

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**COURSE : Pol. Sc. - 104**

**M.A FIRST SEMESTER**

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS :  
THEORIES AND ISSUES**

**BLOCK : 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5**

**FIRST SEMESTER**

**Directorate of Open and Distance Learning  
DIBRUGARH UNIVERSITY  
DIBRUGARH - 786 004**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**COURSE : Pol. SC. -104**  
**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS :**  
**THEORIES AND ISSUES**

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**BLOCK – 1**  
**HISTORICAL CONTEXT**  
**INTRODUCTION**

The study of International Relations has gained immense popularity as an important useful discipline of social science. Today almost all the universities have recognized it as autonomous discipline and given it a place in the academic curriculum. Today the people living in all parts of the world find themselves increasingly related and interdependent. It stands fully reflected in the current objective of transforming the globe into a global village as well as in accepting sustainable development as the common goal. The combined result of all these is the rise of a new awareness for the study of international relations. To understand, analyse and evaluate all factors and forces which influence and determine the nature and course of relation among nation have emerged as the new imperative necessity before the mankind.

Keeping these objectives in view, the study material for the course on International Relations: Theories and Issues have been divided into five blocks and is structured in a way that it will offer adequate insights into the theoretical approaches to the study of International Relations and inform about the problems and issues that the world is facing today.

The first three units covering block – I locate the study of international relation in historical context. The objective of Unit – I is to introduce the readers with the political system of Europe in the inter-war period. Doubtless, far reaching and fundamental changes are underway in world affairs ever since the end of the second world war and again the end of cold war indicates that the world is moving

towards a new order. Unit – II and III focus on these area. The rest of the units will try to introduce the students briefly to the different theoretical traditions of studying International Relation and the emerging issues in International Relations.

The book has following additional features :

1. An introduction – which gives a quick outlook to the readers about the whole syllabus.
2. Objectives and Summaries of each units.
3. Key-words with explanation of each unit.
4. Questions for Practice ad check your Progress.
5. A list of books for further readings.

## **Unit – 1**

### **Beginning of a new era in Europe**

#### **Structure**

1.0 : Objectives

1.1 : Introduction

1.2 : Emergence of the westphalian System

1.3 : Europe in the nineteenth Century

1.4 Inter-war years

1.4.0 : France

1.4.1 : Germany

1.4.2 : Rise of Fascism in Italy

1.4.3 : Role of small powers

1.4.4 : The Balkan Entente

1.4.5 : The Little Entente

1.4.6 : The World Economic crisis

1.5 : World war II

1.5.0 : Causes of the Second world war

1.5.1 : Course of the war

1.6 : Let us sum up.

1.7 : Key words

1.8 : Probable answers to check your progress

1.9 : Questions for Practice

## **1.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Discuss the emergence of a new system in Europe
- Describe the role of different powers in Europe in the inter-war period.
- Explain the causes and courses of the world war II.

## **1.1 : Introduction**

Unit – I is divided into nine sections. Unit 1.3 is again divided into seven sub-sections. Unit 1.4 is divided into two sub-sections. 1.5 is the summary of the whole unit and 1.8 gives some suggested questions for you. In between the unit you will find the SAQs i.e. check you progress. These will help you to evaluate your progress after every sections and the answers of the SAQs will be given at the end of unit.

In this section we will study about the emergence of Westphalian system in Europe and the conditions of Europe in the nineteenth century. After this the period between the two world wars will be highlighted. The origin and causes of second world war will also be taken up for discussion in this section.

In section 1.4 you will find a chart which help you to remember the causes of second world war in an easy way.

## **1.2 : Emergence of Westphalian System**

The thirty years war of Europe came to an end by the treaty of Westphalia. The treaty divided Europe into two ages. According to Fisher, “The treaty of Westphalia is the most significant event of the history of Europe it is dividing line between the two epochs. It is the symbol of the end of religious movement and the beginning of

political revolution". According to Hayes," The Peace of Westphalia may be taken as a turning point in the destinies of civilization as it gave birth to international war code and the recognition of the principle of religious toleration.

The emergence of the modern state system in Europe was the contribution of the treaty of Westphalia. It laid down number of principles of International Law and usages of International diplomacy. Before the treaty Europe was under the domination of Holly Roman Empire and there was constant fight between Monarch and Pope for the control of political authority. The treaty settled the struggle in favour of Monarch as the power of Emperor and Pope were stripped off. Now the political authority was fully vested in the Monarchs and thus the notion of sovereign territorial state came into being . With the treaty of Westphalia Holly Roman Empire died and virtually all the small states in central Europe attained sovereignty. After the treaty leaders of these states also sought established their own permanent national militaries which further accentuated the centralization of authority. The treaty further firmly established the secular basis of these states. Thus the treaty established a new European states system based on the principles of sovereign equality of independent states, centralized authority and religious authority.

**Check your Progress : 1**

Mention any two changes in the European state system made by the treaty of Westphalia (Use the space below to write your answer)

**1.3 : Europe in the Nineteenth Century**

Number of significant developments marked the Europe in the Nineteenth Century. Two momentous revolutions- the American Revolution against British rule and the French Revolution against absolutist rule took place in 1776 and 1789 respectively. These

two revolutions were the product of Enlightenment thinking as well as social contract theory which mainly emphasized individuals as rational, capable of understanding laws governing them and of working to improve their condition in society. Following these two revolutions two core principles emerged in Europe. The first is that political authority is not absolute and subject to limitations imposed by man. English Philosopher John Locke provides philosophical justification to the argument that political power ultimately rests with the people, rather than with the leader or the monarch. The monarch derives his legitimacy from the consent of the governed. The second core principles that surface at that time was nationalism which unite people on the basis of their common past, language, customs and practices and establish a link between people and the states. These two principle – legitimacy and nationalism provided the foundation for politics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 and the establishment of peace by the Congress of Vienna, a period of relative peace prevailed in Europe. The five powers of Europe – Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Russia collectively ensured peace in this period, more popularly describe as Concert of Europe. Despite major economic, technological and political changes that were taking place in Europe, no major wars among these great powers were fought after the demise of Napoleon until the Crimean War in 1854. The factor that helped these powers to maintain peace for such a long period is the mechanism of Balance of Power. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Balance of Power meant that the independent European states feared the emergence of any predominant state among them. Therefore they formed alliance to prevent the emergence of any more powerful political centre and thus created a balance of power. However this balance of power system weakened by the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of

competition among the European colonial power for control of colonies in Africa and Asia and the Europe was get divided into number of competing alliances ultimately leading to the first World War.

#### **1.4 Inter War Years**

First World War took place between Axis powers and Allied powers where allied powers emerged victorious. First World War was a total war. Nearly 80 lakh combatants and many more civilians became casualties of the war. In terms of money the total cost of all the belligerents was nearly 186 billion dollars. Inflation and unemployment, under-nourishment and trade dislocation were the outcome of the war. To bring peace in the world, number of peace settlements concluded among different countries of the world. The Versailles treaty was the most important one among all these treaties. This treaty was concluded with Germany in June 28, 1919. For Germany, this treaty involved a loss of nearly 70 lakh population, 15 percent of arable land and 12 percent of her livestock. In addition Germany had to pay heavy reparation charges. It was a humiliating treaty imposed by the victors on the vanquished. Besides the League of Nations was established in 1920 on the basis of the last point of Wilsonian 14 points. Let us now discuss the role of some major and smaller powers in the inter-war period.

##### **1.4.0 : France**

The Post-Versailles era was marked by the French search for security. France feared the ambitious and militarised Germany. Failing to secure 'Physical guarantee' in the treaty of Versailles and in the subsequent treaty of Guarantee concluded with U.K and U.S.A., France became eager to gain 'Productive guarantee' by striking at the root of German industrialization. France tried to carry

out this policy by the occupation of Ruhr under the pretext of German failure to make reparation payments in full. But this policy of France was criticized by most of the European powers including U.K. and U.S.A. The relation between France and Great-Britain in the post-Versailles era was less intimate. She had no trust on the League system of collective security due to the reluctance of most of the members to carry out the obligations imposed upon them under Act 10 and 16. Thus France started to strengthen her security by making alliance with others less important powers. She concluded a military pact with Belgium on 7 Sept. 1920. The France-Belgium alliance provided for mutual help in case of a German aggression. The France-Polish treaty was signed on 19 February 1921 and in September 1922, France and Poland concluded a military convention which was renewed in 1932 for a further period of 10 years. On 25 January, 1924, France and Czechoslovakia entered into a pact by which the two countries agreed to consult each other if Germany and Austria attempted to unite or if Germany and Hungary attempted to restore monarchy and to concert upon common measures whenever their security or peace treaties were threatened. She entered into an agreement with Rumania on 10 June 1926 and Yugoslavia on 11 November 1927. The main purpose of all these agreements were to maintain status quo in Europe. The attempt to secure collective security outside the League in the inter-war period through pacts resulted in the signature of the Locarno Pact in 1925 and the Kellogg-Briand agreement or the Pact of Paris in 1928. The Locarno-Pact was a regional substitute of a general agreement. It resulted in multilateral agreement among Western powers including France, Britain, Italy, Germany and Belgium. In this pact the powers collectively and severally guaranteed the Western frontier of Germany as fixed by the treaty of Versailles. Although it was claimed that Locarno formed the real dividing line between years of wars and years of peace, it failed to guarantee peace or remove the roots of the old dispute.

The creator of Kellogg-Briand Pact were Kellogg, the U.S. Foreign secretary and Briand, the foreign minister of France. It was signed on August 27, 1928 by the representatives of six great powers (U.S.A, U.K, France, Italy Germany and Japan) and other three little entente powers Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This pact declared war as illegal. The terms of the pact were:

- (1) “The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international problem in their relation with on another.”
- (2) “The high contracting parties agree that the settlement of solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by peaceful means.”

During the inter war period, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was a major attempt to achieve collective security through arbitration and conciliation. Some looked upon it as “The American attempt at alternative world system under American leadership to the League of Nations which had fallen under British-French leadership.” The main reason of the failure of this pact was the lack of measures necessary to punish the violators of the agreement.

#### **1.4.1 : Germany**

There was a great loss for Germany by the treaty of Versailles. It reduced German army and navy, de-mililarized Rhineland and its occupation by allied forces for a period of 15 years and internationalization of Saar for 15 years.

The establishment of a democratic form of Government in Germany was preceded by a civil war. In September 1918, Prince Max became the chancellor of Germany who carried through a number of reforms and converted the political system into a

constitutional monarchy. But the discontent in army, navy and among the people led to the abdication of Kaiser William II and the growth of the working class movements. The communist movement led by Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht was drowned in a blood bath in the Spartacus weeks declared by the communists on January 5. A Republican constitution was adopted by the Germans under the presidency of Ebert, the social democrat. The Assembly that gave Germany a republican constitution met in Weimar and thus the republic is called the Weimar Republic. The Weimar Republic faced financial difficulties due to the adverse balance of trade, inflation, reparation, unemployment and deficit budget. In domestic politics the Weimar Republic failed to secure for Germany a stable Govt. due to the growth of several parties. The Weimar Republic had a coalition Govt. of rightist and social democrats. The economic crisis of 1929-1931 had an adverse impact in German Politics and in 1930's election the extreme parties secured a number of seats in the Reichstag but there was no party to command majority in the legislature. In 1933, Hitler came to power and the dictatorship of the Nazis established in Germany. Nazism believed the idea of race-superiority and anti-semitism. After achieving the power, Hitler started to regain Germany's old glory by annexing one after another states for occupying more space for the Germans.

#### **1.4.2 : Rise of Fascism in Italy**

Italy lacked democratic tradition and democratic sentiments found incompatible with effective Parliamentary Government. In the Post Versailles era Italy lacked a stable Government. Six Governments ruled the country between 1919-1922. The country faced poverty and violence. A group of people named themselves 'fascists' started to gather support in many parts of Italy. Benito Mussolini became the leader of the fascists. He merged together the different groups in the fascist party and adopted a long reaching

programme including the nationalization of factories and annexation of flumes. On October 30, 1922, King Victor Emmanuel III invited Mussolini to form the Government.

Fascism is the product of open terrorist dictatorship of the chauvinistic elements of society. It is the outcome of the fear generated in different European countries due to the popularity of communism. The fascist antagonism towards all progressive ideas was fortified by an alliance with extreme form of nationalism. Under the fascist regime nationalism became a negation of liberty and for liberty it substitutes the nation, a process meaning the surrender of the individual to the collective will. Fascism believes in the theory of force. War, militarism and imperialism became the leading doctrine of fascism. Mussolini stated that, "I regard the Italian nation in a permanent state of war". The idea of anti-semitism and theories of race-superiority were also propounded to inspire the people to an aggressive policy for the expansion of empire and establishment of colonies abroad.

### **1.4.3 : Role of Small Powers**

Small powers in Europe also witnessed a number of changes in internal and external politics in the inter war period. In the Post Versailles period Austria became a republic with a constitution of Swiss model. Hungary formed a separate state and the strip of territory known as Burgenland became a bone of contention between the two but ultimately burgenland went to Hungary. There was economic bankruptcy in Austria. There was rivalry between the two groups namely the socialists or Schutzbund and Heimwehr-a semi fascist organization. There took place a sort of civil war between the private militia of both the parties. In May, 1932, Engelbert Dollfuss, the leader of the Austrian Christian socialist party became the chancellor. He crushed the socialist party with the help of military.

Another defeated nation in the 1<sup>st</sup> World war, Hungary declared itself a republic on November 16, 1918. Czechoslovakia was created out of the Slavonic provinces by the effort of Masaryk and Edward Benes. The kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes created in 1917 and was named as Yugoslavia on October 3, 1929 by King Alexander.

#### **1.4.4 : The Balkan Entente**

Balkan, geographically means the Peninsula comprising European Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and the regions westward to the Adriatic. It also refers to the mountain range crossing Bulgaria from West to East. In the post Versailles era the Balkan nationalities were liberated from the shackles of the Turkish rule. Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey, these four Balkan powers created the Balkan Entente. The purpose of the Balkan Entente was to maintain 'status-quo' in the Balkans. In February 1934, these four Balkan powers signed an agreement. The pact provided for mutual consultation and guarantee on matters of common interest.

#### **1.4.5 : The Little Entente**

Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania were the members of little Entente. The initiator of this entente was Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was created after the 1<sup>st</sup> world war and it was the most heterogeneous and from the military point of view the most vulnerable part of Europe. Its capital was so near the frontier that it could be conquered at any time by Germany. The mixed nature of her population also exposed her to foreign dangers. Rumania also had a similar objective. Her territory and population had been doubled as a result of the 1<sup>st</sup> world war. She was a great oil and wheat producing country and she felt that she stood in need of

protection and thus joined the entente. The Little Entente was closely bound to France by financial and treaty obligations. Between 1924-1927 France entered into treaties with all the Little Entente powers. She supplied them war materials. She guaranteed them protection against Hungary and Italy. The main purpose of the Little Entente was the maintenance of 'status-quo'. The statue of the Little Entente created a permanent council of the three states consisting of the foreign ministers of the three states and delegates specially appointed for that purpose. The decisions of the permanent council were required to be unanimous. Every political treaty of each state of the Little Entente, every unilateral act changing the actual political situation of one of the state's of Little Entente in regard to an outside state and every economic agreement involving important political consequences was to require in advance the unanimous consent of the council of the Little Entente. The three countries came together on account of their common fear of Hungary but they had so many differences among themselves that it was practically impossible for them to be together for long time. After some time they began to drift and the whole thing became ineffective.

#### **1.4.6 : The World Economic Crisis**

The optimism of the early days of 1929 vanished with the advent of 'Economic Depression' of the thirties. The important causes which contributed to bring about the crisis that started with the Wall Street Crash of September 1929 were, i) Over investment in raw materials, ii) Rationalization of industries and unemployment, iii) Reparation and war-debts, iv) Concentration of gold in U.S. and France, v) Dislocation of trade due to Far Eastern and overseas competition, vi) Loss of the Russian market.

The effect of the slump in Europe led to the flight of capital, the rise of bank-rates, high tariffs and rise in unemployment figure. High tariffs affected their exports and the countries in turn adopted

restrictive import policy and industrial nations suffered as a consequence. But the worst affected country was Germany. Rationalization, Unemployment, budgetary deficit and contraction of home market resulted in privations and fall in the standard of living.

The economic crisis had an adverse effect in the international cooperation and the League system of collective security. The crisis led the basis of future policy of appeasement o Fascism as a counterpoise to international communism. The crisis also paved the way for the rise of Nazism in Germany, ministerial instability in France and revolutionary uprising in the Latin American countries in the 1930's. The ultimate effect of all these was the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

### **Check Your Progress : 2**

Write a note on world Economic crisis. (Use the space below to write your answer.)

## **1.5 : World War II**

The Second World War broke out in 1939 between Allied powers and Axis powers and lasted up to 1945. According to Cyril Falls, 'The World War II was essentially a war of revenge initiated by Germany'. The World War II which broke out in 1939 was a continuation of the conflict which ended with the treaty of Versailles and the defeat of Germany. Since the end of World War I all the statesmen of Germany aimed at the rehabilitation of Germany as a first-rate power and tried to establish domination over Europe.

### **1.5.0 : Causes of World War II**

#### **1. The Policies of the Allied Powers (Victors)**

The treaty of Versailles sowed the seeds of World war II. The treaty, though based upon Wilsonian idealism sought to cripple

Germany economically and militarily. The aim of the treaty was to prevent Germany from becoming a great power again. The German people thus termed the Versailles treaty as the humiliating treaty and determined to overthrow the peace settlement at the earliest possible opportunity. The failure of the Weimer Republic to protect the country from the economic depression paved the way for Nazis to acquire power.

## **2. Failure of collective Security**

The League of Nations was created to eliminate war as instrument of foreign policy. But from the very outset America kept aloof from the League and pursued a policy of isolation. The Principle of collective security mentioned in the covenant was either ignored or evaded by the League members. The coercive machinery of the League was not adequate to cope with the task entrusted to it. Economic sanctions were useless against a great power needed willing international cooperation of all the great powers. But the League at no stage received willing cooperation of all the great powers. The result of the failure of Leagues system of collective security to maintain peace in the world was disastrous for all. The first breach in collective security was made when Japan invaded Manchuria and the League remained a silent spectator. It was followed by the Italian aggression on Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War and in all the cases League was failed to maintain world peace.

## **3. Failure of disarmament**

The failure of collective security system to guarantee peace undermined the possibility of Disarmament. A definite guarantee of peace provided in the treaty of Versailles was the provision regarding disarmament of Germany. Until 1934, the clauses of the treaty guarded peace. But after that it was neglected and ultimately in 1935 Hitler was allowed to introduce conscription. The covenant of the League also provided for disarmament. In article 8 of the covenant stated that the members of the League would take steps for the

‘reduction of national armament to the lowest point consistent with national safety’. But as the League members had no faith in collective security guaranteed by the League each nation entered into a competition for rearmament, so that the words, the lowest point consistent with national safety, came to mean that each nation should be more heavily armed than its potential enemy. The disarmament conferences called by the League failed to achieve the desired aim. The totalitarian states armed at a rapid way and raised the slogan of “guns” before butter”. Politicians in democratic states failed to keep pace with them and the result was disastrous for the security of the peace loving nations.

#### **4. The policy of Appeasement**

The policy of appeasement that was followed by the democracies during this period towards fascist powers was based upon the wrong assumption that the dictators could be pacified by concessions. This policy also followed from a desire to divert German aggression eastwards towards the hated Bolsheviks. But ultimately this policy recoiled on the West when Germany concluded non-aggression Pact with Russia and started the war in a much advantageous positions.

#### **5. Ideological factor:**

One of the main reasons behind the policy of appeasement was the fear of Russian communism. It prevented the formation of a Grand Alliance of France, Britain and Russia against Germany. The policy makers of Britain and France failed to appreciate the true character of Nazi aggression. The rise of Hitler encouraged some of the pro-fascist politicians in Western democracies to encourage the Fascist aggression and tyranny. Fascist aggression was directed not only against Russia but also the democracies whose feebleness facilitated its growth.

The Second World war was the out-come of the follies of the victor, the miscalculation of the democracies, the economic crisis of the thirties which helped the rise of fascism. But above all, it was the

outcome of the aggression of Nazis who tried to establish their monstrous regime over the rest of the World.

### **6. Dissatisfaction of National Minorities**

Another cause of the World War II was the dissatisfaction of the national minorities. It is true that the Allied powers had committed themselves to the Principles of self-determination but in actual practice the Principle was not applied. In the words of Robert Engang, “Its application was conditioned by such factors as economic necessity, military defense, religious and political tradition and punishment of the defeated nations”. In some areas of central Europe, the principle could not be applied as the national minorities were inter-mixed in such a way that the identification of clear-cut frontier was not possible. As a result, the members of one nationality were included within the boundaries of other states in which they were minority. These minority groups were encouraged to demand reunification with their mother countries or full autonomy.

#### **Causes of World War II (Chart – I)**

- The policies of the Allied powers
- Failure of collective security
- Failure of disarmament
- The Policy of Appeasement
- Ideological Factor
- Dissatisfaction of National Minorities

#### **1.5.1 : Course of the war**

The refusal of Poland to surrender resulted in the German invasion of Poland in 1939. At the same time, the Russian also invaded Poland from the east. As a result after the conquest Poland was divided between Germany and Russia. In the autumn of 1939, Russia invaded Finland and annexed some parts of it, Russia also annexed the Baltic states Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. In April and

May 1940, German troops occupied Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. France collapsed in June 1940 and Italy joined the war with the Axis powers. After the fall of Dunkirk, Great Britain was left all alone in Europe. German started their attack on Great Britain in the autumn of 1940. Hitler attacked Soviet Russia in June 1941. In November 1942, American and British troops occupied the French armies joined with British and American forces. The British and American troops under Eisenhower joined the army of Montgomery. In 1943, Benito Mussolini was arrested. A new Government was set up in Italy under Marshal Badoglio. In September 1943, Italy surrendered unconditionally to the unified force. In June 1944, Normandy, a part of Germany was attacked. Germany could not stand before the unified force and in April 1945, Hitler committed suicide. In May 1945, Germany surrendered to the allied powers unconditionally. After the fall of Germany the U.S. and British forces concentrated against Japan. On 6<sup>th</sup> August 1945, an atom bomb was thrown on the city of Hiroshima and on 9<sup>th</sup> August on Nagasaki. Lakhs of lives and property were destroyed by these bombings. On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally and Japan was occupied by an allied army led by General MacArthur. This ended the second World war.

**Check Your Progress : 3**

Thick the correct answer :

- (i) German invaded Poland in 1937/1939/1940
- (ii) Hitler attacked Soviet Russia in autumn 1940/May 1941/June 1941
- (iii) Italy surrendered to the allied force in June 1943/ Sept. 1943/ June 1944
- (iv) Hitler committed suicide in April 1945/ May 1945
- (v) Atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on 6<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1945/ 9<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1945

### 1.6 : Let us sum up

- The thirty years war of Europe came to end by the treaty of Westphalia
- The emergence of the modern state system in Europe was the contribution of the treaty of Westphalia with its formulated principles of international law and usages of international diplomacy.
- After the 1<sup>st</sup> World war France started to search for security outside the League of Nations. She concluded many treaties and agreements with smaller powers in Europe.
- Hitler established the dictatorship of the Nazis in Germany and started to annex other countries.
- In Italy fascist came to power under Mussolini. Smaller powers in Europe concluded different treaties among themselves for maintaining Status-Quo in Europe.
- The World economic crisis had an adverse effect in international relations which ultimately contributed to World War II.
- The important causes which were responsible for the outbreak of second world war-policies of the victors, failure of collective security, failure of disarmament, the policy of appeasement, ideological factor and dissatisfaction of the national minorities.
- The invasion of Poland by Germany was the beginning of second world war in 1939 and by the surrender of Japan on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1945 ended the devastation second world war.

### 1.7 : Key words

**Nazism** : Ideology of the German National Socialisy Party founded by Hitler.

**Fascism** : Philosophy, Principle and Organisation of the aggressive nationalist and anti-communist dictatorship started in Italy in 1922 and dissolved in 1943.

**Economic Depression** : The optimism of the early days of 1929 vanished with the advent of economic depression of the thirties, which was strangely enough, the product of the capacity of modern industrial civilization to produce goods that could not be profitably marketed.

### **1.8 : Probable answers to check your Progress**

Check your Progress 1 : The two changes of Europe brought by the Westphalia system were:

- (i) Political partition between Europe and Germany
- (ii) Recognition of the Principle of religious toleration.

Check your Progress 2 : In 1929, most of the states in Europe faced economic crisis. The main reasons for this crisis were over investment in raw material, reparation and war-debt, concentration of Gold in U.S. and France etc. The economic crisis had an adverse effect in the international Cooperation and the League system of collective security. The crisis paved the way for the rise of Nazism in Germany, ministerial instability in France and the ultimate effect was the outbreak of world war II in 1939.

#### **Check your Progress 3 :**

- (i) 1939
- (ii) June 1941
- (iii) Sept. 1943
- (iv) April 1945
- (v) 9<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1945

**1.9 : Questions for Practice**

1. Write a note on Westphalian system.
2. Discuss the role of Germany between two World Wars.
3. How did the Fascist Force come to power in Italy? What role played by Italy in the second world war ?
4. Analyse the main Provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.
5. Examine the factors responsible for the outbreak of second world war.

## **Unit – 2**

### **Cold war**

#### **Structure**

2.0 : Objectives

2.1 : Introduction

2.2 : Meaning, nature and origin of cold war.

2.3 : Evolution of cold war

2.3.0 : Effects of cold war

2.3.1 : Détente

2.4 : End of cold war

2.5 : Let us sum up

2.6 : Key words

2.7 : Probable answer to check your progress

2.8 : Questions for Practice

**2.0 : Objectives :** After reading this unit you will be able to

- Analyse the meaning, nature and origin of cold war
- Discuss the evolution of cold war and
- Explain the end of cold war

#### **2.1 : Introduction**

Unit 2 is divided into nine sections. Unit 2.3 is again divided into two more sub-sections. Unit 2.5 is the summary of the whole unit. 2.6 gives the meaning of some key words. In between the units there are two SAQs to check your progress. At the end of the Unit, i.e. in unit 2.7 probable answers to check your progress are given and in unit 2.8 some questions are given for your practice.

In the previous unit we have discussed about the history of Europe since nineteenth century up to the Second World War. The Second World War ended in 1945 with the victory of Allies. It was expected that danger of war would be overcome by a new atmosphere of peace and cooperation. But unfortunately that did not happen. The difference between the two super powers made them hostile to each other the result of which was the beginning of a new kind of war popularly known as cold war. In this unit will focus in brief the nature, causes, effects of cold war and end of cold war.

## **2.2 : Meaning, Nature and Origin of cold war**

The cold war was an unarmed peacetime conflict. It was a war without arms and ammunition. The cold war was kept alive by the rivalry of Soviet bloc and Western bloc to gain hegemony of the world. The Western bloc looked upon the communist countries as totalitarian states. The communist on the other hand considered the capitalist as seeking to exploit the underdeveloped countries for profit and financially trying to maintain their hold over areas producing raw materials. The cold war was defined by Flemming “as a war that is fought not in the battle field, but in the minds of men where one tries to control the others”. John Foster Dulles, US secretary of state in early 1950s said that, “The cold war was a moral crusade for moral values-for good against bad, right against wrong, religion against atheism”. Louis Halle described cold war as a situation of high tension between two power blocs, it was more dangerous than an armed conflict. Unlike a normal war it was fought in the diplomatic channels and the United Nations Forums.

The nature of cold war changed constantly during the four decades of its duration. There were three primary characteristics of cold war as mentioned by Kegley jr. and Wittkopf.

1. The periods of intense conflict accompanied by periods of relative cooperation and reciprocal action-reaction exchange were also evident.
2. Both USA and USSR were willing to disregard their respective professed ideologies.
3. Throughout the cold war contest both rivals consistently made avoidance of all-out war their highest priority.

### **Origin of Cold War**

There are differences of opinion regarding the origin of cold war. Soviet Union blamed U.S.A for having started the conflict by not opening the second front against Germany till mid 1944, leaving USSR alone to fight the enemy. The West was also suspected of hidden to seek destruction of both Nazi-Fascist dictators and the Soviet Union so that the west could alone enjoy the fruits of victory. The developments in the West after the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war also made the Soviets suspicious. The United States created anti-soviets front through Trumen Doctrine and Marshall Plan. The speech of Churchill in March 1946, signaled hate campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Western countries on the otherhand, blamed the USSR for violation of pledge to allow liberated countries to elect governments of their own choice and for installing puppet communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The USSR tried to impose its system even in Greece and Turkey. It did not keep the promise to withdraw its troops from Iran soon after the end of war. The USSR launched a “hate west” campaign and set up the cominform.

### **2.3: Evolution of cold war**

The capitalist countries displayed their hostility to Soviet Union by sending interventionist armies to crush the Bolshevik state as soon as it was born. U.S.A. recognized Soviet Union as late as 1933. In the Post World War II period U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. assumed global responsibilities and soon the giants fell out. Germany and

Japan provided the focal point for quarrel. The result was the creation of West Germany under democratic Government and East Germany under communist rule. Japan went completely under American influence. The ideological aspect of the struggle has been variously described as one between 'Democracy vs Dictatorship, Free enterprise vs Socialism, Marxland vs Freeland, Imperialism vs People's Democracy.

Soviet moves in UN had resulted in frequent use of Veto. The establishment of peoples democracies in Eastern Europe had brought nearly 120 million people under Russian sphere of influence. The USSR accused the western powers as guilty of attempts to encircle her by military alliances. Western Powers tried to counteract Russian moves strengthening democracies politically, economically and militarily. USA became a champion of such a policy.

The first significant Western move in this period was the Truman Doctrine which came in 1947. The Western powers suspected Russian moves against Turkey and in the Black sea area. In Greece, the communist guerillas received aid from neighbouring communist states Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. By the Truman Doctrine, Great Britain assumed the responsibility of supporting the 'free peoples' against aggression. US aid enabled the royalists to put down the communists. In 1967, a military dictatorship was established in Greece. The United States thus under took the responsibility of world's policeman and sealed the future of UNO by declaring that negotiated settlement with USSR was not possible. On June 5, 1947, General George Marshall stated that "The United States should do what ever it is able to do to assist the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace". It was meant to fight communism. The communist states did not participate in the Plan. Britain and 14 other states formed the economic cooperation administration to receive the aid.

Military alliances and counter-alliances were the next development of cold war situation. The North Atlantic treaty was signed on March 18, 1949, was the outcome of the desire of the Western powers to check soviet advances in the West. The signatories of NATO were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Greece and Turkey. The most important clause of this treaty was that the member states, would regard an attack on one of them as an attack on all. NATO was not an isolated project. The policy of containment demanded a global strategy. The importance of Middle East in case of future war led to Northern tier strategy. The strategy consisted in bringing together Turkey and Pakistan. In 1955, Turkey and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact. Britain joining the treaty organization and Pakistan acceded on it. After joining U.S.A. the treaty organization came to be known as CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation).

The response of Soviet Union to the Western attempt at military alliance was the conclusion of WARSAW Pact on May 14, 1955. The signatories to this pact were USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. The members of the Pact decided to set up an unified command of 'Armed Force'. It strove of the collective security of all European states, irrespective of their social or state structure. The treaty was to remain in force for twenty years.

The cold war evolved through many areas of conflict. The two sides USSR and USA supported communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea respectively in early 1950's. The West condemned Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956. The struggle for Germany which constitutes the German phase of cold war began in 1945 and ended whit the Geneva Summit in July 1955. But the situation got complicated when Soviet Union blockaded West Berlin and the US airlifted all supplies of the peoples of West Berlin. Later, in 1961, a wall was created to divide the East and West Berlin. China was also the field of tension during the cold war. The Soviet

Union helped the Communist under Mao Tse Tung against the Chinese Government. The American government backed Chiang Kai Shek and gave him all kinds of military and financial assistance.

In the cold war, Latin American and Africa were peripheral and low priority areas. The meeting between Soviet Premier Khrushchev and US President Eisenhower in 1959 had raised the hopes of cooperation but the US spy plane U-2 was noticed flying in the Soviet airspace in May 1960 and was shot down. This created tension which reached its peak during the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962. The Soviet ships carrying nuclear missile to Cuba had to beat a hasty retreat as the US navy had blockaded Cuba and a nuclear war had become imminent. The cold war was not central to the pre-occupations of most, if not all, of the new African states. The Soviet attitude towards Africa was almost wholly governed by cold war considerations. In the Congo, the Soviet activity was of the most openly cold war kind. The Soviet interference in Congo crisis was criticized by the Western powers. Though the African leaders wished to remain outside the cold war, they could not do so on account of conflicting pulls whether the ideas or of power structure.

#### **Check your Progress : 1**

(a) Fill in the blanks :

(i) The north Atlantic treaty was signed on .....

(ii) In 1955, the Baghdad Pact was signed between ..... and .....

(b) What is CENTO ? (Use the space for writing your answer)

#### **2.3.0 : Effects of Cold War**

The cold war had many significant effects. It created so much of bitterness among the great powers that there was no peace in the World. Instead of solving the problems created by the Second World War the statesmen of the world continued to devise ways and means

to destroy on another. Another effect of the cold war was that the dream of creating one world with all the people living in peace was gone. The cold war resulted in a race of armaments. A competition for spending more and more on arms was set in. In many cases money has been spent on arms which were very badly needed for other more important purposes. However the cold war had on good effect. As the big powers were grouped in opposite camps, more importance was given to the small but non aligned powers. No great power wanted to offend the smaller powers because there was always the possibility of their joining the other bloc. Thus the differences between the great powers helped the small nation to live on without danger of being destroyed by one group or the other. On the whole, the effect of the cold war was detrimental to the progress of humanity.

### **2.3.1 : Détente**

The period between 1945 to 1989 is identified with the cold war, however it does not mean that during this period there was a constant rise in the level of tension between the two power blocs. There were also interim periods of easing tensions and these interim period of are known as detente. For example, the period 1953-56 showed improved-relations between east and west. There were signs of détente during the Camp David Summit in 1959, but there was a sudden increase in the temperature from 1960 to 1962. After the Cuban missile crisis, the world experienced an extended period of relaxed tension, called détente for about 12-13 years.

After the death of Stalin, in 1953, the relations were improved in several areas. In July 1953, a ceasefire was declared in Korea. Peace agreement was concluded for Indo-China at Geneva in 1954. In 1955, Austrian question was resolved. There was ease of tension between West-Germany and Soviet Union. Diplomatic relations were established between Japan and U.S.S.R.

'Détente' can be described as a situation of reduced international tension. It is not normalcy; the term was used for relaxation in East-West conflict. During the period of 'détente' cold war had not ended, but the level of tension had gone down and there were signs of understanding. It was an environmental change for the better in east-west conflict. 'Détente' was the outcome of conscious efforts for eased relation. According to Henry Kissinger, "détente is the outcome of effective and deliberate management of the opponent in the interest of relaxation of tension." On the other hand, Brezhnev explained the meaning of 'détente' as "the willingness to resolve differences and disputes by peaceful means at the conference table".

#### **2.4: End of Cold War**

The world was so used to the cold war politics for nearly forty five years that when it suddenly came to an end, the people could hardly believe that world is now a different place. The end of cold war had coincided with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, fall of Berlin wall, re-unification of Germany and establishment of democratic regimes in the erstwhile socialist countries. The Soviet President Gorbachev succeeded in concluding the INF treaty with the united States and ending the cold war. The disintegration of Soviet Union has been regarded as main reason for the end of cold war. There are many people in the west who felt that the American bloc had won the cold war.

Discussing the end of cold war Joshua S. Goldstein concludes that it was very difficult to state as to why the cold war ended. There are differences of opinion in this regard. Some people argue that US military strength under President Reagan forced the Soviet Union into Bankruptcy as it tried to keep up in the arms race. Another argument is that the Soviet Union suffered from internal stagnation over a number of decades because of weakness in its system of governance and it had little to do with external pressure.

The peaceful end of cold war had been interpreted by different scholars in different ways. One view was expressed by the Neo-realists. They emphasized the contribution of nuclear weapons, the essential of military power, rigid bipolarity and extended deterrence through alliances for ending cold war. Liberals and Neo-liberals mention other reason for peaceful end of the cold war. Ted Galen Carpenter observed in 1991, “Many of the demonstrators ..... who sought to reject communist rule looked at the American system for inspiration. But the source of that inspiration was America’s reputation as a heaven for the values of limited Government, not Washington’s 300 billion dollar a year for military budget and its network of global military bases.”

The end of the cold war changed the international scenario. It held out the promise of international peace, but at the same time raised the possibility of new kinds of global instability. With the end of the cold war, both the United States and Soviet Union found themselves librated from a rivalry that had extracted enormous resources and reduced their economic strength relative to other ascending great powers such as China, Germany and Japan. In cold war both the super powers “lost” both were caught breathless.

**Check your Progress : 2**

What reason you account as the most important to end the cold war?

**2.5 : Let us sum up**

Cold war started between two super powers-UAS and USSR after the Second World War. The whole world was divided into two blocs. The capitalist bloc led by U.S.A. and the Communist bloc led by USSR.

It was a diplomatic ad indirect fight without using arms and ammunition, fought not on the field but in the minds of men.

There were many phases of cold war. There were military pacts among the countries of capitalist bloc or communist bloc like NATO, SEATO, and WARSAW Pact etc. It was spread in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world.

There were periods of acute conflicts and periods of relative calm and cooperation. The easing of tension was termed as 'détente'.

Cold war came to an end after the collapse of Soviet Union.

Different scholars expressed different views regarding the peaceful end of cold war. Realists, neo-realists and neo-liberals argued as to how different factors made for a peaceful end of the cold war without any mass destruction.

## 2.6: Key words

Cold war – An ideological war between two super powers. It was an unarmed and peacetime conflict lasted for nearly four decades.

Cominform – The Communist Information Bureau organized in September 1947

Détente – Easing of strained relation between countries. This was an outcome of conscious efforts for eased relations.

## 2.7: Probable answers to check your Progress

### Check your Progress : 1

(a) (i) March 18, 1949

(ii) Turkey and Iraq

(b) In 1955 the Baghdad pact was signed between Iraq and Turkey. Britain and Pakistan also joined with pact later on. But when U.S.A. joined the pact-it came to be known as CENTO i.e. Central Treaty organization.

**Check your Progress : 2**

The most important reason for ending cold war was the collapse of USSR in 1991.

**2.8 : Questions for Practice**

1. Discuss the meaning, nature and origin of cold war.
2. Write a note on 'détente'
3. Analyse different phases of cold war.
4. How did cold war come to an end? Discuss the neo-realist and neo-liberals views of the end of cold war.

## **Unit – 3**

### **Post cold war era**

#### **Structure**

3.0 : Objectives

3.1 : Introduction

3.2 : Features of the Post Cold War Era

3.3 : Changes in the international scenario and new world order.

3.4 : Let us sum up

3.5 : Key words

3.6 : Probable answer to check your Progress

3.7 : Questions for Practice

#### **3.0 : Objectives**

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Identify the of the Post-cold war era.
- Describe the characteristics of new world order.

#### **3.1 : Introduction**

Unit 3 is divided into eight sections. Section 3.4 summarizes the whole unit 3.5 gives the meaning of keywords of the unit and at the end of the unit some questions are given for your practice.

The end of cold war was an important event of international Politics. It marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new era affecting nearly every aspect of international relations. While the long persisting danger of direct military confrontation between the two super powers has fizzled out with its welcome fall out in many spheres of world affairs, durable peace has remained a distant dream

for much of the world. New threat to peace has emerged in a big way. The multipolarism and then unipolarism has brought a change in the international scenario. From this unit you will come to know the features and different issues of post cold war era.

### **3.2 : Features of the post cold war era**

One of the important features of the Post-Cold war era is unipolarism. Post cold war marks the end of bi-polarity and emergence of the United States as the power houses without any parallel or competitions. The U.S. became the single remaining superpower pushing the Soviet-Union to a sub-ordinate status.

The second feature of the Post cold war era is the multiplicity of challenges the nation states have come under. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century many territories have gained the status of 'nation states'. The newly emerged states conferred a secular nationality on all inhabitants without reference to differences in languages spoken, faiths followed and ethnic background. In short, more states have become multinational states in composition and character.

Thirdly, Post cold war era has witnessed new focus on the role of the United Nations in the preservation of peace and security. The Security Council, earlier known for disagreements between the two super powers, is transformed into an active agent for effective action. Vetoes are no longer fashionable or even feasible because no permanent member could easily afford a confrontation with the United States. With a new modifications, the U.S. initiated moves are approved. The Security Council and the whole United Nation came under the shadow of United States

### **3.3 : Changes in the International Scenario and New World order**

The Post war international system which replaced the classical international system got itself replaced by in the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century into a Post Cold war international system. However,

the features and trends of this system are still in a stage of evolution and the Post-cold war international relations are still adjusting in the new environment of relations among nations. The 20<sup>th</sup> century placed several new trends and changes in the lap of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The following emerging trends can be identified that continue to characterize the new international order.

1. An increasing new faith in peace, peaceful co-existence and peaceful international intercourse among all members of the international community.
2. A new commitment to international peace, security and development.
3. A rejection of politics of cold war and confrontation in favour of politics of peaceful cooperation for mutual development.
4. Increasing awareness towards the need for nuclear disarmament and arms control. I.N.F, START and chemical weapons elimination agreements have reflected the new awareness. Even the CTBT reflected this intention despite the fact that it had some in-built and big limitations. However, nuclear weapon states- P- 5 and India and Pakistan continue to keep up their weapons and the issue of non-Proliferation continues to be an object of debates.
5. Increasing efforts towards international economic co-operation and development through global as well as regional institution devices and processes are visible. Functionalism has been gaining a new strength in relations among nations.
6. Rejection of the concepts of Balance of Terror, Nuclear Deterrence and Mutually Assured Destruction in favour of a commitment for mutually assured survival through phased disarmament, arms control and sustainable development.
7. Increasing emphasis upon global economic development for securing the emergence of a unified, integrated united and inter-dependent world of peace and prosperity.

8. Faith in the principles of liberalism, democracy, liberalization, open competition and cooperation for development.
9. Determination to fight and end the menace of international terrorism.
10. Globalisation as the way of life and the desire to make the world a GLOBAL VILLAGE with free flow of goods services and people across boundaries.
11. Since 1990's several economic bloc actors have been becoming more and more active in international relations. APEC, AFTA, MAFT, G-20, besides the EU, ASEAN, AU, CIS have been engaged in active economic diplomacy and socio-economic cooperation in international relations.
12. A new faith in the United Nations has emerged. It is evident from the fact that it currently conducting peace keeping operation in 21 different states.
13. Increasing awareness among the developing countries for securing their due rights in the era of WTO and Globalisation.
14. A definite trend in favour of regional economic integration.
15. Rise of strong peace movements, Planet protection movements, environment movements and movements against apartheid, poverty and disease all demonstrating a new positive direction in contemporary international relations.
16. A global awareness for eliminating apartheid, fundamentalism terrorism and ethnic conflict has been becoming stronger and stronger.
17. There has appeared a definite trend and commitment to rescue the polycentric/multipolar character of the international system. Almost all the nations have expressed the strong desire to replace the prevailing unipolarity of the post cold war years with new multipolarity.

18. Protection of Human Rights, Environmental protection and securing the Sustainable Development have got acceptance as the three key objectives.
19. In May 1998, a horizontal expansion of nuclear club took place when both India and Pakistan after concluding nuclear test, declared themselves to be nuclear weapon states. Now the nuclear club consists of P5+India and Pakistan.
20. The world community has now becoming increasingly conscious of the need to check the growing menace of international terrorism and cross-border terrorism particularly after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the twin towers of the US World Trade Centre and the Pentagon building.
21. The factor of ethnicity has emerged as a major factor of contemporary international relations. However, it is expected that the war against terrorism, which the international community is currently pursuing would reduce the frequency of ethnic wars and dilute their intensity as from now onwards the ethnic groups would find it very difficult to use the weapon of terrorism for pursuing their goals.
22. To secure sustainable development for ensuring a healthy living for future generations stand accepted as a key objective of the emerging international order.

Twenty first century has been witnessing several big and rapid changes in international relations. These have been in several ways positive and desired change in favour of democratization, disarmament sustainable development, demilitarization, decentralization demilitarization, decentralization and globalization. However, much remains to be done, particularly in the direction of securing the rights and economic interest of the developing countries in the world which continues to be strategically and economically dominated by the rich North. Another important area of concern

continues to be the tendency on the part of the major powers to interfere with the internal affairs of other states in the name of human rights protection. Further all out efforts have to be made for securing a world free from the dreaded nuclear weapons and another equally dreaded and dangerous machine-terrorism. The war against international terrorism has yet to be a successful global war. Now 9/11, 13/12 have been joined by 7/7 and 21/7 and this makes it all the more essential for humankind to eliminate the demon of terrorism once for all. Besides, the Post cold war era has witnessed global warming and climate change resulting from environmental degradation and human rights are now intertwined with security imperatives of states as well as world community. The global climate change has affected the small island countries like Nauru, Kiribati which face the danger of submerging in the sea waters. Forest fires in Indonesia have caused great concern in the neighbourhood. Droughts in Africa are caused by environmental degradation. Besides, illegal migration and refugee problem is faced by most of the countries in the world. The climate of economic deprivation and political persecution has fuelled refugees flows to neighbouring and distant countries.

The issue of restructuring the United Nations also confronted the debate of Post Cold war international world. It is a focal issue in this period facing not only the governments but also the un-official opinion across the world. The composition of the security council, the prime organ of UNO has remained same since 1945 except little change regarding the non-permanent members (6 to 10) of the security council where as the membership of the United Nations has increased from 51 to 191 upto 2002. The ratio between the UN membership and security council's size is unjustifiable. Moreover, the permanent members of the security council are the Western industrially developed countries except the Peoples Republic of China. The developing countries from Asia and Africa has no representation in the permanent membership of the security council.

Therefore, states like India and Japan from Asia, South Africa from Africa, Brazil from Latin America has put forward their claim for a permanent seat in U.N. security council.

### **Check your Progress : 1**

Mention any five characteristics of new international order.  
(Use the space below for writing your answer)

### **3.4 Let Us Sum Up**

Emergence of unipolar world with USA as the sole hegemonic power cannot be welcome by all sections of the World.

Economic cooperation increased in the Post-Cold war period. Establishment of EU, NAFTA, SAFTA, and WTO signaled increasing economic cooperation among the nations which ultimately reduced tension in the world.

Ethnic conflict, civil wars and international terrorism are features of this era. Human security is in danger due to global warming, environmental degradation and international terrorism. Refugee problem has destabilized the internal situation of many countries of the world. There is claim from different parts of the world for restructuring the UNO, basically the composition of the council for better future and to serve the interest of all.

### **3.5 Key Words**

**Ethnicity** – The word ‘ethnic’ derives from the Latin word ‘ethnike’ which means common identity. Thus ethnicity means an awareness of a common identity among the members of a particular social group. It denotes a sense of common identity consisting of subjective use by a group for believing and demonstrating its separate identity from other groups.

**Sustainable Development** – The term ‘sustainable’ stands for sustainability and it represents an approach to development which is

concerned with such fundamental human concerns like poverty, environment equality, democracy, development and space. This term was popularized in 1987 by the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development through the Brundtland Report.

### **3.6 Probable Answer to Check Your Progress**

Following are the five characteristics of new international order.

- (i) An increasing new faith in peace and peaceful co-existence among the members of the international community.
- (ii) A new commitment to international peace, security and development.
- (iii) A rejection of politics of cold war.
- (iv) Determination to end the menace of international terrorism.
- (v) Globalization as the way of life and the desire to make the world a global village.

### **3.7 Questions for Practice**

1. USA the sole hegemonic power in the Post Cold War era – Describe.
2. Discuss various features of Post-Cold war era.
3. What are the emerging trends of new international order?
4. Examine the important debates of Post-cold war era.
5. Do you think that India should get permanent membership in the security council? Give arguments in support of your answer.

**FURTHER READINGS****Books:**

1. Bandhofadhaya, J. : “North over South: A non-western perspective of International Relations”, (New Delhi, 1984).
2. Carr, E.H. : “An Introduction to the Study of International Relations”, (London, Macmillan, 1946).
3. Chomsky, N. : “World order, old and new”, (London, Pluto Press, 1994).
4. Mahajan, V.D. : “International Relations since 1900”, (New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1986).
5. Sen, A.K. : “International Relations since World War – I”, (New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 2000).

**BLOCK – 2**

**THEORITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

The study of International Relations has gained immense popularity as an important and useful social discipline. In block 1 you have studied about the historical context where you have come to know about the emergence of new system in Europe, Second World War and cold war. Block-2 consists of four units (Unit 4-7). These units are confined to a descriptive analysis and critical evaluation of realist, Marxist and neo-radical theories and their different variants. The theories of underdevelopment, centre periphery and dependency which offer significant insights into an understanding of the nature of capitalist penetration in the third world countries will also be covered in this section

Besides the block has following additional features:

- An introduction which gives a quick outlook to the readers about the whole syllabus.
- Objectives and summaries of each unit.
- Key words with explanation of each unit.
- Questions for Practice and check your Progress.
- A list of bibliography for further readings.

## **Unit – 1**

### **Realism**

#### **Structure**

- 1.0 : Objectives
- 1.1 : Introduction
- 1.2 : Meaning of Realism
- 1.3 : Neo-Realism
- 1.4 : Criticism
- 1.5 : Let Us Sum Up
- 1.6 : Key Words
- 1.7 : Probable Answer to Check you Progress
- 1.8 : Questions for Practice

#### **1.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- define realism and neo-realism.
- make distinction between realism and neo-realism.
- analyse critically the theories in the field of international relations.

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This unit has been divided into nine sub-units. Unit-4.5 is the summary of whole unit 4.6 gives the meaning of key words of the unit, 4.7 is the answer to check your progress and in unit 4.8 some questions are given for your practice.

The nature of international politics cannot be understood without discussing the different theoretical traditions that have been evolved to understand international politics. Realism has proved to be the most influential theory in explaining the nature of international relations. This unit will introduce you with the principles of political realism, neo-realism and their criticisms.

At the end of unit 4.3 there is a chart which shows the distinction between realism and neo-realism.

### **1.2 : Meaning of Realism**

‘Realism’ is one of the important approaches to the study of international relations. Realism in international relations does not mean either the Platonic doctrine which attributes reality to abstract ideas or the political doctrine of expediency with which Machiavelli is associated or the Philosophic doctrine of empiricism propounded by John Locke. Realism is a set of ideas which take into account the implications of security and power factors. These ideas flow from the individual’s belief that others are always trying to destroy him and hence he must be continuously ready to kill others in order to protect himself. The basic assumption underlying the realist approach is rivalry and strife among nations in some form or the other.

George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau are among the leading contemporary realists. Both of them start with the conviction that the national interest is a more reliable guide to intelligent policy as also for scholarly analysis. According to Kennan every country should try to conduct their foreign policy and relations in accordance with the requirements of their national interest on the one hand and the moral and ethical principles on the other. Morgenthau, on the other hand defends the supremacy of the national interest much more vigorously. To him, considerations of national interest must transcend all principles of morality. Thus, it is relative realism in the case of Morgenthau.

The Philosophy of realism which prevailed throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was revived after the second world war. Hans Morgenthau is regarded as the chief exponent of realist theory. Morgenthau gave theoretical orientation to realism and the realist approach has transformed by him into a distinctive school of thoughts. Morgenthau was the first to develop a realist model. Therefore, to know about political realism it is necessary to understand Morgenthau's theory of Political realism.

According to Morgenthau, the master key is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. This approach focuses attention on the states which remain the principle actors in international politics. Morgenthau enumerated six principles of political realism. Firstly, Politics is governed by some objective laws which have their roots in human nature. The laws by which man moves in the social world are eternal. The operation of these laws are impervious to our moral preferences. Secondly, the main element of Political realism is the concept of national interest which Morgenthau defines in term of power. Connected with this concepts is the assumption that statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power. Thus, the realist theory of international politics does not care for what is desirable and possible for a particular nation under the concrete circumstances of time and place. A foreign policy, therefore, should concern itself more with the political requirement of success rather than anything else. Thirdly, Political realism does not take a fixed or determined meaning of interest. It asserts that the forces of international politics are perennial and transformation of the contemporary world is possible only by the manipulation of those forces which are already in existence. Fourthly, Political realism though not indifferent to morality, implies the universal moral principles can not be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulations but that they must be modified in accordance with the requirements of concrete circumstances and place. Realism considers Prudence to be the supreme virtue in Politics. Fifthly, Political realism refuses to

accept any identification between the moral aspirations of a particular nation and the moral laws which govern the universe. And finally, political realism maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. It thinks in terms of interest defined as power as economics think in terms of interest defined as wealth. Political realism is contrary to the legalistic moralistic approach to international Politics.

The realist approach is based on three basic assumptions. Firstly, the statesmen desire to pursue their nations' interest. Secondly, the interest of every nation lies in the expansion of its influence-territorial economic, political and cultural. Thirdly, the states use their power which is also defined as influence in the protection and furtherance of their interests.

The realist thinkers like Hans Morgenthau, Nicholas Spykman and others believe that the struggle for power is integral in human nature. In other words, drive for power and the will to dominate are treated as the fundamental traits of human nature. It is human nature that explains why international politics is necessarily power politics. Convinced of the unchanging human nature, the realists are highly pessimistic with regard to the possibility of any qualitative transformation of international politics. As a result, the classical realists rely much more upon conventional principles of diplomacy and mechanisms like balance of power, international morality, international public opinion and international law to regulate and restrain the inevitable clashes of interest between states than on the human nature.

**Check your Progress**

Mention the basic assumptions of the realist approach. (Use the space below for writing your answer)

### 1.3 Neo-Realism

Neo-realism or structural realism is a recent stand of realism that developed during the 1980's under the influence of Kenneth Waltz. The neo-realist emphasized power as the central importance but they tend to explain events in terms of the structure of the international system rather than the goals and make up of individual states. The structure of international system is a major determinant of state behaviour. Unlike the classical realists who trace the causes of war to the innate human nature, the neo-realists tend to explain international conflicts within the framework of the anarchic structure of the international system. This means that there is no overreaching central authority to enforce rules and norms to protect the interests of the larger global community. The neo-realists insist that conflict can emerge even if the actors have benevolent intent towards each other. According to Waltz, anarchy prevents states from entering into cooperative agreements to end the state of war. By the state of war, structural realists do not intend to convey the impression that large scale war is a daily occurrence in international Politics. The structure of the international system can drive states to war even if state leaders desire peace.

A second group of neo-realists prominent among who is Joseph Grieco have integrated Waltz's ideas with the ideas of more traditional realists such as Raymond Aron, Stanley Hoffmann and Robert Gilpen to construct a contemporary or modern realist profile. Grieco claims that all states are interested in both absolute and relative gains and the question of how such gains are distributed in the international system. Such neo-realists identify two barriers to international cooperation, fear of those who might not follow the rules and the relative gains of others.

The third version of neo-realism is increasingly becoming popular as security studies. This form of neo-realism is divided into two sub-groups; offensive neo-realism and defensive neo-realism. The offensive neo-realists recognize the costs of war and argue that it

invariably results from irrational forces in a society. Moreover they argue that it is the presence of expansionary forces in the international system, always willing to use force, which makes it impossible to co-exist in a world without weapons. According to this theory cooperation is successful only among the friendly states.

#### **Distinction between realism and neo-realism**

<b>Realism</b>	<b>Neo-realism</b>
1. Realism emphasizes on human nature as the main cause of conflict between the states.	1. For Neo-realists it is the anarchical structure of international system i.e., lack of world government which is mainly responsible for conflict among the states.

#### **1.4 : Criticism**

Realism and neo-realism have been subject to number of serious criticism. Realism has been criticized for emphasizing only on conflicting behaviour of the states and neglecting the cooperative aspects of international politics. Critics have also questioned the realist assumption of human nature as essentially bad and power seeking. Further realism has been accused of supporting status quo and not being progressive. Similarly neo realism has been criticized for accepting conflicts as automatic outcome of anarchical structure of international system. Anarchy does not necessarily have to lead to war between states as it has been famously argued ‘Anarchy is what states make of it’.

#### **1.5 : Let us sum up**

- The main element of Political realism is national interest.
- Hans J. Morgenthau has explained realism by six Principles

- Neo-realism is also known as structural realism. There are three versions of neo-realism.
- Realism and Neo-realism have been criticized by scholars on number of grounds.

### **1.6 : Key words**

- Realism: Realism emerged as the dominant international perspective only during 20<sup>th</sup> century. It emerged in its modern form in relation to idealism. Realism is grounded in an emphasis on power politics and the pursuit of national interest.
- Neo-realism: This approach of international relations developed during the 1980's. The neo-realists continue to acknowledge the central importance of power, they tend to explain events in terms of the goals and make up of individual states.

### **1.7 : Probable answer to check your Progress**

The three basic assumptions of the realist approach are

- (1) The statesmen desire to pursue their nation's interest.
- (2) The interest of every nation lies in the expansion of its influence-territorial, economic, political and cultural.
- (3) The states use their power which is also defined as influence in the protection and furtherance of their interests.

### **1.8 : Questions for Practice**

1. Write a note on classical realism.
2. Critically discuss Moregenthau's theory of realism
3. Explain different version of neo-realism.
4. Make a distinction between neo-realism and realism.

**Unit – 2****Liberal approaches to International Relations****Structure**

- 2.0 : Objectives
- 2.1 : Introduction
- 2.2 : Liberalism in International Relations
- 2.3 : Neo-liberal Institutionalism
- 2.4 : Functionalism
- 2.5 : Neo-Functionalism
- 2.6 : Let us sum up
- 2.7 : Key words
- 2.8 : Questions for Practice

**2.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Define liberalism in International relation.
- Differentiate between liberalism and neo-liberalism
- Discuss functionalism and neo-functionalism in international relations.

**2.1 : Introduction**

This unit is divided into nine sub-units. Besides the main topics you will find the explanation of some key words and in the end some questions for your practice.

Liberal and neo-liberal approaches occupy an important position in studying international relations. Liberalism, also known as Pluralism projects a different image of world politics as compared to realism. There are many strands of liberalism but the common theme

of liberalism is that the state is a necessary evil. It is necessary because of selfish and egoistic nature of man. But the liberals have enormous belief in human progress and the faculty of reason that each individual is endowed with. In relation between states, liberals stress the possibilities for cooperation and the key issue becomes devising international settings in which cooperation can best be achieved. This unit focuses on liberal thinking and neo-liberal institutionalism. It will also introduce you with functionalism and neo-functionalism to international relations.

## **2.2 : Liberalism in International Relations**

Liberalism in international relations has its roots in the development of liberal political theory in 17<sup>th</sup> century. John Lock is regarded as the first liberal thinkers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He saw great potential for human progress in modern civil society and capitalist economy, both of which believed could flourish in states that guaranteed individual liberty. The liberals argue that the process of modernization unleashed by the scientific revolution led to improve technologies which in turn made it possible to devise more efficient ways of producing goods and mastering nature.

There are some important underlying assumptions of the liberal approach that can be discussed as below:

- 1. Individuals are the primary international actors:** The liberal thinkers put individuals at the centre of the universe and all progress is measured in terms of the interests of the individuals. In other words progress for liberals has always meant progress for individuals. On the otherhand, the states are regarded as the most important collective and pluralistic actors whose interests and policies are determined by bargaining among groups and elections.
- 2. States interests are dynamic and are both self regarding and other regarding:** Liberals are of the viewpoint that the interests of the states are changing with the time and changing interest of the individuals. Also the liberals believe that states

do not only have certain self-interest to preserve but also regard states policies as other regarding to some extent since they believe that the growth of liberal-democracy increases peoples concern for other humans.

3. **Both individuals and states interests are shaped by a wide variety of domestic and international conditions:** The interests of both individuals and states are affected by a number of factors at the domestic and international levels. The interests are determined by bargaining power that they possess. The manners in which they define their interest are shaped by a number of factors both within and out-side the state boundary. At the domestic level the factors like the nature of economic and political system, patterns of economic interactions and personal values may play decisive role. At the international level, presence of factors like technological capabilities, patterns of interactions and interdependence, transnational sociological patterns and international institutions allow states to affect each other in different ways. According to the liberal states, the predominant collective actors are embedded in both their own societies and the international system and their interests and policies are affected by both areas.
4. **Mutual interests can sustain co-operation in the international system :** With the growth of liberal democracies, interdependencies, knowledge, international social ties and international institutions the liberals have come to believe that cooperation can be possible among states without resorting to coercive means. The liberal view is that cooperation among the states can be achieved through non-coercive bargaining based on identification of mutual interest. Further liberals believe that improved knowledge and communication will immensely enhance the ability of the states and other actors to better understand their common interests.

### **2.3 : Neo-Liberal Institutionalism**

The neo-liberal institutionalists concede that states are key actors in international relations but they refuse to accept the arguments of the realists who believe that states are the only significant actors. According to the neo-liberal institutionalists, states are rational or instrumental actors that always seek to maximize their interests in all issue areas. They further believe that in the present day competitive environment states seek to maximize absolute gains through cooperation as rational behavior leads them to see value in cooperative behaviour. States are thus less concerned with gains or advantages by other states in cooperative arrangements. However, the neo-liberal institutionalists believe that the biggest obstacle to successful cooperation comes from the fear of non-compliance or the possibility of cheating by states. Such fears primarily emanate from the sovereign status enjoyed by the states in the international system leading to a general lack of trust among the states. They believe that such fears of non-compliance and cheating can be alleviated through creation of institutions in the international system. They recognize that cooperation may be harder to achieve in areas where leaders perceive they have no mutual interests. However, it is believed that states in all likelihood will be willing to shift loyalty and resource to institutions once these are perceived as mutually beneficial and if they provide states with increasing opportunities to secure their international interest.

### **2.4 : Functionalism**

The functionalist approach is totally opposite view of realist and neo realist approach of international relations. David Mitrany, the most prominent proponent of the functionalist schools of thought is of the opinion that greater interdependence in the form of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace. According to him cooperation among the countries should be arranged by technical

experts and not by politicians. Joseph Nye, Ernst Haas, Paul Taylor, A.J.R. Groom, John Burton and Christopher Mitchell contributed a lot to the functionalist tradition of international relation theory. The main concern of the functionalists is to develop peace meal non-political cooperative organization which will not only help to establish peace and prosper security but also render the practice of war obsolete eventually. Aware of the fact that governments have vested interests and that nation states will not be dismantled voluntarily, the functionalists advocate a gradual approach toward regional or global unity. Thus, they believe might eventually help isolate and render obsolete the rigid institutional structures of nation states. For this they develop certain proposals. The prime concern of the functiontionalists is with developing piecemeal cooperative organistions at the regional level in non-political areas like economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural sectors where the possibility of forging effective cooperation among the states appears to be highly practical. There non-political sectors are collectively referred as functional sectors where the possibility of opposition or resistance appears minimal. This is based on the assumption that efforts to establish functional organizations at the micro-level in non-political sectors such as energy production and distribution, transportation and communication control, health protection and improvement labour standards and exchanges etc are least likely to be met with opposition. These non-political sectors can function successfully because there is a less chance of challenge or thereat to the national sovereignty of the participating states.

The functionalist school is based on the “Spillover” effect. The concept of “spillover” is similar to that of ‘demonstration’ effect as used in the discipline of economics. This concept assumes that the cooperation in one area will open new avenues for similar cooperation in other areas. For example, successful forging of cooperation in the area of coal and steel production would spill over into other functional areas like transportation, pollution control etc.

such process of cooperation would eventually lead to political unification of a given regime.

The functionalist school of thought believed in the cooperative aspect of international behaviour and do not support the conflictive aspect of the realist school of thought. The realists view the world in terms of conflict and irrationality, whereas, the functionalist view the world in terms of cooperation and reason.

### **2.5 : Neo-Functionalism**

In contrast to the functionalist theory, neo-functionalism or the integration theory seeks to create new states through the integration of the existing states. According to this theory, the integration between states is possible if the political process of 'spillover' facilitates. It is basically drawn from the experience of European Union. The Neo-functionalists thus prefer to emphasize cooperative decision making processes and elite attitudes in order to assess the process towards integration.

Ernst Hass is considered to be the chief proponent of this school of thought. He defines integration as "The tendency towards the voluntary creation of larger political units, each of which self-consciously eschew the use of force in the relations between the participating units and groups. Hass viewed integration as a process by which the actors concerned begin voluntarily to give up certain powers and evolve new techniques for tackling common problems and resolving mutual conflicts. The distinguishing point between the neo-functionalists and functionalists is that the neo-functionalists focus primarily on formal institutions as an attempt to determine the extent to which national as opposed to international agencies carry out important functions.

## 2.6 : Let us sum up

Liberal approach to the study of international politics has its roots in the development of liberal political theory in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

There are four important assumptions of liberal approach to the study of international relations. Firstly, the liberals view state as the most important collective actors in the present era but they are seen as pluralistic actors whose interests and policies are determined by bargaining among groups and elections. Secondly, states interests are dynamic and are both self-regarding and other regarding. Thirdly, both individual and state interests are shaped by a wide variety of domestic and international conditions. Fourthly, mutual interests can sustain cooperation in the international system.

According to the neo-liberal institutionalists states are rational or instrumental actors that always seeks to maximize their interests in all issue areas.

Functionalism is regarded as the alternative school of thought in international relations. The prime concern of theory is with developing piecemeal cooperative organizations at the regional level in non-political areas like economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural sectors where the possibility of forging effective cooperation among the states appears to be highly practical.

Neo-functionalism, also known as the integration theory seeks to create new states through the integration of the existing states. It can be achieved at the regional level and in the long run, in the creation of a single world state.

## 2.7 : Key word

**Liberalism** : Liberalism arose as an ideology in the seventeenth century. It was a political philosophy of the capitalist class. Jeremy Benthan, James Mill and John Stuart Mill supported the cause of liberalism. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century liberalism become a national policy in

Great Britain. Liberalism stands for internationalism which implies international peace and cooperation.

**2.8 : Questions for practice**

1. Discuss the underlying assumptions of liberalism.
2. Write a note on neo-liberal institutionalism.
3. Explain the key concepts of Functionalism.
4. Do you think that the “Spillover” effect can bring political unification in the world? Give arguments.
5. Make a distinction between functionalism and neo-functionalism.

## **Unit – 3**

### **Radicalism**

#### **Structure**

- 3.0 : Objectives
- 3.1 : Introduction
- 3.2 : Marxist approach
- 3.3 : Imperialism
- 3.4 : Colonialism
- 3.5 : Hegemonism
- 3.6 : Let us sum up
- 3.7 : Key words
- 3.8 : Probable answer to check your Progress
- 3.9 : Questions for Practice

#### **3.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Discuss the Marxist approach to international relation.
- Define imperialism
- Explain colonialism
- Describe hegemonism in international relation.

#### **3.1 : Introduction**

Unit 6 is divided into ten sub-units. At the end of main topics you will find a few objective type questions, key words and some questions for your practice.

Radicalism is totally different from realism or liberalism. The Marxist approach envisions a rather uncommon view of international relations. Marxists view that all the familiar events of world politics

like wars, treaties, international aid programmes etc. take place within the structure of global capitalist system. This unit will introduce you with the Marxist approach and other radical approaches to study international relations.

### **3.2 : Marxist approach**

According to this approach with the change of global structure, the basis of international politics is also changed. Karl Marx viewed that “the real nature of politics” has to be understood from the hidden basis of entire social structure” and “the social structure is based on the model of production”

The key element of the Marxist approach is the materialistic conception of history and it is the economic development of a society which determines the process of historical change. According to Karl Marx the tension between the means of production and relations of production together form the economic base of a given society. Developments in the economic base act as a catalyst for the broader transformation of society as a whole. Marxists attribute a very special status to class in their analysis of society. In contrast to liberals who believe that there is an essential harmony of interests between different social groups. But Marxists hold that society is systematically prone to class conflict. In capitalist society the main axis of conflict is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. After the conflict the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established. In proletariat dictatorship, there will be socialization of the means of production and distribution.

Marxian approach has been criticized by many political philosophers. This approach emphasizes on the study of its objectives rather than approach. His views on class are also not clear. Some critics say that Marxian approach has no relevance in modern times. Its relevance declined due to the fall of communist regime in Soviet Union. The view of Proletarian revolution is also not correct.

### **3.3: Imperialism**

The word 'imperialism' has been derived from the term "imperium" which connotes exercise of control or domination of one people by a stronger people. In other words, imperialism describes the relations between a dominating and subservient society without the latter being necessarily reduced to a formal colony.

Imperialism is the policy of extending the power or rule of a state beyond its boundaries. Since the Second World War the word imperialism has virtually become synonymous with the oppression and exploitation of the weak and impoverished countries by the powerful ones. In the Marxist tradition, imperialism is an economic phenomenon that typically results from the pressure to export capital. J.A. Hobson formulated the scientific concept of imperialism in his work "Imperialism A study" in 1902. According to him, the accumulation of capital and saturation of internal markets led to a situation whereby it became urgent to seek outlets for investment abroad and the process of searching for investment abroad was termed by Hobson as the "economic taproot of imperialism" Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand viewed imperialism as the last stage in the historical race of capitalism. V.I. Lenin offered a systematic analysis of modern imperialism. To him, "Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. He wrote that Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of all territories of the globe has been completed".

### **3.4 : Colonialism**

The word 'colonialism' has derived from Greek language which means the permanent settlement of a new territory by a group of people who have moved there from their original home – a colony. Some people refer colonialism as the political control or rule of the

people of a given territory by a foreign state. The evolution of imperialism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has assumed two distinct forms- colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Marxist gave a systematic theory of colonialism by focusing on the direct political control of non-capitalist societies with the reproductive requirements of European and American industrial capitalist economies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century focus on the political economic and ideological implications of industrial capitalist entry into non-capitalist societies and finally, they analyse the possible consequences of socialist developments in colonial societies for socialist transformation in colonizing countries. Another scholar Hilferding associated colonialism with the rise of dominance of finance capital and the resultant increase in the export of capital from industrial capitalist economics in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century leading to conflict between industrial nation states over the annexation and consolidation of colonial areas. Lenin extended this further by arguing that the export of capital to colonized areas would lead to an expansion and deepening of capitalist development.

The President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah developed a new theory of international relations: neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state, which is subject to it is in theory, independent and has all the outward tapping of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those, who practice, it means power without responsibility. Neo-colonialism is based upon the principle of breaking up former large united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable states which are incapable of independent development and must rely upon the former imperial power for defense and even internal security. Their economic and financial systems are linked with those of the former colonial ruler. Aid, therefore to a neo-colonial state is merely a

revolving credit paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits. Nkrumah's theory has been widely accepted as an integral part of a larger enquiry into the understanding of the complex structure of world capitalism.

### **3.5 : Hegemonism**

The term 'hegemony' is derived from the Greek word 'hegemonia' meaning leader. The word hegemony is used to connote the predominant position of the most powerful state in the international system or the dominant state in a particular given region. Viewed from this perspective, the United State is considered as the hegemon in the Post-Cold war era. In the same way India is viewed as the regional hegemon in South Asia. On the other hand, the Marxist use the term hegemony in a very different and specific sense. Antonio Gramsci, Italian Marxist and social theorist is widely considered to be the most influential 20<sup>th</sup> century Marxist exponent of the Theory of hegemony. Gramsci refers hegemony to the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates, as an alternative to the use of coercion. 'Consent', according to Gramsci, is produced and reproduced by the hegemony of the ruling class in society. It is this hegemony that allows the bourgeoisie values, the moral, political and cultural values of the dominant class to become widely dispersed throughout society and to be accepted by subordinate class as their own. The bourgeoisie ideology is so deeply internalized by the subordinate and exploited classes that it becomes part of the unquestioned "Common Sense". The penetration of such bourgeoisie values takes place through the institutions of civil society like the media the education system, voluntary organizations etc. After Gramsci, Robert Cox has attempted to internationalise the concept of hegemony to the global context. He argues that hegemony is perhaps important for maintaining stability and continuity at the international level. To him,

successive dominant powers in the international system have shaped a world order that suits their interests and have done so not only as a result of their coercive abilities but also because they have managed to generate broad consent for that order even among those who are disadvantaged by it. He argues that the degree to which a state can produce or reproduce its hegemony in the international system indicates the extent of its power in the system.

**Check your Progress :**

- (1) The word imperialism has derived from.....
- (2) “Imperialism – A study” was written by .....
- (3) The Theory – neo-colonialism was developed by .....
- (4) The meaning of hegemony is .....

**3.6 : Let us sum up**

The Marxist approach of international relations emphasized the fact that the basis of social structure is the mode of production and the international politics changes with the change of social/global structure. The economic development of a society determines the process of historical change.

Imperialism describes the relations between a dominant and subservient society without the latter being necessarily reduced to a formal colony. Rosa Luxemburg defined imperialism as the last stage of capitalism.

Nkrumah developed a new theory of international relations: neo-colonialism. To him, the states are in theory, independent and has all the outward tapings of international sovereignty, but in reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world.

Gramsci, an Italian Marxist refers hegemony as the ability of a dominant class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugate, as an alternative to the use of coercion.

### 3.7 : Key words

**Imperialism :** It is a belief in the value of colonies. A policy of extending one country's empire and influence. According to Lenin, imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism.

**Hegemonsim :** It is a kind of authority or influence of one state over a group of states. This word is used to connote the predominant position of the most powerful state in particular given regime.

### 3.8 : Probable answer to check your Progress

- (1) Imperium
- (2) J.A. Hobson
- (3) Kwame Nkrumah
- (4) Imperialism
- (5) Leader

### 3.9 : Questions for Practice

1. Discuss the Marxist approach to international relation.
2. Differentiate between colonialism and imperialism.
3. Examine the main points of imperialism as stated by V.I. Lenin
4. Critically analyse Nkrumah's theory of neo-colonialism in international relations.
5. What is hegemonism? Do you agree that India is a hegemonic power in South Asia? Explain.

**Unit- 4****Neo-Radical Approaches****Structure**

4.0 : Objective

4.1 : Introduction

4.2 : Theory of underdevelopment

4.3 : Theory of Centre Periphery

4.4 : Theory of Dependencia

4.5 : Let us sum up

4.6 : Key words

4.7 : Questions for Practice

**4.0 : Objective**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain the theory of underdevelopment
- Analyse the theory of centre periphery
- Discuss the theory of dependencia.

**4.1 : Introduction**

Unit Seven is divided into eight sub-units. At the end of unit some question are given for your practice.

This unit includes three theories. All these three offers significant insights into the understanding of the nature of capitalist penetration in the third world countries. The unit focuses on the nature of third world countries, capitalist penetration and the reasons of their backwardness.

## **4.2 : Theory of Underdevelopment**

The growing dissatisfaction in the poorer third world countries to resolve the problems of poverty, hunger, health etc after the Second World War led to the beginning of a new search for alternative analytical and explanatory frame work. The diffusion of wealth from the developed to the underdeveloped countries was far from the reality. The intellectual response thus followed led to the emergence of a new radical thinking which had come to be known as underdevelopment theory mainly originated from two distinct sources: (i) theoretical debates within Marxism and (ii) the concrete development experience of Latin America. The classical Marxist position that capitalist development in underdeveloped countries is eminently possible and that capitalism has a progressive role to play in such societies was vehemently rejected by the new genre of writings. The first influential work in this context was Paul Barons 'Political economy of growth'. He writes, "economic development in underdeveloped countries is profoundly inimical to the dominant interests in the advanced capitalist countries". Supplying many raw materials to the industrialized countries, providing their corporations with vast profits and investment outlets, the backward world has always represented the indispensable hinterland of the highly developed capitalist west. Thus, the ruling class in the United States is bitterly oppressed to the industrialization of the so called source countries and to the emergence of integrated processing economics in the colonial and semi-colonial world.

The supporters of the second source of the origin of underdevelopment theory are Raul Prebisch, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Osvaldo Sunkel and Theotonto Dos Santos who challenged the thesis that capitalism nurtures development and indeed outlined a

new theory of underdevelopment. This version of underdevelopment is latter on came to be known as dependency theory. These scholars put emphasis on the exploitative structure of the world capitalist economy in which third world economies reduced to the status of mere satellites.

### **4.3 : Theory of Centre Periphery**

Challenging the previous theory of international trade the United Nations Economic commission of Latin America argued that the world economy had been polarized into a centre and a periphery. The main argument of the ECL school of thought rested on the traditional international division of labour has resulted in excessive concentration of production and wealth at the centre leading to increased pauperization of the periphery. This can be understood by an example that while the centre is characterized by a production structure which is homogenous and diversified the periphery is symbolized by a structure which is heterogenous and specialized. The periphery is specialized in the sense that production is confined to a few primary commodities and to enclaves which have no linkages to the rest of the economy. According to the ECLA school the economy of the periphery could not benefit much from the international division of labour and international trade. The supporters of this school of thought gave the evidence of the Latin American economics that low levels of productivity and unfavourable terms of trade only add upto sustained unequal development. The merit of this school lies in the fact that look at both development and underdevelopment as two sides of the same coin.

Samir Amin, an African scholar, in his book “Accumulation on a world scale: A critique of the theory of underdevelopment”

argued that the industrialized countries and the less developed countries are integrated in a manner which inhibits capitalism from performing its historical role of developing the productive forces in the underdeveloped countries. He stated that from the beginning of the imperialistic period, the less developed countries were no longer capable of attaining “autonomous self-sustaining growth” whatever their level of per capital out put might be. One aspect of this state of affairs is that the periphery seeks development in competition with the centre, which dominates it and distorts its structures rendering them unsuitable for self-sustaining development. This competition leads to a distortion toward export activities, the choice of light industries and low technology, and towards tertiary activities all of which transfer multiples effects from the periphery to the centre and block economic growth.

#### **4.4 : Theory of Dependencia**

The term ‘dependency’ carries several meaning. In international relations the term is used to explain the causes of economic development and underdevelopment. Evolving in Latin America during the 1960’s the dependency theory later found favour in some writing about Africa and Asia. The paradigm of dependency has been explained by Jan Rexborough “the mode of articulation of the underdeveloped economics with the world economic system may result in transfer of resources form the periphery to the centre and this articulation may give rise to various ‘blocking mechanism’ which hold back or distort the economies of the periphery thereby preventing an allocation of resources which will produce economic growth”. The statement reflects following points:

1. Dependency may ensue either from the transfer of resources from the periphery to the centre or from the blocking and distorting effects on the economics of the periphery.
2. The transfer of resources (or value) and the blocking and distorting effects may occur independently of each other.
3. The mechanisms of transfer of resources from the South to the North are multiple. For example, such a transfer may take place through direct plunder, unequal exchange, an exchange of productive goods for non-productive good, control over prices etc.
4. The mechanisms that produce blocking and distortions are also multiple.

Dos Santos defines dependency as “a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economic conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which their own is subjected. Dependency conditions a certain internal structure which redefines it is a function of the structural possibilities of the distinct national economies.” Thus dependency is a relationship between the groups of economics, those that condition others, and those that are conditioned by others. In the advanced capitalist countries the surplus is appropriated by and invested in where it leads to rapid economic development. The dependencia thus, argue that the appropriation of the surplus by the developed core both causes and perpetuates inequalities among the peripheral economics of the third world countries. In explaining the dynamics of exploitation they go as far back as the colonial period by tracing the roots of historical looting and plundering of the colonies by the metropolitan countries. They argue that what was the true of the colonial times is also true of the present day persistence of underdevelopment in the Third World. One of the most distinguishing features of the dependency theory is that

unlike the orthodox Marxist theory it seeks to explain the extraction/appropriation dichotomy as an aspect of the relationship among countries and not classes.

#### **4.5: Let us sum up**

The neo-radical approaches in international relations developed in the third world countries and mainly in Latin American countries.

The Theory of underdevelopment originated from two distinct source-firstly, the theoretical debate within Marxism and secondly, the concrete development experience of Latin America.

The Theory of centre-periphery was initiated by the ECLA school of thought who argued, that the world economy has been polarized into a centre and a periphery. Here the centre is characterized by production structure which is homogenous and diversified on the other hand, periphery is symbolized by a structure which is heterogeneous and specified.

Dependency is used in international relations to explain the “dominant dependent” structure of relations among the nation states. Dependencia is a situation in which the economy of certain countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected.

#### **4.6 : Key words**

ECLA – Economic Commission of Latin America. This school opines that the economy of the periphery could not benefit much from the international division of labour and international trade.

Dependencia – In international relations dependencia refers to the dominant – dependent structure of relations both among and

between the nation-states. In general, dependency means the country governed or controlled by another country.

#### **4.7: Questions for Practice**

1. Discuss the neo-radical approaches to international relations.
2. What are the main features of underdevelopment theory?
3. What do you understand by the centre periphery mode of underdevelopment?
4. Mention the main features of the theory of Dependencia

#### **FURTHER READINGS**

Books :

1. Anin, Samir : "Accumulation on a world scale : A critique of the theory of Underdevelopment" (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974).
2. Burchill, Scott and : "Theories of International Relations". (London, Macmillan, 1996)  
Andrew Linklatu (ed.)
3. Das, P.G. : "Modern Political Theory", (Kolkata, New Central Book Agency, 1996)
4. Morgenthau, H.J. : "Politics Among Nations: The struggle for Power and Peace", (New York, Knopf, 1978)
5. Waltz, Kenneth : "Theory of International Politics", (Addison-Wesley, 1979)

**BLOCK – 3****INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY**

There are four units in this block. Unit 8 deals with contending theoretical approaches. Unit 9 deals with major policy debates in international political economy. Unit 10 covers elements of international economic relations and unit 11 comprises of role of institutions.

Economics and politics are interrelated from ancient times economic relation between countries were part of the national life. Trade relationship was there among many European, Asian and African countries. International economic relation is not a recent phenomenon but industrial revolution of the century have changed the parameters of this relationship. The increasing cross-border transaction has increased the interdependence among the nations. The international political relations and diplomacy between countries depend upon their mutual economic relations. More intense and regular are the economic relations, less possibility of friction of war.

## **Unit – 1**

### **Contending theoretical approaches**

#### **Structure**

- 1.0 : Objectives
- 1.1 : Introduction
- 1.2 : Realism
- 1.3 : Economic Liberalism
- 1.4 : Let us Sum up
- 1.5 : Key words
- 1.6 : Questions for Practice

#### **1.0 : Objectives**

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Define realism in international Political economy
- Explain the concept of economic liberalism

#### **1.1 : Introduction**

This unit consists of seven sub-units. Unit 8.5 gives the meaning of the key words of this unit and 8.6 provides questions for practice.

The realist thinkers of international political economy claim that in the bi-polar power distribution during the cold war encouraged deep integration within Europe to evolve the EEC. On the otherhand the liberal idea of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was based on the idea of free market and sought to limit the powers of the government through different devices.

## **1.2 : Realism**

Realism represents one of the most significant theoretical perspectives for the study of political economy. Realism which is more commonly referred as mercantilism has found support in the writings of number of prominent politician and economist like Alexander Hamilton and Friedrich List. Realist approach believes that the main goal of economic activity should be to build a strong state. In other words economics should be subordinated to politics or economics is a tool of politics. For realist international economy is an arena of conflict between opposing national interests rather than an area of cooperation and mutual gain. In the field of economic competition one state's gain is another state's loss as material wealth accumulated by one state can serve as a basis for military-political power which can be used against other states. Thus economic activity is seen in the larger context of increasing state power.

## **1.3 : Economic Liberalism**

Economic Liberalism emerged in response to mercantilism. Economic liberals like Adam Smith is opposed to the idea that economic should be subordinated to the politics and rejects the view that the state is the central actor when it comes to economic affair. Market tends to expand spontaneously for the satisfaction of human needs provided that governments do not interfere. Economic liberals argue that the market economy is an autonomous sphere of society which operates according to its own economic laws. Economic exchange is an arena where everyone can gain and the market will tend to maximize benefits for the rational, self-seeking individuals that participate in the market. The economy is a sphere of cooperation for mutual benefit among states as well as among individuals. The international economy should thus be based on free trade.

**1.4: Let us Sum up**

The theory of realism underscores that the preferences of states are determined by their position in international distribution of power. On the other hand economic liberalism is a philosophy which advocates the largest possible use of the forces of competitions as a means of co-coordinating human effects and achieving economic ends and thus rejects any type of influence in economic life.

**1.5: Key words**

Economic Liberalism: The individual right to private property is central theme of economic liberalism, Free trade, contract, competition, free economy, free market and market society natural right to private property are the hallmark of economic liberalism.

**1.6: Questions for Practice**

1. What is economic liberalism? How it helps to study the relations among the nations of the World?

## Unit –2

### Major Policy Debates in International Political Economy

#### Structure

2.0 : Objectives

2.1 : Introduction

2.2 : NIEO (new International Economic order)

2.2.0: Features of NIEO

2.3 : Trading Blocs

2.4 : Let us sum up

2.5 : Key words

2.6 : Probable answer to check your progress

2.7 : Questions for practice.

#### 2.0 : Objectives

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Analyse the concept of new International Economic order
- Discuss different trading blocs.

#### 2.1 : Introduction

This unit is divided into 8 sub-units. In between, you will find some objective type questions to check your progress. Besides, there are some key words and questions for your practice.

To determine the relations between the developing and the developed countries the issue of NIEO has been a frontal issue since 1970. The countries regard the restructuring of the existing international economic order as the only way of getting rid of the

present problem of poverty, scarcity, economic problems, underdevelopment and neo-colonialism. The objective of this unit is to introduce the students with the concept of NIEO and other trading blocks to understand the economic relations between the developed and developing nations.

## **2.2 : NIEO (New International Economic order)**

NIEO constitutes a framework for eliminating the era of unequal international economic system which has been mostly catering to the needs and interests of the developed countries to the detriment of the interest of developing countries. NIEO stands for making the international system fairer, just and equitable through the adopting of a code of conduct for the developed countries by accepting the due rights of the underdevelopment countries. NIEO seeks to end the existing imbalance and inequalities in the economic relations between the third world and the developed world. It seeks to end the existing international monopolistic control of the developed countries over international trade, economy, advanced technology and international economic institutions.

### **2.2.0: Features of NIEO**

Total restructure of international economic relations on a just and reasonable basis. Realizing the non-viable nature of the existing international economic order, the Third World advocates a new economic order based on equality, interdependence, mutual benefit and support for the rights of all the nations which is essential for securing real progress and sustainable development.

**Changes in international Economic Institutions like World Bank, IMF:** Two institutional changes are deemed essential for safeguarding the rights and the needs of the developing countries. First relates to the restructuring of the existing rules and regulation

governing the international economic relations, and second relates to the formation of new institutions and system of cooperation among nations. The World Bank, the IMF and other economic institutions stand dominated by the developed countries. The existing economic regime is more conducive to the interests of the developed countries. NIEO seeks to restructure these rules and institutions with a view to make these useful for all without any bias or discrimination.

**End of Protectionism:** The existing of protectionist trade and policies are designed by the developed countries for safeguarding their interests in international economy and trade. The discriminatory limits on exports and imports even against the GATT rules are frequently made and pressed into use by the developed countries. Protectionist trade and policies of the developed countries have been a source of a big strain and loss for the developing countries. Their import bills have boomed while their exports have tended to become stagnant. The need is to end protectionism in trade and economy and this is a vital theme of NIEO.

**Transfer of Capital Resources and Transfer of Advanced Technology:** NIEO wants the actual transfer of capital resources along with the knowledge to put them to beneficial use in order to enable the developing countries not only in producing more for themselves but also for export to other countries. The inability of the developing countries to register a higher economic growth rate and development has been largely due to the low level of technology at their disposal. The recourse to advanced technology is necessary for an increased and efficient productivity. Its contribution along with other factors of production is always substantial for all round development. For securing advanced technology the developing countries find themselves dependent upon the developed countries. The developed countries through international and protective policies have a virtual monopoly over advanced technology. They are not prepared to transfer it to the developing countries without getting favourable commitments and several desired trade agreements. NIEO

stands for systematizing and facilitating the transfer of advanced technology from the developed to the developing countries.

**Control over the Harmful Features of Multinational Corporations:** Several multi-national corporations have been playing a big role in international economy trade, technology and industrial production. The developing countries are forced by the developed countries to import the required technology through the expansion of cooperation with the MNC's which are held to be the most important channels for the transfer of capital technology and managerial expertise. The role of MNC's in international economy has been damaging as it has been a source of maintaining and increasing the gap between developed and developing countries. Thus the developing countries want an end to the menace of MNC's and for this advocate the need for the formulation of a code of conduct for them as a part of a new international economic order.

A greater and definite share for the developing countries in international exports-one of the important theme of NIEO is the securing of improved access to export markets in rich countries. In the presence of big economic gap between the developed and developing countries GATT, UNCTAD, and WTO failed to produce the desired effect and changes international economic and trade system. Globalization has been a source of pressure on the economics and actions of the developing countries. Hence, the third world countries demand a definite and fixed share in all international exports and tariff preference in their favour as part of a new economic order.

**Check your Progress**

Mention any three features of NIEO. (use the space below for writing your answer)

### **2.3 : Trading Blocs**

The different trading blocs which emerged among the developing countries on the basis of South – South cooperation are:

#### **GSTP – July 1985 :**

The idea of Global System of Trade Preference (GSTP) was mooted first in 1982 and took shape at the two UNCTAD meetings in 1984 which did the spadework. The group was mooted for securing increased trade cooperation and relations among the developing nations.

#### **G-15 :**

With a view to encourage and lead the drive for South Cooperation, various meetings of the Group – 15 third World countries popularly known as G-15 were held in different countries of the third world. G-15 completed 10 years of its existence however its efforts to have a big influence remained limited both in respect of the relations with developed countries as well as in the sphere of South-South cooperation.

#### **WTO (World Trade Organisation)**

It was founded in January 1995, as a successor to GATT and is based in Geneva. WTO covers cross-border trade in service and ideas and the movement of personnel. The principle of WTO is to create an international environment that enables the free flow of goods, services and ideas. It has full time representative from the member countries. WTO functions on the basis of one member, one vote which is not weighted by the country's position in global trade.

### **2.4 Let Us Sum Up**

The concept of NIEO indicates restructuring the existing international economic order to remove poverty, scarcity, economic imbalances from the developing countries.

The major themes of NIEO are total restructuring of international economic order, changes in international economic institutions like WB and IMF. End Protectionism, transfer of capital

resource and advanced technology, control over the harmful features of Multinational corporations and a definite share for the developing countries in international exports.

After NIEO, different trading blocs have formed among the Third World countries on the basis of South-South Cooperation, like GSTP, G-15, WTO etc.

### **2.5 Key Words**

**NIEO:** NIEO stands for making the international system fairer, just and equitable through the adoption of a code of conduct for the developed countries by accepting the due rights of the underdeveloped countries.

**WTO:** World Trade Organization founded in January 1995. Its main principle is to create an international environment to enable the free flow of goods, services and ideas.

### **2.6 Probable Answer to Check Your Progress**

The three features of NIEO are

- (i) End of Protectionism.
- (ii) Transfer of capital resources and transfer of advanced technology.
- (iii) Control over the harmful features of multinational corporations.

### **2.7 Questions for Practice**

1. Write a note on NIEO.
2. What are the major themes of NIEO?
3. Analyse the role of WTO in international economic relations.
4. “NIEO will remove the economic disparities between developed and developing countries” – Explain the statement.

## Unit – 3

### Elements of International Economic Relations

#### Structure

- 3.0 : Objectives
- 3.1 : Introduction
- 3.2 : Trade
  - 10.2.0 : Principal characteristics of International Trade
- 3.3 : Factor of Movements - Labour
  - 10.3.0 : Why the labour migrants?
  - 10.3.1 : Capital Movement
- 3.4 : Monetary and Credit Factor
- 3.5 : Let Us Sum Up
- 3.6 : Key Words
- 3.7 : Questions for Practice.

#### 3.0 Objectives

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Explain Principal characteristics of international Trade.
- Analyse the factors for the movement of labour and capital.
- Discuss the monetary and credit factor of international economic relations.

#### 3.1 Introduction

This unit is divided into eight sub units. Unit 10.2 and 10.3 is again sub-divided into sub-sections. At the end of the unit questions are given for your Practice.

The basis of international economic relations is international trade. International trade refers to trade between persons and firms of different countries. The historical records show that many Asian and European countries were exchanging goods between them and trade was flourishing particularly since the mid of 16<sup>th</sup> century. The industrial revolution of 19<sup>th</sup> century and information and communication revolution of 20<sup>th</sup> century have attained the parameter of this relationship. Present World is interdependent due to the increasing cross-border economic transaction. The international political relations and diplomacy between countries depend upon the mutual economic relations. This unit throws a light on the basic principles of international economic relations by analyzing the factors involved in it.

### **3.2 Trade**

Trade is the most important factor in international economic relations. It consists of two elements: a) merchandise trade and b) Trade in services. The components of merchandise trade are exports and imports of manufactured goods. Another important component of international trade is the trade in services. Services generally, include the items like wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels, transport and communication, financial services etc.

#### **3.2.0 Principal Characteristics of International Trade**

International trade plays an important role in the economic development of any country and it is considered as an 'engine of growth'. Following are the important characteristics of the international trade.

- 1. International Competition:** One of the important features of international trade that producers from many countries

compete with one another to sell their products. The competition is very intense and the quality, design, packing, price, advertising etc. all play a very important role in deciding who will be able to sell his product.

2. **Separation of Producers from buyers:** With increasing specialization and division of labour, the gap between the producers and the buyers has increased.
3. **Selection of Mutually Acceptable Currency:** the currencies of the exporting and importing countries are different. Therefore, a mutually acceptable currency has to be found out. Normally this currency is dollar or pound sterling. These currencies are known as hard currencies and acceptable all over the world.
4. **Price equalization and equalization of factor Prices:** International trade tends to equalize prices of all goods all over the world at the same time it leads to equalization of factor prices like the prices of labour, capital and other factors of production.
5. **Protection vs. Free Trade:** Free trade implies free and unrestricted flow of goods and services while protectionism refers to restrictions imposed by states on freedom of trade. Sometimes these restrictions are imposed to safeguard the domestic industries. Free trade is good from an international viewpoint but protection. The adoption of the policy of protection leads the countries to employ a plethora of import duties, import quotas, export subsidies, export incentives etc. in India, for instance, import duties have been levied to a number of commodities to protect the domestic industries.
6. **Adam Smith's theory of Absolute Advantage of Trade:** Even country gains by trading. This theory of Adam Smith can be understood by an example: the tailor does not make his

own shoes; he exchanges a suit for shoes. Thereby both the shoemaker and the tailor gain. In the same manner Smith argued the whole country can gain by trading with other country.

- 7. David Ricardo's theory of comparative advantage:** to understand about comparative advantage there must be at least two countries and two goods. We compare the opportunity costs of the production of each good in both countries. As long as the two countries opportunity costs for one good differ, one country has a comparative advantage in the production of other good. As long as this is the case both countries will gain from trade, regardless of the fact that one of the countries might have an absolute disadvantage in both lines of production.

Trade offers each country the possibility of specializing in the line of its comparative advantage and then exchange these products for those in which she has a comparative disadvantage. Both countries can reallocate their factors of production to the line where their comparative advantage lies and then export this product and import other products. In, nutshell, with a given amount of resources each country can consume more by trading than in isolation.

### **3.3 : Factor of Movements : Labour**

Mobility of labour is playing important role in designing the economic relationship between two countries. For instance, a large number of ethnic Chinese migrants settled in the South-East Asia. The settled ethnic-chinese forms a strong network to conduct economic transactions between China and South East Asia and most of the FDI (foreign direct investment) inflows into china comes from Chinese Diaspora.

### **3.3.0 : Why the labour migrants?**

There are various causes behind the movement of labour from own country to other parts of the world. These are expected income, difference between the old and new location, cost of living differences between the two locations, other net benefit such as health facilities, educational opportunities etc. For instance, large number, of unskilled and skill labours from India migrated to various countries of West Asia to earn higher wages.

### **3.3.1 Capital Movement**

Another powerful agent of international economic relations is capital. The financial capital flows across the national boundaries have been increasing following the wave of globalization in 1980's. Previously, the countries allowed mobility of capital and labour, within the national boundaries but in the recent period, a large scale capital and labour mobility has been taking place among the nations and changed the pattern of economic development in a significant way. There are two types of international capital movements. One is foreign direct investment and another is foreign Portfolio investment. FDI refers to movement of capital that involves ownership and control. In case of FDI, the investor retains control over the invested capital and FDI and management go together. FDI is related in the context of Multinational Corporation or the transnational corporation. Here the production is taking place in plants located in two or more countries but under the supervision and general direction of the head quarters located in one country.

On the other hand, Foreign Portfolio investment does not involve ownership or control but the flow of 'financial capital' rather the 'real capital'. In this case, the investor does not retain control over the invested capital only he lends his capital in order to get a return on it but he has no control over the use of that capital.

Like the movements of labour, there are certain reasons for the movements of capital too. The causes of capital movements are :

1. **Growing market for products:** Different firms and industrial companies invest abroad in response to large and rapidly growing markets for their products. For example, many firms from U.S., Japan, Germany and South Korea are investing in India and other Asian countries mainly to seek advantage of rapidly growing markets of those countries.
2. **Access to Raw Material:** The foreign companies invest in other countries to secure access to mineral or raw material deposits located there and then process and sell them in more finished form.
3. **Low relative wages:** A foreign firm may consider investment in a host country if there are low relative wages in the host country. The existence of low wages because of relative labour abundance in the recipient country such as India, China, Vietnam, Indonesia is an attraction when the production process is labour intensive.
4. **To protect market share:** Sometimes firms invest abroad for defensive purposes to protect market share.
5. **For risk diversification:** Firms often invest abroad as a means of risk diversification. By doing so they can avoid recession prevailing in some parts of the world. If a recession or downturn occurs in one market of industry, it will be beneficial for a firm not to depend upon one market.

### **3.4: Monetary and Credit Factor**

Another important factor of international economic relations is the issue of external financial assistance which is known as a foreign aid. But the rise of foreign direct investment and Portfolio

investment the aid factor has taken a back seat in international economic relations in the recent periods. Foreign aid or external financial assistance refers to only that part of the capital inflow, which is not based on normal market incentives but is made on concessionary terms. Thus, grants of freely convertible currency constitute aid in the full sense. The need for foreign aid arises when domestic capital formation falls short of developmental programme requirement. The foreign aid may be tied or untied. The tying of aid determines the cost of foreign aid. There are mainly two methods by which aid can be tied to the source like the formal restrictions and indirect restrictions. In case of formal restrictions the recipient country has to spend the aid funds for importing goods and services only from the designated sources. While in case of direct restrictions, there methods can be applied. First, the aid flow becomes an overall trade arrangement. Secondly, the aid flow can be coupled with the provision's under which the aid is to be spent on donor countries goods and services and thirdly, donor can finance only those commodities and projects of the recipient country where the donor country has the decisive advantage in tendering or supplying the specified items. Aids can be project tied when aid is given for a particular project and it non-project aid when it is not for a specified commodity or project. The greatest merit of non-project aid is that the recipient country is free to utilize aid according to its priority programmes and as such it works as a stimulant in the overall process of economic growth. The tying of aid gives more benefit to the donor than recipient country. The tying of aid to purchase in the donor country is implicitly a form of protection and it readily degenerates into a means of trade promotion by the donor country instead of being a means of accelerating the development of the recipient country.

### **3. 5: Let us Sum up**

The significant elements of international economic relations are trade, labour and capital movement, foreign aid etc.

International trade is considered as an engine of growth which plays an important role in the economic development of any country.

International trade is beneficial for both the countries involving in trade relations. Because trade offers each country the possibility of specializing in the line of its comparative advantage and then exchange these products for those in which she has a comparative disadvantage.

Foreign direct investment and foreign Portfolio investment are the two types of capital movement in the international economic relations.

The reasons behind the movement of labour from one country to the foreign country are wage differences, educational opportunities, health facilities etc.

Foreign aid refers to only that part of the capital inflows which is not based on normal market incentives but is made of concessionary terms. The importance of foreign aid has reduced in recent times due to the growing importance of FDI and foreign portfolio investment. Foreign aid is beneficial for the donors than the recipient country.

### **3.6: Key words**

Trade – International trade plays an important role in the economic development of any country and it is consider as an engine of growth.

**3. 7: Questions for Practice**

1. What are the Principle elements of international economic relations?
2. Why does international trade take place? What differences you can find out between the absolute advantage and comparative advantage of trade?
3. Why do the labours (skilled and knowledge) from India migrate to the developed countries of the world?
4. Discuss the causes of the movements of capital.
5. Write a note on 'Foreign Aid'

## **Unit – 4**

### **Role of Institutions**

#### **Structure**

- 4.0 : Objectives
- 4.1 : Introduction
- 4.2 : Bretton woods system
- 4.3 : Multi National corporations
  - 4.3.0 : Role of MNC
- 4.4 : NGO
- 4.5 : Role of Non-state Actions : (NGO/INGO)
- 4.6 : Let us sum up
- 4.7 : Key words
- 4.8 : Probable answer to Check your Progress
- 4.9 : Questions for Practice

#### **4.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Describe Bretton woods system
- Explain the role of MNCS.
- Analyse the role of NGOs and other non-state actors.

#### **4.1 : Introduction**

This unit has been divided into ten sub-units. Besides the major topics there is the summary of whole unit, key words, check your Progress and some questions for your Practice.

The rapid increase in the number of nation states in the post-war period has been accompanied by the emergence of several powerful non-state actors during 1945-2000 gave a new look and content to independent relations. The state centric international system underwent a big change due to the rise of these non state actors. The emergence of NGO/INGO's, MNC's and TNC's has seriously affected the operation of international economic relations. This unit introduces the students with the role of Bretton Wood system, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations in international economic relations.

#### **4.2: Bretton woods system**

A conference was held in July 1944 in Bretton Woods where 44 member states attended. The main aim of this conference was to make recommendations for improving international economic relations among nations. This conference tried to establish some international financial agencies to remove the confusion. After thorough deliberation an agreement was reached and an arrangement was made by which (1) The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (2) The International Monetary Fund and 3) General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade were established. The existing economic system favours the rich. In the presence of big economic and industrial gap between the developed and developing countries these institutions have failed to produce the desired effect and change in international economic and trade system. The Third World countries demand a definite fixed share in all international and tariff preference in their favour as part of a new economic order. With greater foreign exchange earnings the developing countries would import the large volume of capital goods and raw material necessary to sustain more rapid growth of output, income and employment and thereby move towards development. The need is to end the existing

terms of international economic relations and trade which are unfavorable to the Third World countries like. Bretton Wood has failed to create new truly global economic institutions for coordinating international economic relations. It has tended to favour the rich to the disadvantage of the poor. International institutions have come to be dominated by the rich and the advanced countries. Bretton Wood has also failed to be adequately responsive to the needs of the advanced countries. The recurrent monetary crisis which has come to characterize the prevailing international economic system the difficulties in the way of securing and using special 'drawing rights'. The increasing large deficit of payments and increased external indebtedness of the underdeveloped countries reflects fully the failure of the Bretton Woods and the existing international trade system. In every war the existing international economic system is proving to be a big failure for the countries, therefore, demand a restructuring of international economic system which capable of securing the development-economic, technological and industrial of the underdevelopment side by side with the developed.

#### **4. 3: Multi-National Corporations**

The rise of powerful trans-national profit making economic organizations popularly called the MNC (Multi National Corporation) has been a recent development of international relations. Since World War II, the direct investment abroad through MNC has been increasing. This development has given rise to a new process of internationalization of production and monopolization of wealth. Multi-national corporations, in the words of Mennis and Sanvant, "are companies that control production facility in two or more countries". Raymond Vernon regards a multi-national enterprise as "a cluster of corporations of diverse nationalities joined together as "a cluster of corporations of diverse nationalities joined together by ties

of common management strategy”. On the other hand, Keglely and Wittkopf observe, “an MNC is regarded as a business enterprise, organized in one society with activities abroad growing out of direct investment”.

From the above definitions we can observe the nature of MNC as the transnational actors and multi-national business organization. These move large amount of resource across national boundaries and most of them have organization with centralize decision making process so that their resources can be used to fulfill objectives that may be at variance with those of a particular country in which a subsidiary is located. The network of MNC has been dominated by the United States which has spread all over the world. In 1976, 54% of all 411 industrial firms were Americans 12% Japanese and 10% British.

#### **4.3.0: Role of MNC**

The role of MNC can be analysed in two parts: (a) The role of MNC on the Host countries and (b) The role of MNC on the Home countries.

#### **Impact of MNC on Host Nations**

MNC’s have been important transmission belts for movement of goods, diffusion of technology and managerial know-how across national boundaries. These have produced the movement of capital and production from the first world to the Third World and it has been a source of big gain for the latter. MNCs satisfy the foreign investment needs of the developing nations. They pay higher wages, keep more honest records, pay more taxes and provide more managerial know how and training than do local domestic industries. MNCs usually provided better social services for their workers and provide fancy career opportunities. These constitute the main channel

through which developed technology flows from the developed to the developing countries.

The third world countries however, find the costs associated with the MNCs usually excessive. The capital, jobs and other benefits they bring to developing economies are recognized but the terms on which these benefits come are seen as unfair and exploiting and as robbing the new nations of their resources. The flow of technology to the Third world countries through the MNCs makes the former dependent. The MNCs are profit making organizations and the capital outflow from the developing to the developed countries is excessive and is not re-invested in the Third World countries where production occurs. The fees that MNCs charge for transferring technology, giving know-how and granting licenses are very high. The third world countries hold MNCs responsible for increasing and aggravating their dependence upon the developed world. They regard MNCs as agents of neo-colonialism.

### **Impact of MNCs on the Home Countries**

The role of MNCs on the home countries have been criticized by many. Critics of MNCs charge that these shift productive facilities abroad for avoiding demands of powerful labour unions of home countries for higher wages. The practice of moving from industrially advanced countries to the industrially backward countries where labour is cheap and labour unions are weak, is a cause of structural unemployment in the home countries. Very often, the MNCs, due to their economic power influence the policies of the home countries in their favour. In turn, the home governments try to use the MNCs as tools to further their foreign policy objectives particularly in respect of the third world countries.

The MNCs can aggravate the balance of payments problems in the home countries by withholding remissions of profit from overseas. These can avoid an increased cost of local labour by

shifting production overseas. As the profits of an MNC grow, it becomes less and less amenable to the control of the home country. It can by subtle economic and management moves negate the result or targets expected by the home countries. The ability of the MNCs to operate as powerful non-state high profit making enterprise can be a source of trouble for their home countries. The foreign policy objectives, both political and economic, of the home countries can be undermined by the MNCs.

The in the contemporary era of international relations, multinational corporations have come to influence the governments of both their host and home countries. These have emerged as giant economic non-state and non-governmental profit making actors of contemporary international relations. The role of MNCs has been criticized by the critics of third world countries. However some scholars and economists support the role of the MNCs who regard that MNCs are important agent of international interdependence, human welfare, modernization and development. But the fact is that, MNCs are too powerful to be ignored by the students of international relations. No account of contemporary international relations can be complete without discussing the role of MNCs.

#### **4.4: NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation)**

Non-Governmental Organisation, Sometimes called as International Non-Organisation (INGO) is an organization created by private citizen or group drawn from three or more countries. Every international organization which has not been created by means of inter-governmental agreements can be called a non-governmental organization because people or groups of at least three states have organized it and it is called non-governmental because in their organization and function, the government has no role. In the present

situations several NGOs or INGOs have emerged as very active actors in international relations.

Regarding the development and role of non-state actors in international relations, Robert, O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye comment, “A good deal of inter-societal intercourse with significant importance, takes place without governmental control ..... States are by no means the only actors in the world politics”. NGOs have been instrumental in promoting people to people, corporation to corporation and non-governmental international relations in the international environment. The International Red Cross Society, The International Olympic committee, The World Federation of Trade Unions, The Amnesty International, The commission on Human Rights are some of the examples of NGOs/INGOs which are playing important roles in the field of international relations,

#### **4.5: Role of Non-state Actors: (NGOs/INGOs)**

The emergence of non-state actors and the transnational actors have challenged the state-centric international system. It has changed the nature of international relations. Non-state actors have forced a change in the concepts of sovereignty and nationalism. These have affected the role of the nation states as the actors in international relations. The policies, decisions and actions of the nation states have now been the increasingly influenced by the presence and activities of the non-state actors. The latter have emerged as powerful, non-political, commercial, economic, cultural or trading actors in the international environment. NGOs have brought lot of change in the role of nation states in international relations. These have been instrumental in increasing interdependence and relations as well as in ordering and expanding relations in this age of interdependence. Though the non-state actors are playing an important role in promoting international collaborations yet these have also been

sources of conflict and tension. As for instance, the multinational corporations have come to be mostly the instruments of neo-colonial control of the rich over the poor. Third World nations are now very eager to limit such a role of the MNCs. NGOs working in different regions of world are at time involved in activities which are both competitive and conflictual in nature. These have made international relations more complex and problematic. These are responsible for a reduced importance of political relations in the international system. Some of these have been acting as harbingers of international peace and security while some others have been acting as agents of neo-colonialism and dependency for the under-developed countries. These have contributed towards growth of internationalism. These are also instrumental in the emergence of several strong peaceful, developmental and ideological movements.

### **Check your Progress**

Fill in the blanks

- (i) Bretton words conference held in .....
- (ii) GATT means General agreement on.....and .....
- (iii) In 1976, the total number of industrial firms in the world were ...
- (iv) The network of MNC has been dominated by .....

### **4.6: Let us Sum up**

The Post-War World has witnessed the emergence of number of non-state actors with the rapid increase in the number of nation states.

The economic disparities between the developed and developing nations compelled the Third World countries to demand a definite and fixed share in all international and tariff preferences in their favour as part of a new economic order. Bretton Wood has

failed to create new global economic institutions for coordinating international economic relations.

MNCs are companies that control production facilities in two or more countries. The network of MNC has been dominated by the United States which has spread all over the world. MNCs have played an important role for the economic development of both host and home countries but for the Third World countries these are the agents of neo-colonialism.

NGOs or INGOs are organizations created by private citizens or groups drawn from three or more countries. NGOs have emerged as powerful, non-political, economic, commercial, cultural or trading actors in the international environment which have brought number of changes in the role of nation-states in international relations.

#### **4.7 Key Words**

Bretton Wood system – A conference was held in July 1944 in Bretton Wood and the system introduced in this conference is known as Bretton Wood system. The chief aim of this conference was to make recommendations for improving economic relations among the states.

MNC: Multinational corporations are companies that control production facility in two or more countries.

#### **4.8 Probable Answer to Check Your Progress**

- (i) July, 1944
- (ii) Tariff and Trade
- (iii) 411
- (iv) U.S.A.

#### 4.9 Questions for Practice

1. What do you mean by Bretton Wood System? Why did the system fail?
2. Discuss the nature of MNC.
3. Analyse the roles played by the MNCs in International Economic relations.
4. What is NGO? How do the NGOs influence the nation-states in International relations?

#### FUTHER READINGS:

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Mukherjee, Shakti : “New International Economic order”, (Delhi, Miltal Pub., 1985).
4. Ricardo, David : “The Principles of Political Economy & Taxation”, (London, 1817)

**BLOCK – 4**  
**GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE**

Globalization is one of the most frequently used terms in politics and economics. It is being projected as the common objective of the whole human kind. The objective of this block is to understand the term “GLOBALIZATION” both in respect of its content and significance. The term was first use in French literature on international relations in the early 1950s. But it has been used in international relation literature very recently after the revolution in information and communication technology. There are four units in this block. Unit – 12 deals with the concept of globalization. Unit-13 is brief history of globalization. Unit-14 covers culture and globalization and Unit-15 is the globalization and third world. Besides the block has following additional features.

- An introduction which gives a quick outlook to you about the whole syllabus.
- Objectives and summaries of each unit.
- Key words.
- Questions for practices and check your progress.
- A list of books for further readings.

## **Unit – 1**

### **The Concept of Globalization**

#### **Structure**

- 1.0 : Objectives
- 1.1 : Introduction
- 1.2 : Definition
- 1.3 : Features of globalization
- 1.4 : An international order of globalized state
- 1.5 : Globalization and Legitimacy
- 1.6 : Let Us Sum Up
- 1.7 : Key Words
- 1.8 : Probable Answers to Check Your Progress
- 1.9 : Questions for Practice

#### **1.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to :

- Define globalization
- Describe the features of globalization
- Examine the international order of globalized state and
- Detect the legitimacy of globalization

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Unit – 12 is divided into ten sections. Unit – 12.6 is the summary of the whole unit and in Unit - 12.9 you will find some suggested questions for your practice. In between the units you will

find some objective type questions to check your progress after every section and answers to check your progress are given in Unit – 12.8.

Globalization is seen as a conscious and active process of expanding business and trade across the borders of all the States. It stands for expending cross border facilities and economic linkages. Globalization is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of the people of the world.

### **1.2 Definition**

Globalization has been defined by many writers. Some writers have given the broadest possible scope of the term. To them globalization is a multi-faceted phenomenon impacting on social, economic and political spheres of human experience. According to Edward S. Herman, “Globalization is both an active process of corporate expansion across border and a structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing”. Some people say that “Globalization is set of phenomena that accompany one another with no aspect being more important or significant than others”. To them, numerous factors distinguish the globalization process of today. These distinctions include more rapid communications, market liberalization and global integration of the production of goods and services. A group of writers emphasize solely the economic characteristics of the process of globalization. To them, “Globalization refers not to a fully interconnected world market but simply to the increasing interconnections of markets of different countries largely on account of the liberalization of trade, capital investment and diffusion of services across the world.

### 1.3 Features of Globalization

The concept of globalization involves the following features:

1. **Liberalization:** It stands for the freedom of the entrepreneurs to establish any industry or trade or business ventures within their own countries or abroad.
2. **Free Trade:** It stands for free flow of trade relations among all the nations: Each State grants most favoured nation status to the states and keeps its business and trade away from excessive and hard regulatory and protective regimes.
3. **Globalization and Economic Activity:** It stands for the process of integrating domestic economy with world economics.
4. **Liberalization of Import-Export System:** It stands for liberating the import-export activity and securing a free flow of goods and services across the border.
5. **Privatization:** Keeping the state away from ownership of means of production and distribution and letting the free flow of industrial, trade and economic activity across the borders.
6. **Increased Collaboration:** Encouraging the process of collaborations among the entrepreneurs with a view to secure rapid modernization development and technological advancement.
7. **Economic Reforms:** Encouraging fiscal and financial reforms with a view to give strength to free world trade, enterprise and market forces.

Globalization advocates the value of free world trade, access to world markets and a free flow of the investments across borders. It stands for integration and democratization of the world culture, economy and infrastructure through global investments. The globalization process has not only greater numbers of actors and

networks influencing one another, but more importantly the impact each one makes on the other is qualitatively greater than in the past.

#### **1.4 An International Order of Globalized State**

Globalization can be taken to represent the mainstay of today's order only if it suspended all traditional elements of the international order itself. Globalization is a force wholly external to the individual state. On this view, globalization is presented as a claim about the degree of interconnectedness between states. Globalization can be understood as an expression of the profound transformation in the nature of the state and state-society relations that have developed in recent decades. It is argued that even in an age of globalization their remain both states and state system. While the ideas of International order is more limited than that of World Global order.

#### **Check Your Progress:**

Write short answer:

1. What is Globalization?
2. What is the existence of state in the era of Globalization?

#### **1.5 Globalization and Legitimacy**

Globalization potentially creates several problems for the political stability of the current order. Many people are in the view that the emergence of a diffuse protest movement against globalization is symptomatic of new wave of resistance to it. The central problem is understood to be one of the limited bounds of democratic practice in present world conditions. There has been much debate about the role to be played by emerging global civil society.

This embraces a variety of cross national social movements including anti-globalization activists as well as multitude of INGOs, such as Amnesty International. Their proponents see these movements as the only feasible way of directly influencing global policies on such matters as development, the environment, human rights and international security and hence as the best way of democratizing global governance. There is nothing inherently democratic about global civil society, as such as, there is no legitimate basis of representation or accountability to many of these movements.

### **1.6 Let Us Sum Up**

Globalization is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world.

The most important features of globalization are liberalization, free trade, privatization, liberalization of import-export system, increased collaborations and economic reforms.

Globalization is often thought of as an extreme form of interdependence. The international order of globalized state will nonetheless have different norms and rules in recognition of the new nature of state and their transform functions. Rules of sovereignty and non-intervention are under going change as symptoms of this adaptation.

There is evidence of resistance to globalization. There is argument about whether global civil society can help democratize international institutions or whether they themselves are largely undemocratic.

### 1.7 Key Words

**Globalization:** A historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents.

**Globalized State:** The notion of a particular kind of a state that helps sustain globalization, as well as responding to its pressure. This concept indicates that the state is not retreating but simply behaving differently.

### 1.8 Probable Answers to Check Your Progress

1. Globalization has been defined by Edward S. Herman, “is both an active process of corporate expansion across border and structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing”.
2. The identity of states is undergoing a considerable change. The globalized states co-exist within an international order and the order is currently seeking to develop a set principle to reflect the transformation.

### 1.9 Questions for Practice

1. Discuss in brief the concept of globalization.
2. What are the essential features of globalization?
3. Write a note on the international order of globalized state. Do you think that the legitimacy of the state is in danger in the era of globalization?

**Unit – 2****A Brief History of Globalization****Structure**

- 2.0 : Objective
- 2.1 : Introduction
- 2.2 : Globalization and the Cold war order
- 2.3 : Globalization and the Post-cold war order
- 2.4 : Let Us Sum Up
- 2.5 : Key Words
- 2.6 : Questions for Practice

**2.0 Objectives**

- Discuss the history of globalization
- Analyse the history of globalization in Cold war and Post-cold war period.

**2.1 Introduction**

Unit – 13 is divided into seven sub-units. You will find the summary of whole unit in sub-unit 13.4. At the end of the unit some questions are given for your practice.

Experts and researchers differ in their opinion regarding the starting point of globalization. The term was first used in French literature on international relations in the early 1950s. But it has been widely used in all over the world in international relations literature after the revolution in information and communication technology. Here you will read the history of the globalization in Cold war and Post-cold war period.

## **2.2 Globalization in the Cold war order**

The progress of industrial revolution in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was accompanied by a replacement of the police state by welfare state. The state came to be an active actor in the economic life of the society. In the socialist state, state ownership of means of production and distribution became the rule and state controlled command economics were operationalized and regarded as the best means for rapid socio-economic development. In many other countries, nationalization of key industries and enterprises was under-taken with a view to provide goods and services to the people. State began performing several socio-economic functions. State regulation of economy and industry was practiced and the public sector was patronized by the state as the sector committed to provide essential goods and services to the public. But the experience with the working of common economic and mixed economic model with a distinct learning in favour of public sector was found to be inadequate, slow and unproductive of desired results.

At this juncture, the world was heading for several big changes. The socialist economics, particularly the Soviet and Eastern European economic and political system was collapsing. Liberalization of politic and economic came to be recognized as the necessity of the day. All countries of the world began realizing the merits of the market economy, free trade, privatization, liberalization, de-licensing and deregulation of trade, industries and business. These reforms paved the way for initiating the process of liberalization and globalization.

The serial events in the international field which paves the way for globalization are summarized in the following few lines. Globalization is the end product of historical process of capitalist expansion that originated in Europe and has covered the world. While there is no agreed starting point, certain historical epochs over which

it has developed can be identified. The first great expansion of European capitalism took place in the 16<sup>th</sup> century following the first circumnavigation of the earth in 1519 and 1521. But the first major expansion of the world trade and investment took place in the 19 century following the Industrial Revolution in Europe, which made these countries producers of manufacture goods. It was also the golden period of colonialism when the great powers of the west were able to divide world between them and exploit its resources. This was brought to a halt with the First World War and the bond of anti-free trade protectionism due to the great depression of 1930s. The end of Second World War brought another great expansion of capitalization created a new world order with the emergence of a number of new states. The third and more contemporary phase of global forces dates from the fall of Berlin Wall and collapse of Soviet Union which ended the cold war between the forces of capitalism and socialism, leaving the former triumphant. With this the globalization has become a reality for people living in all parts of the world.

### **2.3 Globalisation and the post cold war order**

This unit concerned with two important points. The first is whether there is distinctive pattern of order in the post cold war world and if so, what are its principal elements. And the other is whether this order should what are its principal elements. And the other is whether this order should be defined in terms of globalization. At the present moment thinking about order is being pulled in a number of different directions. At the one end it continues to be largely state centered and to be concerned with traditional models of order, such as the structure of the balance of power, the polarity of the international system and the current forms of collective security. At the other end is a widening agenda of order that encompasses the relationship between economic and political dimensions, new

thinking about human security, debate about the consequences of globalization the role of human rights and strategies for human emancipation.

Theoretically the search for the definitive elements of the contemporary order proceeds within quite separate frameworks. The first direction is broadly the realist one. This concentrates upon the structure of the Post cold war system. The second line is liberal in derivation and focuses upon regimes and institutions towards one end of its spectrum and a variety of norms and values towards the other. The third line is the one that adjudges order in terms of its achievement of human emancipation. The fourth line of exportation is via the literature of globalization.

There is a tendency to regard the high degree of globalization as being a consequence of the end of the cold war. The Post cold war period is being characterized by the intensification of the processes of globalization, particularly with regards to financial integration. The end of cold war has allowed the further spread of globalization to occur and the scope of globalizations as a point of difference between the cold war and Post-cold war period. Many others claim that globalization is the hallmark of contemporary order. One of the reasons is that as long term historical trend, globalization is not specific to the late twentieth nor the early twenty first century. It is element of continuity between the cold war and Post-cold war orders and the latter should not be regarded wholly new.

#### **2.4: Let us sum up**

Globalization is the end product of a historical process of capitalist expansion that originated in Europe and has covered the whole world. Globalization is an element of continuity between the cold war and Post-cold war orders. It embodies a range of often competing values.

**2.5: Key word**

Perestroika and Glasnost: The wind of change that started with the coming of Gorbachev to power significantly encouraged democratic movement in all the East European countries. It was apparent that Gorbachev through his Perestroika meaning reconstruction and Glasnost meaning freedom of opinion and right to criticism was determined to break the bonds of Stalinist control.

**2.6: Questions for practice**

1. Describe the history of the emergence of the idea of globalization.
2. What difference you can make out between the pre-cold war and Post-cold war globalization?

## **Unit – 3**

### **Culture And Globalisation**

#### **Structure:**

- 3.0: Objectives
- 3.1: Introduction
- 3.2: The importance of culture to-day
- 3.3: The multiculturalism of globalization
  - 3.3.0: Role of Radio and T.V.
  - 3.3.1: Role of Tourism
  - 3.3.2: Role of Internet
- 3.4: Criticism of cultural globalization
- 3.5: Let us sum up
- 3.6: Key words
- 3.7: Probable answers to check your progress
- 3.8: Questions for practice

#### **3.0 : Objectives**

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Know the importance of culture to-day
- State the role of radio, T.V., tourism and internet in the present globalised state
- Criticize the cultural globalization

#### **3.1: Introduction**

Unit 14 is divided into nine sub-units and 14.3 is subdivided into three sub-sections. In between the units there are some objective

type questions to check your progress and in unit 14.7, probable answers to check your progress are given. Besides at the unit some questions are given for practice.

Globalisation has a great impact in development cultural relations among nations of the World. Global Tele communications are profoundly changing the way of information and cultural function in international relations. The power of information technology has fully revolutionized the lives of the people all over the world. In the age of newer means of Tele Communication, a new global culture is emerging despite the great division remaining in culture and perspectives.

### **3.2: The Importance of culture to-day**

During the cold war, cultural differences were prominent to the global geo-political struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The end of cold war saw a radical reshaping of world politics by revolution in the communication and technology. A new age of global capitalism is in the market. Cultural analysis is the central point in different books such as Francis Fukuyam's "End of History", Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilisation" etc. Culture offered a way of understanding the similarities and differences of the new age where the global culture met a multicultural world and where existing communities and cultures are in closer contact with each other. In the age of newer means of Tele communication, a new global culture is emerging despite the great divisions remaining in cultures and perspectives. Goldstein argues that "in the global village, distance and borders matter less and less". However, there are some people who argue the negative side of cultural globalization. To them, global culture may turn into "cultural imperialism" dominated by the United States. The US cultural influence is as strong as its military influence. Already the US films and TV shows dominate the

world market. The CNN News channel tries to shape the thinking of millions of viewers the world over. The concept of “MAC world” is an example of global food movement.

### **3.3: The Multiculturalism and Globalisation**

Globalised culture itself is multicultural and while it is dominated by the west it draws on many influences. Globalization created common references but the world is not about to become identical. Local ethnic and religious cultures survive alongside globalised culture and as people and ideas increasingly flow around the world exist in closer proximity to other cultures. The consequences of cultural proximity are complex. Multicultural settings create multiple identities, and also challenge the totems of existing cultures as well as the interests of some of these within them. Above all multiculturalism tends to undermine patriarchal culture.

#### **3.3.0: Role of Radio and T.V.**

Electronic media is vital player in transnational cultural movements. It is not only the news read out on major network like CNN, BBC and Star that creates world public opinion but films shown on TV and chat shows go a long way in propagating Western culture particularly in the third world countries like Brazil and India.

#### **3.3.1: Role of Tourism**

International tourists cross border of nations which include people going for official work, business or to meet friend and relatives but majority of them are holiday makers. People who travel to another country develop deeper understanding and appreciation of its people to people contact promotes friendship and reduces the chances of conflict and war. The exchange of tourists promote world

peace and create better understanding between different nations. J. Goldstein states that, “..... Deepen the international interdependence that links well being of one state to that other states. This may promote peace, because a person who knows more about the foreign country and has developed empathy for its culture is like to act as a brake of political conflict with that country and an accelerator of positive co-operation with it.”

### **3.3.2: Role of Internet**

The global telecom and information land scope is in flux. The internet changes how a network is organized, the services it can provide and cost structure. Internet facilities are cheaper and more powerful than traditional phone networks. Phones are being interchangeable with computers. The pace of globalization accelerated by competition which pushed down prices for long distance and international calls and unleashed innovation stimulating tremendous investment and growth of global communications. In essence the emergence of affordable, integrated global networks provided the backbone of the World Wide Web that juggled the priorities and international relations.

### **3.4: Criticism of cultural globalization**

Cultural homogenization or de-differentiation of culture in the form of western cultural imperialism is the most serious fall of globalization, popularly understood as Americanisation or Cocacolanisation. The US cultural imperialism is as strong as its military. The CNN news channel tries to shape the thinking of millions of viewers all over the world. The concept of MC world is an example of global food movement. To-day MC. Donald outlets can be found all over the major cities in the world selling its burgers. This is slowly changing habits of Chinese and Indians besides others.

The Chinese noodles and fried rice have gone into background as the junk food is taking over. Similarly Indian puries, curries and dhosas may soon be dominated by the burgers and pizzas. The global culture reflected by “MAC Attack”, opened a new wave of globalization.

**Check your progress :**

Write a note on Americanisation.

**3.5: Let us sum up**

Globalization has played a great role in developing cultural relations among the nations of the world. The whole has become a global village, cultural globalization helps different countries for exchanging their cultures but there is cultural hegemony or Americanisation in all over the world. The important areas which help cultural globalization are Radio, TV, Tourism, Tele communication and Internet. Western cultural imperialism is the serious fall out of globalization.

**3.6: Key words**

Cultural imperialism: Like economic imperialism there is cultural imperialism in the modern world. It indicates the influence of one culture over cultures of other countries of the world.

**3.7 : Probable answers to check your progress**

Americanisation is world used to express the cultural imperialism of USA over others countries. This is the hegemony of culture of America. The American film and TV shows dominate the world market. The global culture has now turned into cultural imperialism of USA.

**3.8: Questions for practice**

1. Discuss the importance of culture in the modern world.
2. Analyse the role of Radio, TV, Tourism and Internet for globalizing the culture in modern world.
3. Do you think that cultural globalisation destroys the ethnic cultural identities? Give arguments in support of your answer.

**Unit – 4****Globalisation and The Third World****Structure:**

4.0: Objectives

4.1: Introduction

4.2: What is the third world?

4.2.0: The Muslims and the Arab world.

4.2.1: The Africans

4.2.2: The Asians

4.3: Globalisation and Poverty, hunger in the third world countries

4.4: India in the new global order.

4.5: Let us sum up.

4.6: Key words.

4.7: Probable answer to check your progress.

4.8: Questions for practice.

**4.0: Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Identify third world countries
- Discuss the impact of globalization on third world countries
- The positions of India in new global order.

**4.1: Introduction**

Unit-15 has been divided into nine sub-units and those again divided into some sections. In between the units some objective type

questions are given to check your progress and at the end the probable answers to check your progress are given for your practice.

Globalization and economic liberalization has brought a number of changes in the functioning of the Third World countries. In the era of globalization, the functions of the state began undergoing changes. With the increasing disinvestment of public sector, privatization has been encouraged. Public sector was made to compete with Private Sector, and as a whole open competition, free trade, market economy and globalization were practiced. The role of state began emerging as that of a facilitator and a coordinator in place of an owner and controller. The process of globalization involves a change in the role of the state. The countries belonging to the third world continues to be a welfare state. The countries belonging to the third world continues to be a welfare state performing all the protection functions as well as several social functions. It continues to act as a facilitator and coordinator of economy and improving economic life of the people. It has encouraged and expanded people-to-people socio-economic cultural relations among the people of the world. Information Technology revolution and development of fast means of transport and communication have been together making the world real global community which now appears to be developing towards a global village.

#### **4.2: What is the third world?**

Most of the countries of Asia and Latin America has been under colonial rule of one European power or the other. After independence most of these countries adopted the policy of non-alignment. These countries were poor, backward and underdeveloped. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America came to be known as Third World countries.

#### **4.2.0 : The Muslims and the Arab world**

The Ottoman empire had robbed the Arab world of a theocratic and political center. This caused the beginning of a phase of uncertainty among the former constituents of old empire. The Arab's search for unity was complicated due to three factors- (a) the attempt by western powers to reestablish their individual spheres of influence in the west Asia (b) the discovery of vast oil deposits turned the lands into strategically one of the world's most sensitive location, and (c) the third was creations of state of Israel in the midst of what had always been the traditional inhabitations of Arab Muslims. The creation of Israel helped cement Arab unity. But uneven flow of oil income introduced rivalry and division among the Arab countries and as a result Arab League was founded in 1945 and as regional organizations it succeeded in bringing most Arab nations under a single umbrella. In the long run Arab League failed to achieve Arab unity due to Israeli threat.

#### **4.2.1: The Africans**

The Africans visualized their world as based on racial solidarity. As a movement, Pan-Africanism sprang up from two different sources. One was Negro agitation in America and another was the break way African church movement in central, Southern and western Africa. The sentiment for black voiced at the Pan-African congress held in London in 1900.

#### **4.2.2: The Asians**

The first impulse for Asian solidarity came from Japan which defeated Russian Army in 1905. On the other hand the Indian approach to Pan-Asianism was also come in limelight. The end of 2<sup>nd</sup> world war witnessed far-reaching transformation in Asia. The idea of

“Asia for Asians” took deeper roots. The post-war situation in Asia was quite different. The Provisional Government in India under Nehru convened the Asian relations conference in New Delhi in March-April 1947. The second meeting was convened in March 1949. In this meeting the ground was prepared for forming and Afro-Asian groups within the framework of the United Nations.

### **4.3: Globalisation and Poverty, hunger in the third world countries**

Since 1945 the world has witnessed over fifty years of unprecedented official development policies and impressive global economic growth. Poverty and hunger remain wide spread. The general situation is not confined to the third world only. During 1980s and 1990s the worldwide promotion of neo-liberal economic policies by global governance institutions increased the inequalities between states. Within the world countries, the adverse impact of globalization has been felt acutely as countries have been forced to adopt free market policies as a condition of debt rescheduling. The conception of poverty has been understood by the western world and others as a situation where people do not have the money to buy adequate food or satisfy other basic needs and are often classified as unemployed or underemployed. This conception of poverty based on money which arisen as a result of the globalization of western culture. Poverty is the characteristic features of the third world. Some people emphasise that poverty should not be conceptualized only in terms of money but also on the basis of spiritual values, community ties and availability of common resources. The issue of poverty alleviation moved up the global political agenda at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Hunger is another global issue. The UNDP study reveals that about 40,000 people die every day from hunger. One approach

identifies it in terms of distribution. There is a relationship between population growth and food is inevitable. This theory was introduced by Robert Malthus and recently it is supported by Paul Ehrlich and Denis. They argue that there are natural limits of population growth principally that of the carrying capacity of the land and where this limit is exceeded disaster is inevitable. On the other hand the other approach reveals that the starving people are found in the third world which produces much of the world food but most of it is consumed by the western world. For example India despite its enormous agricultural outputs consumes far less grain and livestock products per capita than United States. Hence the supporters of 2nd approach stress on distribution of food and other social factors instead of overpopulation as the factor of hunger in the third world countries.

Globalisation has been accused of worsening the poverty and hunger in most of third world countries. Liberalization, privatization and free market economy promoted by globalization has caused serious economic dislocation in many Asian and African countries as well as in number of European countries which have undertaken transition from socialist economy to capitalist economy. Globalization of economy has benefited the developed countries at the cost of third world countries and has led to exploitation and pauperization of Afro-Asian countries. As a result we are having globalization of poverty in the name of globalization of the world.

**Check your progress :**

Answer briefly :

1. What is poverty?

Why there is starvation in the world?

#### **4.4: India in the new global order**

The end of cold war and the absence of USSR bloc make the policy of non-alignment quite irrelevant. Non alignment remains only a slogan. Secondly, the changed situation in the world implies that there is less room for maneuver. Russia is in no positions to help India's national interest. India has to make space for itself based on its economic and military strength rather than its diplomatic initiatives. In the new global scenario, three options are available for India. Firstly, India can choose to become a client state of the U.S. it can follow the western economic model of development. Politically, it may support US policies of dominance, especially central and East Asia. Secondly, India can follow a path of self-reliance. This means adoption of increasing its military and economic strength in order to support its claim to be a world power. It can stick to its high moral ground of nuclear disarmament and peaceful co-existence. Thirdly, India can combine elements of these two options picking and choosing paths to suit its peculiar circumstance. It can try to build a support base for itself among the third world nations who face problems similar to that of India in matters of trade environment issues, security concerns etc.

#### **4.5: Let us sum up**

Most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which were under the colonial rule and which are backward termed as third world countries. Attempts were made by the countries of these continents for unification. The result of which Arab League was founded in 1945, Pan-African congress held London in 1900. Basic characteristics of the third world countries are poverty and hunger. Poverty is due to the result of economic backwardness in the third world countries and the root cause of economic backwardness is the economic globalization of the western world. Hunger is another

global issue. It is estimated that about 40,000 people die everyday because of hunger and the cause of hunger in the third world countries are over population and the distribution of food and other social factors. Globalization has two fold effects on hunger and poverty of third world countries. Globalization can increase food production or increase hunger and poverty. In the present global scenario there are three options appear before India. It can choose to become a client state of the US or it can follow a path of self-reliance of India may offer stiff resistance to the pressures brought to bear upon it where its vital interests are involved.

#### **4.6: Key words**

**Third world:** It is an ambiguous term, which negatively denotes countries which are neither communist nor have developed capitalist economy. More generally, it refers to the forms colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America

**Non-alignment:** Literally, it means non-attachment to any bloc either capitalist or communist bloc. After the Second World War, the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa started a new policy in the international field these countries did not join either capitalist bloc or communist bloc. These countries belong to this world groups.

#### **4.7: Probable answer to check your progress**

1. Poverty is a situation where people do not have the money to buy adequate food or satisfy other needs.
2. Starvation in the third world countries is due to lack of food and lack of food is due to over population or inadequate distribution food.

**4.8: Questions for practice**

1. Write a note on “Third World”.
2. Discuss the impact of globalization on the third world countries in connection with poverty and hunger.
3. Examine India’s position in the new global order.

**BOOKS FOR FURTHER READINGS**

1. Asha Kaushik : “Globalisation, democracy and culture”.  
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2. Deepak, Nayar (ed.) : “Governing globalisation”, (New Delhi,  
Oxford University Press, 2002.)
3. John Baylis & Steve: “The Globalisation of world politics, (Delhi,  
Oxford University. Press 2001)
4. K.K. Ghai : “International Relations”, (Noida, Kalyani  
Publishers, 2005)
5. M.C. Behera : “Globalisation and Development dilemma”,  
(New Delhi, Mittal Publisher, 2004).

**BLOCK – 5**  
**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL**  
**RELATIONS**

There are four units in this block, Unit – XVI deals with Democracy and Peace. Unit-XVII is about Environment, Unit-XVIII deals with Right to self-Determination and Unit-XIX is about Sovereignty.

Some of the most important problems that nation states face these days are the right to self-determination, environmental degradation, maintenance of peace etc. The deterioration of environment due to rapid industrialization, urbanization etc, is problem for every countries of the world. Unit 17 of this block focuses on various efforts to protect the environment. Besides, the block introduces you with the concept of self determination, difficulties and contradictions involved in interpreting this concept in the changing international scenario. The book has following additional features.

1. An introduction which gives a quick outlook to you about the whole syllabus
2. Objectives and summaries of each unit
3. Key words a each unit
4. Questions for your practice and check your progress
5. A list of books for further reading.

**Unit – 1**  
**Democracy and Peace**

**Structure**

1.0: Objectives

1.1: Introduction

1.2: Democracy

1.2.0: Pre-requisites for the success of democracy

1.3: Concept of peace

1.3.0: How peace can be secured?

1.3.1: Instruments for establishing world peace

1.4: Democratic Peace Theory

1.5: Let us sum up

1.6: Key words

1.7: Probable answer to check your progress

1.8: Questions for Practice

**1.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Define democracy
- Discuss the pre-requisites for the success of democracy
- Analyse the concept of peace and
- Examine the instruments for establishing world peace.
- Understand the democratic peace theory

### **1.1 : Introduction**

This unit is divided into eight sub-units. Unit 16.3 is divided into another two sub-sections. Besides there is a chart, key words, check your progress and questions for your practice.

This unit covers the Theoretical conception of democracy and Prerequisites of democracy. It also discusses various instruments for establishing World Peace. The objective of this unit is to introduce the students with the democratic system of different parts of the world because democracy or liberal democracy occupies the most important position in the present day international scenario. International community is against any kind of war. Therefore it is necessary, on your part to know how to maintain World Peace. And the last section of this unit will briefly highlight the democratic peace theory.

### **1.2 : Democracy**

Democracy has evolved during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries but its practice was for a long time confined to the countries of Western-Europe and North America. It first evolved in Great-Britain, whose Parliament is rightly regarded as the mother of all democracies. Democracy has struck roots and become a settled way of life in Great-Britain, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and Scandinavian countries. India, Srilanka, Malaysia and many other countries in the Third World have adopted democratic constitutions and practicing successfully. In modern times nearly 1/3 of the world's population live under democratic constitutions.

The term democracy has become rather loose being used by countries whose claim to it is of doubtful validity. The communist countries claim to be truly democratic and they have popularized the expression people's democracies. The expression liberal democracy

has become popular for it refers to the political systems of Western Europe and North America and of other countries like India basing them more or less on the former's pattern.

The term 'democracy' was first coined in the fifth century B.C and was a political concept unit Tocqueville referred to social democracy. More recently terms like economic democracy and industrial democracy is also popularized. Social democracy refers to the democratization of the society while economic democracy expresses concern for equalization of wealth. According to Louis Wasserman, "In its broadest sense, democracy is a social philosophy governing the whole of human relations, personal and collective". Democracy is not a static concept, it is an evolving concept. Democracy refers to a political system based on competitive political parties in which the majority runs the government while respecting the legitimate rights of the minority. The democratic system being representative and respectful to public opinion and the minority viewpoints, democracy is a limited government. It functions within the framework of the constitution and respects the rights of the citizens and of various autonomous groups and association, generally speaking the constitutions includes a charter of fundamental rights of the citizens and a democratic govt. can not assault them. Similarly the independence of the Judiciary is considered inviolable by the executive. The field of action of a democratic government is limited one, its manpower ability is highly circumscribed and options available to it are not too many. In short, democracy is a government of laws, not of men, and what is more 'rule of law' is its bed-rock.

### **1.2.0: Pre-requisites for the success of democracy**

Despite its number of advantages comparing to other forms of government, democracy has not been successful in many societies. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries there was a widespread belief that

democracy was the only natural form of government and even other forms of government were bound to yield place to it in the course of time. This faith in the inevitability of democracy was shattered when many democratic governments in Europe fell in quick succession. The Weimer Republic of Germany failed, leading to the emergence of Hitler. After the Second World War, democratic constitutions were adopted in most of the decolonized countries of Asia and Africa but a large number of them could not survive. The rise and fall of democratic system makes the people to understand that certain Pre-conditions are essential for the success and survival of democracy.

Firstly, the country adopting a democratic constitution must show reasonably satisfactory economic development, benefits of which must be shared in all sections and segments of population. As a result people feel happy and contented and in the process feel attached to the political system. The case of Japan is pertinent in this connection.

Secondly, the ruling elite should generally work towards larger public welfare and happiness and must never conduct itself in ways which may cause erosion of people's faith in the political system itself. Mismanagement of nation's affairs is apt to bring democracy into disrepute. Pakistan is an example in this regard. Democracy is a tender and sensitive policy in the Third World countries and any violent treatment accorded to it dims the prospects of its survival and sustenance. In other words, democracy must function in an uninterrupted way, and if it gets for any reason, displaced it would not be easy to restore and revive it. The internal emergency (1975-77) has certainly weakened democracy's roots in India, and the country is striving to neutralize the shock the political system had then received. In short, an unbroken practice of democracy is itself a condition of its success and an interruption in this respect proves greatly injurious.

Third Pre-requisite for the success of democracy is the existence of autonomous self governing groups and association in the society. According to Kornhouser, “democracy presupposes the backbone of an intermediate structure of independent groups and voluntary association”. Such bodies represent the emergence of a middle class without which it is not easy to keep democracy alive.

Finally, Political leadership is an important variable in the success of democracy. Strong and efficient leadership imparts stability and coherence to the Political system.

All of these factors or most of them must be at work for a length of time so that a given society assimilates democracy.

**Check your Progress**

Mention any four Pre-requisites for the success of democracy. (Use the space below for your answer)

**1.3: Concept of peace**

The issue of war and peace has always been a focal issue in all period of history at all levels and in almost all situations of international relations. The concern of humankind for peace can be assessed by taking into account the fact that all religions scriptures and several religious ceremonies are committed to the cause of peace and all these advocate an elimination of war. The international community realized fully the supreme importance of the virtue of peace against the evil of war only after having suffered the most importance and highly destructive two world wares in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Since 1945 attempts have been made through the creation of UN and regional organization and development of international law to promote friendly cooperation among countries. Popularization of peaceful means of conflict resolutions, institutionalization of relations

among nations, integration of international community through strengthening of human consciousness in favour of peace against war and by enhancing the ability for managing crisis situation, the humankind has been trying to secure peace against war. The scholars involved in the study of international relations have also been alert to the need of preserving peace. One elementary way of defining peace has been to describe it as absence of war. This is however a narrow view of peace. No doubt, absence of war is the first condition of peace, yet peace is not merely an absence of war. It is in reality a condition characterized by peaceful, cooperative and harmonious existence of the people of the world.

In fact, till today there have been present several hindrances in way of securing stable, healthy and enduring peace. The situation continues to be so till today. The people began focusing their attention on the need for the protection of human rights of all, protection of environment and securing of a real and meaningful international integration. However several negative factors, ethnic conflict, ethnic violence, ethnic wars, terrorism its several dimension, neo-colonialism, hegemony and like kept on acting as big hindrances. The need to secure peace by controlling these evils continues to be a primary aim of international community.

### **1.3.0: How peace can be secured?**

The first and foremost necessity for securing international peace is to avoid war and if war breaks out anywhere in the international system to keep it limited as well as to get it liquidated in a short time. There are various measures suggested by different scholars for securing peace. H.J. Morgenthau, in his book, 'Politics Among Nations' suggested three broad alternative for this purpose – (1) Peace through limitation. Under this head Morgenthau examined the concepts of disarmament, collective security judicial settlement,

peaceful changes and international government. (2) Peace through transformation. This category includes a discussion on the world state, the world community and functionalism. (3) Peace through accommodation, i.e. securing of peace through diplomacy. Out of these three devices Morgenthau gave primacy of securing of peace through diplomacy.

Coulombias and Wolfe view that development of adequate and effective international institutions can be an way to prevent war and in this direction a form of world federal government appears to be an obvious institutions. By giving it the responsibility to enforce the U.N. charter as well as by getting enforced the other provisions for the peaceful settlement of disputes, we can make it an effective instrument of peace against war.

However this suggestion has a high level of inbuilt idealism. It cannot be fully operationalised without a complete transformation of the existing sovereign nation-state system. So long as this is not secured we will have to depend upon such devices as balance of power, arms control, disarmament, collective security, conflict resolution through peaceful means, international law, U.N.O., regional cooperation for development, international/regional economic integration and along with it will have to attempt to secure the elimination of illiteracy, hunger, disease, ill health, socio-economic backwardness ethnic conflict, terrorism, environment degradation and inequalities among the nations.

### **1.3.1: Instruments for establishing world peace**

Absence of war is a pre-condition of peace. But on cannot totally eliminate war. But countries can maintain certain conditions for reducing the war like situations. For this purpose following devices can be described as instruments to strengthen peace in international relations.

1. **Balance of Power:** Balance of Power has been a traditional device for the prevention of war. It places restraints upon the states by preventing all attempts at unjustified increase of power on the part of any member of the balance of power system. However, in the contemporary era of international relations balance of power has become obsolete.
2. **International Law:** International law is the body of rules that the nation states accept as binding upon them, and which regulates their behaviour in international relations. It directs and controls the behaviour of the nations engaged in international intercourse. It constitutes a legal framework for the orderly conduct of international relations both in times of peace and war. It lays down rules for the establishment and conduct of diplomatic relations. It defines the limits within which the states can use force for securing their interest.
3. **World Public opinion:** The democratization of foreign Policy and the communications revolution together have made possible the rise of organized and strong world public opinion. It has emerged as an important factor of international relation and this can be gauged from the rise of strong global peace movements, movements in favour of nuclear arms control and disarmament, healthy global movement for the preservation of earth's ecological balance. The movements for the protection of human rights of all and several other movements clearly demonstrate the existence of strong world public opinion. It acts as a limitation on national power, checks the states from involving in war and give strength to peace movements.
4. **International organizations:** The United Nations has been functioning as a global organization of all members of the international community since 1945. The U.N. charter

specifies certain objectives which its members are committed to secure. It specifies the means for the pacific settlement of international disputes. It constitutes a global platform for the conduct of international relations in a peaceful and orderly manner. The U.N. charter declares war as illegal and call upon the members to resolve their disputes through peaceful means.

5. **Disarmament and Arms control:** Arms control and disarmament are regarded as device of peace or as anti-war concepts. Arms control refers to the control over and limitation upon the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race through international agreed decisions, policies and plans. Disarmament refers to the liquidation, gradually or in one stroke of the huge stockpiles of arms and ammunition which the nation states have come to acquire till recently. Both can reduce the chances of war in international relations.
6. **Diplomacy:** Moregenthau describes diplomacy as the best means for promoting international peace. Through accommodation. Diplomacy has the potential to prevent a war, to limit the scope of war that breaks out, to end a war to secure a peace settlement after war, and to resolve a dispute through diplomatic negotiation. Diplomacy plays a key role in international relations. It is mostly through diplomatic negotiations that nations try to resolve their disputes or arrive at consensus regarding various international issues and problems. A foreign policy can become successful only when it is backed by a sound, efficient and committed diplomacy. In times of war and peace diplomacy continues to play an effective role for the preservation of world peace. This traditional practice of international relation today stands accepted as key instrument for the promotion of national interest as well as international peace.

**Chart : Instruments for establishing world Peace**

- Balance of power
- International Law
- World Public opinion
- International organizations
- Disarmament and Arms control
- Diplomacy

**1.4: Democratic peace theory**

Democratic peace theory assumes a close link between democracy and peace. It argues that democratic states are more peaceful than other states as democratic states are more reluctant to go to war compared to other states. It is not that democracies never go to war. Democracies have gone to war as often as have non-democracies. But democracies do not fight each other. Michael Doyle has offered three reasons as to why democracies are at peace with each other. First, in democracies there exists a domestic political culture based on peaceful conflict resolution. Democracies encourage peaceful international relations because democratic governments are controlled by their citizens and citizens are generally opposed to war with other democracies. Second, democracies hold common moral values which lead to the formation of 'pacific union'. The union is not a formal peace treaty; rather it is a zone of peace based on common moral foundation of all democracies. Peaceful ways of solving domestic conflict is generally regarded as superior to violent behaviour and democracies apply similar attitude in their relation with other states. Third, economic cooperation and interdependence also strengthen peace between democracies. Democracies are generally engaged in high level of economic cooperation with mutual and reciprocal gain. Conflict between them will disrupt their economic cooperation and therefore democracies have an incentive to maintain peace among themselves. Democratic peace theory on the

basis of such assessment argues that world will be more peaceful if more and more countries turn towards democracy. In this regard democratic peace theory share some optimism as number of democracies in the world has increased rapidly in recent years and thus we can look forward to a more peaceful world.

### **1.5: Let is sum up**

Democracy refers to a political system based on competitive political parties in which the majority runs the government while respecting the legitimate rights of minority.

Some conditions require for the successful working of democratic system like a democratic constitution, ruling elite should work towards larger public welfare and happiness, existence of autonomous and self governing groups and associations in the society and strong and efficient leadership.

Peace means not merely the absence of war but in reality a condition characterized by peaceful, cooperative and harmonious conduct of international relations with a view to secure sustainable socio-economic cultural development of the people of the world.

Peace through limitations, transformation and accommodation are the three services that Morgenthau suggested for the establishment of international peace.

Balance of power, international law, world public opinion, international organization, disarmament and arms control and diplomacy are the instruments that help to secure international peace.

### **1.6: Key words**

**Democracy:** The term was first coined in the fifth century B.C. It is a form of government in which all adult citizens share through their elected representatives. It is a form of Government which encourages and allows rights of citizenship such as freedom of speech, religion, opinion and association, the assertion of the rule of law, majority rule accompanied by the respect for the rights of

minorities, treatment of each other by citizens as equals and with absence of class feeling.

**Balance of Power:** It is an instrument for establishing international peace. It is a device of power management in international relations as well as a device for the prevention of war.

**International Law:** It is the body of rules that the nation states accept as binding upon them, and which regulates their behaviour in international relations.

**Diplomacy:** It is policy for the management of a country's affairs by its agents abroad and their direction by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Home.

### **1.7 : Probable answer to check your progress**

Pre-requisites for the success of democracy are:

- (i) Satisfactory economic development
- (ii) Ruling party should generally work towards larger public welfare
- (iii) Existence of autonomous self governing groups and associations in the society.
- (iv) Strong and efficient leadership.

### **1.8: Questions for Practice**

1. Analyse the concept of democracy
2. Discuss the pre-requisites essential for the successful working of democracy
3. Explain the concept of international peace
4. How Peace can be secured?
5. What are the instruments of peace? Discuss their role for establishing world peace.

## **Unit – 2**

### **Environment**

#### **Structure**

- 2.0 : Objectives
- 2.1 : Introduction
- 2.2 : Concept of environment
- 2.3 : Stockholm conference on Human Environment
- 2.4 : The Kyoto meet on climate change
- 2.5 : Let us sum up
- 2.6 : Key words
- 2.7 : Probable answer to check your Progress
- 2.8 : Question for Practice

#### **2.0 : Objectives**

After studying this unit you will be able to

- Discuss the concept of environment
- Describe the Stockholm conference and Kyoto meet on climate change

#### **2.1 : Introduction**

This unit is divided into nine sub-units. There are summary, key words, check your progress and questions for your practice.

The deterioration of environment through unprincipled use of natural resources, rapid industrialization, urbanization, use of pesticides and because of the existence of problems like over population, poverty, poor housing, bad public health, malnutrition and inadequate employment that characterize life in almost all the

developing countries have together compelled the humankind to devise ways and means for checking the fast deteriorating environment. This unit will focus on various efforts which can protect the environment and save the humankind.

## **2.2 : Concept of environment**

The concept of protection of environment involves the attempt to prevent pollution and environment degradation. The rules of international law compellers every nation not to act in a way as can cause environment pollution or degradation. Hence international laws enact rules for the protection of environment by all the states individually as well as collectively. During the 60<sup>th</sup> decade the humankind began becoming conscious of the need for adopting a convention on Environment. On 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1968 the UN General Assembly passed a resolution favoring an international conference on Human Environment.

## **2.3 : Stockholm conference on Human Environment**

The UN convention on Human Environment was held at Stockholm from June 5-16, 1972 and it adopted a declaration on Human Environment. Seven areas were delimited for securing action directed towards the protection of Human Environment.

1. **The declaration on the Human Environment** : The UN conference on the Human Environment 1972 in its section contained the Declaration on the Human Environment which stands divided in two parts: The first part contains general observations like man is both creature and molders of his environment, the protection and improvement of the human environment affects the economic development of the world and the natural growth of population continuously presents

problems for the preservation of environment. The second part of the declaration contains 26 principles. These principles reflect the fundamental international responsibility of states regarding environment preservation and pollution control.

2. **The Action Plan for Human Environment :** The Action Plan for the Human Environment was divided into three parts: (a) An Earth Watch Programme to identify problems of international significance so as to warn against an impending environmental crisis, (b) Recommendations concerning environment management or in other words the application in practice of what was shown to be desirable or necessary in regard to the environment and (c) Supporting measures such as education, training, public information and others for strengthening the process of protection of human environment by making the people educated in this area.
3. **The Resolution in institutional and financial arrangements:** The resolution recommended the establishment of a 54 – member Governing Council for Environmental Programmes. The members of this council were to be elected for a three year term on the basis of equitable geographical distribution. This governing council was directed to keep under review the world environmental situation in order to ensure that emerging environmental problems should receive appropriate and adequate consideration by governments.
4. **Resolution on Designation of World Environment Day:** In order to create awareness among the people in respect of environmental problems the resolution on World Environment Day unanimously recommended the 5<sup>th</sup> June each year is to be observed as the World Environment Day.

5. **Resolution on Nuclear Weapon Test:** A resolution in plenary session condemned nuclear test, especially those carried out in the atmosphere and called upon states to refrain from conducting such tests that contaminated the environment.
6. **Resolution on holding of a second conference on Environment:** The resolution recommended that U.N. General Assembly should take initiative to convene second U.N. conference on the Human Environment at an appropriate time.
7. **Decision to refer to governments recommendations for action at the National Level:** The conference also referred to governments of all nations its recommendation for action at the national level. After the Stockholm conference and the subsequent establishment of U.N environmental Programme (UNEP), a global environmental protection movement began providing great help in this direction.

#### **2.4: The Kyoto meet on climate change**

The third conference of the parties to the UN framework convention on climate change was held in Kyoto, Japan from December 1-11, 1997. The conference was attended by 150 countries and attempted to draft a treaty that was to initiate definite and time bound steps to limit the emission of six green house gases like CFC that caused global warming. In the conference, there arose disagreements among the members of developed and developing countries. The European Union agreed for a 15% reduction and Japan called for a 25% reduction in emission level. After much bargaining the Kyoto Protocol was adopted on Dec. 11, 1997.

**Main Features:**

1. Countries were to reduce emission level by an average of 5.2 percent relative to levels prevailing in 1990. The US was to cut emission levels by 7% by the year 2012, the 15 members EU by 8%, Canada by 6% and Japan by 6% by the same time.
2. The developing countries were exempted from making targeted reductions but were to initiate measures for controlling their emissions.
3. Cuts were to apply for all six green house gases.
4. The commitment period was to be from 2008 to 2012.
5. Inclusion among the cuts of sources and removals defined 'sinks' or carbon absorbent as limited afforestation, reforestation and deforestation since 1990.
6. Acceptance of emission trading, joint project implementation and the clean development mechanism towards fulfilling emission cuts were undertaken.
7. There was a complete absence of any mechanism to ensure compliance with commitments or punitive measures.

The Protocol became open for signature by parties between March 1998 and March 1999. It was to be ratified by at least 60 countries and was binding on all Annex-1 (developed) countries. The Kyoto Protocol became eligible for operation in October 2004 when Russian Legislature adopted it as became the 60<sup>th</sup> country to ratify the Kyoto Protocol.

Protection of environment continues to be a priority item on the agenda of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The most healthy and positive development in the drive towards environment protection has been the increasing human consciousness in favour of this primary objects. The concept of sustainable development which was found a universal

support also reflects the human commitment to check environment pollution and to develop and adopt environment friendly technologies. But the objective of environmental protection can be really secured through the active and effective efforts of all the people of the world. They should rise above their nationalistic outlook and come forward to organize and act against all decisions, policies and programmes as are deemed harmful for the environment.

**Check your progress**

Answer the following questions:

- (a) How many principles are there in the Stockholm conference declaration?
- (b) Which day is observed as world environment Day?
- (c) What is the full term of UNEP?
- (d) Name the 60<sup>th</sup> Country which ratified the Kyoto protocol.
- (e) Since when Kyoto protocol has become eligible for operation?

**2.5: Let us sum up**

The deterioration of environment can be checked by protection of environment by preventing pollution and environment degradation.

Stockholm conference (1972) was the first conference where seven areas were delimited for securing action directed towards the protection of environment.

The Kyoto Protocol was attended by 150 nations from both developed and developing worlds. After a lot of debates the Protocol was finally adopted on December, 1997 and it became eligible for operation from October, 2004. The most important point that was adopted in this Protocol was that all countries agreed to reduce emission level within 2008-2012.

**2.6: Key words**

**Kyoto Protocol:** The conference on climate change which was held in Kyoto, Japan, from December 1-11, 1997 is known as Kyoto Protocol. There were 150 countries attended the meeting and the Protocol was adopted on December 11, 1997 and came into operation from October 2004.

**2.7 : Probable answer to check your Progress**

- (a) 26
- (b) 5<sup>th</sup> June
- (c) United Nations Environment Programme
- (d) Russia
- (e) October, 2004

**2.8 : Question for Practice**

- (1) What do you understand by environmental Protection?
- (2) Write a note on Stockholm conference.
- (3) Discuss the main features of Kyoto Protocol

**Unit – 3****Right to self Determination****Structures**

- 3.0 : Objectives
- 3.1 : Introduction
- 3.2 : The concept of self-determination
- 3.3 : Self-determination and de-colonisation in Asia and Africa
- 3.4 : Self-determination as applied to parts of colonial states.
- 3.5 : Self-determination in multi-ethnic societies
- 3.6 : Let us sum up
- 3.7 : Key words
- 3.8 : Questions for Practice

**3.0 : Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- Discuss the concept of self-determination
- Examine self-determination and de-colonisation in Asia and Africa
- Analyse self-determination as applied to parts of colonial states
- Describe self-determination in multi-ethnic societies.

**3.1: Introduction**

This unit is divided into nine sub-units. Besides the main topic you find here the summary of the unit, key words and questions for your practice.

Most of the countries belonging to Asia and Africa were under the colonial empires of Western European countries, namely, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Netherlands. Nationalist movements in the Third World countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, successfully made use of the slogan of the self determination to win freedom from their European masters. In this unit a modest attempt will be made to introduce the students with the concept of self-determination, difficulties and contradictions involved in interpreting this concept in the changing international scenario.

### **3.2: The concept of self-determination**

“All people of one nationality are entitled to dwell together in order to govern themselves in a state of their own” (Encyclopedia of Social Science). From this we can understand that the concept of self-determination is related to the concept of ‘nationalism’. Nationalism implies a subjective feeling on the part of a community of its separate identity and an urge or aspirations to be self-governing or independent. The identity could be based on language, religions, race or a shared historical experience which help in forging common emotional bonds amongst the people. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, these aspirations on the part of a number of communities in central Europe created a great deal of unrest and weakened the fabric of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian empires. This was one of the factors responsible for the outbreak of 1<sup>st</sup> world war. At the end of the war the allied statesmen realized that the problem of self-determination was more complicated than its principle. A number of states got nationhood by the application of this principle, like Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, Estonia etc. The division of central and Eastern Europe into independent states still left a number of people within the boundaries of these new nations who had deep emotional, racial or linguistic ties with the neighbouring nation-states. For example Germans in Czechoslovakia and Russians in the Baltik states. This is a problem

of 21<sup>st</sup> century also. The recent opting out of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia from Yugoslavia and split of Czechoslovakia would testify to this. The question of Chechnya, Bosque, Cyprus, Northern Ireland still remain unresolved and many of potential ones remain under the surface.

### **3.3: Self-determination and de-colonisation in Asia and Africa**

The omission in the UN charter regarding self-determination to the colonies was redressed to a certain extent when issues relating to freedom of colonies came up for consideration before the U.N. General Assembly. The majority of members of the General Assembly were in favour of decolonization. The repeated resolutions of the General Assembly passed with over whelming majority lent an air of legitimacy to the principle of decolonization and by implication that of self-determination. The resolution 1514 of the General Assembly passed in 1960 stated that “All people have the right to self-determination, by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development”. It further appointed a special committee to examine the implementation of the resolution 1514. The non-aligned nations both inside and outside the U.N. continued their support to the process of de-colonisation. Thus, due to the political support of the non-aligned states, military and economic support to the insurgents extended by the Soviet Union and the grudging sympathy of the United States most of the African Colonies attained their independence in the 1960s and 1970s.

### **3.4 : Self-determination as applied to parts of colonial states**

Freedom to the colonies does not mark the end of the role of self-determination. India’s former defence minister, V.K. Krishna Menon once said, “Colonialism is permanent aggression”. Therefore, when in the early 1960s India resorted to military action to free Goa

from Portuguese rule and annexed it, this was claimed as an unfinished business of de-colonisation. The U.N. did not, endorse India's action nor did it uphold Portugal's claim to the territory. Likewise there are many cases, where the attitude of the U.N. can at best be described as ambivalent. Let us discuss here the case of Ireland. Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ireland was a part of Britain. While the Irish are of Catholic religion, a majority of people of Northern Ireland are Protestant-most of them British descent settled there. After a Prolonged struggle by the Irish for independence in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Home Rule followed by independence was granted to Ireland in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the Northern part of the Island because of its Protestant majority was retained and continued to be a part of the United Kingdom. For a long time Ireland laid claim to this part because of its historical, geographical and cultural links to the Island. The Protestant majority of the Republican Army and waged a military struggle for its union with the Republican of Ireland. The British refused to concede any role to the U. N in the matter. A compromise was arrived at in 1998 called Good Friday Agreement. The Agreement gives autonomy to the Northern Ireland, a share in the Political power to the Catholic majority and its representative in the legislature. It also makes a connection between the North and South of Ireland but the question of union with Ireland is yet to solve.

In East Asia, the island of Taiwan was a part of the Republic of China before the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. After 1949 communist revolution, the Nationalist Party took refuge in the Island. Protected by the US Navy, the island has remained separate from the mainland and was governed by the Nationalist Party. Its democratically elected government wanted separation. Because of the liberal values, economic prosperity and higher standard of living that it brings with it, its population wishes to maintain this separation. As against this, the People's Republic of China claims Taiwan as an inseparable part

of its nation. At present the Government of Taiwan is recognized and has diplomatic relations with 30 nations of the world.

In all these cases, it is clear that, self-determination have reference only to the wisher of the inhabitants of a particular area. In cases it becomes important when this has a colonial legacy. The colonial rulers for strategic or economic reasons had an interest in keeping the part separate to foster its distinctiveness. Let us now examine self-determination in the Multi-Ethnic societies.

### **3.5 : Self-determination in multi-ethnic societies**

The concept of self-determination is not confined to colonialism. In Europe, there are many states today, which include within them substantial sections of people who aspire to have an independent national status. According to the latest available data, in the Post-Cold war period, there have been more than 50 armed state formation conflicts. Many of them were in Europe. Thirteen of these have reached some kind of settlement. Some of them have found expression in the U.N.

‘National Consciousness’ is mainly a subjective feeling. This means that a regionally concentrated religious/linguistic/ethnic minority may perceive that it is being discriminated against. Such a perception and the resulting alienation can result in a call for national self-determination. The feeling of identity may vary in intensity and time. It may also depend on the context. Let us prove it with an example. The ethnically divergent populations of the Yugoslav province of Kosovo always have greater affinity to Albania. But it was only the repressive policy of Slobodan Milosovic and the imminent break-up of the federation that brought out the discontent into the open. The open hostility of the neighbouring nations and the NATO to the Serbian regime gave it greater encouragement to use militant means to achieve its aims.

The militant struggle of Basque province in Spain is also an example of this kind. In all these cases, some settlement was reached in the form of independence or autonomy.

Most of the colonies and their boundaries were accidents of history, determined by the timing and the process of their acquisition by the imperial powers. Therefore, apart from the legacy of the colonial rule, there was hardly any thing common to mark their people. In most cases their population was diverse in terms of religion/language or ethnicity. After independence, when the uniting factor of anti-colonialism had worn off, there was hardly a bond strong enough to keep the people together. On the contrary, competition for economic resources, education and employment brought in the open the dividing lines in the society. Where the new nations had adopted democratic form of Government, party politics found the primordial loyalties of language, religions etc as convenient bases to build their organizations. There further sharpened the edges of dividing lines. Where these lines coincided, especially with regional boundaries the call for autonomy was natural. This can be explained with an example i.e. the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign independent state in the South Asian Zone. The two parts of Pakistan-East Pakistan and West Pakistan were not contiguous. They were divided by factors like language, culture and economy. East Pakistan shared less representation in the legislature though it shared half of the total population of Pakistan. There was discrimination in many fields. Therefore, after the Indo-Pak war of 1965, East Pakistan pressed for greater autonomy. The Awami League, under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, organized a peaceful mass movement for the purpose. In the general election of 1970s, Awami League secured a majority seats in the National Assembly but the West Pakistani Political and military elite did not allow it to assume power and unleashed a reign of terror and repression in East Pakistan. The struggle turned into a military

conflict and the Mukti Bahini (military Wing of Awami League) sought India's help. In the indo-Pak war of 1971, Pakistan was defeated and East Pakistan decided to become independent as Bangladesh in 1971. Thus a new independent state emerged in the subcontinent-Bangladesh, which was accorded recognition by the international community and the UN.

### **3.6 : Let us sum up**

The concept of self-determination is related to the concept of nationalism which implies a subjective feeling on the part of a community of its separate identity and an urge or aspiration to be self-governing or independent.

If de-colonialism and freedom from colonial rule is termed as external self-determination, the application of the principle of self-determination within multi-cultural societies is termed as internal self-determination. In such societies, either there persists a self-perceived feeling of being discriminated against or being exploited, a sense of alienation sets in which provides a ground for identity based movements.

Self-determination is the cumulative result of factors like national aspiration of the people, the response it meets with from the country against which the claims are laid and the attitude of the international community.

### **3.7 : Key words**

Self-determination: According to the Encyclopedia of social science, the meaning of self-determination is "all people of one nationality are entitled to dwell together in order to govern themselves in a state of their own".

**3.8 : Questions for Practice**

1. Discuss the concepts of self-determination
2. Examine the role of UN to the concept of self-determination and its application.
3. Write a note on de-colonisation of Asia and Africa.
4. What factors are responsible for internal self-determination? Explain your answer with the case of Bangladesh.

## **Unit – 4**

### **Sovereignty**

#### **Structures**

4.0: Objectives

4.1: Introduction

4.2: Changing notion of sovereignty

4.3: Let us sum up

4.4: Key words

4.5: Question for practice

#### **4.0: Objectives**

After reading this unit you will be able to

- understand the changing notion of state sovereignty in the present era

#### **4.1: Introduction**

This unit is divided into five sub-units. Besides the main topics you will find here the summary of the unit, key words and questions for practice.

In the contemporary period number of factors has contributed to the dilution of the absolute concept of state sovereignty. This unit will try to introduce this changing notion of state sovereignty.

#### **4.2: Changing notion of sovereignty**

Generally, we discuss sovereignty within the territorial boundary of nation state. But here our discussion is confined with the state sovereignty and international affairs. In the modern world system, no state is alone. The interdependence among the states is termed as the chief attribute of this system. In such a situation, a question has been raised-what is the exact position of state sovereignty in international relations. Let us try to find out the answer of this question.

You know, that the Pluralist advocates of sovereignty have denied the absolute sovereignty. In the present environment of international relations there is seldom any separate place of absolute national sovereignty for each terrestrial state. Unlimited coercive powers not only embarrass different organizations, it is also injurious to their proper functioning. The same argument is applicable to international relations. If Austinian theory of sovereignty is taken as norm for international relation then a catastrophic situation is bound to follow. Besides various reasons that caused the two great world wars one reason is the inordinate zeal for national sovereignty. The most important negative function of absolute sovereignty in international field is it embitters relationship between states leading to deadlock. Prof. Laski commented in this respect as, “The notion of an independent sovereignty state is, on the international side, fatal to the well being of humanity”. The common life of the citizens of one state is so closely connected with that of the citizen of other states that one state cannot unilaterally decides its own course of action in complete disregard of the welfare of mankind.

The present international situation demands that a state must learn to live with others. Each and every move of a state has a far reaching repercussion upon the whole mankind. It must realize that all decisions that affect the common life of al shall be taken at a

common platform. This is the Philosophy on which the Present Concept of Sovereignty and outlook of international relations are built. Unfortunately the states forget this basic principle or they deliberately neglect it and as a result crisis appears that clouds the future civilization.

That Philosophy was clearly realized by the framers of the covenant of the League of Nations and the charter of the U.N.O. Sovereign equality of all states have been accepted as the basic principle and at the same time it has been stressed that so far as the peace and security are concerned the international organization shall have superior authority. The national sovereignty cannot be allowed on the way of measures adopted by Security Council to establish peace and ensure security.

#### **4.3: Let us sum up**

The concept of state sovereignty has come under serious challenges in current era and in response to these challenges the notion of sovereignty is undergoing significant changes.

#### **4.4: Key words**

Sovereignty: An international institution, meaning a set of rules that States play by.

#### **4.5: Question for practice**

1. Discuss the Position of state sovereignty in international affairs.

**FURTHER READINGS:**

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