security, such as rising poverty, growing malnutrition, health, human rights, justice and access to goods and services.
- **Environmental insecurity**- By this point of view, one should think of environmental insecurity as something that is associated with social injustice and inequality, which makes one think about the largely enhanced inequalities of globalization and, more specifically, of the overall economic policy, something that reveals globalization is definitely a "double-edged sword."
- **Violence that is derived from environmental problems** involves large scale exploitation, discrimination, unequal social and economic structures, problems that create an atmosphere of political, cultural or religious violence, so that such an approach to the environment by the human rights perspective seeks to ensure that the natural world does not deteriorate to the point in which internationally accepted rights, such as the life, property, health, having a family, a private life, access to culture and drinking water are at risk.

Conclusion- In this sense, the concept of environmental protection is, at heart, an instrument to ensure all these rights. In other words, the question is also founded on global environmental justice, which is not just related to the mitigation of the anthropomorphic causes of climate change, also biodiversity loss or toxic pollution of the ocean crisis. It also needs to demands that adaptation measures do not further marginalize the already vulnerable groups, because poverty sometimes kills.

COP26- GLASGOW SUMMIT

All the member countries at the Glasgow climate change meeting decided to adopt a Glasgow Climate Pact which is aimed at keeping hopes alive for meeting the 1.5-degree Celsius temperature goal.

Major Decisions

- The Glasgow decision calls on all the countries for the "revisit and strengthen" of their 2030 targets by the end of 2022 to align them with the Paris Agreement's temperature goals. It also asks all the required countries that have not yet done so to submit long-term strategies to 2050, aiming for a just transition to net-zero emissions till around mid-century.
- COP 26 decision says that all countries should "resolve to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius by 2050," which gives this lower temperature threshold even greater emphasis than in the Paris Agreement decision.
- In addition, the pact also asks the nations to consider further actions to curb potent non-CO2 gases, such as CH4, and includes such language that are emphasizing the need to "phase down unabated coal" and "phase-out fossil fuel subsidies."

- **Net zero target-** According to the 'Net Zero Tracker' of the Energy and Climate Intelligence Unit, five more countries had approved net-zero legislation as of January 2021: Sweden, France, Denmark, New Zealand, and Hungary, all with a 2050 goal date except Sweden (2045).
- This marked largely the first-time negotiators have explicitly referenced shifting away from use of coal and phasing out fossil fuel subsidies in COP decision text.
- On the aspect of finance, all the Countries also agreed to a robust process to develop a new and larger climate finance goal to go into effect after 2025. They established an Ad Hoc Work Programme to convene technical experts and ministers to chalk out the details. The further post-2025 climate finance goal is expected to be set up by 2024.
- Developed countries also agreed to at least double the funding for adaptation by 2025, which would amount to at least \$40 billion as soon as possible.
- Apart from these, COP26 also adopted the **Glasgow-Sharm el-Sheikh** work program for the Global Goal on Adaptation initiative.
- Also, the programme of International Carbon Markets needs to be implemented. After almost 5 years of negotiations, the world's governments settled on the desired rules for the global carbon market under the Paris Agreement's Article 6.
- For the aspect of transparency, in Glasgow, all the countries agreed to submit information about their emissions and financial, technological and capacity-building support using a common and standardized set of formats and tables decided mutually. This will make reporting even more transparent, consistent and comparable.
- And lastly, this COP also finally recognized the importance of nature for both- reducing the emissions and building resilience for the impacts of climate change, both in the formal text and also through a raft of initiatives announced on the sidelines.

ANALYSIS OF THE SUMMIT

- The conference, that concluded in Glasgow on November 13, resolved the long-pending issue of carbon markets that had held back the finalization of rules for the implementation of the Paris Pact. In a major remission to India, China and Brazil, the Glasgow Accord allowed countries to carry forward the Kyoto Protocol's carbon credits earned after 2012.
- A 2-year programme has been decided to define a global goal for adaptation to climate change carries the potential to remove another sticking point of the Paris Accord — framing uniform criteria for adaptation initiatives is difficult because their benefits are local, unlike global warming mitigation efforts that can bring universal benefits.
- But the summit couldn't get the world to decisively commit to two things- all the countries must cut carbon dioxide emissions, so that it doesn't lead to global warming rising beyond 1.5°C by 2100 and also to decide a date to end centuries old dependence on coal as fuel.
- Developed countries have largely defaulted on the 2020 deadline, set in 2009, to deliver \$100 billion annually to developing economies in climate finance.
- The Glasgow Declaration's mild admonition that has only urged the developed country parties to urgently and significantly scale up their provision of climate finance has left the vulnerable countries and emerging economies disappointed to a large extent.
- Here, a number of climate-vulnerable countries advocated for COP26 to create a new financing facility dedicated to loss and damage, but it faced pushback by developed nations such as the United States.

- Instead, some countries landed on the creation of a new dialogue dedicated to discussing possible arrangements for loss and damage funding.
- At COP26, many countries decided that they would allow the carry-over of old carbon credits generated since 2013 under the clean development mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol to help meet climate commitments of the Paris Agreement. However, there are no stringent guidelines decided to be in place to ensure any of these older credits represent real emissions reductions, not just “hot air”
- In Glasgow summit, all the countries were encouraged to use common timeframes for their national climate commitments. But here, the use of the term “encouraged,” rather than stronger language, may weaken the impact of this decision.

INDIA’S POSITION

Historically, India has always been a strong proponent of the concept of climate justice. During the summit, India’s PM Modi announced a **Panchamrit** policy of climate actions.

1. It aims to raise the use of non-fossil fuel-based energy capacity of the country to 500 GW by 2030.
2. By 2030, almost 50% of the country’s energy requirements would be met using renewable energy sources.
3. The country plans to reduce the total projected carbon emission by almost one billion tonnes between now and the year 2030.
4. The carbon intensity of the economy needs to be reduced to less than 45% by 2030,
5. India would become carbon neutral and achieve net zero emissions by the end of year 2070.
 - According to scholars like **Mukul Sanwal**, with the current per capita emissions that are less than one-third the global average, India’s pledge to reach ‘net zero’ emissions by 2070 has actually cemented India’s credentials as a global leader.
 - Currently, India’s per capita greenhouse gas (GHG) emission is around **1.96 tCO₂e** (tonne carbon dioxide equivalent) which is less than one-third of the world’s per capita GHG emissions (**6.55 tCO₂e**).
 - India has also launched an international climate initiative, which is called as the **Infrastructure for Resilient Island States (IRIS)**, and is aimed at providing technical, knowledge and financial assistance to small island nations with the help of developed countries.
 - India also took a step towards building bridges with climate-vulnerable countries by launching the scheme of The One Sun, One World, one Grid — International solar alliance the first ever international network of solar power grids.
 - Countries like- India, China, Iran, Venezuela and Cuba have rejected a clause asking for “phasing-out unabated coal power and inefficient fossil fuel subsidies”. The final declaration also carries an amendment moved by India, and backed by China, in which the phrase, “phasing-out” has been replaced by “phased-down”. This “dilution” no doubt disappointed several countries, but they gave their assent, which is signaling Delhi’s growing heft in climate diplomacy.
 - While ensuring that all the interests of developing worlds are well secured, India also needs to ensure domestic consensus on its climate agenda.

- According to scholars like [D. Raghunandan](#), it would be ideal if the on-going updating of the NDC would be done through a cross-partisan multi-stakeholder consultative process that would make it truly “nationally determined” and implemented.

Conclusion

For the purposes of understanding sustainable development, however, there are two key points to make about this list of issues.

- First, many - if not all - of these environmental issues are caused, in one way or another, by development. For this reason, conventional efforts to promote development have attracted severe criticism from environmentalists - and they have prompted some people to call for 'green' forms of development that are more ecologically-sensitive.
- Second, many - if not all - of these environmental issues represent, in turn, significant obstacles to further development. Depleted natural resources and degraded ecosystems mean that it is more difficult to provide even the basic goods and services that people need to support their livelihoods and well-being. Once again, the relationship between environment and development is brought to the fore: a relationship that is now seen to be circular. Thus development can cause environmental degradation; in turn, environmental degradation can undermine development.

GENDER JUSTICE

Introduction

- Every day, in every country in the world, women are confronted by discrimination and inequality. They face violence, abuse and unequal treatment at home, at work and in their wider communities – and are denied opportunities to learn, to earn and to lead.
- Women form the majority of those living in poverty. They have fewer resources, less power and less influence compared to men, and can experience further inequality because of their class, ethnicity and age, as well as religious and other fundamentalism.
- Gender inequality is a key driver of poverty. And a fundamental denial of women's rights.
- The Constitution of India has ensured gender equality in its preamble as a fundamental right but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favor of women by ways of various legislation and policies.
- India has even ratified various international conventions and human rights forums to secure equal rights of women,” like the ratification of Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 1993. Women have been gradually finding place in local governance structures, overcoming gender biases in India.
- However, inspite of tremendous advancements in the society and placing women on a pedestal of ‘mother of mankind”, rather the women are treated equals and are afforded equal opportunities, most horrendous cruelties have been inflicted upon her, sometimes without any reason and mostly without just cause.
- They are still largely at the peripheries of economic, political, social and cultural rights. According to the UN women Report the Gender inequality holds back the growth of individuals, the development of countries and the evolution of societies, which leads to the disadvantage of both men and women.

POLITICAL

- Presently, women constitute less than 10% of parliamentarians and an assessment conducted by the World Economic Forum in 2018 on global gender gaps found that out of 149 countries, only 17 have women as heads of state.
- In some of the developing and under developed countries, women are still denied suffrage. For example, the women rights are severely restricted in both Iran and Saudi Arabia. Similarly, the lack of universal citizenship impacts their ability to effectively voice their needs and thus address the exclusion.
- Women are said to still face political discrimination in constitution and laws of more than 50 countries.
- Some feminist scholars like- Patricia Hill Collins, Martha Nussbaum and Daphne Hampson , have also pointed out threats posed to women in security domain. For example, the horrid of rape has been used as a strategy of war as seen in Bosnia, and use of prostitution camps in Korea etc.
- The International Labour Organization estimates that 21 million people are victims of forced labor globally. Even the United Nations office on Drugs and crime have mentioned that the most common form is sexual, and victims are predominantly women.
- According to a report of WHO, More than 200 million girls and women alive have undergone Female Genital Mutilation in 30 countries in Africa, the Middle East and Asia Somalia, Guinea has the highest record.

ECONOMIC

- The already huge gap between men and women caught in the cycle of poverty has continued to widen in recent years. This rise of arming trend is called as the 'feminization of poverty'. More than 70% of the world's poor are women. Also, the majority of the 1.5 billion people living on \$1 a day or less are women caught in the cycle of poverty. They also lack access to resources, credit education, skills to change their situation.
- As per ILO world employment and social outlook report, the global female labour force participation rate is just 48.5% which is almost 26.5% below men
- Women are said to constitute 43% of agriculture laborers in developing world
- As per World Development Report stats, women perform 2/3rd of total work hours yet get only 1/10th of income and just 1/100th of property
- As per the Gender Gap report, the gender gap in economic participation and opportunity stands at 60%.

Education

- Despite evidence demonstrating how central girls' education is to development, gender disparities in education persist. Around the world, 129 million girls are out of school, including 32 million of primary school age, 30 million of lower-secondary school age, and 67 million of upper-secondary school age. In countries affected by conflict, girls are more than twice as likely to be out of school as girls living in non-affected countries.

- Only 49 per cent of countries have achieved gender parity in primary education. At the secondary level, the gap widens: 42 per cent of countries have achieved gender parity in lower secondary education, and 24 per cent in upper secondary education.
- The reasons are many. Barriers to girls' education – like poverty, child marriage and gender-based violence – vary among countries and communities. Poor families often favour boys when investing in education.
- In some places, schools do not meet the safety, hygiene or sanitation needs of girls. In others, teaching practices are not gender-responsive and result in gender gaps in learning and skills development.

Steps by Govt

- The Indian Government has also drawn up **a draft National Policy** for the rise of empowerment of women which is a policy statement, that decides to outline the state's response to problems of gender discrimination.
- As persistent gender inequalities continue in India and the world; we need to rethink concepts and strategies for **promoting women's dignity and rights**. The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan has also stated that the Gender equality is more than a goal in itself.
- **Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Yojana**- it aims to generate awareness and also improve the efficiency of welfare services for the girl child. The initial aim of the campaign was to address the declining Child Sex Ratio (CSR) but has come to include gender-biased sex-selective eliminations, and propagating education, survival, and protection of the girl child.
- **Mahila-E-Haat**- Under the purview of the Ministry of Women and Child Development, the government launched Mahila-E-Haat in 2016. It is a bilingual online marketing platform that leverages technology to help aspiring women entrepreneurs, self-help groups, and NGOs to showcase their products and services.
- **Support to Training and Employment Program for Women (STEP)**- The STEP scheme was set up to provide skills to women so that they can take up gainful employment. It also provides the right competencies and training for women to become entrepreneurs. Open to every woman above the age of 16, it is run through a grant given to an institution/organization including NGOs directly.
- **Gender Budgeting** is a powerful tool for achieving gender mainstreaming so as to ensure that benefits of development reach women as much as men. The rationale for gender budgeting arises from recognition of the fact that national budgets impact men and women differently through the pattern of resource allocation. Women, constitute 48% of India's population, but they lag behind men on many social indicators like health, education, economic opportunities, etc. Hence, they warrant special attention due to their vulnerability and lack of access to resources
- **Women reservation**- The Constitution (One Hundred and Eighth Amendment) Bill, 2008 seeks to reserve one-third of all seats for women in the Lok Sabha and the state legislative assemblies. One third of the total number of seats reserved for Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes shall be reserved for women of those groups in the Lok Sabha and the legislative assemblies.

Rising of the gender equality issue in present times-

- Rarely has been the question of inequality related to gender more pressing than in the current global context.
- The sudden arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic has been devastating for a myriad of populations with regards to morbidity and mortality, economic growth, and also the emotional wellbeing. Yet, COVID-19 is believed to have a disproportionately greater impact on women, as majority of the female-dominated service industries were harder-hit by the accompanying recession and as childcare demands also increased.
- The intimate partner violence is also likely to have spiked as quarantines led to social isolation for survivors and presence of fewer accessible services.
- We know that any recession often worsens IPV perpetration, but the COVID-19 may be even more risky for survivors since the very public health strategies used for decreased viral transmission – social distancing – had led to reduced access to justice and care.
- Beyond the women scholars, [Logie and Turan](#) also reminds us that quarantine and movement restriction will disproportionately affect the already stigmatized persons, including the homeless persons, persons who are incarcerated, large numbers of migrants and refugees, many undocumented immigrants, and also the racial minorities.
- Here, the increased attention to justice and empowerment for women and marginalized groups thus make a timely and essential contribution to the field of public health.

UN AND WOMEN

- the Article 1 of UN charter has provided for the promotion of human rights without discrimination
- In its 1st year, the UN formed a commission on status on women to ensure that charter language is gender neutral
- Due to the significance rise in women movements and activism by Radical Feminists, UN declared the year of 1975 as 'UN year for women' and 1st global conference on women was also held in the same year in Mexico.
- In 1979, the UN created UN convention on elimination of all forms of violence against women. It is also called as international Bill of Rights for women.
- Till 1995, the 4th women conference also called as the Beijing conference was a very important moment in mainstreaming the gender justice in global politics.
 1. It asserted the women rights as important part of Human Rights
 2. It also shifted the focus from women to gender and even highlighted the need for re-evaluation of social structures and men-women relationships in them.
 3. It also resulted in launching of the Beijing Platform for Action which covered 12 critical areas of concern for women

- In 1996, the UNDP introduced the Gender Development Index and ILO introduced convention for international standards for home-based work to acknowledge unpaid work done by women.
- Through passing of the Millennium Development Goals of 2015, 6 out of 8 goals had women as primary target.
- The 2015 Sustainable Development Goals also provided critical role for women in all the 17 goals.
- The Goal 5 of SDG specifically provides for the need of gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls in the world
- According to UN Women group, all the developmental and Human Rights issues have necessarily a gender dimension. The primary focus areas of UN women are in-
 1. The leadership and political participation of women
 2. Economic empowerment of girls and women
 3. Peace and security for women
 4. Ending all the violence against women

Women in COVID times-

- Women are not only the hardest hit by this pandemic, they are also the backbone of recovery in communities. Putting women and girls at the centre of economies will fundamentally drive better and more sustainable development outcomes for all, support a more rapid recovery, and place the world back on a footing to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals.
- Every COVID-19 response plans, and every recovery package and budgeting of resources, needs to address the gender impacts of this pandemic. This means-
 1. including women and women's organizations in COVID-19 response planning and decision-making
 2. transforming the inequities of unpaid care work into a new, inclusive care economy that works for everyone
 3. Designing socio-economic plans with an intentional focus on the lives and futures of women and girls.
- UN Women has developed a rapid and targeted response to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on women and girls and to ensure that the long-term recovery benefits them, focused on five priorities:
 1. Gender-based violence, including domestic violence, is mitigated and reduced
 2. Social protection and economic stimulus packages serve women and girls
 3. People support and practice equal sharing of care work
 4. Women and girls lead and participate in COVID-19 response planning and decision-making
 5. Data and coordination mechanisms include gender perspectives
- The COVID-19 pandemic provides an opportunity for radical, positive action to redress long-standing inequalities in multiple areas of women's lives, and build a more just and resilient world.

Conclusion

The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic could reverse the limited progress that has been made on gender equality and women's rights. The corona virus outbreak exacerbates existing inequalities for women and girls across every sphere – from health and the economy, to security and social protection. Women play a disproportionate role in responding to the virus, including as frontline healthcare workers and carers at home. Women's unpaid care work has increased significantly as a result of school closures and the increased needs of older people. Women are also harder hit by the economic impacts of COVID-19, as they disproportionately work in insecure labor markets. Nearly 60 per cent of women work in the informal economy, which puts them at greater risk of falling into poverty.

TERRORISM

- Terrorism has no precise global definition. It is said to be the incarnation of an organized violence and an act of brutality leading to massive killing of innocent human beings.
- One traditional and accepted definition of terrorism is the use of violence or threat to use of violence inducing fear, for attaining certain political goals
- It is an act of violence and a method of intimidation or coercing a government or community by a person or maybe by a group of persons to achieve a political objective amount to terrorism. Terrorism is thus an organized violence coupled with some specific demands, mostly irrational.

Components of Terrorism-

Terrorism can be described as a form of politically motivated action which is based on two inter-related components, such as-

(A) Psychological

(B) Physical

It is believed to be mostly carried out by a small group of terrorists, who create an emotional state of terror among the specific groups and thereby, ultimately bringing about general or specific changes in the social structure or governmental system.

- A USA CIA publication on Terrorism defines it as the threat or use of violence for political purposes when such violent action is intended to influence and modify the attitude and behavior of the target group, and its ramification often extends beyond the national boundaries.
- The United States Defense Department also defines terrorism as an unlawful use or threatened use of force against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies often to achieve political religious or ideological objectives.
- The **UN** defines terrorism as, "Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them"

Terrorism as per Govt of India

- The Government of India has defined a 'Terrorist Act' in the rule of **Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), 1985.**
- The definition is- "Whoever with the intent to override the government as by law established or to strike terror in the people or any section of the people or to alleviate any section of the people or to adversely affect the harmony among different sections of the people does any act or thing by using bombs, dynamite or other explosive substances or inflammable substances or fire-arms or other lethal weapons or poisons or noxious gases or other chemically or any other substances of a hazardous nature in such a manner as to cause or be likely to cause death of or injuries to, any person or damages to it or destruction of property or disruption of any supplies or services essential to the life of the community, commits a terrorist act."
- This exhaustive definition very precisely suggests that the terrorism is an act of violence to terrorize which aims to induce fear among the Government and the people by using such lethal weapons which may cause death or injuries or may cause damage to the people and their property.
- To a few other groups, the terrorist activities are viewed as an act of heroism and patriotism. For example, the group of LTTE terrorists are regarded as patriots among Sri Lankan peoples.
- Contrary to this the British rulers have accused Chandra Sekhar Azad, an Indian freedom fighter as terrorists.
- Thus, acts of terrorism were viewed very differently, the way the blind men defined an elephant.

Types of Terrorism

1. Ethnic- Insurgency in Nagaland and Mizoram
2. Nationalist- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE)
3. Ideological- Naxalites in India, ideological terrorism in New Zealand, Sri Lanka
4. Pathological or Religious- Khalistan movement in Punjab

Other Forms of Terrorism

Bio-Terrorism

- Terrorism may also take several other forms, like Bio- terrorism, nuclear terrorism Cyber terrorism and Gene terrorism.
- Bio-terrorism refers to the usage of biological weapons which are comparatively more fatal than other conventional weapons. Bio- terrorism became a reality after the September 11 incident with the detection of Anthrax attack in many of the U.S. cities through postal mails.
- The main aim of the terrorists who resort to bio-terrorism is to create a panic among the civilian population of the targeted country.
- The bio-terrorists had sent the frozen and dried Anthrax Bacterial powder in several small packets by ordinary mail across the borders of the targeted country, where those are stock-piled for use in the future.
- Although, production of these bio-weapons have been totally banned under Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention Treaty, 1972 but still the secret use of these bio-arms by the terrorists are considered more dangerous and vulnerable.

Nuclear Terrorism

- It is related to the secret use of nuclear weapons by the terrorists.
- Its use was first confirmed when the Al-Qaeda documents and manuals were discovered in the city of Kabul in Afghanistan by the NATO army.
- These documents contained a large number of research studies into the use of nuclear weapons and materials including U- 235, which is an isotope of Uranium and is used to make nuclear weapon.
- This also included the use of radioactive materials to incite panic and terror among the civilians.

Cyber Terrorism

- It is a recent 21st century threat. The main goal of a cyber-attack is to totally disable the enemy's defense system, scramble its logistics, and corrupt its software.
- 'Hacking' is the most commonly and easily used method to corrupt the governmental websites by hackers. Security experts largely feel that this method is very tough to be traced and thus is largely untraceable as there is no trail from sender to recipient.
- These terrorists exploit the hi-tech graphic tools and the Internet is used to send and receive coded messages

Gene-terrorism

- A Gene-terrorist attacks by twisting the bacterial and viral DNA, thus creating an agent, which is more devastating than the bugs in the Anthrax attack.
- There have been many instances, where Micro-biologists have created new intestinal bugs, which are considered to be much more fatal for the human life. Their use by the terrorists can lead to massive death toll. Social Terrorists, also called as Mafia-terrorists have become a menace all over India in recent times.
- They comprise some drugs like-boron's, under-world Arms dealers, and thus threaten the social fabric of our country.

Conditions of Terrorism

Many researchers during their comparative study of Political violence, that is said to be a synonym of terrorism have revealed some systemic Conditions of Political Unrest. Some of these are-

1. The emergence of poor state of Socio-economic development in some areas- like African nations
2. The huge widening gap between social wants and Social Satisfaction within the Society itself
3. Fast growing pace of modernization.
4. The rising level of need-achievement within the Society
5. The presence of strong minority populations. They tend to take up arms in order to get their demands met. This also leads to emergence of terrorism. Eg. In African countries, naxal affected states in India, etc.
6. Growth of high-level Socio-economic frustration, high level fluctuation in coerciveness and mid-level coerciveness of Political regime.

Range of terrorist activities

- The range of terrorist activities is very wide and it largely covers cases of bus and plane-hijacking, sabotage, leading to Railways accidents resulting loss of life, taking persons as 'hostage', abduction of Political leaders, and their kids, political assassinations, explosion of bombs in office-buildings and at public places, mass-killing through use of air bombs and suicide-quads.

IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON TERRORISM

1. **Cultural factors**- Terrorist groups often consider violence as the only possible method to preserve their traditions and customs from western values of globalization.
 - The spread of thoughts like neoliberal capitalism and social changes brought by globalization makes societies in global South isolated and insecure.
2. **Economic factors**- Marxist scholars view the neoliberal globalization as spread of western imperialism. As per World System of the theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, world is divided into Core, Periphery and semi-periphery parts.
 - The policies and actions of the north world has direct and indirect impact on global South as it disturbs the social, economic as well as political fabric of these countries and thus threatens the traditional basis of authority.
 - Thus, while globalization plans to integrate these nations into global supply chains, it also hugely drains them of their wealth and mineral resources. Thus, the resulting discontent is used to their benefit by terrorist groups like ISIS.
 - For example, many educated youths are said to have joined ISIS and other terrorist groups due to high unemployment and rising inequality.
3. **Political factors**- the huge rise in inequality, fundamentalism and rightism in even advanced industrial societies has resulted into hollowing out of the middle class.
 - This disempowered group thus joins the terrorist groups which then aim to overthrow the present 'unjust' political order and establish a new political order based on either religious principles or on 'utopia'.
 - It also leads to increase in the cases of state sponsored terrorism, as seen in case of Pakistan, Iran's Houthi rebels in Yemen, etc.
 - Countries like Pakistan have also used terrorism to initiate proxy wars in India, leading to threatening of security structure between the two countries.
4. **Religion**- New global jihad against western countries and non-Islamic world is in reality is a reaction against oppression of Minorities and spiritual bankruptcy of the West.
 - Further, the rise in views like individualism and migration due to forces of globalization has also resulted into isolation of the man.
 - These youths get largely attracted to radical ideologies of terrorist groups.

GLOBAL RESPONSE AGAINST TERRORISM

- Mainly, the anti-terrorism instruments were adopted, roughly in three phases.

- Starting with the legislation covering the safety of aviation and shipping, the early instruments were developed by the 1960s through to the early 1990s, and they addressed the specific types of terrorist offences.
- The most recent phase are said to reflect the broadening, post-categorization of terrorist groups and thus causes, to include groups such as the Taliban, Al-Qaida and ISIL, and reflect the contemporary terrorist threat for the international community.
- Within this last phase, anti-terrorism instruments were developed that deal with new crimes-like the terrorist bombings, the financing of terrorism and nuclear terrorism.
- **SCO- Regional Anti terrorist structure-** SCO-RATS is a permanent body of the SCO and is intended to facilitate coordination and interaction between the SCO member states in the fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism.
- **Grey List-** Grey listing means FATF has placed a country under increased monitoring to check its progress on measures against money laundering and terrorism financing.
- **Security Council - Counter-Terrorism Committee-** the Security Council adopted the resolution to enforce counter-terrorist measures in United Nations Member States. The Committee monitors implementation of resolution 1373 by means of direct dialogue with each Member State.
 - It analyses States' regular reports to the Committee, and follows up its analysis with responses that identify the areas in which States need to improve in order to achieve full implementation of the resolution

Comprehensive convention on international terrorism

- The need for CCIT was first thought after G-7 countries together made a push for sectoral convention against terrorist bombings in 1996.
- In this context, the developing countries led by India, decided to make a push for a comprehensive convention to deal with all forms of terrorism and in all the countries.

Objectives of the convention

1. It aims to provide credible and legitimate framework which will help in binding all countries to take binding commitments to deny funds and safe havens for terrorism.
2. It also aims to provide universal definition of terrorism. All UN members will then be asked to adopt this definition in their domestic frameworks for their policy formations.
3. The convention also aims to provide for norms for extradition and prosecution of terrorists.

Present status

Though India presented it in 1996 itself, but it is still under discussion at the 6th ad hoc committee in the UN group. Instead of comprehensive convention, nations have adopted 3 sectoral conventions of late-

1. The International convention on suppression of terrorist bombings- 1996
2. The International convention for suppression of financing of terrorism- 1997
3. The International convention for suppression of nuclear terrorism- 2005

Conclusion

- With an aim to create an effective global counter terrorism regime, the first step should be to arrive at consensus on definition of terrorism.
- There is also a need of making Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism reach its logical end for world community. There also needs to be formation of various global alliances which will be based on overlapping consensus & not just an alliance of convenience as per every country's real political gain.
- Many scholars have also suggested to Impose sanctions and to isolate the state-sponsored terrorist nations like Pakistan to achieve immediate results.
- In the words of US diplomat Hillary Clinton, "It's like an ancient story - you can't keep snakes in your backyard and expect them only to bite your neighbors. Eventually those snakes are going to turn on whoever has them in the backyard too".
- Some scholars like Praveen Swami also suggest better intelligence services, strong military, police & most importantly the formation of better politics.
- Brahma Chellaney have also suggested the launching of a concerted information campaign to discredit radical ideology in countries of West Asia and Central Asia.

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

- The nuclear weapon states, while maintaining the development of their Nuclear-weapon programs, have also decided to formulate and impose a stricter non-proliferation regime particularly upon the non-nuclear states to stop its proliferation.
- In-fact, it was also around 1960s that the term "Non-proliferation" began becoming popular in global sphere and it was taken to mean the system of checking the dissemination and acquisition of various types of nuclear weapons.
- It was also designed to check the chances of horizontal expansion of nuclear nations club either by the development of Nuclear-weapons by the non- nuclear nations or by the transfer of Nuclear-technology or the Nuclear-weapons by the nuclear nations to the non-nuclear nations.
- It however did not cover the vertical expansion of Nuclear-technology and Nuclear- weapons. As a part of the initiative towards the securing of a non-proliferation regime for the non-nuclear states, the Non-proliferation Treaty was decided to be signed in June 1968.

WHY DO NATIONS ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

- The traditionally dominant theory regarding the motivations for states to pursue nuclear weapons have often revolved around the security model or the **international theory of Realism**.
- Scholar **Scott Sagan**, in his article "**Why Do States Build nuclear weapons?**" Gave- 2 models.

1. SECURITY MODEL

- The first theoretical framework is also called as the Security Model. The Realist theory in the political science field argues that the states exist in an anarchical international system and they must rely on self-help to protect their sovereignty and national security in times of need.
- A state should seek to develop nuclear weapons only when faced with a significant military threat to their security that cannot be met through alternative means.

- Due to the nuclear weapon's destructive capabilities, a state that seeks to maintain national security must balance against any rival state that develops nuclear weapons by gaining access to a nuclear deterrent policy with that nation.
- Strong states must pursue to form an internal balancing method by adopting a policy of developing their own nuclear weapons, while weak states should join a balancing alliance with a nuclear power as a means of extended deterrence.

2. NORMS MODEL

- Scott Sagan has also introduced a model which focuses on the non-material factors such as **status and prestige**.
- According to the Norms Model, the state behavior is determined not only by leaders' cold calculations regarding national security interests or their parochial bureaucratic interests, but they are also spearheaded by deeper norms and shared beliefs about what actions are legitimate and appropriate in international relations at what time.
- Thinker Kenneth Waltz, in his book "Theory of International Politics" has argued that the nuclear power states are concerned with maintaining their position within the international system.
- States work very hard to increase their strength, or combine with others, if they are falling behind in the international sphere. Waltz has placed high importance on the structure of the international system for nuclear deterrence to work.

WHY DO NATIONS RELINQUISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

REALIST PERSPECTIVE

- For realists Scholars, security is the one of the prime goals and any nations relinquish it only when they get extended deterrence. e.g. India did not decide to acquire nuclear weapons till it had the security umbrella of USSR.
- It shows that to avoid any kind of nuclear proliferation, the nuclear weapon states should be providing security umbrella. Thus, realists rely on deterrence policy to solve this issue.
- Realist's approach can be seen in the views of leaders like Winston Churchill. In 1955, he had held that "the safety will be the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation.'

LIBERAL'S PERSPECTIVE

- Liberal scholars often highlight the role of international institutions, treaties and regimes in preventing nuclear proliferation as the most important part.
- NPT can be understood as the greatest achievement of international community in this type.
- It is a treaty which is almost universal and it has certainly acted largely to prevent nuclear proliferation in the present era.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISTS

- In 1946, Albert Einstein said that 'the nuclear weapons have changed every aspect of our lives. However, it has not changed the mode of our thinking yet.

- And because we have not changed our mode of thinking, so we might continue to drift towards unparalleled catastrophe.
- Einstein's statement provided a source of inspiration in the long term for the disarmament movements and social constructivists to gain strength and pace.
- **Nina Tannenwald** has also analyzed the role of norms and taboos, towards the nuclear non-proliferation. Taboos can be understood as cultural prohibitions. According to her, since USA once used nuclear weapons on Japan, the world public opinion has gone against the use of nuclear weapons off large. And it is the world public opinion, the new cultural norms which have prevented USA to use nuclear weapon again after that.
- USA was forced indirectly to continue 20-year war even at the cost of its own hegemony. This shows that norms and values do have a role in international politics.
- According to her, even when any treaty does not eliminate a single nuclear weapon yet it will play an important role in delegitimization of nuclear weapons.
- According to her, the chief objective of this treaty is to develop some new norms so that the possession of nuclear weapons should be seen as a stigma rather than the matter of pride. Hence, she suggests that there is a need to change the way we think about nuclear weapons.
- In her recent article in Foreign Affairs, she has emphasized on the fact that it is a myth to believe that nations can coerce other nations to fall in line, just because they possess large quantity of nuclear weapons.
- Neither country ever towed to the lines of any of the superpowers just because they possessed nuclear weapons. Even in the present times, just because China possesses nuclear weapons or India possess nuclear weapon, it does not mean that all countries in the neighborhood will act according to their choice.

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

- Nuclear Deterrence is a type of realist approach to the security concerns. It is based on realist game theory whose aim is to make "the game of war so costly that the victory achieved is not worth the cost". Hence, deterrence automatically implies arms race in indirect sense.
- Deterrence by punishment was initially based on the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction theory which implies massive retaliation in case of nuclear attack by any nation.
- The theory of deterrence is supported by some realist scholars but are rejected by liberals and social constructivists like Nina TannenWald.

OTHER PROBLEMS WITH NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

1. **The concept of nuclear opacity**: It is the policy that is pursued by Israel. Although, it has never confirmed that it has nuclear weapon and nor has conducted any nuclear test. This concept is linked to the nuclear ambiguity or "bomb in the basement" approach.
2. **The Nuclear latency**: it can be viewed as the possession of many or all of the technologies, facilities, materials, expertise, resources and other capabilities necessary for the development of nuclear weapons, without full operational weaponization as of yet.
 - This is sometimes called the "**Japan Option**", as Japan is considered a "paranuclear" state, being a clear case of a country, which has complete technical prowess to develop a nuclear

weapon quickly, as Japan is considered to have all the materials, the required expertise and technical capacity to make a nuclear bomb at will.

- Neither the Non-proliferation Treaty nor any other existing nonproliferation and arms control treaties directly address the problem of latency.

Non-Proliferation Treaty

Preamble and Main Features of the NPT

1. All parties adhering to the treaty affirmed the principle that the benefits of the peaceful applications of nuclear technology should must be available for peaceful purposes to all parties to the treaty, whether nuclear weapon or non-nuclear weapon states.
2. All parties to this treaty have been entitled to participate, in the fullest possible extent, in the area of exchange of scientific information and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other states to the further development of the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
3. Potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions should be made available to all the non-nuclear weapon states also which are party to this treaty on a non-discriminatory basis.
4. The declared intention was decided to achieve, at the earliest possible date, the cessation of the nuclear arms race, and thus urging the co-operation of all states in the attainment of this objective
5. The decided aim was to further reduce the further international tensions and to strengthen trust between states in order to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles thus creating non-proliferation.

Salient Provisions of NPT-

1. **No Nuclear Weapon State will be allowed to transfer its weapons and technology to any of the Non- Nuclear States.** Each nuclear weapon state which is party to this treaty will undertake not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever, any number of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or any control over such weapons or explosive devices directly or indirectly.
2. **All the Non-Nuclear States will neither develop nor get any Nuclear-weapons.** So, each non-nuclear weapon state party to this treaty will undertake not to receive as transfer from any power any number of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices
3. **Development of Nuclear-technology can be used only for peaceful purposes as a right.** Nothing in this treaty shall be interpreted as affecting any right of all the parties to the treaty to develop any research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II of this treaty.

Criticism of NPT:

NPT is also criticized by several countries, especially by India, on the following grounds-

1. It was brought as a discriminatory treaty which tried to perpetuate the superior power position of nuclear weapon states with respect to the non-nuclear nations.
2. It has unduly tried to legitimize the power gap between nuclear and non-clear nations in large way
3. It also did not provide for either disarmament or arms control in international relations arena
4. It also failed to check the growing Nuclear-programmes of France and China which, is in violation of the Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty as they continued the policy of conducting nuclear tests.
5. NPT was actually a political instrument of nuclear weapon states. It led to division of the states into nuclear haves and have-nots.
6. NPT was a largely discriminatory and inadequate Treaty as per the needs of the time.

Review of NPT and its Indefinite Extension:

- A global conference on the extension of the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was decided to be held in New York, in May, 1995. Its purpose was to extend the NPT indefinitely.
- It was considered a major triumph for the diplomatic and political space of the United States that the member states of the NPT had agreed to make the treaty a permanent international arrangement
- This conference also approved a U.S. backed plan to change the 25-year-old pact into a permanent one. It was viewed as the continuation of an international system in which only five nations could legitimately possess nuclear weapons at a time.
- There was a challenge by the Non-Aligned Movement to force a vote on the treaty's extension, but it was headed off after several non-binding concessions were made by the nuclear weapon nations
- Meanwhile the nuclear powers continue to not only maintain theirs but also has led to increase in their nuclear arsenals. Here, in order to pacify the non-weapon states who wanted to put pressure on nuclear powers for moving more quickly towards arms control, a list of disarmament goals was also attached to the extension decision.
- After the indefinite extension of NPT in 1995, the next major attempt to check proliferation in Favour of non-proliferation came in 1996 period in the form of the formulation of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the global arena.

Conclusion

Terrorism is a complex and a dynamic phenomenon. Its related motivations, financing and support mechanisms, methods of attack and choice of targets are often evolving, thereby compounding the challenges of ensuring the existence of an effective strategy to counter it. In this situation global cooperation is of paramount importance if we want to get rid of this threat.

Here, India should play a proactive role to neutralize any threat of terrorism. There is a need for the world to join hands and take concrete multilateral initiatives to ensure that terror groups are dealt

with a heavy hand. Accepting and ratifying the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT) proposed by India would be good first step.