



**T.Y.B.A POLITICS  
SEMESTER - VI (CBCS)**

**PAPER - VIII  
REGIONAL ORGANISATION &  
TRANSCONTINENTAL GROUPS**

**SUBJECT CODE: 86657**

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**T.Y.B.A POLITICS**  
**SEMESTER - VI (CBCS)**  
**PAPER - VIII**

**REGIONAL ORGANISATION & TRANSCONTINENTAL GROUPS**  
**SYLLABUS**

	No. of Lectures
<b>Module 1: Regionalism and Globalization</b>	<b>13</b>
1.1 The League of Arab States/ Arab League (AL)	
1.2 Mercosur -Mercado Comúndel Sur (Southern Common Market)	
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<b>Module 3: India and Regional Organizations</b>	<b>10</b>
3.1 Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation (BIMSTEC)	
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**Rationale**

In the revision of TYBA Politics Papers to be implemented from 2013-2014 the paper on *International Politics* which was one of the options in paper VIII in the previous syllabus has been shifted to paper VI as *International Relations*. Therefore a new paper- *International and Regional Organizations* is introduced as one of the options in Paper VIII. The other option under Paper VIII is *American Political System* which was an option in paper VII previously.

The paper *International and Regional Organizations* is introduced with a view to familiarising students with the recent activities of the UN and other organizations, particularly Inter Governmental Organizations (IGOs) that have acquired immense prominence in world politics vis-à-vis the forces of globalization in the past decade.

The United Nations appears to have reclaimed the ground which it had lost in the 1990s in the immediate aftermath of the cessation of the Cold War, disintegration of the Soviet Union and the emergence of unipolarity in world politics. Now its role in some of the recent conflicts, say, in the Arab World or partition of Sudan, among others, and its contribution to economic and social development with a view to strengthening human security through its various programmes has been widely acknowledged. Paper for Semester V will deal with the activities of the UN and international economic and financial organizations.

Regional and Transcontinental organizations and forums have grown not only in numbers but they have been also performing a wide range of functions from providing security to member states to increasing trade and commerce and cooperation among them. Paper for Semester VI will focus on some of the regional and also the transcontinental organizations spread across the world.

This Paper is also designed to help students preparing for civil services and other competitive examinations as these examinations include topics on international and regional organizations.

### **Explanatory notes**

#### **General**

This paper, *International and Regional Organizations* will be taught at the information level. It aims at increasing students' familiarity with the functioning of the UN and regional organizations. Therefore questions set for examination will not expect critical and in-depth answers about the functioning of these organizations. The focus is more on the evolution, the expanding membership and the successes as well as the limitations of these organizations.

Study of this paper calls for familiarity with the world map for understanding locations of countries that are members of various organizations. Use of world atlas by students and world map by teachers in the classroom is therefore, desirable, especially in Semester VI.

Organizations covered in Paper VI- *International Relations*- ASEAN, EU, IMF, SAARC, WB, WTO - are not included in this paper to avoid repetition.

#### **Semester V**

##### **Module 1**

To be taught with reference to the issue of the place of state sovereignty in international politics and to the role of international organizations as transnational actors. A brief reference to the League of Nations would be adequate. No question need be asked on the League. Structure of the UN is to be taught briefly.

##### **Module 2**

To be taught with reference to the concept of National Security. Reference to Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter is essential. Focus is expected to be on recent peacekeeping activities.

## Module 3

To be taught in the context of Non-traditional Security. This module could be assigned for 10- mark assignment in Semester V

### Semester VI

At the outset a brief introduction on the relationship between regionalism and Globalisation could be provided to stress the importance of regional organisations. The origin of various organizations is to be explained with a brief reference to the global/ regional situation prevalent at the time of their establishment. Attention could be drawn to the overlapping membership of the various regional organizations. Students may submit assignments on any organization of their choice from any module.

#### Recommended Reading

{Authentic and up-to-date information about these organizations is available on their respective websites. A number of articles describing/ evaluating the functioning and the role of these organizations are available on the Internet. Colleges may also subscribe to UNews, a monthly newsletter of the UN Information Centre, 55 Lodi Estate, New Delhi-110003 by writing to the Centre. Price of the Newsletter is Re. 1/- (Rupee one) only.}

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# REGIONALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

## Unit Structure:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction- The League of Arab States/ Arab League (AL), Mercosur -Mercado Comúndel Sur (Southern Common Market) and African Union (AU)
- 1.2 Regionalism in International Relations
- 1.3 New Regionalism
- 1.4 Globalization and Regionalism
- 1.5 Summary/Conclusion
- 1.6 References

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## 1.0 OBJECTIVES

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In this unit, you all will be familiarized with regionalism and globalization. In this era of increased connection and interdependence, no one can afford to live in isolation under the guise of nationalism. The emergence of globalisation is said to be causing the state, as an international person, to lose its personality. Globalisation is a process that creates links and flows throughout global regions, continents, and civilizations, not just between nation-states and national territorial boundaries. This calls for a definition of globalisation as "a historical process," one that results in a considerable change in the spatial reach of social networks and relational systems towards transcontinental or interregional patterns of human organization, activity, and the exercise of power. Globalisation and regionalism both have relatively ambiguous definitions. First off, a region is described as a social structure, an organized cooperation in a particular field (security, economy, culture), and/or an acting subject with a specific identity in addition to being a geographical unit. It should be clarified that "old regionalism," which predated the Cold War, and "new regionalism," which is currently on the rise, stand in stark contrast to one another. By forging Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs), regionalism has excelled in the economic sphere by assisting in securing markets and fostering economic power. In globalizing institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, agreements binding governments to the liberalization of markets restrict their ability to pursue macroeconomic policies. After studying this lesson, you would be able to-

- Given the components of the "globalisation" system, a new type of regionalism has emerged to handle issues that global multilateralism cannot.
- identify how regionalism has Impacted to globalization through an



increase in cultural identity and the rise of regionalist parties.

- Explain that both deal with economic arrangements to facilitate trade and commerce but differ in implementation and the actors.

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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION:

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Regionalism can be characterised in its most basic form as an agreement between nations that share a common border in order to facilitate the free flow of goods and services and to coordinate foreign policies to promote trade. Regionalism's influence in the new global order extends beyond free trade and economic considerations to include social, political, and cultural considerations as well (Inoguchi, 1996). The State itself plays one of the most significant roles in favour of regionalism. To guarantee that the policies and plans are implemented successfully, state behaviour towards the regionalization process is crucial (Inoguchi, 1996). Through Regional Trade Agreements, which provide secure marketplaces for businesses to operate in, regionalism is primarily promoted on the economic front. The main promoters of regionalism, regional organisations, typically enter into these agreements. Regional organisations, in Nye's opinion, are the only ones with the diplomatic authority and support of the international bureaucracy to negotiate formal agreements between nations (Nye, 1971). In the modern world, examples of regional organisations include the Association of Southeast Asian Studies ("ASEAN"), BRICS, African Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation ("NATO"). Additionally, it is stated that "open regionalism" can be a step forward from multilateralism due to its increased economic integration, less trade barriers, improved coordination between national policymakers, and ability to resolve border disputes (Rojas-Suarez, 2004). In today's world, non-state players who work together to promote society as a whole via mutual reliance and cooperation play an increasingly significant role in multilateral institutions. 2011 (Devitt). Multilateralism emphasises the alliance between several nations towards a common goal while keeping in mind regionalism's goal, which is to ease trade and commerce within social systems. Therefore, multilateralism concentrates on establishing a generalised worldwide system of free trade, whereas regionalism aims to construct "regional blocs" to ease trade. What is known as Bhagwati's controversial question, "Whether regionalism is truly building bloc rather than stumbling bloc towards multilateral free trade for all?" continues to be relevant today. This question, however, needs to be addressed from the context and state of the world economy today (Bhagwati, 1993).

According to John Baylis (2017), globalisation is characterised by a change in the social system, the development of the world as a single social space, a deterritorialization of social, economic, and political activity, and the denationalisation of power. In terms of economics, it establishes a clear connection between the new world order and economic transformation.

Cross-border trade and more open financial flows have resulted in an ever-increasing interconnection and expansion of the global economy (John Baylis, 2017). The goal of this study paper is to investigate how regionalism may function in a globalised society if globalisation is a path to a society without borders. The fundamental understanding of the term "region" as a social system or mutually beneficial trade blocks rather than territorial units and how it is a step forward from the current multilateralism system is the primary argument being examined in this regard.

Free trade agreements ("FTA") and custom unions proliferated throughout the world in the 1960s, both in developing and industrialised nations. Following that, the creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (or "GATT") contributed to the removal of a number of existing trade restrictions. At the period, the main goals of economic policy were to lower the cost of industrialization, promote regional integration, and take advantage of economies of scale by opening up the markets to one another. At the time, proposals for the North American Free Trade Agreement ("NAFTA"), the Peru-Australia Free Trade Agreement ("PAFTA"), and the Latin American Free Trade Association ("LAFTA") were made. However, the majority of these free trade agreements were never implemented due to stuttering bureaucratic negotiations, which ultimately led to the failure of the first wave of regionalism. The European Free Trade Area ("EFTA") was the only regional community to have endured the initial wave (Bhagwati, 1993). The bipolarity of the global system and the hegemonic dominance of the USA and USSR were eventually addressed by the end of the second wave of regionalism at the end of the Cold War. The trading blocs and the balance of power underwent a substantial change. The international system was forced to establish a new global order that could promote trade, business, and interaction in a multipolar world when the world was no longer dominated by two nations (Inoguchi, 1996). Around this time, organisations like the ASEAN, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), APEC, NAFTA, the South Common Market (Mercosur), etc. were all established. Since the original multilateral trade negotiations were unsuccessful, the importance of regional accords in the Global North has increased, raising worries in the Global South, especially regarding its decreased access to the global market. The latter created its own regional economic development schemes in reaction to the threat. The advantages of regional trade agreements between nations became clear as countries began to show interest in the multilateral system of free trade, the global economy, and competition (Santander, 2018).

Modern regionalism, or the present wave of regionalism, is a multifaceted and all-encompassing approach that addresses political, social, and developmental challenges in addition to economic ones. In the context of contemporary regionalism, "regions" refers to the process by which a geographic area is turned from a passive object to an active subject, capable

of articulating transnational interests, as a result of the onset of globalisation and contracting economies. Therefore, non-state players, organisations, and most significantly, social systems, operate on various fronts that support the global economy. The phenomenon of regionalism in the multipolar world involves nations integrating their economies and addressing global issues. FTA, customs unions, shared markets, and other policies all help regionalism function more effectively. Along with multilateral accords, regional trade agreements are a popular means of international trade today. It is a strategy that many nations have used to stimulate economic growth. The interaction between regional agreements and increased participation by other countries can supplement the multilateral trading system, according to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development ("OECD"). According to the OECD, 2020, the objectives of a multilateral trading system are comparable to those of the agricultural issues, technology, investment strategies and technology transfer provisions of regional trade agreements (RTAs). The degree of regional integration determines the degree of regionalism. It can likewise be ordered by kinds of combination which are: Economic unions, common markets, and free trade agreements. The most prevalent method of international trade is through free trade agreements.

### **Regionalism vs. Multilateralism**

Whether regional integration is better or worse for the multilateral trading system is the fundamental concern raised by academics in relation to regionalism and multilateralism. In the current international trading system, regional organisations like NAFTA, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), etc., are continually evolving and signing trade agreements. A country group's interactions with other nations outside the group may be influenced by how they engage within the group. The distinction between trade diversion and trade creation can be boiled down to this. In contrast to multilateralism, which refers to agreements between three or more parties concerned with a particular economic arrangement, regionalism is an institutional arrangement between nations within the same social system or territory to facilitate trade and commerce through regional trade agreements. A form of economic policy known as multilateralism is one that nations adopt while adhering to the fundamental tenets of international free trade and multilateral economic integration. A multilateral trade policy is adopted by several nations that associate with one another and pursue comparable economic objectives (Devitt, 2011). Multilateralism is frequently described as a process whereby nations participate in an interactive and cooperative economic model to attain shared objectives. Multilateralism is the process that is essentially made possible by the process, whereas regionalism restricts the benefits of policies, lowered trade barriers, and customs inside the unique unit, whether geographical or social. To put it another way, it enables internalisation of

the benefits of trade de-restriction and is likely to encourage more open trade in situations or industries that are subject to severe restrictions (L. Alan Winters, 1999). In light of criticisms of regionalism, it is important to consider if it hinders multilateralism by diverting trade. Pascal Lamy, the director of the World Trade Organisation ("WTO"), has deemed this argument unimportant. According to Lamy, the idea of "Most Favoured Nation" status, which enables countries to take advantage of their comparative advantages, is the foundation for encouraging national economic growth and efficiency. In order to regulate commerce, multilateralism combines these ideas of the global economy. He contends that deciding which "ism" is superior is pointless and that what really matters are open trade channels, streamlined agreements, and effective cross-national contact (Lamy, 2015).

The expansion and regionalism may become challenging to control as trilateral and bilateral trade agreements become more widespread. Integration of the economy and markets is becoming more important. However, regionalism hasn't yet threatened or hurt the multilateralism movement in any manner. Instead, it aids in the development of a multilateral framework that improves regional connections and economic policies. Economic interdependence might be increased in a system where regionalism facilitates multilateralism rather than excluding it.

#### **A) Arab League-**

The Arab League (AL) is a regional organization of Arab countries in and around North Africa and the Middle East. The organization was founded in 1945 with the aim of promoting economic, cultural, and political cooperation among its members. The headquarters of the Arab League is located in Cairo, Egypt. As of 2021, the Arab League has 22 members, including Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The Arab League has been involved in a number of regional issues, including conflicts and crises, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Gulf War, and the ongoing conflict in Syria. The organization has also worked to promote economic integration among its members, and has established a number of institutions to facilitate cooperation in areas such as trade, education, and culture. However, the Arab League has faced criticism for its inability to effectively address regional challenges, and for its lack of unity and cohesion among its members.

The League's objectives, as stated in Article 2 of the Pact, are to foster cooperation in areas such as trade, customs, currency, agriculture, industry, communications, including railways, roads, and aviation, protect member states' independence and sovereignty, advance Arab nations' interests, and mediate disputes between members or between members and a third party.

The League is made up of the Council, Special Ministerial Committees, General-Secretariat, and Specialized Agencies. The Gathering, which is comprised of the unfamiliar priests of all the part countries, is the super political body. It meets twice a year to oversee the implementation of member-state agreements, establish guidelines for cooperation with other international organizations in the political, economic, and social spheres, and mediate disputes between members or a member and a country outside the League. Every part has one decision on the Chamber, and choices are restricting just on those expresses that have decided in favor of them. The Board draws in the Exceptional Councils. In their different areas (data, interior undertakings, equity, lodging, transportation, get-togethers, youth and sports, wellbeing, the climate, media communications, and power), they foster shared approaches to oversee and propel cooperation. A Secretary-General who is picked by the Gathering for a five-year term regulates the General-Secretariat. It is mostly in charge of internal management and implements the Council's decisions.

India was the first member of the League to receive observer status in 2007, despite the fact that it has neither an Arab community nor a native Arabic-speaking population. In 2007, trade between India and Arab League nations was worth \$30 billion. Chemicals, autos, machinery, foods, and other fast-moving goods are among India's top exports to Arab League nations, while Arab oil and gas are among its significant imports. About 5 million people from India live in the Arab League nations, where 20% of them are professionals. Oman and India have particularly good relations; one illustration is the frequent exchange of ship visits between the two nations. Oman recently granted India the right to dock Indian naval ships there. Additionally, for many years, the Indian Navy has been educating Omani naval forces. After the seven founding members of the League signed the Alexandria Protocol in Cairo the year before, the League was established in 1945. Freeing the Arab nations still subject to colonial rule was a hot topic at the time.

Cairo was the first base for the organization in 1945. That changed in 1979 when it was moved to Tunis, Tunisia. The Organization repudiated Egypt's membership after it signed a ceasefire with Israel. In 1987, the League re-established ties with Egypt. Egypt was re-admitted as a member state in 1989, the League moved its headquarters back to Cairo.

During the Arab Spring uprisings in early 2011, the Arab League acted swiftly and unanimously by suspending the nation's membership. It backed UN intervention against Muammar Gaddafi's forces at the time. Later that year, after Gaddafi was removed from office and a representative of the National Transitional Council was put in place to serve as the interim government, Libya was allowed to re-join the organisation. In 2014, the Arab League denounced the Islamic State, and several of its members carried out airstrikes against the terrorist group. But overall, it didn't do

much to help the Iraqi government, which is headed by Shiites. Syria's membership was also in jeopardy as the League decided to revoke it in 2011 due to government violence against peaceful protestors. The organisation urged Turkey to leave Syria in 2018 and 2019.

The Pact of the League of Arab States is the name of the charter of the Arab League, which was established on March 22, 1945. The seven founding members' heads of state—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen—signed it. According to the agreement, the member states want to bolster their sovereignty and ties.

As a result of disagreements among its members, the Arab League has struggled to exert its influence and effectiveness. Some members supported the Soviet Union during the Cold War while others sided with Western countries. Rivalry over the leadership of the League has also existed, particularly between Egypt and Iraq. Conflicts between monarchies, including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco, as well as the actions of nations that have undergone political upheaval, including Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser and Libya under Muammar Gaddafi, have caused unrest. The United States' war on Saddam Hussein's Iraq also caused deep divisions among Arab League members. The Council's members do not need to unanimously ratify its resolutions. However, their impact is relatively restricted and frequently amounts to nothing more than pronouncements rather than enacted laws because they are only binding on the nations that voted for them (no country is required to abide by them against its will).

Turkey has shown interest in having an observer status in the league however has been declined in light of multiple factors, most observably resistance from Iraq (whose Kurdish residents Turkey has regularly struggled with) and Syria (the last option actually asserts Turkey's Hatay Territory). Turkey's military interventions in Libya and other nations were also condemned by the League.

The Arab League isn't specifically a military coalition. But when it was founded, its members made a deal to work together on military matters and to plan military defence. The decision to renew their combined defence and create a peacekeeping force to deploy in South Lebanon, Darfur, Iraq, and other flashpoints was made by the leaders of its member states during the 2007 summit. Member nations made a preliminary agreement to establish a joint voluntary military force at a conference held in Egypt in 2015. The League requested that Somalia postpone its presidential and legislative elections in April 2021.

## **B) Mercosur -Mercado Comúndel Sur (Southern Common Market)-**

Mercosur, also known as the Southern Common Market, is a regional trade bloc in South America. It was established in 1991 by the Treaty of Asunción

signed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, with the aim of promoting economic integration and cooperation among its member countries. The main objective of Mercosur is to create a common market between its member countries, which includes the free movement of goods, services, and factors of production, as well as the establishment of a common external tariff on goods imported from outside the bloc. Mercosur also seeks to promote political and cultural integration among its member countries.

Over the years, Mercosur has expanded its membership to include Venezuela (which was suspended from the bloc in 2016), and Bolivia (which is in the process of becoming a full member). It has also signed several free trade agreements with other countries and blocs, such as the European Union, Chile, and Israel.

Despite some successes, such as the reduction of trade barriers among its member countries, Mercosur has faced several challenges and criticisms, including concerns over the lack of progress in reducing non-tariff barriers to trade, political instability among its member countries, and disagreements over trade policies and regulations.

Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Paraguay previously made up the political and economic bloc known as Mercosur, or the Southern Common Market. The bloc enjoyed some early triumphs, including a tenfold rise in trade inside the group in the 1990s, when it was formed during a time when longstanding adversaries Argentina and Brazil were looking to repair their relations. Mercosur has, however, had difficulty expanding its market reach in recent years. Due to environmental concerns and European opposition, the execution of a historic multilateral trade agreement it reached with the European Union (EU) in 2019 has been put on hold. China's influence in Latin America is also expanding at the same time. Some experts have also questioned the bloc's commitment to democracy. Additionally, it faces challenges including the Increasing fragmentation among member countries, the COVID-19 pandemic, and unstable trade relations with the United States.

Full membership in Mercosur is held by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, which were the founding members. Venezuela joined as a full part in 2012, but because of an absence of adherence to the bloc's democratic norms, it was suspended without pay in late 2016. Mercosur is one of the most powerful economic blocs in the world, as evidenced by the World Bank estimates that the founding nations' combined GDP in 2020 will be approximately \$1.9 trillion. In contrast, the Pacific Alliance, the second-largest trading bloc in Latin America, has a GDP of nearly \$1.8 trillion. The beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in significant economic losses for the bloc: Around the same time, the economies of Brazil and

Argentina both experienced declines of around 4% and more than 10%, separately. Argentina is as yet encountering a downturn.

The Treaty of Asuncion, which called for the "free movement of goods, services, and factors of production between countries," was signed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay in 1991, and this agreement resulted in the creation of Mercosur. The four nations also decided to implement a unified trade strategy towards other nations and trade blocs, abolish customs charges, and impose a 35 percent external tariff on some goods from outside the bloc. By creating a common market akin to the EU, the signatories of the charter intended to boost commercial and investment prospects for local sectors and promote regional development. The bloc has even thought about establishing a single currency.

Argentina and Brazil's long-standing antagonism with one another was a major factor in the creation of Mercosur, which served as a catalyst for their eventual reconciliation. Together, the two nations make up almost 90% of the GDP and 95% of the population of the bloc. Critics claim that Argentina and Brazil only sought Mercosur as a trade barrier. The Common Market Council, the top decision-making body of the bloc, offers a high-level venue for coordinating diplomatic and economic policy. Decisions are determined by consensus by the group, which consists of the foreign and economic ministers of each member state, or their equivalents. Every six months, the complete membership of the group elects a new president in alphabetical order.

The Common Market Group, which coordinates macroeconomic policies, a trade commission, the advisory Parlasur parliament, and the Structural Convergence Fund (FOCEM), which coordinates regional infrastructure projects are other organisations. Funding for FOCEM projects, such as constructing roads, bridges, and rivers, comes from member-country payments, which are calculated using a system that takes each nation's GDP into consideration. With a \$1.4 trillion GDP, Brazil makes up 60% of the contribution, followed by Argentina at 30% and Paraguay and Uruguay at 5% apiece. Since the fund was established in 2004, more than \$1 billion in non-refundable loans have been awarded.

Following Argentina's financial crisis in 2001 and Brazil's currency devaluation in 1999, regional integration within the bloc slowed, and since then, tensions have risen due to trade conflicts and other issues. Recent Uruguayan efforts to pursue an FTA with China have also caused friction among bloc members. Argentina has actively resisted pursuing an FTA with China, citing worries that a trade agreement could result in an inflow of cheap Chinese products into the region, in contrast to Brazil's support for doing so.



Since all of Mercosur's founding members had fled dictatorships in the 1980s, one of the organization's early goals was to solidify the return of democracy to the area. The Mercosur states ratified the Ushuaia Protocol on Democratic Commitment in 1998, which stipulated that a "rupture in democratic order" would result in a member's suspension and that "the full force of democratic institutions is essential" to the integration of Mercosur states. The protocol was first utilised by Mercosur members to suspend Paraguay in 2012. They justified the suspension by arguing that President Fernando Lugo had been wrongfully ousted from office after being accused by his domestic opponents of managing a violent confrontation between farmers and law officers poorly. Some experts say Paraguay's suspension, which was lifted in 2013, was politically motivated, since Brazil's then left-wing government was seeking Venezuela's admission to the bloc and Paraguay's new, centre-right government opposed it.

Mercosur suspended Venezuela in late 2016, citing violations of human rights and the bloc's trade rules by President Nicolas Maduro's government. In August 2017, the group made Venezuela's suspension indefinite (there are no provisions for permanent expulsion). And in 2019, Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay called on Maduro to cede power to the Venezuelan opposition.

### **C) African Union (AU) –**

The African Union (AU) is a continental union of 55 member states located on the African continent. It was established on July 9, 2002, in Durban, South Africa, and is headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The AU replaced the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was founded in 1963 to promote unity and solidarity among African nations in the fight against colonialism and apartheid. The AU's primary objectives are to promote economic integration, political unity, and sustainable development across the African continent. Aiming to advance peace, security, and stability via conflict prevention and resolution, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and development, the AU is guided by the tenet that "African solutions to African problems" The Pan-African Parliament (PAP), the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, the African Development Bank, and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) are just a few of the important organisations that make up the African Union.

On September 9, 1999, the Sirte Declaration, which called for the creation of the African Union, was released at Sirte, Libya. The bloc was established in Addis Abeba, Ethiopia, on May 26, 2001, and it was officially introduced in Durban, South Africa, on July 9, 2002. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which was founded on May 25, 1963 in Addis Abeba by 32 signatory governments before being dissolved on July 9, 2002, was intended to be replaced by the AU. The Assembly of the African Union, a semi-annual gathering of its member nations' leaders of state and government,

makes the majority of the AU's key decisions. The African Union Commission, the AU's secretariat, is headquartered in Addis Abeba. most populous city in The African Union has more than 1.3 billion people and an area of around 30 million km<sup>2</sup> (12 million sq mi) and includes world landmarks, such as the Sahara and the Nile. The primary working languages are Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swahili. Within the African Union, there are official bodies, such as the Peace and Security Council and the Pan-African Parliament.

The deployment of a peacekeeping force consisting of soldiers from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Mozambique to Burundi in May 2003 to monitor the execution of the different accords was the AU's first military intervention in a member state. Before the operation was turned over to the UN on January 1st, 2008, via UNAMID, AU forces were also stationed in the Sudan for peacekeeping during the Darfur Conflict. In addition, the AU has dispatched troops from Uganda and Burundi to Somalia as part of a peacekeeping mission.

A number of significant new documents that define standards at the continental level have been accepted by the AU to complement those that were already in place when it was founded. These include the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its related Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance, the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (2003), the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007), and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption.

The African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCTA) established it in 2018. The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) aims to accelerate the creation of the Continental Customs Union and the African Customs Union by establishing a single continental market for goods and services with free trade in people and capital. Preliminary work on the AfCFTA focuses on initiatives such supply chains, gradual tariff reduction, non-tariff barrier removal, and dispute resolution. By the end of 2022, it is projected to increase intra-African commerce by around USD 35 billion. The bigger market will probably draw capital for the construction of continental infrastructure. Africa will become more competitive globally, have an improvement in social welfare, and be better positioned for further industrialization thanks to the increased commerce.

The objectives of AU were laid by the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union:

- Achieving more solidarity and togetherness among the African nations and people.

- Defending the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the 55 Member States.
- Accelerating the political as well as the socio-economic integrity of the African continent.
- Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples
- Encouraging international cooperation and promoting peace, security, and stability of the continent
- Promoting the popular participation and governance of the continent including democratic principles and institutions
- Development and promotion of common policies related to trade, defence and foreign relations strengthening its negotiating positions.
- Invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our Continent, in the building of the African Union.
- Protect human rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- To provide sustainable development of the continent at the social, economic and cultural levels.
- Development of the continent through the advancement in the field of science and technology.

Agenda 2063 was created as a strategic framework for Africa's long-term socio-economic and integrating change in order to secure the achievement of its goals and the accomplishment of the Pan African Vision of an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa.

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## **1.2 REGIONALISM IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

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The emergence of regional organizations of various sizes and scopes is a defining feature of contemporary international politics. "Towards several worlds instead of one" has become the post-second World War tendency.<sup>1</sup> International relations had to be redefined as a result of the decolonization process that followed the end of World War II, which produced many state actors in global politics. Like people, states must coexist with other countries in order to exist and advance. They might then separate even more into groups. The formation of the nations' groups is done so as to advance social, economic, and security goals. The establishment of organisations with various goals and interests has always been a feature of state-state relations throughout the history of mankind. At the secondary level, there are regional organisations known as international sub-systems in modern times, when the full spectrum of connections between nations is seen as an international system at the global level. International relations scholars and

participants see the world system as a collection of various sub-systems, mostly classified according to geopolitical factors. These "regions"—also known as sub-systems—are seen to be crucial for moulding the socioeconomic and political destinies of the constituent countries in addition to being critical for maintaining the balance of power on a global scale.

Different academics use the word "region" to mean different things. Many academics have produced various ideas, provided various definitions, and recommended standards for a "region." 'Regions' are sometimes used to refer to areas that are smaller than states. It is frequently used in relation to a certain region. It is crucial to stress that, in terms of international relations, a region is always a space that includes the borders of three or more states. Geographical links and shared interests bind these states together. They are not always adjacent or even located on the same continent. Some fundamental traits or qualities that grant an area the designation of region should also be included in the definition of the region. The nature of these traits may be Cultural, historical, economic and ideological. The distinguished Egyptian scholar B.V. Boutros Ghali made one of the first contributions to the development of the theory of regions. He defines a region, a regional system, or what he calls "ententes" as "Organisations of a permanent character grouping in a geographically determined region of more than two states, which by reason of their proximity, their communities of interests or their affinities (establish) an association for the maintenance of peace and security in their region and for the development Dr. E.N. VanKleffens, a previous Dutch Diplomat to US depicts local game plan as "a willful relationship of sovereign states inside a specific region or having normal interests around there for joint reason which ought not be of a hostile nature comparable to that area". According to the definition provided by the Egyptian delegation at the San Francisco Conference in 1945 when they proposed an amendment to the draft text of the UN Charter, regional arrangements are "organisations of a permanent nature grouping in a given geographical area several countries that by reason of their proximity, community of interest (or) cultural, linguistic, historical or spiritual affinities make themselves jointly responsible for the peaceful settlement of any disputes which may arise between them." The various definitions of regionalism and regional cooperation demonstrate that they are more than just a military alliance and involve cooperation in non-military areas. Although essentially a military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) also has other interests and goals. Additionally, they demonstrate that regionalism lacks a clear geographical connotation because not all the governments in a region are necessarily members of the regional institutions. For instance, not all of the Middle Eastern states are Arab League members. However, it is impossible to ignore the role that geography had in the creation of regional groups.

### **Criteria to determine the Regional Organisations:**

Numerous researchers have attempted to identify the criteria or conditions that are required to identify a region in addition to defining and conceptualizing the regional system. This is helpful because it provides a concise and coherent definition of the concept of a region. As a result, it is essential to take into consideration a few of the suggestions made by various academics in this regard. According to Michael Brecher, there are six requirements for locating a regional subsystem: First, the geographical region is used to define the scope of the regional group. Also, there should be somewhere around three entertainers. Thirdly, other actors objectively recognize them as a distinct community, region, or segment of the global system when taken together. Fourthly, the members themselves identify as such. Fifthly, the dominant system's power units are somewhat superior to the power units. Sixth, changes to the dominant system have more of an impact than changes to the secondary system.

The basic theme of the criteria for creating regional groupings and organisations that were produced by the majority of western researchers in the 1960s and 1970s is that they are largely shaped by the postwar postmodern post political system. In essence, all regional organisations are expected to be subject to the international system that is governed by specific countries and is closely related to and affected by it. Motives for Regional Organization Formation The establishment of numerous organisations for military and other various reasons throughout the post-second World War era has been particularly notable.

### **The new Impetus towards Regional integration:**

Among many factors that explain the increase in regional integration arrangements, there are four main developments that seem to have come together in the late 1980s to account for the movement towards regionalism-

1. The Impact of Europe Concerns that the European Communities would turn into a Fortress of Europe arose after negotiations to enlarge the European Communities (EC) and the creation of a single European Market for goods, services, labour, and capital reached its culmination in the middle of the 1980s. The nations of the world anticipate the formation of regional organisations to lessen economic disadvantages and advance their economic interests in the face of these anxieties.
2. The influence of the America: A resurgent Canadian interest in a free trade agreement with its larger neighbor coincided with the United States' displeasure over the lack of international movement. As a result, the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA), which was signed by both nations in 1989, later evolved into NAFTA with the addition of Mexico in 1994. The signing of an agreement by the 34

nations of the western Hemisphere to establish the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by 2005 marked the culmination of the long-term policy shift in American policy.

3. **The Collapse of the U.S.S.R.:** Economic changes were brought about by the collapse of the old Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in Central and Eastern Europe. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, these nations switched from planned to market economies. The rest of the world became more worried as a result of the European Community's willingness to reach agreements with the new nations that the continent as a whole might become more inward-looking at the price of global trade liberalization.
4. **The New Liberal Policies in most developing countries:** The rise of democratic governments in the majority of emerging nations led to the alignment of political objectives, which encouraged the pursuit of comparable economic growth strategies, primarily regional agreements. In terms of economic strategy, there is a larger degree of agreement that successful regional integration requires the abandoning of import-substitution policies in favor of those that liberalize the market. The shortcomings of import-substitution and the requirement for an outward orientation are best illustrated by the Latin American case.

**Need for Regional Cooperation:** One of the most important parts of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) is the expanding South-South Cooperation. Worldwide exchange stream is today overwhelmed by the 'North'. The only way to stop the North's growing trend of protectionism is through South-South cooperation. The South's states' morale will rise and their bargaining power will grow as a result of collective self-reliance. Due to the growing protectionist tendencies among the rich countries, the current international economic order has actually been working against the basic interests of the poor countries. On the global market, the goods produced by developing nations compete fiercely with those produced by developed nations. As a result, over time, the proportion of rich nations has increased dramatically, while the proportion of poor nations has steadily decreased. To tackle their financial and politico-ethnic issues and achieve aggregate independence, poor people nations are left with no decision except for to energize shared coordinated effort. Thus, it is fundamental that the south genuinely consider ways of helping out each other and diminish its dependence on the north. In order to increase their chances of future cooperation with affluent countries, such cooperation is also advantageous to poor countries.

### **Merits and Demerits of Regionalism.**

On the creation and survival of regional organisations, researchers have two

opposing views. According to one school of thought, the nation-state era is ended. Today's reality is one of supra-nationalism, not the outdated idea of a nation-state. J.D.B. Miller stated, "It is fair to say that when a scholarly interest in integration became active, it had behind it a good deal of criticism of sovereign state as an institution." Such an argument might come under fire. Even if the phrase "nation-state" is difficult to define, it can be claimed that it still exists in international affairs. It is difficult to accept that the heyday of nationalism is past and that the nation-state is going away or is in the process of doing so given the realities of today. This issue needs to be thoroughly considered. One could argue that the nation-state is vanishing if the European Economic Community (EEC) is taken into consideration. Despite the growth of regional bodies, nationalism still dominates international relations, and national interests will continue to shape each country's foreign policy. This is true even for members of the European Economic Community (EEC). Leroy-Bennet discusses the justifications for regionalism's superiority. The following is a list of the arguments that can be used to support regionalism.

1. Normal inclination towards regionalism in view of homogeneity, of interests, customs and values inside little groupings of adjoining states.
2. Political, financial and social collaboration is all the more effectively achieved among a lesser number of states inside a restricted geographic region than at a worldwide level.
3. The larger economic units that result from regional economic cooperation are able to successfully compete in global markets and are more efficient than the smaller states.
4. The governments of that region are more willing and able to respond to local threats to peace than are uninterested states further away from the conflict.
5. By restricting states into provincial groupings a worldwide overall influence can be kept up with and world harmony and security can be kept up with.
6. In the world, there are no established global governing bodies. Regionalism is the first step in building experience and consensus for intergovernmental cooperation and integration.
7. Universalists ignore the variety of political, economic, and social factors that exist across the globe and work against global unity. Disparities like these are easier to resolve within a regional framework.

Inis Claude asserted in "Swords into Ploughshares" that "a region with its

homogeneity can have access to the solution to the region's problems" since "the world is too wide to have a universally accepted world government." No scepticism regarding the creation of a universal organization or hostility to the notion of a "world government" was voiced in the aforementioned utterances. In truth, it is not necessary to assume that regionalism and universalism are mutually exclusive. Various academics expressed this kind of hope. The Regional Arrangements and the United Nations In contrast to the League of Nations covenant, regional agreements received a more favorable and comprehensive endorsement in the United Nations charter. The idea of regional bodies serving as legitimate representatives of their various regions was supported and opposed at the United Nations. Woodrow Wilson, the man who created the United Nations, had a dubious attitude towards the concept of regional alliances and agreements. The League of Nations' founders were also concerned that regional agreements would pave the way for alliances and a return to the balance of power, which would, in the long term, be strongly opposed to the League's vision of global collective security. Churchill was a strong supporter, who pleaded for legal recognition for regional alliances. Latin American State have formed into an influential lobby to get a status of legitimate representative status for Organization of American States (OAS). All international groups were given this status in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, with the condition that no force be used against any country or countries to end any issue without the Security Council's consent. In the discussions in San Francisco, it was not approved in its entirety. Only the regional organization received the proposed legal status. These organisations are regarded by the U.N. Charter as one of the tools for preserving peace and harmony among the UN's member states.

### **The History of Regionalism-**

Regionalization of international relations has long been a goal, with historical roots. Regionalism can be traced back to the early Greek era, according to certain researchers. As an illustration of such regional organisations, Dr. Van Kleffens cites the leagues and confederacies of ancient Greece. Despite having a nonpolitical nature, these organisations served as a model for later political leagues. The LacadaeMonian League was the first regional organization with political goals, according to Prof. Glotz, and it was founded about the sixth century B.C. The league's members agreed that taking a coordinated action was necessary. This league was changed into a Pan-Hellenic League during the Persian invasion. The Athenian League was established in 478 B.C.

### **Before World War -1-**

Following the Napoleonic Wars, regionalism had a boost. Among the



regional organisations that were established at this time were the Holy Alliance, the Quadruple Alliance, and others. Following the unification of Germany in 1870, regionalism was given a new boost, and a variety of alliances and -alliances were created. The best examples of these regional alliances are the Triple Alliance, which consists of France, Russia, and Great Britain.

### **Between World Wars-**

In the interwar period (1918–1939), a number of regional agreements were established, though some were in their infancy and were never fully organized. One of the most notable instances was the Little Entente, which was made up of Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. It was formed soon after the war's end and resulted from a number of bilateral agreements on mutual cooperation between the three nations.<sup>21</sup> Balcan Entente (1934) was another significant regional agreement made during the interwar period. Another crucial regional agreement is the Locarno Pact, a five-power agreement agreed in 1925 addressing the western borders of Germany by Belgium, England, France, Germany, and Italy.

Formation of regional organizations across the globe has been caused by different reasons in different parts of the world. For proper understanding of regionalism let us see some of the important regional organizations and their role in international politics.

### **European Union:**

National rivalries became strongly reviled throughout Europe after the Second World War. The United States of America released money for European reconstruction under the Marshal Plan. The United States contributed over \$200 billion to assist Europe establish itself between 1948 and 1952.<sup>27</sup> The path to European unification was thus paved. The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OECC), a new organisation, was in charge of managing the US aid programme. Intra-OECC trade constraints were being lifted in the 1950s, and European nations became accustomed to working together on trade and economic issues.

The founding of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, which established a common market in coal, steel, and iron ore among Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg, was a first step towards deeper collaboration and integration. The ECSC's six member countries signed the Rome Treaty in 1957 as the next stage. The European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) was established in the same year. Its six members agreed to coordinate their nuclear R&D initiatives in order to collectively develop their nuclear energy resources. As a regional organisation, the European Union has shown to be very effective. It has been able to impact other parts of the world in terms of

economic development in addition to resolving issues with tariff adjustments among the members and ensuring greater cooperation among them. The achievement of the European Economic Community served as a major motivation for developing regional organisations for better economic cooperation in various parts of the world. In December 1992, the Edinburgh Summit devised a formula for the creation of a single market within the constraints of the community and amended a variety of rules and laws among its members, intensifying efforts to achieve greater unity among its members. The community's new borderless single market has resulted in the removal of trade barriers between all nations for goods and services. The new single market allows even tourists to move around freely, and bankers are free to open new branches anywhere. Additionally, professionals and workers have full mobility across borders. It is trusted that this single market would at last prompt the development of bound together Europe despite the fact that the errand isn't probably going to be all smooth.

Both a condition and a process can be used to understand regionalism. Due to the unique, particular circumstances that existed in Europe, regionalism attracted a lot of supporters in the initial years following the Second World War. The majority of regional systems thereafter followed the European model's progression from a free trade zone to a common market to an economic community and finally an economic union. The outcomes of these initiatives, nevertheless, have been mixed. Functionalist, neo functionalist, and federalist philosophy conceptually backed regionalism. Old regionalism had non-exclusive membership that was based mostly on common characteristics and values. Regarding how regionalism has developed in Europe and abroad, it has taken three forms: economic, political, and strategic. Regionalism witnessed ascendancy from 1950s to mid- 1970s. After a period of relatively dormant action, it has seen renewed growth and acknowledgement in 1990s in the form of new regionalism.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise 1**

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

#### **1) Critically analyze regionalism, its evolution and significance.**

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### 1.3 NEW REGIONALISM-

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The 1990s saw a rebirth of regionalism and the emergence of a number of regional organisations, "a phenomenon that is believed to be 'the second coming' (Andrew Heywood) of regionalism. There has been a resurgence of interest in regional groupings following the relatively inactive decade between the mid-1970s and mid-1980s. In this section, we examine the characteristics and nature of new regionalism from the perspective of how its context, substance, and outlines have altered since it first appeared in the 1990s. In terms of context, new regionalism is first and principally a product of globalisation. As a result, regional and global economic and trade issues are clearly in the spotlight. Regional organisations changed from being passive objects to active participants in the neo liberalization of global policy processes.

In this regard, new regionalism opposed international organizations' excessive control over global affairs. Regional organisations were once thought to stand for intermediate degrees of collaboration. However, in an increasingly globalized world, "new regionalism" redefined the core of their identity to denote their development as "potentially competing structures" (Hettne and Söderbaum: 2006, p. 227). Rebooting their logics and functioning was caused by the fundamental aspect of altered context, which took the form of faster globalization. It implied that the phenomenon of new regionalism was the result of two simultaneous processes: regions intersecting with economic globalisation at the global level and forging protectionist trade blocs at the regional or sub-regional level. These processes led to a variety of intricate, intertwining relationships between regions and multilateral actors as well as within regional groupings. Within a large macro region, there was a propensity for different micro regions and trade blocs to emerge. As a result, modern regionalism is unquestionably of an economic nature, resulting in the establishment of several trade blocs and a complex web of connections that undermine the established ones and forge new paths for collaboration. J N Bhagwati calls this complex web of relationships as 'spaghetti bowl' system (cited in Heywood: 2014, 496) wherein it is difficult to trace clearly a particular state's path within the web of complex, multiple, overlapping, regional trade agreements.

Regarding its content, new regionalism has been linked to a number of structural changes in the international system, including the end of the Cold War, the shift from a bipolar to a multipolar power structure, and the post-Westphalian nation-state system, in which the state has been demoted to a non-dominant position in regional and global affairs. Additionally, transnational economic, social, and political interdependencies released by globalisation have partially superseded the state, resulting in emergent forms of interactions between state and nonstate actors. The decade of 1990s is also symptomatic of changed attitude towards economic

development and political system in the developing countries as evidenced in weakening of Third World solidarity and Non-Aligned Movement in favour of neoliberal economic development. The globalisation of "finance, trade, production, and technology" is referred to as the "new international division of labour" (NIDL) by Hettne and Söderbaum, while the multipolar power structure of the post-Cold War era is referred to as the "new international division of power" (NIDP). Regarding the sentiment of new regionalism, it is a higher-level extension of nationalism that fills in where national states fall short in defending national interests in a globalised environment. 'Pooling sovereignty' is the term for this (Andrew Heywood: 2014, p. 491; Hettne and Söderbaum: 1998, p. 4). As a result, regionalism is once again on the rise, but its meaning and characteristics have drastically changed.

It is important to note that, in contrast to the straightforward institutions of the common market era, the new regional organisations are complete and multifunctional in nature. The convergence of culture, economic interests, security arrangements, and political regimes that emerge spontaneously from within a region in the form of sub-regional aspirations to form trade blocs to protect economic/trade interests is another example of the multidimensionality of regional organisations. We must emphasise that "new regionalism" is a complicated process of change working at such varied levels as the level of the global system because we have defined regionalism as both a condition and a process. These processes display dynamic interactions at various levels to produce different forms of cooperation depending on their relative importance, which differs from one region to the other.

The question of whether regionalism and globalisation are complementary, helping one another along the way, or antagonistic, causing conflict and friction, has become an intriguing current discussion. To put it another way, can you tell me if regionalization helps or hinders globalisation? Both of these perspectives are supported in academic works. Globalisation and "new regionalism," according to Arvind Panagariya, Louise Fawcett, and Andrew Hurrell, are mutually reinforcing processes. There are others (Hettne, Inatoi and Sunkel cited in Hettne and Söderbaum: 1998) who suggest that the relationship is not linear and smooth, rather, it is dialectic in nature occasioned by friction and tension until a rearrangement is negotiated among all the stakeholders. Multipolarity and the new regionalism are actually two sides of the same coin. With less US control and the collapse of the Communist component, there was more potential for new regionalism to emerge. Since the "quasi-regions" of the Cold War system tended to recreate bipolarity among themselves, it would never have been compatible with it. Prior to 1989, this historical tendency of hegemonic regionalism was evident around the world, although it was, of course, most pronounced in Europe. The new regionalism has grown more

organically as member states have come to understand the value of working together to address contemporary global concerns. The preceding regionalism was created "from above" (sometimes with the help of superpowers). Thus, regionalism is one strategy for coping with global change because most states lack the resources and capacity to handle such a task at the "national" level. Whereas the old regionalism was inward oriented and protectionist in economic terms, the new is often described as "open", and thus compatible with an interdependent world economy. However, the idea of a certain degree of preferential treatment of countries within the region is implied in the idea of open regionalism. How this somewhat contradictory balance between the principle of multilateralism and the more particularistic regionalist concerns shall be maintained remains somewhat unclear.

In conclusion, the new regionalism extends much beyond free trade and entails economic, political, social, and cultural components. Instead, it appears that the political goal of creating regional coherence and identity is of the utmost significance. Since the new regionalism is associated with globalisation, it cannot be fully comprehended from the perspective of a single region. Instead, it should be referred to as a concept of the world order because each given regionalization process anywhere in the world has systemic effects on other regions, influencing how the new world order is structured. Thus, the world's various regions—of various types—will define the new global power structure.

The "common security" approach, which was frequently used to argue against nuclear armament during the Cold War, claimed that the military's destructive capacity was excessive and therefore irrational, and that any reduction in the level of armament that could be negotiated could be used for civil (development) purposes. Some areas, such as East Asia and Europe (and specifically Japan and West Germany within these regions), were perceived as "free riders" on the security system since they could invest more money and resources in economic development.

In the post-Cold War order these regions have been encouraged to take a larger responsibility for their own security. At the same time the removal of the Cold War "overlay" permitted latent conflicts to re-emerge, giving rise to costly (conventional) armaments races. The security situations differ from region to region, with vacuum problems in East Asia and Europe, eruptions of older conflicts in South Asia and the Middle East, breakdowns of political order leading to "tribal ism" in Africa and the Balkans. The only region experiencing relative peace is Latin America, which now may be said to have a comparative advantage in peace and political stability. The peace in East Asia seems less stable, but in view of the high degree of economic independence, the states have a high stake in regional security. Here the circle is closed: regional cooperation for development reduces the level of conflict and the peace dividend facilitates further development cooperation.

This virtuous cycle, in which conflict and underdevelopment exacerbate one another, is also possible. Together, security and development make up an interwoven complex that is both essential to regional cooperation and a growing sense of regionalism. There will continue to be differences in the degree of regionness among regions that are forming. These levels and the point at which regionalization and globalisation are balanced will only be determined in the future. However, the vicious cycle of regional warfare, instability, and underdevelopment will undoubtedly be broken with political will and political action.

Having examined the features and nature of regionalism and new regionalism, considering these ideas according to a basic perspective is presently basic. If functionalists, neo functionalists, and federalists support regionalism, does this imply that it will solve all international system issues? The merits of regionalism have been the subject of both assertions and counterarguments. While placing their faith in global international organizations to address and resolve issues of a regional and international nature, universalists question the relevance and utility of regional organizations. Additionally, critics argue that an excessive emphasis on regionalism results in closed, closed organizations that encourage greater regional dominance by major powers. Therefore, it is an oversimplified assumption that smaller states unite to defend themselves against larger, dominant powers within or outside the region. So far, empirical evidence from regional groups suggests that bigger and stronger powers gain an additional arena for influence and dominance in the security arena, resulting in a greater concentration of power than ever before. Others contend that regional powers' competing ambitions to steer the peace process in a manner that determines its outcome to their advantage or to suit their national interests have prevented regional organizations from taking the initiative to resolve regional conflicts and restore peace. For instance, out of concern for undermining its own role and strategic interest, the Chinese government prevented outsiders from facilitating peace in Cambodia. When a conflict has become intractable, strategically insignificant, or still financially burdensome without serving any diplomatic purpose, stronger powers in a region typically accept conflict resolution mechanisms.

In spite of the above criticisms, regionalism and new regionalism have found many takers who suggest that the criticisms and fears are overstated propositions. New regional agreements typically originate from a bottom-up strategy sponsored by a number of national and regional interest groups working to safeguard their sectoral interests. This is one factor in favour of new regional agreements. In order to preserve their interests and shield local communities and consumer interests from the negative impacts of unchecked globalisation, green political parties around Europe have worked to align their respective viewpoints. When viewed from this angle, regionalism and new regionalism are in fact "building blocks" for defending local, state, and federal interests.

## Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

### 1) Write a detailed essay on New Regionalism.

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## 1.4 GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALISM

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What does it mean to talk about globalization? The term is widely misunderstood, as is the rhetoric of the "new world order" following the end of the Cold War. As a result, globalization is viewed as a rationality, a myth, a phenomenon, an ideology, a reality, and an orthodoxy. In the exceptionally scholastic and famous aspects globalization has become one of the real factors of the 1990s. In fact, a collection of related changes is referred to as globalization: technological, cultural, ideological, and economical. The expansion and intensification of economic interdependence, the highly increased mobility of capital and that of transnational organizations, and the internationalization of production are all consequences of recent economic and financial shifts. The monetary signs of globalization incorporate the redesign of operations and creation limits, the profound entrance of production lines and businesses across the world, the spread of monetary business sectors, the broadening of comparable consumerist merchandise across different nations, and long exchanges of populace (Mittelman 1996b, 2). Liberalization of trade and investment, privatization, deregulation, and the structural adoption of democracy are all examples of ideologic shifts. Specialized and mechanical changes incorporate data and interchanges advances that have contracted the globe and the shift from products to administrations. Lastly, cultural shifts involve a global culture that transcends nation-states and is characterized by a trend toward standardization of tastes and behaviors. (Li 1997, 5).

Holm and Sorensen (1995, 1–7) define globalization as the intensification of cross-border economic, political, social, and cultural relationships. In such manner, it includes more than the geological expansion of a scope of peculiarities and issues. It implies not only a significant increase in global connectivity, but also an awareness of that connectivity within the confines of territorial boundaries (Bretherton 1996, 3). Globalization is introduced because of a few factors, the most crucial is the innovative change. The cycle is lopsided as well as unclear in both power and regional degree, in its

homegrown and global varieties. Consequently, we can encounter different domains of globalization across a rich regional and local variety.

The world is a smaller world in which the global world is a MacWorld with MTV, CNN, PCs, and Macintoshes. Aside from this monetary aspect, there is an exists globalization in the political sense and in the humanistic sense which demonstrates a subjective change in that of individuals' lives. "that loose combination of free-trade agreements, the Internet, and the integration of financial markets that is erasing borders and uniting the world into a single, lucrative, but brutally competitive, marketplace" (Friedman, 1996) is the economic variation of the process of globalization that receives the majority of the scholarly attention to the subject.

Neoliberals hold the belief that technological advancement is the cause of globalization. Additionally, they believe that political democracy will progress more quickly as a result of global economic liberalization. Societies become more open to democratic tendencies as a result of globalization, and economic liberalization provides the material foundations for democratic consolidation in the future (Li 1997, 2). This declaration expects to be valid, in the event that it includes a reasonable and regularizing trap: which, in turn, suggests that the economic forces of globalization are undemocratic, if not antidemocratic, in and of themselves. The absence of responsibility of worldwide powers prompts serious policy driven issues. Economic globalization transcends geographical boundaries and is not accountable to elected political officials because it condenses the time and space of social relations (Mittelman 1996a, 197). The main issue of responsibility is given to appointed market influences, directed by the rationale of financial matters, which looks like the Darwinist hypothesis of 'natural selection.

Three most important questions often asked are-

- (1) How do globalization and regionalization relate to each other?
- (2) How do globalization, regionalism, and nationalism interact?
- (3) what is the role of the nation-state vis-à-vis processes of globalization?

Prior to addressing the three inquiries we need to separate between two assorted issue regions that of global (or world) political economy and worldwide (or worldwide) security. Depending on whether we're talking about security or economic issues, the links between the three forces take different paths. For instance, one might arrive at the conclusion that "the trend toward economic regionalism is perhaps more mixed than the trend toward security regionalism:" when attempting to comprehend the intricate relationship that exists between globalization and regionalization. States appear to be moving in different directions in the international economy as a result of regionalization and globalization, but there is currently no



significant push toward globalization in the field of security, perhaps with the exception of nuclear issues like nonproliferation (Lake 1997, 5, fn. 4). Therefore, unlike the formation of economic regions, the regionalization of security is not a widespread trend.

### How Do Regionalization and Globalization Relate to Each Other?

Regarding the interactions between regionalization and globalisation, particularly in the economic sphere, there are three distinct options: (3) Regionalization and globalisation as concurrent processes (overlapping trends) (see Mittelman 1996a). Regionalization as a component of globalisation (convergent trends); regionalization as a challenge or response to globalisation (divergent trends).

#### **A. Regionalization as a Component of Globalization:**

Today, regionalism is becoming a powerful factor in the globalisation processes. Regionalism can be seen as just one element, or "chapter," of globalisation, if globalisation is seen of as the compression of the temporal and spatial elements of social relations (Mittelman 1996a, 189). According to this perspective, regional integration will result in multilateral collaboration on a global scale, the adoption of liberal principles regarding cooperation, and the opening of local economies by aiding national economies in becoming more competitive in the global market. Thus, the process of regional integration can be interpreted as part of the international (or global) economic order at the end of the twentieth century; if impelled by raw material forces (of the market), then it becomes a result and a component of globalization (see Reynolds 1997, 1). Moreover, since globalization unfolds in uneven rather than uniform dynamic patterns, it may reveal itself in processes that are less than geographically global in scope. Therefore, globalization may be expressed through regionalization (Holm and Sorensen 1995, 6–7).

#### **B. Regionalization as a Challenge or Response to Globalization:**

Is regionalism a means toward something else other than globalization? Can regionalism lead to a more pluralistic world order populated by diverse and distinct patterns of socioeconomic organizations that are accountable to their populations? (See Mittelman 1996a, 189.) Unlike the first trend, the impetus toward regionalization might stem in this case from a reaction and challenge to the amorphous, undemocratic, and inexorable economic rules of globalization. Nationalistic/mercantilist or pluralistic/humanistic concerns, or possibly both, can be the driving force behind this reaction. First of all, regionalism challenges the neoliberal 'harmony of interest' vision of the international economy in favour of national (and regional) loyalties and frameworks by forging trade blocs and integration frameworks based on mercantilist foundations. On the other hand, the rejection of a single, universal culture (and ideology) and the promotion of alternative or

pluralistic forms of social and political organisations other than nation-states at the regional level may also be driving factors for the establishment of regions.

### **C. Regionalization and Globalization as Parallel Processes:**

When we refer to the world economy, it encompasses the trends of both regional-ization—i.e., the division of the international economy into the mega regions of North America (or the Americas), Europe, and East Asia—and globalization (see Wyatt-Walter 1995). Conversely, in the international (global) security arena, it is more difficult to assess the (co)existence of security communities and security complexes without an overall dimension of global security, which is less evident. Thus, rather than reacting to each other, a third possibility is that regionalization and globalization might act as parallel or overlapping processes in the two issue-areas of economics and security.

#### **How Do Globalization, Regionalization, and Nationalism Interact?**

Globalisation and nationalism are dialectically related. The nation-state's authority does not inevitably erode as a result of globalisation; rather, it requires a necessary adjustment to state policies and a refocusing of state resources. On the other hand, state policies and actions can dictate where globalisation will go in the future. Enhancing regionalization processes, such as the creation of free trade areas, which recreate a dual (and incongruous) logic of economic relations: liberal at the intraregional level but protectionist/mercantilist towards other rival regions or "blocs," is one possible way for states to deal with globalisation.

Processes of disintegration, fragmentation, autarky, and localization diverge from the overall trend of globalization. For instance, the blossoming of statehood may be a response to the homogenizing forces of globalization (Holsti 1996a, 22). The persistence or resurgence of nationalism can be regarded as a response to the alienating forces of the global market, by relocating or bolstering legitimacy and loyalties at the national or even subnational levels, in direct contradiction to the transnational or supranational logic of economic globalization.

Globalisation may actually encourage nationalism and the establishment of new governments through a process of technical diffusion. Thus, a new (global) revolution of "rising expectations" that urges nations to regulate the forces of globalisation may bring about the convergence of globalisation and nationalism. Herein lies an intriguing paradox: although forces of globalisation appear to threaten national sovereignty, technological advancements may also make it easier to strengthen or revive nationalistic impulses. As a result, the nation-state must adopt new strategies and roles as a result of globalisation (Drezner 1998, 210–218).

country states could go against powers of regionalization that endeavor to rise above the power (and authority) of the state in a supranational heading by drawing certain lines and requirements to the improvement of a territorial personality and supranational foundations. As a result, states will view regional and subregional integration frameworks through the lens of international organizations with limited intervention, domestic jurisdiction, and sovereignty-exercising mandates. The mercantilist or nationalistic tendencies of the member states, who see regional integration frameworks as a way to pool and increase their national power resources, may lead to regionalization in a particular region. In this sense, the logic of the "new regionalism" and the "old" security alliances are very similar. In the two cases, the objective is to ensure the coalition (locale) individuals more noteworthy security in their worldwide relations in a setting of expanding weakness of either the world economy or worldwide security (see Axline 1996, 199).

As a result of globalization, what is happening to the state and the forces of nationalism? The impersonal forces of capitalism and the non-territorial use of technology are supplanting and utilizing the state. The typical welfare state, which has traditionally attempted to strike a balance between the demands of the market and the need to intervene for the sake of social justice, has seen a general decline in its functions as a result of the adoption of the neoliberal orthodoxy. A "cruel" or "indifferent" state that is ensconced in the global market's networks is the result of globalization. The state stays a significant entertainer in world governmental issues, however it is at this point not similar entertainer we had concentrated on in the early on course readings of global relations. Is this a positive or negative aspect of globalization? The interesting question to be answered is whether globalization and regionalization have rendered the nation-state obsolete or irrelevant.

At the international and global levels, the state system is criticized on the grounds that it is becoming increasingly outmoded: States are unable to address the looming ecological crisis on a global scale; a global civil society is emerging and poses a threat to state authority; transnationalism has undermined and even replaced state sovereignty; and global interdependence has moved us beyond territoriality and sovereignty towards economic globalisation. The world, especially state bargaining space, has decreased due to economic interdependence and geopolitical challenges. Communications and transportation in international relations have been transformed by technology. Nowadays, states can be penetrated by Scud missiles and Internet links. Transnational links and global movements are transcending national (state) loyalties. The 'capture' of the state within its borders by its civil society has been accompanied by the emergence of a parallel global civil society at the international level. Three major global transformations are signaled as symptoms of the obsolescence

of the state system: the nuclear revolution in contemporary warfare, the interdependence of national economies, and the advent of a global society dealing with global issues (Gilpin 1981, 214–25). Yet, the significance of these transformations in terms of state resilience vis-à-vis the forces of globalization and regionalization is still open to debate.

### Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

#### 1) Elucidate link between Globalization and Regionalism.

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## 1.5 SUMMARY / CONCLUSION

Complexity is a primary feature in the global economy and politics. Regionalism takes place where there is cooperation and integration between countries. These are also the core principles of multilateralism in the global world. For instance, China's Belt and Road Initiative is the regional economic initiative and is seen as a prime example of regionalism in the contemporary context to 'promote regional economic space with Asian characteristics' (Barbieri, 2019). Even the Indo-Pacific strategy, which discussed the COVID 19 pandemic in the quad meeting between the US, Japan, India and Australia, was held to collectively combat the virus and facilitate trade and commerce between the four countries. Most of the conversation between the foreign ministers has been about cooperation, integration, transfer of technology and financial deregulation. Regional agreements like these could act as a starting point for the next wave of globalization. While they could be opposing concepts to some degree, however with the current phenomenon of fast-paced globalization given the internet, digital technology, cross-cultural interaction, and environmental problems that affect all countries equally, regionalism is a complementary phenomenon that could help countries with similar issues collaborate and combat global issues collectively. The new world order is porous and borderless, and regional trade agreements can facilitate the role of multilateral institutions to create a well-connected world while we enter a new wave of globalization. A comprehensive approach to global affairs that includes the concept of new regionalism, multilateralism in the contemporary sense and globalization, which is influenced by the internet, technology, non-state actors and the environment, needs to be studied extensively.

### Check Your Progress Exercise 4

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

**1) Elaborate on changing trends in regionalism.**

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# SECURITY CONCERNS AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## Unit Structure :

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 NATO- North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- 2.3 SCO- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
- 2.4 Regional security cooperation in the early 21st century
- 2.5 Summary/Conclusion
- 2.6 References

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## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

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You will learn about regional organisations and security issues in this subject. In order to speak of a "regional dimension of global security," this chapter presents an outline of how regions and regional institutions have grown in importance in discussions about international security. It focuses on the beginnings and development of regional security institutions and their relationship with the United Nations as the primary provider of "international peace and security" after outlining some of the regional sources of insecurity both past and present and introducing the debate about the so-called "regionalization of security." It evaluates the degree to which regional organisations have been successful in providing security in a variety of different contexts. . After studying this lesson, you would be able to-

- Identify newer dimensions of regional security.
- identify the way in regionalization of security takes place.
- Analyze that with the increasing sense of regionalism growing in the world to essentially make up for the weaknesses modern international security has failed to address, the question remains if the world is moving away from global unity to combat security challenges.
- Explain the means and ways to deal with growing security issues and how regionalization can combat it.

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## 2.1 INTRODUCTION:

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Before discussing the "regional dimension of global security," it is important to clarify what is meant by that term and determine whether there are distinct regional dimensions to global security challenges or whether they are best categorised as global problems. In fact, the idea that insecurity

is a global issue requiring global solutions is prevalent today. Security was undoubtedly thought of in this way after World Wars I and II, for instance, and it was believed that "global" or universal institutions, such as the League of Nations or the United Nations, would offer the best assurance of peace in the wake of two disastrous wars.

However, in practise, a supposedly global approach to security has frequently been used to cover up a wide range of global, regional, and local security concerns. However, as the impact of superpower competition in global security issues diminished and various regional powers and actors gained more autonomy over their own affairs, the understanding that regional security could be differentiated and thus posed a unique issue to be addressed in a distinctive way has gained widespread acceptance. Particularly during this time, a wide range of regional issues and solutions have been discovered. Numerous regionalist projects in various kinds have proliferated on a global scale since the mid-1980s.

The most prominent example of regionalism is the widening and deepening of the European Union (EU), but other regional initiatives around the world, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Southern Common Market, are also revitalised or expanded. The evolving nature of world politics and the acceleration of globalisation are directly related to the regionalism of today. Regionalism is characterized by the involvement of almost all governments in the world, but the regional phenomenon also involves a rich variety of non-state actors, resulting in multiplicities of formal and informal regional governance and regional networks in most issue areas. This pluralism and multidimensionality of contemporary regionalism give rise to a number of new puzzles and challenges for understanding security in today's world.

The widely noted acceleration of the process of regionalization, along with the related practises and policies of regionalism and their extension to the security domain, serve as the starting point for a discussion of the regional dimension of global security (Farrell, Hettne and Langenhove, 2005; Pugh and Sidhu, 2003). Despite the fact that the terms regionalism and regionalization are already widely established in the academic literature, their definitions and examples still need to be clarified. Regionalization focuses more economic, social, and political activity on the region, which is a collection of physically adjacent or contiguous states, regions, or territories, as opposed to a single state, non-state entities, or the larger international system. If globalization focuses on activity at the global level, regionalization focuses on regional activity and the region becomes, in itself, a separate unit of analysis.

Since the conclusion of the Cold War, or perhaps earlier, when the bipolarity of the international order started to collapse and regions and regional powers and actors grew more independent, the twin processes of regionalization and globalisation are both perceived as having expanded fast. Although the initial emphasis of both processes was primarily economic, a far larger variety of issue areas, including security, are now included by these two concepts. The relationship, both positive and negative, between globalization and regionalization is beyond the scope of this article (see Senarclens and Kazancigil, 2007), yet the claim that security has become 'regionalised', that security threats can both be located and dealt with at the regional level, and that there is an interdependent relationship between global and regional security, has gained widespread currency in different policy making circles as well as being the subject of scholarly enquiry.

What does this claim mean? It identifies the region as firstly the source and secondly solution of many contemporary security problems. The dominance of global security risks that characterised the Cold War has transitioned to a more local level, or at least some modern concerns may be considered as regional rather than global in origin. It has been statistically proven that while conflicts of most types have decreased overall, conflicts within states, or "intra-state wars," are more common than wars between states or "inter-state wars," and this shift is captured in the literature on "new wars" along with new security issues that point to specific regions and states or frequently sub-state or transnational groups and actors as the sources of conflict (Kaldor, 1999; Holsti, 1996);

The ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia or Central Africa, for example, while having an important global component have drawn on distinctly regional and local sources. However, it also acknowledges that the regional sources of insecurity can be met with regional security provision, that the UN cannot act as a global security provider and that regional security provision may be better matched to a given region's needs and interests. The regionalization of security does not rule out the possibility that many or at least some security problems are also global and are therefore best dealt with by multilateral institutions like the UN. The original and revised assumptions regarding regionalism in the UN Charter and later texts like *An Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali, 1992) are based in part on these presumptions. Hence regionalization, in its different forms, need not be viewed as necessarily a competitor or alternative to multilateralism but rather complementary, as different parts of global security architecture (Pugh and Sidhu, 2003). Regionalization may draw attention to nations or other regional actors who see increased regional empowerment as a desirable way to expand their influence and authority.



We must connect this more abstract concept of the intensification of regional activity to more particular practises and projects in order to understand the more practical expressions of this regionalization. Here is when regionalism comes into play. These regionalization processes have produced collections of coordinated policies and initiatives, as well as official and informal institutional frameworks for addressing issues related to collective action. Therefore, more institutionalisation or regionalism—defined as the establishment and development of various forms and structures of regional governance—is a possible, though not necessarily required, outcome of growing regionalization. Despite the fact that regionalism is thought to have grown globally since World War II, institutionalisation levels in different parts of the world vary greatly: for instance, they are high in Europe and low in South Asia. Nevertheless, with a few notable exceptions, the majority of regions have experienced steady institutional growth, which has increased interest in the study of regionalism (Fawcett and Hurrell, 1995; Hettne, Inotai, and Sunkel, 2000; Acharya and Johnston, 2007). Additionally, despite the fact that many regional institutions were initially founded with a distinctly economic orientation (see further below), many regional organisations have since evolved a distinctive security component as a result of functional development while also reflecting local requirements and global goals. The security dimension of regional institutions may be understood in two different, though related ways. First, it can be broadly interpreted as the attempt to promote peaceful and predictable relations among its members, to build security and community through cooperation (Adler and Barnett, 1998). This loose understanding of security could be said to apply to any regional organization. Second, and more specifically, a regional security institution is a group whose bylaws explicitly mention the provision of security to counter a security danger, whether by coordinating defence, security, or foreign policy at some level. By contrasting the early EC effort with the later EU, the latter having a far more explicit security goal, it may be possible to understand the difference. Although the two are frequently linked, the emphasis here will be mostly on the more quantifiable kinds of security providing rather than security as community-building.

From the early 21st century's vantage point, the development of regional security institutions over the previous 50 years appears to have been quite significant in terms of giving tangible proof of the regional security component of global politics. There were relatively few official international institutions, whether regional or otherwise, and even fewer that dealt specifically with security issues before World War II, with the League of Nations serving as the sole exception, as will be explored below. Even if they had regional traits, few institutions outside of the Americas used the label "regional" because the phrase did not become popular until after World War II. Since then, if unevenly, their population has increased steadily. The idea of distinguishing between the roles of institutions with: to include "multipurpose," economic, or security organisations has gained widespread acceptance. The term "regional institution" or "organisation" is used to describe a small grouping of (typically) geographically close-by states established for the purposes of dialogue and cooperation. By the

beginning of the twenty-first century, there were more than 25 intergovernmental regional organisations (Diehl, 2005) with a clear commitment to providing security in Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia, and the Middle East/Islamic world. The widening scope of their security initiatives over the time period—from peacekeeping and conflict resolution to arms control, non-proliferation, and other forms of coordination of foreign policy—is equally impressive. Outside the realm of peace operations, regional institutions have developed their own strategies and policies to address not only more recent security challenges like terrorism, transnational crime, weapons of mass destruction, and environmental security but also more traditional security threats like state-sponsored terrorism.

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## **2.2 NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)**

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The North Atlantic Treaty (also known as the Washington Treaty) of April 4, 1949 attempted to establish a military alliance known as NATO as a counterweight to Soviet soldiers stationed in central and eastern Europe following World War II. Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States made up the group's original members. Greece and Turkey joined the original signatories in 1952, followed by West Germany in 1955 (which became Germany in 1990), Spain in 1982, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland in 1999, Bulgaria in 2004, Albania and Croatia in 2009, North Macedonia in 2020, and Finland in 2023. France left NATO's integrated military leadership in 1966 but continued to be a member; it returned to the organization's military command in 2009.

NATO first used Article 5 in 2001, following the destruction of the World Trade Centre in New York City and a portion of the Pentagon outside of Washington, D.C. by the exiled Saudi Arabian businessman Osama bin Laden, which resulted in the deaths of about 3,000 people. The geographic scope of the pact is described in Article 6 as include "an armed attack on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America." more clauses bind the allies to bolster their democratic institutions, increase their combined military power, advise one another, and continue to extend an invitation to more European nations to join.

Western Europe was economically depleted and militarily weak following World War II in 1945 (the western Allies severely and quickly downsized their armies at the end of the war), and newly potent communist organisations had emerged in France and Italy. In contrast, the Soviet Union had dominated all of the central and eastern European republics when the war ended, and by 1948, communists supported by Moscow had solidified their hold over the governments of those nations and repressed any non

communist political activity. The region of central and eastern Europe was enveloped by what came to be known as the Iron Curtain, a term made popular by Winston Churchill. Additionally, there was no longer any cooperation between the Soviet Union and the western Allies during the conflict. In order for two German nations to emerge—a democratic one in the west and a communist one in the east—each side organised its own portion of occupied Germany.

The Marshall Plan, which the United States established in 1948, provided enormous amounts of economic aid to the nations of western and southern Europe in exchange for their cooperation and participation in collaborative planning to speed up their respective recoveries. The Western European Union, a collective-defense arrangement, was established by the United Kingdom, France, and the Low Countries—Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—under the terms of the Brussels Treaty of 1948. However, it was soon realised that a stronger alliance would be needed to offer the Soviet Union an effective military counterweight. The United Nations (UN), which was being paralysed by the fast escalating Cold War, had already begun covert exploratory discussions with Britain, Canada, and the United States about security arrangements that might serve as an alternative. Following a communist virtual coup d'état in Czechoslovakia in February, the three governments started talking about a multilateral collective-defense plan in March 1948. This plan would strengthen Western security and advance democratic values. France, the Low Countries, and Norway finally participated in these discussions, which led to the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty in April 1949.

The military structure of NATO includes a full set of commands that might be used in a conflict. The Allied Command Operations (ACO) and Allied Command Transformation (ACT) are two strategic commands that fall under the purview of the Military Committee, which is made up of members of the military chiefs of staff of the member nations. The SACEUR is in charge of ACO, which is based in SHAPE's Supreme Headquarters in Casteau, Belgium. The American city of Norfolk, Virginia, is home to ACT. Over the course of the first 20 years of the alliance, more than \$3 billion in "infrastructure" for NATO forces, including bases, airfields, pipelines, communications networks, and depots, was jointly designed, financed, and constructed, with the United States providing about one-third of the funding.

Since its inception, NATO's main goal has been to coordinate and fortify the Western Allies' military reaction to a potential Soviet invasion of western Europe and its Warsaw Pact allies. Early in the 1950s, NATO partially countered the Warsaw Pact's vastly bigger land troops by threatening devastating nuclear retribution from the United States. This

doctrine was supported by the placement of American nuclear weapons in locations in western Europe starting in 1957. Later, NATO developed a "flexible response" policy, which the US interpreted to suggest that a war in Europe didn't necessarily have to escalate to a full-scale nuclear exchange. By using a dual-control (or "dual-key") system, which permitted both the country hosting the weapons and the United States to prohibit their use, numerous Allied troops were armed with American battlefield and theatre nuclear weapons as part of this strategy. While France's nuclear forces maintained full autonomy, Britain retained control of its strategic nuclear weapons and integrated it into NATO planning organisations. After the Cold War, NATO was reimagined as a "cooperative-security" organisation with two main goals: to promote communication and cooperation with former Warsaw Pact foes and to "manage" disputes in regions on the European periphery, such the Balkans. In line with the first goal, NATO established the Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme in 1994 to improve European security and stability through joint military training exercises with NATO and non-NATO states, including the former Soviet republics and allies, as well as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (1991; later replaced by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) to provide a forum for the exchange of views on political and security issues. Despite having an integrated military command structure, relatively few of NATO's forces or resources are wholly owned by the alliance. Until member nations agree to carry out NATO-related responsibilities, the majority of forces remain under total national command and control. The Alliance's decisions must be unanimous and consensual, and its members must uphold the fundamental principles that support the Alliance, including democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. All 30 partners have an equal voice in the Alliance. Civil wars or internal coups in NATO members are not covered by the alliance's protection. NATO's members provide its funding. Three-quarters of the budget for NATO is provided by the United States.

### **Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)**

An intergovernmental organisation called the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) was established on June 15, 2001, in Shanghai. As of right now, the SCO consists of eight Member States (China, India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan), four Observer States (Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran, and Mongolia), who are interested in becoming Full Members, and six "Dialogue Partners" (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Turkey). In 2021, it was decided to begin the process of Iran becoming a full member of the SCO, and Egypt, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia were made conversation partners. The SCO has mostly concentrated on regional security issues, its fight against regional terrorism, ethnic secession, and religious extremism since

its founding in 2001. Regional development is one of the SCO's top priorities at the moment.

Following are SCO's primary objectives:

To enhance the member nations' effective cooperation in trade, politics, research, the economy, technology, and culture. To increase mutual trust and good neighbourliness among the member states. the sectors of tourism, energy, environmental protection, and education; collaborating to uphold and preserve regional security, stability, and peace; working to construct a new, democratic, logical, and equitable global economic and political system. While the organisation conducts its exterior policy in accordance with the non-targeting and non-alignment tenets, it bases its internal policy on the concepts of joint benefit, mutual trust, mutual consultations, equality, respect for cultural variety, and a desire for shared progress.

The Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions was signed by the chiefs of state of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan on April 26, 1996, in Shanghai, thus establishing the Shanghai Five group. At a summit in Moscow, Russia, on April 24, 1997, the same nations signed the Treaty on Reduction of Military Forces in Border Regions. A proclamation on a "multipolar world" was signed by Chinese President Jiang Zemin and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on May 20, 1997. Former leaders of the Shanghai Five were Russian President Vladimir Putin, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Chinese President Jiang Zemin, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, and Tajik President Emomali Rahmon.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation expanded quickly between 2001 and 2008, creating a number of permanent organisations and ad hoc projects addressing economic and security issues.

The yearly summit moved back to Shanghai in 2001, and the organisation became official. Uzbekistan was originally accepted into the Shanghai Five mechanism by the other four members. Then, on June 15, 2001, all six heads of state signed the Shanghai collaboration Organisation Declaration, complimenting the Shanghai Five mechanism for its work to date and pledging to elevate it to a greater level of collaboration.

The SCO established ties with the United Nations in 2004 (where it is a member of the General Assembly as an observer), the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2005, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2005, the Collective Security Treaty Organisation in 2007, the Economic Cooperation Organisation in 2007, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in 2011, the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) in 2014, and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in 2011. 2018 saw the development of ties between the

SCO Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) and the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) of the African Union.

The principal executive body of the institution is the Secretariat of the SCO, which has its headquarters in Beijing, China. It is responsible for carrying out organisational decisions and decrees, drafting proposed documents (such as declarations and agendas), serving as the organization's document repository, planning particular activities within the SCO framework, and promoting and disseminating SCO-related information. A three-year term is granted to the SCO Secretary-General. Zhang Ming of China is the current Secretary-General; he took office on January 1, 2022. The SCO is primarily focused on security-related issues, frequently identifying terrorism, separatism, and extremism as the key dangers it faces. Regional human trafficking, the trafficking of weaponry, and the creation of terrorist blacklists have all been handled.

The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) was founded at the SCO summit, which took place in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, on June 16–17, 2004. The SCO declared measures to combat transnational drug offences as part of its counterterrorism strategy on April 21, 2006. In order to increase cooperation on matters including security, crime, and drug trafficking, the SCO and the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) inked a deal in the Tajik capital Dushanbe in October 2007.

The organization's activities have grown over the last few years to encompass more military collaboration, intelligence sharing, and counterterrorism. However, SCO leaders have emphasised time and again that their organisation is not a military alliance. The SCO member nations signed a Framework Agreement to advance economic cooperation on September 23, 2003. While other, more immediate steps would be taken to enhance the flow of commodities in the region, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao announced a long-term goal to establish a free trade area in the SCO. Within the SCO framework, there is also intercultural collaboration. On April 12, 2002, the SCO's culture ministers convened for the first time in Beijing and signed a unified statement.

Regionalism is an important component of the post-cold war world, and the current global crisis does not lessen its importance. It alludes to a propensity and political commitment to divide the world into geographical areas; more specifically, the idea alludes to a particular regional project. Some definitions attribute this political commitment to governments, while others place a significant emphasis on non-state actors. It is debatable among authors whether the formation of regions is a more complicated process called regionalization or whether it results from spontaneous processes. The degree of 'regionness' of a region refers to how cohesive it is. (1999; Hettne and Söderbaum). The capacity to act, or "actorness," which originates from regionness, is also implied by a higher level of regionness and regional

identification (Hettne, 2005). Lower regionness, as is the case with the African region, afterwards implies higher impact on the area from the outside. The security industry, where success or failure is more obvious, is where the level of actorness may be evaluated best. A high actorness level also suggests that security policy may be applied outside of the specific region and potentially affect or change the global order. Only the EU has been affected by this thus far.

Although the initial generation of regional integration studies in the 1950s and 1960s were initially focused on economics, their primary concerns were actually peace and security. They frequently viewed the nation-state as the issue rather than the answer. Federalism and functionalism/neofunctionalism were the pertinent theories. Federalism, which served as an inspiration for the forerunners of European integration, was more of a political programme than it was a theory; it was critical of the nation-state, even though what was to be constructed was a different kind of state. There wasn't a clear theory who supported federalism. In contrast, functionalism has been much identified with one particular name: David Mitrany. This was not a doctrine, but rather a method for promoting peace. Functionalists debated which governmental level would be best suited for addressing diverse human needs, which were frequently described in quite technical terms. Usually, but not always, reaching beyond the nation-state was deemed to be the optimum course of action (Mitrany, 1966). Therefore, both federalism and functionalism fostered the development of the nation-state, but in different ways and with distinct tools. The benefits in terms of security were assumed, and neofunctionalism more clearly emphasised integration as a process of region-building. In essence, Ernst Haas's thesis of creating European regions was neofunctionalism (Haas, 1958). What was created in Europe was according to Karl Deutsch a 'regional security community' defined as 'the attainment of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population' (Deutsch, 1968: 194).

The distinction between an older wave or generation of regionalism (referred to as "regional integration") and a more recent, new 'generation' of regionalism (referred to as "the new regionalism"), which began in the second part of the 1980s and is now a widely recognised phenomenon around the world, has become widespread in modern society. Studies on the new regionalism took into account new factors, especially those that concentrated on circumstances related to what was once referred to as globalisation. According to experts on the new regionalism, there are various ways in which globalisation and regionalism interact and overlap. Even though contemporary regionalism and globalisation are intertwined articulations of global transformation, it must be emphasised that regionalism needs to be understood from both an exogenous perspective and an endogenous perspective, according to which regionalization is shaped from within the region by a variety of different actors (Hettne 2002).

The endogenous perspective emphasises the continuity back to functionalist and neofunctionalist theorising about the integration of Europe, the role of

agency, and the long-term transformation of territorial identities. As was mentioned above, the exogenous perspective has primarily developed during the recent debate. But today, there are many regionalisms and a very different ground for comparative research than there was when Haas and the early regional integration experts wrote. It is obvious that neither the study subject (ontology) nor the method of research (epistemology) have stayed constant. The establishment of a wide range of theoretical frameworks for the study of regionalism and regional integration is one example of this (Söderbaum and Shaw, 2003). In fact, the contemporary trend towards regionalism may be understood as the emergence of a new political environment, one that is characterised by an expanding number of actors—both state and non-state—operating on the regional stage and in a variety of interconnected domains (security, trade, development, environment, culture, and so forth).

Of particular importance is the way the dimensions of development and peace are related. Over time development have been increasingly linked to security, thus creating the elusive development-security nexus. There have been two separate discourses on development and security in academia, neglecting the historical empirical relationships between them. However, in more recent times, they have become more similar thanks to ideas like human security and human growth. Development, in its broadest definition, refers to those elements of widespread, ongoing societal change to which human actors attach particular significance and value and which, to varied degrees, they perceive as subject to influence. The traditional understanding of security derives from the position of each nation-state in a system of international relations that is anarchic; it primarily focuses on the survival of the state as a whole, or the maintenance of its sovereignty.

However, security issues nowadays frequently involve much more than just a military danger. Human security—defined as "safety from hunger, disease, and repression"—was first addressed in the UNDP's Human Development Report in 1994, placing security into the development camp. Later UNDP reports conceptually linked the idea to "human development" and the entirety of the human rights spectrum. This modern emphasis on "the human" might be seen as a component of the paradigm shift that gave rise to post-national reasoning. A transnational assumption of duty is suggested by the frequent usage of the word "human" in many contexts, as though one could no longer rely on governments to uphold their fundamental obligations to their citizens. Security concerns are still important in more modern theorising, although they are frequently considered as causal factors driving nations to cooperate owing to the possibility of regional conflict. This refers to both the external spread or spillover of a domestic conflict into surrounding nations as well as the internal impact from the area in the form of more or lesser diplomatic involvement, military intervention, and ideally conflict resolution carried out by some sort of regional body. Security regionalism has evolved into a genre unto itself, with a variety of techniques and dimensions.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise 1**



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

**1) Critically analyze regional security in a globalized world.**

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**2.3 DIMENSIONS OF SECURITY REGIONALISM**

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Security and regionalism can be associated in a variety of ways. One is the selection of the unit of investigation, such as a regional security complex, which is defined by Barry Buzan as "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national security cannot realistically be considered apart from one another" (Buzan, 1991: 190). now distinct security sectors (economic, environmental, and societal) may define different regions, the notion has now been rethought in a multisectoral and social constructivist orientation, which makes the actual delimitation of the unit more complicated but not easier (Buzan, 2003). This conceptual fluency is further enhanced by the notion of securitization (Buzan and Weaver, 2003). Regions are characterised in terms of the style of security management or "regional order" in a different approach suggested by Lake and Morgan (Lake and Morgan, 1997). Regional orders may change from straightforward systems of balance of power or coalitions to more inclusive communities or integrated polities. A different definition of regional security complex is also offered by the authors: "the states affected by at least one transborder but local security externality" (ibid., p. 46). However, the area is also included largely as a level of analysis.

The consequences of a local dispute on the region as a whole is another connection between regionalism and security. These depend on the structure of the security complex and the specific vertical and horizontal connections between different security issues in a given region, which might be very different. Other local disputes may be about political rivalry between ethnic groups or cross-border competition for land and other natural resources. Some local conflicts primarily influence relationships with various forms of higher authority. A third link relates to the conflict management function of the organised region's (if there is one) for internal regional security, or "regional order," for the region's immediate environment (for example, the neighbourhood policy of the EU), and for the global order (to the extent that the actorness is sufficient to influence the shape of global order). Regarding the local environment (but outside the region), conflict management can be used to describe an acute conflict or refer to a proactive transformation of the situation through stabilisation or integration (enlargement of the regional organisation). There are no definite differences.

The regional complex, means of managing regional security, and remedy of regional growth are therefore available to the region. To improve actorness and conflict management, the level of regionness can be purposefully altered. For instance, regional cooperation on security would strengthen the region's stability and make it more appealing for foreign investment and commerce, while regional collaboration on development would result in a more effective use of the region's resources. Core areas, intermediate regions, and periphery regions are the three different sorts of locations in the world where these ideas apply differently in terms of political stability and economic dynamism. According to Hettne (2005), the third category includes Africa.

A qualitatively new discourse on intervention known as "humanitarian intervention" emerged in the 1990s as a result of the spread of post-Cold War disorder, particularly in peripheral regions like Africa. This discourse defines humanitarian intervention as the coercive involvement of external powers in a "domestic conflict" with the goals of preventing anarchy, punishing human rights violations, and promoting democracy and "good governance." Complex humanitarian catastrophes are so major, multifaceted crises that inevitably raise the question of outside forcible involvement. Understanding the shift in the security and development rhetoric and the underlying threat to sovereignty throughout the 1990s requires an emphasis on human security rather than state security. Concepts like "human security," "human development," "human emergency," and "humanitarian intervention" all imply a transnational duty to ensure the welfare of people (the duty to protect). After 9/11, the conversation on international terrorism took centre stage, yet the R2P idea continues to enjoy widespread support. In particular in Africa, this normative order has had a significant impact on regional organisations. In truth, the AU's Constitutive Act grants it "the right to intervene" in another AU member state in cases of grave circumstances such as war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity without receiving approval from the UN Security Council. The AU contains restrictions against illegitimate changes to the form of government. 'The Asian Way' is the subject of a heated debate in East and Southeast Asia, in opposition to the universal values of human rights and liberal democracy (Acharya, 2001). This demonstrates how the traditional hierarchical connection between regionalism and multilateralism centred on the UN is changing, and sometimes even being contested.

The UN, according to the majority of observers, is the cornerstone of a global order founded on rules. Unpopular are unilateral strategies used outside of the UN, such as NATO plurilateralism or US unilateralism. The principal rule-based alternative to multilateralism centred on the UN is regionalism, whose function has been heavily debated at various points during the past century. Regional organisations were encouraged to take part in initiatives including preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and post-conflict rehabilitation, according to the UN

Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace in 1992 (Boutros-Ghali, 1992).

The head of the UN called six high-level meetings with regional organisations from all the continents concerned in security issues during the course of the following thirteen years. The United Nations and regional organisations should play complementary roles in addressing the challenges to peace and security, according to the Secretary-General's 2005 report *In Larger Freedom* (Annan, 2005: 52). The Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change, which was established to consider UN reform, also stated in its 2004 report that regional organisations offer "important contributions to the stability and prosperity of their members" (UN, 2004: 85). The High Level Panel also encouraged the Security Council to employ regional organisations more frequently to thwart threats and respond to them in accordance with Chapter VIII requirements. According to the UN, the following are essential conditions: (a) regional action must be structured within the UN Charter and be consistent with its goals and principles; and (b) the UN and regional organisations must work together more efficiently and comprehensively than in the past (see Thakur, 2005a). Regional organisations have evolved into independent actors in recent decades with the advent of the so-called "new regionalism." Many of them, including the AU, ASEAN, ECOWAS, EU, and SADC, have developed some sort of institutionalised conflict management process. Through their regional organisations, regions have changed from being objects to being subjects, making their relationship with the UN far more complicated than contemporary policy and academic debates typically acknowledge.

**Check Your Progress Exercise 2**

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

**1) Write a detailed essay on various dimensions of regional security.**

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**2.4 REGIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY**

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Regionalism and regional cooperation have become more prevalent aspects of global politics since 1945, particularly since the 1990s. In the decades following World War II, the cold war and decolonization led to the creation of multilateral regional organisations all over the world, including the Arab League, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the

Organisation of American States (OAS), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), and the predecessors of the European Union (EU). The so-called new regionalism emerged in the 1990s as a result of the end of the Cold War and the advancement of globalisation. A number of regional cooperation frameworks, including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) process, as well as initiatives to revitalise and strengthen already-existing regional institutions and the establishment of numerous sub-regional institutions in Europe and Africa, were established..

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Both "region" and "security" are overused yet ill-defined concepts. The five continents of the world—Africa, the Americas, Asia, Oceania, and Europe—have come to be most strongly connected with the concept of region in international politics. Regions can also refer to subcontinents (like South Asia) and the areas surrounding waters (like the Baltic and Caspian seas). There is also a difference between regions and sub-regions, the latter of which are thought to be geographically separate locations within continents. However, the two phrases are frequently used interchangeably, and the line between the two can sometimes be hazy.

Geography alone, however, does not define regions in world politics. Regions are political and imagined constructs just as nations are: they are shaped both by local countries' concepts of identity and connections and by the way outsiders view and react to them—vide the use of the names Near East and Far East at a time when Eurocentric imperialist visions were dominant. The recognition or willed construction of regional and sub-regional systems, interstate groupings and organizations is similarly driven by historical and cultural factors and by a range of subjective perceptions and preferences as much as by any objective logic. Regions can be 'made' as part of a conscious policy programme, as happened with European integration in the 1950s, and as some observers see happening now in

regions like Latin America and East Asia in an effort to balance potential US hegemony. The definition and characteristics of security that a certain group of countries would choose for their actions are determined by a similar interplay of motives. All of these explanations are necessary to comprehend why real-world regional initiatives occasionally exclude nations that appear to belong to the region geographically or include additional nations; why multiple security-related organisations with various memberships and objectives can coexist on the same territory; why sub-regional organisations form in some regions but not others and frequently lack a clear geographical basis; and why a region as defined in security terms may not have the same boundaries as other regions. How can regional security cooperation be conceptualized and understood? At least four models of regional security cooperation have *prima facie* relevance for the 21st century: alliances, collective security, security regimes and security communities.

One of the earliest types of international cooperation are alliances, which are created for both defence and attack (usually via military force) against a similar external or even domestic threat or foe. They view collaboration as a tool rather than a goal in and of itself, and the enemy is invariably barred from membership in an alliance. These essentially zero-sum characteristics are mirrored by the frequently detrimental practical effects of the alliance approach on international security: even a purely defensive alliance may increase rather than decrease threat awareness among its members, may exacerbate tensions and entrench rifts, and may engage in arms competition. Alliances that support internal foes (be they errant nations, religious movements, or ethnic groupings) might radicalise the latter and motivate them to look for outside support. On the other side, an alliance should foster confidence, encourage the avoidance and resolution of disputes, and possibly even spark cooperation in other non-security sectors in order to at least lessen the likelihood of war amongst its members. One may use NATO and ASEAN as two examples of this dynamic. NATO and a few other organisations continue to play at least some of the functions associated with alliances today, despite the classic East-West confrontation coming to an end in 1989–1990.

In the 20th century, the idea of collective security was developed in response to the conflicting results of alliances and politics based on the balance of power. A collective security system, first proposed in the League of Nations framework and then again in the UN, tries to prevent or restrict war by guaranteeing a response to any act of aggression or threat to peace among its members. Any such system must encompass every state in a region or the entire world in order to function as intended, and it focuses on the internal affairs of those states. Larger regional organisations, such as the AU, OAS, and OSCE, may be seen as institutions that overtly or indirectly aim at, and at least partially deliver, collective security in addition to the UN on a global scale. However, infamously, no such system has ever been managed to function completely due to the obvious challenge—which is more challenging the greater the membership—of coming to a consensus judgement and a consensus resolve to take action against violators. Experience has shown that the strategy succeeds when the big countries are

in agreement but fails when the greatest threats are present, notably when the major powers are at odds.

A security regime is a third sort of regional security cooperation. Regimes are a frequent occurrence in non-security-related areas of international relations like the control of transit and trade. They provide cooperative and usually positive norms for state behaviour and frequently offer strategies for putting these principles into practice. A security-related regime may include general guidelines for conduct like refraining from using force and respecting established international borders, or it may more specifically control specific types and uses of weapons or actions like military movements and transparency. A number of regional structures, most notably the OSCE and several Latin American initiatives, as well as regional arms control policies like nuclear weapon-free zones or the 1990 Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, may be viewed as security regimes. All of these constructs' worth is dependent on how well their standards are upheld, and there is extensive discussion about the characteristics—such as internal power structures, institutionalisation, rewards, and penalties—that are necessary to achieve observance. It should be highlighted that regimes with practical security objectives may not require or benefit from membership that is geographically contiguous. In fact, some contend that the use of small groups to manage issues like export control has hints of a zero-sum game and that some regimes function best when they are totally international.

A security community is a collection of states where there is a "real assurance that the members of that community will not engage in physical conflict with one another but will resolve their differences in some other manner." Karl Deutsch created the idea in the late 1950s to represent the incredibly ambitious post-World War II European integration ambitions, which in turn positioned Europe in a larger security community of the world's industrialised democracies. A security community suggests more extensive, ongoing, and intensive contact than any of the models mentioned above. It can build qualities that are larger than the sum of its parts for security duties reaching much beyond the prevention of particular ills by starting by removing the possibility of conflict inside the organisation. Recently, there have been attempts to create similar communities in a number of non-European regions as well, although the nature and implications of regional integration on security are still poorly understood. Conflict between EU member states has been eradicated, but not within them (see Northern Ireland and the Basque Country). The tendency of security communities to weaken internal frontiers potentially means that they can be more quickly affected by 'transnational' threats (e.g., terrorism, criminal traffic and disease). Their open-ended agendas tend to lead them to confront new security challenges as soon as old ones are settled and, in particular, to feel an impulse to start 'exporting' their surplus of security to others, notably in the form of peace missions.

These four models can aid in comprehending the nature, prospects, and constraints of specific forms of regional security cooperation, but they do so by employing a vocabulary that is now uncommon in the areas' actual

public discourse or decision-making. They also suffer from being largely static, offering little insight into why regional groupings could change their membership or agenda or morph into different forms. It is possible to propose a number of alternative classification schemes for regional structures, such as those based on institutional or governance characteristics (e.g., institutionalisation level, type of fixed decision-making processes, collective organs and funds, degree of non-state and local actor involvement, etc.). This would not, however, directly lead to judgements on security utility since experience shows that different institutional forms can be appropriate for different types of security task in different environments. For instance, when several security institutions exist in the same region, this could be because states prefer to address various aspects of security in a variety of procedural styles. The most straightforward way to approach a new understanding of regional groups is through the functions they perform in terms of security as such New patterns of regional security cooperation.

Regional security institutions act as structures for member interaction and communication at the most fundamental level. It is arguable that regular gatherings of heads of state or government, ministers and other lower-ranking officials, and the military foster confidence between nations, prevent misunderstandings, settle disputes, and foster a sense of shared values and identity. The establishment of MERCOSUR in Latin America in 1991 has played a similar role in bolstering the rapprochement between Argentina and Brazil that has existed since the 1980s. The EU and its predecessors have made significant contributions to overcoming historical patterns of hostility between the countries of Western Europe, particularly France and Germany. Analysis of the cause-effect cycle between institutions and changed relationships is, however, disputed and problematic: it may be argued that the conflict resolution is as much a facilitating factor as a consequence of regional cooperation.

The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is the most developed example of a regional construct that goes beyond internal peace goals to use collective modes of action externally, designed inter alia to help avoid and manage conflicts beyond the EU's borders. While the EU has had its well-known failures and setbacks, including those in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia on its own doorstep in the 1990s, the trend has been for a steadily growing ambition, reach and diversity of the CFSP and, since 2000, its military instrument, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Other institutions, such as ASEAN and MERCOSUR, include elements of common policies towards their wider regions, an example being ASEAN's leadership role in the ARF and its dialogue with large neighbours like China. None, though, has made as much of an effort to create a more comprehensive shared foreign and security policy than the EU. For the time being, the strongest dynamics in non-European regions appear to run either towards a better projection of regional shared interests in international economic and functional negotiations (such as discussions in the World Trade Organisation) or towards fending off unwelcome external security influences by better controlling the region's own internal weaknesses.

Regional arms control agreements and military confidence- and security-

building measures (CSBMs) have historically been the focus of regional military cooperation, which has either been motivated by and directed against (perceived) external enemies or efforts to contain the risks of such confrontation. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), which predates the OSCE, the CFE Treaty, and the nuclear weapon-free zones established in various parts of the world comprise the best-developed body of CSBMs. More recently, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have concluded a set of agreements limiting their deployment of military forces in mutual frontier zones.<sup>19</sup> Other regional organizations, such as the OAS, have engaged in more limited discussions on arms control, CSBMs and military transparency. Overall, however, regional arms control and CSBMs are far from having been explored to their full potential.

Democracy and human rights are now more frequently seen as important components of the security agenda. Although transitional, "democratising" states may, at least in some circumstances, be more prone to participate in international and civil wars, there is evidence (although it is not undisputed) to support the concept that war is unusual, possibly non-existent, between democracies. Additionally, compared to authoritarian governments, democracies are less likely to commit acts of mass atrocity like genocide against their own people. These connections between governance and security are becoming more significant as conceptions of human security that identify violations of human rights as key threats to the latter acquire more favour. Furthermore, the idea of a global community of democracies, within which regional organisations may naturally play a role in promoting and protecting good governance and human rights among states with similar cultures and histories, has gained credibility as a result of the dramatic global expansion of democracy to many formerly authoritarian states since the 1970s.

The longest history of regional organizations designed to support democracy and human rights is in Europe. The central mission of the Council of Europe is to support democracy and human rights. Through its Committee of Ministers, Parliamentary Assembly, European Court of Human Rights and various legally binding conventions (most prominently the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights<sup>33</sup>), the Council of Europe plays an important role in setting standards for human rights and democracy for its members, monitoring whether member states are living up to those standards and putting political pressure on states that may have breached them. Since it started in the 1950s, the European integration process that evolved into today's EU has also made democracy a prerequisite for membership.

All of these European organisations have invested a lot of time and energy into advancing democracy and human rights outside of their home countries since the end of the Cold War. States from Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Mediterranean have been admitted as members of the Council of Europe, the EU, and NATO. The EU and NATO actively helped both candidate and neighbouring nations modernise their post-communist political and administrative systems. The influence of the EU and NATO



has undoubtedly been crucial in supporting the development of democracy and maintaining peace in the region from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. Both organisations now have the far more difficult task of applying this paradigm to the Western Balkans, a region that has recently experienced conflict and where democratisation faces significant obstacles as a result of the wars of the 1990s.

Many of the new or reinvigorated regional institutions that have emerged since the early 1990s are primarily economic in character. Regional economic cooperation and integration can, however, be regarded as having important security dimensions or implications. Economic cooperation and integration may be driven by the desire to reduce the likelihood of political or military conflict between the states involved: economic interdependence between states, it is argued, increases the costs of using force and creates shared interests. This rationale served as one of the main impetuses for the early post-World War II process of European integration, and it is possible that comparable processes are at play in APEC, ASEAN, and MERCOSUR. A significant portion of economic regionalism over the past two decades can also be seen as a self-protective response to economic globalisation, with security overtones. By cooperating in regional groups, states can strengthen their position in international economic forums (like the World Trade Organisation) and contribute to the protection of local markets and industries. Thus, regionalism is closely related to the larger discussion of globalisation and neo-liberal economics. Analysts distinguish between open and closed economic regionalism, with the former being mostly consistent with the liberalisation of commerce and finance and the latter serving as an alternate model that restricts the free movement of both. This argument can also be expressed in terms of "economic security," which, from one perspective, benefits from market-driven economic expansion but, from another perspective, bears the brunt of the harm caused by competition to state solvency, employment, social security safety nets, and other institutions. It can also be argued that the more complex international interdependence and longer supply chains fostered by globalization increase states' vulnerability to security setbacks not just on their own territories but also on those of suppliers and transit states. This is a problem most often 'securitized' in the context of energy supplies, but relevant in several other dimensions as well.

In addition to economics, regional organisations have been a key institutional setting for the pursuit of a broader security agenda that goes beyond conventional political and military security. Comprehensive security concepts have been formally endorsed by a number of organisations. The OSCE's shared and comprehensive concept of security, which was created in the 1990s to include economics and environmental concerns alongside traditional political military security concerns, democracy, and human rights, has likely advanced the most in Europe. The Council of the Baltic Sea States and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation are two examples of European sub-regional organisations that have adopted comprehensive security strategies in an effort to address global issues like environmental degradation and pollution as well as transnational organised crime. Non-European organisations have expanded collaboration into new

areas that are particularly pertinent to their regions, such as ASEAN's anti-piracy efforts and the Kimberley Process, which was established in response to the issue of "conflict diamonds" in Africa.

### Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

#### 1) Discuss regional security co-operation in 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## 2.5 SUMMARY / CONCLUSION

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This chapter demonstrates that regional security cooperation in the 20th and 21st centuries is not a passing fad. The vast majority of states in the world are currently involved in this complex and varied phenomenon, albeit some do so more intensely, truly, and voluntarily than others. It is creating formats to cover the broadest range of modern security options and beginning to mix security and non-security instruments for both tactical and strategic goals. However, many observers would still wonder whether the numerous conferences, declarations, and statements, military interactions, as well as the administrative activity of institutional headquarters and similar organisations, adds the appropriate value in terms of improved security for nations or peoples. Focusing on the most difficult security issues, such as terrorism, proliferation, violent conflicts, and large-power rivalry, analysts may quickly come to the conclusion that regional strategies are useless or unnecessary.

From a historical viewpoint, there is a compelling argument that several prominent organisations, including NATO, ASEAN, the EU, MERCOSUR, and some others, have been instrumental in resolving long-standing tensions among their members and fostering harmonious international relations both at home and abroad. These organisations have welcomed a large number of eager new members and partners since the 1990s. There is growing evidence that these processes have helped prevent and resolve conflicts between and within states, strengthen democracy, and defend human rights over the course of the entire period in places as diverse as Central America, Southern Africa, South-East Asia, Central Europe, and the Balkans.

Other approaches to these security challenges—national or unilateral action, ad hoc coalitions of the willing and global action through institutions such as the UN—have proved little more successful. A fairer question would thus be what added value (if any) regional approaches provide

compared to the alternatives on offer. In this context, both logic and the evidence suggest that local, inclusive approaches can provide legitimacy, a framework for long-term, self-sustaining efforts and an impact greater than their parts, especially when achieving deeper integrative effects. At the same time, they have the weakness of their strengths: notably, the cumbersome, usually consensus-based character of decision making. Regional security cooperation thus cannot wholly substitute for national action or for decision making via the UN Security Council but can at best powerfully supplement them. Lastly, states are likely to judge the value of regionalism in the light not just of their own size, location and attitudes to others, but also of their security priorities and favoured responses: a state that prefers to deploy military force against terrorism and to strengthen its border defences will not rate highly the civilian and legalistic, transnational and intrusive remedies being explored, for example, in the EU. Cooperative regional approaches have much clearer advantages, however, for tackling other priorities such as long-term peace-building between states, the promotion of democracy and human rights, and transnational challenges such as environmental pollution and organized crime.

With the reform of the UN Security Council as well as the emergence of regional security architectures in Europe, Africa, Asia, and, to some extent, the Americas, the debate between the UN and regional organisations has resurfaced today among policymakers and the research community as one of the most crucial issues in the global security architecture. The difficulty is to create arrangements in which the two logics complement one another because it is obvious that global and regional methods have the potential to be conflicting authority structures. The two logics will continue to compete if the vertical, UN-led approach, which aims to subjugate regions, is insisted upon. Likewise, an ideological regionalism that ignores wider multilateralism cannot address the links between conflicts within the region and wider global politics. Instead, complementarity can be encouraged through interregional arrangements that support the values and principles associated with the idea of multilateralism. The UN would still be needed but it would be a rather different organization compared to the present one.

Therefore, the dominant future form of global security governance should be some sort of horizontal and more equitable combination of regional and multilateral organisations, each with its own base of authority. The UN and regional organisations must work together and share responsibility for finding security-related solutions. The UN, on the other hand, has seen a loss in strength and influence and is in need of assistance from regional organisations. Many regional organisations, especially those in Africa, are still in their early stages and require support from international agreements. For the foreseeable future, a combined multilateral-regional policy offers the most workable answer.

#### **Check Your Progress Exercise 4**

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

##### **1) Elaborate on changing trends in regional security.**

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# INDIA AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## Unit Structure:

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Co-operation (BIMSTEC)
- 3.3 Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC)
- 3.4 Conclusion
- 3.5 References

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## 3.0 OBJECTIVES

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- To understand regional engagements of India
- To comprehend the various regional organisations that India is a part of and study its significance.

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## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

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The Second World War ushered in a change in the international order. Nation-States were concerned utmost about their security and survival. The unpredictable nature of the international architecture led to nations with similar interests coming together in order to safeguard both political, economic, cultural interest. States were seen collaborating with each other to enhance collective gains and came together on the principle of proximity and affinity with each other. The nature of these organisations differed based on the relationship which prevailed among nations and their interests. Regions are often viewed to be in geographical consistency with each other, howbeit, regional organisations may or may not be contiguous depending upon the nature and reasons which influenced their formation. Various reasons could be attributed to the creation of regional organisations. One of the underlying factors for the growth of these organisations after the second world war has been the thinking of collective security which led nations to work with each other for the maintenance and to safeguard democracy and human rights. Moreover, nations came together and created various organisations for distinct reasons such as economic cooperation and development, environmental and climate change concerns etc.

India after independence in 1947 embarked on a new journey of freedom. This period also witnessed the end of the second world war and the growth of regional organisations as countries wished to co-operate with each other to safeguard their national interests. Immediately after India's independence, India acquired membership and played a leading role in

various international organisations such as the United Nations. While India also played a vehement role and aided in the creation of organisations that represented the developing nations such as the Non-Aligned Movement but also chose to remain away from the two superpower blocks formed by the US and the USSR. This strategy of India aided her to pursue an independent foreign policy and chalk out for itself a path for her development and growth. The membership of these organisations carved out new opportunities for India in terms of forging various collaborations. This chapter aims to understand the contemporary regional organisations of which India is a part and India's role in these organisations.

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### **3.2 INDIA-BIMSTEC**

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The 1997 Bangkok Declaration was a result of the four countries that makeup BIMSTEC initially: India, Thailand, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. After a few years, the BIMSTEC group was broadened to include Myanmar, Nepal, and Bhutan. BIMSTEC was not seen as an organisation having much geopolitical clout initially. This can be witnessed by the fact that only three summits were reached in the first 20 years of its formation. However, BIMSTEC surprisingly attracted huge attention as India decided to look at it as an organisation for engaging in regional collaboration and also as an organisation by which India could enhance its clout in South and South east Asia especially after SAARC as an organisation became inactive. BIMSTEC garnered significant global attention due to the BIMSTEC Leaders' Retreat and Outreach Conference along with the BRICS leaders in Goa in 2016. The leaders of BIMSTEC were invited as distinguished guests to the second swearing-in of the Indian Prime Minister Shri. Narendra Modi in May 2019. The Foreign Affairs Minister noted shortly after that India perceived a blend of "energy, mentality, and possibility" in BIMSTEC.

The objectives of the organisation are to create an empowering architecture for the fast economic development of the region, to enhance the spirit of equality and partnership, to promote active cooperation and collaboration along with mutual assistance in the dimensions of common interests of the member countries, to accelerate support for each other in the domains of education, science, and technology, etc. The organisation works on certain principles of Sovereign Equality, Territorial Integrity, Political Independence, No-interference in Internal Affairs, Peaceful Coexistence and Mutual Benefit.

The organisation has been victorious in formulating and creating consequential connectivity projects such as the Kaladan Multimodal Project which connects India and Myanmar, the Asian Trilateral Highway – linking India and Thailand through Myanmar, the Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) Motor Vehicles Agreement - for seamless flow of passenger and cargo traffic in the subcontinent.

The need of BIMSTEC as an organisation immediately is to overcome certain issues to accelerate its performance. For instance, the BIMSTEC Free Trade Area Framework Agreement was signed in 2004, its

operationalization has taken more than 20 rounds of deliberations and discussions. Furthermore, the grouping will surface stronger only if the countries cooperate in friendly and maintain good bilateral relations amongst each other.

India's role in the organisation has been restricted due to China's footprints in the region. The domestic turbulence witnessed in countries such as Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka tighten the scope of the organisation thereby promoting delays in the decision-making processes.

For India, the organisation presumes cruciality as it links South and Southeast Asia and more so as the organisation attempts to develop the north east of India. The BIMSTEC region is known for its differences and diversity, requiring the member countries to exploit on these resemblances and collaborate to make the most use of the resources that are at their best disposal. The challenge of cross-border deliberations calls for persistent bilateral and multilateral-level negotiations taking into consideration the complexity of domestic and geopolitical considerations. These discussions assume efficacy as it aids to avoid issues such as the Rohingya crisis which in the past few years has become a major roadblock to the efficient delivery of economic and security considerations in the region. India must also ensure uninterrupted political ties with friendly nations like Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh in order to shun any internal political congestion which in the future would prove to be detrimental to bilateral and multilateral relationships,

There is a necessity to contrive a Free Trade Area circumscribing the marine resource-rich nations, such as Burma and Sri Lanka. The formation of such a zone would lead to heavy proceeds for all member states in the long term. India's objective to enhance its commercial connectivity in the alliance would be better realised if India vehemently pursues the formation of some alliance of marine resource rich regions. Along with the accepted Master Plan for Transport Connectivity, other components which could reinforce intraregional trade and economic ties include a "coastal shipping ecosystem" and a connected electrical grid. Furthermore, BIMSTEC necessitates raising finances and propounds for prompt execution of the desired projects. As the torchbearer, India has to take active lead in allaying any issues of power imbalances among the smaller members and work for greater cross-border connectivity and inflow of investments by the resurrected grouping to further its trade and economic potential. BIMSTEC should magnify its focus on budding domains in the near future such as the blue economy, digital economy, and promotion of exchanges among start-ups and Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs).



## Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

### 1) Examine India-BIMSTEC relations.

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### 3.3 INDIA-IORA

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The Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) is a vibrant intergovernmental organisation dedicated to fostering regional cooperation and sustainable development in the Indian Ocean region comprising of 23 Member States and 10 Dialogue Partners,

IORA region is significant as it houses a third of the world's population i.e. almost 2.6 billion people live in the nations located in the IORA. 80 percent of the global seaborne trade especially oil flows through the prominent choke points of the Indian Ocean vis-à-vis the Strait of Hormuz linking the Persian Gulf, the Strait of Malacca that links to the Pacific Ocean and the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait which links to the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, massive international marine traffic consisting of 50% of the world's container cargo & one third of its bulk cargo passes through the region of the IORA. Furthermore, the IORA on an average manufactured goods and services amounting to \$1 trillion. The region presumes prominence as an estimated 40% of the world's offshore oil manufactured rich in heavy minerals, and offshore deposits with nodules containing nickel, cobalt, and iron, deposits of copper, manganese, iron, zinc, gold, and silver are located in substantial quantities on the seabed of the region. Additionally, One-fifth of the world's fisheries amounting to 21.8 million tonnes estimated to be 22% of world total capture production belongs to this region. The vast geographical landscape of the IORA is vital as it breeds innumerable and countless natural resources. Estimated reveal that the total area of IORA member countries consisting of Exclusive Economic Zones is estimated at around 28 million sq. km. The existence of such a large area propounds for an opportunity to enhance the economic horizons in this region. Howbeit, it has also accentuated conflicts in the region, which the major powers now wanting to exploit the resources for their benefit.

The IORA was enunciated in the year 1997, with its secretariat at Mauritius. To accelerate collaborations, cooperation and closer engagement among the nations, the IORA serves as a regional forum. The IORA is tripartite in nature consisting of representatives from government, business, and academia working together for the betterment of the region. It is established on the foundations of open regionalism and its primary objective is to foster economic cooperation, preferably in the arenas of investment, trade

assistance, promotion, and social development among the member nations. Australia, Bangladesh, Comoros, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Singapore, Seychelles, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, Maldives, Yemen are the member nations of the IORA. These member nations have identified six emerging domains that of Maritime security, Trade and investment facilitation, Fisheries management, Disaster risk reduction, Academic and scientific cooperation Tourism promotion and cultural exchanges.

In the last few years, the focal point of the IORA has been widely based on intercultural cooperation and economic integration. The third-largest ocean in the world is the Indian Ocean and it is where 40% of all global trade flows. The ocean is also significant geoeconomically as it is where 80% of India's energy imports come from. Member nations with oceanic borders house on an average 2.7 billion people and are distinct in terms of their languages, religions, cultures, arts, festivals, cuisines etc. International collaboration is one of the major success stories in the fight against piracy that the member nations of IORA aim to fight. Piracy has been a great challenge in geographical areas such as Somalia and the Gulf of Aden. With the increasing and accelerating cooperation among the member states to counter piracy in the region, anti-piracy operations have proved to be successful in the past years. A declaration regarding the collaboration against terrorism has been struck among the member nations.

Presently there remains less conflict in Ocean region and the region has assumed stability in the past few years. Trade, transit, and shipping lines have been unclashed in the past years so as to promote free trade and passage in the region. On the contrary, the Pacific Ocean, has always been a flashpoint for conflict among major powers, the South China Sea has assumed prominence and is full of conflicts due to China's aggression. The IORA members need to pay immediate attention to the looming security challenges in the Indian Ocean Region and look out for any endeavours by navies of other states to enter the area in a way that could disturb its peace and tranquilly. The IORA has come up with the Indian Ocean Dialogue (IOD) which is a flagship initiative of the Indian Ocean Rim Association IORA with the aim if ensuring collective decision-making.

A declared strategy of "coordination, cooperation, and partnership" in the region's marine environment is what India continues to promote. India being the coordinator for the priority areas in terms of disaster risk management, India has come up with the IORA regulations. India is an active participant in initiatives such as the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure which aims to foster cooperation in the region. India has vigorously enunciated the launch of the Information Fusion Centre in Gurugram, with an aim of supplying the member states with crisis information in real-time to dela with the difficulties in the region. With this India aims to embellish herself as the supreme information and knowledge source in the region. The information support system in India has received support from Bangladesh, Mauritius, the Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Seychelles. India's vision of the Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) as propounded several

times by the Prime Minister mirrors Indian policy and aims to foster inclusivity in the region. Thus, India is taking various initiatives to build up relations with the IORA states to enhance coordination, connectivity and harmonious relations.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise 2**

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

**1) Discuss the significance of India-IORA relations.**

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### **3.4 CONCLUSION**

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Through the various grouping which spans across both economic and cultural connectivity, India aims to establish and maintain a harmonious relationship with the nations across various regions. The multilateral groupings that India is a part of symbolise the fact that India aims to enhance its reach across South Asia as well. This is crucial given the fact that the world order is undergoing changes and at this juncture, India should play a vehement role in global affairs. Through the membership of these organisations, India would aptly be able to gain the support of various countries which would help her counter the Chinese aggression across the Indo-Pacific and in the long run enhance its trade, commerce and connectivity. BIMSTEC remains of primordial importance to India as it is through BIMSTEC that India can forge ties with the neighbouring states and develop connectivity in all aspects of economic, security and cultural development. BIMSTEC thus serves as the key by which India can help improve relations that exist between India and South Asian states. Moreover, the IORA also is crucial as it gives the liberty to India to extend its outreach beyond South Asia and develop relations with small island states as well. It is crucial that India expands its outreach to various nations in the Indian ocean and develop and maintain cordial ties with them so as to safeguard its position in the Indian ocean. It is of utmost importance that India maintains these ties to counter the growing hegemony of China in this region. Nations in the Indian ocean are falling prey to Chinese debt trap diplomacy and this in the long term it is important that India takes note of it and develops ties accordingly with these nations in the Indian Ocean.

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## TRANSCONTINENTAL GROUPS/ FORUMS

### Unit Structure:

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Group of 77 (G-77)

4.3 Group of Eight (G- 8)

4.4 BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) Security

4.5 Conclusion

4.6 References

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### 4.0 OBJECTIVES

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To introduce the learners to transcontinental groups/ forums.

To scrutinise the various transcontinental organisations.

To study in detail the working of the G-77, the G-8 and the BRICS forum

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### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

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The previous centuries have witnessed emerging challenges in various spheres. The States were considered to be the primary actors on the world stage. However, with the increasing challenges it is now pertinent that countries come together at the global level to tackle these challenges. These challenges further led to the rise of various organisations aimed at resolving the issues. It experienced the growth of various Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs) as well as Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). Apart from these organisations, various international regulatory regimes, multilateral agreements and regulatory institutions witnessed its growth. At the same time, States realised the need for better coordination and cooperation at multi-faceted levels for enhancing the administration. Accompanied by the process of globalisation, States now felt the need for enlarged and deepened cooperation which led to the emergence of various organisations. These organisations or groups comprised nations which transcended regional boundaries and hence are often called transcontinental groups or forums.

Over the course of years, various such institutions have transformed themselves from being merely organisations for discussions and deliberations and have become more effective and efficient in terms of administration. Various such forums emerged since the end of the Second World War which was mainly concerned with Security. However, the later periods saw the rise of organisations which dealt with other aspects such as

Economic, Cultural, Educational, Environmental etc. The chapter deals with certain organisations which work in various fields to promote inclusiveness. There are numerous transcontinental groups and organisations which deal with the emerging issues that the world faces today. Out of these groups, three groups assume prominence in the arena of transcontinental groups. These are the G-77, G-8 and the BRICS.

The significance of these groups lies in the fact that they have been able to incorporate the developing world or the Global South. The organisations which were formed immediately after the second world war were mainly centered around the developed world and hence the voices of the global south remained unheard for many years. However, the formation of the G-8 still reflected the concerns of only the global north. However, with the collapse of the bipolar system and with the shift towards multilateralism and multipolarity in the 21st century it became prominent that the countries which were not represented on the global forum had to now be represented. It was of utmost significance that the nations other than the developed world get a fair chance to opine themselves at the global level especially with regards to their contribution towards economy of the world. These countries house the maximum population of the earth, are emerging economies and are consumer states. Thus, the issues and challenges the world faces affects these nations more than the developed world. Furthermore, as many of these nations were under the colonial influence for a long period of time, the economic development remained low. The people residing in these states therefore had to face emerging challenges such as hunger, poverty, malnutrition, etc. Moreover, global problems such as that of global warming and climate change have affected the developing countries more than the developed ones in these years and hence it becomes prominent that we accord due place to these nations at the global level. In this light, it is important to examine the contribution of the G-8, G-77 and the BRICS block to the changing geo-political, socio-economic dimensions. The chapter therefore studies and discusses in detail the challenges faced by the developed world and aims to understand the role of the above-mentioned blocks in the development of the world.

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## **4.2 GROUP OF 77 (G-77)**

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The "Joint Declaration of the Seventy-Seven Developing Countries" was signed by Seventy-seven developing nations at the culmination of the inaugural session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva on June 15, 1964. This led to the formation of the Group of 77 (G-77) block. Following the first "Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Algiers (Algeria) on 10 - 25 October 1967, a static institutional organisation gradually emerged which believed in the Charter of Algiers", finally resulting in the formation of Chapters of the Group of 77 with Liaison offices in Geneva (UNCTAD), Nairobi (UNEP), Paris (UNESCO), Rome (FAO/IFAD), Vienna (UNIDO), and the Group of 24 (G-24) in Washington, D. However, it is crucial to note that G-77 despite now consisting of 134 members is still called as the G-77.

G-77 is that it is the largest intergovernmental organisation of developing nations currently. The primary aim of the organisation is that it gives the countries of the South a path to express and accelerate their combined and shared financial interests, nourish their ability to deliberate on all vital international economic issues. All this is accomplished by the G-77 within the framework of the United Nations which gives it more recognition. Moreover, the organisation aims to encourage South-South cooperation for development and betterment of all in the region. Indubitable minimal aspects of the functioning and operating modalities of the work of the G-77 enunciated in the various agreements and declarations are similar, including membership, decision-making, and specific operating procedures. A Chairman serves as the spokesperson for every chapter's group activity. For a period of one year the Group of 77's highest political position, the Chairmanship, is rotated among the three regions of Africa, Asia-Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Currently it is being led by the Republic of Cuba in New York in 2023.

The larger aim of the G77 summit is to build up the negotiating skills of the G-77 countries in the larger United Nations system and other international forums. Additionally, the grouping aims to conserve the common interests of an evolving global paradigm by propounding for a prominent role of the developing nations. The group also aims to promote friendly relations in the expanding, changing world by enhancing cooperation at various forums. In addition, the group is attributed with taking a unified stance against various practices such as the apartheid and racial discrimination as the major brunt of these practices was borne by the developing nations. The group also advocates for global disarmament to ensure peace and tranquillity. It continues to be supportive of the New World Order and believes that initiatives which focus on reduction of and promotion of economic prosperity should take precedence.

The South Summit is the Group of 77's foremost decision-making organ. The First and Second South Summits were held from April 10–14, 2000, in Havana, Cuba, and from June 12–16, 2005, in Doha, Qatar. The Group was formed with the objective of jointly accelerating the role and influence of developing nations at the international forums when it was clear that changes in North-South economic relations were crucial for political independence to have any substantial meaning. Along with political independence the need for economic independence was believed to be of foremost importance. The ultimate goal however was to reform the international financial order. In terms of economic multilateral diplomacy and to preserve global peace and justice through international collaboration within the framework of the United Nations, the G-77 continues to be a key negotiating tool. The G-77 presently consist of the largest coalition of humanity and its relevance is witnessed in the global development discussion as evidenced by the crucial role it plays in economic diplomacy. The development interests of the global South have been projected and articulated vehemently by the G-77 nations. The Group has been able to cooperate effectively with its development partners scrutinise the issues and problems thereby suggesting alternative solutions to development challenges.

The success of the G-77 lies in the fact that it has helped draught and pass a number of UN resolutions, programmes, and plans of action. The majority ones deal with the fundamental problems of development faced by the changing world today. The work undertaken by the G-77 have been well recognised by the world leaders, diplomats, lawmakers, academics, researchers, the media, and civil society. Their contribution to fostering international consensus on development-related issues has been well advanced by the G-77. The success is a testament to the historical viability of the group's initiation, that have stood the test of time. The group's primary aims remain constant i.e. to enhance the role of developing nations in international organisations and policies. To incorporate a development perspective within the framework of the United Nations system. The group of 77 has formed the global south as a group of countries over the course of its 50-year existence, aiming to create an international partnership for the prevalence of peace and development. The Group of 77 is now known for its objectives to enhance global development cooperation to get closer to a greater thriving and peaceful world.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise 1**

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

#### **1) Explain the G-77 and its significance in the contemporary world**

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### **4.2 GROUP OF 8 (G-8)**

The Group of Eight (G8) was an intergovernmental political forum from 1997 through 2014. For the highest level of policy coordination and consultation, eight of the world's largest industrial economies came together under one umbrella organisation. Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States formed the G-8. The inclusion of Russia in the Group of Seven (G7) made it the Group of Eight (G8) which later reverted to its former name in 2014 after Russia was ousted.

The US, Britain, Italy, and Japan were invited to a meeting at the Chateau of Rambouillet in France in November 1975 to deliberate upon the economic crisis brought on by the rise in oil prices. During that meeting, then-French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and then-German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt were also invited. The Group of Seven (G-7) was formally formed as a result of a meeting in June 1976 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, which included a second member, Canada.

In order to examine challenges faced by industrialised countries such as economic growth, inflation, unemployment, trade ills, and other issues, the



G-7 played a crucial role. The primary institution for "global governance," has been the G-8 and is believed to have displaced the United Nations as well. Although not everyone concurs with this explanation, it cannot be denied that the group's relative significance has drastically increased since the end of the Cold War. In fact, the G7 didn't work all that effectively in the immediate post-Cold War period. Good intentions were not always backed up by deeds, and even when they were, as in the instance of aiding Russia, the outcomes were not what had been anticipated.

In the 1990s, the G-7 could reinvigorate itself. In addition to encouraging Russia to join the group and shifting the agenda's emphasis from economic to international issues, the group established contacts with UN organisations, governments, and NGOs. As a result, it rose to prominence as a significantly example of what is usually referred to as a "public-policy network." For instance, to put an end to the war in Kosovo, the G8 collaborated with the EU, NATO, the OSCE, the UN, the foreign ministers of member states, and a few other significant parties. The G8 will continue to mobilise these networks and make use of the resources of its resourceful members when conventional methods are failing to provide the desired results. The perceived shortcomings of the UN particularly in the arena of global peace and security, were the next important factor contributing to the G8's prominence rise. The Contact Group and the G8 gained traction as a result of the widely reported failures of UN peacekeeping operations in Angola, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Somalia, as well as the Security Council's inability to agree on a stance on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. The heightened political prominence of the G-7 can be understood by the fact that is the only platform where the heads of the most powerful countries meet regularly. Despite China's absence and the lack of representation from Africa, South America, and South Asia, the organisation has grown to be the largest concentration of political power. The prominence of the organisation can be understood from the fact that the G-7 has frequently been able to draw the attention of the international media. This implies that G-7 and the leaders have the ability to garner attention of the global agenda. The G-8 has also been criticised for its perceived lack of legitimacy as one of the primary issues. Additionally, with the anti-globalization movement, some non-members view the G8 as a representative body of the developed world and question whether it is concerned about the situations and challenges of the developing world.

The concerns regarding G-8 have been raised in linkages to the G8 and UN Security Council relationship, which is the prominent issue. Some of the criticisms of the G-8 are that the G8 was not sufficiently represented by significant and rising economies like India, Brazil, China, South Korea, and Mexico, some of that have already gone beyond G8 countries in terms of GDP. Critics have argued that the G8 frequently fails to implement decisions and excludes significant emerging nations. Some scholars contend that the G8's homogeneous membership and small size encourage cooperative decision-making.

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

**1) Discuss the evolution and role of the G-8.**

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### **4.3 INDIA-BRICS**

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In 2001 British economist Jim O'Neill created the acronym BRIC, which stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China. The alliance was formalised on the sidelines of the UNGA in New York in 2006 at the BRIC Foreign Ministers' inaugural gathering. In June 2009, the inaugural BRIC summit took place in Yekaterinburg in Russia. The grouping was expanded to include South Africa, at the 2010 conference of foreign ministers in New York. In April 2011, South Africa participated in the third BRICS Summit in Sanya, China. The BRICS group presumes significance as compositely they contribute to 17% of global trade, 33% of the global GDP, and 42% of the global population. Thus, the contribution remains significant to global economic growth, trade, and capital investment as an essential tenet of global system. The group is vital as the world order has undergone numerous changes since the end of the cold war. The 21st century is often viewed to be a multipolar century. BRICS countries assume significance as they not only represent the vividly changing global scenario but also reflects the voices and concerns of the global south. The forum is vital as it build up international cooperation in emergent issues like sustainable development, climate change mitigation, regional conflicts and so on. In this regard, the group is vital to resolve divergent concerns faced by the world today.

Additionally, all structural imbalances as a result of the 2008 global financial crisis, as well as the novel challenges to the world economy come from trade conflicts and unilateral economic penalties. The initiative towards building up a sustainable and inclusive growth and development is better supported by the growing economic contribution of the BRICS to the global economy. Additionally, the growing significance of the economic relations between the BRICS and other Emerging markets and Developing Countries (EMDCs) adds to the creation of new opportunities which could aid in the solving of the problems that confront humanity today. Various security concerns have emerged in the recent past due to which the global order faces disruption. BRICS has emerged as a pillar of the polycentric world order, and is aimed to play a crucial role in ensuring world peace. BRICS countries have always been supportive of the principle of fairness and have time and again supported the dispute resolution mechanisms to solve a deadlock.

Aimed at achieving these objectives, BRICS nations have enunciated the formation of various institutions such as the New Development Bank (NDB). At the sixth BRICS summit at Fortaleza in Brazil in 2014, the leaders of the BRICS nations signed the agreement for the establishment of the New Development Bank. The Fortaleza Declaration assured that the NDB will accelerate BRICS cooperation and support multilateral and regional financial institutions' efforts in promoting global development. It also aimed to promoting sustainable and balanced growth of all the nations. NDB has become one of the most promising multilateral development agencies across the world today and has operated successfully. It has sanctioned multiple investment projects totalling more than \$11 billion since its formation in 2015.

To further the economic stability, the Contingency Reserve Agreement was created by the BRICS countries in 2014 as part of the Fortaleza Declaration at the sixth BRICS meeting. The Contingency Reserve Arrangement was formed to provide member states with liquidity in the event of a short-term balance of payments crisis. \$100 billion committed under CRA can serve as a guarantee for the financial stability of the BRICS amidst an event of a crisis.

Since its inception, India has been an ardent member and has played a key role in the BRICS. BRICS as an organisation presumes relevance for India for multiple reasons. India currently finds itself in the middle of a tug-of-war in terms of the global geopolitics. India has always had a hard time to strike a balance between the U.S. and the Russia and of lately the Russia-China axis in terms of its strategic objectives. Subsequently, India has a chance to counterbalance the Russia-China paradigm through the BRICS structure. Regarding economic prosperity, the BRICS countries were always united in their objective to create a more just and balanced international order. BRICS nations have always sought and worked towards their goal of revamping the global financial and monetary system. To ensure this, the BRICS nations participates actively in the G20, aiding to influence international economic policy and accelerate financial stability. With India leading the group from 2023, the cooperation and constant support of the BRICS countries would help in the policy deliberation and decision-making process for India.

India through the BRICS has the capability of voicing the concerns of the developing world, especially at a time when the Western countries are raising challenges on various arenas right from the World Trade Organization to climate change. On the contrary, the developing nations have been crippled by the policies of the west. In the recent past we have witnessed the emergence of BRICS as the global south's or the developing world's voice. BRICS nations have spoken up strongly for the rights of the global south in various forums and on various issues. For instance, the issue of terrorism where the nation has been at the receiving end. India through the BRICS grouping has strongly articulated its stance against terrorism and has been successful to bring about concentrated discussions on specific issues linked to terrorism.

The BRICS countries have the ability to represent the issues of the developing world, which is of extreme importance as various international institutions like the United Nations Security Council lack representation from the developing nations. India for the last couple of years has been actively pursuing to get itself elected as the permanent member of the United Nations Security Council as well other organisations like the Nuclear Suppliers Group. BRICS countries are of utmost significance for India as they have been extremely supportive of India's cause to be included in these organisations.

Despite these strengths, the group is bound by from various roadblocks. Differences and heterogeneity among the member nations remains a concern as the nations in the BRICS grouping have divergent interests and stakes which created obstacles in the creation of common policy framework. Moreover, BRICS nations can ensure and bring forth a new model of governance at a time when the world is experiencing global slowdown, trade war and protectionism. This structure can create the basis of a new world order which would be inclusive of the developing nations. All states, large and small, should be encouraged to completely flourish, and BRICS should in the long term strengthen their mutual collaboration based on common interests. The democratisation of world affairs, and the culmination of agreements on global agendas, should be based on generally accepted legal rules and must involve the broadest and equal participation of all nation states. The focus area of the BRICS has to also be respecting the world's diversity in cultures and civilizations. The BRICS countries should work towards the political-diplomatic and peaceful resolution of conflicts in various parts of the world. BRICS have been supportive of a growing fairer polycentric international order, which also plays a stabilising role in world affairs. The BRICS as an organisation has the ability and capability to make a substantial contribution for sustaining international peace, assuring global economic growth, and becoming a unifying centre of the multipolar world in the turbulent sea of world politics.

### **Check Your Progress Exercise 3**

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

**1) Analyse the significance of BRICS.**

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## 4.4 CONCLUSION

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An analysis of various transcontinental organisations shows that many of these organisations work towards the preservation of peace, security, health, economy etc. Environmental transcontinental groups have grown and evolved very recently as compared to organisations such as NATO which focused on the maintenance of security. These organisations are crucial as they help to foster cooperative behaviour. IGOs also serve useful purposes for individual states, which often use them as instruments of foreign policy to legitimise their actions and to constrain the behaviour of other states. Although specialised international bureaucracies oversee the majority of international organisations' day-to-day activities, state members retain ultimate control. Such organisations frequently collaborate with NGOs (such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International), which carry out many of the same tasks as their counterparts and are particularly helpful for rallying public support, assessing the efficacy of international aid, and disseminating knowledge and expertise. Governments and stakeholders must work together to handle the complex, pressing, and transnational issues that plague today's globe in an efficient and timely manner.

International organisations are extremely effective at assisting nations in achieving a variety of noble goals, such as enhancing economic prosperity, fostering social development, raising standards of wellbeing, upholding human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, preserving the environment, and maintaining peace. Decisive 20th-century events, like the two world wars, underscored the necessity of building international organisations that may serve as a forum for friendly communication between states. For instance, the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO, and other post-war institutions have made significant contributions to enhancing economic and fiscal stability, averting or resolving conflicts, and achieving previously unheard-of levels of prosperity for global communities.

A lot of policy topics are currently receiving attention from all around the world because of their importance and the connections between the various parties engaged. Global food systems, climate change, health hazards around the world, trade, peace and security, migration, investment, financial and economic stability, regulatory reforms, and humanitarian relief are a few examples of such domains. International organisations play a critical role in advocacy by bringing attention to contemporary issues that demand consideration and action from a variety of stakeholders. Numerous worldwide organisations have fought for a variety of important causes in recent years. For instance, the UN was instrumental in advancing the historic Paris Agreement, a global climate accord that entered into force in 2016. 192 parties agreed to support efforts to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions globally and keep global temperature increases to under 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. More such international and transnational organisations are therefore required to enhance connectivity and cooperation among various stakeholders to facilitate problem-solving at the global level.

It is pertinent that we analyse the role of various transcontinental organisations. Apart from the above briefly mentioned organisations, it is pertinent that the role of organisations mentioned in the chapter that is the G-77, the G-8 and the BRICS assumes significance and is discussed and deliberated upon as it represented the largest population of the world. Their contribution to the socio-economic, political and cultural relations is of utmost significance and needs to be discussed.

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