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M.A. SEMESTER - II (CBCS)



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POLITICS PAPER - II APPROACHES AND EMERGING ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBJECT CODE: 93388

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**SUBJECT CODE: 93388**

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# CONTENTS

| Unit No.            | Title                                                   | Page No. |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. <b>Module I:</b> | Approaches to IR – I .....                              | 1        |
| 2. <b>Module 2:</b> | Approaches to IR – II .....                             | 36       |
| 3. <b>Module 3:</b> | International Political Economy and Globalization ..... | 80       |
| 4. <b>Module 4:</b> | Issues in Human Security .....                          | 118      |

M.A.  
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**POLITICS PAPER - II**  
**APPROACHES AND EMERGING ISSUES IN**  
**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**SYLLABUS**  
(6 Credits, 60 hours)

1. **Approaches to IR – I** (15 Hours)
  - a) Liberalism
  - b) Realism
  - c) Constructivism
2. **Approaches to IR – II** (15 Hours)
  - a) Marxist approaches
  - b) Critical Theory
  - c) Feminist approach
3. **International Political Economy and Globalisation** (15 Hours)
  - a) Bretton Woods Institutions – evolving role
  - b) Content and impact of globalisation
  - c) Regional blocs, regional organisations and Free Trade Agreements.
4. **Issues in Human Security** (15 Hours)
  - a) Poverty, Development, Environment
  - b) Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention
  - c) Migration

**Reading List: Approaches and Emerging Issues in International Relations**  
**Books**

1. Bajpai, Kanti and Siddharth Mallavarapu eds. *International Relations in India: Theorising the Region and Nation*, (2005: New Delhi, Orient Longman)
2. Baylis, John and Steve Smith *The Globalization of World Politics*, (2005: New Delhi, Oxford University Press)
3. Burchill, Scott, et. al. *Theories of International Relations*, (2001: New York, Palgrave)
4. Chari, P.R. and Sonika Gupta *Human Society and South Asia: Gender, Energy, Migration and Globalisation*, (2008: New Delhi, Palgrave-Macmillan)
5. Ghosh, B.N. and Halil M. Guven *Globalisation and the Third World: A Study of Negative Consequences*, (2008: New Delhi, Palgrave-Macmillan)
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9. Steger, Manfred *Globalization: The New Market Ideology*, (2004: Jaipur & New Delhi, Rawat Publications)
10. Stiglitz, Joseph *Globalization and its Discontents*, (2002: Penguin)
11. Wein, Thomas *Humanitarian Intervention*, (2007: Polity Press)

## Journals

1. *Current History*
2. *Economist*
3. *International Relations*
4. *Orbis*
5. *World Politics*

## APPROACHES TO IR – I

### Unit Structure

#### (A) Realism

A.1.0: Objective

A.1.1: Introduction

A.1.2: Classical Realism

A.1.3: Essentials of Realism

A.1.4: Six Principles of Morgenthau

A.1.5: Neo-realism / Structural Realism

A.1.6: Assumptions of Neo-realism

A.1.7: Offensive and Defensive Realism

A.1.8: Criticism of Realism

A.1.9: Conclusion

A.1.10: References

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#### A.1.0: Objective

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with Realism one of the approaches of international relations. After studying this module, you would be able to:

- Explore the basic assumptions of Realist approach of International Relations
- The evolution of various aspects of Realism like classical realism, Neo Realism etc.
- Analyse Morgenthau's six principles to the nature of international relations.

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#### A.1.1: Introduction

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International Relations (IR) requires developing conceptual frameworks and theories to understand and explain world politics. The University of Aberystwyth in Wales was the first university that established a department of International

Politics. However, today the nature and scope of world politics need an understanding of a much more comprehensive range of issues. International relations began as a theoretical discipline with two of the foundational texts in the field, E. H. Carr's, work *The Twenty Years' Crisis* (1939) and Hans Morgenthau's book *Politics Among Nations* (1948). Both books have provided a broad framework of analysis of International relations and sought to offer future analysts with the theoretical tools for general understanding patterns underlying seemingly special episodes and reflected on the forms of political action focused on an area where the "struggle for power" was pre-eminent. Both scholars were motivated by the desire to correct what they saw as deep misunderstandings about the nature of international politics. They believe that the struggle for power could be disciplined by international law and the idea that the pursuit of self-interest could be replaced by security for all states.

The term 'Realism' is used in different ways in many disciplines. In philosophy, it is used as an ontological theory which opposed to idealism and nominalism. Realism in IR theory is treated as an approach that stresses that the states face pursuing a "power politics" for the national interest. "Realpolitik" or 'power politics', is the oldest and most frequently adopted international relations theory. Every serious student must acquire a deep appreciation of political realism and understand how her views relate to the realist tradition. Realism is a powerful and important approach to a set of understandings about International Relations.

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### **A.1.2: Classical Realism**

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Realists emphasise the constraints on politics imposed by human selfishness (egoism) and the absence of international government (anarchy), which require 'the primacy in all political life of power and security. Rationality and statism are the core realist premises. And if the 'states' as a shorthand for what Gilpin calls 'conflict groups'<sup>1</sup> or what Waltz (1979) calls 'units', statism is generally shared across International Relations theories. Anarchy and egoism are the resulting imperatives of power politics provide the core of realism. Realism describes international politics in terms of "power". Therefore, it is named as "power politics."

Classical Realist Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes have depicted the pessimistic view of human nature and believed that each person would use others to achieve

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<sup>1</sup>Robert G. Gilpin, "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism" *International Organization* Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 287-88.

their goals; which makes people selfish. Power is essential from the security point of view of states. Power has been understood as “the ability to make another actor do what it would not have normally done.” Indian strategic thinker Kautilya was the first realist who has propounded the theories of statecraft, diplomacy based of power approach. He had written *Arthashastra* in 300 B.C., much before various western thinkers like Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Thucydides. In his book *World Order*, Henry Kissinger<sup>2</sup> refers to “Arthashastra as a work that lays out the requirements of power, which is the dominant reality in politics.” Kissinger viewed the Arthashastra as “a combination of Machiavelli and Clausewitz (Prussian military theorist).”<sup>3</sup> However, as Kautilya’s Arthashastra is as centuries old to Machiavelli book “Prince” (1513) and as such, Machiavelli could be referred as the Italian or European Chanakya. Machiavelli argued that a “Prince”, or a ruler, has to stabilize his power and build a permanent structure. The basic objective of the ruler has to maximize the national interest. The “Prince” could do things of an evil nature to achieve the greater good for the state. The famous assumption is “the ends justify the means” states that any evil action can be justified if it is done for the sake of state national interest. Thomas Hobbes has argued with his famous maxim “*homo homini lupus*” that “man is a wolf to another man.” Hobbes argued that a strong monarchy could create order.

The modern realist approach emerged in the 19th century when nation-states became the standard in European politics after the “treaty of Westphalia (1648)”. Bismarck can be seen as applying realism in the modern sense for the first time. After the first World War, the practice of many states until today show a tendency to follow the realist point of view.

Basic Assumptions of Realism are

- State egoism and conflict
- Statecraft and the National Interest
- International anarchy and its implications
- Polarity, stability and the balance of power

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<sup>2</sup>Henry Kissinger *World Order* (Penguin Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup>[Patrick J. Garrity](#), “India’s Arthashastra: A Combination of Machiavelli and Clausewitz? *Classics of Strategy and Democracy*, February 4, 2015.

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### A.1.3: Essentials of Realism

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- There is Anarchy in the world, which means there is no controlling or regulating authority that can control the states' behaviours. Therefore, there is no world government to arrange the international system and control the behaviour of the states.
- **Statism:** The state is the key actor in International Relations. The conflict in International Relations is inherent due to the natural tendency to maximise power amongst the states. Therefore, international conflicts are generally resolved by war amongst the states.
- **Survival:** The security of the state is the prime concern and beyond all other matters. There cannot be growth in International Relations because there are no superior agencies that regulate the global system. Each state in the International system seeks their survival which also leads to a security dilemma. Survival is held to be a pre-condition for attaining all other goals.
- **Self-Help:** There is no higher authority to prevent and counter the use of force in the International system; therefore, security can only be realised through self-help, which is the necessary principle of action.

Realism claims to offer an account of world affairs that is realistic and devoid of wishful thinking. In their most celebrated work *Politics Among Nations*, Hans Morgenthau stated that “politics is the struggle for power, and the power is its immediate goal. Thus, Morgenthau has called it the “Power Approach”. The following six principles of Morgenthau are significant contributions in the field of classical realism.

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### A.1.4: Six Principles of Morgenthau

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Morgenthau's six principles constitute the essence of his political realism.

**First:** *International Politics is governed by certain objective laws that have their roots in Human Nature:* Like society in general, it is necessary to understand these objective laws and build a rational theory of International Relations. These objective laws cannot be refuted and challenged.

**Second:** *National Interest defined in terms of National Power.* In International politics, the national interest is defined in terms of power. Of course, a state's national interest is not backed by the power that exists only on paper, but national interest' defined in terms of 'power' carries political realism into the arena of international politics.

**Third:** *Interest is always Dynamic*

The national interest of any state is the essence of politics. National interest is constantly changing based on the requirement of the state. It is subjective, and it changes as per the political and social environment of the state. The nature of the interest which determines political action in a particular period of history depends upon the cultural and political context within which a foreign policy is framed. For example, security has always been a primary component of the national interest of India, but the nature of security that India has been trying to secure from time to time has been changing. National interest is a dynamic concept, and it is not static.

**Fourth:** *Abstract Moral Principles cannot be applied in International Politics*

Political realism realises the value of moral principles. The moral importance of political action is undisputed, but the universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states unless these are analysed in the light of specific conditions of time and space. Moral principles do not determine the policies and actions of states in International relations. There can be no political morality without prudence. Prudence to be the supreme virtue in International politics.

**Fifth:** *Difference between Moral Aspirations of a Nation and the Universal Moral Principles*

Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular state with moral principles. It also refuses to accept that any nation's national interest and policies reflect universally applied moral principles. States are actors engaged in securing their respective national interests and are not followers of moral principles. The moral principles that govern the universe do not apply to the state's actions because these actions are always based upon national interests. Therefore, state policy cannot be equated and should not be confused with universal moral principles.

**Sixth:** *Autonomy of International Politics*

Political realism admits the autonomy of International Politics and maintains the autonomy of the political sphere. It is neither idealistic nor moralistic in its approach to International Politics. On the contrary, it believes in the autonomy of International Politics.

Morgenthau believes that human nature tends to promote lust for power, which dictates for relative advantage over others and secure political space. As a result, a person can enjoy his life free from outside political pressures. The *animus dominandi* (the desire for power) eventually brings individuals into conflict with

each other, creates the framework for power politics at the heart of all realist thinking. According to Morgenthau, there are different sets of moralities like morality in the private sphere or the public sphere. Political morality can be used to do some things that cannot be accepted nor forgiven by private, personal, social ethics.

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### **A.1.5: Neo-realism / Structural Realism**

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Kenneth Waltz is the foremost advocate and the leader of neo-realism. The idea of neo-realism is based on the 'Structural Realism' of Robert Schelling. Neo-realism is known as structural realism because it considers the influence of the structure of the world system on the behaviour of states. The main difference between neo-realism and classical realism is that the classical realists believe that power is an end, but the neo-realists believe that power is a means, as something to use to reach their goal, which is survival of the state. Furthermore, classical realism focuses on the leaders and their intentions, but neorealism focuses on the system itself.

Neo-realism has two major aspects; one is defensive realism, and the other one offensive realism. Kenneth Waltz tried to explain Structural realism in his books, *Man, the State, and War* (1959) and *Theory of International Politics* (1979). He talked about human nature and political ethics and propounded a "scientific theory of International Relations". Waltz believes that a scientific International Relation theory will help us to understand how the states will behave. The neorealist theory focuses directly on the international system, its components and their interactions, and the continuities and the changes in the International system.

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### **A.1.6: Assumptions of Neorealism**

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There is anarchy in the international system, and Great Powers are the main actors in international politics. There is no regulatory or controlling authority in the global system, so there is no hierarchy. There are variances among the different anarchical systems in terms of stability. In the bipolar system, there was a more stable system during the Cold War politics than the multipolar systems as in the interwar period after the end of the cold war. All the states possess some offensive military capability, which can harm their neighbours to a degree. The capability and power of the states changes according to time and space. The other important aspect is that the states can never be sure about the intentions and behaviour of the other states. No one can easily predict the state's motives; a state in the system wants to change the existing balance of power. The neo-realist

believes that the intentions are only in the minds of decision-makers in the international system, so one can never be sure about the intentions of any state at any given time. A revisionist state is happy with the current balance of power; hence it is a *status quo* state.

Every state wants to maintain their territorial integrity and the autonomy of its domestic political system. Consequently, states are rational actors in the International system and generally develop reliable strategies that maximise their survival prospects. The theoretical basis of neo-realism is that in the environment of anarchy, states are trying to 'balance' each other rather than bandwagon because there is no world government that can protect them from threats. Balance of power is the only means to reduce the risk of the states by opposing the stronger state. The structural realism propounded by Kenneth Waltz during the cold war political environment and tried to explain that inimitable international system problem. However, structural realism (neo-realism) seemed not too reliable in explaining the international system after the end of cold war politics.

John Mearsheimer (1994) tried to advance the structural realist argument in his article *The False Promise of International Institutions* and his book *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (2001). He brought out five assumptions that realists share:

- 1) Anarchy in the international system;
- 2) States inherently have some offensive military capability which gives them the ability to hurt and possibly destroy each other;
- 3) States can never be sure about the intentions of other states;
- 4) The primary motive among the states is survival;
- 5) States think strategically about how to survive in the international system.

When these five assumptions are clubbed together, there are enough powerful incentives for great powers to adopt offensive postures. Mearsheimer writes that states are rational actors, and the miscalculations they make, from time to time, arise out of the fact that they operate in a world of imperfect information. Mearsheimer claims that Kenneth Waltz was proper to pronounce the two systems globally. One is bipolar, and the other is multipolar and asks such types of questions as what happens if a multipolar world replaces a bipolar world structure. He answers that instability will grow and lead to violent conflicts.

John Mearsheimer states that "the Western powers have an interest in maintaining peace in Europe. It, therefore, has an interest in maintaining the cold war order. Europe has an interest in the continuation of the cold war hostility. However,

Mearsheimer's other proponents of neorealism differ from Kenneth Waltz assumptions, which led to the development of the two branches of neorealism, i.e. defensive realism and offensive realism. Kenneth Waltz and Robert Jervis are the main propounders of defensive realism and John Mearsheimer of offensive realism.

### A.1.7: Offensive and Defensive Realism

There are important differences between defensive and offensive realism given below in the table:

| Defensive Realism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Offensive Realism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Supporters: Kenneth Waltz, Barry Posen, Jack Snyder, and Stephen van Evera, Robert Gilpin                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Supporters: John Mearsheimer and DC Copeland                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A defensive realist believes that it is unwise for states to maximise their power because if they try to gain more power, the system will punish them.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Offensive realists claim that to attain more power as possible, it is necessary from the good strategic aspect of a state. Therefore, the overwhelming power ensures the survival of the state.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defensive realists claim that states should not maximise their power because balancing will occur if any state becomes too powerful. Defensive realism believes that when a great power invades any small state, it brings more trouble than benefits. As an example, the US strike on Iraq and Afghanistan. It is a fact that should be apparent for all states in the international system and limit their appetite for more power. If not, they would threaten their existence.</li> <li>A defensive realist believes that “nation-states are not “gap</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Offensive realists believe that the balancing is generally not enough to protect the national interest of the states. The attacker states may benefit from this incompetence. The use of nuclear weapons allowed in the exceptional ground when only one side of the conflict owns them.</li> <li>The offensive realists expect that the great powers will always look for opportunities to gain an advantage over each other.</li> <li>John Mearsheimer argues that “states seek to survive under anarchy by maximizing their power relative to</li> </ul> |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>maximizers.” They are, in Joseph Grieco’s terms, “defensive positionalists”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The balance of power may emerge not as a goal but as a result as relatively weaker states will seek security often through alliances to survive.</li> <li>• Defensive realism advocates maximizing security.</li> </ul> | <p>other states”. He stated that “states are ‘short-term power maximizers, i.e. offensive positionalists.” Fareed Zakaria also states that “the best solution of the uncertainty or anarchy in the international system is that a state has to increase control over the environment through the power and persistent expansion of its political interests abroad.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offensive realism holds that under permissive anarchy, states wish to increase their power and do so through expansionist policies.</li> </ul> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The survival and domination of the state can be seen as extreme statements of defensive and offensive realists. Both revives the classical realist distinction between status quo and revisionist powers and develops two different theories from contrasting orientations which led security dilemma. It is manifested in terms of fear by other states.

In recent years, there is a debate amongst neorealists about the expansion of NATO. Those who argued against the expansion of NATO, like Michael McGwire, claim that it will threaten Russia and, therefore it would create greater insecurity. On the other hand, small states near Russia may request to join NATO for defensive realist state-centric reasons. Thus, NATO’s expansion can be explained by offensive realism perspective, particularly when it observed as a tool of US hegemony; however individual actors within NATO seem to follow state-centric motives.

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### A.1.8: Criticism of Realism

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- Realists believe that human nature is full of conflict, i.e. pessimistic, but humans are also cooperative. The concept of human nature is unscientific because men are rational creatures having multifaceted attributes, all of which cannot be cruxes under the quest for power.
  - Stanley Holftmann accuses Morgenthau of engaging in “power monism.” Instead, he points out that power is one complement of complex relations which Morgenthau does not examine.
  - Martin Wight criticises Realism as a one-dimensional theory and only focuses on national interest.
-

- Liberals state that war is not the only way to resolve problems, and other tools like negotiations must also be considered.
- JM Tickner, a feminist thinker, criticises Morgenthau that his six principles are male-oriented.
- Social Constructivists believe that too little importance is given to perceptions. Realists focus more on power politics instead of social relations.
- Realists ignore globalisation, which leads to interdependence and interconnectedness, and deem it simply a source of conflict.
- Scholars argue that Mearsheimer fails to explain the peaceful changes and great power cooperation, and his theory fails to explain the pooling of sovereignty by the European states.
- Constructivists criticize the neo-realist assumption of anarchy. According to Alexander Wendt, 'self-help and power politics are institutions and not essential features of anarchy. "Anarchy is what states make of it."

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### **A.1.9: Conclusion**

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Realism is regarded as the most influential theory in International politics and enjoy a long intellectual tradition within the study of international relations. Power is central to the realists' explanation of international relations, and the uneven distribution of power means that the arena of international relations is a form of power politics. The state seeks to better its relative position and likelihood for survival by competing in a world comprised of other states. Each state has some offensive military capability which makes them potentially dangerous to the other states. Thus, the states may create insecurity for the sake of their security. No state could be sure about the motivations and intentions of other states or their rival states. However, all states seem to be guided by a rational need to maintain their survival and sovereignty. Therefore, states build up their militaries to survive, which may lead to a security dilemma.

Realism explains the reality of international politics by stating the constraints on politics that result from humankind's egoistic nature and the absence of a central authority above the state. The dominance of realism has generated a significant strand of literature criticising its main tenets. However, despite the value of the criticisms, realism continues to provide valuable insights and remains an essential analytical tool for every student of International Relations.

**Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

**1) Trace the evolution trajectory of Realist approach in International Relations**

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**2) Structural/ neo-realism explain how states react to an insecure world; but they cannot explain the causes of insecurity. Discuss.**

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**A.1.10: References**

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**(B) Liberalism**

B.1.0: Objective

B.1.1: Introduction

B.1.2: Features of Liberalism

B.1.3: Neo-liberalism

B.1.4: Classification of Neo-liberalism

- i) Sociological Realism
- ii) Interdependence Liberalism
- iii) Institutional Liberalism
- iv) Republican Liberalism

B.1.5: Globalization and Liberalism

B.1.6: Criticism of Liberalism

B.1.7: Conclusion

B.1.8: References

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**B.1.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with Liberalism, which is one of the prominent approaches of the international relations. After studying this module, you shall be able to understand:

- International Relations can be cooperative rather than conflictual
  - Liberty of the individual
  - Different paradigms of Liberalism
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**B.1.1: Introduction**

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Liberalism is an ideology that focuses on the commitment to the individual, wish to create a society where people can accomplish their interests and achieve fulfilment. The liberalism theory in International Relations focuses on democracy and cooperation between states. In classical liberalism, scholars believe that individual shares many interests and can thus engage in cooperation. Liberalism as an ideology emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century. Liberalism as a whole is majorly influenced by three scholars-John Locke, Bentham and Immanuel Kant. John Locke became the father of liberalism. John Locke believes

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that “man possesses reason, and hence man can live in peace.” However, liberalism gained momentum with the Industrial Revolution, when ‘progress’ was the magic keyword for society.

The Industrial Revolution has created new norms of living for all parts of the society, especially in Europe and led to the emergence of the new social classes, and suddenly everything began to change. English philosopher John Locke has propounded natural rights theory and given priority to human progress in civil society and capitalist economy. He believed liberal democracy guaranteed individual freedom led to the development of capitalism. For Locke, unlike the Realist theorists, a state exists only to improve the liberty of individuals so that they could enjoy their lives without interference from other people. According to liberals, the state is a constitutional entity, not a power instrument. It protects the ‘rule of law’ and must respect its citizens’ rights.

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### **B.1.2: Features of Liberalism**

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Liberalism emphasises different features of world politics, from non-governmental ties between societies to organised cooperation between states. Liberalism is primarily based on the following three basic assumptions:

- 1) Liberals believe in a positive view of human nature
- 2) IR can be cooperative rather than conflictual
- 3) It revolves around the twin principles of consent and constitutionalism
- 4) Liberals believe in progress in the state system and the international system.

Liberalism is fundamentally focused on the liberty of the individual. Accordingly, it believed that warfare was an unnecessary and old-fashioned way of settling disputes between states. Instead, the conflicts could be resolved between the states by cooperation and peaceful manner. Immanuel Kant and Woodrow Wilson is champion of liberalism

#### **Immanuel Kant**

Immanuel Kant has propounded the concept of “perpetual peace” and held that constitutional states must respect each other and promote progress. The concept of perpetual peace is based on three definitive articles:

The Constitution of every state shall be “Republican”<sup>4</sup> Kant believes that only republican states can maintain a priori principles of justice, internally and externally.

Republicanism- according to him, democracy will be more restrained in going to war because of public opinion in comparison to monarchies and autocracies.

- The right of nations shall be based on a “Federation of Free states”. The federation is not to have a centralised government but must remain a federation of independent and free states bounded together by voluntary contract and a self-commitment to the principle of international and constitutional rights.
- “The cosmopolitan rights shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality.”<sup>5</sup>

Thus, all states could, in the end, establish ‘perpetual peace’ in the world. In his pamphlet titled “perpetual peace”, Kant writes that wars did not start due to international issues, but domestic matters forced the governments to go into war. He wanted there should be permanent peace among the countries of Europe, and so he proposed: “There should be free trade because protectionism leads to war.” Norman Angell- book: *‘The Great Illusion’*- illustrate that “it is an illusion that war benefits anyone, war doesn't benefit even those who win the war.

### Woodrow Wilson

In his “fourteen points” speech addressed to the US congress in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson argued that “a general association of nations must be formed to preserve the world peace.”<sup>6</sup> The “League of Nations” was the general association that idealist willed into existence. Moreover, it was the idea behind the “collective security” system central to the league of nations.

After the Second World War, the USA tried but got partial success. However, liberalism in International relations got maximum traction after the decline of cold war politics and gave rise to the debate-Neo-realist vs Neo-liberals. Thus, the neo-liberal ideas attracted more attention from the 1970s onwards in the name of neo-liberalism.

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<sup>4</sup> I. Kant, “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch”, in H. Reiss (ed.) *Kant's Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), p.102.

<sup>5</sup> Garrett Wallace Brown, “Kantian Cosmopolitan Law: And The Idea of A Cosmopolitan Constitution” *History of Political Thought* Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter 2006), p.682.

<sup>6</sup> Trygve Throntveit, “The Fable of the Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson and National Self-Determination”, *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Oxford: June 2011), p.471.

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### **B.1.3: Neo-liberalism**

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The neo-liberals challenged the hegemony of realism after the end of the cold war due to remarkable progress in the growth of International, Regional and Transnational organisations, treaties and regimes. Neo-liberalism have certain basic assumptions which is based on:

- Focus on Institutions and transnational actors.
- Man is rational by nature- a positive view of human nature.
- International relations are not always conflicting in nature- cooperation exist even if countries are going for a military alliance.
- Focus much on “progress” and “freedom”- because human beings are rational, they see things in a positive way.

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### **B. 1.4: Classification of Neo-liberalism**

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Neo-Liberalism may be divided into four types:

- 1) Sociological Realism
- 2) Interdependence Liberalism
- 3) Institutional Liberalism
- 4) Republican Liberalism

#### **i. Sociological Liberalism**

It focuses on transnational relations and critic of realist theory. It highlights the transnational non-governmental ties between societies. Main scholars of Sociological Liberalism are Karl Deutsch, John Burton and James N. Rosenau. Sociological liberalism says that IR is not only about the state to state relations; it is also about transnational relations. It gives priority to the existence of various groups and flourishes pluralism. Sociological liberals consider transnational relations to be an increasingly important aspect of international relations. James Rosenau defines trans-nationalism as follows: “the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have significant consequences for the course of events.”<sup>7</sup> Sociological liberalism also believes that the relations between

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<sup>7</sup> James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalization of World Affairs*, (Nichols Publishing Company, 1980).

people are more cooperative and more supportive of peace than are relations between national governments.

During the 1950s, Karl Deutsch was a leading figure in the study of transnational relations. Karl Deutsch concept of 'security community' is an alternative to the realist concept of the 'security dilemma.' The idea of the 'security community' is based on the expectation of peace through domestic politics. 'a group of people has become "integrated". "Integration means that a 'sense of community has been achieved; people have come to agree that their conflicts and problems can be resolved 'without resort to large-scale physical force.'"<sup>8</sup>The concept increases the trust amongst members of the region. People believe that all people in the community are cooperating. Therefore, they are not the source of insecurity to each other. The same thing is applicable in International politics.

John Burton has developed a "cobweb model" of transnational relationships. According to this model, each segment of any society, like schools, worker's groups, religious groups, and business groups, has different foreign relations types. Burton stated that "Realists" tried to demonstrate each state as a billiard ball while they were cobwebs. He believes that mutually beneficial cooperation is far preferable for states than antagonistic conflict.

## **ii. Interdependence Liberalism**

It focuses on trade and Commerce relation- promotion of economic interdependence through free trade. Main scholars are David Ricardo, Richard Rosecrance, Thomas Friedman Thomas Friedman has once stated that the two countries with McDonald's chains don't go to war. This shows that economic interdependence can bring peace. Interdependence means mutual dependence between peoples, governments and between the states. An advanced level of transnational relations between states means a higher level of interdependence. Interdependence Liberalism is based on the postulation that peace will rule when two nations mutually depend on each other. Individuals and governments are affected by the actions of their counterparts in other states, which promotes a higher level of transnational relations between states which promotes greater interdependence. Also, when modernisation increases, interdependence increases as well.

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<sup>8</sup>Karl Deutsch, Political Community and the North Atlantic Area (Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press, 1957).

Interdependence liberals argue that a high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence between states, which discourages and reduces violent conflict between states. A high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence between states, and that interdependence decreases violent conflicts between states. For example, Richard Rosencrance has stated, “war happens in less developed countries because these states only reached lower levels of economic development and therefore are not integrated enough into the world economy.”<sup>9</sup>

The important other variants of the interdependence liberalism are as under:

➤ **Functionalist theory of integration by David Mitrany**

The central feature of the functional approach is the creation of international agencies with limited and specific power defined by the function that they perform. Therefore, functional agencies operate only within the territories of the states that choose to join them and so do not threaten state sovereignty. David Mitrany advocated transnational cooperation likely to grow into a system of interdependence, dominated by the need to solve mutual problems.

Considering the interwar experience and that of the Second World War, Mitrany argued that “we must put our faith, not in a protected peace, but a working peace.”<sup>10</sup> He believed that, perhaps somewhat naively, technical experts should arrange that cooperation, not by politicians. The experts would devise solutions to common problems in various functional areas: transport, communication, finance, etc. technical and economic collaboration would expand when the participants discovered the mutual benefits that could be obtained from it. When citizens realised that the efficient collaboration in international organisations promotes their welfare measures, they would shift their loyalty from the state to international organisations. In that way, economic interdependence would lead to political integration and peace. The best example is the establishment of the ECSC and the European Union. Ernst Haas visualised a connection between economic cooperation and political integration, to be achieved by the process of automatic politicisation.

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<sup>9</sup>Robert H. Jackson, George Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p.103.

<sup>10</sup>David Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics* (London School of Economics & Political Science: Martin Robertson, 1975), p.121.

First, he rejected Mitrany's idea that power is separated from welfare, “power is merely a convenient term for describing violence-laden means used for the realisation of welfare aims.” Consequently, the functionalist doctrine that economic functions are separated from political functions was also rejected. Secondly, Haas modified Mitrany’s assumption that power-oriented governmental actions are transferred into welfare-oriented actions through the process of learning.

➤ **Ernst Haas: Neo-functionalist theory of international integration**

Ernst Haas developed a neo-functionalism theory of international integration inspired by the intensifying cooperation that began in the 1950s between the countries of Western Europe. Haas builds on Mitrany. But he rejects the notion that ‘technical’ matters can be separated from politics. Instead, integration has to do with getting self-interested political elites to intensify their cooperation. Integration is a process whereby “political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties toward a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing nation-states.”<sup>11</sup> This ‘functional’ integration process depends on the notion of ‘spill over’ when increased cooperation in one area leads to increased cooperation in other areas. Cooperation in one field leads to cooperation in another field and becomes stronger when cooperation begins. Thus, there is the cycle of cooperation and this process is called the “spillover effect.”

“Spillover” would ensure that political elites marched inexorably towards the promotion of integration. Ernst Haas saw that happening in the initial years of West European cooperation in the 1950s and early 1960s. He claimed that integration could not be achieved by neglecting politics; instead, integration can be achieved by increased cooperation of self-interested elites.

➤ **Complex Interdependence**

Complex interdependence was made in the late 1970s in a book by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence*.<sup>12</sup> They argue that post-war ‘complex interdependence’ is qualitatively

<sup>11</sup>EB Haas, *The Uniting of the Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces (1950-1957)* (Stanford University Press, 1958), p.16.

<sup>12</sup>Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence, World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1977).

different from earlier and simpler kinds of interdependence. Previously, international relations were directed by state leaders dealing with other state leaders. The use of military force was an option in the case of conflict between those national leaders. The 'high politics' of security and survival had priority over the 'low politics' of economics and social affairs.<sup>13</sup> Under conditions of complex interdependence, however, that is no longer the case, and for two reasons. First, relations between states nowadays are not only or even primarily relations between state leaders; there are relations on many different levels via many other actors and branches of government. Second, there is a host of transnational ties between individuals and groups outside of the state.

Furthermore, military force is a less useful instrument of policy under conditions of complex interdependence. Consequently, international relations are becoming more like domestic politics: 'Different issues generate different coalitions, both within governments and across them, and involve different degrees of conflict. Finally, under complex interdependence, states become more preoccupied with the 'low politics' of welfare and less concerned with national security' 'high politics'. Modernisation increases the level and scope of interdependence between states. The transnational actors are increasingly important; military force is a less useful instrument in a complex interdependence. The welfare - not security - is becoming the primary goal and concern of states. That means a world of more cooperative international relations.

- Bring about a decline in the use of military power
- Transnational actors increasingly important States not coherent units
- Economic and institutional instruments are more useful
- Military security is less important, and Welfare issues are increasingly important.

### **iii. Institutional Liberalism**

The primary claim of the Institutional liberals is that International institutions help to promote cooperation between states. To assess that claim, institutional liberals adopt a behaviouristic, scientific approach. First, an empirical measure of the extent of institutionalisation among states is formulated. The extent to which these international institutions have helped

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<sup>13</sup>Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence, World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1977), p. 23.

advance cooperation is then assessed. The argument made by institutional liberals is that a high level of institutionalisation significantly reduces the destabilising effects of multipolar anarchy identified by Mearsheimer. The other vital assumptions are as under:

- It focuses on Institutions that are capable of bringing peace to the international world order because they can convert the behaviour of the states. Thus, institutions make up for the lack of trust between states.
- The idea of the international organisation is to monitor and give a platform to the states to resolve issues and conflicts through dialogue.
- Liberal International world order- new Institutions with post-cold war, the rule of law cooperation and peace that would lead to stability.

Institutional liberalism promotes cooperation between states which help to ease the distrust and fear between the states. The lack of trust is considered the traditional problem associated with international anarchy. However, the positive role of international institutions in advancing cooperation between states continues to be questioned by realists.

In institutional liberalism, international institutions promote cooperation between states and institutions to alleviate problems concerning the lack of trust between states and reduce states' fear of each other.

#### iv. Republican Liberalism

Republican liberalism claims that liberal democracies are more peaceful and law-abiding than the other political systems. The simple justification of the above claim is that democracies do not fight each other. Immanuel Kant first articulated this observation in the late eighteenth century about republican states rather than democracies. Major thinkers of this school are Dean Babst, Immanuel Kant and Michael Doyle.

Dean Babst resurrected it in 1964, and it has been advanced in numerous studies since then. One liberal scholar even claims that the assertion that democracies do not fight each other is “one of the strongest nontrivial or non-tautological statements that can be made about international relations”.<sup>14</sup> This finding, then, is the basis of the present optimism among many liberal scholars and policymakers concerning the prospects of long-term world peace.

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<sup>14</sup> Russett, B. M. “Democracy and Peace”, in B. Russett, H. Starr, and R. J. Stoll (eds), *Choices in World Politics: Sovereignty and Interdependence* (New York: Freeman, 1989), p.245.

Michael Doyle propounded the *Democratic Peace Theory* and claimed that democracy leads to peace with other democracies. The democratic political culture encourages peaceful means of conflict resolution, which are extended beyond the domestic political process to other democratic states.<sup>15</sup> Political ideology, therefore, determines how democracies distinguish allies from adversaries. Democracy inspires peaceful International relations because democratic governments are controlled by their citizens, who will not support wars. The democracies also hold common moral values that lead to a pacific union (Kant). The union is not a formal peace treaty; instead, it is a zone of peace based on the common moral foundations of all democracies. Finally, peace between democracies is strengthened through economic cooperation and interdependence.

Republican liberalism is the one with the most substantial normative element. For most republican liberals, there is confidence and hope that world politics is already developing and will develop far beyond rivalry, conflict, and war between independent states. Republican liberals are optimistic that peace and cooperation will eventually prevail in international relations, based on progress towards a more democratic world.

### **Republican liberalism: Three conditions of peace among liberal democracies**

**First:** Democracy encourages peace because democratic government are controlled by citizens who will not support war with other democracies or other countries.

Moreover, democratic states are based on moral foundations and have a mutual understanding with other democracies. Therefore, the peaceful relations between democratic states are generally based on a common moral substance.

**Second:** Economic cooperation between democracies is easier to achieve, which is responsible for establishing peace between them.

**Third:** Democracies do not go to war against each other due to their domestic culture of peaceful conflict resolution, common moral values, and mutually beneficial economic cooperation and interdependence.

These are the basis on which their peaceful relations are based. For these reasons, an entire world of consolidated liberal democracies could be expected to be a peaceful world.

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<sup>15</sup> Miriam Fendius Elman (ed.) "The Need for a Qualitative Test of the Democratic Peace Theory," in *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer?*(Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1997), p.11.

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### **B.1.5: Globalisation and Liberalism**

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The end of the cold war politics and demise of the Soviet communism in the 1990s enhanced the scope of the liberal theory of International relations. Fukuyama has also stated that the collapse of the Soviet Union proved that liberal democracy had no severe ideological competitor. Fukuyama believes that progress in human history can be measured by adopting principles of legitimacy and the elimination of global conflict that has evolved in domestic political orders. Globalisation coincided with a renaissance of neo-liberal thinking in the Western world. Globalisation has upheld the liberal idea of bringing peace in an anarchical world through cooperation. Anarchy as a vacuum is gradually filled due to human-created processes and institutions. States are more interdependent than before; significant economies are globalised, more and more states are democratic. On the other hand, globalisation has weakened the nation-state in different ways that have pleased liberals. The state cannot prevent its citizens from turning to a range of sub-national and transnational agents to promote their political objectives and secure their political identities.

The hyper-globalists claim that globalisation has increased interconnectivity following the disappearance of borders or a “borderless world” (Ohmae, 1995).<sup>16</sup> K. Ohmae argues that globalisation and the disappearance of borders facilitate financial flows and business transactions. The state becomes less plausible as interconnectivity intensifies. Market forces in a globalising order shape core social and policy interactions. Liberals believe that globalisation has created opportunities for both economic and technological development.

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### **B.1.6: Criticisms of Liberalism**

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International Relations are not only the study of trans-relations between two or more states; it is also the study of relations between the governments of two sovereign states. These are the following criticism of Liberalism.

- Realists criticise liberals for having a positive view of human nature and their belief in human reason. Realists say that every reason fails when another state attacks a state because you do not get enough time to apply reason. The prevalence of anarchy in the international system increases the possibility of war amongst states.

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<sup>16</sup>K. Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

- Realists disagree with the idea that mutual dependence increases cooperation between the states because they believe that states have no interest in relative gains. Instead, states want to have absolute gains majorly with other countries.
- Neo-realists are critical of the liberal view. They argue that anarchy cannot be eclipsed and, therefore, that liberal optimism is not warranted. As long as anarchy prevails, there is no escape from self-help and the security dilemma.
- Institutional liberals believe that world order can be established with the help of global Institutions, but contrary to this realist says that these institutions are nothing but mere puppets in the hands of powerful countries and constantly remain dependent on them.
- Republican liberalism says that democratic governments will not go to war against each other because people run them, but there is always a risk that liberal or democratic governments might convert into autocratic or other forms of democracy.
- Liberalism has again gone into crisis due to specific changes in international politics such as BREXIT, trade war, America first and from 2001 and prominently from 2008 onwards.
- Social constructivists are the fundamental critique of new liberalism and believe that institutions are not determined exclusively by actors, but in fact, help constitutes actors' preferences based on the identities of individual member states (Wendt, 1999).
- Immanuel Wallerstein, a Marxist scholar, has criticised liberalism by saying that “universalism as a “gift” of the powerful to the weak, which places them in a double bind: to refuse the gift is to lose, to accept the gift is to lose.”

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### **B.1.7: Conclusion**

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Liberalism scholars believe that the concentrations of unaccountable ferocious power are the fundamental threat to individual liberty. The liberty of the individuals must be restrained. The core means of limiting power are institutions and norms at both the domestic and international levels. At the international level, institutions and organisations restrict the power of states by fostering cooperation and providing a means for imposing costs on states that violate international agreements. Economic institutions are particularly effective at promoting cooperation because of the substantial benefits that can be derived from economic interdependence.

**Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

**1) What are the reasons behind Liberals optimism about human progress, cooperation, and peace?**

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**2) How do liberals envision that peace and cooperation can be promoted in international relations?**

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**B.1.8: References**

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## **(C) Social Constructivism**

### C.1.0: Objective

### C.1.1: Introduction

### C.1.2: Constructing the New Order

### C.1.3: Basic Assumptions

### C.1.4: Alexander Wendt's Social Constructivism

### C.1.5: Criticism of Social Constructivism

### B.1.6: Conclusion

### B.1.7: References

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## **C.1.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with Social Constructivism, which is a new approach of the International Relations. After studying this module, you shall be able to understand:

- The behaviour of social and political actors in International Relations.
- The social identities of individuals or states.

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## **C.1.1: Introduction**

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Social Constructivism has been the most influential theory to international relations after the end of cold war politics. It emerged when the cold war was on the last verge of an ending. According to social constructivists, the cold war was a tale of miscalculations, misunderstandings and misconceptions. The end of the cold war led to the emergence of two new debates: between rationalists and constructivists and between critical theorists and constructivists emerged. The constructivist approach challenged the rationalism and positivism of neo-realism and neo-liberalism. As a result, the American discourse of International Relations theory has developed a new 'constructivist' school of thought.

Constructivists sought to explore three main ontological propositions about social life, which are as follows:

- The structures can be said to shape the behaviour of social and political actors, be they individuals or states; constructivists believe that normative structures are important just as material structures. Constructivists argue that "systems of shared beliefs, ideas and values have structural

characteristics and exercise a powerful influence on social and political action. Constructivists argue that ‘material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded.’<sup>17</sup>

- Constructivists argue that understanding how non-material structures condition actors’ identities are essential because identities inform interests and, in turn, actions. In the context of interest formation, Social constructivists have emphasised the social identities of individuals or states. For example, Wendt has stated that “identities are the basis of interests.”<sup>18</sup>
- Constructivists argued that agents and structures are mutually constituted. The constructivists stated that normative and ideational structures are perceived as the three mechanisms: imagination, communication, and constraint shapes the actor’s identities and interests. Constructivists argue that imagination works as non-material structures that affect what actors see as the realm of possibility. Example: A Prime Minister in an established liberal democracy will only imagine and select specific strategies to enhance their power, and the norms of the liberal democratic polity will condition their expectations. Normative structures also exertion their influence through communication. Even if normative and ideational structures do not affect an actor’s behaviour by framing their imagination or providing a linguistic or moral court of appeal, constructivists argue that they can place significant constraints on their conduct.

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### **C.1.2: Constructing the New Order**

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Social constructivist tries to focus on why we think, what we think. How international relations run. As a critical theory, it gives a different view than the mainstream theories of international relations. The constructivist approach is based on the belief that there is no objective social or political reality independent of our understanding of it. They highlight the missing aspect of the “structure-agent” debate in international politics. They stand in between the ‘inside-out’ and ‘outside-in’ approaches. It holds interaction between agents and structures that are always mediated by ‘identical factors’ such as beliefs, values, theories, and assumptions.

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<sup>17</sup>(Wendt 1995: 73)

<sup>18</sup>Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics”, *International Organization*, Spring, 1992, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 391.

Nicholas Onuf is the man who coined the term “constructivism” in his work *World of our Making* (1989)<sup>19</sup> and introduced it in International Relations. Alexander Wendt is a proponent of constructivism theorists in International relations. According to Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*, anarchy's logic seems to constitute self-help and power politics as necessary features of world politics. Alexander Wendt disagrees with classical theories (Realism, Liberalism and Marxism) and insists that the states create anarchy, not a pre-established fact. Wendt criticised Kenneth Waltz concept of structural realism and stated that “Anarchy is What States Make of it.”<sup>20</sup> This article is one of the significant works of constructivism in International relations. It implies that in International relations, the behaviour of a State is not determined by the international structure of global politics as suggested by neo-realists. Instead, the behaviour of a State depends on how it views anarchy.

Realist presumes that there is anarchy in international politics because there is no International or World government. However, it doesn't mean that it should necessarily lead us to a “security dilemma” and search for power. But anarchy is being interpreted in a specific way. This particular way is not based on facts. Instead of a factual situation, it is cultural. It is a specific norm or a value to interpret the concrete situation. Thus, in International politics, the reality is shaped by the norms and the values and ideas. Hence, Wendt suggests that “anarchy is what states make of it.”

Wendt discussed two types of anarchy- a) Anarchy of Enemy and b) Anarchy of Friends. Some states view anarchy as a threatening phenomenon, and others may see it as the basis for freedom and opportunity. Thus, States act differently towards enemies and friends. It indicates that States are not objective entities, but they are subjective entities, and their subjectivity remains dependent on a particular set of traditions, values and assumptions they believe in.

Social constructivists suggest that we should verify what we think about others. Hence, there is a need for communication to understand reality. Anarchy is not explained correctly by any realist scholar. According to him, identity is ignored by the realists. Wendt claims that Morgenthau was exogenous to social relations and regarded states as an endogenous entity. He further said that the realist scholar failed to understand the basis upon which national interests are formed. In his book *Social Theory of International Politics*,<sup>21</sup> he wrote that “ideas create identity, identity determines interest, and interests shape the behaviour of a state.”

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<sup>19</sup>Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*(Columbia:University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

<sup>20</sup>Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics”, *International Organization*, Spring, 1992, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 391- 425.

<sup>21</sup>Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

### **C.1.3: Basic Assumptions**

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Like the other mainstream theories of International relations, constructivists also believe that states are the most significant actors in International relations. But unlike the theories, they claim the importance of ideas, norms, identities, and beliefs in shaping the behaviour of States. They assert the origin of interests of States in International relations which is their unique contribution to studies. Social Constructivism believes that the behaviour of the State is dynamic. They focused on three assumptions; like

- States are the unit of analysis
- Ideas, Norms, Identities, and Beliefs are important
- Identities are produced by interaction

The behaviour of multiple States can be different at one time, or the conduct of one state can be different at other times. They believe that reality is constructed. What is rational for one State can be irrational for another. Social Constructivist explains that identity aligns with the national interest. Two countries will have similar national interests if both have identical identities. According to them, there are three types of collective security:

- Competitive security system
- Individualistic security
- Cooperative security system

Self-help forms of anarchy in the sense that states do not positively identify the security of self with others but treat security as the individual responsibility of each in competitive and individualistic systems. On the other hand, in the cooperative security system, States cooperate positively with each other with the feeling that the security of each is perceived as the responsibility of all. Wendt claimed that neo-liberalism failed because it has sought to describe cooperation by focusing on process, but it has not given importance to systemic variables. According to Wendt, the two basic tenets of constructivism are: The first is the “structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and second is the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

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### C.1.4: Alexander Wendt's Social Constructivism

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Alexander Wendt contended that self-help and power politics are part of the anarchic structure. Both emanated from constant practices or cooperation between states and not from some initial set structures. Wendt explains three different ways in which identities and interests are transformed under the conditions of anarchy:

- By the institution of sovereignty
- By the evolution of cooperation
- By intentional efforts to transform egoistic identities into collective identities.

If actors changed, their actions system would change; as a result, the process defines the structure, and structure has no meaning and power outside of the process. Practices and processes contributed to the formation of the International system. He stresses that the institution of sovereignty led to the evolution of cooperation and international efforts to transform idealistic identities of the state into collective identities. He criticised realists view on IR, primarily Kenneth Waltz's definition of International structure, because he thinks that it does not explain or predict the relation between states: He asked the following questions:

- Will they be friends or foes?
- Will they recognise each other's sovereignty?
- Will they have dynastic ties?
- Will they be revisionist or status quo powers and so on?

But these factors are keys to state security and will determine their relations. A fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, based on the meanings that the objects have. States act differently towards enemies than they do towards friends because enemies are threatening and friends are not. Structures organise our actions. Actors acquire identities by participating in such collective meanings; when this collective meaning disappears, it influences this state's interests and identities. For example, the cold war ended without mutual threat and hostility towards the USA and USSR, which previously defined their identities. These states seem unsure of what their interests should be. He also mentioned the fascinating thoughts of great sociologist Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann put that humans can forget their authorship of the Human World.

However, it is not that easy to change every day practices because a stable system provides relatively stable role identities, which minimises uncertainty and anxiety and helps to avoid the expected costs of breaking commitments made to others. So it will be manifested in efforts to conform to existing beliefs about the world. Wendt says that neo-realism and neo-liberalism cannot account for changes in the system, but norms-based constructivism can. A major difficulty in this piece is how states behave in the first period before they have any priors.

On sovereignty, Wendt said the theory of sovereignty was developed for a long time, is providing a social basis for the individuality and security of states. It is a social construct because there is no sovereignty without the mutual recognition of one another's right to exercise exclusive political authority within territorial limits. If states stop acting according to this principle, their identity will disappear. The fate of Napoleon and Hitler illustrates what happens when one State begins to neglect the sovereignty of others; changing of identities and interests can take place in various ways. For example, Western European states used cooperation after the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World war to stop wars in Europe, and it worked. Another way is self-reflection and change from within.

Thus, constructivism seeks to determine the identities and interests of States and criticises realism and liberalism. Constructivist believes that states are enduringly in constructing and reconstructing themselves and their relationships with other participants of the International system. States exist in a system whose practices have created changing patterns, leading to changing the system. For constructivists, International relations are the construct of social constructions, and it is the social construct that derives the national interests of any country.

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### **C.1.5: Criticisms**

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Critics argued that constructivism fails to recognise the extent to which social, economic and political realities shape beliefs. Constructivists do not adequately analyse the problem of anarchy. Copeland has stated that anarchy is the problem of uncertainty. The uncertainty is about the present intentions of other states, and it is about the future intentions of other states. Copeland has also specified that "realism claims that states of being uncertain about the present and future interests of the other states, and in anarchies of great powers, such uncertainty may often be profound." According to Copeland, Wendt's constructivist analysis overly downplays that states have difficulties obtaining trustworthy information about the motives and intentions of other states. Moreover, the uncertainty may

be significantly increased by the fact of deception. There are more criticism by other thinkers; like

- Stephen Krasner and other neo-realists are sceptical about the importance that constructivists attach to norms, in particular international norms. Neo-realists rejected that “states can easily become friends due to their social interaction.”
- Robert Jervis criticised constructivists because it fails to explain many fundamental questions: how norms are formed, how identities are shaped, and how interests are defined as they do.... it does not tell us anything about the expected content of IR.
- Some Marxists scholars also criticised the constructivism approach on the ground that it leaves little space for social interaction. Wallerstein’s dependency theory focuses on the material structure of capitalism, not other aspects.

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### **C.1.6: Conclusion**

The theory of social constructivism has had several significant impacts on the development of international relations theory. First, the constructivists have generated interest in re-reading the historical facts and re-thinking what has long been treated as given in the analysis of International Relations. Second, it has heralded a return to a more sociological, normative, historical, and practice-oriented method in International Relations. Third, constructivist scholars have been engaged in philosophical reflection about the nature of the good or the right. Fourth, they have done much to demonstrate the power of ideas, norms and values in shaping World politics. The emphasis of social constructivism theory is on human consciousness and its implication in International relations. They believe that the International system is created by ideas, not by material forces; it is a more general theory about the social world, which has emphasised the social construction of reality. The social world is a world of human consciousness based on human thoughts, beliefs, concepts, and discourses - the ideas on which social constructivism is based: ideologies, normative beliefs, and policy prescriptions. Alexander Wendt stated that processes of interaction create the identities and interests of states. Wendt has rejected the neorealist conception of anarchy, which necessarily leads to self-help.

### Check Your Progress Exercise

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

**1) Do you think that Social Constructivism is primarily about the nature of the social world, or it is mainly a substance about IR?**

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**2) What distinguishes Social Constructivism from the other approaches in International Relations? Discuss.**

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### C.1.7: References

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## APPROACHES TO IR – II

### Unit Structure

#### (A) Marxist Approaches

A.2.0: Objective

A.2.1: Introduction

A.2.2: Marxist Approaches to the Study of International Relations

A.2.3: Basic Assumptions of Marxist Approaches

A.2.4: Major Theories of Marxist Approaches in International Relations

- i. Imperialism Theory
- ii. Dependency Theory
- iii. World System Theory
- iv. Hegemony Theory

A.2.5: Conclusion

A.2.6: References

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### A.2.0: Objective

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with one of the most controversial approaches of international relations, Marxism. After studying this module, you should be able to

- Explore the basic assumptions of Marxist approach in International Relations
- The evolution of various Marxist theories like Imperialism, Dependency, World System Theory and Hegemony in realm of international relations
- Analyse the Marxist explanation to the nature of international relations, which elucidates it as a struggle for distribution of economic resources.

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### **A.2.1: Introduction**

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The Marxist approach is one of the most important and a dynamic approach to the study of International Relations, which emerged from the writings of Karl Marx in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It contrasts sharply with the traditional approaches of international relations such as Realism and Liberalism in manner that it insists on the need for radical change. Unlike the Realist and Liberalist approaches, it is not 'status quoist' in nature and attempts to bring the radical change in the prevailing social, economic, political and international order. Compared to Realism and Liberalism, Marxist approach presents a rather unfamiliar view of international relations. While the formers portray international relations in much familiar ways of 'struggle for power' and 'interdependence' or 'complex interdependence', the Marxist approach indeed intends to expose a deeper, underlying and hidden truth of the international relations. To the Marxists such truth lies in the fact that all familiar events of international relations like wars, treaties, cooperation, peace, international aid programmes, etc., occur within structures, which deeply influence those events. These are the structures of the international capitalist system. Marxism believes that any attempt to understand international relations must be based on a broader understanding of the processes that operate within the international capitalist system (Hobden and Jones 2011:132).

Moreover, Marxism is a central theory of international relations, which offers an alternative understanding of the international system. It not only attempts to explain the international capitalism and the forces of globalization in terms of sphere of powers, international inequalities, mass exploitation and class conflicts but also to change them with a form of international cooperation and emancipation which would promote freedom, equality and peace in international system.

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### **A.2.2: Marxist Approach to the Study of International Relations**

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Marxism as it is well known is based on the philosophical, economic and political work of Karl Marx (and sometimes his co-author Friedrich Engels), was fundamentally associated to the analysis of economic structures of society, but was not primarily concerned with the formation of states or even the interactions and relations between them. This is the reason why most of the theorists of International Relations have long maintained the orthodox that Marxist approach does not contain anything of relevance on international relations. Although, such assertions may not be totally unfounded as Marx was mostly occupied with the analysis of the structures of national capitalism, but it does not mean that an

internationalist perspective was not portrayed in his work. Industrial revolution was the event, which connected Marx's interest to the international relations as he witnessed that and attempted to develop a revolutionary approach that transcended national differences. This was evident in Marx's recognition of the class loyalties cut across the national division, which enabled him to proclaim at the end of the Communist Manifesto 1848, "Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains!".

In other words, whereas Liberal and Realist approaches hold that power is organised vertically reflecting the division of the world into independent states, Marxism advances a theory of horizontal organisation based on international class. However, the implications of viewing capitalism as an international system were not fully explored until the Marxist thinker Lenin (1917)'s famous work "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism". Lenin argued that imperial expansion reflected domestic capitalism's quest to maintain profit levels through the export of surplus capital, and that this, in turn, brought major capitalist powers into conflict with one another and resulting into an imperialist war.

Hence, Marxist approach provides a thoughtful insight of international relations by linking it with the analysis of capitalism as an international economic system and its complicated link with imperialism, colonialism and dominance in the international system. It also provides a significant theoretical framework to understand the impact of international capitalism on the developing and under-developed countries from the perspective of global south. Furthermore, it imparts a candid criticism of the dominant theories of international relations on the basis of their unchallenged assumption of the primacy of state as a key actor in the international relations and maintaining a status-quo in the international system by legitimising the prevailing political, social and economic structures of dominance. Thus, Marx and his followers have developed sophisticated conceptual tools and methods to critic and understand the social reality. "Marx wrote that philosophers had only interpreted the world whereas the real point was to change it". The Marxist approach to international relations focuses on totality to understand international system. Its main objective is to bring a radical change in the working of the international system which is obsessed from war, domination, exploitation, exclusion, marginalisation, poverty and other kinds of human problems.

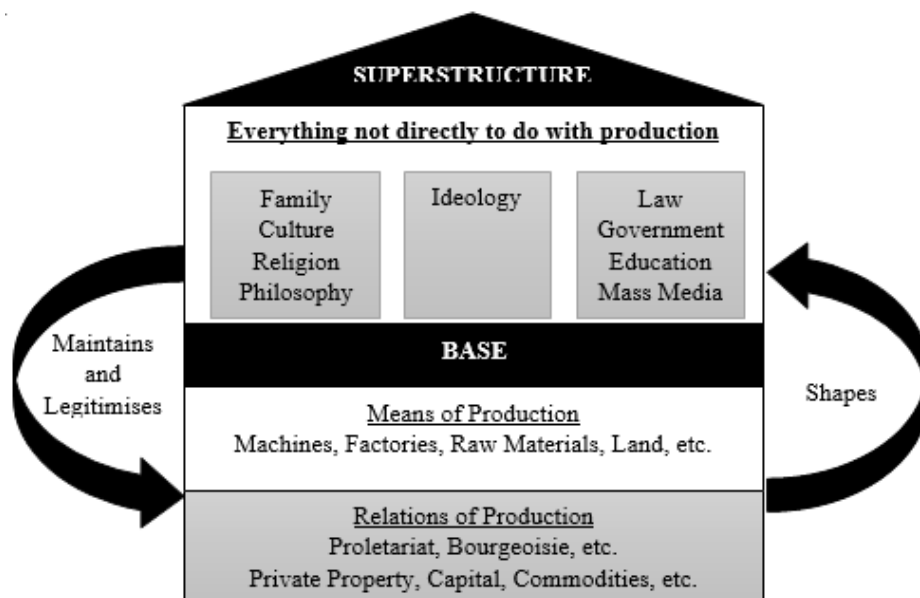
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### **A.2.3: Basic Assumptions of Marxist Approach**

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Marxism seeks to understand the problems of human society through the historical materialism (materialist conception of history). Most simply, historical materialism asserts that human beings— including their relations with each other

and their environment– are determined by the material conditions in which they can survive and reproduce. Therefore, Marxist asserts that the processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society. Hence, economic development is effectively the key driver of the history. The key dynamic in the process that Marx identifies is the tension between the means of production and the relations of production that together form the economic base of a given society. As the means of production (technology) develop, the relations of production (and especially the division between those who own the means of production and those who must work for them to survive) become outmoded, and indeed become restraints for the utilisation of the new productive capacity. This inturn leads to a process of social change whereby relations of production are transformed in order to better accommodate the new configuration of means of production. Developments in the economic base, thus act as a catalyst for the radical change in society and ultimately leads to change in the legal and political superstructure (Hobden and Jones 2011: 133-134; Pal 2017: 43). If we take together, the means of production and relations of production form a specific mode of production, for example capitalism, which is based on industrial machinery and private ownership/property. The bourgeoisie, which dominates the capitalist economy through control of the means of production (base), also tends to dominate in the political and legal system (superstructure) because according to Marxist approach, economics is the basis of politics. This assumption was further expounded by a Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci that this superstructure in turn also maintains and legitimises the base. (See Fig. 1).



*Figure 1: Base-Superstructure Analysis*

Marxists also elucidates that the class plays a significant role in the analysis of the society. In contrast to Liberalists, who believe that there is an essential harmony of interest between different social groups, Marxists claim that society is systematically prone to class conflict. Indeed, Marx submitted in the Communist Manifesto (1848) that, “the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle”. In capitalist society, the main axis of conflict is between the two classes—the bourgeoisie (capitalist) and the proletariat (workers). Against the Liberalists, Marx was not interested in just developing an understanding of the dynamics of capitalist society for the sake of it. Rather, he expected such an understanding to make it easier to overthrow the prevailing order and replace it with a communist society – a society in which wage labour and private property are abolished and social relations transformed.

Hence, it is absolutely clear that Marx was committed to the philosophy of emancipation from all type of exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles, but his writings are mostly limited to the analysis within the national sphere. Marx himself provided very little in terms of a theoretical analysis of international relations. However, his ideas have been interpreted and appropriated in a number of different and contradictory ways, resulting in a number of competing schools and theories of Marxism to understand international relations. The Marxist approaches stress that International Relations is not just about states’ foreign policy or the behaviour of states, but more about survival, reproduction, technologies and labour. It also criticises, the Realist’s supposition of the concept of anarchy, which creates the mirage that states are autonomous agents whose rational behaviour can be predicted because this supposition ignores the endurance of regional inequalities and the structural and historical links between states, violence and the key actors of the global political economy.

Therefore, the basic assumptions of the Marxist approaches for the study of International Relations are that, the states are not autonomous; they are driven by the interests of economically dominant class, and capitalist states are primarily driven by the interests of their respective bourgeoisies. This means that struggles between states, including wars, should be seen in the economic context of competition between capitalist classes of different states around the world. For Marxists, thus, the class conflict is more fundamental than conflict between states. Second, as an economic system, capitalism is expansive: there is a never-ending search for new markets, more resources, labours and more profit, which in turn leads to the exploitation of labours (class exploitation). As the classes cut across the state borders (national division); thus, class conflict is not confined to a state; instead, it expands across the world as an expansion of capitalism. Such

expansion first took the form of imperialism and colonisation, and later takes the form of economic globalization. And third, enduring peace can only be established after the world revolution, as it would signify the collapse of the structures of international capitalism, imperialism and ushering in of a classless and stateless society. Hence, according to Marxist approach, international relations and particularly the foreign policies of states are determined by the social relations and structure of global economy. This connotation is consequently, expounded and developed by different Marxist scholars as some important theories of international relations.

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#### **A.2.4: Major Theories of Marxist Approaches in International Relations**

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Apart from Liberal and Realist schools of thought, many Marxist theorists have made attempts to explain the nature of international relations. Based on the Marxist approach, they took at the relations amongst the states as unequal due to the economic disparity between them. A major focus of Marxist scholars has been on the manner in which capitalist system-based countries are trying to shape and maintain the international relations as per their on economic benefits. There are four major theories of Marxist approaches in the international relations: Imperialism theory, Dependency theory, World System theory, and Hegemony theory.

##### **(i) Imperialism Theory**

The first application of Marxist ideas to explain international processes was by Marxist and revolutionaries of the early twentieth century such as, Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin. These authors developed what we now call the classical theories of imperialism to understand how capitalism expanded and adapted to a world of inter-imperial rivalry leading to the First World War (1914-1918), which was fought for the control of colonies across Africa, Asia and elsewhere. They challenged the theory of Imperialism given by Liberalist thinker J.A. Hobson (1902) in his book “Imperialism: A Study”, which claims that surplus capital which could not find lucrative investment opportunities at home, due to over-saving/under-consumption, sought outlets abroad, and it was these sectional interests that drove imperialism and thus social and wage reforms in capitalism could rest it imperialist tendencies.

Consequently, a scholarly debate emerged between Liberalists and Marxists thinkers pertaining the explanation of imperialism. The most well-known

and influential work was emerged in the writings of Lenin. In his monumental work, "Imperialism-The Highest Stage of Capitalism", Lenin (1917) propounded the theory of imperialism, which offers a theoretical reflection on the development of capitalism and its historical trends. Lenin was pessimistic of the possibility of reforming capitalism of its imperialist tendencies and criticized Hobson's theory and submitted that the new imperialism grown from capitalism is very much different from the old one. He argued that new imperialism is neither a desire for new investment nor a search for new markets for goods or export of ordinary commodities as defined by Hobson. Rather imperialism is an export of capital and direct continuation of fundamental properties of capitalism in general across the world. He rejected all liberalist notions by insisting that imperialism is the inevitable 'highest stage' of capitalism, which could only be defeated by revolution.

While expounding the theory of imperialism, Lenin accepted much of Marx's basic thesis, but argued that the character of capitalism has now changed drastically from the times of Marx due to the export of capital and thus, Capitalism has now entered into a new stage with the development of monopoly capitalism. He attempted to prove that the rise of monopoly changed the relationship between the advanced capitalist nations and the rest of the world, and qualitatively altered the nature of capitalism and led it to its highest and final stage— imperialism. He asserted that imperialism created, a two-tier structure within the world-economy with a dominant core exploiting a less-developed periphery. With the development of a core and periphery, there was no longer an automatic harmony of interests between all workers. The bourgeoisie in the core countries could use profits derived from exploiting the periphery to improve the lot of their own proletariat. Therefore, the export of capital not only to lead the expansion of imperialism but also add to the exploitation of periphery countries, often serve as colonies. These debates on the capitalist expansion through imperialism further laid the basis for the emergence of Dependency and World System theory in the international relations.

## **(ii) Dependency Theory**

Dependency Theory is fundamentally based on the concept of international relation of economic domination and exploitation by the more economically powerful countries over the less economically powerful countries. It reveals the contrasting forms of dominance and dependence in the international system and took forward the notion of two-tier structure of core and

periphery in world economy which was earlier described by Lenin. It attempts to understand the economic underdevelopment amidst the expansion of capitalist economy across the world.

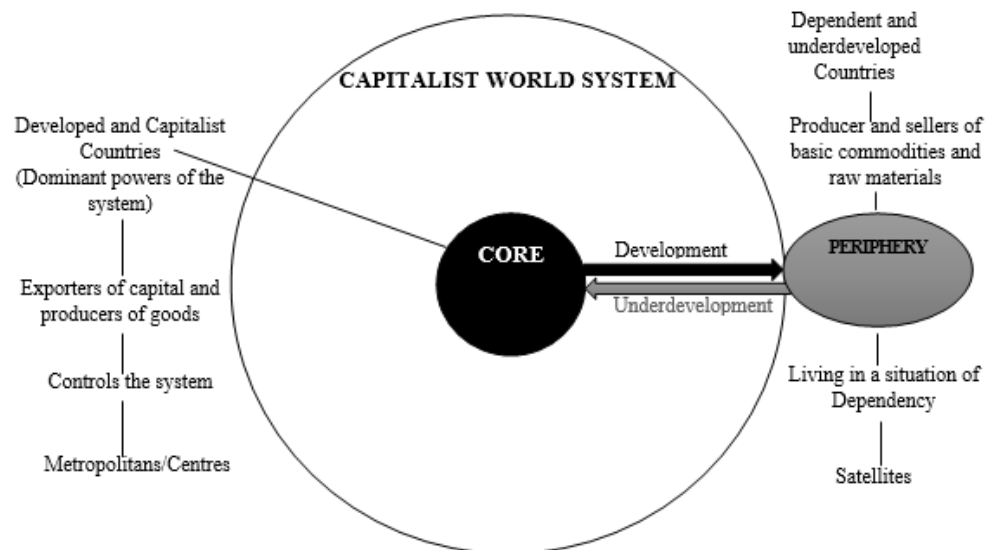
Dependency theory was first proposed in the late 1950s by the Argentine economist and statesman Raul Prebisch, but gained prominence in the 1960s and 70s. It analyses the internal dynamics of underdeveloped countries and relates their underdevelopment to their positions in the international economic system.

According to Dependency theory, in the two-tier structure of world economy, the underdeveloped countries are regarded as the peripheries and the developed countries as the cores/centres. The theory claims that the underdevelopment of the periphery countries can only be analysed with reference to the world capitalist system, which stands dominated by the developed cores/centres as a result of expansion of capitalism around the world. It asserts that the underdevelopment of countries in the capitalist economic system is related to the socio-economic-politico-cultural processes which link these countries to the developed countries. Further, these processes lead to external dependence of periphery countries, which resulted into the underdevelopment of these countries. Thus, the periphery countries live in a state of dependency, which can be defined as “a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-starting while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as reflection of that expansion which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development”. Hence, the underdeveloped can be referred as a situation of dependency which has resulted from the expansion of world capitalism.

The main advocates of Dependency Theory are Paul Baran, Dos Santos, Andre Gunder Frank, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Frantz Fanon and Samir Amin. All of them agree that underdevelopment of the periphery countries is directly related to their external dependence upon the developed core countries. They argued that the success of the advanced industrial economies cannot serve as a model for the currently developing and underdeveloped economies and criticised the popular paradigmatic consensus that growth strategies are universally applicable, articulated by

Rostow (1960) in his book, “The Stages of Economic Growth”. They assert that the success of the advanced industrial (developed) countries was a highly contingent and specific episode in international economic history, one dominated by the highly exploitative colonial relationships of the European powers. A repeat of those relationships is not now highly likely for the poor and underdeveloped countries of the world.

One of the best advocates of the Dependency theory, Frank (1966) stated that the underdevelopment of the Periphery/dependent countries was indeed conditioned by the development and expansion of a core/centre/developed economy in his famous book “The Development of Underdevelopment”. He holds that the development of the periphery countries is not possible at all within the capitalist world system, which continued to be pro-centre (pro-developed countries) to the complete disadvantage of the periphery. He used centre-periphery model to analyse the nature and pattern “development of underdevelopment” in the international system (see Fig. 2)



**Figure 2: Core-Periphery Model of Dependency Theory**

Frank believes that underdevelopment results from the unequal distribution of resources and exploitation of the underdeveloped and emerging countries by the developed and capitalist countries. Developed countries are at the core of the system, they export the capital and produce goods and thus, controls the system. While underdeveloped countries are at the periphery, they are producers and sellers of basic commodities to the developed countries and thus, living in a situation of dependency.

Frank is of the view that the capitalist world system involves both development and underdevelopment as the two aspects of the same system. Development in one area is a direct result of underdevelopment in some other area. Frank opines that the world system negates the significance of national boundaries and these countries are structured into the metropolitan-satellite relationship. This relationship is found not only between the rich metropolitan countries of the West and the poor satellite countries of the world but within a country too where the hinterland supplies to the city and is exploited by it. In the international economic system, according to Frank, metropolitan countries develop by expropriating the economic surpluses of the satellites and perpetuate their underdevelopment.

Frank (1967) in another book “Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America” asserts that Latin America experiences its highest rates of industrialization during the period between the end of World War-I and the beginning of World War-II. Brazil became one of the largest and most developed industrial hubs in Latin America. Despite the rapid development of Brazil, Frank argues that Brazil could not break out of the cycle of underdevelopment due to its continued reliance on the more developed nations as a way to export its resources. The reason is its economy has, on the contrary, become stagnant and increasingly dependent upon the economies of the developed and this is true for all periphery countries as they are constrained to be dependent in this capitalist world system. However, he has not explained much how some periphery countries like China, India, Brazil, South Africa, etc. increasingly developing in this system and how their relations have been continuously transforming with the core/developed countries and other periphery countries.

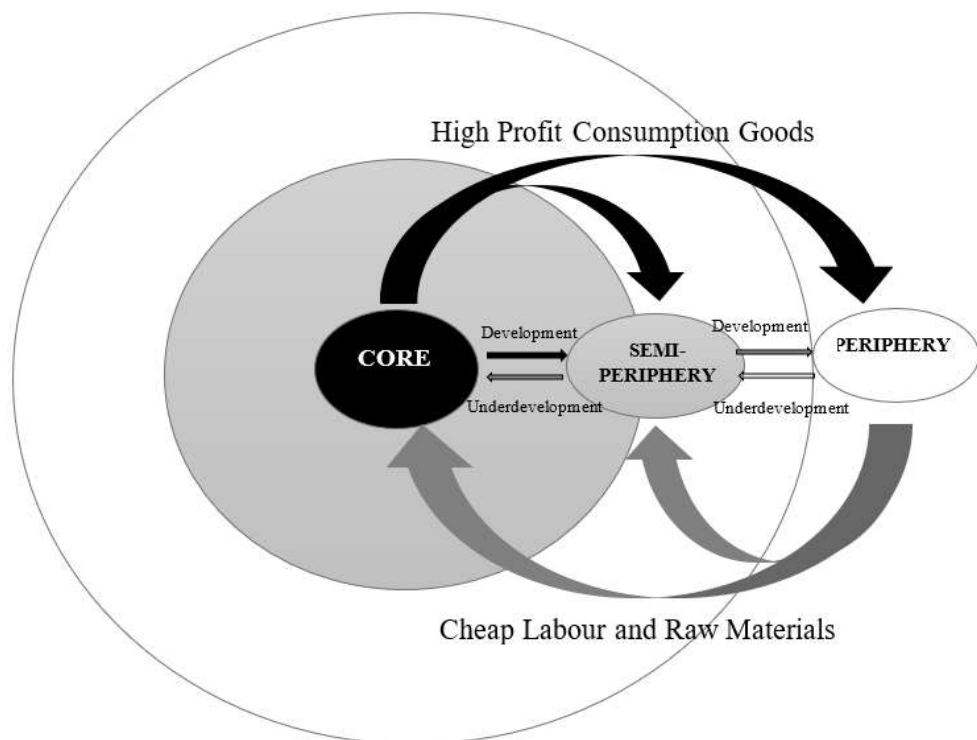
### **(iii) World System Theory**

The World systems theory was a response to the criticisms of Dependency Theory (however, some scholars also regarded it as a part of Dependency Theory). World Systems Theory was propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) in his seminal work “Modern World System” in which he argues that the history is marked by the emergence or collapse of various types of world system. The modern world system is an outcome of an expansion of capitalism, which is also bound to collapse one day.

Thus, Wallerstein accepted the fact that this world system is not static and the dependent countries are not doomed to be forever trapped in a state of dependency; it is possible for them to climb the economic ladder of

development, as many of them have done and some are doing very well. However, he also believes that the capitalist world system still requires to maintain the status quo of the core-periphery or metropolitan-satellite structure, which benefits capitalist and developed countries while exploits others.

Wallerstein defined the world system as a “multicultural territorial division of labour” (Wallerstein 1974) wherein the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is indispensable part of the system. This division of labour refers to the means of production and the relations of production of world economy as a whole, which results in the continuation of three interdependent territorial division—core, semi-periphery and periphery (see Fig. 3).



**Figure 3: World System Theory**

He said that the present world system is a power hierarchy between the core, semi-periphery and periphery rather than core and periphery. The developed and powerful countries represent the core. The periphery part is represented by the underdeveloped and poor countries. While the semi-periphery is an intermediate zone in this system, which displays certain characteristics of core and others characteristics of periphery. Unlike the periphery, which are believed to be highly underdeveloped in terms of

industrial advancement, the semi-periphery has strong industrial base like core. Because of this hybrid nature, the semi-periphery plays important economic and political roles within the modern world-system. In particular, it provides a source of labour that counteracts any upward pressure on wages in the core and also provides a new home for those industries that can no longer function profitably in the core.

In this modern world system, the core is able to produce high-profit consumption goods for itself as well as for the semi-periphery and periphery markets because the periphery provides the cheap labour and raw materials to the core and semi-periphery necessary to make these high-profit consumption goods. This Modern World System is dynamic in nature. Countries can move upwardly or downwardly as per their economic development or decline. This is one of the key differences between World System Theory and Dependency Theory. Many countries, such as the China, India, Brazil, South Africa, etc. have moved up from being peripheral countries to semi-peripheral countries. While some European countries are struggling to maintain as core countries might see a shift towards semi-periphery in future.

In other words, although historically some countries have shifted from periphery to semi-periphery and some have tendencies to do so, the capitalism always needs a peripheral region that provides the means for the core to sustain a high level of consumption and security. According to world-system theorists, the three zones of the world-economy are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from the periphery to the core. Wallerstein proclaimed that the capitalist world system as such does not change: it remains a hierarchy of core, semi-periphery, and periphery, characterized by unequal exchange. He saw the end of cold war and destruction of the Soviet Block as a consequence of the development of the capitalist world economy. Thus, world system theory submits that the relations of dependency and dominance are essential to capitalism and cannot be significantly reduced. However, scholars criticise over the significance of Wallerstein's world system theory and said that it puts too much emphasis on dependency and the economic dominance in the capitalist world system, while there are other elements of dominance and exploitation in capitalism, which are seriously neglected in the analysis. In which the most significant are the structures of cultural hegemony in the capitalist system expounded by Antonio Gramsci in the theory of hegemony.

**(iv) Hegemony Theory**

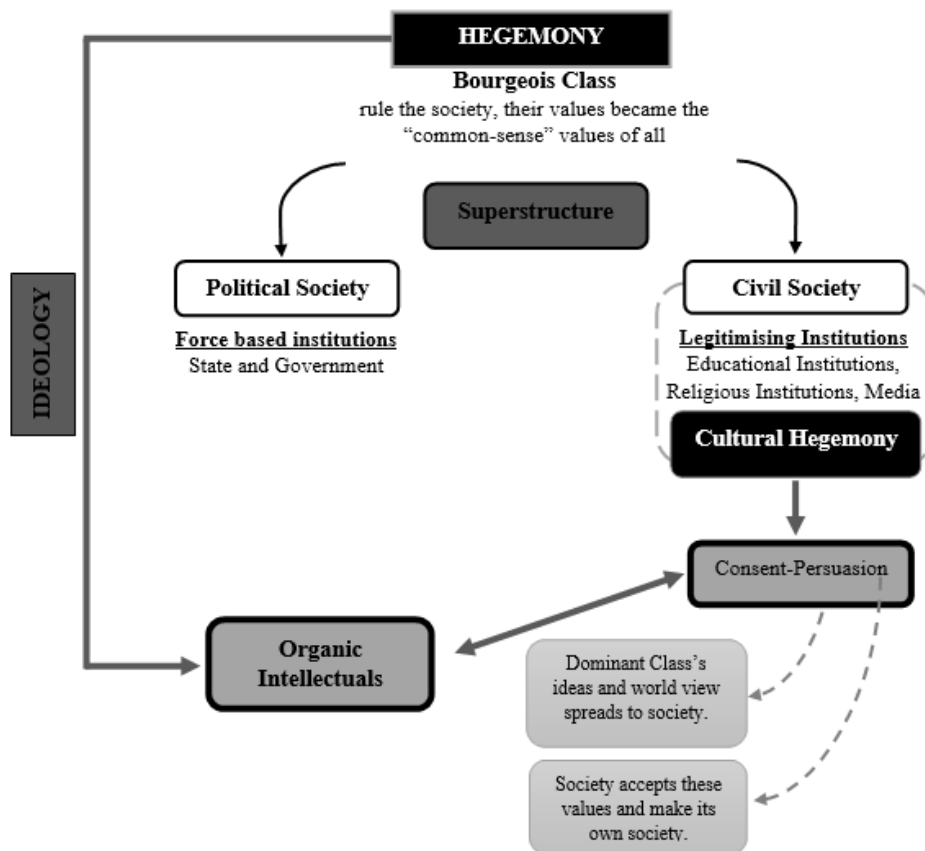
Hegemony theory was propounded by one of the most creative thinkers of the Marxist tradition of twentieth century, Antonio Gramsci in his remarkable work *Prison Notebook* (1947). The key question which animated Gramsci (1971)'s theoretical work was why it was that the working classes continued to support the capitalist system which seemed to have considerable impoverishment? Why the working class did not participate in revolution that might lead to overthrow of the regime which was exploitative? Why the capitalist system had become accepted by all as the best economic system? why had it proven to be so difficult to promote revolution in Western societies? (Sutch and Elias 2007). Though Marx made a prediction that in order to establish the socialism the revolution will first occurred in the western society but the attempts were failed and the revolution was first occurred in the countries like Soviet Union which were economically backward in comparison to western countries.

To explain all this, Gramsci introduced the 'Hegemony Theory'. According to Gramsci, Hegemony not only consists of a coercive element (State and Government) but also operates through consent therefore, "it is about the subtle forms of ideological control and manipulation perpetuated within what is called civil society (through things like educational system, religious institutions and the media) that serve to shore up the repressive and exploitative structures that underpin capitalist society".

Hence, Gramsci saw the capitalist state as being made up of two overlapping spheres, a forced-based institution, 'political society' (which rules through force) and a legitimising institution, 'civil society' (which rules through consent). Gramsci referred civil society as the public sphere which gained concessions from the bourgeois state, and the sphere in which ideas and beliefs were shaped, where bourgeois 'hegemony' was reproduced in cultural life through the educational institutions, religious institutions and mass media to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy.

Gramsci argued that the countries of western and central Europe had taken the support of both force and consent in order to maintain their position or hegemony in the international system. He claimed that the early Marxists focused only on the use of force and the capabilities of the state and government (Political Society) as the structures of dominance. but the fact is that the dominant class need to get the consent of the oppressed class also in order to maintain their position in world politics and this consent is attained by the Civil Society, which serves as a structure of dominance through consent-persuasion process (see Fig. 4).

According to Gramsci, hegemony is a tool through which the moral, political, cultural views and values are spread in a whole society and which are also accepted by the oppressed class as their own. Thus, the capitalist countries in the world exercised their hegemony in the cultural realm, which is referred as Cultural Hegemony. It influenced the thinking of oppressed class in a society by getting the consent of oppressed class through their institutions.



**Figure 4: Hegemony Theory**

In his hegemonic theory, Gramsci also saw ideology as a driver of hegemony in the bourgeois society. He redefined the term 'ideology' as a 'terrain' of practices, principles, and dogmas having a material and institutional nature. Gramsci further, described ideology in terms of system of class rule, i.e., hegemony, in which all ideological elements are organically arranged into a unified system. This complex arrangement constituted an 'organic ideology', which is diffused throughout the civil society. It, further emanates from the dynamic function of articulation performed by social agents known as 'organic intellectuals' of a hegemonic or potentially hegemonic class. These organic intellectuals serve as agents of equilibrium in the bourgeois society. In particular, the organic

intellectuals are most important since they are the ones who actually elaborate and spread organic ideology through consent-persuasion process

Therefore, Gramsci's hegemony theory submits that the ideology and other superstructures of cultural hegemony (civil society) allows the moral, political, and cultural values of the dominant class (bourgeois society) to become widely dispersed throughout society and to be accepted by subordinate classes as their own. In other words, the bourgeois ideology is so deeply internalised by the subordinate and exploited classes that it becomes part of the unquestioned 'common sense'.

Gramsci's contribution to the general body of Marxist thought lies in the fact that he successfully managed to shift the focus of Marxist analysis more towards super structural phenomena as against the traditional obsession of the orthodox Marxists with the economic base. He established the fact that the structure of society may ultimately be a reflection of social relations of production in the economic base, the nature of relations in the superstructure are of great relevance in determining how susceptible that society is to change and transformation.

After Gramsci, international relations theorists such as Robert Cox have attempted to 'internationalise' his thought by transposing several of his key concepts, most notably hegemony, to the global context. Using the examples of the two hegemons, United Kingdom and the United States, Cox manages to demonstrate that the ruling, hegemonic idea of 'free trade' is so widely accepted today in the world that it has almost become part of the 'common sense' even though it impacts upon the peripheral states adversely and only the dominant states tend to gain from it. Cox argues that the degree to which a state can produce and reproduce its hegemony in the international system indicates the extent of its power in the system. The success of the United States in gaining near universal acceptance for Neo-liberalism, Cox argues, shows the dominance of the current hegemon in the international system.

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### **A.2.5: Conclusion**

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The main contribution of Marxist approaches to the international relations is that it elucidates economics as a dominant factor that brings a change to the understanding of the world. This is an important distinction of Marxist approach from traditional approaches in international relations, such as realism and liberalism that stress the dominance of the political over the economic. Although, Marx himself had little to contribute by way of a theoretical analysis of international relations, his ideas have been interpreted and appropriated to analyse

the international relations and capitalist world system through various theories like imperialism, dependency, world system and hegemony. In contrast to the Realism and liberalism, which supports the status quo of the system, Marxist approaches present a critical appraisal of international relations and advocate for a radical change in the international system. What is noteworthy about the Marxist approaches to international relations is the fact that despite the collapse of Communist party rule in the former Soviet Union and other East European states, Marx's work has retained its relevance in the contemporary world. Of particular importance is Marxist analysis of the nature of capitalism, and the patterns of capitalist expansion around the world. This is the reason; Marxist approaches are often used to explain North-South relations and the gap in the relative wealth and development of the Northern Hemisphere compared to the Southern Hemisphere of our world. It has also been used by revolutionaries in Southern States as a justification to overthrow governments that are allegedly aligned with Northern States and their exploitation of the resources and people of the global South. Therefore, the main strength of the Marxist approaches to international relations lies in its ability to reveal the hidden truths of international capitalism. These hidden truths are analytically crucial as they provide the context in which international events occur.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

#### **1) How Marxist approaches changed the understanding of International Relations?**

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#### **2) Analyse Wallerstein's World System Theory and its limitations.**

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**A.2.6: References**

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**(B) Critical Theory**

## B.2.0: Objective

## B.2.1: Introduction

## B.2.2: Origin of Critical Theory in International Relations

## B.2.3: Tradition and Tenets of Critical Theory

## B.2.4: First Scholarly Tradition: Critical Theory in Politico-Social Discourses

- i. Max Horkheimer
- ii. Herbert Marcuse
- iii. Theodore Adorno
- iv. Jurgen Habermas

## B.2.5: Second Scholarly Tradition: Critical Theory in International Discourses

- i. Robert Cox
- ii. Andrew Linklater

## B.2.6: Conclusion

## B.2.7: References

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**B.2.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to understand connotation of Critical Theory. It attempts to introduce the historical context and the character of critical theory. After studying this module, you should be able to understand

- The discourses on political nature of knowledge.
- A detailed account of the critical international theory to place the questions of emancipation and radical change in the international society.

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**B.2.1: Introduction**

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Critical theory is one of the major developments out of the Marxist tradition, which not only originated with a critique of Marx but also challenges the dominance of the realist school. It is greatly inspired by the Marx's theoretical formulation of the relationship between economic base and ideological superstructure, and focuses on how power and domination operate. While Marxism was primarily concerned with the economic sphere, the critical theory extends its analysis to political and social sphere. It studies international society in

a dialectical way by analysing the structures of political economy, domination, exploitation, and ideologies. It emphasises on reflective assessment and critique of society in order to reveal and challenge the prevailing power structures and focuses on the idea of freeing people from the modern state and economic system, particularly known as emancipation. Hence, Critical theory is emancipatory in nature and it is critical insofar as it seeks to “liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them”, thus, promotes universal freedom and equality. Critical theory is not just aspired to ‘reveal the truth’ in a detached and dispassionate sort of way, but also to explore the fact that they necessarily serve some purpose or interest, whether intentionally or not.

The Critical Theory is primarily originated from the work of authors such as Immanuel Kant and Karl Marx who, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, advanced different revolutionary ideas of how the world could be reordered and transformed. Both Kant and Marx held a strong attachment to the enlightenment theme of universalism – the view that there are social and political principles that are apparent to all people, everywhere. In the modern era, both authors became foundational figures for theorists seeking to replace the modern state system by promoting more just global political arrangements such as a federation of free states living in perpetual peace or communism as a global social and economic system to replace the unequal capitalist order.

However, in the twentieth century critical theory became most closely associated with two schools of thoughts. The first is the Frankfurt school, which was developed through the work of Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and, more recently, Jurgen Habermas and Andrew Linklater. The second is Neo- Gramscian school, which was best developed by Robert Cox. Therefore, Critical theory acquired a renewed potency in the twentieth century and in which the term critical theory came to be used as the emblem of a philosophy which questions modern social and political life through a method of immanent critique. It evolved largely as an attempt to recover a critical and emancipatory potential that has been overrun by recent intellectual, social, cultural, political, economic and technological trends. Thus, Critical theory sets out to critique repressive social practices and institutions in today’s world and advances emancipatory transformation in international society.

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### **B.2.2: Origin of Critical Theory in International Relations**

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Critical Theory was initially evolved under the Frankfurt school of thought established in 1923. Max Horkheimer, one of the founders of the Frankfurt school, coined the term critical theory in 1937. Frankfurt School’s critical theory

was initially concerned to comprehend the central features of contemporary society by understanding its historical and social development, and tracing contradictions in the present which may open up the possibility of transcending contemporary society and its built-in pathologies and forms of domination. While the school failed to produce what could be called a systematic theory, it drew on, and interweaved, various philosophical strands and prominent themes of political and social thought, including historical materialism, Freudian analysis, cultural disenchantment, Hegelian dialectics, and totality. Yet, many of the first-generation Frankfurt school thinkers (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse) sought to counter the emasculation of critical reason, dialectics, and self-conscious theory with a focus on the negativity of dialectics. It was 1990s, when the second-generation Frankfurt school thinker, Jurgen Habermas brought a significant turn in Frankfurt school's critical theory by resituating reason and social action in linguistics. It was during this time that international relations theorists first time focused on Critical theory to critique the dominant structural paradigm of international relations at the time.

The next stage of critical theory intervention in international relations evolved in the seminal works of Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater. Robert Cox developed a Gramscian approach in Critical International Relations Theory, which involved as both a critique of prevailing theories of International Relations and International Political Economy, and the development of an alternative framework for the analysis of world politics. Linklater, perhaps more than any other critical international relations theorist, was instrumental in repositioning the emancipatory project in International Relations theory, interweaving various social and normative strands of critical thought. As such, two seemingly divergent critical international relations theory approaches emerged: one that focusing predominantly on the revolutionary transformation of social relations and the state in international political economy; and the other, which emphasize the role of universal principles, dialogue, and difference in attaining the emancipatory transformation. However, there are two themes uniting these two approaches of critical international theory. First, they both use emancipation as a principle to critique, or assess, society and the global political order. Second, they both detect the potential for emancipation developing within the historical process, but consider that it may not be inevitable. Therefore, while Cox focuses on contemporary redistribution struggles, Linklater turns to questions of identity and community as more significant than economic relations in today's quest for emancipation. Moreover, the new generation of critical international theorists draw upon the lineage of emancipatory politics.

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### **B.2.3: Tradition and Tenets of Critical Theory**

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The major writings in critical theory are based on the critique of society and prevailing power structure. It does not simply present an expression of the concrete historical situation; it also acts as a force within that situation to stimulate change. It allows for the intervention of humans in the making of their history. It should be noted that while critical theory has not directly addressed the international level, this in no way implies that international relations is beyond the limits of its concern. The writings of Kant and Marx, in particular, have demonstrated that what happens at the international emancipation. It is the continuation of this project in which critical international theory is engaged. The thinkers of Frankfurt School, however, never addressed international relations in its critiques of the modern world, and Habermas has made only scant reference to it. It is mainly Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater, who developed the critical theory in the realm of international relations, which is often referred as Critical International Relations Theory. Critical international theory is an extension of the critique to the international domain, which reveals both obvious and subtle forms of injustice and domination in international society.

Therefore, for better understanding, the writings in Critical Theory can be divided into two scholarly traditions. First one is led by Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno and Jürgen Habermas, who contributed in the development of Critical Theory as a prominent approach in political and social discourses. Second tradition is represented by Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater, who made sincere efforts to bring critical theory in the domain of international relations.

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### **B.2.4: First Scholarly Tradition: Critical Theory in Politico-Social Discourses**

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#### **i. Max Horkheimer**

Max Horkheimer was first who defined critical theory in his seminal work “Traditional and Critical Theory”. In this work, Horkheimer (1972) asserted that a critical theory must do two important things: It must account for society within a historical context, and it should seek to offer a robust and holistic critique by incorporating insights from all social sciences.

According to Horkheimer, critical theory is adequate only if it meets three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. That is, it must adequately explain the social problems that exist, offer practical solutions to respond to them, and provide both clear norms for

criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation. He described a theory as critical insofar as it seeks “to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them” (Horkheimer 1982). Horkheimer condemned ‘traditional’ theorists for producing works that fail to question power, domination, and the status quo. He expanded on Gramsci’s critique of the role of intellectuals in processes of domination.

## ii. **Herbert Marcuse**

Herbert Marcuse was one of the most prominent scholars of the Frankfurt School. His famous book “One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society” (1964) offers a wide range of critique of the capitalist society and outlines some of the most sophisticated and powerful analyses of modern capitalism’s environmental problems. In this book, he develops most systematically his vision of how technologies, economies, and states coevolve to dominate both human beings and natural environments.

Marcuse (1964) argues that “advanced industrial society” created false needs, which integrated individuals into the existing system of production and consumption via mass media, advertising, industrial management, and contemporary modes of thought. This results in a “one-dimensional” universe of thought and behaviour, in which aptitude and ability for critical thought and oppositional behaviour wither away.

According to Marcuse (1964), the goal of capitalism is to silence all dimensions that can rebel, such as aesthetic dimensions that can maintain freedom of expression, so that art/literature in culture is converted into operational and pragmatic forms solely to soften the expression of admiration, beauty, and longing for unfulfilled human beings. Up to freedom is transformed into a happy accepting mechanism of domination. Marcuse argues that the consumptive lifestyle is a lifestyle that is loved by modern society so that individuals in modern society have lost the power to think critically and to hold resistance to such consumptive technologies and lifestyles (Luke, 2000). Thus, the one-dimensional direction of modern industrial society is revealed in repressive measures to maintain the existing system.

## iii. **Theodore Adorno**

Theodore Adorno was a seminal social philosopher and a leading scholar of the first generation of Critical Theory. In his influential work “Negative Dialectics” (1966) Adorno developed a new form of dialectical thinking and

criticised the Hegelian conception of dialectics which supposed to be a process of realization that things contain their own negation and through this realization the parts are sublated into something greater. He wants to free dialectics from such affirmative traits without reducing its determinacy.

He rejected this positive element wherein the result was something greater than the parts that preceded and argued for a dialectics which produced something essentially negative. He seeks to overcome the formal logical limits of the popular definitions of dialectics by putting into light that new knowledge arises less from a Hegelian unification of opposite categories than by the revelation of the limits of knowledge. In his theory, he moves a step higher by applying the concept of dialectics not only to exterior objects of knowledge, but to the process of thought itself.

#### **iv. Jurgen Habermas**

Jurgen Habermas is one of the most influential advocates of Critical Theory and a second-generation scholar of Frankfurt School. Habermas's first and perhaps most enduring work, "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (1962), traced the historical emergence of new forms of public interaction from the intimate sphere of the family, to coffee houses, salons, and finally to parliamentary debates, which creates a public sphere. He asserts that public sphere forms through free discourses in public and it is based on the idea of individual liberty, equality and freedom from state control. He argued that public sphere discusses about state from outside the power of state, thus, form public opinion (Habermas 1989).

In his book "Knowledge and Human Interests" (1968), Habermas took the discourse forward and explored the interplay between knowledge and interest in the formation of speech, language, public opinion, etc. He argued that various forms of human knowledge are expressions of distinct ideas, but equally based on human interests. These basic interests are in turn unified by reason's overarching pursuit of its own freedom (Habermas 1987).

The most influential work of Habermas (1984) in the domain of critical theory is "The Theory of Communicative Action", in which he argued that human interaction in one of its fundamental forms is 'communicative' rather than 'strategic' in nature, insofar as it is aimed at mutual understanding and agreement rather than at the achievement of the self-interested goals of individuals. Such understanding and agreement,

however, are possible only to the extent that the communicative interaction in which individuals take part resists all forms of nonrational coercion. The notion of an ‘ideal communication community’ functions as a guide that can be formally applied both to regulate and to critique concrete speech situations. Using this regulative and critical ideal, individuals would be able to raise, accept, or reject each other’s claims to truth, rightness, and sincerity solely on the basis of the ‘unforced force’ of the better argument—i.e., on the basis of reason and evidence—and all participants would be motivated solely by the desire to obtain mutual understanding.

He criticised Liberal democracy and stated that it is not a guarantee that communicative rationality will flourish, however. Indeed, in modern capitalist societies, social institutions that ideally should be communicative in character—e.g., family, politics, and education—have come to embody a merely ‘strategic’ rationality, according to Habermas. Such institutions are increasingly overrun by economic and bureaucratic forces that are guided not by an ideal of mutual understanding but rather by principles of administrative power and economic efficiency. Habermas seeks the solution of this problem in Radical Democracy in which the widest possible participation and ‘communicative action’ are encouraged not only in word (as is the case in many Western liberal democracies) but also in deed, by actively identifying barriers to participation—be they social, economic, or cultural—and overcoming them. Habermas’s central political point is that the route to emancipation lies through radical democracy as it promotes communicative action in public sphere.

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## **B.2.5: Second Scholarly Tradition: Critical Theory in International Discourses**

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### **i. Robert Cox**

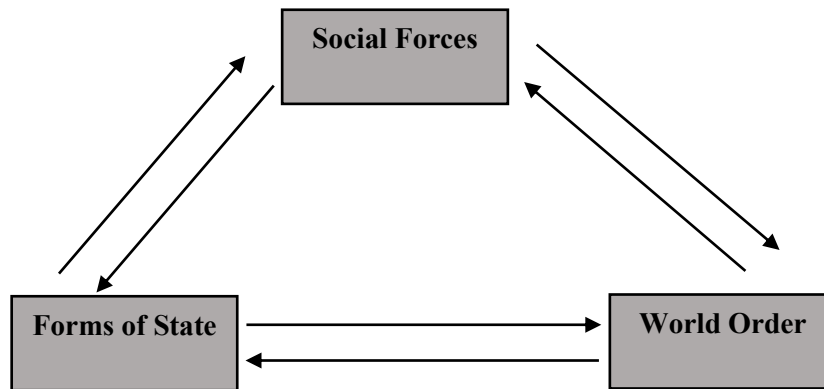
Robert Cox has been given credit to bring critical theory in the domain of International Relations. He has developed a Gramscian approach that involves a critique of prevailing theories of International Relations and the development of an alternative framework for the analysis of world politics. Cox (1981) in his seminal work ‘Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory’ asserts that all knowledge (of the social world at least) must reflect a certain context, a certain time, a certain space. Thus, Knowledge cannot be objective and timeless. All knowledge constructed in the interests of the someone with some perspective.

Knowledge discloses an inclination—conscious or unconscious—towards certain interests, values, groups, parties, classes, nations, and so on.

Robert Cox (1981) proclaimed that, all International Relations theories are in this sense biased too; he expressed that view in a frequently quoted remark ‘Theory is always for someone and for some purpose’. One key implication of this is that there can be no simple separation between facts and values. Whether consciously or not, all theorists inevitably bring their values to bear on their analysis. This leads Cox to suggest that we need to look closely at those theories, those ideas, those analyses that claim to be objective or value-free, and ask who or what is it for, and what purpose does it serve? He subjects Realism and liberalism to thoroughgoing critique in these grounds. According to Cox, these theories are for—or serve the interests of—those who prosper under the prevailing order, that is the inhabitants of the developed states, and in particular the ruling elites. Their purpose, whether consciously or not, is to reinforce ruling hegemony and to legitimate the status quo in the world order.

Cox draws a distinction between positivist or ‘problem-solving’ knowledge and critical or ‘emancipatory’ knowledge. Problem-solving knowledge, such as for example neorealist theory is conservative in that it seeks to know that which exists at present: it takes the international system of sovereign states for granted. It is therefore biased towards an international status quo which is based on inequality of power and excludes many people. It cannot lead to knowledge of human progress and emancipation. By contrast, the critical theory advocated by Cox is not confined to an examination of states and the state system but focuses more widely on power and domination in the world. It seeks knowledge for a large purpose to liberate humanity from oppressive structures of world politics.

Critical theory attempts to challenge the prevailing order by seeking out, analysing the historical structure. According to Cox (1981), historical structure is a combination of ideas, material conditions, and institutions. The framework of historical structure should be viewed not from the above (as in problem-solving approach) but from the bottom or outside to understand the conflicts and possibility of transformation. It can be identified by three distinct levels or spheres of activities—Social forces, Forms of State and World Order. According to Cox The relation between the three is not unilinear (see Fig.1).



**Figure 1: World Order Analysis**

World orders can influence the forms of state. Forms of state can affect the development of social forces. Social forces are not bounded by states but work across them. The world order is a pattern of interacting social forces and forms of states play an intermediate role between them at the international and domestic levels.

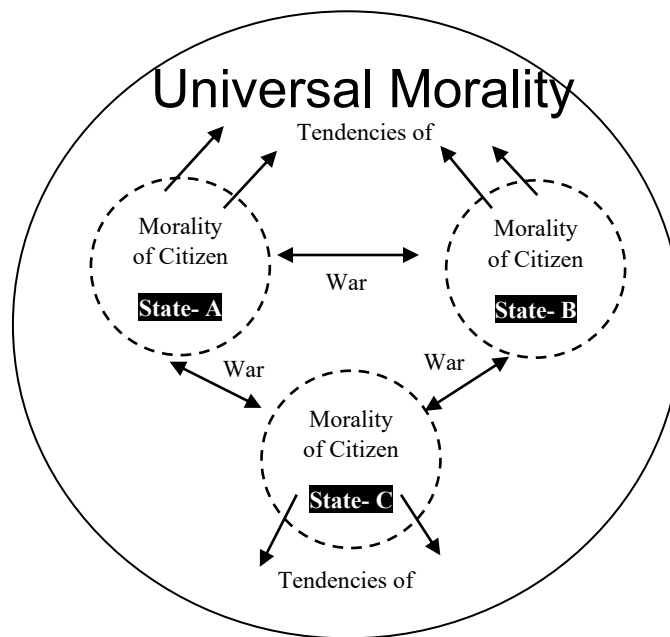
For example, social forces of capitalism are today involved in the economic globalization, which can be seen in the supply of production and migration from global south to global north countries. States are incapable in obstructing these changes under globalization, thus, promoting it. This is changing the form of states. Due to economic globalization, the tendency of replacement of US dominant world order seemed to be inevitable. The new world order could be differently centred hegemonic order as various conflicting power centres are emerging or it could be a post-hegemonic order based on peaceful cooperation to avoid possible conflict. Therefore, Cox analysis can help to analyse change in the world order. He is of the view that the interplay between these three levels can potentially lead to an emancipatory change.

## ii. Andrew Linklater

Andrew Linklater has contributed Emancipatory theory in the realm of Critical theory. He used some of the key principles and precepts developed by Habermas in order to understand what is emancipation? In his influential work “Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations”, Linklater (1982) attempts to explore the relation between citizens of sovereign states and their moral obligations. He said that a distinction can be seen in the universal morality of men in international society and its specific morality as a citizen of particular state. These specific moralities of citizens of

sovereign states are cause of wars and it has developed the different political communities (see Fig. 2).

But the universal morality of men believes in universal freedom and equality and it lies in the independence from the moralities of sovereign states, which exploits men as a citizen. Thus, in the realm of international relations “emancipation should be understood in terms of the expansion of the moral boundaries of a political community” (Linklater 1982). In other words, he equates “emancipation with a process in which the borders of the sovereign state lose their ethical and moral significance” (Linklater 1982).



**Figure 2: Emancipatory Theory**

At present, state borders denote the furthest extent of our sense of duty and obligation, or at best, the point where our sense of duty and obligation is radically transformed, only proceeding further in a very attenuated form. For critical theorists, this situation is simply indefensible. The goal is therefore to move towards a situation in which citizens share the same duties and obligations towards non-citizens as they do towards their fellow citizens. To arrive at such a situation would, of course, entail a wholesale transformation of the present institutions of governance. But an important element of the critical theory method is to identify—and, if possible, nurture—tendencies that exist within the present conjuncture that point in the direction of emancipation. On this basis, Linklater identifies the development of the European Union as representing a progressive or

emancipatory tendency in contemporary world politics. If true, this suggests that an important part of the international system is entering an era in which the sovereign state, which has for so long claimed an exclusive hold on its citizens, is beginning to lose some of its pre-eminence.

This emancipation shall be freedom from all type of exploitation and oppression; it shall be freedom from all type of specific moralities, and will establish universal morality of Human.

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### **B.2.6: Conclusion**

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There can be little doubt that critical theory has made a major contribution to the study of international relations. One of these contributions has been to heighten our awareness of the link between knowledge and politics. Critical theory rejects the idea of the theorist as objective bystander. Instead, the theorist is enmeshed in social and political life, and theories of international relations, like all theories, are informed by prior interests and convictions, whether they are acknowledged or not. A second contribution critical theory makes is to rethink accounts of the modern state and political community. Traditional theories tend to take the state for granted, but critical international theory analyses the changing ways in which the boundaries of community are formed, maintained and transformed. It not only provides a sociological account; it provides a sustained ethical analysis of the practices of inclusion and exclusion. Critical theory's aim of achieving an alternative theory and practice of international relations rests on the possibility of overcoming the exclusionary dynamics associated with modern system of sovereign states and establishing a cosmopolitan set of arrangements that will better promote freedom, justice and equality across the globe. It is thus an attempt radically to rethink and restructure the normative foundations of international relations to attain the higher goal of emancipation.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

#### **1) Discuss the genesis of Critical Theory in International Relations.**

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**2) How does critical theory serve to the study of international relations?**

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**B.2.7: References**

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## **(C) Feminist Approach**

### C.2.0: Objective

### C.2.1: Introduction

### C.2.2: Evolution Trajectory of Feminist Approach

- i. First Wave of Feminism
- ii. Second Wave of Feminism
- iii. Third Wave of Feminism

### C.2.3: Feminist Approach in International Relations

### C.2.4: Gender in International relations

### C.2.5: Major Feminist Theories in International Relations

- i. Liberal Feminism
- ii. Marxist and Socialist Feminism
- iii. Radical Feminism
- iv. Cultural Feminism
- v. Post-modern Feminism

### C.2.6: Criticism of Feminist Theories

### C.2.7: Conclusion

### C.2.8: References

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## **C.2.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to explore the tenets and trajectory of the development of feminist approach in international relations. It will discuss the issue of gender in international relations. After studying this module, you should be able to understand:

- The feminist attempts to redefine core concepts of power and security in international relations.
- Different feminist theories developed in the study of international relations and their critics.

### **C.2.1: Introduction**

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Feminist approach emerged as an ideological social and political movement for the concern with the status and role of women in the international society. Feminism is the advocacy of the equal rights and legal protections for women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged compared to men and are subordinate to men because of a system of patriarchy (a social structure and practice through which men dominate and exploit women), which is not based on reason. It holds that women have suffered and are still suffering injustice due to this system; hence it seeks effective measures for redressal of that injustice. Historically the feminist approach is related with the rights of women, equality of men and women and emancipation from traditional subjection of women.

Early feminism emerged in the wake of enlightenment at the end of 18th century and developed further as a movement. This trajectory of feminist movement led to the development of feminist approach, which are divided and defined as waves of feminism. The first wave of feminism focused on achieving political and legal rights for women as a tool for their liberation from the clutches of patriarchy. The second wave of feminism extended the domain of feminine politics against sexist ways of men to the private lives of women, giving rise to political ideologies like Liberal feminism, Radical Feminism, Marxist Feminism, etc. The third wave of feminism presented a dynamic critique to the previous feminist political trends, which acquired a global recognition with inclusive ideologies like postmodern feminism, cultural feminism and black feminism.

Consequently, with the development of feminist movement, Feminism has established as a profound approach in the political and social discourses. However, the academic interest of feminism in International Relations started only from the late 1990s. The traditional International Relations theory was re-evaluated during the post-Cold War period which created the need to study how International Relations have been gendered. The feminist approach has critiqued the mainstream theories of International Relations such as Realism and has exposed the gender bias in the key concepts of International Relations (Tickner 2011:264). Feminist approach inquired the conventional knowledge of international relations through key concepts of state, power, security, war and peace and attempted to bring in a gendered perspective which has not only brought a holistic perspective but also contributed in enriching the discipline of International Relations.

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## C.2.2: Evolution Trajectory of Feminist Approach

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The development of feminist approach can be traced back with the evolution of feminist movement across the world, which can be defined and divided as the ‘waves of feminism’.

### i. First Wave of Feminism

The first wave of feminism referred to feminist activities, which largely took place in the United States and United Kingdom from end of 18<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this connection Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)’s book “Vindication of Rights of Women” was a foundation stone of feminism, which justified the demands of women rights. Another formal initiation of the wave is attributed to the “Seneca Falls Declaration” (1848), drafted by *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*. The declaration highlighted new political strategies and ideologies for the feminist movement. It began with the idea of equal property rights and a dignified position within the household for women. Thus, it focused on women’s economic, sexual and reproductive rights. J.S. Mill (1869)’s book “The Subjection of Women” took this debate forward and support for voting rights for women. Therefore, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the feminist activists shifted their attention towards political rights of women, especially to women’s right to vote or women’s suffrage. This resulted into the first voting rights to women in New Zealand in 1893, in Britain in 1917, in America in 1920 and in France 1944. Thus, during the first wave, voting rights to women was the first success of feminist movement which made society recognize that women are humans, not property and it further established the dignity of women.

### ii. Second Wave of Feminism

Second wave of feminism emerged in 1960’s and it was focused on issues of equality and discrimination. Betty Friedan was a key player in the rejuvenation of second wave of feminism. Friedan (1963) in her book “The Feminine Mystique” criticized the idea that women could find fulfilment only through childrearing and homemaking. Friedan has pointed out that women still felt frustrated, owing to their confinement to the domestic chores in roles of a mother and a housewife. Thus, women are victims of false beliefs requiring them to find identity in their lives through husbands and children. This causes women to lose their own identities in that of their family.

In the second wave, Feminism also gained mass support of political activist and intellectuals. Simone De Beauvoir (1949) in her book *The Second Sex* promoted the ideology of solidarity and sisterhood. She stated that “Women is not born, Women is made” (Beauvoir 1949). She argued that womanhood is not developed naturally but it developed culturally through a long historical series of oppression in patriarchy. It was during the second wave that the slogan “the personal is political” was coined by Carol Hanisch. The slogan identified women’s cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to understand how their personal lives reflected sexist power structures. Therefore, the second wave of feminism reflected the women’s liberation movement for equal legal and social rights.

### **iii. Third Wave of Feminism**

Third wave of feminism began in the early 1990s, responding to perceived failures of the second wave and to the backlash against second-wave initiatives. This ideology seeks to challenge the definitions of femininity that grew out of the ideas of the second wave, arguing that the second wave over-emphasized experiences of upper middle-class white women. Thus, third wave of feminism became more conscious of race. Kimberle Crenshaw, a gender and critical-race scholar, coined the phrase ‘intersectionality’ in 1989. The term refers to how different kinds of oppression – like those based on gender and race – intersect with each other. Therefore, the third wave of feminism sees women’s lives as intersectional, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing feminism. It examines issues related to women’s lives on an international basis.

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## **C.2.3: Feminist Approach in International Relations**

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Feminist approach in International Relations has started making inroads at the end of 1980s, and explored its perspective during the post-cold war period, when the traditional International Relations theories were being re-evaluated. Before the end of cold war, the study of international relations was concentrated on the causes of war and conflict, the development of international law and diplomacy, and the global expansion of trade and commerce, but without any reference to people as such. It was employed in the analysis of abstract concepts of state, power, national interest, national security, military defence, nuclear deterrence. The classical conception of international relations was believed to be the study of inter-state relations, with its emphasis on the state as a primary actor and its fascination with the role of statesman. Hence, Academics have pointed out that

international politics has been ‘gender blind’. Consequently, it created the need to study how International Relations have been gendered and thus, feminist writings started to make an impact in international relations since 1990s. Some of the classic works include — “Women and War” (1987) by Jean Bethke Elshtain, “Bananas, Beaches and Bases” (1989) by Cynthia Enloe and “Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global security” (1992) by J. Ann Tickner.

Feminist scholars argued that the personal, which is political, is also international (Enloe 1989). Hence, international relations is not only about security, power, war and states and there is a way in which gender shapes international relations. They have argued that the role of masculinity and power is overemphasized in international relations. Barbara Ehrenreich (1997) pointed out, “Men make wars ... because war makes them men”. Unlike the Realist conception of security centring on state, feminists give importance to human security centred on freedom from want and fear. War itself is seen as a gendered phenomenon as most of the senior positions in the military and political positions are dominated by men. It is also the impact of some myths like the need for masculine male ‘warriors’ to protect helpless women and children.

Jean Elshtain (1989) has dealt in detail with the myths of Man as a ‘Just Warrior’ and Woman as a ‘Beautiful Soul’. She has argued that this division serves to recreate and secure women’s social position as non-combatants and men’s identity as warriors. Cynthia Enloe (1989) argued that work of women as plantation workers, wives of diplomats and sex workers on military bases should form a part of international relations.

J Ann Tickner (1988) criticized Hans Morgenthau’s six principles of Realism and argued that national interest is a broad topic which cannot be defined in terms of realist notion of power only. She argued, if power is defined by a patriarchal and realist society, which seeks global balances of power, then power is equated with military and economic strength. But through the feminist approach the indicators of power be measured differently. Power might be seen as leadership in peace agreements, or it might be measured in terms of the ability to achieve transnational cooperation. Thus, by expanding our understanding of power not just with regard to control but also as a way of acting together to achieve a mutual goal, we can add another dimension to international relations other than conflict. Tickner also redefines the notion of security or national security (Tickner 1988). While national security is often understood in terms of the military strength needed to protect the state, Tickner suggests that we need to look at security beyond the terms of weapons and war, because this definition is too narrow for

the post-Cold War era. She maintains that we can also understand security in terms of having basic material needs, which are more associated with women. Environmental threats are also an issue of national security as well as an issue of concern to many women's movements. We can thus define security in much broader terms, and approach solutions to these insecurities and threats from a cooperative rather than a conflictual point of view.

Feminists also challenged liberalism's claim that international institutions provide for ways in which women can become more politically and socially acknowledged and empowered. Charlesworth (1998) argued that since the leaders and the processes of formal international organizations come from patriarchal systems, their work can keep women at a disadvantage, thus, the re-structuring of international institutions are essential and women needed to be adequately incorporated in these institutions. Thus, feminist approach recreated and redefined the propositions and concepts of international relations through the prism of gender.

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#### **C.2.4: Gender in International Relations**

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The study of International Relations has often been argued by feminists to be highly gendered. In other words, it is not neutral as reflected in the key concepts of international relations. As a result of which gender relations have been silent because women are seen to be within the purview of private sphere and international relations as a field of study is located in the public sphere, which again is a male domain. That is why the key concepts of international relations are seen in the prism and lenses of the masculine gender and are patriarchal. Hence, gender is central to the feminist approach in international relations.

In everyday usage, gender denotes the biological sex of individuals. However, feminists define gender differently—as a set of socially and culturally constructed characteristics that vary across time and place. Thus, Gender' is not a synonym for the term 'sex', or the biological difference between men and women, but instead "refers to the complex social construction of men's and women's identities...[and] behaviours...in relation to each other. Fundamental in the discourse on gender is the notion of power and power dynamics between genders." (Thorburn 2000). Simply put, using the concept of gender, feminists analyse relations of power involving men and women, how that power is exerted, and how that interaction has been habitually, historically, and socially implemented over time(though not as a result of inherent or biological differences of either sex).When we think of characteristics such as power, autonomy, rationality, and public, we associate them with masculinity or what it means to be

a 'real man'. Opposite characteristics, such as weakness, dependence /connection, emotionality, and private, are associated with femininity. There have been studies that show that both women and men assign a more positive value to masculine characteristics. These definitions of masculinity and femininity are relational, which means that they depend on each other for their meaning. In other words, what it means to be a 'real man' is not to display 'womanly' weaknesses. Hence, these characteristics are social constructions, not biological ones.

Gender is also a structure of meaning that signifies power relationships. If gender characteristics denote inequality, gender becomes a mechanism for the unequal distribution of social benefits and costs. Therefore, gender is crucial for analysing international relations to understand and redress gender inequalities that often remain hidden or ignored in traditional and male-centric international theory. Feminist International Relations theories note that one of the real challenges in conceptualizing war, insecurity, and conflict lies in analysing these phenomena as a subset of the social relations of experience and exposing the power relations within patriarchal structures (Enloe 2000).

Moreover, scholars in the field of feminist international relations hold that war, security, and conflicts cannot be fully comprehended unless they are studied through the prism of how people have experienced them in a myriad of ways, not solely by what are considered to be mainstream international relations theories and methods (Enloe 2000; Tickner 2006). Thus, Feminist approach in international relations embraces a range of theories, which explore gender as a site of power and social interactions.

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### **C.2.5: Major Feminist Theories in International Relations**

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The feminist approach in International Relations uses 'gender-sensitive lenses' to answer the questions of international relations. It enables us to see how the world is shaped by gendered concepts, practices and institutions. In order to understand the issues of international relations and the status and role of women, different theoretical perspectives are used as lenses. It helps to find out the answer of the question where are the women in international relations? These feminist theories redefined the traditional notions of the concepts of power, sovereignty, hegemony, and security and helped to unravel the means by which hegemonic masculinity has become embedded in international relations. The major theories of feminist approach are:

**i. Liberal feminism**

The Liberal feminism is equally concerned with equal rights for both men and women, for which women need to be empowered and should have an equal role in society and have an equal role in politics as well as at work. It analyses various aspects of women's subordination and voiced for the freedom and equal rights for women. Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)'s path breaking work "A Vindication of the Rights of Women", is considered as the beginning of the liberal feminism. Wollstonecraft argues for equal access to education for women and men, so that the former become as independent and morally strong as the latter, in the face of oppressive patriarchal traditions and institutions. Thus, it will ensure gender equality in the public sphere. By the 19th century, the discourse of liberal feminism was shifted, through the works of John Stuart Mill (1869), who argued for equal economic opportunities, political rights and civil liberties for men and women in his book "The subjection of Women".

The objective of Liberal feminism was limited to ensure complete gender equality between men and women without any changing in the socialisation of men and women in the society. Thus, it contributed to the facilitation of political and economic rights to women but changed nothing in the traditional social role of women as wife and mother, which is criticised by Marxist and Radical Feminism theorist.

**ii. Marxist and Socialist Feminism**

Marxist feminists do not comply with the reformist tendencies of their liberal counterparts; instead, they associate oppression of women with economic, social and political structures related to capitalism. For Marx, capitalism is the defining feature of the West. Marxist feminists launched themselves in the late 1960s and drew their inspiration largely from the philosophies of Marx and Engels. While these philosophers did not particularly examine women's oppression, their works provided powerful insights to decode the deeper structures implying women's oppression. Thus, for Marxist feminists like Iris Marion Young and Alison Jaggar, gendered oppression is grounded on class exploitation and how labour is socially reproduced at domestic and work sites. For instance, Frederick Engels elaborates in his work "The Origin of Family, Property and the State" (1884) on how sexual and physical labour of women is assumed for child reproducing and rearing within the institution of the family. By this principle, according to Marxist feminists the oppression of women is made

to appear natural at the behest of patriarchal forces. Engels (2010) refers to this as the “final defeat of [the] female sex” and to liberate women, he calls for a revolution against the capitalistic order of society. Marxist feminist believes that, socio-economic and sexual inequality are inextricably linked with the capitalism and therefore it would be impossible for women to gain equality in class society. That is why they advocate that women’s liberation must be a part of a wider struggle against an exploitative capitalist system, however, they failed to observe any other reasons of exploitation.

Socialist feminism came in a rescue and added to the contentions of the Marxist feminism. It submitted that in addition to the capitalism system as the primary reason of exploitation against women, patriarchal arrangement of power distribution also acts as the secondary reason for the same. At the heart of the socialist feminist movement lies an understanding that women’s exploitation and oppression are not a product of any one system of repression, rather it is a common outcome of multiple forces of discrimination like sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, and of course gender. (Jaggar and Rothenberg 1993) Thus, capitalist economic oppression and patriarchy constitute the basis of all other forms of subjugation, they argue that even though women are exploited and oppressed in almost all societies, however the degree and character are different. Therefore, in order to achieve liberation of women, the feminist movement aimed at dealing with all these issues collectively.

### **iii. Radical Feminism**

Radical Feminism focussed on the need to develop a ‘women-cantered’ analysis as a means to challenge all male-defined structures and values. Three writings are given credit for the development of radical feminism; *The Second Sex* (1949) by Simone de Beauvoir, *Dialectic of Sex* (1970) by Shulamith Firestone, *Sexual Politics* (1971) by Kate Millett.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949) had famously stated, “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman.” Women are different from men because of what they have been taught and socialized to do and be. Shulamith Firestone (1979) argued that women’s subordination could not be understood as a symptom or aspect of some deeper or more comprehensive system of domination, such as racism or class-based division of society. She claimed that the basis of women's subordination was ultimately biological. In other words, human reproductive biology and child-rearing role of women to society was responsible for considering women the weaker sex.

Kate Millett (1971) argued that the relationship between the sexes was based on power and further sustained by an ideology. It was similar to the relationship between classes and races. Hence it should be treated as political relationship. Basing her analysis of women's subordination on Max Weber's theory of domination, Millet argued that men have exercised domination over women in two forms: through social authority and economic force. Time had now come to smash these implements of man's domination.

The radical feminists were the first to articulate what is now generally regarded as the central insight of feminist thought: the personal is political. It offers the perspective that what is needed is not only women's liberation to achieve formal equality, access to public space and means of production but also involves a thorough transformation in the most private and intimate spheres of human relationships.

#### **iv. Cultural Feminism**

By 1975 radical feminism had given way to cultural feminism. Cultural feminists both derive and depart from their radical peers. They do agree with the latter that the freedom of women begins in their rejection of masochism, but they relegate material reality to the periphery of their experience. While radicals viewed the female body as an encumbrance, the cultural feminists, like Jane Alpert, Adrienne Rich, etc. in fact saw women's biology as a potent resource. Cultural feminists like Robin Morgan, Andrea Dworkin and Florence Rush make a distinction between femininity as identified by patriarchal order with virtues like submissiveness and passiveness vis-a-vis the natural characteristics of female nature, which they see as loving, caring and egalitarian. On the other hand, with the construing of masculinity as indelible, cultural feminists put the entire blame of female oppression on the assumed maleness of men, and not so much on the power dynamics within the patriarchal system. Finally, the cultural feminists argue for the preservation of gender distinctions, for according to them radical shift in society would be achieved only with restoration of culture into its female values of affection, nurturance and equality. By explaining feminism through the lens of female values, cultural feminists therefore, substituted political theory with their vision of united sisterhood.

## v. Post-modern Feminism

Post-modern Feminists make the largest departure from earlier debates within feminism with their argument that language is what constructs gender. Influenced with the arguments of Judith Butler's 1990 work *Gender Trouble*, in which she critiques the existing distinction between the biological sex and gender, which the earlier feminists argued is socially constructed. She argues that 'woman' is not a 'stand-alone' category, it comes into existence with a bearing of multiple factors like class, race, ethnicity and sexuality. Such factors come together to construe the identity that we call a 'woman'. On the basis of this argument, she posits that neither any one of these factors is singularly responsible for women's oppression, nor would handling any one of these lead to a solution to the problem of subjugation of women. For her, gender is performative and cannot be construed in any binary. That is to say, she points out towards inseparability of the body from social norms and language. Also, modern technological interventions in the field of medicine have also made sexual reassignment surgery a reality, which has made the whole category of gender malleable by blurring the boundaries between man and woman. Postmodern feminists like Donna Haraway, Mary Joe Frug, etc. argue that all women do not share common experiences of oppression (Jaggar and Rothenberg 1993) Thus, they attach extreme importance to the categories of queer, homosexual, and transgender, etc. in order to understand the identity politics concerning in international relations.

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### C.2.5: Criticism of Feminist Theories

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Much of the hard-core theorist of International Relations has not seen the intellectual inquiry of the feminist approach seriously. They see the feminist paradigm of analysing International Relations as addressing issues which are more in the nature of social sciences rather than International Relations through their approach of using hypothetic-deductive methods. The various strands of feminism and what it stands for makes it is a collection of different intellectual traditions and cultures. It represents different historical periods for its analysis and interpretations due to which the Feminist traditions of theories in International Relations are said to be generalised and remains unstated as well as unexamined. One of the criticisms that the feminist theorist of International Relations has received is that human values is more important and holistic than to inculcate female values in the study of International Relations as the discipline is focussed on the interactions of people and the states that they represent rather

than on the gender that they belong. The feminist theories of international relations have been accused of being too exclusivist as they focus on their analysis only on women. In their bid to expand on the various social institutions of power they have done what they have criticised that is exclude the masculinity of power in their analysis.

The feminist theories have also been subjected to be partial to women as they used gender as their means of analysis and therefore lacking in its objectivity which is said to be the main cornerstone for building a sound and reliable theory. This partial view of building a theory is not only lacks in objectivity but is said to be dangerous and can hinder the search for truth. Keohane (1989), one of the prominent theorists of International Relations has suggested that feminism should try to formulate some verifiable problems where they collect data and do some science to solve the issues, which has not been well taken by many feminists' theorist of international relations.

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### **C.2.7: Conclusion**

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Feminist approach has started as a movement, which aims at achieving political, social and economic equality for women. The core concern of a feminist approach is to give a causal explanation of why women have been subordinated in international politics. The feminist believe that knowledge determines political practice and therefore feminist knowledge should be invoked to help improve women's lives. Feminism defines gender as a set of socially constructed characteristics which is distinct from sex which is biologically constructed. The feminist of International Relations uses gender sensitive perspectives to give explanations of why women play subordinate roles in the international relations. They also examine broader questions about how gender shapes and is shaped by international relations. Feminists redefined various core concepts in international relations such as power and security. They see power in achieving transnational cooperation rather than military and economic strength which is closely connected to conflict. They redefined security more broadly—not just in terms of the security of the state, but also in terms of the physical and economic security of individuals.

There are various traditions of feminist theories such as liberal, Marxist, socialist, radical, cultural and post-modernist. Each of them gives different explanations for women's subordination. Liberal feminism brought the idea of gender equality to the public sphere for the first time in the nineteenth century. They sought the role of state as an ally in the women's movement in order to seek their liberation. Marxist and socialist feminism claimed that women's liberation must be a part of

a wider struggle against an exploitative capitalist system and patriarchy. The radical feminists took the politics of women's liberation to the individual level and the dynamics of feminist political theory was narrowed from macro to micro discourse. Cultural feminists called for universal sisterhood and endeavoured to unite women of different colour, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and classes for a common goal of liberation. In this, postmodern feminists look at the categories of queer, homosexual, and transgender, etc. as extremely important in order to understand the identity politics concerning modern-day women. Thus, Feminists advocate a feminist approach to international relations as one that will show the gender biases and correct these biases.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

#### **1) Trace the evolution trajectory of Feminist approach in International Relations**

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#### **2) What is the feminist concept of gender and how is it central to the study in International Relations?**

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## INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND GLOBALIZATION

### Unit Structure

#### (A) Bretton Woods Institutions – Evolving Role

##### A.3.0 Objective

##### A.3.1 Introduction: International Trade

##### A.3.2 The historical features International Trade

##### A.3.3 International Trade during World War

##### A.3.4 Post Second World War Trade and Institutions

##### A.3.5 Conclusion.

##### A.3.6 References

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### A.3.0 Objective

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The aim of this unit is to familiarize you with the meaning, historical view and contemporary challenges of International Political Economy and Globalization. After studying this unit, you shall be able to understand:

- The history of International Trade
- The various facets of International Trade
- How International Trade shaped the world

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### A.3.1 Introduction: International Trade

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Nothing has been more important in understanding how international relations were shaped over a period of time, than the various facets of international trade. Indeed, understanding international trade and its multitude of dimensions has seen its own share of scholarly devotion. Man by nature is an economic and a political entity and in the course of history due to its own innovation in terms of trade, commerce and politics it has managed to learn a lot and shape its own destiny. Right from organising into small nomadic groups ever since it developed its

cognitive senses and organised later on into kingdoms, empires and later on into states man has indeed chartered its own course of development. One has to understand the facets of international trade in terms of the various theories of trade, the use of money as a medium of exchange and in due course the effects it had on the world in terms of colonialism, and the first Great War. The natural question comes here, as to how international trade developed in its due course of time and how it managed to affect the system around it? Were there any great debates in the earlier periods over the mode of trade and if is how did it affect everyone?

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### **A.3.2 The Historical Features International Trade**

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Ever since mankind moved out of a nomadic lifestyle and started settling down, ancient and brilliant civilizations began to come up. One may delve into human history and observe that most of the greatest civilisations sprouted along river banks and coastlines where water was plenty and the soil was fertile. Be it the ancient Egyptian or Mesoamerican civilizations or even our famed Indian civilizations that sparks curiosity among the historians. The simple fact was that people organised themselves into various groups and formed small tribal communities to settle down. Agriculture, storing grains and other foodstuffs and livestock harvesting became a daily affair and as civilisations began to grow and expand newer activities were added such as raising standing armies, organising military campaigns and also in other arts and architectural works of great values.

However trade became an intrinsic part of their lives. In fact early societies right from the times of the Roman and Mesopotamian civilisation began to trade with their neighbours, additionally other civilisations such as the Indus Valley and the Yangtze Kiang Civilisations joined in. Very soon, through maritime routes trade became an important part of human civilisation. The rise and fall of empires gradually led way to the formation of proper states with democratic or monarchical norms. The greatest expansion happened in Europe when by the time of 1648 to 1688 trade had intensified between empires, states and smaller kingdoms. Of course during that time the Roman Catholic Church (Papal Authority) dominated the political scene much to the irritation of many empires and as a result of which trade became a hotly contested issue.

Here an important issue arose with the rise of new empires and states, the medium of exchange for goods and services. In the ancient times, people would mostly barter or exchange their commodities with that of others which was a simple form of trade but there were issues associated with it. Many goods were spoilt for

keeping it for a long period, also since there was no fixed medium; it also led to the absence of a fixed exchange rate. Hence people began to utilize certain items as a medium of exchange for instance cowrie shells, or salt and in some parts cows. This cumbersome mechanism also did not sort out all the problems and people began to find other routes to make the medium of exchange even easier. The Mesopotamians, the Lydians, Greeks and the Romans right from the time of 700 B.C. to 5000 B.C. began to use coins of varying shapes as a medium of exchange and the first currency known as the Shekel was born out of this experiment. Other civilisations such as the Indus Valley civilisation were also not far behind and they too experimented with the concept of money.

However if we fast forward to the period of European politics in the middle ages then the concept of paper money really began to take shape and so did international trade. During that time the main issue was that coins were all made of gold and silver because they were rare metals and as a result of which counterfeiting it was a problem and hence the economies were generally stable. However, the European monarchies and other states very soon began to run out of coins due to the lack of raw materials which posed a huge problem. It caused a lot of economic issues and here an interesting person came and gave a solution, Nicholas Barebone was an English economist (1640-1698) who believed that money was a medium of exchange to which the value of the goods and services should be attached, the money did not have to be precious instead. Gold and silver were precious metals and it made no sense to him to actually turn them into medium of exchange, rather proper banknotes made of paper could be termed as the medium of exchange and to prevent counterfeiting the government had to issue them as bonds with the promise that it would be treated as a medium of exchange. This idea was quickly absorbed by the vast majority of the states in Europe starting from France and then to Belgium, Germany and finally England. Central banks were established to regulate the flow of currency and this also sorted out the majority of the problems. Furthermore, it also led to the creation of the Gold Standard in which the paper money was issued against the Gold reserves of a state and hence Gold became an important element that every nation sought out. Thus the creation of the paper money which later on stabilised became an important part of the national economies. When it came to international trade, it became a problem though as various states had their own currencies and hence the exchange rates were not properly fixed this led to huge issues and later on the states also decided to fix the exchange rates to avoid any sort of problems.

Indeed, the creation of paper money facilitated international trade. Now merchants did not have to worry about spoilt goods and the difficult in

exchanging their goods for others, the creation of stable currencies also helped the economy and hence the economies boomed. In this juncture it is also important to discuss the sudden spurt of international trade in the context of the Industrial Revolution in 1760. So far, trade was restricted but with the coming of the industrial revolution there was a huge demand for more goods and services. People had money to buy and the economy was booming however the lack of raw materials forced these empires to focus on their colonies. During this time the colonial period was in full swing. Already the Spanish and the Portuguese had established their colonies in the Americas and in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Subcontinent and vast parts of Africa were also colonised. By the Treaty of the Tordesillas (1494) and the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) most of the Americas and Africa were already partitioned between the European powers. The idea of international trade during that time was to buy raw materials from the colonies and finish them into finished processed goods and sell them back to the colonies and other states for a profit. Thus the colonies bore the brunt of exploitation and the European states became richer. For instance in the Caribbean the sugar and rum industry boomed whereas Africa was forced to export gold, silver, animal hides and even cloth. Asia was known for its tea, silver, wheat and indigo and the entire Southeast Asia was known for its spices. The industrial revolution completely made the European states into a confederation of superpowers while the colonies suffered greatly. This very unequal exchange of trade was later on conceptualised as the World Systems Theory by Immanuel Wallerstein and the Dependency Theory by Andre Gunder Frank and Raul Prebisch in which they state that the idea was to force these colonies in a state of perpetual dependency and to completely draw out their wealth, Europe thus became rich due to the wealth of its colonies.

However, with power more demand for power increased and the European nations could not just trade with their colonies, there were issues between the European states as well, the success of the French Revolution made the other European states fear for something similar, the reunification of the German states into one Germany under the leadership of Otto Von Bismarck and the Italian reunification under Mazzini and Garibaldi also made other states nervous, the American war of Independence (1775-1783) and the creation of the now independent United States of America made the European states even more wary of their surroundings. During this time European nationalism became the most important facet of European politics. Nations were echoing patriotic sentiments and nationalism took over Europe and as such trade suffered due to the fact that these states refused to trade with one another to save money, this led to more

suffering for the colonies as these finished products were simply dumped into the colonies. Later on this system was known as Autarky by which states refused to trade and tried to become self-sufficient in everything. Many economists believed that this was a bad decision because trading is inherent in human beings and no state can be self-sufficient in everything or cannot efficiently produce everything. However the First and the Second World War were the two main events that completely changed the history of trade in Europe and in the world.

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### **A.3.3 International Trade during World War**

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After the end of the First World War these states then took a decision to revitalise their trade and to engage with one another. However, France and Germany were still at loggerheads and could not come to a proper decision. The seizure of the German provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and the war indemnity imposed on Germany created a lot of hostile German reaction. Also the formation of the Soviet Union in 1917 led to more fear among the western European nations that communism would soon sweep them. The rise of Hitler and the never ending hunger for colonies and more power led to the Second World War in which Germany and its allies were again defeated. However, this time the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the two superpowers with opposing ideologies and ways of economic thought. The former powers such as Spain, Portugal, Britain and France were in the background having lost their glory and power. The Americans felt that it was important to induce capitalism and free trade in the new era and as colonies began to gain independence both the USSR and the USA decided to make allies to win them over to their own camps. Thus the Cold War emerged and newer forms of trade began to take roots. It started with the creation of a common currency, the Bretton-Woods Conference the formation of international trade regimes and also the debate between communism and capitalism.

If one sees till the end of the Second World War right from the earliest notion of trade then a few things are clear, it is inherent in human beings to trade and engage in commercial activities with one another and indeed trade is one of the most important feature over which kingdoms, empires and then modern states were formed. The creation of currencies, and proper medium of exchange the regulation of trade were also important feature. However the period of colonialism would go down in the history of mankind as one of the darkest chapters in which a lot of exploitation occurred and wealth was simply looted, not only economic but also cultural destruction was done. The two wars also show how greed and selfishness led to wars and destruction and the starting of the Cold

War brought newer standards which will be discussed later. From this period one has to understand that man always had a tendency to engage in innovation and to improvise its ways of sorting out issues and when it comes to international trade then one may safely agree that it is in this area where the maximum innovation has taken place.

Unprecedented, deadly and vicious the Second World War will notably go down in human history as one of the costliest conflict ever with international ramifications. Some historians agree that it was this war that led to the awakening of Europe, the creation of two superpowers, the receding of the former European powers into the background and the formation of international trade and monetary regimes that would shape the rest of the era. As discussed in the previous section both the Great Wars were caused by bad economic planning and policies, increased armaments among the nations and also jealousy and the race for colonies and more power. Many economists agreed that the European states had no control over their greed and hence it pitted nations against nations in two deadly wars. The end of the Second World War was however different as it caused the rise of the USA and the USSR and also brought in the period of decolonisation in which most of the African and the Asian states became independent over a period of time (Latin America despite being former colonies had become independent by the year 1880s). This also caused a loss of power in the European states who were the former colonial masters and there was now a race to dominate these newly independent states in other forms such as through diplomatic alliances or through neo-colonialism. In this section it would also be important to understand the trade regimes that came up such as the Bretton Woods Conference, the formation of the GATT (WTO) and the conceptualisation of free trade versus protectionism and how colonialism continuously impacted the economies of many states.

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### **A.3.4 Post Second World War Trade and Institutions**

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The Second World War was instrumental in deciding a few things. Primarily it completely shifted the power balance in Europe with the fall of the former colonial powers such as France and Britain, the utter decimation of Germany and Eastern Europe. Italy, even though it had switched sides in the later part of the war did not escape the wrath of the war either. In short Europe was completely changed and now these European nations, exhausted had to deal with two new superpowers which were the USA and the USSR. While the USA focused on a capitalist means of production and a proper democracy, the USSR focussed on communism, the collectivisation of resources and techniques of production and

was a dictatorship under Josef Stalin. The American President Harry S. Truman who took over the office of the President of the United States was determined to bring out the US from its former policy of splendid isolation. The idea was to get involved in the international political scenario and to deny the USSR a free ride. The USSR on the other hand believed that since they had borne the brunt of the war, it was their right to dominate the world and especially Eastern Europe. Thus a clash was inevitable between the both, and especially in the changed circumstances. The US during that period for the purpose of reconstruction of Europe decided to aid them economically and thus constituted the Marshall Plan also known as the European Recovery Programme was initiated in 1948 by the US for this purpose, in response the USSR had initiated the Molotov Plan in 1947 (though it was effective since 1949). Europe was thus divided into two halves politically and economically. Whereas Western Europe till West Germany came under the American influence, the eastern half came under Soviet influence.

During this period, the Americans initiated other ideas to revitalise the economy which called for large spending, stimulating loans to increase production and to also encourage consumerism in its own sphere of influence. The soviet response was to form collective markets in order to ensure a collective consumption of goods. The difference was that whereas in the western part the economy began to catch up quickly and progressed, on the eastern side the high-handed attitude of Josef Stalin did not go down well with the smaller states, and they objected to the soviet policies. Things became so rough that a communist like Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia even complained openly against Stalin. The difference was mostly noticeable in Germany, as after the war it was divided into two sections, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or West Germany and German Democratic Republic (GDR) or East Germany. While the FRG boomed economically and experienced their first *Wirtschaftswunder* or economic wonder and allowed a lot of immigrant labourers to come and work, the GDR was restricted in its economic outlook only allowed to trade with the Soviet Union and its other satellite states. The contrast was most noticeable in Berlin, which again was divided into East and West Berlin on the same political lines. Whereas West Berlin thrived economically, East Berlin suffered and there was a serious shortage of food and basic commodities. Gradually things began to turn out so bad that people started fleeing from East Berlin to West for better economic opportunities. The Soviets of course tried everything to stop them right from the Berlin Blockade in 1948 till the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

Elsewhere, the world was divided ideologically, politically and economically, for instance Cuba, the PRC (Peoples' Republic of China), North Korea and Vietnam

turned communist to name a few whereas Thailand, Paraguay, Argentina, Australia, South Korea and Japan turned towards free market capitalism. Other states such as India, Myanmar, Togo, Mexico and Chile experimented with a socialist based economic system with modest levels of economic liberalism. However the major economic changes that occurred during this time had a lot to do with ideology, and while this occurred the world leaders also decided to sort out some of the other pending issues such as the creation of a common currency, the regularisation of rules of trade and to ensure that the world never has to undergo any other sort of financial difficulties for which there would be a system of not only lending emergency loans, but also loans for infrastructure development.

The first planning that occurred in the proceedings of the meeting of the Bretton Woods Conference that occurred in New Hampshire in 1944, in which ideas were discussed on revitalising the economy after the end of the war. The conference saw attendance by around 44 states and the idea of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) came up. The idea was to allow the availability of long term capital, in order to offer soft loans to struggling economies so that they could develop their states. It also brought out the idea of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to allow loans on a short term or emergency basis so that states that could not take off easily could be aided. During that period it has to be remembered that protectionism was still in vogue. The IBRD came into effect in 1945 whereas the IMF came into effect in 1946. The World Bank was established in 1944 and it also established the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). The IDA which was established in 1960 offers loans free of interest to low end income countries for infrastructure development. On seeing these institutions one may wonder as to whether their main purpose was to actually aid the world, or to create some level of dominance. For this purpose one again has to see the tumultuous history of the world right from the period of colonialism which ravaged the economies of all the developing states. The purpose of these organisations was to aid these very states to either obtain soft loans, or interest free loans or loans raised from the international markets for the purpose of building infrastructure to generate production, employment and also to encourage them to trade and consume. This was done with the belief that it would stimulate these stagnant economies. Notably this did aid most of these developing states in the long run, and whenever it came to bailing out weaker economies the IMF would step in to offer quick loans for such

a purpose. Of course, it also has its own share of criticisms that such agencies actually dictated and dominated these smaller economies in the form of neo-colonialism and hence they were not actually working for their interest.

In order to create a proper trade regime which was another issue the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was created in 1947, thought it came into effect in the year 1948. During that time, trading was a huge issue as most of the states pursued the idea of protectionism in which they defended their domestic industries by the means of taxes, tariffs and other forms of barriers in order to discourage imports and to save foreign exchange. The initial meeting was attended by 23 nations and later on in 1995 after the Uruguay round of the GATT it came to be known as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). As of now with 125 signatories and more in the line for negotiation, the WTO is one of the largest bodies that sees debates and discussions on topic related to international trade. In this context the question automatically arises as to what was the purpose of the GATT and now the WTO. Simply, the idea was to encourage free trade, without barriers and any sort of discrimination. As explained earlier, trade has its own difficulties and especially in the context of international trade these problems compound and increase. Many states which are developing or at times even developed states do not wish to open their economy to outside forces fearing competition and getting swamped by foreign made products which are cheaper and which also will shift the focus of the domestic consumer away from nationally made products. Therefore protectionism while it protects the domestic industries does not allow the entry of foreign made goods, this is good and bad as well as on one hand the national industries stay protected but it denies better consumption opportunities to the population. For instance, if one may take the example of coffee, then Brazilian or Colombian Coffee is much famous and better than the Coffee produced in Germany, but if Germany were to adopt a protectionist attitude it would deny the entry of coffee from these two states by either increasing tariffs or taxes or by some sort of a national legislation. This would protect the German coffee industry (which is not very efficient) and would deny the Germans a chance to buy coffee from Brazil or Colombia. The basic purpose of the GATT therefore was to reduce tariffs, import quotas and other forms of discrimination that would on the other hand encourage states to trade with one another and therefore stimulate the economy. After 7 rounds of various agreements, gradually tariffs were reduced in a phase wise manner all over the world which led to stimulation of trade. However, there are some stumbling blocks, such as many developing states disagree with the methodology of the GATT (WTO) due to the basic fact that they cannot keep up with the developed

world as historically their economies have suffered due to colonialism and it would take a long time for them to recover. To demand that these very states reduce their tariffs and open their economies would be a disaster for their domestic industries. On the other hand some believe that these states should adopt such short term risks and engage in more liberal trade to develop their economies by the means of allowing foreign capital, reduce dependence on raw materials and to also diversify their economies. The debate thus ensued in the few years of the Cold War and it seemed that the group supporting liberal trade gained the upper hand as socialist economies started to tumble whereas the ones that had managed to open their trade to other states did suffer initially but quickly recovered. Notable successes were FRG, France, Thailand, Paraguay, Chile and the Nordic states in Europe. Finally with the collapse of the USSR and also with the liberalisation of India, it seemed that states would definitely go with the liberal trade model.

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### **A.3.5 Conclusion**

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However, one must see that liberal ideas of trade have a precedence over the protectionist view and even in the present context one may see how certain socialist economies are struggling on various fronts even though they do offer subsidised access to products. On the other hand liberal economies boast of a higher income and standard of living even though certain people are unable to reap the benefits. Taking a look back one can easily understand how devastating were the effects of the Second World War and how the USA and the USSR emerged victorious in the true sense, for they began to shape the world with their own ideologies and economic ideas. Both were quick to react to the needs of their European allies but in doing so they divided the entire continent into two camps and thus began the Cold War. Additionally, it also became very difficult for the rest of the European nations to either resist the temptation of America aid or the pressure from the USSR. However, the world was compelled to cooperate in the creation of international financial institutions which again aided the economic recovery of the world although with some controversies. In addition to this, the debate between protectionism and free trade ushered during this period which created some sort of misunderstanding in the entire world. While most of the developing states supported protectionism in order to protect their economies, most of the developed states supported liberal free trade to engage in more trade believing that this would stimulate the economy. However, with the collapse of the USSR and the opening of the major economies of the world it seemed for the

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### A.3.6 References

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**(B)Content and Impact of Globalization****B.3.0 Objective****B.3.1 Introduction****B.3.2 Globalisation: Features and Contestations****B.3.3 Globalization and State****B.3.4 Debates on Globalization****B.3.5 Conclusion.****B.3.6 References**

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**B.3.0 Objective**

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The aim of this unit is to conceptualize Globalization and its impact on International economy. After studying this unit, you will be able to understand:

- A basic history of the early stages of globalisation
- Globalisation and its features
- Some contestations over globalisation
- What propelled Globalisation
- The main arguments over globalisation
- Clash of Civilisations

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**B.3.1: Introduction**

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Trade, migration, creating new settlements and founding new states are a part and parcel of human history. To suddenly discuss about globalisation which in itself is a product of history without understanding the historical reasons behind it would be a grand mistake. Globalisation could be understood as a series of processes that led to the gradual intermixing of cultures, races, religions, languages with a focus on the economic transmission of welfare and industry. It has spanned over centuries thrust by technological advancements and important historical events. History is a product of change in its true sense, and even a simple improvisation in terms of sailing changed the way people travelled resulting in the discovery of new places. Discuss about Greek Tires, Viking Longboats and the rise of piracy and the formation of Armadas and modern ships.

For many, the moment one discusses globalisation, an imagery of satellites, modern day equipment, people travelling from one place to another in a jiffy and movement of labour and goods or even home delivery of materials is what comes to the mind. However it is far from true, globalisation is indeed a process that has brought the world closer over a period of time and only intensified in the recent times. It is also important to understand the various features of globalisation. Is globalisation only limited to unrestricted travel? Or is globalisation only an economic phenomenon without any cultural attributes? Does everyone accept globalisation as it is, or are there certain contestations over it? To understand all these, it would be necessary to delve further into the matter.

The effect of globalisation is evident as one may notice that with the passage of time the states have lost considerable power over this very period of time. Gone are those days when the states could take unilateral decisions and they could do everything under their ambit. Nowadays the non-state actors influence a lot of decisions and by non-state one also has to consider the supranational actors, the regional organisations and agents who may be individuals but owe considerable influence. It has also been seen that many Multinational corporations and other economic organisations have time and again challenged the state. So it is now evident that the state has lost all its powers and has been reduced to nothing more than a mere formal entity? Or is the state coming back with a renewed vigour and reclaiming its spot?

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### **B.3.2: Globalisation: Features and Contestations**

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At the outset it would be again important to go back to history and see the various stages of human history that kick started the process of globalisation.

- **Prior to Human Settlements**-Discovery of Fire, the Wheel, improvisation of agriculture that led to settlements, the formation of roads and bridges building connectivity, the institutionalising of messengers, development of the militaries including navies, the invention of currency and intra-inter-region trade. The rise of ancient civilisations propelled interconnectedness and growth in communication. Rise of Abrahamic faiths also led to proselytization and communication.
- **1<sup>st</sup> Century BC to 5<sup>th</sup> Century AD and 13<sup>th</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD**- the rise of trade in luxury goods in ancient Rome and Europe, Spice, Silk, Fruits and cosmetics from China, India and the Eastern Empires, and it also brought the concept of fireworks and ice creams.

- **7-15<sup>th</sup> centuries-** Spice Routes. Due to the spread of Islam and the trade of spices from as far as Indonesia and the Spice islands to Europe.
- **15<sup>th</sup>- 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries-** the Age of Discovery. Period of intense colonization, the discovery of the Americas and the Far East and Australasia. Magellan's circumnavigation helped too. Potatoes, Coffee, Chocolates, Gold and Silver trade started as well as sugar. Also led to slave trade and cementing of the colonial empires.
- **19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1914 1st WW-** Industrial Revolution. Press, Steam Engine, Industries and Weaving. The requirement for colonies, slaves and markets increased. Rise in transportation and cargo as well as freezing meat and poultry. However exploitation of labour started, also did anti-colonial movements and the first War which led to further development in trade as well as weaponry.
- **End of the Second WW-** the second WW led to destruction but also led to a kind of globalization with the rise of Japan that gave hope to nationalist movements in Africa and Asia. The end however placed the USSR and the USA at the helm of powers. Britain, Spain and France lost their sheen. Nuclear Technology, communication by phones and satellites, medical improvements, cars and rapid industrialisation and political competition led to exchange of technology and knowledge.
- **Modern day-** internet, the rise of the WTO EU, regional organisations as well as emerging economies. Ordering food and things online, video calling and rapid revolution of the communication and transportation technology. Also cultural exchanges are quite common. Added to it are rising levels of environmental degradation the spread of deadly diseases as well as terrorism. Globalization is a process that has been used and abused by many.
- After observing these facets it would be important to see the basic features of globalisation. The primary feature of globalisation is its tendency to dislodge the state as the primary actor in international relations and offer more power to non-state actors and the market forces. While prior to the Cold War and especially before the collapse of the USSR, the states dominated most of the affairs of the world, however of late one may notice how states have somehow receded into the background and have offered more space for other actors to call the shots. The second feature is the shrinking distance between people, countries, continents and cultures. In today's world it is a cakewalk to go from one place to another without a

hitch. It is easy to not only travel but to have communication is also easier than earlier days. While at one point of time people had to depend on telegraph and letters which would take considerable amount of time, today over social media and other forms of electronic messenger services one may contact anyone all across the world easily. This has not only eased personal communication but has also ensured that economic activities can be conducted in minutes and across continents, spurring in economic growth and relations. Technological advancements, interconnected economies are also two other aspects of globalisation and one may easily observe how cumbersome machines and technology have now given way to smoother and better versions. For instance one may recall when the first computers were launched in India in the early 1990s which were not only quite expensive but the technology was also outdated. The revolution of social media and the telecom industry are two other examples of increasing technological advancements which are a part and parcel of globalisation. In addition to that economies today are more outward looking, adapting to trade and exchange of ideas. It is therefore not surprising that one may easily witness the purchase of imported products and the export of indigenous products all across the world.

- Finally there is increasing interdependence among states, among states and non-state actors and also among the general people. Due to interconnectivity and overlapping, desires and goals people and states and also non-state actors often come together to fulfil those goals. For instance the global demand for taking action against Climate Change, or concerns about the rainforest fires, desertification and even terrorism and other social issues have brought a wide variety of actors together. Thus, a rainforest fire in Brazil is not just restricted to that state; it becomes a global problem for which the solution also has to be global in nature. Added to it is the intermixing of cultures, religions and other beliefs. For instance one may see how on International Yoga Day, the whole world celebrates Yoga attributing it to the greatness of the ancient Hindu customs. When it comes to Ramzan, there is a flurry of activity all across the world and even festivals like Christmas are celebrated with passion globally. Culturally speaking, there is a huge exchange of values and which to a great extent has actually made people more understanding of each other's beliefs and faiths.
- After understanding the various facets of globalisation it would be necessary to observe the three main strands in the context of globalisation. On one hand there is a section that agrees with the forces of globalisation

and argues that states are rendered weak, the other section believes that the states still are strong and the third section argues that the state even though it has retained its power, the forces of globalisation cannot be denied.

- ***Hyperglobalisers and Transformalists***- essentially argue that globalisation is a positive force and reckon that it is here to stay, evolve and affect all of us. It has managed to snatch power away from the hands of the state, empowered the individuals more and has offered more autonomy to take decisions. States may no longer be in a position to dictate terms and conditions to its subjects. Rebellions and collapse of governments have been fostered by globalisation, trade between non-state actors and deals fostered by them have happened. In short- ***Die Staat is Tot (The state is dead)***
- ***Sceptics***- argue that on the contrary, globalisation has not fostered any weakening of state power, and on the contrary it has led to ossification of the state, more control over its decisions and more authority to the point of many states turning dictatorial. Examples would be many states in the Middle East, Russia, Bolivia and even the United States which is known as the harbinger of globalisation. In short no matter till what extent globalisation has empowered non-state organisations while simultaneously disempowering the state, it is the state that has the finally authority over important matters and may pull the strings when required.
- ***The Weak Globalisers***- Those who tend to take a middle way and believe that even though globalisation has weakened the state, it has still not lost its sheen completely.

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### **B.3.3: Globalization and State**

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So far it is clear that globalisation is an important aspect of our history and it is a continuous evolving process that seems not to end. As times change the forces of globalisation also undergo changes, however this brings us to the question of the state and the non-state actors. While focusing on distribution of power states were considered to be supreme and they controlled every aspect of its citizens. States called the shots regarding decision making and influenced every outcome. Citizens were thus reduced as pawns in the larger game. In fact communist and fascist states would go as far as to control flow of information and also their thought processes. The very fact that states were born due to the consideration of the people and that there was no central ruling authority was the reason for the states to maintain their power and hegemony. No one can forger the Nuremberg

laws of Nazi Germany and the forced collectivisation of the Soviet Union and the infamous Great Leap forward by the PRC under Mao in which absolute state control was personified.

In one way globalisation challenged the narrative that states are supreme and control every aspect of its citizens. It shook the foundations of the state and questioned their authority over everything. The forces of globalisation that gradually took over ensured that non-state actor and other organisations have a major share and say in the events of the world. Also the formation of regional groupings and notably the EU in which the concept of supranationalism came up challenged the primacy of the state.

States traditionally have enjoyed complete and unquestionable authority since ages, especially since the rise of republics in Europe and even during the colonial times. The mere fact that states have witnessed a gradual erosion of their power speaks volumes of their fear. They are afraid that over a period of time the states will not be able to take decisions unilaterally and they will be compelled to listen to non-state actors and other organisations.

The closest challenge to states has been religion and the clergy. While state has political authority, the clergy and religions have induced moral, religious and social authority. So there has always been a clash so much that at times the states have rebelled against them. However, states do know that when it comes to religion it becomes very difficult to reign in their citizens. As of now apart from the religious authorities, other non-state organisations have taken up the challenge to question the state on every aspect.

During the phases of mercantilism and control over their colonial dominions and even during the Great Wars states devised a lot of strategies to ensure control over their citizens. Globalisation had yet not become so great that the authorities of the state could be challenged. Free trade had yet not become the talk of the town and states were unwilling to give up their exclusive powers. However with the onset and the cementing of globalisation the challenge to the authority of the state has become quite large now.

The first would be the end of the Great War and the formation of a supranational European identity which also translated into a supranational political will where decisions would be taken collectively and would be applicable to all. Right after the end of the Second World War, the formation of the EU (which itself took some time to form), it became quite apparent that states would now have to share their legislative authority with other actors.

The second would be the rise in free trade giving way to more economic integration and mass migration from different places, this actually allowed other factors would join in the fray and question the authority of the state, leading to the collapse of the communist states that also led to the integration of the economies as well as people. Again it led to the rise in mass media, telecom, and internet as well as better and cheaper transport facilities for the people in general. Also various social, environmental, financial and political issues would come up which would challenge the state and their right to take exclusive decisions. There would be the rise of multinational economic corporations that focus more on the economy than on the powers of the state and at times dictate terms and conditions as well. In fact now it seems that no state can live in isolation. Finally, gradual democratisation even if for namesake ensures that information is not effectively controlled and people get to know about the truth hence it becomes difficult for states to maintain their hegemony.

However here it becomes interesting to note as to why and how non-state actors managed to challenge the primacy of the states. Authority is the combination of power and legitimacy. The age old authority of the state that was personified in the form of a king or an emperor or even in the form of an elected legislature is now being challenged by non-state actors. These non-state actors have also attempted to weaken the authority of the state by pushing their pluralist agenda, by calling for greater transparency and also denying that states have the exclusive rights to take decisions. For instance various peace groups have questioned the right of states to go to war unilaterally.

Now these non-state actors also take a moral high ground and often accuse states of violations of norms and laws. Due to their moral power they do manage to wield considerable influence over people and hence threaten the states. Ironically, while globalisation created a class of professionals who take all advantage of the forces such as better communication and transport end up arguing against it precisely because globalisation itself is flawed. While states would like to attain their previous authority, globalisation has become so entrenched that it has to work within the ambit of it. In a similar fashion those non-state actors who would like to clip the states also need to follow this rule. So it happens that in the fight between the states and the non-state actors, globalisation actually does not lose in fact the forces of globalisation are used by both. Also these actors challenged the traditional borders and the mechanisms to ensure security. State policies, decisions and also embarrasses the states at times. In fact, they become the voice of the voiceless. In addition to that, the fact that many non-state actors also wield economic power and can actually bully the state is another significant factor why states are losing it out.

### **B.3.4: Debates on Globalization**

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The end of the Cold War- removed the political, ideological and economic barriers between Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. This was the single most important event that actually brought the world closer. During the communist era, the USSR and the Eastern Europe satellite states of the Soviet Union including East Germany could not freely interact with the other parts of the world. Movement, communication and economic activities were restricted in nature. The liberalisation period that took place after that actually was another effect of the increasing globalised world. No one may forget how during the communist era the infamous East German secret police (STASI) was instrumental in hunting down people who propagated the idea of globalisation.

The rise of American economic and political hegemony also led to the increase in globalisation as the end of the Cold War caused the emergence of the USA as the only superpower and this resulted in an influx of American capital and technology in many states, for instance right after the collapse of communism and the USSR, American capital and multinational corporations such as MacDonald's, Pepsi and Coca-Cola managed to find their way into the markets of Eastern Europe and also in other parts of the world. This resulted in an economic interaction between these former communist states and the USA spurring in an increase in globalisation. This also caused a process of liberalisation in South Asia, South East Asia as well as Latin America. The process of liberalisation actually caused an increase in income, rising standards of living, better production and purchase and kick-started long awaited economic activity which led to an increase in development.

The rapid rise of technological advancements and easiness of travel, conducting business, formation of various groups and organisations also led to cementing the forces of globalisation which again led to the dilution of the power of the states. Finally it led to an intermixing of cultures and other social facets of human life.

So on observing all these events one may witness the basic idea of globalisation was to integrate the world bring about holistic development without discrimination and to reduce barriers to trade and integration.

#### ***What were the initial aims of globalisation?***

By integrating them in the global economy it was presupposed that this would help them to earn investments, offer better outputs as well as reduce unemployment and offer a better life to their citizens. Many scholars discussed that the developing states were left out because they could not or did not integrate

their economies with the rest of the world, and as a result of which they suffered. According to these scholars the first step would be a global integration of all the economies and especially the developing and the developed economies which would aid the former.

This integration of the economies and the resulting generation of wealth would reduce stress on the national governments, on the citizens and would cause economic development that would benefit all. Furthermore, as developing states often struggle for better technology, economic capital and investment the integration into the global economy would encourage them to develop even further as now they would be able to obtain cleaner and higher-end technology as well as capital for investment. Once these processes are completed, there would be a flurry of economic activities in these states with newer industries and firms coming up. The arrival of tourists from foreign states would for instance cause a rise in the hotel and hospitality industries which would bring about employment and development. With economic development there would be better awareness of political and human rights that would gradually cause democratisation of many states leading to better conditions for the people and finally it would cause more cooperation among the member states of the world, among governments and non-governmental organisations.

### ***Where did globalisation falter?***

The impetus offered by free trade seems to have worked well for the richer countries while unleashing hell on the others. The race to the bottom has not augured well for those who are at the bottom of the economic pyramid. The concept of the race to the bottom means that weaker and developing states in their quest for obtaining technology and capital would do anything to please the developed states. One may witness how labour laws and environmental laws have often been weakened deliberately in developing states for this purpose. For instance the Brazilian rainforest has suffered a lot in terms of deforestation and also indigenous people have been removed from their lands in parts of Africa and Latin America so that mining can take place. This has caused considerable panic among the people out there. In another instance the PRC has often debt trapped weaker states with cheap and opaque loans due to which they are forced to do whatever the PRC says as they cannot pay back the loans? As a result of which the developing states on many occasions have no option but to fail in front of the developing states.

Even with economic interdependence, the traditional role of the poorer states of being suppliers of raw materials stands till date, while richer states have moved

higher up the ladder. Most investments that have taken place have occurred in economic areas such as extraction of natural resources, forcing these states to employ their labour for simple tasks such as assembly as in the *maquila* sector in Latin America and also there has been rampant abuse of labour laws and rights. The environment as explained too has suffered a lot due to uneven and huge developmental projects.

These developing states have thus been converted into nothing more than a supplier of raw materials only. As globalisation supposedly would lead to democratisation but the same has not taken place in many areas. In many parts of the world despite the acceptance of globalisation, there has been nothing but more control by the state on the lives of its citizens. Notably the PRC is a glaring example in this regard that despite accepting globalisation and integrating with the global economy the Communist Party of China (CCP) has become even more stronger to the point of organising genocides and control over an autonomous Hong Kong through its national security law passed in 2019.

The distribution of jobs from one place to another has also led to a lopsided development, mostly simple jobs such as assembly and light manufacturing has gone to the developing states due to lower costs which has caused much issues in the developed world. Multinational companies are now influencing decisions of many states and wielding power not meant for them, and to some extent it seems that only these states have benefited from the prospects of globalisation whereas many small indigenous and traditional companies have been wiped out. In addition to all these, despite the process of globalisation being very strong state power remains adamantly strong and in some cases crackdown led by states many of which are rogue in nature exhibit a tendency to hold on to power despite all the odds.

### ***How did globalisation lead to a clash of civilisations?***

Civilisation would mean a set of values, beliefs, traditions and set of practices that are endemic to a particular area, people and a community as a whole. In fact this is what makes up our collective identity. However, there is a difference between religion and civilization- religion, language, culture, ethnic values are all a part of a great civilization. Of course certain civilization may be based on only one of the above, but they do not make it large in the long run. In this case it is interesting to remark that the Greek civilization had many Gods, many cults, many agencies and different city states but they were all a part of the Greek civilization, even our Indian civilization had many kings, kingdoms, also many languages and beliefs but still we are a part of the glorious Indic civilization. And one of the most

important factor is history which is endless and strongly determines our values. The Greek, Indic, Roman, Egyptian civilizations spanned many thousand years and therefore the values were entrenched.

In opposition to the concept of a culture which is endemic in nature one may say that, the values may either be very strong and deeply rooted or can be easily wiped out. For instance, the indigenous people of northeast despite going a lot of changes have not let gone of their ancestral values, the same cannot be said for many tribes and communities in the middle east which has completely changed over the years. When one sees these values, it has to be understood that they are deep within our psyche and if disturbed it may lead to social unrest.

Again here it is interesting to note if it is a battle for civilisations or resources. The question automatically arises, why do civilizations at all clash? Is it due to persistent difference in ideologies or due to the greed for more resources? History shows that mankind has always been a fighter, a survivor and has striven towards might, dominance and freedom. Ancient kingdoms took pride in possessing large armies and waging wars for supremacy. Emperors like Ashok, Chandragupta Maurya, Alexander the Great, the Huns, King Xerxes and others. Capturing other empires and domination meant political and economic supremacy but was it a clash of civilizations? Let me give the example of the Viking Raids on the old English empires, it was purely for resources and not for cultural iconoclasm, the invasion of India by Alexander was also for conquest and not to destroy the Indian civilization. If you see the ancient world, it was mostly for resources, pride, power, prestige and for conquest. In fact in ancient the Kings would frequently go to wars but for all these things and not to destroy cultures.

Therefore, even if you see the ancient world, kings fought kings with honour, dignity and pride but not to destroy civilisations, when Athens and Sparta fought they were still a part of the Greek world when Chandragupta Maurya fought with smaller kings or even when Ashok fought with Kalinga it never translated into a civilizational war.

Here again the question arises, that if there were wars only for resources then why did certain empires or entities create civilizational disturbances? The idea here is that insecure empires and kings often destroy what they fear, and since they stand on a weak footing they attempt to destroy everything which may challenge them, which leads to uprooting of cultures and civilisations. For instance here one has to mention the role of the Spanish and the Portuguese which completely destroyed the Native American civilisation and led to the creation of hybrid cultures. Also,

the destruction of an older civilization can lead to plundering of resources, capturing their people and turning them into hostile minions in their own country.

Sigmund Freud the famed German psychologist, considered civilization to be a source of friendship and a cessation of hostilities between people. He believed that wherever civilization has ushered it has led to peace and prosperity. Huntington called civilization and the associated identities that came along with it fault lines which lead to war and identity politics of **us vs them**.

Whereas the formation of the state system in Europe led to a different notion of civilization where former warriors and hunters now became rulers and gave up their warlike habits to co-habit with the others within the premises of the state, that did not stop them from calling the others who did not fall within the states as barbarians and to justify western rule and imposition of political structures on the others. Therefore, colonialism received a lot of justification. For Huntington, civilizational values also require the invention of the enemy or the invention of the other. Feeling pride in one's identity also requires hating the others. As a result of which this cements identity politics and the creation of wars to prove supremacy. This seems to have cemented to some extent due to globalisation as there are people who believe that globalisation has led to the erosion of their own culture. For instance after in 1979 Iran which was a fairly progressive state underwent an Islamic revolution and right after that anything that had to do with the west and its civilizational values was discarded. The same pattern was followed in other parts of West Asia, where dislike for Israel turned into a civilizational battle.

The end of the Cold War did not lead to the triumph of western capitalist democracy and liberal values, rather now that communism is dead it has given way to radicalism in many eastern regions. This can be ascertained that Islamic terrorism and other ethnic issues suddenly cropped up in the post 1990 scenario. It is believed that such thoughts were always there, only suppressed due to the Cold War, but the end of it and the sudden rise of globalisation actually gave some space for these thoughts to come up.

The post Great War scenario pitted liberal western democracy against barbaric communism, but there was no political space for the other minor thoughts. With it now gone space was created for these ideas which challenged the concept of globalisation and equated it with that of westernisation, of course the two concepts are completely different but certain agents do not seem to understand the difference between the two leading to confusion and an anti-globalist position.

### **B.3.5: Conclusion**

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Globalisation has thus brought people and states together. It has also led to creation of new forces that have brought about better opportunities and unity in the world. Communication, travel, economic activities and even cooperation among states and other actors have become the order of the day. Additionally, one may also see that the state does not always control the events of the world and there are many non-state actors which have now taken up far more important roles. The cultural exchange among people and also people to people communication has also become quite important.

However it is also important to also note that the event of globalisation even though it may have started due to technological revolution post Second World War and became even stronger after the end of the Cold War, it may have started even earlier in different periods of history right from the formation of human settlements, to the age of discovery, colonialism and also it is a continuously evolving process. There are again three main strands in terms of globalisation for instance a section believes that globalisation has completely changed the face of the earth and the states have lost their power, the other section believes that the states have in fact emerged stronger and the third strand believes that there is a perfect balance between the power of the states and the non-state actors. It is difficult at this juncture to ascertain as to what are the actual effects of globalisation. On one hand, it is easy to notice as to how states have lost their powers and have given way to other non-state actors on the other hand it is also important to see that the states are also trying their level best to ensure their supremacy.

However it is also important to see that the benefit of globalisation has not occurred uniformly and there are people and states in the world where the benefit of globalisation has not touched. Despite that it is hard to argue that globalisation is completely ineffective, for great changes have taken place. A lot also depends on individual states and leaders as to how they make their policies, for instance the liberalisation of the economy in South Korea has made it an economic powerhouse, and the same cannot be said for North Korea which is still restricted in its outlook. Culturally speaking, there is a clash as many believed that the ultimate idea of globalisation is to destroy native and traditional cultures rather than promoting an intermixing of cultures. Still, no one may deny that globalisation has actually become an important aspect of our lives.

### Check Your Progress Exercise

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

**1) Mention two effects of globalisation in the world, right after the end of the Cold War.**

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**2) How has the prospect of a global citizen or global citizens affected the position of the states?**

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## **(C) Regional Blocs, Regional Organisation and Free Trade Agreements**

### C.3.0: Objective

#### C.3.1: Introduction

#### C.3.2: Conceptualising Regionalism

#### C.3.3: Regional Organisations: New Impartatives

#### C.3.4: Conclusion.

#### C.3.5: References

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### **C.3.0 Objective**

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The aim of this unit is to familiarize regional groupings, organisation and free trade agreements and its impact on global economy. After studying this unit, you will be able to understand:

- Regionalism
- Various theories of regionalism
- How regionalism has shaped the world

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### **C.3.1: Introduction**

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As an addendum to the concepts of globalisation that calls for the world to be together, united in ideas, trade and economic activities, regionalism. To say that regionalism somewhat resembles a mini globalisation albeit restricted to a certain region would not be wrong. For instance when we take a look at the EU or the ASEAN we may see that these two organisations are restricted to Europe and to Southeast Asia. So the necessary question comes here, as to why regionalism matters and why do states offer to go into a regional bloc? What are the aims and objectives of such blocs?

The first would be pooling in resources and sovereignty, sovereignty is the decision making power of the states as they are free, independent and have the right to take decisions and in international relations, states are considered to be the most important aspect when it comes to decisions. The second factor is the concept of pooling in resources by which states take decisions on a shared basis which will mutually benefit all and there would be a less risk of conflicts. Since trade and commerce are no doubt contestable terms it would be better if states join hand and work out a solution together.

The aims and objectives of such blocs depend, but mostly it is to do with improving economic conditions, or to promote a sense of friendship and brotherhood. Certain regional organisations also take the shape of defending cultures and religious values such as the AU or the African Union and the OIC or the Organisation of Islamic Countries. If we go even deeper, then the OAS or the Organisation of American states try to form a pan-Americas identity. therefore regionalism as a theory has various strands and justifications which leads to the creation of trade blocs to keep away ‘outsiders’ from achieving such benefits, or to defend culture and identity and to also foster a sense of unity.

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### **C.3.2: Conceptualising Regionalism**

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The rationale of forming regional associations is to bring about economic development by diminishing tariffs, allowing free mobility of goods and services. Perhaps the most arduous mechanism to deal with the high influx of foreign made goods is to impose tariffs in order to artificially increase their price compelling the domestic consumers to opt for indigenously produced goods.

Due to the imposition of tariffs in form of excise, customs and other regulatory taxes by one state retaliatory tariff are imposed as a counter-measure leading to weakening of business and trade. Integration requires different units to come together and form policies to achieve some common goals, which may be political, economic or social in nature. Regional integration requires convergence of interests, functioning democracies that are accountable to the people, and a proper channel for dispute settlement. Apart from points of convergence, regional integration cannot be restricted to only a political project as its dimensions are greater. The idea is to combine the capacities of different states into a common platform for a greater cause exceeding the magnitude of individual states.

In a highly competitive scenario, firms that focus on domestic production and consumption tend to seek protectionist measures whereas those who have operations extended to other states tend to argue for free trade. In both these cases, self-interest and profit maximisation are the key reasons for such bargains. Nevertheless, in the present context sharp economic divisions between production, origin of production and export of commodities do not exist in watertight compartments. Unlike the pre-World war era when self-sufficiency and nationalist economic policies were the norm, in the increasing globalised world the facets of production has become diverse, de-localised where even a simple commodity is produced and assembled in many countries.

The imposition and removal of tariffs have become an arduous exercise due to the fact that production firms, patterns, the procurement of materials and exports are greatly interlinked with one another, where the imposition of tariffs may translate into an indirect effect on other firms. Echoing the same argument national interests are quite important in deciding over protectionist measures, as due to such domestic pressures states may choose to impose tariffs on foreign made commodities to defend their national industries. However, in defending national industries with protectionist, these states also turn to exploit foreign markets and may be paid back in the same coin sparking off a tariff war.

Here, it is important to note that the will and power of the states is vital in forming regional organisations and deciding on issues pertaining to tariffs, custom duties and interlinkages between states.

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### **C.3.3: Regional Organisations: New Imperatives**

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The main thrust behind the formation of regional organisations is the will of the states to pool in their resources in order to foster a modicum of understanding in order to create regional associations. It is argued that states are the main players in fostering regional cooperation in the light of the theory of liberal inter-governmentalism. Since the states have the legitimacy and composes the collective functional interests of all the citizens, it is imperative for the state to undertake such important decisions. one has to delve into the role of the states as the main factor in forming regional organisations, and claims that states do not engage in organised violence neither does it attempt to coerce other states to adapt to its position in the international system. Rather, they engage in dialogues and discussions which leads to trade-offs in terms of benefits and consequences in the process of forming a regional organisation. Even though coercion is also an option, rational choice is preferred by states. There was a widespread angst against the concept of a stateless world, and scholars believed that the state should have the primacy in making decisions especially in the context of regional integration.

Considering the fact that all the economies of the world have different abilities, it would be better if they would focus on the production and export of those commodities which could be produced in an optimal way incurring the minimum cost. Under the perfect circumstances all factors of production being constant, all the economies of the world would benefit from such an arrangement and therefore competition would be fair and free while the benefits would trickle down to the lowest strata of the society. However, the theory of rent only focuses on the

production capability suited to offer the consumers the optimum products at the lowest price, but does not take into account an important fact that the consumers are also producers at some point, and therefore the closure of certain industries due to the theory of comparative advantage may actually cause an overall loss.

In the similar fashion, trade-off is the keyword that needs to be focussed on when discussing the aspect of a particular set of states that gear up to abandon protectionist measures, ensure trade liberalisation and engage in free trade with more developed states, or with states having the similar economic parameters and index. Developing this argument and considering that the rate of employment, production, export and import are constant then two elements decide the outcome in the debate between free trade and protectionism which are the maximisation of welfare by abandoning protectionism for free trade which translates into gains in real income and gain in real income and any additional other benefits which the state in question may achieve by changing from protectionism to free trade. If the overall benefits do not surpass the initial cost of transposing from protectionism to free trade in the long run then the decision could be termed as an economic disaster.

The concept of regional integration a step forward placing that integration may not always require a formal-legal apparatus and can also be left to the market forces. The author comments that during the rise of colonialism although there are evidences to show that the colonial powers adjusted their economy to autarky, trade existed between them to a great extent and as a result of which Great Britain opened its trade with Prussia to a great extent, following which Prussia started trading more vigorously with its neighbours. While these two examples show that there was no formal-legal mechanism involved there was a semblance of informal integration as mutual dependence on each other was the order of the day. The two World Wars that occurred during the intervening period again brought down trade volumes to its lowest ebb whereas the post-War Europe again exhibited that the nation states wished to trade once more. Even though conflicts existed during the two wars, the post war scenario revealed the quest for peace and rebuilding Europe which only the states could deliver. As a result of which even though there was a desire for a federalist vision of Europe, ironically the states took the lead in the realisation of this dream. Even though commentaries are made on the loss of power of the states especially in the post-World War era that does not allow any other institution to take over the role of the state, as there is no other institution that can substitute the state when it comes to formal-legalism and taking decisions.

Apart from the economic desire to form regional organisations, it is also believed that powerful states that experience a wane in their power over time try to form regional associations with weaker states in order to continue a veneer of influence and control, while on the other hand weaker states believe that it is in their best interest to enter into a regional grouping with a powerful state for their own benefit in order to obtain access to a larger and more potent market as well as get a security cover. This idea negates the hegemonic stability theory which believes that hegemonic powers have the tendency to put their own will over others in order to maintain security and peace in a region. During the Cold War with the growing threat of communism, the United States adopted strategies that could be considered undemocratic and unethical in toppling many popularly elected governments in Latin America in order to stem the tide of communism and to maintain its dominance in its backyard.

However, with changing times and circumstances, powerful states also believe that it is better to continue its dominance but with a rational touch. On a different note the dichotomy between the rational choice of states and the compulsion to adapt such a choice in order to remain relevant. It is believed that with waning power a state may choose to engage with others on a level playing field in order to retain some of its earlier political and economic sheen. Rather than terming it as a choice out of compulsion it is better known as adjustment to the new political realities based on a rational choice.

In this accord economic benefit is still the mainstay for regional integration where the states decide depending on the benefits accrued from gains from trade, common external tariffs, benefits from manufacturing and export as well as capital investments and mobility. Other factors may include, specialisation in particular products, weeding out uncompetitive work units due to free and fair competition, technological advancement and transfer of technology, mobility of labour, a common currency to reduce hidden and transaction costs due to the monetary exchange value and finally, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). Wealthier and powerful states may wean out weaker states for beneficial free trade agreements drawing them into a flux of alliances. Finally, apart from the economic dimension, stress is also laid on common security, the desire to integrate on cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic.

Corollary to the argument placed from the previous economic models of autarky, it is important to delve into the idea of free market capitalism as one of the driving forces behind the idea of regional integration and free trade. While, regionalism may not always be economic in nature but if it is considered to be created on economic lines then free trade is the chief driving force behind such

associations. Contrary to that it is argued that free trade stimulates production and brings out the perfect sense of economic equilibrium where trade eroding costs are eliminated, perfect competition is ensured, product efficiency and quality is present and the customers are awarded with the optimum quality products and the minimum prices. Therefore, regionalism and free trade should go hand in hand for optimising costs and benefits and for actual welfare of the people. While observing the effects of free trade and how it is invariably linked to regional trade agreements, a state may experience declining terms of trade and a revenue shock where the terms of trade are so unfavourable that to maintain the basic structure of the economy becomes a huge burden. At this stage a state may choose to open up the economy to foreign investment, may sell non-performing assets and may look forward to liberalisation of trade and harmonisation of tariffs. As a last resort the state in question is bound to liberalise economy. Of course, the author also cautions that in dealing with a metamorphosis from a protectionist economy to a free trade model the negotiation costs may be too high initially due to the shocks that the nascent open economy may have to undergo.

Regional integration invariably links with political integration as well. It is both a process as well as a result where independent organisms or states decide to embark upon a journey to integrate their economies and societies to form a larger union. There are debates about what could be claimed as a successful regional integration venture, but certain key objectives that need to be fulfilled for the same. It is quite clear that regional integration does not limit itself only to economic activities as in turn these very economic activities are regulated by the state. Hence, loyalties, political and economic activities tend to achieve transnational status with the present order being subjugated by a new order, with the power to make decisions being shifted to a supranational authority. It is also presumed that political integration is a part of regional integration but not in the critical sense as it may be optional. Hence, regional integration can be limited only to the economic sector and there may be no need for it to transcend into the political sector. In this sense regional integration would take the shape of political entities entering into some sort of a mutual agreement in order to accomplish certain tasks for the betterment of their economies and society without engaging in political unity. Even though there are aspects of regional integration such as the rational choice of all the actors, the desire to seek integration pertaining to the levels and the quest for peace, it is ultimately the states who have the formal-legal and moral authority to decide on such matters.

There are inherent difficulties with the description of the term integration as well. For some it may mean a sense of supranational loyalty to some external agency

that would look after the interests of all the concerned members, whereas it could also mean that one of the states would take up the role of being an agreeable leader and guide the rest through its benevolent hegemony. For economists, the mere fact that states all across the globe have varied economic interests in one another leading to trade and flow of labour is also a sign of integration. The difficulty arises due to the fact that there is no specific definition of what integration is. For instance, the presence of international rules and supranational bodies such as the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies can be seen as a form of integration. However, this kind of a body is largely based on the consent of the member states where if needed states have rebelled against the diktats of such supranational organisations therefore deriding the idea of integration. Scholars have erred in differentiating between regional integration and the voluntary loss of sovereignty which carries a negative connotation with it. The very notion of regional integration offers a picture where states choose to dilute their sovereign powers, but states do not wish to lose their sovereign powers, rather they arrive at a common decision where the dilution of sovereignty is mutually agreeable to all. To add to it, scholars who believe that only states have the capacity of deciding on critical matters tend to forget the role of institutions and the society. In theorising, studies related to regional integration based on the dominance of the European Union scholars have erred that a region may also extend to sub-national or even to cross border areas devoid of the uniformity of the European Union.

The rationale of forming regional associations is to bring about economic development by diminishing tariffs, allowing free and mobility of goods and services. The main thrust behind forming regional organisations is the will of the states to pool in their resources in order to foster economic development. States are the main players in fostering regional cooperation according to the theory of Inter-governmentalism. It was the desire to maintain balance of power that led to regional cooperation. In this regard, Andrew Moravcsik's theory of liberal Inter-governmentalism claims that the states focus on their own national interests to achieve a point of common understanding in order to form an association states are bestowed with the power of making decisions and negotiations they foment regional integration initiatives.

Neo-functionalist's argument stating that member states would delegate their powers to supra-national institutions. The state would retreat from its position of dominance and echoes the idea that cooperation in one sector would lead to another akin to a spill-over effect. Neo-functionalism focuses on finding out solutions for problems on one hand, and harmonising territorial relations by means of supra-national agencies on the other hand. Neo-functionalists agreed,

that the main demand for an economic makeover and advancement is made by society and all its components without direct political interference. Although there is a general agreement among Neo-functionalists that society is the key to foster regional integration, it is the political will of the states and the bureaucracy to channelize the demands and foster regional integration, which otherwise would just be rooted as an idea. Therefore, unlike Inter-governmentalism, Neo-functionalism focuses on the society and the demands generated therein rather than in the state.

Disagreeing with the opinion that spill-over will lead to cooperation from one sector to another, states guard their sovereignty jealously and undermine all attempts to supersede their sovereign decision making power. States may disagree on various issues such as import subsidy, dumping and inability to protect state owned industries and sectors. In this regard for achieving economic welfare, all the states must act on the basis of equal treatment of all, even then it is difficult considering that all the member states do not have the same capacity to harmonise trade relations.

Neo-functionalism does not define the role of the society in a comprehensible manner. Issues such as creation and channelization of demands, the role of the non-state actors and the spill-over effect are simply left open. This uncertainty of Neo-functionalism has been criticised. In order to pursue integration the states would have to give up certain rights and privileges and delegate their authority to a supra-national body. This feature is based on the concept of *acquis communautaire*, or the acceptance of supra-national legislation. In Latin America, this would directly translate to an acceptance of the Washington Consensus. This would further lead to streamlining and harmonising of the economy and acceptance of American values and trade ethics such as liberalisation of the economy, removal of subsidies, and import of finished products, tax reform, exchange rate adjustment and privatisation.

One of the major errors that is frequented by scholars is that economic demands alone will lead to regional integration. National firms are important for the gestation of demands, the key to it lies with the political actors. Many states have apprehensions about joining a regional organisation due to the incurring costs and concessions required. The effect of regionalism and regional integration varies from place to place. While the EU and the ASEAN have been quite successful in nature others such as the SAFTA (the free trade agreement associated with the SAARC) are considered to be quite unsuccessful due to political disagreements. Overall, regional integration to some extent have caused weakening of the states as not only do they have to pool in their sovereignty, decision making powers and

economic freedom but also have to sacrifice on many occasions. Picture it this way, the United Kingdom exited the EU which is known as Brexit, now this gives the UK more freedom to do business in their own way without having to bother about the other European states but on the other hand the benefits which they received from the EU is also gone. In Central America one of the major reasons for the collapse of the CACM was the fact that the states could not agree on many aspects such as migration, the diversion of labour and capital and also on the various standards applied. This resulted in a lot of difficulties in their system which later on led to its collapse. However on the good side, regional integration has allowed many states to come together successfully for instance in the EU it is possible to travel all across the member states using the Schengen visa, to find work and engage in business everywhere within the EU without facing discrimination. It has also enabled the members to have a common external tariff to protect the markets within the EU and has also standardised quite a lot of norms and functionalities.

If we see the world today through the lenses of regionalism, then there are overlapping regional organisations all over the world

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### **C.3.4: Conclusion**

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While regionalism may be an issue for many scholars and there are quite a lot of debates over it, the fact is that regionalism is here to stay and states will come together in order to form regional integration and to ensure better functionality. Of course certain organisations do have the willingness to organise on the basis of religion or culture, however most of these organisations are economic in nature. The key theories try to explain this phenomenon quite suitably and again there are contestations. Certain factors such as the willingness of the states to integrate, fear of being overwhelmed by powerful states, lopsided development and also cultural clashes are certain concerns. Now for instance if one looks at the UK and its Brexit it seems that the UK which actually desperately wanted to be a part of the EU now exited it which is surprising. On the other hand if one sees the example of the DR-CAFTA it seems that the Central American states along with the USA, decided to enter into a regional organisation which speaks volumes that always the power of the states and economic disparity do not matter when it comes to regional integration. As a verdict, it is fairly impossible to offer a clear cut verdict on the prospects of regional integration. It has to be seen in a more holistic way where in certain regions it has become successful whereas in other regions it has not.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

**1) Mention a few pre-requisite for a successful regional integration model.**

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**2) Mention the concept of pooling of resources and sovereignty.**

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**3) Mention a reason by which a regional organisation may fail.**

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## ISSUES IN HUMAN SECURITY

### Unit Structure

#### (A) Poverty, Development, Environment

A.4.0: Objective

A.4.1: Poverty: Introduction

A.4.2: Imperialism, Poverty and Development

A.4.3: Aid and Debt: New Imperialism?

A.4.4: Development: Introduction

A.4.5: Challenges of Development

A.4.6: Environment: Introduction

A.4.7: Climate Change – Endangered Future

A.4.8: Environment and Security

A.4.9: References

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#### **A.4.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with the issues and problems of poverty, development and environment in international relations. After studying this module, you should be able to:

- To inculcate an understanding of the menace of Poverty and the understanding of the post World War II measures in the context of poverty Eradication.
- To make the students comprehend the nitty gritty of the concept of Development.
- To make the students come to terms with the fundamentals of Environmental concerns and the au currant tide of Climate Change negotiations

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### A.4.1: Poverty: Introduction

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With the international system being divided into the segments of a threesome, the Poverty busters, that is, the Regime of the day needs to be upfront and efficient about this poverty eradication. Also, the three segments which the United Nations adhere to be of the order of Developed nations, developing nations and finally the scourge of LDC,s which happen to be the Least Developed nations mostly in the African and South American continents. This demarcation and the segmentation is followed and adhered to also in the larger context of Aid diplomacy. The sphere of Aid diplomacy went ahead and made the aid receiving nations dependent upon their western developed nations which initiated a centre-periphery <sup>12</sup> syntax of a relationship between these nations with divergently different resources.

Related to the narrative of poverty eradication is another entity and concept termed as Development. As a nation becomes independent and attempts to arise and wake up after a long slumber of Imperialism and Colonialism, its infrastructure, educational system and Health apparatus, along with the larger idiom of roads, railways, access to hygiene and safe water, etc happen to become the benchmarks of development and growth in a nation once the Colonially oppressive and exploitative buttressing and albatross is removed and unhinged from the shoulder girdles of that newly free and independent nation state.

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### A.4.2: Imperialism Poverty and Development

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Poverty is a menace which needs to be tackled Government wise and Regimentally with an astute welfarist scheme of welfare schemes initiated by the Regime of the day. In order to uplift the citizens who are penury stricken and subsist under the poverty line and mass impoverishment, have to be lifted up through the Delhi denomination in cohort with the Government of the various and myriad states. India was traditionally referred to as the Golden bird as the myriad empires and Hindu kingdoms traded with the West Asian and the South East Asian nations and earned pelf and royal glory for themselves.

But, it was the repeated invasions by the Sultanates, Moguls and the final treachery and deceit of the British colonial rule in the Indian hinterland that, the national treasures were looted and Bhatarvarsha fell from the state of being rich and prosperous to being impoverished, looted and economically stricken.

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald H. Chilcote, ed. *The Political Economy of Imperialism: Critical Appraisals*. Lanham and New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000. viii + 261 pp. \$28.95 (paper)

<sup>2</sup>Ibid

One can refer to the Book written by Dada Bhai Naoriji, “Poverty and Un British Rule in India.” This very expansively ruminates upon the fundamentals of how the British rule led to the fall from riches for the Indian people and the various states and Rajwadas.

Chilcote, the Centre periphery theoretician, writes that, “For those of us who feel increasing unease at the apparently unstoppable forward march of globalization and the triumphalism discourse of its advocates, this book, a collection of essays on the political economy of imperialism, approximates the role of the proverbial little boy who recognizes that the emperor is indeed naked. It consists of ten essays by well-known political scientists and economists who have devoted much of their careers to the study of imperialism and (capitalist) economic development, and who are currently discovering and chronicling the continuities of both as they emerge as the new exploitative synthesis--globalization.”<sup>3</sup> Chilcote's inspiration to compile and publish this volume was a graduate seminar on the political economy of imperialism that he has been teaching at the University of California at Riverside since 1990, one that has given rise to other publications that this volume complements.<sup>4</sup> It is not the publication of the proceedings of a conference, even though it has that format; rather, it most approximates a published set of course readings.<sup>5</sup>

This volume, as Chilcote states, has as its point of departure the "fundamental premise that capitalism in its evolving and consolidated forms underlies questions and theories of imperialism and development". It assumes that the basis for a coherent theory of imperialism and development can be traced back to such classical writers on political economy as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and, of course, Karl Marx. Although some of the authors claim that the diffusion of capitalism throughout the world had positive and not simply negative, effects, and the negative view predominates along with the very strong suggestion that globalization is the highest stage of imperialism.

Prof. Praveen Jha writes in his article “ Causes of poverty in developing countries” “Although the fact of persistent mass poverty in developing countries is a stark one, investigations into its causation as well as policy initiatives to remedy/eliminate it have often led to highly controversial arguments”.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid 1

<sup>4</sup> Particularly *Imperialism: Theoretical Directions* (Amherst: Humanity Press, 2000); and the chapter, "Theories of Imperialism", in *Theories of Comparative Political Economy*, ed. Ronald Chilcote (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

During the economic reform, there has been a substantial increase of poverty in many low-income countries, and some of the increase may be on account of the neoliberal economic policies that have been on the ascendancy worldwide. Not only the Third World, but also some of the leading advanced industrialized economies have witnessed increased poverty, and often substantial increases in inequality during the last couple of decades, giving a severe jolt to the complacent conventional wisdom which suggested that, after a certain stage in their development, countries gradually grow out of poverty.

As regards countries belonging to the erstwhile so-called socialist bloc, for many of them, including Russia, the dramatic descent into poverty for millions of families since the early 1990s is well-known, and this again has some clear organic linkages with neoliberal economic policies. Thus it is quite clear that in several regions of the world recent trends relating to poverty, both in the absolute and in the relative sense, are far from encouraging, and the global total of the number of poor (even if defined in the narrow sense mentioned earlier) may have increased at least marginally during the last decade and a half. This position states that nineteenth-century European imperialism, directed at the Third World (particularly India undergoing British conquest and consolidation), was largely a progressive force, for it served to break down the perceived immobility of feudal and pre-capitalist modes of production and to force the societies in question into the capitalist world economy.

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#### **A.4.3: Aid and Debt: New Imperialism?**

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Nations like China, Russia and United States have always utilized the instrument of Food aid and other genres of dole outs with intent to keep the receptacle nations dependent on the central provider nation state. Also, the stratagem of Aid diplomacy, initiated through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan initiated by the United States in the aftermath of the World War II came to stay in the geo economics of Europe and later on the larger world reflected by the receptacle nation states in the poverty ridden states of Asia and Africa. The Marshall Plan initiated by the United States of America in a post World War II scenario can be surmised as below.

A renowned American history portal reminds us and enumerates that, “In the immediate post-World War II period, Europe remained ravaged by war and thus susceptible to exploitation by an internal and external Communist threat. In a June 5, 1947, speech to the graduating class at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall issued a call for a comprehensive program to rebuild

Europe. Fanned by the fear of Communist expansion and the rapid deterioration of European economies in the winter of 1946–1947, Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act in March 1948 and approved funding that would eventually rise to over \$12 billion for the rebuilding of Western Europe.”<sup>6</sup>

The US History portal further informs us that, “Thus the Marshall Plan was applied solely to Western Europe, precluding any measure of Soviet Bloc cooperation. Increasingly, the economic revival of Western Europe, especially West Germany, was viewed suspiciously in Moscow. Economic historians have debated the precise impact of the Marshall Plan on Western Europe, but these differing opinions do not detract from the fact that the Marshall Plan has been recognized as a great humanitarian effort. Secretary of State Marshall became the only general ever to receive a Nobel Prize for peace.

The Marshall Plan also institutionalized and legitimized the concept of U.S. foreign aid programs, which have become an integral part of U.S. foreign policy.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, it was a deft and strategically safe and effective initiation of the American nation and its leaders to lift the European counterparts out of war losses and damages caused by the violent and deadly conflict which nearly engulfed the entire international system with US being a slight exception to the rule.

Thus, the war have impoverishment heaped on the international comity of states had to be countered which began with the poverty eradication and equity enhancing instrumentalities of the order of World Trade organization and the International Monetary fund. Thus, power engenders the spread of resource richness and heady and gainful pelf and prosperity as one can discern the tirade of the plight of the nations of the order of Great Britain, France, Scandinavian and other player states in Europe as they geo- economically hobbled on from a Allied victory.

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<sup>6</sup> The Marshall plan <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/marshall-plan> ( Online: Web), Accessed on 10 May, 2021

<sup>7</sup> Ibid 1

## Check Your Progress Exercise -1

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

### 1) Can your drive the connection between Imperialism and Development?

**Kindly Elaborate**

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#### A.4.4: Development: Introduction

The centre periphery theoretical construct initiated by the scholar of the order of Chilcote sheds prominent and useful light upon the idiom of Development in the international context. As an instance, the central theme of Development is home to being the central agenda of governance in the regular domestic narrative of the nations, the world over. Development ranges from the Maglev trains crossing China in Tianjin and the rotting accelerator in a Bethesda metro station which reflects the rise of china and the infrastructural challenges faced by United States of America.

The term has been used frequently in the last century and in 21st centuries too, but the concept has existed in the West for far longer. Modernization, Westernization and especially Industrialization are other terms often used while discussing economic development. Historically, economic development policies focused on industrialization and infrastructure, but since the 1960s, it has increasingly focused on poverty reduction.

Development has always been a high octane issue which has initiated interest among the Politicians, Bureaucrats and the academics alike. The third world nations and the LDC's (Least Developed nations) are the benchmark over here whose catching up trail with the first world connotes the central pace of the theme of development. Development can also be defined as the new change in the developing and transforming situation and scenario. In the economic study of the public sector, economic and social development is the process by which the economic well being and quality of life of a nation, region, local community, or an individual are improved according to targeted goals and objectives.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> T Schultz , John Strauss, "Handbook of Developmental Economics," Elsevier, 2016

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### **A.4.5: Challenges of Development**

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The visage and the contours of development can be best accommodated by the larger idiom of modernization, Urbanization and industrialization which pave the way for bettering the standard of living of the citizens in a nation state and amidst its hoi polloi and the general citizenry. Apart from the realm of development economics, the larger and novae tenet of growth, GDP can be further comprehended in the larger idiom of freedom. The questions which normatively arise are that are the growth and modernization indicators in a nation's society leading to freedom of expression and a life pattern premised upon egalitarianism and equity.

- **Hunger:**

Billions of people across the globe live in squalid conditions of hunger, disease, and desperation. This pandemic poverty represents the world's most pernicious and deadly scourge. Yet for the privileged minority, the horrors of poverty seem to be a natural, inevitable part of the geopolitical landscape. Leaders in the developed world profess their commitment to "poverty eradication," but none are willing to address the systemic causes of poverty. Furthermore, the political and corporate elites at the helm of the world economy have a powerful interest in maintaining the economic status quo. Multilateral institutions devoted to "development" overwhelmingly adhere to neoliberal growth oriented strategies of capital accumulation, privatization, and investment. These institutions, including the World Bank, consistently ignore evidence that growth does not necessarily alleviate poverty and may, in fact, exacerbate it. Many concerned NGOs promote small-scale social development programs in poor countries, but as long as systemic economic and social policies continue to favor the rich, global poverty will remain a stark reality for the majority of people in the world.

- **Health:**

Health experts, economists and international development advocates cite the inextricable link between poor health, poverty and under-development. Global health has increasingly moved to the forefront of the international development agenda since the UN Secretary General commissioned the Millennium Project in 2002. HIV/AIDS remains a major problem, with 38.6 million infected people worldwide according to UNAIDS. Other pressing issues especially in the global south include malaria, tuberculosis, and reproductive health. These challenges are exacerbated by hunger, unclean

water, and lack of sanitation, each of which make humans more susceptible to disease. Inadequate health standards cause suffering not only for individuals but can also lead to conflict and social unrest. Bacteria grow increasingly resistant to antibiotics, so diseases and their carriers adapt to measures intended to impede their spread. Furthermore, new and emerging diseases such as avian flu and SARS threaten to travel quickly across borders, affecting the rich as well as the poor worldwide. This page addresses the manner that the cycle of poverty, health and development affects political, social, and economic issues on a global scale.

Loss of livelihood is a developmental parameter where-in, the theme of glaring income disparity between population segments of a given nation lead to new analysis and assessment of the developmental parameters of that specific society and the larger nation on the whole. Angus Deaton contends that, “Does income inequality lead to higher mortality rates? Several researchers have found such a link, leading one study to conclude that the loss of life owing to income inequality is “comparable to the combined loss of life from lung cancer, diabetes, motor vehicle crashes, HIV infection, suicide and homicide in 1995” (Lynch, Kaplan, & Pamuck, 1998). Little co relation has been found as part of evidence that income inequality directly affects mortality. Using data on U.S. states and 287 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) in 1980 and 1990, they find, rather, that the correlation between inequality and mortality is confounded by the racial composition of cities and states.”<sup>9</sup>

### Check Your Progress Exercise -2

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

#### 1.) What do you understand by the notion of Development in the international context?

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<sup>9</sup> Angus Deaton, Darren Lubosky, “Mortality, Income Ineqaulity and race in America, “ Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, October, 2001

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**A.4.6: Environment: Introduction**

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Since the 1950's in the aftermath of the Whaling Commissions, the process of environmental and Climate change diplomacy gained ground in the form of the Stockholm Conference in 1971. As an aftermath, with the milestones of the order of the Earth Summit in Rio, the days of the Brundtland Report and the inception of IPCC in the nineties, the COP mechanism, (Conference of Parties) took off which resulted in the Climate change confrontations of the, Copenhagen conference, Kyoto Protocol and the Paris conference. The question that finds interest happens to be that of how India has responded and participated to the challenges of Climate change. The Air Act and the Water Act of the eighties is an indicator of the challenges of pollution and the related dictum of Climate change. India as in since the last couple of decades has become an active negotiating side in the realm of climate change. PM Dr. Manmohan Singh crystallized the nation's Climate Action Plan. India has always as a negotiating force, pinpointed about the twin issues of the order of: sharing of resources, technology and funds for adaptation by the first world powers to the developing nations and the universality of the Global commons under the Go Green dictum of the international geo economics.

**A.4.7: Climate Change – Endangered Future**

Daniel Bodansky writes that, "The development of the climate change regime in the late 1980s and early 1990s rode a wave of environmental activity, which began in 1987 with the discovery of the stratospheric "ozone hole" and the publication of the Brundtland Commission report, *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), and crested at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro." The author further informs us that, "An earlier wave of international environmental activity, culminating in the 1972 Stockholm Conference and the establishment several years later of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), had tended to focus on local, acute, and relatively reversible forms of pollution for example, oil spills and dumping of <sup>10</sup>hazardous wastes at sea by regulating particular pollutants. The more recent cycle of environmental activity has concerned longer-term, irreversible, global threats, such as depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer, loss of biological diversity, and greenhouse warming."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Daneil Brodansky, "The History of Global Climate Change Regime," The MIT Press, London, 2018

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

Since the times of the Stockholm Accord on Climate change, an international Regime of the order of the global cooperation and the gradual international organization of the Climate Change regime and the attendant ameliorative measures happens to be the order of the day. Since then, the Conferences of Parties or the COPs have taken over the larger narrative and practice of Climate Change. In International Relations, the second greatest battle which is being fought happens to be that of great and general discord between the Developing and the Developed nation states in the larger international system.

The biggest battles are being fought in the corridors of World Bank and the International Monetary Fund with the second most onuses going to the larger idiom of Climate change through the iterative COPSs. Thus, we reach a framework in Global political economy and International relations which mentions and connotes the larger perspective of a Regime as mentioned by Robert Keohane and other International relations adherents.

The mainstay fracas in the realm of the Climate change realm and the attendant negotiations happens to be that of adaptation and mitigation with technology and green tech. transfers being the bone of contention apart from the funding support base to the third world nations. Thus, in a manner, the thaw between the developing nations and the First world states has never been reached and in a way, this disagreement over the process and function of how to attain a global consensus on climate mitigation and adaptation needs to be sorted out first, in line with a global consensus so that the burden sharing occurs between the developed world and not too many tangible concerns are placed upon the mantle of Environmental concerns.

As an instance or a case study perspective, one can approach the theme of Climate change through the details and deliberations upon the Climate Change protocol of the Kyoto system of climate change deals. “The Kyoto Protocol defines rights to future emissions levels by countries. By so doing, it defines a new kind of good in the form of rights to emit greenhouse gases and then determines initial allocations. The previous sections have discussed the equity implications of adopting one criterion rather than another to determine this initial distribution. Property regimes define not only the nature of the entitlements but regulate the transfer either across space, in this case between countries, or through time, as in inheritance rules. Thus the Kyoto Protocol also had to consider under what conditions rights could be reallocated or transferred. Elaboration of trading rules addressed precisely this problem.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Bodansky, Daniel M. 1995. The Emerging Climate Change Regime. *Annual Review of Energy and Environment* 20:425–461.

It can be further appended that, “There has also been considerable study of the implications of various rules of exchange, and these are as closely tied to equity considerations as the initial allocation itself.

Spritz writes that, “The Montreal Protocol controls specific chemical substances, starting with a smaller set in 1987 and enlarging the range of controlled substances and often accelerating the time frame for phasing them out. Since developing countries would potentially offset the advances made by industrialized countries in phasing out ozone-depleting substances (ODS), a Multilateral Fund (MLF) was created to channel financial assistance to developing countries. Decisions within the ozone regime are taken by two-third majorities and in the case of the MLF by a double qualified majority vote that is, two-thirds of developing and two-thirds of developed countries have to agree to decisions.”<sup>13</sup> He further elaborates that, “Furthermore, developing countries are generally granted a ten-year delay as compared to industrialized countries in implementing mitigation measures. To limit non-participant countries’ chances of undermining the global treaty, trade in controlled substances with non-parties counts toward the consumption of the exporting country after an initial starting period. Further innovations include provisions that adjustments of already-controlled substances can be made by a two-thirds majority plus more than 50 percent of total consumption (Montreal Protocol, Art. 2(9)).”<sup>14</sup>

- **Carbon Trading:** Carbon trading though in a related context is a matter of great global concern. What nations do is that they carbon trade as in let’s assume that Russia dirties some air with CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and they do not have the technology to clean it which is its international responsibility. Then, what happens? It can be contended that in such a stifling trade scenario, Russia sells of its carbon deficit along with the fact that United States of America might buy these climate change liabilities from the Russians and take upon their well funded and technologically advanced sturdy green shoulders to clean the dirty burden of the Russian furnace of industries and citizenry consumption.

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#### **A.4.8: Environment and Security**

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Climate change is related to the concerns of world peace and stolidity and peacenik concerns of the international comity of nations whether they might be the developed nations and the developing nation states. It has been informed that,

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<sup>13</sup> Sprinz, Detlef. 1992. Why Countries Support International Environmental Agreements: The Regulation of Acid Rain in Europe. Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor: Department of Political Science, University of Michigan.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

“The idea that a warming planet threatens stability around the globe is not a new one. The U.S. Naval War College began studying the topic as early as the late 1980s, and over the past three decades a steady stream of analyses from the U.S. Defense Department, private think tanks, and other organizations have pointed to threats that climate change poses to peace and stability. Climate change is rarely viewed as a direct cause of instability and conflict, but experts generally regard it as a “threat multiplier”<sup>15</sup> a phenomenon that can worsen or exacerbate other sources of instability and conflict, such as competition for natural resources and ethnic tensions.” Though not directly related to armed conflict and insurgency, Environmental themes do raise a few themes of consternation and future conflict between nations and MNC interests as the oligopoly of the fight for Global commons such as in the Arctic and Antarctica are pointers in the direction of the future turn and twist of events..

Global environmental and ecological degradation, as well as climate change, are likely to fuel competition for resources, economic distress, and social discontent through 2019 and beyond. Climate hazards such as extreme weather, higher temperatures, droughts, floods, wildfires, storms, sea-level rise, soil degradation, and acidifying oceans are intensifying, threatening infrastructure, health, and water and food security. Extreme weather events, worsened by accelerated sea-level rise, will hit some areas particularly hard including South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. Water and food insecurity made worse by heat waves, droughts, and floods are already increasing the risk of conflict in Egypt, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Jordan, according to the report.”<sup>16</sup>

Thus, Climate Change is directly related to the notions of political violence, insurgency or cross border conflict as the race for usurpation of natural resources despite the dictum of common heritage of mankind and “commons theology” needs to be upended as one of the core trials by the balance of peace and stability in the global firmament. The ICJ is replete with incidents, where-in, the conflict over continental shelves and maritime resources and routes of trade and commerce already hinder the congeniality of the global or regional maritime space. Also, as an attendant concluding remark, the sequencing of the history of the climate change negotiations needs to be the order of the day for the students at a post graduation level and the backgrounder available to the students as an substratum of the order of “ Global commons” and the “ Common heritage of the mankind” can be earmarked as the staple ingredients of Environmental and climate change concerns.

<sup>15</sup> Climate Change and National Security [https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2019/07/a-brief-introduction-to-climate-change-and-national-security/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI4-V0Z6r8QIVIDArCh2oNAwtEAAYASAAEgJlGfD\\_BwE](https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2019/07/a-brief-introduction-to-climate-change-and-national-security/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMI4-V0Z6r8QIVIDArCh2oNAwtEAAYASAAEgJlGfD_BwE) ( Online: Web), Accessed on June 10, 2021

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

### Check Your Progress Exercise-3

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

**1.) How is the notion of Climate change descriptive of the understanding of Natural law?**

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**(B) Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention****B.4.0: Objective****B.4.1: Introduction****B.4.2: History of Human Rights****B.4.3: Natural Rights as Human Rights****B.4.4: Humanitarian Interventions****B.4.5: Conclusion****B.4.6: References**

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**B.4.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with the concept and challenges of human rights and humanitarian intervention in international relations. After studying this module, you should be able:

- To inculcate an understanding of natural rights and their correlation with Human rights.
- To inculcate an awareness and initiate learning about the declaration of Human rights and the American declaration of Independence.

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**B.4.1: Introduction**

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Since the hallowed and hoary past of the Social contract theorists of the order of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke along with Jean Jacques Rousseau, the myriad narratives of human rights of the citizenry have been flagged by both the western and non western Political thinkers. In a manner, the advocates of social contract, contend that the once the rights of happiness, life, liberty and property have been lent to the citizens of the nations, then the duty of protection and sustenance lies with the Regime or the leader/ King of the day. This was thus postulated by the Social Contract theorist, John Locke in the twilight era of liberalism. In a manner the challenges to the Open societies and its enemies as postulated by Karl Pauper, rule the roost, where-in, the tyrants and the theorists pummel the national population. In a way, the fundamental rights have been ably and objectively enumerated through the postulates of the American Declaration of Independence along with the French declaration in the context of the French revolution. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) passed in 1948 and the International covenant of civil and Political rights (ICCPR) along with convention for ending discrimination against women (CEDAW), have become the order of the day and the *nom de plume* of the larger global narrative of Human rights.

Also, in the context of the Indian constitution, the various Directives of State Policy and fundamental rights have been echoed repeatedly since the liberal age of the Renaissance and Reformation in the middle ages in Europe.

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### **B.4.2: History of Human Rights**

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In the immediate aftermath of the World War II, the Colonial and Imperialistic hegemony of the First world conquistadors was greatly lessened by statues such as the, United Nations General Assembly resolution of the Freedom of the Colonised people and it ran parallel with the anti-apartheid movement in the world in the context of the Asian-African countries.

The human rights narratives right from the beginning of the UDHR as understood by the larger group of nations and humanity in general. The larger context has been brought forth by the UDHR as an aftermath of World War-II where –in, the often invocation of UDHR now places as part of custom in the larger trajectory of International Law. A web source informs us that, in 1948 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the UDHR. This was the first time that countries agreed on a comprehensive statement of inalienable human rights.

The UDHR is not a treaty, so it does not directly create legal obligations for States. The Declaration has however, had a profound influence on the development of international human rights law. It is argued that because States have constantly invoked the Declaration over more than 50 years, it has become binding as a part of customary international law. On the same day that it adopted the UDHR, the United Nations General Assembly asked its Commission on Human Rights to draft a covenant on human rights, which could become a binding treaty. After six years of drafting and debate, in 1952 the General Assembly requested that the Commission on Human Rights draft two covenants rather than one.

The covenants, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* were opened for signature in 1966 and entered into force in 1976.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, it’s a customary International law in the contemporary context, where-in, the larger good of the oppressed populations, the world over are to be looked in decisively and proactively labelled to the functional ambit of human rights. Also, the international legally delves inside the question that to what extent western powers and United States of America can be made out to be interveners and interlocutors if an imaginary population in a besieged nation State is being harassed and made to suffer on a grave humanitarian scale.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid

### **B.4.3: Natural Rights as Human Rights**

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The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has brought the correlation between natural rights and Human rights. It can be postulated that it's a given and a reality and actuality which cannot be ignored by the Human rights narrative. Jacques Maritan writes that, "Lastly, a reasonable concept of natural law allows us to understand the intrinsic differences distinguishing natural law as such, the law of nations, and positive legislation. We then see that any declaration of human rights necessarily involves a concatenation of rights differing in degree, of which some meet an absolute requirement of the natural law, such as the right to existence or the right to profess, without interference by the State, the religion one believes true (liberty of conscience), others responding to a need of the law of nations, based on natural law, but modified in application by human law and the requirements of 'common use' or the common good, such as the right to own property or the right to work – others again meeting an aspiration or desire of the natural law confirmed by positive law, but with the limitations required by the common good, such as the liberty of the press or more generally liberty of expression, freedom of exposition, and freedom of association."<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the concept of common good of all and the beneficence of all remains the core and fundamental of the idiom of Human and natural rights. It's a much walked past but still the concerns of self determination such as the violent and bloody developments of Gaza Strip and Jerusalem point to a status quo, which, has been reached in the larger context of human rights. The question that remains to be answered is that do we frame such a statute which can delegate powers to the United Nations or the relevant UN bodies and agencies in order to curb the grand standing but violent and suffocating interlude of military Juntas and tyrants down the road in different nations of the international ecosystem of the State.

The author further postulates that, "These last types of liberty cannot be erected into absolute rights, but constitute rights (conditioned by the common good) which any society that has attained a condition of political justice is required to recognize. It is modern liberalism's misfortune to have made that distinction impossible for itself, and thus to have been obliged either to contradict itself or to have recourse to hypocrisy, in order to limit the practical exercise of rights which it has confused with the fundamental natural rights and which theoretically it proclaimed as absolute and sacrosanct."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "Human Rights and Natural law," <https://en.unesco.org/courier/2018-4/human-rights-and-natural-law> (Online: Web), Accessed on June 10, 2021

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

Leaving aside all heresy and adhering to the common world's narrative of human rights, one can contend as per the American declaration of Rights that certain rights are naturally bequeathed to the mankind and these happen to be indivisible and inalienable human rights. Thus, in the larger narrative of Human rights, a sacredness and sacrosanct veneer is automatically attached to the *nom de plume* of fundamental rights of man and the citizenry of a nation which is besieged by a tyrant or an autocrat.

The instance of the stifling of human rights can be cited in the policies of the Chinese Government in Xinxiang, Hongkong and Myanmar's junta's imprisonment of Aung San Suu Kyi, in the context of Myanmar on trifling bribery and money hoarding charges. In Xinxiang, a Chinese pogrom runs, which believes the resettling of the Uighur Turks in imprisonment and confine camps where birth rights and other fundamental freedoms are at a short shrift, thus, ushering in autocracy and dictatorial rule becoming the official Chinese Domestic policy.

Thus, natural law and human rights can be equated on the same shelf where –in the larger duct of humanity can dominate and the civil and political rights of the oppressed people, where ever they are can be brought forth as a discussion point. The other debate which persists happens to be that of, “ Whether the ends justifies the means “ and vice versa can become the ordering principle of the larger narrative of Human rights narrative.

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#### **B.4.4: Humanitarian Interventions**

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Humanitarian interventions have the bone of contention since the inception of the United Nations Charter with the coming into being of the hallowed corridors of United Nations as an aftermath of World War II, which bled the European allied powers blue and even the new super power United States was impacted by the catastrophe of war and international conflict. Humanitarian intervention has been defined as a state's use of military force against another state, with the stated goal of ending human right violations in that state. This definition may be too narrow as it precludes non-military forms of intervention such as humanitarian aid and international sanctions.

Since then US and allied forces have intervened in Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen and Syria. The criticism which has been heaped on humanitarian interventions is that all that military maneuver and reconstruction strivings on the part of super powers such as United States have been carried on in the garb of humanitarian interventions such as in Rwanda, Haiti and Somalia where-in, the

democratization mission civil trice of the order of Operation Enduring Freedom in Iraq have come under the ceaseless scanner of the Global Media , other non Governmental organizations and the canons of International Humanitarian law.

India and United States, as a case study, have lived through a checkered relationship since the advent of Indian independence. India and US are two ardently dreaming nations which can subsist in the veneer of being ‘True Blue Dreamers’. United States of America was the progenitor element of the novae narrative which stayed cocooned in between the protection of the Atlantic ocean and the Pacific Ocean and the top down benign and weak neighborhood of Mexico and Canada before intervening in World Wars to end its sequestration streak as it gradually began to intervene for themes as wide as promotion of democracy in communist and authoritarian states to the issue of “Global war on terror”.

Being Democratic practitioners and being on the higher moral pedestals of the larger international system, which seem to be destructible values in today’s troubled times, the tangibles too point towards a larger and wholesome partnership. With criticality being fashionably festooned upon intellectualism, (it) runs over the Democratic idealism between India and United States. The United States with its enviable record of moral, economic and military strength has been stringent in its single minded devotion to its clearly defined national interest unlike others with humanist fronts. We are not talking about ‘Unipolarity’, which, by the way, is an international relations exercise in safe morality and delimited transnational criterion.

The recent North Korean nuclear adventurism has prompted US allies such as South Korea and Japan to seek higher US presence in the region. The US had repeatedly said that it would not hesitate to intervene to ensure the security of its Asian partners and now China has accused the US of militarizing the region. The persistent Chinese intransigence along with the North Korean temerity in the region necessitates a new response from the United States though India has ruled out joint patrolling with the regional US naval command keeping in view the independent inclination of the nation’s security and foreign policy. Though containment of PRC is not going to be an avowed Indian and American concern, but, the cooperative-competitive concern would amount to management of the maritime space with a bilateral twist to the tale. It all sounds like a familiar “*internationale tale*” of disbelief embedded with truisms and global lessons. ‘Nuclear Liability’ travails might not belittle the *Oregon trail* which the twin nationalities are slotted to be effectively on.

As US intervenes with dexterous regularity in the nations and regions and staying true to the notion and praxis of humanitarian interventions one can surmise that Chinese interventions are being countered by a conglomerate of the Quad group of nations, namely, India, United States of America, Japan and Australia as recently in June 10, 2021, Japan and Australia have issued a joint statement that the Chinese interventions in the South China seas and over the Senkaku Islands, or Diaoyu islands. All these arcane sounding words have a common string linking them. That linkage happens to be that of American interventions.

The United States of America is a nation par excellence with overgrown and pending global role-playing responsibilities and popular expectations for yeomanly acts that firm up a difficult-to-live-up-to philanthropic resolve. The nation reverberates with the bluster and verve of being a quintessential and stereotypical Regulator nation in the larger international system. This makes the hyper State; stand tall with its objective of the Global Democracies. We need to ruminate and chew over the debates of the order of: Why does United States of America need to democratize the larger neighbourhood? And, what legal, democratic and political legerdemain it needs to adhere to.

The CFR report indicates that, the difference between pre-emptive war and preventive war is not a matter of semantics. Rather, it is a matter of timing that has implications on *International Law Perspective on Pre-emptive War and Humanitarian Intervention* whether an act is justified or not. Traditionally, pre-emption constitutes a ‘war of necessity’ based on credible evidence of imminent attack against which action is justified under international law as enshrined in the self-defence clause Article 51 of the UN Charter 2.

Another instance, the UN mission in Rwanda and Kigali was ably led by a 300 strong contingent of United Nations Blue berets that is the United Nations Peace keeping corps drawn from different parts of the global comity of states. The United Nations Organization’s Policy brief reports us that, “On 6 April 1994, the deaths of the Presidents of Burundi and Rwanda in a plane crash caused by a rocket attack, ignited several weeks of intense and systematic massacres. The killings - more than one million people are estimated to have perished - shocked the international community and were clearly acts of genocide. An estimated 150,000 to 250,000 women were also raped. Members of the presidential guard started killing Tutsi civilians in a section of Kigali near the airport. Less than half an hour after the plane crash, roadblocks manned by Hutu militiamen often assisted by gendarmerie (paramilitary police) or military personnel were set up to identify Tutsis.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> URL: <https://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/historical-background.shtml> (Online: Web), Accessed on June 10, 2021

The time line further showcases that, “On 7 April, Radio Television Libres Des Mille Collines (RTL) aired a broadcast attributing the plane crash to the RPF and a contingent of UN soldiers, as well as incitements to eliminate the "Tutsi cockroach". Later that day the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian peacekeepers assigned to protect her were brutally murdered by Rwandan government soldiers in an attack on her home. Other moderate Hutu leaders were similarly assassinated. After the massacre of its troops, Belgium withdrew the rest of its force. On 21 April, after other countries asked to withdraw troops, the UNAMIR force reduced from an initial 2,165 to 270.”<sup>21</sup>

The Report can be further cited and it contends that, “On June 22, the Security Council authorized French-led forces to mount a humanitarian mission. The mission, called ‘Operation Turquoise’, saved hundreds of civilians in South West Rwanda, but is also said to have allowed soldiers, officials and militiamen involved in the genocide to flee Rwanda through the areas under their control. In other areas, killings continued until 4 July 1994 when the RPF took military control of the entire territory of Rwanda.”<sup>22</sup> The Rwandan genocide was a consequence of the western neglect and failed help which did not arrive when in a Cinematically presented trail, Hotel Rwanda, the desperate Hutu manager attempts to save the lives of westerners and others who had sought shelter in the Hotel Rwanda in Kigali. Still, the Belgian masters from Europe did not take heed of the pleas emanating from the slew of philanthropists seated in a crisis stricken, Kigali that is, Rwanda’s capital. The US President Bill Clinton later on visited Kigali in 1996 and commented very emotionally that, “As the UN and US staffers and diplomatists were busy typing on their word processors the people were hacked and burnt alive in Rwanda and all that the western colonial masters could manage to do was to collect at their office coffee vending machines in order to de stress and discuss Rwanda as the genocide between Hutus and Tutsis raged on sanctimoniously.

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#### **B.4.5: Conclusion**

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We can delve inside the notion of Just War and Just Cause in order to comprehend the *raison d’être* behind humanitarian interventions. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter elucidates upon the conceptual bulwark of interventions by responsible powers in the terrain and business of recalcitrant states such as Iraq led by Saddam Hussein and Syria led by Bashar Al Assad. The blame lies on the American defence establishment for intervening in states such as Iraq and

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Ibid 1

Afghanistan with the cause of terminating the menace of non state actors such as Al Qaeda and Islamic State (IS) in these two receptacle states. Also, as an attendant fact, we need to delve inside the consent of the receiving failed State ensuring that the democratization mission of states such as United States is not a forceful act by the western powers in the spread of Democracy, liberal world order and rule of laws in these west Asian and South Asian and African states. The American concept of Just war take from the cannons of International Law come into narrative play as United states and other nation states intervened in various regions and nations of the Global polity in order to render asunder the atrocities of conflict strewn lands and nations with the United Nations remaining as a mute and handicapped witness to these very many conflict zones attaining genocide.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

**1.) When were the ICCPR and UDHR framed and under what international context?**

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**2.) What was the Rwandan genocide all about? Give details.**

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### **B.4.6: References**

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## **(C) Migration**

C.4.0: Objective

C.4.1: Introduction

C.4.2: The Meticulous Migration-Pandemic connection

C.4.3: Reverse Migration

C.4.4: Types of Migration

    i. Immigration and Emigration

    ii. In-migration and Out-migration

    iii. Gross and Net Migration

    iv. Internal and External Migration

C.4.5: Concepts Relating to Migration

C.4.6: Migration and Human Security

C.4.7: Conclusion

C.4.8: References

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### **B.4.0: Objective**

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The objective of this module is to familiarize students with the concept and challenges of migration. After studying this module, you should be able:

- To inculcate an understanding of the idiom of migration in the context of domestic Politics and the international setting.
- To make the students understand the concept of human security.
- To make the students learn about the Syrian refugee crisis since the last decade.

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### **C.4.1: Introduction**

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Migration is a process of transfer of the location, place of work and residence which can take place internally in a nation or may take place internationally due to a natural catastrophe such as famine, flood and pandemic or due to the telling repercussions of political conflict and violence. Internal migration can be exemplified by the internal displacement of migrant labour which occurred from the metropolis such as Mumbai to the rural hinterland and their homes. As in, the migration accrued as lockdowns were initiated in Mumbai and all across the

nation in April March, 2020 and in 2021 so as to contain the corona virus pandemic or the Covid 19 Delta strain in 2021. Migration thus occurred as the livelihoods of the migrant labourers ended as all local and small scale enterprises were shuttered and the migrant labour had no other option to return to their homes in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan to make themselves and their family members survive. This is about internal migration and internal displacement of population.

Globally, Migration was witnessed in places such as Syria, Libya, Lebanon and Venezuela. Syria witnessed the outage when the Regime head, Bashar Al Assad was caught in a war and internal conflict with the rebels supported by the Western powers and United States of America. Russia supported the Damascus Regime led by Bashar Al Assad. Syrians fled in millions to the Turkish water points or sea ports and travelled hundreds of miles through Eastern Europe and sought illegal residence in nations such as France, United Kingdom and Italy and Germany and it's here only that the German Centrist Right Chancellor, Angela Merkel welcomes the migrants with open arms and provided employment, camps and further sustenance to them.

Millions of people are rendered homeless and bereft of employment and thus all these sordid and critical developments lead to misery and countless suffering for people staying in their original and homeland nations and lands. The threat of migration led to a worry and political and administrative concern that migrants might be linked to groups and insurgents and might lead to a destabilizing influence upon the receptacle state or the receiving state's population. The UN Migration Agency (IOM) defines a migrant as any person, who, is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her permanent place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the move are; or (4) what the length of the stay is.

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#### **C.4.2: The Meticulous Migration-Pandemic connection**

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In the age of globalization, the free trade and travel, has, integrated the world in such a way that, if, anything happens in any country, it engulfs the whole world. The Corona-virus origin is linked to China and the outbreak of the pandemic is linked to China's connection to all the countries of the world. However, it is not for the first time that the dreaded pandemic has occurred due to the au-currant migration factor. Trade and commerce had been the basis of migration in earlier periods of history and diseases and pandemics had a close connection with migrations.

Between 1820 and 1939, roughly 60 million Europeans immigrated to the area/countries like Argentina, Latin American countries; Australia, New Zealand as well as the United States and Canada (*Hatton and Williamson, 1998, 2005*). There are 272 million international migrants in the world today, roughly 3.5% of the world's population. The international mobility had led to the spread of infectious and chronic diseases several times in the earlier period of history.

After the development of steam ships, millions of Europeans started shifting to the US and any disease in Europe could easily spread to the transatlantic countries. Similarly Cholera, which originated in British colony, had, spread on every continent through the British traders and officers. Smallpox epidemics played a crucial role in the US since Columbus's days. Yellow fever crept up repeatedly from the Caribbean and Central America to other parts of the Southern US. In 1889, the first modern influenza pandemic spread rapidly from Russia to North America. All these factors show that pandemics or diseases always had linkage with migration.( David Fickling 2020). In the age of globalization, the world has become a global village and migration between and within nations, has, become so colossal, that, any disease can easily spread to the whole world at a very fast speed as we have witnessed in Covid-19 pandemic.

The migration of people has been rampant due to the income disparities, varied degree of development and various levels of urbanization in countries. During the Covid-19 pandemic, most of the countries had shut down their borders and imposed restrictions on travel from other countries and had suspended international flights to prevent people's entry from other countries. This action is perceived as a challenge to the liberal theory of globalization and the revival of the conventional view that states have power to control their borders and have rights to control immigration. However, it is done in the support of public health security. Even the nationals returning home had to abide by the regulations introduced by the state. For instance each tourist had to go through the process of thermal screening and had to observe 14 days isolation .Earlier in history, also one found a close connection between immigration restrictions and public health measures. Historically, New York Harbor, known for migration, had designated various islands like Ellis Island and Liberty Island as quarantine stations. Therefore, it is the state that decides about the policies of migration and also to handle the effects of migration if any. In the following section, the migration theories are discussed to understand the divergent perspectives on the issue of migration. The impact of post-Covid19 on future migration policies is also taken into consideration.

### **C.4.3: Reverse Migration**

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Reverse or Return migration is an important phenomenon, but, often neglected component of the immigration process. The term “Return” refers broadly to the act of going back from a country of presence to the country of previous origin. There are numerous sub-categories of return which can describe the way it takes place, e.g., voluntary, forced, assisted or spontaneous return. Voluntary return is based on an informed decision freely taken by the individual. Ease of transport, globalization, economic opportunities and disparities, are, drastically transforming human mobility into an increasingly complex and multidirectional phenomenon. Instead of migration being a one time journey, migrants and their families often subsequently move to a second or third country of destination. While each person has the right to return to his/her own country, migration is not necessarily to the final stage in the migration process. The corona-virus pandemic has triggered massive *reverse migration* in the country.

Where return takes place, it may be of a permanent or temporary nature, keeping open the possibility of renewed out-migration (IOM, 2008). The main motivation for emigration is generally economic, the reasons for return are numerous, complex and sometimes contradictory. Both individual and societal factors play a role in effecting the homeward flow of emigrants. Returning home does not necessarily mean the end of the migration pathway nor is it always final. Return migration describes a situation where migrants return to their country of origin by their own choice, often after a significant period abroad (Dustman and Weiss, 2007).

International Organisation for Migration (IOM) espouses that return migration can have a positive impact in the form of creating new businesses by the returnees and help improve the functioning of markets in their home country. The issue of return is at the heart of the debate on international migration management and an understanding of the phenomenon, is, still fragmentary, because of the difficulties encountered in the ideas of measurement and the lack of comparative data. Return migration, is, a major component of migration flow and migrants plan their migration pathway and their return in light of their individual and family objectives and many other factors. Sahay (2009) pointed out that in all of the literature on return migration, there exist some underlying assumptions about return: the first assumption views return as temporary, the second as permanent and lastly where return is chosen owing to different factors like failure or homesickness. Migration studies relating to return draw our attention to the different typologies of return migration keeping in mind the differences between migrants intending their departure to be permanent and also those who intend it to be temporary (Jimo, 2010).

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### C.4.4: Types of Migration

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*Migration is of the following order types:*

**(i) Immigration and Emigration**

When people from one country move permanently to another country, for example, if people from India move to America, then for America, it is termed as immigration. In contrast, if a person moving from one city to another city of India, it is termed as Emigration.

**(ii) In-migration and Out-migration**

In-migration means migration occurring within an area only, while out-migration means migration out of the city. Both types of migration are called internal migration occurring within the country. Migration from Bihar to Bengal is In-migration for Bengal, while it is Out- Migration for Bihar.

**(iii) Gross and Net Migration**

During any period, the total number of persons coming in the country and the number of people going out of the country for residing is called gross migration. The difference between the total number of persons coming to live in a country and going out of the country for living during any period is termed as net migration.

**(iv) Internal and External Migration**

Internal migration means people's movement in different states and regions within a country from one place to another. On the other hand, external or international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another for permanent settlement.

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### C.4.5: Concepts Relating to Migration

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As noted in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "Human security is an approach to assist the member states in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people." It calls for "people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen all people's protection and empowerment". The human security approach is a proven analytical and planning framework supporting more comprehensive and preventive responses by the United Nations, cutting across sectors, developing contextually relevant solutions, and adopting partnerships to

help realize a world free from fear, want, and indignity. Besides, the following ideas are used in migration:

- **Migration Stream**

Migration stream refers to the number of migrating from one region to another or from one country to another for residing during a period. It is related to people's movement from a common area of origin to a common area of a destination. For example, the Migration of Indians to America during a time interval.

- **Migration Interval**

Migration may occur continuously over some time. But to measure it correctly, the data should be divided into intervals of one to five or more years. The division relating to a particular period is known as the migration interval.

- **Place of Origin and Place of Destination**

The area in which people leave is the place of origin, and the person is called an out-migrant. On the other hand, the location of the destination is the place where the person moves, and the person is called an in-migrant.

The link between migrations and (in)security has been an awful, mainly from the attitude of the securitization schedule. Political, policy, and media discourses often gift migration as a risk to countrywide sovereignty and country protection. More generally, migrants are regularly provided as a risk to the monetary, social, and cultural properly-being of host populations, successively generating emotions of lack of confidence that can undermine relationships between settled populations and new arrivals. Many of these rules and debates make assumptions about the motivations, expectations, and aspirations of migrants, yet they rarely consist of their views or voices.

By that specialize inside the character, in preference to the nation, the notion of human security provides a possibility to develop our expertise of the financial, social and political challenges associated with migration, from the region of origin, to transit, arrival and (re)agreement all through a brand new region. The selection emigrates referred to as a way for countering human insecurities (both actual and perceived). Still, it's also related to insecurities of its own: all through the adventure, in nations of settlement, and for those left in the back. This panel will discover those stories and what they inform us about the link between migration and human protection drawing, specifically, on the voices and perspectives of migrants themselves.

## C.4.6: Migration and Human Security

Human Security has been mentioned and elaborated upon as the idiom of a collective, all pervading and comprehensive understanding of the way mankind and nations progress towards an objective of peace, prosperity, self and tranquility. Till now, the hard security component used to rule the roost, where-in, the larger idea was that military strength and effectiveness is the “all essential” element and component of the understanding of national security. But right from our Vedas and Sanatan Dharma to the deliberations in the United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council initiated by the Swiss, the Canadians and the Japanese became the ordering narrative of the day.

Human security includes the objective of the attainment of the eight SDG’s (Sustainable Development Goals) where in the softer concerns of international Governance of the order of Law and Order, Education, Health, Infrastructure along with Gender empowerment and Poverty eradication become the *nom de plume* narrative of the entire ecosystem of the larger international system. Thus, in a manner migration and displacement of populations besieged by natural disasters along with political strife become the order of the day.

- **The Syrian Refugee Crisis**

The Syrian refugee crisis is the result of a March 2011 violent government crackdown on public demonstrations in support of a group of teenagers who were arrested for anti-government graffiti in the southern town of Daraa. The arrests sparked public demonstrations throughout Syria which were violently suppressed by government security forces. Conflict quickly escalated and the country descended into a civil war that forced millions of Syrian families out of their homes. Ten years later, the number of Syrian refugees has hardly declined and more than 13 million people still need humanitarian assistance - including 6 million who are in acute need. The United Nations Refugee Agency, UNHCR informs us that, “Torrential rains, strong winds and floods have been lashing the country’s northwest region this winter, destroying tents, food supplies and leaving tens of thousands of displaced Syrian families homeless during the coldest months. More than 140,000 people have been affected and at least 25,000 tents have been destroyed.” The UN Portal further informs us that pithily, “Outbreaks of violence in Idlib in December 2019 and February 2020 forced an additional one million people to flee their homes. The majority – about 80 percent – of those who have fled Idlib and the surrounding areas are women and children.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> “Syrian Refugee Crisis Explained,” URL: <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/syria-refugee-crisis-explained/> (Online: Web), Accessed on June 10, 2021



The UNHCR websites further enumerates that, “Syrian refugees have sought asylum in more than 130 countries, but the vast majority live in neighboring countries within the region, such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. Turkey alone hosts the largest population - 3.6 million.”<sup>24</sup> The further portal’s narrative is of the order of, “Approximately 92 percent of refugees who have fled to neighboring countries live in rural and urban settings, with only roughly five percent living in refugee camps.

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#### **C.4.7: Conclusion**

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However, living outside refugee camps does not necessarily mean success or stability. More than 70 percent of Syrian refugees are living in poverty, with limited access to basic services, education or job opportunities and few prospects of returning home.”<sup>25</sup> Tales of repression and dehumanization have emerged from the auspices of these refugee camps harboring Syrian and North African nations a want of adequate shelters, security, hygiene and a palpable want of medical and infrastructural facilities make life and the search for a new livelihood, a ponderous and difficult one for the refugees as far as Syrian migrants and other migrants to Europe are concerned. As it has been seen and reams have been written on it that, the migration of Bangladeshi population from Dhaka has led to a humanitarian disaster in India and the undocumented nature of these populations also pose a well defined security and national interest threat as has been posited by Indian intelligence agencies since the inception of the migration of the Bangladeshi Refugees.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

### **Check Your Progress Exercise**

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

**1.) How is domestic migration different from the Global scourge of Migration and a refugee crisis?**

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**2.) What is the Syrian refugee problem and challenge all about?**

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**C.4.8: References**

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## Document Information

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