

MAPOL 2.3



M.A. POLITICS

SEMESTER - II

REVISED SYLLABUS AS PER NEP 2020

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-II

Prof. Ravindra Kulkarni

Vice Chancellor

University of Mumbai, Mumbai

Prin. (Dr.) Ajay Bhamare

Pro Vice-Chancellor,

University of Mumbai

Professor Shivaji Sargar

Director,

CDOE, University of Mumbai

Programme Co-ordinator

: Mr. Anil R. Bankar

Associate Professor,
Head, Faculty Head, Arts and Humanities,
CDOE, University of Mumbai

Course Co-ordinator

: Dr. Kshipra Vasudeo

Assistant Professor,
CDOE, University of Mumbai

: Dr. Dattatray M. Tonde

Assistant Professor,
CDOE, University of Mumbai

Editor

: Dr. Kshipra Vasudeo

Assistant Professor,
CDOE, University of Mumbai.

Course Writers

: Dr. Vivek Kumar Mishra

Assistant Professor and HOD,
Department of Political Science,
Gautam Buddha University, Uttar Pradesh

: Dr. Govind Gaurav

Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
CMP Degree College, University of Allahabad,
Prayagraj, (Uttar Pradesh)

: Dr. Arnab Chakrabarty

Faculty of International Relations,
Sikkim University, Gangtok (Sikkim)

: Dr. Manan Dwivedi

Assistant Professor,
Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi

: Dr. Abhishek Yadav

Research Analyst, Manohar Parrikar Institute
for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA),
New Delhi (Delhi)

: Mr. Tapan Bharadwaj

Senior Researcher, China Research Programme,
New Delhi (Delhi)

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M.A. POLITICS
SEMESTER - II
REVISED SYLLABUS AS PER NEP 2020
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS II

SYLLABUS

(4 Credits, 60 Hours)

Course Objectives:

1. To aware students about theories of international relations.
2. To provide insights for conceptualization and theorization of the world affairs in systematic manner.
3. To enhance consciousness of emerging issues

Module 1: Approaches to IR – I

- a) Liberalism
- b) Realism
- c) Constructivism

Module 2: Approaches to IR-II

- a) Marxist Approach
- b) Critical Theory
- c) Feminist Approach

Module 3: International Political Economy

- a) Bretton Woods Institutions
- b) Globalisation
- c) Regionalism and regional organisations

Module 4: Contemporary Issues

- a) Human Security
- b) Climate Change
- c) Disarmament

Course Outcomes:

On successful completion of this course students will be able to:

1. Analyze and apply various theoretical frameworks to international relations.
2. Demonstrate the ability to think critically
3. Conduct meaningful research in international relations.

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APPROACHES TO IR – I

(A) Liberalism

A.1.0: Objective

A.1.1: Introduction

A.1.2: Features of Liberalism

A.1.3: Neo-liberalism

A.1.4: Classification of Neo-liberalism

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

A.1.5: Globalization and Liberalism

A.1.6: Criticism of Liberalism

A.1.7: Conclusion

A.1.8: References

A.1.0: OBJECTIVE

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

- International Relations can be cooperative rather than conflictual
- Liberty of the individual
- Different paradigms of Liberalism

A.1.1: INTRODUCTION

Liberalism is an ideology that focuses on the commitment to the individual, wish to create a society where people can accomplish their interests and achieve fulfilment. The liberalism theory in International Relations focuses on democracy and cooperation between states. In classical liberalism, scholars believe that individual shares many interests and can thus engage in cooperation. Liberalism as an ideology emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century. Liberalism as a whole is majorly influenced by three scholars-John Locke, Bentham and Immanuel Kant. John Locke became the father of liberalism. John Locke believes that “man possesses reason, and hence man can live in peace.” However, liberalism gained momentum with the Industrial Revolution, when ‘progress’ was the magic keyword for society.

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

A.1.2: FEATURES OF LIBERALISM

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

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

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

Immanuel Kant

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

The Constitution of every state shall be "Republican"¹ Kant believes that only republican states can maintain a priori principles of justice, internally and externally.

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

- The right of nations shall be based on a "Federation of Free states". The federation is not to have a centralised government but must remain a federation of independent and free states bounded together

¹ I. Kant, "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch", in H. Reiss (ed.) *Kant's Political Writings* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), p.102.

by voluntary contract and a self-commitment to the principle of international and constitutional rights.

- “The cosmopolitan rights shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality.”²

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

Woodrow Wilson

In his “fourteen points” speech addressed to the US congress in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson argued that “a general association of nations must be formed to preserve the world peace.”³ The “League of Nations” was the general association that idealist willed into existence. Moreover, it was the idea behind the “collective security” system central to the league of nations.

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

A.1.3: NEO-LIBERALISM

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

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

² Garrett Wallace Brown, “Kantian Cosmopolitan Law: And The Idea of A Cosmopolitan Constitution” *History of Political Thought* Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter 2006), p.682.

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

A.1.4: CLASSIFICATION OF NEO-LIBERALISM

Neo-Liberalism may be divided into four types:

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

1) Sociological Liberalism

It focuses on transnational relations and critic of realist theory. It highlights the transnational non-governmental ties between societies. Main scholars of Sociological Liberalism are Karl Deutsch, John Burton and James N. Rosenau. Sociological liberalism says that IR is not only about the state to state relations; it is also about transnational relations. It gives priority to the existence of various groups and flourishes pluralism. Sociological liberals consider transnational relations to be an increasingly important aspect of international relations. James Rosenau defines trans-nationalism as follows: “the processes whereby international relations conducted by governments have been supplemented by relations among private individuals, groups, and societies that can and do have significant consequences for the course of events.”⁴ Sociological liberalism also believes that the relations between people are more cooperative and more supportive of peace than are relations between national governments.

During the 1950s, Karl Deutsch was a leading figure in the study of transnational relations. Karl Deutsch concept of ‘security community’ is an alternative to the realist concept of the ‘security dilemma.’ The idea of the ‘security community’ is based on the expectation of peace through domestic politics. ‘a group of people has become “integrated”. “Integration means that a ‘sense of community has been achieved; people have come to agree that their conflicts and problems can be resolved ‘without resort to large-scale physical force.”⁵The concept increases the trust amongst members of the region. People believe that all people in the community are cooperating. Therefore, they are not the source of insecurity to each other. The same thing is applicable in International politics.

John Burton has developed a “cobweb model” of transnational relationships. According to this model, each segment of any society, like schools, worker’s groups, religious groups, and business groups, has different foreign relations types. Burton stated that “Realists” tried to demonstrate each state as a billiard ball while they were cobwebs. He

⁴ James N. Rosenau, *The Study of Global Interdependence: Essays on the Transnationalization of World Affairs*, (Nichols Publishing Company, 1980).

⁵ Karl Deutsch, *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area* (Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press, 1957).

believes that mutually beneficial cooperation is far preferable for states than antagonistic conflict.

2) Interdependence Liberalism

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

Interdependence liberals argue that a high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence between states, which discourages and reduces violent conflict between states. A high division of labour in the international economy increases interdependence between states, and that interdependence decreases violent conflicts between states. For example, Richard Rosecrance has stated, "war happens in less developed countries because these states only reached lower levels of economic development and therefore are not integrated enough into the world economy."⁶

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

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

Considering the interwar experience and that of the Second World War, Mitrany argued that "we must put our faith, not in a protected peace, but a working peace."⁷ He believed that, perhaps somewhat naively, technical experts should arrange that cooperation, not by politicians. The experts would devise solutions to common problems in various functional areas: transport, communication, finance, etc. technical and economic collaboration would expand when the

⁶Robert H. Jackson, George Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p.103.

⁷David Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics* (London School of Economics & Political Science: Martin Robertson, 1975), p.121.

participants discovered the mutual benefits that could be obtained from it. When citizens realised that the efficient collaboration in international organisations promotes their welfare measures, they would shift their loyalty from the state to international organisations. In that way, economic interdependence would lead to political integration and peace. The best example is the establishment of the ECSC and the European Union. Ernst Haas visualised a connection between economic cooperation and political integration, to be achieved by the process of automatic politicisation.

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

- **Ernst Haas: Neo-functionalist theory of international integration:** Ernst Haas developed a neo-functionalism theory of international integration inspired by the intensifying cooperation that began in the 1950s between the countries of Western Europe. Haas builds on Mitrany. But he rejects the notion that 'technical' matters can be separated from politics. Instead, integration has to do with getting self-interested political elites to intensify their cooperation. Integration is a process whereby "political actors are persuaded to shift their loyalties toward a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing nation-states."⁸ This 'functional' integration process depends on the notion of 'spill over' when increased cooperation in one area leads to increased cooperation in other areas. Cooperation in one field leads to cooperation in another field and becomes stronger when cooperation begins. Thus, there is the cycle of cooperation and this process is called the "spillover effect."

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

- **Complex Interdependence:** Complex interdependence was made in the late 1970s in a book by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence*.⁹ They argue that post-war 'complex interdependence' is qualitatively different from earlier and simpler

⁸EB Haas, *The Uniting of the Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces (1950-1957)* (Stanford University Press, 1958), p.16.

⁹Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence, World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1977).

kinds of interdependence. Previously, international relations were directed by state leaders dealing with other state leaders. The use of military force was an option in the case of conflict between those national leaders. The 'high politics' of security and survival had priority over the 'low politics' of economics and social affairs.¹⁰ Under conditions of complex interdependence, however, that is no longer the case, and for two reasons. First, relations between states nowadays are not only or even primarily relations between state leaders; there are relations on many different levels via many other actors and branches of government. Second, there is a host of transnational ties between individuals and groups outside of the state.

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

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

3) Institutional Liberalism

The primary claim of the Institutional liberals is that International institutions help to promote cooperation between states. To assess that claim, institutional liberals adopt a behaviouristic, scientific approach. First, an empirical measure of the extent of institutionalisation among states is formulated. The extent to which these international institutions have helped advance cooperation is then assessed. The argument made by institutional liberals is that a high level of institutionalisation significantly reduces the destabilising effects of multipolar anarchy identified by Mearsheimer. The other vital assumptions are as under:

- It focuses on Institutions that are capable of bringing peace to the international world order because they can convert the behaviour of

¹⁰Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Jr, *Power and Interdependence, World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little Brown, 1977),p. 23.

the states. Thus, institutions make up for the lack of trust between states.

- The idea of the international organisation is to monitor and give a platform to the states to resolve issues and conflicts through dialogue.
- Liberal International world order- new Institutions with post-cold war, the rule of law cooperation and peace that would lead to stability.

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

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

4) Republican Liberalism

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

Dean Babst resurrected it in 1964, and it has been advanced in numerous studies since then. One liberal scholar even claims that the assertion that democracies do not fight each other is "one of the strongest nontrivial or non-tautological statements that can be made about international relations".¹¹ This finding, then, is the basis of the present optimism among many liberal scholars and policymakers concerning the prospects of long-term world peace.

Michael Doyle propounded the *Democratic Peace Theory* and claimed that democracy leads to peace with other democracies. The democratic political culture encourages peaceful means of conflict resolution, which are extended beyond the domestic political process to other democratic states.¹² Political ideology, therefore, determines how democracies distinguish allies from adversaries. Democracy inspires peaceful International relations because democratic governments are controlled by their citizens, who will not support wars. The democracies also hold common moral values that lead to a pacific union (Kant). The union is not a formal peace treaty; instead, it is a zone of peace based on the common

¹¹ Russett, B. M. "Democracy and Peace", in B. Russett, H. Starr, and R. J. Stoll (eds), *Choices in World Politics: Sovereignty and Interdependence* (New York: Freeman, 1989), p.245.

¹² Miriam Fendius Elman (ed.) "The Need for a Qualitative Test of the Democratic Peace Theory," in *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer?*(Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1997), p.11.

moral foundations of all democracies. Finally, peace between democracies is strengthened through economic cooperation and interdependence.

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

Republican liberalism: Three conditions of peace among liberal democracies

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

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

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

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

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

A.1.5: GLOBALISATION AND LIBERALISM

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

The hyper-globalists claim that globalisation has increased interconnectivity following the disappearance of borders or a “borderless world” (Ohmae, 1995).¹³ K. Ohmae argues that globalisation and the disappearance of borders facilitate financial flows and business transactions. The state becomes less plausible as interconnectivity intensifies. Market forces in a globalising order shape core social and policy interactions. Liberals believe that globalisation has created opportunities for both economic and technological development.

A.1.6: CRITICISMS OF LIBERALISM

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

- Realists criticise liberals for having a positive view of human nature and their belief in human reason. Realists say that every reason fails when another state attacks a state because you do not get enough time to apply reason. The prevalence of anarchy in the international system increases the possibility of war amongst states.
- Realists disagree with the idea that mutual dependence increases cooperation between the states because they believe that states have no interest in relative gains. Instead, states want to have absolute gains majorly with other countries.
- Neo-realists are critical of the liberal view. They argue that anarchy cannot be eclipsed and, therefore, that liberal optimism is not warranted. As long as anarchy prevails, there is no escape from self-help and the security dilemma.
- Institutional liberals believe that world order can be established with the help of global Institutions, but contrary to this realist says that these institutions are nothing but mere puppets in the hands of powerful countries and constantly remain dependent on them.
- Republican liberalism says that democratic governments will not go to war against each other because people run them, but there is always a risk that liberal or democratic governments might convert into autocratic or other forms of democracy.
- Liberalism has again gone into crisis due to specific changes in international politics such as BREXIT, trade war, America first and from 2001 and prominently from 2008 onwards.
- Social constructivists are the fundamental critique of new liberalism and believe that institutions are not determined exclusively by actors, but in fact, help constitutes actors’ preferences based on the identities of individual member states (Wendt, 1999).

¹³K. Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

- Immanuel Wallerstein, a Marxist scholar, has criticised liberalism by saying that “universalism as a “gift” of the powerful to the weak, which places them in a double bind: to refuse the gift is to lose, to accept the gift is to lose.”

A.1.7: CONCLUSION

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

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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.....

.....

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

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A.1.8: REFERENCES

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(B) Realism

Unit Structure

B.1.0: Objective

B.1.1: Introduction

B.1.2: Classical Realism

B.1.3: Essentials of Realism

B.1.4: Six Principles of Morgenthau

B.1.5: Neo-realism / Structural Realism

B.1.6: Assumptions of Neo-realism

B.1.7: Offensive and Defensive Realism

B.1.8: Criticism of Realism

B.1.9: Conclusion

B.1.10: References

B.1.0: OBJECTIVE

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

- Explore the basic assumptions of the Realist approach to international relations.
- Trace the evolution of various aspects of Realism, such as Classical Realism and Neo-Realism.
- Analyze Morgenthau’s six principles on the nature of international relations.

B.1.1: INTRODUCTION

International Relations (IR) requires developing conceptual frameworks and theories to understand and explain world politics. The University of Aberystwyth in Wales was the first university to establish a department of International Politics. However, today the nature and scope of world politics require an understanding of a much more comprehensive range of issues. International Relations began as a theoretical discipline with two foundational texts in the field — E. H. Carr’s *The Twenty Years’ Crisis* (1939) and Hans Morgenthau’s *Politics Among Nations* (1948). Both books provided a broad framework for analyzing international relations and offered future analysts theoretical tools to understand patterns underlying seemingly special episodes, reflecting on forms of political action where the “struggle for power” was pre-eminent. Both scholars aimed to correct what they saw as deep misunderstandings about the nature of international politics. They believed that the struggle for power could be disciplined by

international law and that the pursuit of self-interest could be replaced by security for all states.

The term 'Realism' is used in various ways across disciplines. In philosophy, it refers to an ontological theory opposed to idealism and nominalism. In IR theory, Realism is treated as an approach that emphasizes states pursuing "power politics" in their national interest. "Realpolitik" or "power politics" is the oldest and most frequently adopted international relations theory. Every serious student must appreciate political realism and understand how their views relate to the realist tradition. Realism is a powerful and important approach in understanding International Relations.

B.1.2: CLASSICAL REALISM

Realists emphasize the constraints on politics imposed by human selfishness (egoism) and the absence of international government (anarchy), which require "the primacy in all political life of power and security". Rationality and statism are core realist premises. If "states" represent what Gilpin calls "conflict groups" or what Waltz (1979) refers to as "units", statism is a common feature across International Relations theories. Anarchy and egoism create imperatives of power politics that form the core of Realism. Realism describes international politics in terms of "power", earning it the name "power politics".

Classical Realists like Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes depicted a pessimistic view of human nature, believing that individuals use others to achieve their goals, making people selfish. Power is essential for state security. Power is understood as "the ability to make another actor do what it would not have normally done". Indian strategic thinker Kautilya was the first realist, propounding theories of statecraft and diplomacy based on the power approach. He wrote the Arthashastra in 300 B.C., much before Western thinkers like Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Thucydides. In his book World Order, Henry Kissinger referred to the Arthashastra as a work that outlines the requirements of power, which is the dominant reality in politics. Kissinger described the Arthashastra as "a combination of Machiavelli and Clausewitz" (the Prussian military theorist). However, since the Arthashastra predates Machiavelli's *The Prince* (1513) by centuries, Machiavelli could be considered the Italian or European Chanakya.

Machiavelli argued that a "Prince" or ruler must stabilize his power and build a permanent structure, with the primary objective of maximizing the national interest. The "Prince" could undertake actions of an evil nature to achieve the greater good for the state. The famous assumption "the ends justify the means" suggests that any evil action can be justified if done in the interest of the state. Thomas Hobbes argued with his famous maxim "homo homini lupus" (man is a wolf to another man) that only a strong monarchy could create order.

The modern realist approach emerged in the 19th century when nation-states became the standard in European politics after the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Bismarck was the first to apply realism in the modern

sense. Since the First World War, many states have shown a tendency to follow the realist point of view.

Basic Assumptions of Realism:

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

B.1.3: ESSENTIALS OF REALISM

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

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

B.1.4: SIX PRINCIPLES OF MORGENTHAU

Morgenthau’s six principles constitute the essence of his **Political Realism**.

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

Second: National interest is defined in terms of national power. In international politics, the national interest is not merely theoretical but backed by power. Defining national interest in terms of power carries political realism into the arena of international politics.

Third: Interest is always dynamic. The national interest of any state is the essence of politics. It constantly changes based on the state's requirements and the political and social environment. The nature of interest that determines political action depends on the cultural and political context within which foreign policy is framed. For example, India's security concerns have always been a primary component of its national interest, but the nature of security has evolved over time.

Fourth: Abstract moral principles cannot be applied to international politics. Political realism acknowledges the value of moral principles but argues that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states without considering the specific conditions of time and space. There can be no political morality without prudence, which is the supreme virtue in international politics.

Fifth: Difference between the moral aspirations of a nation and universal moral principles. Political realism rejects the idea that the moral aspirations of a nation reflect universally applied moral principles. States prioritize their national interests over universal morality, and their actions are not bound by moral principles.

Sixth: Autonomy of International Politics Political realism emphasizes the autonomy of international politics. It neither follows idealistic nor moralistic approaches but maintains that international politics operates independently, guided by the pursuit of national interest and power.

Morgenthau believes that human nature tends to promote a lust for power, which dictates the pursuit of relative advantage over others to secure political space. As a result, a person can enjoy life free from external political pressures. The animus dominandi (the desire for power) eventually brings individuals into conflict with each other, creating the framework for power politics at the heart of all realist thinking. According to Morgenthau, there are different sets of moralities, such as morality in the private sphere and the public sphere. Political morality can justify certain actions that would neither be accepted nor forgiven by private, personal, or social ethics.

B.1.5: NEO-REALISM / STRUCTURAL REALISM

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

survival of the state. Furthermore, classical realism focuses on the leaders and their intentions, but neorealism focuses on the system itself.

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

B.1.6: ASSUMPTIONS OF NEOREALISM

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

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

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

- 1) Anarchy in the international system;

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

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

John Mearsheimer states that “the Western powers have an interest in maintaining peace in Europe. It, therefore, has an interest in maintaining the cold war order. Europe has an interest in the continuation of the cold war hostility. However, Mearsheimer's other proponents of neorealism differ from Kenneth Waltz assumptions, which led to the development of the two branches of neorealism, i.e. defensive realism and offensive realism. Kenneth Waltz and Robert Jervis are the main propounders of defensive realism and John Mearsheimer of offensive realism.

B.1.7: OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE REALISM

There are significant differences between **Defensive Realism** and **Offensive Realism**, which are outlined in the table below.

Defensive Realism	Offensive Realism
Supporters: Kenneth Waltz, Barry Posen, Jack Snyder, and Stephen van Evera, Robert Gilpin	Supporters: John Mearsheimer and DC Copeland
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A defensive realist believes that it is unwise for states to maximise their power because if they try to gain more power, the system will punish them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offensive realists claim that to attain more power as possible, it is necessary from the good strategic aspect of a state. Therefore, the overwhelming power ensures the survival of the state.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defensive realists claim that states should not maximise their power because balancing will 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offensive realists believe that the balancing is generally not enough to protect the national

Defensive Realism	Offensive Realism
<p>occur if any state becomes too powerful. Defensive realism believes that when a great power invades any small state, it brings more trouble than benefits. As an example, the US strike on Iraq and Afghanistan. It is a fact that should be apparent for all states in the international system and limit their appetite for more power. If not, they would threaten their existence.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A defensive realist believes that “nation-states are not “gap maximizers.” They are, in Joseph Grieco’s terms, “defensive positionalists”. • The balance of power may emerge not as a goal but as a result as relatively weaker states will seek security often through alliances to survive. • Defensive realism advocates maximizing security. 	<p>interest of the states. The attacker states may benefit from this incompetence. The use of nuclear weapons allowed in the exceptional ground when only one side of the conflict owns them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The offensive realists expect that the great powers will always look for opportunities to gain an advantage over each other. • John Mearsheimer argues that “states seek to survive under anarchy by maximizing their power relative to other states”. He stated that “states are ‘short-term power maximizers, i.e. offensive positionalists.” Fareed Zakaria also states that “the best solution of the uncertainty or anarchy in the international system is that a state has to increase control over the environment through the power and persistent expansion of its political interests abroad. • Offensive realism holds that under permissive anarchy, states wish to increase their power and do so through expansionist policies.

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

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

when it observed as a tool of US hegemony; however individual actors within NATO seem to follow state-centric motives.

B.1.8: CRITICISM OF REALISM

- Realists believe that human nature is full of conflict, i.e. pessimistic, but humans are also cooperative. The concept of human nature is unscientific because men are rational creatures having multifaceted attributes, all of which cannot be cruxes under the quest for power.
- Stanley Holftmann accuses Morgenthau of engaging in “power monism.” Instead, he points out that power is one complement of complex relations which Morgenthau does not examine.
- Martin Wight criticises Realism as a one-dimensional theory and only focuses on national interest.
- Liberals state that war is not the only way to resolve problems, and other tools like negotiations must also be considered.
- JM Tickner, a feminist thinker, criticises Morgenthau that his six principles are male-oriented.
- Social Constructivists believe that too little importance is given to perceptions. Realists focus more on power politics instead of social relations.
- Realists ignore globalisation, which leads to interdependence and interconnectedness, and deem it simply a source of conflict.
- Scholars argue that Mearsheimer fails to explain the peaceful changes and great power cooperation, and his theory fails to explain the pooling of sovereignty by the European states.
- Constructivists criticize the neo-realist assumption of anarchy. According to Alexander Wendt, ‘self-help and power politics are institutions and not essential features of anarchy. “Anarchy is what states make of it.”’

B.1.9: CONCLUSION

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

survival and sovereignty. Therefore, states build up their militaries to survive, which may lead to a security dilemma.

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

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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(C) Social Constructivism

C.1.0: Objective

C.1.1: Introduction

C.1.2: Constructing the New Order

C.1.3: Basic Assumptions

C.1.4: Alexander Wendt's Social Constructivism

C.1.5: Criticism of Social Constructivism

B.1.6: Conclusion

B.1.7: References

C.1.0: OBJECTIVE

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

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

C.1.1: INTRODUCTION

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

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

- The structures can be said to shape the behaviour of social and political actors, be they individuals or states; constructivists believe that normative structures are important just as material structures. Constructivists argue that "systems of shared beliefs, ideas and values have structural characteristics and exercise a powerful influence on social and political action. Constructivists argue that 'material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded.'"¹⁴

¹⁴(Wendt 1995: 73)

- Constructivists argue that understanding how non-material structures condition actors' identities are essential because identities inform interests and, in turn, actions. In the context of interest formation, Social constructivists have emphasised the social identities of individuals or states. For example, Wendt has stated that "identities are the basis of interests."¹⁵
- Constructivists argued that agents and structures are mutually constituted. The constructivists stated that normative and ideational structures are perceived as the three mechanisms: imagination, communication, and constraint shapes the actor's identities and interests. Constructivists argue that imagination works as non-material structures that affect what actors see as the realm of possibility. Example: A Prime Minister in an established liberal democracy will only imagine and select specific strategies to enhance their power, and the norms of the liberal democratic polity will condition their expectations. Normative structures also exertion their influence through communication. Even if normative and ideational structures do not affect an actor's behaviour by framing their imagination or providing a linguistic or moral court of appeal, constructivists argue that they can place significant constraints on their conduct.

C.1.2: CONSTRUCTING THE NEW ORDER

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

Nicholas Onuf is the man who coined the term "constructivism" in his work *World of our Making* (1989)¹⁶ and introduced it in International Relations. Alexander Wendt is a proponent of constructivism theorists in International relations. According to Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics*, anarchy's logic seems to constitute self-help and power politics as necessary features of world politics. Alexander Wendt disagrees with classical theories (Realism, Liberalism and Marxism) and insists that the states create anarchy, not a pre-established fact. Wendt criticised Kenneth Waltz concept of structural realism and stated that "Anarchy is What States Make of

¹⁵Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization*, Spring, 1992, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 391.

¹⁶Nicholas Onuf, *World of Our Making Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*(Columbia:University of South Carolina Press, 1989).

it.”¹⁷This article is one of the significant works of constructivism in International relations. It implies that in International relations, the behaviour of a State is not determined by the international structure of global politics as suggested by neo-realists. Instead, the behaviour of a State depends on how it views anarchy.

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

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

Social constructivists suggest that we should verify what we think about others. Hence, there is a need for communication to understand reality. Anarchy is not explained correctly by any realist scholar. According to him, identity is ignored by the realists. Wendt claims that Morgenthau was exogenous to social relations and regarded states as an endogenous entity. He further said that the realist scholar failed to understand the basis upon which national interests are formed. In his book *Social Theory of International Politics*,¹⁸ he wrote that “ideas create identity, identity determines interest, and interests shape the behaviour of a state.”

C.1.3: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

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

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

¹⁷Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics”, *International Organization*, Spring, 1992, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 391- 425.

¹⁸Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

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

- Competitive security system
- Individualistic security
- Cooperative security system

Self-help forms of anarchy in the sense that states do not positively identify the security of self with others but treat security as the individual responsibility of each in competitive and individualistic systems. On the other hand, in the cooperative security system, States cooperate positively with each other with the feeling that the security of each is perceived as the responsibility of all. Wendt claimed that neo-liberalism failed because it has sought to describe cooperation by focusing on process, but it has not given importance to systemic variables. According to Wendt, the two basic tenets of constructivism are: The first is the “structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and second is the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature.”¹⁹

C.1.4: ALEXANDER WENDT’S SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

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

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

If actors changed, their actions system would change; as a result, the process defines the structure, and structure has no meaning and power outside of the process. Practices and processes contributed to the formation of the International system. He stresses that the institution of sovereignty led to the evolution of cooperation and international efforts to transform idealistic identities of the state into collective identities. He criticised realists view on IR, primarily Kenneth Waltz’s definition of International structure, because

¹⁹Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

he thinks that it does not explain or predict the relation between states: He asked the following questions:

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

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

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

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

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

construct of social constructions, and it is the social construct that derives the national interests of any country.

C.1.5: CRITICISMS

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

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

C.1.6: CONCLUSION

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

- the ideas on which social constructivism is based: ideologies, normative beliefs, and policy prescriptions. Alexander Wendt stated that processes of interaction create the identities and interests of states. Wendt has rejected the neorealist conception of anarchy, which necessarily leads to self-help.

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

1) Do you think that Social Constructivism is primarily a meta-theory about the nature of the social world, or it is mainly a substantial set of theories about IR?

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

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C.1.7: REFERENCES

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APPROACHES TO IR – II

(A) Marxist Approaches

Unit Structure

A.2.0: Objective

A.2.1: Introduction

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

A.2.3: Basic Assumptions of Marxist Approaches

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

i. Imperialism Theory

ii. Dependency Theory

iii. World System Theory

iv. Hegemony Theory

A.2.5: Conclusion

A.2.6: References

A.2.0: OBJECTIVE

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

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

A.2.1: INTRODUCTION

The Marxist approach is one of the most important and a dynamic approach to the study of International Relations, which emerged from the writings of Karl Marx in the 19th century. It contrasts sharply with the traditional approaches of international relations such as Realism and Liberalism in manner that it insists on the need for radical change. Unlike the Realist and Liberalist approaches, it is not 'status quoist' in nature and attempts to bring the radical change in the prevailing social, economic, political and

international order. Compared to Realism and Liberalism, Marxist approach presents a rather unfamiliar view of international relations. While the formers portray international relations in much familiar ways of ‘struggle for power’ and ‘interdependence’ or ‘complex interdependence’, the Marxist approach indeed intends to expose a deeper, underlying and hidden truth of the international relations. To the Marxists such truth lies in the fact that all familiar events of international relations like wars, treaties, cooperation, peace, international aid programmes, etc., occur within structures, which deeply influence those events. These are the structures of the international capitalist system. Marxism believes that any attempt to understand international relations must be based on a broader understanding of the processes that operate within the international capitalist system (Hobden and Jones 2011:132).

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

A.2.2: MARXIST APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Marxism as it is well known is based on the philosophical, economic and political work of Karl Marx (and sometimes his co-author Friedrich Engels), was fundamentally associated to the analysis of economic structures of society, but was not primarily concerned with the formation of states or even the interactions and relations between them. This is the reason why most of the theorists of International Relations have long maintained the orthodox that Marxist approach does not contain anything of relevance on international relations. Although, such assertions may not be totally unfounded as Marx was mostly occupied with the analysis of the structures of national capitalism, but it does not mean that an internationalist perspective was not portrayed in his work. Industrial revolution was the event, which connected Marx’s interest to the international relations as he witnessed that and attempted to develop a revolutionary approach that transcended national differences. This was evident in Marx’s recognition of the class loyalties cut across the national division, which enabled him to proclaim at the end of the Communist Manifesto 1848, “Workers of the World, Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains!”.

In other words, whereas Liberal and Realist approaches hold that power is organised vertically reflecting the division of the world into independent states, Marxism advances a theory of horizontal organisation based on international class. However, the implications of viewing capitalism as an international system were not fully explored until the Marxist thinker Lenin (1917)’s famous work “Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism”. Lenin argued that imperial expansion reflected domestic capitalism’s quest

to maintain profit levels through the export of surplus capital, and that this, in turn, brought major capitalist powers into conflict with one another and resulting into an imperialist war.

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

A.2.3: BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF MARXIST APPROACH

Marxism seeks to understand the problems of human society through the historical materialism (materialist conception of history). Most simply, historical materialism asserts that human beings– including their relations with each other and their environment– are determined by the material conditions in which they can survive and reproduce. Therefore, Marxist asserts that the processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society. Hence, economic development is effectively the key driver of the history. The key dynamic in the process that Marx identifies is the tension between the means of production and the relations of production that together form the economic base of a given society. As the means of production (technology) develop, the relations of production (and especially the division between those who own the means of production and those who must work for them to survive) become outmoded, and indeed become restraints for the utilisation of the new productive capacity. This inturn leads to a process of social change whereby relations of production are transformed in order to better accommodate the new configuration of means of production. Developments in the economic base, thus act as a catalyst for the radical change in society and ultimately leads to change in the legal and political superstructure (Hobden and Jones 2011: 133-134; Pal 2017: 43). If we take together, the means of production and relations of production form a specific mode of production, for example capitalism, which is based on industrial machinery and private ownership/property. The bourgeoisie, which dominates the capitalist economy through control of the means of production (base), also tends to

dominate in the political and legal system (superstructure) because according to Marxist approach, economics is the basis of politics. This assumption was further expounded by a Marxist thinker, Antonio Gramsci that this superstructure in turn also maintains and legitimises the base. (See Fig. 1).

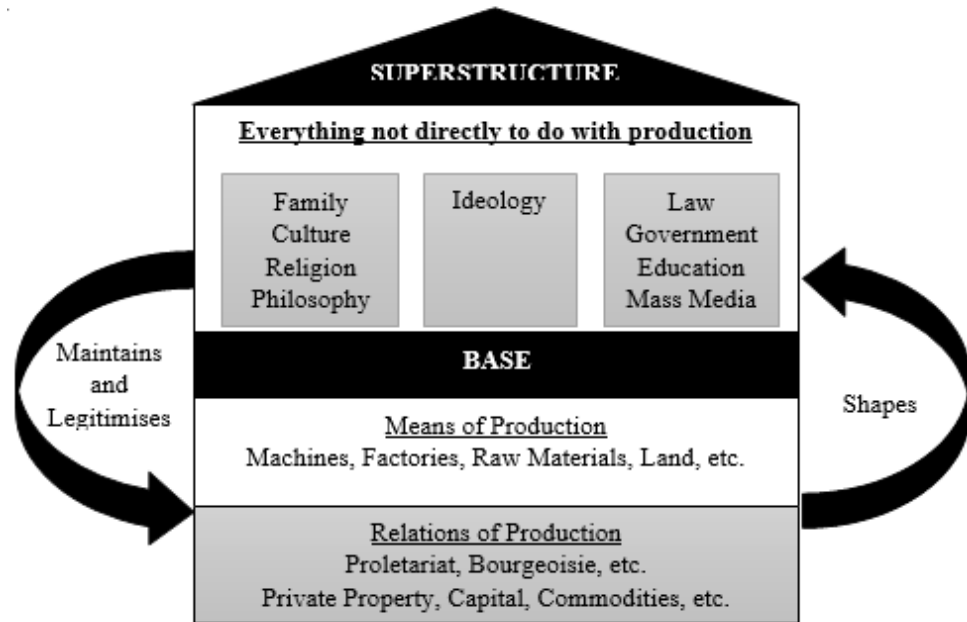


Figure 1: Base-Superstructure Analysis

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

Hence, it is absolutely clear that Marx was committed to the philosophy of emancipation from all type of exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles, but his writings are mostly limited to the analysis within the national sphere. Marx himself provided very little in terms of a theoretical analysis of international relations. However, his ideas have been interpreted and appropriated in a number of different and contradictory ways, resulting in a number of competing schools and theories of Marxism to understand international relations. The Marxist approaches stress that International Relations is not just about states’ foreign policy or the behaviour of states, but more about survival, reproduction, technologies and

labour. It also criticises, the Realist's supposition of the concept of anarchy, which creates the mirage that states are autonomous agents whose rational behaviour can be predicted because this supposition ignores the endurance of regional inequalities and the structural and historical links between states, violence and the key actors of the global political economy.

Therefore, the basic assumptions of the Marxist approaches for the study of International Relations are that, the states are not autonomous; they are driven by the interests of economically dominant class, and capitalist states are primarily driven by the interests of their respective bourgeoisies. This means that struggles between states, including wars, should be seen in the economic context of competition between capitalist classes of different states around the world. For Marxists, thus, the class conflict is more fundamental than conflict between states. Second, as an economic system, capitalism is expansive: there is a never-ending search for new markets, more resources, labours and more profit, which in turn leads to the exploitation of labours (class exploitation). As the classes cut across the state borders (national division); thus, class conflict is not confined to a state; instead, it expands across the world as an expansion of capitalism. Such expansion first took the form of imperialism and colonisation, and later takes the form of economic globalization. And third, enduring peace can only be established after the world revolution, as it would signify the collapse of the structures of international capitalism, imperialism and ushering in of a classless and stateless society. Hence, according to Marxist approach, international relations and particularly the foreign policies of states are determined by the social relations and structure of global economy. This connotation is consequently, expounded and developed by different Marxist scholars as some important theories of international relations.

A.2.4: MAJOR THEORIES OF MARXIST APPROACHES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

(i) Imperialism Theory

The first application of Marxist ideas to explain international processes was by Marxist and revolutionaries of the early twentieth century such as, Rudolf Hilferding, Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin. These authors developed what we now call the classical theories of imperialism to understand how capitalism expanded and adapted to a world of inter-

imperial rivalry leading to the First World War (1914-1918), which was fought for the control of colonies across Africa, Asia and elsewhere. They challenged the theory of Imperialism given by Liberalist thinker J.A.Hobson (1902) in his book “Imperialism: A Study”, which claims that surplus capital which could not find lucrative investment opportunities at home, due to over-saving/under-consumption, sought outlets abroad, and it was these sectional interests that drove imperialism and thus social and wage reforms in capitalism could rest it imperialist tendencies.

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

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

(ii) Dependency Theory

Dependency Theory is fundamentally based on the concept of international relation of economic domination and exploitation by the more economically powerful countries over the less economically powerful countries. It reveals the contrasting forms of dominance and dependence in the international

system and took forward the notion of two-tier structure of core and periphery in world economy which was earlier described by Lenin. It attempts to understand the economic underdevelopment amidst the expansion of capitalist economy across the world.

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

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

The main advocates of Dependency Theory are Paul Baran, Dos Santos, Andre Gunder Frank, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Frantz Fanon and Samir Amin. All of them agree that underdevelopment of the periphery countries is directly related to their external dependence upon the developed core countries. They argued that the success of the advanced industrial economies cannot serve as a model for the currently developing and underdeveloped economies and criticised the popular paradigmatic consensus that growth strategies are universally applicable, articulated by Rostow (1960) in his book, “The Stages of Economic Growth”. They assert that the success of the advanced industrial (developed) countries was a highly contingent and specific episode in international economic history, one dominated by the highly exploitative colonial relationships of the European powers. A repeat of those relationships is not now highly likely for the poor and underdeveloped countries of the world.

One of the best advocates of the Dependency theory, Frank (1966) stated that the underdevelopment of the Periphery/dependent countries was indeed

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

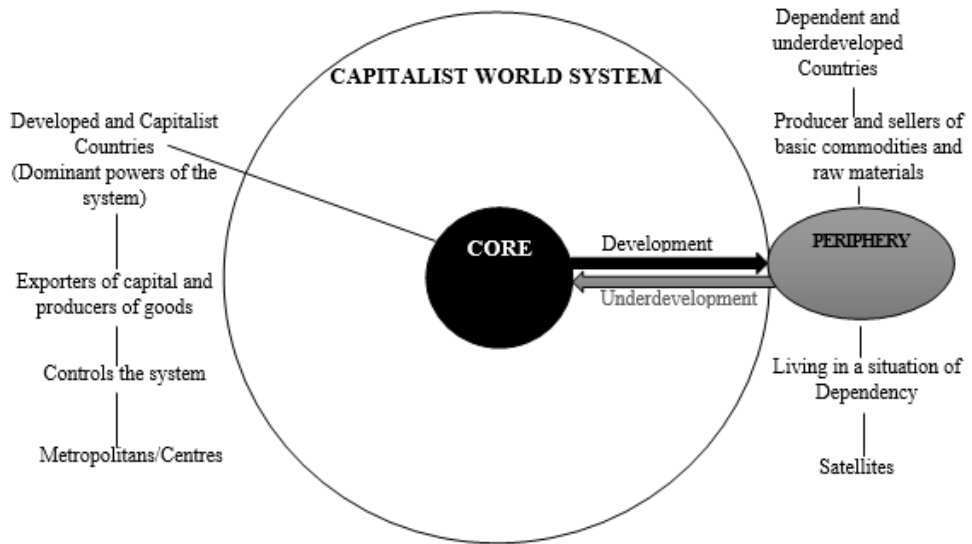


Figure 2: Core-Periphery Model of Dependency Theory

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

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

Frank (1967) in another book “Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America” asserts that Latin America experiences its highest rates of industrialization during the period between the end of World War-I and the

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

(iii) World System Theory

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

Thus, Wallerstein accepted the fact that this world system is not static and the dependent countries are not doomed to be forever trapped in a state of dependency; it is possible for them to climb the economic ladder of development, as many of them have done and some are doing very well. However, he also believes that the capitalist world system still requires to maintain the status quo of the core-periphery or metropolitan-satellite structure, which benefits capitalist and developed countries while exploits others.

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

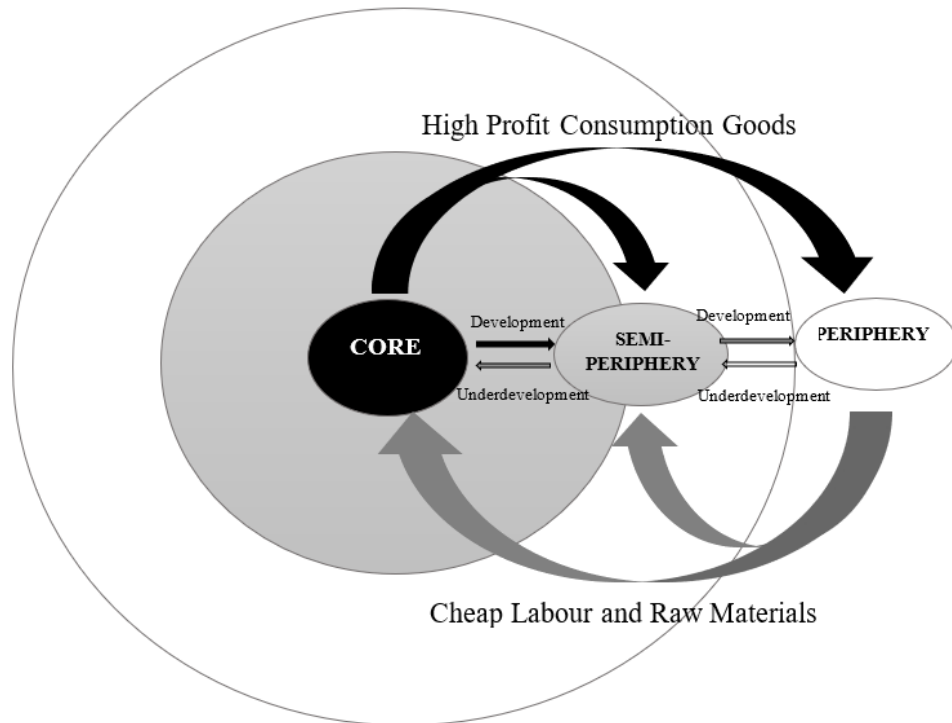


Figure 3: World System Theory

He said that the present world system is a power hierarchy between the core, semi-periphery and periphery rather than core and periphery. The developed and powerful countries represent the core. The periphery part is represented by the underdeveloped and poor countries. While the semi-periphery is an intermediate zone in this system, which displays certain characteristics of core and others characteristics of periphery. Unlike the periphery, which are believed to be highly underdeveloped in terms of industrial advancement, the semi-periphery has strong industrial base like core. Because of this hybrid nature, the semi-periphery plays important economic and political roles within the modern world-system. In particular, it provides a source of labour that counteracts any upward pressure on wages in the core and also provides a new home for those industries that can no longer function profitably in the core.

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

In other words, although historically some countries have shifted from periphery to semi-periphery and some have tendencies to do so, the

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

(iv) Hegemony Theory

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

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

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

cultural life through the educational institutions, religious institutions and mass media to ‘manufacture consent’ and legitimacy.

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

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

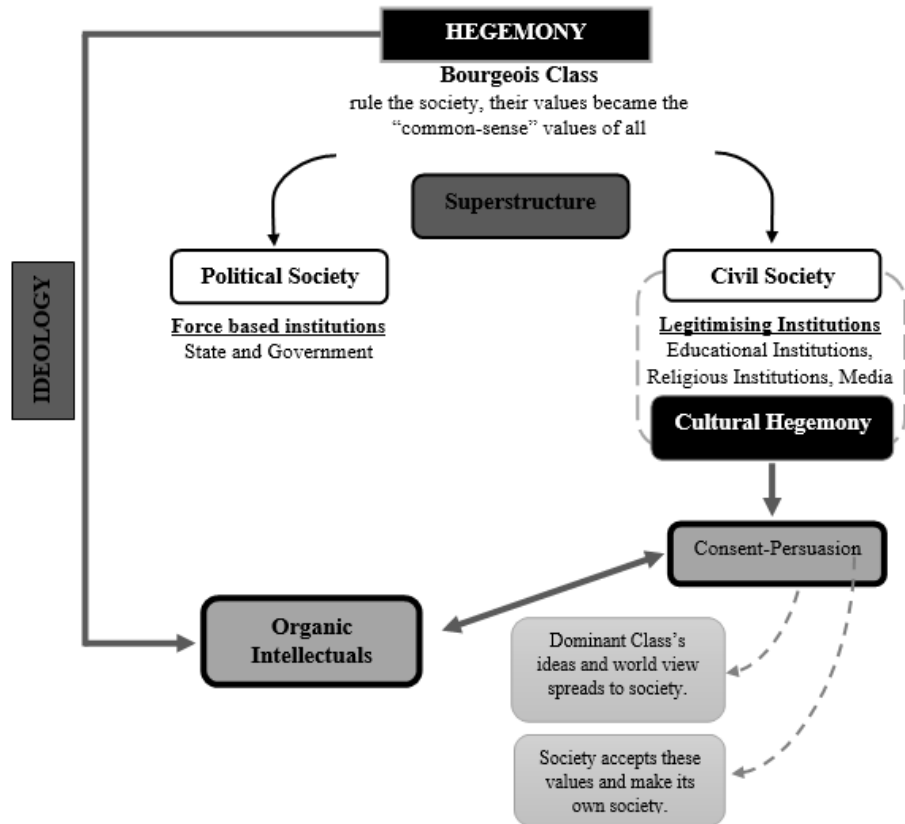


Figure 4: Hegemony Theory

In his hegemonic theory, Gramsci also saw ideology as a driver of hegemony in the bourgeois society. He redefined the term ‘ideology’ as a ‘terrain’ of practices, principles, and dogmas having a material and

institutional nature. Gramsci further, described ideology in terms of system of class rule, i.e., hegemony, in which all ideological elements are organically arranged into a unified system. This complex arrangement constituted an ‘organic ideology’, which is diffused throughout the civil society. It, further emanates from the dynamic function of articulation performed by social agents known as ‘organic intellectuals’ of a hegemonic or potentially hegemonic class. These organic intellectuals serve as agents of equilibrium in the bourgeois society. In particular, the organic intellectuals are most important since they are the ones who actually elaborate and spread organic ideology through consent-persuasion process

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

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

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

A.2.5: CONCLUSION

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

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

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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(B) Critical Theory

B.2.0: Objective

B.2.1: Introduction

B.2.2: Origin of Critical Theory in International Relations

B.2.3: Tradition and Tenets of Critical Theory

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

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

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

- i. Robert Cox
- ii. Andrew Linklater

B.2.6: Conclusion

B.2.7: References

B.2.0: OBJECTIVE

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

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

B.2.1: INTRODUCTION

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

of freeing people from the modern state and economic system, particularly known as emancipation. Hence, Critical theory is emancipatory in nature and it is critical insofar as it seeks to “liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them”, thus, promotes universal freedom and equality. Critical theory is not just aspired to ‘reveal the truth’ in a detached and dispassionate sort of way, but also to explore the fact that they necessarily serve some purpose or interest, whether intentionally or not.

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

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

B.2.2: ORIGIN OF CRITICAL THEORY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Critical Theory was initially evolved under the Frankfurt school of thought established in 1923. Max Horkheimer, one of the founders of the Frankfurt school, coined the term critical theory in 1937. Frankfurt School’s critical theory was initially concerned to comprehend the central features of contemporary society by understanding its historical and social development, and tracing contradictions in the present which may open up the possibility of transcending contemporary society and its built-in pathologies and forms of domination. While the school failed to produce what could be called a systematic theory, it drew on, and interweaved, various philosophical strands and prominent themes of political and social thought, including historical materialism, Freudian analysis, cultural disenchantment, Hegelian dialectics, and totality. Yet, many of the first-

generation Frankfurt school thinkers (Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse) sought to counter the emasculation of critical reason, dialectics, and self-conscious theory with a focus on the negativity of dialectics. It was 1990s, when the second-generation Frankfurt school thinker, Jurgen Habermas brought a significant turn in Frankfurt school's critical theory by resituating reason and social action in linguistics. It was during this time that international relations theorists first time focused on Critical theory to critique the dominant structural paradigm of international relations at the time.

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

B.2.3: TRADITIONS AND TENETS OF CRITICAL THEORY

The major writings in critical theory are based on the critique of society and the prevailing power structure. It does not merely express the concrete historical situation but also acts as a force within that situation to stimulate change. It allows for human intervention in shaping their own history. It should be noted that while critical theory has not directly addressed the international level, this does not imply that international relations are beyond its concern. The writings of Kant and Marx, in particular, have demonstrated that what happens at the international level is integral to the broader project of emancipation. Critical international theory continues this project. However, the thinkers of the Frankfurt School never directly addressed international relations in their critiques of the modern world, and Habermas made only scant references to it. It was primarily Robert Cox and

Andrew Linklater who developed critical theory in the realm of international relations, often referred to as Critical International Relations Theory. This theory extends the critique to the international domain, revealing both obvious and subtle forms of injustice and domination in international society.

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

B.2.4: FIRST SCHOLARLY TRADITION: CRITICAL THEORY IN POLITICO-SOCIAL DISCOURSES

i. Max Horkheimer

Max Horkheimer was the first to define Critical Theory in his seminal work *Traditional and Critical Theory*. In this work, Horkheimer (1972) asserted that Critical Theory must fulfill two essential functions: it must analyze society within its historical context and provide a comprehensive critique by integrating insights from all social sciences.

According to Horkheimer, a theory is considered truly critical only if it meets three key criteria: it must be **explanatory, practical, and normative** simultaneously. This means it should effectively explain existing social problems, propose practical solutions, and establish clear norms for critique while setting achievable goals for social transformation. He described a theory as critical insofar as it seeks "*to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them*" (Horkheimer, 1982).

Horkheimer criticized 'traditional' theorists for producing works that fail to challenge power, domination, and the status quo. He built upon Antonio Gramsci's critique of the role of intellectuals in maintaining systems of domination, emphasizing the need for intellectuals to engage in transformative social critique.

ii. Herbert Marcuse

Herbert Marcuse was one of the most prominent scholars of the Frankfurt School. His influential book *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (1964) presents a comprehensive critique of capitalist society and offers one of the most profound analyses of modern capitalism's environmental and social problems. In this work, Marcuse systematically develops his vision of how technologies, economies, and states co-evolve to dominate both human beings and natural environments.

Marcuse (1964) argues that "**advanced industrial society**" creates **false needs** that integrate individuals into the existing system of production and

consumption through mass media, advertising, industrial management, and contemporary modes of thought. This process results in a “**one-dimensional**” universe of thought and behavior, where the capacity for critical thinking and oppositional behavior gradually diminishes.

According to Marcuse, the goal of capitalism is to suppress all forms of rebellion, including aesthetic dimensions that foster freedom of expression. He contends that art and literature, which traditionally provide spaces for critical reflection and expression, are transformed into operational and pragmatic forms that merely serve to pacify individuals. Consequently, modern society’s **consumptive lifestyle** encourages individuals to embrace superficial satisfaction, preventing them from questioning the system. This acceptance of consumerism ultimately weakens the ability to resist domination (Luke, 2000).

iii. Theodore Adorno

Theodor Adorno was a seminal social philosopher and a leading scholar of the first generation of Critical Theory. In his influential work *Negative Dialectics* (1966), Adorno developed a new form of dialectical thinking, challenging the **Hegelian conception of dialectics**. Hegel’s dialectics posited that contradictions within things lead to their own negation, ultimately culminating in a higher synthesis where the parts are sublated into something greater.

Adorno sought to **liberate dialectics** from such affirmative traits without diminishing its determinacy. He rejected the idea that dialectical processes necessarily yield positive or unified outcomes. Instead, he argued for a dialectics that produces something essentially **negative**, emphasizing the persistence of contradictions rather than their resolution.

According to Adorno, new knowledge arises not through the **Hegelian unification** of opposing categories, but through the **revelation of the limits of knowledge** itself. He extended the application of dialectics beyond external objects of knowledge, applying it to the **process of thought itself**. This approach highlighted the inherent contradictions within human cognition, reinforcing the idea that genuine critical thinking must confront and expose these contradictions rather than reconcile them into harmonious wholes.

iv. Jurgen Habermas

Jürgen Habermas is one of the most influential advocates of Critical Theory and a second-generation scholar of the Frankfurt School. His first and perhaps most enduring work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), traced the historical emergence of new forms of public interaction—from the intimate sphere of the family to coffee houses, salons, and finally parliamentary debates—which collectively create the public sphere. According to Habermas, the public sphere develops through free discourse among individuals and is based on the principles of individual liberty, equality, and freedom from state control. He argued that the public sphere provides a platform where citizens discuss state matters

independently of state power, thereby forming public opinion (Habermas, 1989).

In his later work *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1968), Habermas advanced this discourse by exploring the interplay between knowledge and human interests in shaping speech, language, and public opinion. He posited that various forms of human knowledge are not merely neutral expressions of ideas but are also driven by underlying human interests. These interests, he argued, are unified by reason's overarching pursuit of its own freedom (Habermas, 1987).

Habermas's contributions emphasize the transformative power of rational communication and dialogue in creating more democratic societies, making him a key figure in bridging Critical Theory with contemporary political and social thought.

The most influential work of Habermas (1984) in the domain of critical theory is “The Theory of Communicative Action”, in which he argued that human interaction in one of its fundamental forms is ‘communicative’ rather than ‘strategic’ in nature, insofar as it is aimed at mutual understanding and agreement rather than at the achievement of the self-interested goals of individuals. Such understanding and agreement, however, are possible only to the extent that the communicative interaction in which individuals take part resists all forms of nonrational coercion. The notion of an ‘ideal communication community’ functions as a guide that can be formally applied both to regulate and to critique concrete speech situations. Using this regulative and critical ideal, individuals would be able to raise, accept, or reject each other’s claims to truth, rightness, and sincerity solely on the basis of the ‘unforced force’ of the better argument—i.e., on the basis of reason and evidence—and all participants would be motivated solely by the desire to obtain mutual understanding.

He criticized liberal democracy, arguing that it does not guarantee the flourishing of communicative rationality. In modern capitalist societies, social institutions that should ideally foster communication-based interactions—such as family, politics, and education—have instead come to embody 'strategic rationality'. According to Habermas, these institutions are increasingly dominated by economic and bureaucratic forces, which prioritize administrative power and economic efficiency over mutual understanding.

Habermas proposed that the solution to this problem lies in Radical Democracy, where the widest possible participation and communicative action are encouraged. Unlike many Western liberal democracies, where participation is often limited to formal structures, Radical Democracy requires actively identifying and overcoming barriers to participation—whether social, economic, or cultural.

His central political argument is that the path to emancipation lies through Radical Democracy, as it promotes communicative action in the public sphere, enabling individuals to engage in rational dialogue and collectively shape their societies.

B.2.5: SECOND SCHOLARLY TRADITION: CRITICAL THEORY IN INTERNATIONAL DISCOURSES

i. Robert Cox

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

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

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

Critical theory attempts to challenge the prevailing order by seeking out, analysing the historical structure. According to Cox (1981), historical structure is a combination of ideas, material conditions, and institutions. The framework of historical structure should be viewed not from the above (as in problem-solving approach) but from the bottom or outside to understand the conflicts and possibility of transformation. It can be

identified by three distinct levels or spheres of activities—Social forces, Forms of State and World Order. According to Cox The relation between the three is not unilinear (see Fig.1).

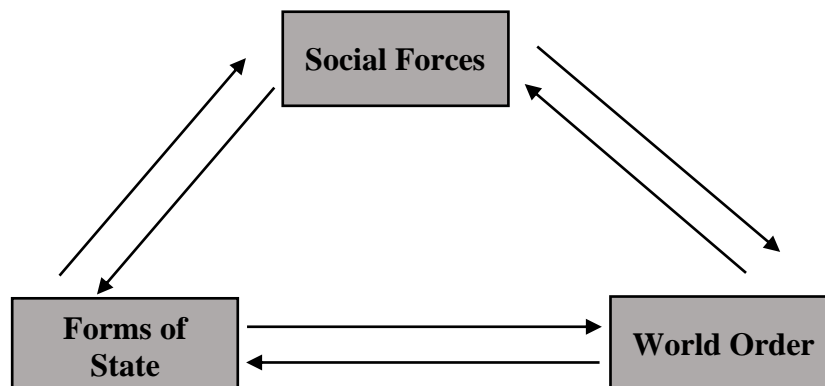


Figure 1: World Order Analysis

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

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

ii. Andrew Linklater

Andrew Linklater has made a significant contribution to Emancipatory Theory within the framework of Critical Theory. He applied key principles and concepts developed by Jürgen Habermas to explore the question: What is emancipation?

In his influential work *Men and Citizens in the Theory of International Relations* (1982), Linklater examined the relationship between citizens of sovereign states and their moral obligations. He argued that there is a fundamental distinction between the universal morality of humankind in international society and the specific morality of individuals as citizens of particular states. According to Linklater, the specific moralities associated with citizenship often become the root cause of wars and the development of separate political communities.

However, the universal morality of humankind emphasizes universal freedom and equality, independent of the moral obligations imposed by sovereign states, which often exploit individuals as citizens. Linklater contended that in the realm of international relations, “emancipation should be understood in terms of the expansion of the moral boundaries of a political community” (Linklater, 1982).

In other words, emancipation involves a process in which the ethical and moral significance of sovereign state borders diminishes, paving the way for more inclusive and cosmopolitan political arrangements. Through this perspective, Linklater challenges the traditional boundaries of international relations, advocating for a world where universal human obligations take precedence over narrow national loyalties.

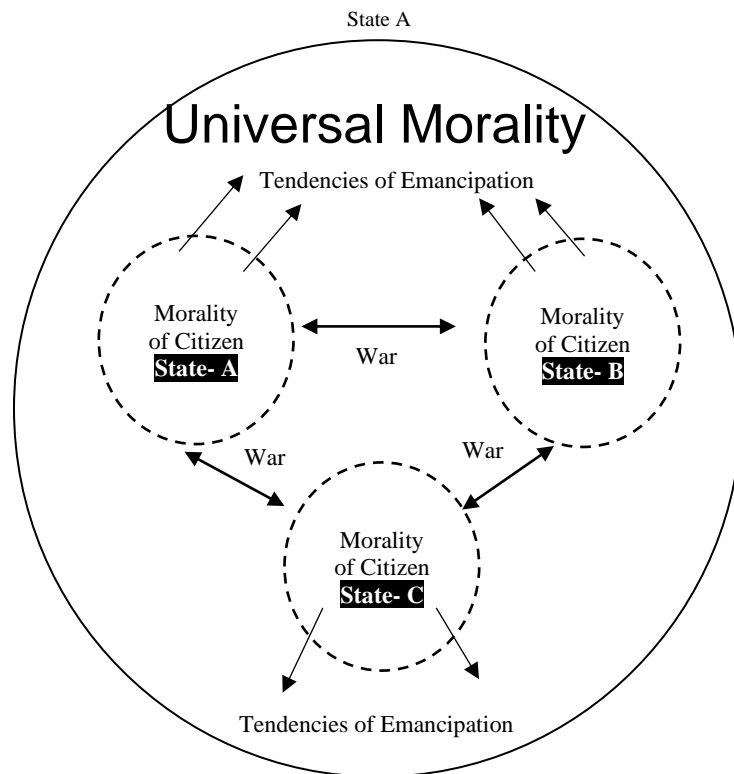


Figure 2: Emancipatory Theory

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

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

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

B.2.6: CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that Critical Theory has made a significant contribution to the study of International Relations. One of its key contributions is the emphasis on the link between knowledge and politics. Critical Theory rejects the notion of the theorist as an objective bystander. Instead, it posits that theorists are deeply embedded in social and political life, and that theories of international relations—like all theories—are shaped by prior interests and convictions, whether explicitly acknowledged or not.

A second major contribution of Critical Theory is its re-examination of the modern state and political community. While traditional theories often take the state as a given, Critical International Theory analyzes the changing nature of community boundaries, how they are formed, maintained, and transformed. This approach not only provides a sociological understanding but also offers a sustained ethical critique of practices of inclusion and exclusion in global politics.

The ultimate aim of Critical Theory is to achieve an alternative theory and practice of international relations by overcoming the exclusionary dynamics associated with the modern system of sovereign states. It seeks to establish cosmopolitan arrangements that better promote freedom, justice, and equality across the globe. Thus, Critical Theory represents a radical attempt to rethink and restructure the normative foundations of international relations, with the higher goal of achieving emancipation.

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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B.2.7: REFERENCES

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(C) Feminist Approach

C.2.0: Objective

C.2.1: Introduction

C.2.2: Evolution Trajectory of Feminist Approach

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

C.2.3: Feminist Approach in International Relations

C.2.4: Gender in International relations

C.2.5: Major Feminist Theories in International Relations

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

C.2.6: Criticism of Feminist Theories

C.2.7: Conclusion

C.2.8: References

C.2.0: OBJECTIVE

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

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

C.2.1: INTRODUCTION

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

redressal of that injustice. Historically the feminist approach is related with the rights of women, equality of men and women and emancipation from traditional subjection of women.

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

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

C.2.2: EVOLUTION TRAJECTORY OF FEMINIST APPROACH

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

i. First Wave of Feminism

The first wave of feminism referred to feminist activities, which largely took place in the United States and United Kingdom from end of 18th to the beginning of 20th century. In this connection Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)’s book “Vindication of Rights of Women” was a foundation stone of feminism, which justified the demands of women rights. Another formal initiation of the wave is attributed to the “Seneca Falls Declaration” (1848), drafted by *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*. The declaration highlighted new political strategies and ideologies for the feminist movement. It began with the idea of equal property rights and a dignified position within the household for women. Thus, it focused on women’s economic, sexual and reproductive rights. J.S. Mill (1869)’s book “The Subjection of Women”

took this debate forward and support for voting rights for women. Therefore, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the feminist activists shifted their attention towards political rights of women, especially to women's right to vote or women's suffrage. This resulted into the first voting rights to women in New Zealand in 1893, in Britain in 1917, in America in 1920 and in France 1944. Thus, during the first wave, voting rights to women was the first success of feminist movement which made society recognize that women are humans, not property and it further established the dignity of women.

ii. Second Wave of Feminism

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

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

iii. Third Wave of Feminism

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

C.2.3: FEMINIST APPROACH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Feminist approach in International Relations has started making inroads at the end of 1980s, and explored its perspective during the post-cold war period, when the traditional International Relations theories were being re-evaluated. Before the end of cold war, the study of international relations was concentrated on the causes of war and conflict, the development of international law and diplomacy, and the global expansion of trade and commerce, but without any reference to people as such. It was employed in the analysis of abstract concepts of state, power, national interest, national security, military defence, nuclear deterrence. The classical conception of international relations was believed to be the study of inter-state relations, with its emphasis on the state as a primary actor and its fascination with the role of statesman. Hence, Academics have pointed out that international politics has been 'gender blind'. Consequently, it created the need to study how International Relations have been gendered and thus, feminist writings started to make an impact in international relations since 1990s. Some of the classic works include — "Women and War" (1987) by Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Bananas, Beaches and Bases" (1989) by Cynthia Enloe and "Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global security" (1992) by J. Ann Tickner.

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

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

J Ann Tickner (1988) criticized Hans Morgenthau's six principles of Realism and argued that national interest is a broad topic which cannot be defined in terms of realist notion of power only. She argued, if power is defined by a patriarchal and realist society, which seeks global balances of power, then power is equated with military and economic strength. But through the feminist approach the indicators of power be measured differently. Power might be seen as leadership in peace agreements, or it

might be measured in terms of the ability to achieve transnational cooperation. Thus, by expanding our understanding of power not just with regard to control but also as a way of acting together to achieve a mutual goal, we can add another dimension to international relations other than conflict. Tickner also redefines the notion of security or national security (Tickner 1988). While national security is often understood in terms of the military strength needed to protect the state, Tickner suggests that we need to look at security beyond the terms of weapons and war, because this definition is too narrow for the post-Cold War era. She maintains that we can also understand security in terms of having basic material needs, which are more associated with women. Environmental threats are also an issue of national security as well as an issue of concern to many women's movements. We can thus define security in much broader terms, and approach solutions to these insecurities and threats from a cooperative rather than a conflictual point of view.

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

C.2.4: GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

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

time(though not as a result of inherent or biological differences of either sex).When we think of characteristics such as power, autonomy, rationality, and public, we associate them with masculinity or what it means to be a ‘real man’. Opposite characteristics, such as weakness, dependence /connection, emotionality, and private, are associated with femininity. There have been studies that show that both women and men assign a more positive value to masculine characteristics. These definitions of masculinity and femininity are relational, which means that they depend on each other for their meaning. In other words, what it means to be a ‘real man’ is not to display ‘womanly’ weaknesses. Hence, these characteristics are social constructions, not biological ones.

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

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

C.2.5: MAJOR FEMINIST THEORIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

Liberal feminism

The Liberal feminism is equally concerned with equal rights for both men and women, for which women need to be empowered and should have an equal role in society and have an equal role in politics as well as at work. It analyses various aspects of women’s subordination and voiced for the

freedom and equal rights for women. Mary Wollstonecraft (1792)'s path breaking work "A Vindication of the Rights of Women", is considered as the beginning of the liberal feminism. Wollstonecraft argues for equal access to education for women and men, so that the former become as independent and morally strong as the latter, in the face of oppressive patriarchal traditions and institutions. Thus, it will ensure gender equality in the public sphere. By the 19th century, the discourse of liberal feminism was shifted, through the works of John Stuart Mill (1869), who argued for equal economic opportunities, political rights and civil liberties for men and women in his book "The subjection of Women".

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

ii. Marxist and Socialist Feminism

Marxist feminists do not comply with the reformist tendencies of their liberal counterparts; instead, they associate oppression of women with economic, social and political structures related to capitalism. For Marx, capitalism is the defining feature of the West. Marxist feminists launched themselves in the late 1960s and drew their inspiration largely from the philosophies of Marx and Engels. While these philosophers did not particularly examine women's oppression, their works provided powerful insights to decode the deeper structures implying women's oppression. Thus, for Marxist feminists like Iris Marion Young and Alison Jaggar, gendered oppression is grounded on class exploitation and how labour is socially reproduced at domestic and work sites. For instance, Frederick Engels elaborates in his work "The Origin of Family, Property and the State" (1884) on how sexual and physical labour of women is assumed for child reproducing and rearing within the institution of the family. By this principle, according to Marxist feminists the oppression of women is made to appear natural at the behest of patriarchal forces. Engels (2010) refers to this as the "final defeat of [the] female sex" and to liberate women, he calls for a revolution against the capitalistic order of society. Marxist feminist believes that, socio-economic and sexual inequality are inextricably linked with the capitalism and therefore it would be impossible for women to gain equality in class society. That is why they advocate that women's liberation must be a part of a wider struggle against an exploitative capitalist system, however, they failed to observe any other reasons of exploitation.

Socialist feminism came in a rescue and added to the contentions of the Marxist feminism. It submitted that in addition to the capitalism system as the primary reason of exploitation against women, patriarchal arrangement of power distribution also acts as the secondary reason for the same. At the heart of the socialist feminist movement lies an understanding that women's exploitation and oppression are not a product of any one system of repression, rather it is a common outcome of multiple forces of

discrimination like sexuality, class, race, ethnicity, and of course gender. (Jaggar and Rothenberg 1993) Thus, capitalist economic oppression and patriarchy constitute the basis of all other forms of subjugation, they argue that even though women are exploited and oppressed in almost all societies, however the degree and character are different. Therefore, in order to achieve liberation of women, the feminist movement aimed at dealing with all these issues collectively.

iii. Radical Feminism

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

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

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

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

iv. Cultural Feminism

By 1975 radical feminism had given way to cultural feminism. Cultural feminists both derive and depart from their radical peers. They do agree with the latter that the freedom of women begins in their rejection of masochism, but they relegate material reality to the periphery of their experience. While radicals viewed the female body as an encumbrance, the cultural feminists, like Jane Alpert, Adrienne Rich, etc. in fact saw women’s biology as a potent resource. Cultural feminists like Robin Morgan, Andrea Dworkin and Florence Rush make a distinction between femininity as

identified by patriarchal order with virtues like submissiveness and passiveness vis-a-vis the natural characteristics of female nature, which they see as loving, caring and egalitarian. On the other hand, with the construing of masculinity as indelible, cultural feminists put the entire blame of female oppression on the assumed maleness of men, and not so much on the power dynamics within the patriarchal system. Finally, the cultural feminists argue for the preservation of gender distinctions, for according to them radical shift in society would be achieved only with restoration of culture into its female values of affection, nurturance and equality. By explaining feminism through the lens of female values, cultural feminists therefore, substituted political theory with their vision of united sisterhood.

v. Post-modern Feminism

Postmodern Feminism marks a significant departure from earlier feminist debates by asserting that language constructs gender rather than simply reflecting it. This perspective is heavily influenced by Judith Butler's seminal work *Gender Trouble* (1990), where she critiques the conventional distinction between biological sex and socially constructed gender—a distinction earlier feminists upheld.

Butler argues that 'woman' is not a fixed, standalone category, but rather a construct influenced by multiple intersecting factors such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality. These factors collectively shape the identity we label as 'woman'. According to Butler, no single factor exclusively causes women's oppression, nor would addressing one factor alone resolve the problem of women's subjugation.

A key tenet of Butler's theory is that gender is performative, meaning it is produced and reinforced through repeated social practices rather than being an inherent trait. She challenges the binary categorization of gender (man/woman), emphasizing the inseparability of the body from social norms and language. Additionally, advancements in medical technology—such as sexual reassignment surgery—have further blurred the boundaries between male and female, making gender identities more fluid and malleable.

Postmodern feminists like Donna Haraway and Mary Joe Frug argue that women's experiences of oppression are not universal but shaped by intersecting social categories (Jaggar and Rothenberg, 1993). They highlight the importance of marginalized identities such as queer, homosexual, and transgender in understanding the diverse forms of subjugation that exist in international relations. This approach expands the feminist discourse to include identity politics, offering a more inclusive and intersectional analysis of global inequalities.

C.2.5: Criticism of Feminist Theories

Much of the hard-core theorist of International Relations has not seen the intellectual inquiry of the feminist approach seriously. They see the feminist paradigm of analysing International Relations as addressing issues which are more in the nature of social sciences rather than International Relations

through their approach of using hypothetic-deductive methods. The various strands of feminism and what it stands for makes it is a collection of different intellectual traditions and cultures. It represents different historical periods for its analysis and interpretations due to which the Feminist traditions of theories in International Relations are said to be generalised and remains unstated as well as unexamined. One of the criticisms that the feminist theorist of International Relations has received is that human values is more important and holistic than to inculcate female values in the study of International Relations as the discipline is focussed on the interactions of people and the states that they represent rather than on the gender that they belong. The feminist theories of international relations have been accused of being too exclusivist as they focus on their analysis only on women. In their bid to expand on the various social institutions of power they have done what they have criticised that is exclude the masculinity of power in their analysis.

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

C.2.7: CONCLUSION

The Feminist Approach in international relations emerged as a movement aimed at achieving political, social, and economic equality for women. Its core objective is to provide a causal explanation of why women have been historically subordinated in international politics. Feminists argue that knowledge shapes political practices, and therefore, feminist knowledge should be applied to improve women's lives.

A key distinction in feminist theory is between gender—a set of socially constructed characteristics—and sex, which is biologically determined. Feminist scholars in international relations use gender-sensitive perspectives to explain why women occupy subordinate roles in global politics. They also explore broader questions about how gender influences and is influenced by international relations.

Feminists have redefined core concepts in international relations. They interpret power not only in terms of military and economic strength, but as the ability to foster transnational cooperation. Similarly, they expand the concept of security beyond state security to include the physical and economic security of individuals, especially women and marginalized communities.

There are various traditions within feminist theories, each offering different explanations for women's subordination:

- **Liberal Feminism (19th century):** Advocated for gender equality in the public sphere and viewed the state as an ally in women's liberation.
- **Marxist and Socialist Feminism:** Linked women's subordination to the capitalist system and patriarchy, advocating for women's liberation as part of a broader struggle against exploitation.
- **Radical Feminism:** Focused on individual experiences and the dynamics of power relations in personal and family life, shifting the feminist discourse from macro to micro levels.
- **Cultural Feminism:** Called for universal sisterhood, seeking to unite women across ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation in pursuit of a common goal.
- **Postmodern Feminism:** Emphasized identity politics by examining categories such as queer, homosexual, and transgender, highlighting the diverse experiences of modern women.

Feminists advocate for a feminist approach to international relations that exposes gender biases in existing theories and works to correct these biases, promoting a more inclusive and equitable global order.

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

(A) Bretton Woods Institutions – Evolving Role

Unit Structure

A.3.0 Objective

A.3.1 Introduction: International Trade

A.3.2 The historical features International Trade

A.3.3 International Trade during World War

A.3.4 Post Second World War Trade and Institutions

A.3.5 Conclusion.

A.3.6 References

A.3.0 OBJECTIVE

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

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

A.3.1 INTRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Nothing has been more important in understanding how international relations were shaped over a period of time than the various facets of international trade. Indeed, understanding international trade and its multitude of dimensions has seen its own share of scholarly devotion. Man, by nature, is an economic and political entity, and in the course of history, due to its own innovation in terms of trade, commerce, and politics, it has managed to learn a lot and shape its own destiny. From organising into small nomadic groups after developing cognitive senses to later forming kingdoms, empires, and eventually states, man has indeed charted its own course of development. One must understand the facets of international trade in terms of various theories of trade, the use of money as a medium of exchange, and the effects it had on the world in terms of colonialism and the First Great War. The natural question arises as to how international trade developed over time and how it managed to affect the system around it. Were there any great debates in the earlier periods over the mode of trade, and if so, how did it affect everyone?

A.3.2 THE HISTORICAL FEATURES INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Ever since mankind moved out of a nomadic lifestyle and began settling down, ancient and brilliant civilizations started to emerge. A study of human history reveals that most of the greatest civilizations sprouted along riverbanks and coastlines, where water was plentiful and the soil fertile. Whether it was the ancient Egyptian or Mesoamerican civilizations, or even our renowned Indian civilizations, they continue to spark curiosity among historians. People organized themselves into various groups and formed small tribal communities to settle down. Agriculture, grain storage, and livestock rearing became daily affairs. As civilizations grew and expanded, new activities were added, such as raising standing armies, organizing military campaigns, and engaging in arts and architectural works of great significance.

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

Here an important issue arose with the rise of new empires and states, the medium of exchange for goods and services. In the ancient times, people would mostly barter or exchange their commodities with that of others which was a simple form of trade but there were issues associated with it. Many goods were spoilt for keeping it for a long period, also since there was no fixed medium; it also led to the absence of a fixed exchange rate. Hence people began to utilize certain items as a medium of exchange for instance cowrie shells, or salt and in some parts cows. This cumbersome mechanism also did not sort out all the problems and people began to find other routes to make the medium of exchange even easier. The Mesopotamians, the Lydians, Greeks and the Romans right from the time of 700 B.C. to 500 B.C. began to use coins of varying shapes as a medium of exchange and the first currency known as the Shekel was born out of this experiment. Other civilisations such as the Indus Valley civilisation were also not far behind and they too experimented with the concept of money.

However if we fast forward to the period of European politics in the middle ages then the concept of paper money really began to take shape and so did international trade. During that time the main issue was that coins were all made of gold and silver because they were rare metals and as a result of which counterfeiting it was a problem and hence the economies were

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

Indeed, the creation of paper money facilitated international trade. Now merchants did not have to worry about spoilt goods and the difficult in exchanging their goods for others, the creation of stable currencies also helped the economy and hence the economies boomed. In this juncture it is also important to discuss the sudden spurt of international trade in the context of the Industrial Revolution in 1760. So far, trade was restricted but with the coming of the industrial revolution there was a huge demand for more goods and services. People had money to buy and the economy was booming however the lack of raw materials forced these empires to focus on their colonies. During this time the colonial period was in full swing. Already the Spanish and the Portuguese had established their colonies in the Americas and in Africa, Southeast Asia, the Subcontinent and vast parts of Africa were also colonised. By the Treaty of the Tordesillas (1494) and the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) most of the Americas and Africa were already partitioned between the European powers. The idea of international trade during that time was to buy raw materials from the colonies and finish them into finished processed goods and sell them back to the colonies and other states for a profit. Thus the colonies bore the brunt of exploitation and the European states became richer. For instance in the Caribbean the sugar and rum industry boomed whereas Africa was forced to export gold, silver, animal hides and even cloth. Asia was known for its tea, silver, wheat and indigo and the entire Southeast Asia was known for its spices. The industrial revolution completely made the European states into a confederation of superpowers while the colonies suffered greatly. This very unequal exchange of trade was later on conceptualised as the World Systems Theory

by Immanuel Wallerstein and the Dependency Theory by Andre Gunder Frank and Raul Prebisch in which they state that the idea was to force these colonies in a state of perpetual dependency and to completely draw out their wealth, Europe thus became rich due to the wealth of its colonies.

However, with power more demand for power increased and the European nations could not just trade with their colonies, there were issues between the European states as well, the success of the French Revolution made the other European states fear for something similar, the reunification of the German states into one Germany under the leadership of Otto Von Bismarck and the Italian reunification under Mazzini and Garibaldi also made other states nervous, the American war of Independence (1775-1783) and the creation of the now independent United States of America made the European states even more wary of their surroundings. During this time European nationalism became the most important facet of European politics. Nations were echoing patriotic sentiments and nationalism took over Europe and as such trade suffered due to the fact that these states refused to trade with one another to save money, this led to more suffering for the colonies as these finished products were simply dumped into the colonies. Later on this system was known as Autarky by which states refused to trade and tried to become self-sufficient in everything. Many economists believed that this was a bad decision because trading is inherent in human beings and no state can be self-sufficient in everything or cannot efficiently produce everything. However the First and the Second World War were the two main events that completely changed the history of trade in Europe and in the world.

A.3.3 INTERNATIONAL TRADE DURING WORLD WAR

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

If one sees till the end of the Second World War right from the earliest notion of trade then a few things are clear, it is inherent in human beings to trade and engage in commercial activities with one another and indeed trade is one of the most important feature over which kingdoms, empires and then modern states were formed. The creation of currencies, and proper medium of exchange the regulation of trade were also important feature. However the period of colonialism would go down in the history of mankind as one of the darkest chapters in which a lot of exploitation occurred and wealth was simply looted, not only economic but also cultural destruction was done. The two wars also show how greed and selfishness led to wars and destruction and the starting of the Cold War brought newer standards which will be discussed later. From this period one has to understand that man always had a tendency to engage in innovation and to improvise its ways of sorting out issues and when it comes to international trade then one may safely agree that it is in this area where the maximum innovation has taken place.

Unprecedented, deadly, and vicious, the Second World War will notably go down in human history as one of the costliest conflicts ever, with far-reaching international ramifications. Some historians agree that this war not only led to the awakening of Europe but also marked the emergence of two superpowers—the USA and the USSR—while pushing the former European colonial powers into the background. It significantly influenced the creation of international trade and monetary regimes that would shape the global economy in the post-war era. As discussed in the previous section, both the Great Wars were caused by poor economic planning and policies, increased armament production, and the intense race for colonies and power. Many economists argue that the European states failed to control their greed, which pitted nations against each other in two catastrophic wars.

However, the end of the Second World War brought about notable changes, including the rise of the USA and the USSR as global superpowers and the onset of decolonisation, leading to the independence of many African and Asian states over time (while Latin America had largely gained independence by the 1880s). This shift diminished the dominance of European colonial powers and ignited a race among the superpowers to exert influence over newly independent states through diplomatic alliances or neo-colonialism.

One of the most significant developments during this period was the establishment of the Bretton Woods System in 1944, which laid the foundation for a new international monetary order. The conference was held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA, where representatives from 44 countries met to design a framework for global economic cooperation after the war. The Bretton Woods System aimed to avoid the economic instability that had contributed to the Great Depression and the two world wars. It introduced fixed exchange rates where national currencies were pegged to the US dollar, which in turn was convertible into gold at a fixed price.

The system also established two key institutions—the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to provide short-term financial assistance to countries facing balance of payments crises, and the World Bank (originally

known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) to assist in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe and promote economic development in other parts of the world. The Bretton Woods System promoted economic stability, international cooperation, and multilateralism by encouraging countries to adopt open trade policies. However, the system faced criticism for placing the US dollar at the centre of the global monetary system, which led to the perception of US economic dominance.

Additionally, the system encouraged the conceptualisation of free trade versus protectionism, sparking debates on whether states should pursue liberalised trade policies or protect their domestic industries. Although the system contributed to post-war economic stability and growth, it eventually collapsed in the early 1970s due to rising inflation, US balance of payments deficits, and the decision to abandon the gold standard. Despite its demise, the institutions created at Bretton Woods continue to play a crucial role in global economic governance, shaping the policies of international trade and development even today.

This period also witnessed the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—later evolving into the World Trade Organization (WTO)—which sought to liberalise trade and encourage economic cooperation among states. The legacy of colonialism, combined with the new economic order, continued to affect the economic trajectories of many newly independent states, making the role of international trade regimes a critical aspect of global politics..

A.3.4 POST SECOND WORLD WAR TRADE AND INSTITUTIONS

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

The American President Harry S. Truman, who took over the office of the President of the United States, was determined to bring the US out of its former policy of splendid isolation. The idea was to get involved in the international political scenario and deny the USSR a free ride. The USSR, on the other hand, believed that since they had borne the brunt of the war, it was their right to dominate the world, especially Eastern Europe. Thus, a clash was inevitable between both, particularly in the changed circumstances. The US, during that period, for the purpose of reconstruction of Europe, decided to aid them economically and thus constituted the Marshall Plan, also known as the European Recovery Programme, initiated

in 1948 by the US. In response, the USSR initiated the Molotov Plan in 1947 (though it was effective since 1949). Europe was thus divided into two halves politically and economically. Whereas Western Europe, including West Germany, came under American influence, the eastern half came under Soviet influence.

During this period, the Americans initiated other ideas to revitalise the economy, which called for large spending, stimulating loans to increase production, and encouraging consumerism in its own sphere of influence. The Soviet response was to form collective markets to ensure a collective consumption of goods. The difference was that, whereas in the western part, the economy began to catch up quickly and progress, on the eastern side, the high-handed attitude of Josef Stalin did not go down well with the smaller states, and they objected to the Soviet policies. Things became so rough that a communist like Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia even complained openly against Stalin.

The difference was most noticeable in Germany, which, after the war, was divided into two sections—the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or West Germany and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) or East Germany. While the FRG boomed economically and experienced their first *Wirtschaftswunder* or economic wonder, allowing many immigrant labourers to come and work, the GDR was restricted in its economic outlook, only allowed to trade with the Soviet Union and its other satellite states. The contrast was most noticeable in Berlin, which again was divided into East and West Berlin on the same political lines. Whereas West Berlin thrived economically, East Berlin suffered and there was a serious shortage of food and basic commodities. Gradually, things began to turn out so bad that people started fleeing from East Berlin to West for better economic opportunities. The Soviets, of course, tried everything to stop them, right from the Berlin Blockade in 1948 to the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

Elsewhere, the world was divided ideologically, politically, and economically. For instance, Cuba, the PRC (People's Republic of China), North Korea, and Vietnam turned communist, whereas Thailand, Paraguay, Argentina, Australia, South Korea, and Japan turned towards free market capitalism. Other states such as India, Myanmar, Togo, Mexico, and Chile experimented with a socialist-based economic system with modest levels of economic liberalism. However, the major economic changes that occurred during this time had a lot to do with ideology. While this occurred, the world leaders also decided to sort out some of the other pending issues, such as the creation of a common currency, the regularisation of rules of trade, and ensuring that the world never undergoes any other sort of financial difficulties. For this purpose, there would be a system of not only lending emergency loans but also loans for infrastructure development.

The first planning occurred in the proceedings of the meeting of the Bretton Woods Conference that took place in New Hampshire in 1944, where ideas were discussed on revitalising the economy after the end of the war. The conference saw attendance by around 44 states, and the idea of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) came up.

The idea was to allow the availability of long-term capital to offer soft loans to struggling economies so that they could develop their states. It also brought out the idea of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to allow loans on a short-term or emergency basis to aid states that could not take off easily. During that period, it must be remembered that protectionism was still in vogue. The IBRD came into effect in 1945, whereas the IMF came into effect in 1946.

The World Bank was established in 1944, and it also established the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). The IDA, established in 1960, offers loans free of interest to low-end income countries for infrastructure development. On seeing these institutions, one may wonder whether their main purpose was to aid the world or to create some level of dominance. For this purpose, one must again look at the tumultuous history of the world from the period of colonialism, which ravaged the economies of developing states. The purpose of these organisations was to aid these very states to either obtain soft loans, interest-free loans, or loans raised from international markets for the purpose of building infrastructure to generate production, employment, and encourage trade and consumption. This was done with the belief that it would stimulate these stagnant economies. Notably, this did aid most of these developing states in the long run, and whenever it came to bailing out weaker economies, the IMF would step in to offer quick loans. However, there has been criticism that such agencies dictated and dominated these smaller economies in the form of neo-colonialism, and hence they were not actually working in their interest.

In this context, the formation of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) in the 21st century marked an important shift. The organisation was formed to provide an alternative economic model and reduce the dominance of Western-led financial institutions. The BRICS nations aim to promote mutual economic development, cooperation, and sustainable growth. They also initiated the New Development Bank (NDB) in 2014 to offer financial support for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in emerging economies. This institution acts as an alternative to the IMF and the World Bank, aiming to provide loans without the stringent conditions often associated with the latter.

To create a proper trade regime, which was another issue, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was created in 1947, though it came into effect in 1948. During that time, trading was a huge issue as most states pursued protectionism, defending their domestic industries through taxes, tariffs, and other forms of barriers to discourage imports and save foreign exchange. The initial meeting was attended by 23 nations, and later on, in 1995, after the Uruguay round of the GATT, it came to be known as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). As of now, with 125 signatories and more in the line for negotiation, the WTO is one of the largest bodies that debates and discusses international trade topics.

In this context, the question automatically arises as to what the purpose of the GATT and now the WTO was. Simply, the idea was to encourage free trade without barriers or discrimination. However, there are some stumbling blocks, as many developing states disagree with the GATT (WTO) methodology due to their historical economic disadvantages. The debate ensued during the Cold War, with the liberal trade model gaining the upper hand. Notable successes were FRG, France, Thailand, Paraguay, Chile, and the Nordic states in Europe. Finally, with the collapse of the USSR and the liberalisation of India, it seemed that states would definitely adopt the liberal trade model. The rise of BRICS further reinforced the idea of developing states having a larger say in the global economic order, creating a more multipolar world economy.

A.3.5 CONCLUSION

However, one must see that liberal ideas of trade have precedence over the protectionist view, and even in the present context, one may observe how certain socialist economies are struggling on various fronts, even though they do offer subsidised access to products. On the other hand, liberal economies boast of a higher income and standard of living, although certain people are unable to reap the benefits. Looking back, one can easily understand how devastating the effects of the Second World War were and how the USA and the USSR emerged victorious in the true sense, as they began to shape the world with their own ideologies and economic ideas. Both were quick to react to the needs of their European allies, but in doing so, they divided the entire continent into two camps, thus beginning the Cold War. Additionally, it became very difficult for the rest of the European nations to either resist the temptation of American aid or the pressure from the USSR. However, the world was compelled to cooperate in the creation of international financial institutions, which aided the economic recovery of the world, albeit with some controversies.

In addition to this, the debate between protectionism and free trade emerged during this period, creating some misunderstandings in the entire world. While most developing states supported protectionism to protect their economies, most developed states supported liberal free trade, believing that this would stimulate the economy. However, with the collapse of the USSR and the opening of major economies of the world, it seemed for the moment that free trade triumphed over protectionism, albeit with some governmental regulations, as in India.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

1) Outline the main difference between a liberal view of the economy and protectionist view of the economy?

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(B) Content and Impact of Globalization

B.3.0 Objective

B.3.1 Introduction

B.3.2 Globalisation: Features and Contestations

B.3.3 Globalization and State

B.3.4 Debates on Globalization

B.3.5 Conclusion

B.3.6 References

B.3.0 OBJECTIVE

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

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

B.3.1: INTRODUCTION

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

For many, the moment one discusses globalisation, an imagery of satellites, modern day equipment, people travelling from one place to another in a jiffy and movement of labour and goods or even home delivery of materials is what comes to the mind. However it is far from true, globalisation is indeed a process that has brought the world closer over a period of time and only intensified in the recent times. It is also important to understand the various features of globalisation. Is globalisation only limited to unrestricted travel?

Or is globalisation only an economic phenomenon without any cultural attributes? Does everyone accept globalisation as it is, or are there certain contestations over it? To understand all these, it would be necessary to delve further into the matter.

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

B.3.2: GLOBALISATION: FEATURES AND CONTESTATIONS

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

- **Prior to Human Settlements**-Discovery of Fire, the Wheel, improvisation of agriculture that led to settlements, the formation of roads and bridges building connectivity, the institutionalising of messengers, development of the militaries including navies, the invention of currency and intra-inter-region trade. The rise of ancient civilisations propelled interconnectedness and growth in communication. Rise of Abrahamic faiths also led to proselytization and communication.
- **1st Century BC to 5th Century AD and 13th 14th Centuries AD**- the rise of trade in luxury goods in ancient Rome and Europe, Spice, Silk, Fruits and cosmetics from China, India and the Eastern Empires, and it also brought the concept of fireworks and ice creams.
- **7-15th centuries**- Spice Routes. Due to the spread of Islam and the trade of spices from as far as Indonesia and the Spice islands to Europe.
- **15th- 18th Centuries**- the Age of Discovery. Period of intense colonization, the discovery of the Americas and the Far East and Australasia. Magellan's circumnavigation helped too. Potatoes, Coffee, Chocolates, Gold and Silver trade started as well as sugar. Also led to slave trade and cementing of the colonial empires.
- **19th century to the 1914 1st WW**- Industrial Revolution. Press, Steam Engine, Industries and Weaving. The requirement for colonies, slaves and markets increased. Rise in transportation and cargo as well

as freezing meat and poultry. However exploitation of labour started, also did anti-colonial movements and the first War which led to further development in trade as well as weaponry.

- **End of the Second WW-** the second WW led to destruction but also led to a kind of globalization with the rise of Japan that gave hope to nationalist movements in Africa and Asia. The end however placed the USSR and the USA at the helm of powers. Britain, Spain and France lost their sheen. Nuclear Technology, communication by phones and satellites, medical improvements, cars and rapid industrialisation and political competition led to exchange of technology and knowledge.
- **Modern day-** internet, the rise of the WTO EU, regional organisations as well as emerging economies. Ordering food and things online, video calling and rapid revolution of the communication and transportation technology. Also cultural exchanges are quite common. Added to it are rising levels of environmental degradation the spread of deadly diseases as well as terrorism. Globalization is a process that has been used and abused by many.
- After observing these facets it would be important to see the basic features of globalisation. The primary feature of globalisation is its tendency to dislodge the state as the primary actor in international relations and offer more power to non-state actors and the market forces. While prior to the Cold War and especially before the collapse of the USSR, the states dominated most of the affairs of the world, however of late one may notice how states have somehow receded into the background and have offered more space for other actors to call the shots. The second feature is the shrinking distance between people, countries, continents and cultures. In today's world it is a cakewalk to go from one place to another without a hitch. It is easy to not only travel but to have communication is also easier than earlier days. While at one point of time people had to depend on telegraph and letters which would take considerable amount of time, today over social media and other forms of electronic messenger services one may contact anyone all across the world easily. This has not only eased personal communication but has also ensured that economic activities can be conducted in minutes and across continents, spurring in economic growth and relations. Technological advancements, interconnected economies are also two other aspects of globalisation and one may easily observe how cumbersome machines and technology have now given way to smoother and better versions. For instance one may recall when the first computers were launched in India in the early 1990s which were not only quite expensive but the technology was also outdated. The revolution of social media and the telecom industry are two other examples of increasing technological advancements which are a part and parcel of globalisation. In addition to that economies today are more outward looking, adapting to trade and exchange of ideas. It is therefore not surprising that one may

easily witness the purchase of imported products and the export of indigenous products all across the world.

- Finally there is increasing interdependence among states, among states and non-state actors and also among the general people. Due to interconnectivity and overlapping, desires and goals people and states and also non-state actors often come together to fulfil those goals. For instance the global demand for taking action against Climate Change, or concerns about the rainforest fires, desertification and even terrorism and other social issues have brought a wide variety of actors together. Thus, a rainforest fire in Brazil is not just restricted to that state; it becomes a global problem for which the solution also has to be global in nature. Added to it is the intermixing of cultures, religions and other beliefs. For instance one may see how on International Yoga Day, the whole world celebrates Yoga attributing it to the greatness of the ancient Hindu customs. When it comes to Ramzan, there is a flurry of activity all across the world and even festivals like Christmas are celebrated with passion globally. Culturally speaking, there is a huge exchange of values and which to a great extent has actually made people more understanding of each other's beliefs and faiths.
- After understanding the various facets of globalisation it would be necessary to observe the three main strands in the context of globalisation. On one hand there is a section that agrees with the forces of globalisation and argues that states are rendered weak, the other section believes that the states still are strong and the third section argues that the state even though it has retained its power, the forces of globalisation cannot be denied.
- ***Hyperglobalisers and Transformalists***- essentially argue that globalisation is a positive force and reckon that it is here to stay, evolve and affect all of us. It has managed to snatch power away from the hands of the state, empowered the individuals more and has offered more autonomy to take decisions. States may no longer be in a position to dictate terms and conditions to its subjects. Rebellions and collapse of governments have been fostered by globalisation, trade between non-state actors and deals fostered by them have happened. In short- ***Die Staat is Tot (The state is dead)***
- ***Sceptics***- argue that on the contrary, globalisation has not fostered any weakening of state power, and on the contrary it has led to ossification of the state, more control over its decisions and more authority to the point of many states turning dictatorial. Examples would be many states in the Middle East, Russia, Bolivia and even the United States which is known as the harbinger of globalisation. In short no matter till what extent globalisation has empowered non-state organisations while simultaneously disempowering the state, it is the state that has the finally authority over important matters and may pull the strings when required.

- ***The Weak Globalisers-*** Those who tend to take a middle way and believe that even though globalisation has weakened the state, it has still not lost its sheen completely.

B.3.3: GLOBALIZATION AND STATE

So far, it is clear that globalisation is an important aspect of our history and a continuously evolving process that seems unlikely to end. As times change, the forces of globalisation also undergo transformations. However, this brings us to the question of the state and non-state actors. While focusing on the distribution of power, states were once considered supreme, controlling every aspect of their citizens' lives. States called the shots regarding decision-making and influenced every outcome. Citizens were thus reduced to pawns in the larger game.

In fact, communist and fascist states would go as far as controlling the flow of information and even their citizens' thought processes. The very fact that states were born due to the consideration of the people, with no central ruling authority, was the reason for states to maintain their power and hegemony. No one can forget the Nuremberg Laws of Nazi Germany, the forced collectivisation of the Soviet Union, and the infamous Great Leap Forward by the PRC under Mao, in which absolute state control was personified.

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

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

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

During the phases of mercantilism and control over their colonial dominions and even during the Great Wars states devised a lot of strategies to ensure control over their citizens. Globalisation had yet not become so great that

the authorities of the state could be challenged. Free trade had yet not become the talk of the town and states were unwilling to give up their exclusive powers. However with the onset and the cementing of globalisation the challenge to the authority of the state has become quite large now.

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

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

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

Now these non-state actors also take a moral high ground and often accuse states of violations of norms and laws. Due to their moral power they do manage to wield considerable influence over people and hence threaten the states. Ironically, while globalisation created a class of professionals who take all advantage of the forces such as better communication and transport end up arguing against it precisely because globalisation itself is flawed. While states would like to attain their previous authority, globalisation has become so entrenched that it has to work within the ambit of it. In a similar fashion those non-state actors who would like to clip the states also need to follow this rule. So it happens that in the fight between the states and the

non-state actors, globalisation actually does not lose in fact the forces of globalisation are used by both. Also these actors challenged the traditional borders and the mechanisms to ensure security. State policies, decisions and also embarrasses the states at times. In fact, they become the voice of the voiceless. In addition to that, the fact that many non-state actors also wield economic power and can actually bully the state is another significant factor why states are losing it out.

B.3.4: DEBATES ON GLOBALIZATION

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

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

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

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

What were the initial aims of globalisation?

By integrating them in the global economy it was presupposed that this would help them to earn investments, offer better outputs as well as reduce

unemployment and offer a better life to their citizens. Many scholars discussed that the developing states were left out because they could not or did not integrate their economies with the rest of the world, and as a result of which they suffered. According to these scholars the first step would be a global integration of all the economies and especially the developing and the developed economies which would aid the former.

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

Where did globalisation falter?

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

Even with economic interdependence, the traditional role of the poorer states of being suppliers of raw materials stands till date, while richer states have moved higher up the ladder. Most investments that have taken place have occurred in economic areas such as extraction of natural resources, forcing these states to employ their labour for simple tasks such as assembly as in the *maquila* sector in Latin America and also there has been rampant abuse of labour laws and rights. The environment as explained too has suffered a lot due to uneven and huge developmental projects.

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

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

How did globalisation lead to a clash of civilisations?

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

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

Again here it is interesting to note if it is a battle for civilisations or resources. The question automatically arises, why do civilizations at all

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

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

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

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

Whereas the formation of the state system in Europe led to a different notion of civilization where former warriors and hunters now became rulers and gave up their warlike habits to co-habit with the others within the premises of the state, that did not stop them from calling the others who did not fall within the states as barbarians and to justify western rule and imposition of political structures on the others. Therefore, colonialism received a lot of justification. For Huntington, civilizational values also require the invention of the enemy or the invention of the other. Feeling pride in one's identity also requires hating the others. As a result of which this cements identity politics and the creation of wars to prove supremacy. This seems to have cemented to some extent due to globalisation as there are people who

believe that globalisation has led to the erosion of their own culture. For instance after in 1979 Iran which was a fairly progressive state underwent an Islamic revolution and right after that anything that had to do with the west and its civilizational values was discarded. The same pattern was followed in other parts of West Asia, where dislike for Israel turned into a civilizational battle.

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

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

B.3.5: CONCLUSION

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

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

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

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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(C) Regionalism and Regional Organisations

C.3.0: Objective

C.3.1: Introduction

C.3.2: Conceptualising Regionalism

C.3.3: Regional Organisations: New Impartives

C.3.4: Conclusion

C.3.5: References

C.3.0 OBJECTIVE

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

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

C.3.1: INTRODUCTION

As an **addendum to globalisation**, which advocates for a **unified world connected through ideas, trade, and economic activities**, regionalism serves as a more **localized version of globalisation**. It fosters cooperation among geographically proximate states, making it akin to a **mini-globalisation**, albeit confined to a specific region. Examples like the **European Union (EU)** and the **Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)** illustrate this trend, where states collaborate on multiple fronts while maintaining their regional focus.

The key question is: **Why does regionalism matter, and why do states choose to join regional blocs?**

The primary **aims and objectives** of regional blocs are:

1. **Pooling Sovereignty**: Regionalism often involves states voluntarily **sharing certain aspects of their sovereignty** to promote common goals. Although states are traditionally regarded as **sovereign entities** in international relations, pooling sovereignty helps them strengthen their collective bargaining power and decision-making processes.
2. **Pooling Resources**: Regional integration enables states to **combine their economic, natural, and technological resources**. This shared approach enhances cooperation in areas like infrastructure development, trade, and environmental sustainability, reducing the likelihood of conflicts over scarce resources.

3. **Economic Cooperation and Stability:** By creating **common markets** or **customs unions**, regional blocs facilitate smoother trade flows, lower tariffs, and attract foreign investment, contributing to **economic stability and growth**.
4. **Conflict Prevention:** Collaborative decision-making mechanisms and economic interdependence foster **peaceful relations** among member states, diminishing the risk of conflict.
5. **Political Solidarity:** Regionalism strengthens **political solidarity** by promoting shared values, cultural exchanges, and collective responses to regional challenges.

In essence, regionalism provides a platform for states to **work together towards mutual benefits**, balancing their **national interests with collective regional objectives**.

The **aims and objectives** of regional blocs vary depending on their context, but they primarily focus on:

1. **Economic Improvement:** The most common objective is to enhance **economic conditions** through trade liberalisation, common markets, and economic cooperation. This is seen in organisations like the **European Union (EU)** and **ASEAN**, which aim to promote regional economic integration.
2. **Friendship and Brotherhood:** Regional blocs often foster **a sense of solidarity and unity** among member states. This sense of shared identity strengthens political ties and promotes cooperation, as seen in the **South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)** and the **Organisation of American States (OAS)**, which aim to promote pan-regional identities.
3. **Cultural and Religious Defence:** Some regional organisations are formed to **defend cultural and religious values**. For example, the **Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)** works to protect the interests of the Muslim world, while the **African Union (AU)** promotes **African cultural heritage** and addresses issues like **colonial legacies and human rights violations**.
4. **Exclusivity and Protectionism:** Trade blocs like the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** or the **Mercosur** in South America often seek to **protect member states' economies** from external competition by creating preferential trade zones, keeping **'outsiders'** away from economic benefits.
5. **Security and Political Cooperation:** Some regional organisations, such as the **African Union (AU)** and the **OAS**, also play a role in **peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and promoting democratic governance**.

Hence, **regionalism as a theory** encompasses various strands, ranging from **economic cooperation to cultural protection and political unity**. Its

justifications lie in the pursuit of **economic benefits, identity preservation, and fostering a sense of collective belonging** among member states.

C.3.2: CONCEPTUALISING REGIONALISM

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

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

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

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

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

C.3.3: REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS: NEW IMPERATIVES

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

Considering the fact that all the economies of the world have different abilities, it would be better if they would focus on the production and export of those commodities which could be produced in an optimal way incurring the minimum cost. Under the perfect circumstances all factors of production being constant, all the economies of the world would benefit from such an arrangement and therefore competition would be fair and free while the benefits would trickle down to the lowest strata of the society. However, the theory of rent only focuses on the production capability suited to offer the consumers the optimum products at the lowest price, but does not take into account an important fact that the consumers are also producers at some point, and therefore the closure of certain industries due to the theory of comparative advantage may actually cause an overall loss.

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

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

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

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

In this accord economic benefit is still the mainstay for regional integration where the states decide depending on the benefits accrued from gains from trade, common external tariffs, benefits from manufacturing and export as well as capital investments and mobility. Other factors may include,

specialisation in particular products, weeding out uncompetitive work units due to free and fair competition, technological advancement and transfer of technology, mobility of labour, a common currency to reduce hidden and transaction costs due to the monetary exchange value and finally, Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). Wealthier and powerful states may wean out weaker states for beneficial free trade agreements drawing them into a flux of alliances. Finally, apart from the economic dimension, stress is also laid on common security, the desire to integrate on cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic.

Corollary to the argument placed from the previous economic models of autarky, it is important to delve into the idea of free market capitalism as one of the driving forces behind the idea of regional integration and free trade. While, regionalism may not always be economic in nature but if it is considered to be created on economic lines then free trade is the chief driving force behind such associations. Contrary to that it is argued that free trade stimulates production and brings out the perfect sense of economic equilibrium where trade eroding costs are eliminated, perfect competition is ensured, product efficiency and quality is present and the customers are awarded with the optimum quality products and the minimum prices. Therefore, regionalism and free trade should go hand in hand for optimising costs and benefits and for actual welfare of the people. While observing the effects of free trade and how it is invariably linked to regional trade agreements, a state may experience declining terms of trade and a revenue shock where the terms of trade are so unfavourable that to maintain the basic structure of the economy becomes a huge burden. At this stage a state may choose to open up the economy to foreign investment, may sell non-performing assets and may look forward to liberalisation of trade and harmonisation of tariffs. As a last resort the state in question is bound to liberalise economy. Of course, the author also cautions that in dealing with a metamorphosis from a protectionist economy to a free trade model the negotiation costs may be too high initially due to the shocks that the nascent open economy may have to undergo.

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

political unity. Even though there are aspects of regional integration such as the rational choice of all the actors, the desire to seek integration pertaining to the levels and the quest for peace, it is ultimately the states who have the formal-legal and moral authority to decide on such matters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the major errors that is frequented by scholars is that economic demands alone will lead to regional integration. National firms are important for the gestation of demands, the key to it lies with the political actors. Many states have apprehensions about joining a regional organisation due to the incurring costs and concessions required. The effect of regionalism and regional integration varies from place to place. While the EU and the ASEAN have been quite successful in nature others such as the SAFTA (the free trade agreement associated with the SAARC) are considered to be quite unsuccessful due to political disagreements. Overall, regional integration to some extent have caused weakening of the states as not only do they have to pool in their sovereignty, decision making powers and economic freedom but also have to sacrifice on many occasions. Picture it this way, the United Kingdom exited the EU which is known as Brexit, now this gives the UK more freedom to do business in their own way without having to bother about the other European states but on the other hand the benefits which they received from the EU is also gone. In Central America one of the major reasons for the collapse of the CACM was the fact that the states could not agree on many aspects such as migration, the diversion of labour and capital and also on the various standards applied. This resulted in a lot of difficulties in their system which later on led to its

collapse. However on the good side, regional integration has allowed many states to come together successfully for instance in the EU it is possible to travel all across the member states using the Schengen visa, to find work and engage in business everywhere within the EU without facing discrimination. It has also enabled the members to have a common external tariff to protect the markets within the EU and has also standardised quite a lot of norms and functionalities.

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

C.3.4: CONCLUSION

Regionalism remains a significant feature of international relations, despite ongoing scholarly debates surrounding its effectiveness and future. States continue to pursue regional integration as a means to enhance cooperation, promote economic development, and address shared concerns. While some regional organisations may form around religious or cultural affiliations, the majority are driven by economic objectives.

Various theories explain the motivations behind regionalism, but there is no consensus due to the diverse nature of regional groupings. Key factors influencing regional integration include the willingness of states to cooperate, fear of domination by more powerful states, economic disparities, and cultural differences. For example, the UK's decision to exit the European Union (Brexit) demonstrates that even long-standing regional arrangements can face internal dissent. Conversely, the formation of the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA)—uniting the USA and Central American states—illustrates that economic cooperation can transcend power asymmetries and income inequalities.

In conclusion, the prospects of regional integration cannot be assessed through a one-size-fits-all approach. Regionalism's success depends on a **combination of** political willingness, economic compatibility, and cultural dynamics. Each regional organisation must be evaluated within its unique context, acknowledging both the achievements and the challenges it faces.

Check Your Progress Exercise

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

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

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

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

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B.3.6: REFERENCES

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

HUMAN SECURITY

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Theoretical Perspective on Human Security
- 4.4 Core Components of Human Security
- 4.5 Human Security and SDGs
- 4.6 Contemporary Challenges to Human Security
- 4.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.8 Check Your Progress: Questions
- 4.9 References

4.1 OBJECTIVES

Dear learners, after studying this unit, you will be able to:

- To understand the fundamental shift from traditional national security to human security paradigms as introduced in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report
- To examine the four essential characteristics of human security: universality, people-centred approach, interdependence, and early prevention
- To analyse the theoretical foundations of human security, including Critical Security Studies, Constructivism, and Feminist perspectives
- To explore the seven core components of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security
- To understand the relationship between human security and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
- To evaluate contemporary challenges to human security in the Anthropocene era, including climate change, forced displacement, digital threats, and systemic inequalities

4.2 INTRODUCTION

It is quite interesting to understand the concept of human security as it has evolved over decades in the global sphere. Boutros-Ghali's 1992 Agenda for Peace introduced human security into UN discourse, contextualising it

within preventative diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction frameworks. The document emphasised the comprehensive nature of post-conflict challenges. It advocated addressing conflict's fundamental causes through shared international ethical understanding and multi-stakeholder collaboration within an integrated human security paradigm. (United Nations, 2009, p. 56). Progressively, the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report marked a watershed moment in security studies by introducing the concept of "human security." This conceptualisation can be seen as a significant departure from traditional security paradigms that primarily focused on state-centric military security. The 1994 UNDP report's framework has since become foundational in both academic discourse and policy formulation.

Table 1: National Security vs. Human Security

Aspect	National Security	Human Security
Focus	Defence of national territory, territorial waters, airspace, and national independence	A comprehensive view of threats to individuals, focusing on global and local issues affecting humans
Primary Objective	Ensuring the safety, livelihoods, and economic stability of the state	Securing the life, livelihood, and dignity of every individual
Key Areas	Diplomacy, defence, economy, industry, food security, resources, energy	Protection from threats such as poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and conflict
Approach	State-centric, emphasising military and economic power	People-centric, prioritising human rights, development, and empowerment
Outcome	Preservation of national sovereignty and stability	Development of individuals' innate abilities and enhancement of quality of life

Source: Author's insights from various UN reports.

As depicted in Table 1, national security focuses on protecting a nation's territory, airspace, and independence, ensuring the safety of its people, economy, and livelihoods. It emphasises state-centric approaches, including diplomacy, defence, and economic stability. In contrast, human security adopts a people-centred perspective, addressing diverse threats such as poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and conflict. It aims to safeguard individuals' lives, livelihoods, and dignity while fostering their ability to reach their full potential. While national security prioritises

sovereignty and stability, human security emphasises human rights, development, and overall well-being.

The 1994 UNDP Report established four fundamental characteristics that define human security:

1. **Universality:** Human security is relevant to people everywhere, regardless of geographical location, economic status, or social context. The threats to human security, while varying in intensity, are common to all people globally. For instance, drugs, pollution, crime, unemployment and human rights violations are real threats being faced by people across countries, although in varying intensity.
2. **People-Centered:** Unlike traditional security approaches that prioritise territorial integrity, human security places individuals at the core of analysis. This shift in focus emphasises human dignity and well-being as primary security concerns. Human security is fundamentally centred on individuals, focusing on their lived experiences within society. It addresses the extent to which people can freely exercise their choices, access economic and social opportunities, and live their lives in conditions of peace rather than conflict.
3. **Interdependence:** The report recognised that threats to human security are not isolated phenomena. They are interconnected across borders and domains, creating ripple effects that can impact multiple aspects of human life. For example, the consequences of famine, pollution, disease, drug trafficking, terrorism and ethnic disputes are not confined to national boundaries but traverse the globe.
4. **Early Prevention:** The framework emphasises proactive measures rather than reactive responses. This characteristic underscores the importance of identifying and addressing potential threats before they escalate into crises. During the 1980s, the estimated direct and indirect costs associated with HIV/AIDS (human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) amounted to approximately \$240 billion. It is notable to mention that investing even a fraction of this amount in primary healthcare initiatives and family planning education could have significantly mitigated its spread. (UNDP, 1994, pp. 22-23).

4.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON HUMAN SECURITY

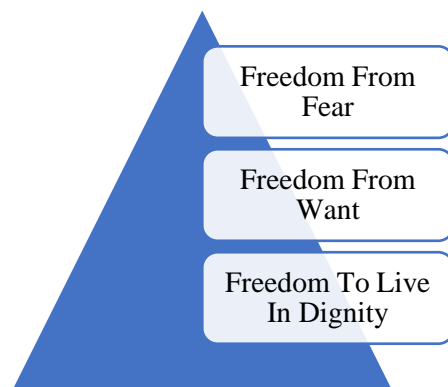
The conceptualisation and institutionalisation of human security within the UN framework evolved through several key developments. Initially introduced in Boutros-Ghali's 1992 Agenda for Peace within the context of conflict management and resolution, the concept was substantively developed in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, which established the dual framework of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' while defining human security in terms of protection from both

chronic threats and sudden disruptions to daily life. This conceptualisation gained further institutional momentum under Secretary-General Kofi Annan's leadership, culminating in its incorporation into the 1999 Millennium Declaration. The establishment of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security in 1999, primarily supported by Japan, marked a significant shift toward operational implementation, funding projects across several thematic areas to address concrete human security challenges. (United Nations, 2009, pp. 56-57).

Kofi Annan's approach to UN reform marked a significant milestone in institutionalising human security concept. In the report titled "In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All," published in 2005, he structured his recommendations around three fundamental aspects of human security: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity. This framework became particularly influential when the 2005 World Summit formally acknowledged these principles. The Summit's outcome document specifically emphasised that everyone, particularly those who are vulnerable, should be free from both fear and want, while having equal chances to exercise their rights and reach their full potential.

The human security framework encompasses three fundamental dimensions: freedom from fear, freedom from want, and life with dignity. Freedom from fear addresses security concerns at personal, political, and community levels, safeguarding individuals from direct threats to their physical and psychological well-being. Freedom from want encompasses economic, food, health, and environmental security, ensuring access to basic necessities and protection from structural vulnerabilities. The dimension of freedom to live in dignity integrates educational opportunities, access to fundamental freedoms, equality, human rights, community engagement, and political participation. (United Nations, 2009, p. 23). It emphasises the qualitative aspects of human development that enable individuals to pursue meaningful and autonomous lives within their societies.

Figure 1: Kofi Annan's Human Security Framework



Source: Author's visual representation taking insights from 'In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All' report, 2005.

Such formal recognition within the UN system can be considered as a crucial step in gaining broader acceptance for human security as a concept and helped establish it as a key principle in international policy discussions. This move was significant because it shifted the focus of security discussions from traditional state-centred approaches to a more people-centred understanding of security. By embedding these principles in official UN documents it helped transform human security from an abstract concept into a practical framework for policy development and implementation.

Now, let us understand some theoretical dimensions and views on human security. The emergence of human security as a theoretical framework is deeply rooted in Critical Security Studies (CSS). It fundamentally challenges traditional realist perspectives by questioning the state-centric nature of security studies. Critical theorists argue that security should be reconceptualised from the bottom up, focusing on individual and community needs rather than state interests. This theoretical shift has led to a broader understanding of what constitutes a security threat, a recognition of non-military sources of insecurity, and an emphasis on human emancipation and development.

Constructivism has significantly influenced human security by emphasising how security is socially constructed. The constructivist theoretical perspective suggests that security threats are not merely objective conditions but are shaped by social understanding and interpretation. The way we conceptualise security influences policy responses and institutional frameworks, while identity and cultural factors play crucial roles in defining security needs.

Feminist perspectives have enriched human security theory by highlighting gender-specific security concerns and demonstrating how traditional security frameworks often overlook women's experiences. This approach emphasises the importance of considering power relations in security analysis. Similarly, the liberal peace theory connects with human security through its emphasis on democratic institutions as guarantors of human security, focus on economic development and market economies, and recognition of the role of civil society in maintaining security.

Capability approach provides a crucial theoretical foundation for human security by focusing on individual freedom to achieve well-being. Their work emphasises the importance of both opportunities and capabilities, effectively linking development with security in a comprehensive theoretical framework. The capability approach posits two core normative propositions: it asserts the primacy of freedom to attain well-being as a moral concern and also conceptualises well-being through the lens of individuals' capabilities and functionings.

The theoretical discourse surrounding human security includes significant debates and critiques. One primary debate centres on the breadth versus depth of the concept, with scholars discussing whether human security should take a broad approach encompassing all threats to human well-being or focus narrowly on violent threats to make the concept more analytically

useful. Another challenge lies in measurement and operationalisation, including difficulties in quantifying various aspects of human security and developing appropriate indicators for measurement.

Theoretical tensions also exist regarding the balance between state sovereignty and human security, particularly concerning the justification for humanitarian intervention and the role of international institutions in protecting human security. These discussions have quite deeper implications for international relations and global governance.

The theoretical foundations of human security significantly influence international development policies, humanitarian intervention decisions, national security strategies, and global governance frameworks. As global challenges become increasingly complex and interconnected, the theoretical understanding of human security continues to evolve, incorporating new perspectives while maintaining its core focus on individual and community well-being.

4.4 CORE COMPONENTS OF HUMAN SECURITY

The UNDP Report of 1994 articulated seven interconnected components that collectively constitute human security:

Figure 2: Seven Component of Human Security



Source: (UNDP Nepal, 2024, p. 22).

1. **Economic Security:** This refers to having a reliable source of income to meet basic needs. It means having a stable job or other means of earning money that allows people to maintain a decent living standard. Economic security ensures individuals can support themselves and their families without constant worry about basic survival. Microcredit programmes meant for economic security can prove useful for people living in countries facing economic insecurity.

2. **Food Security:** This means having consistent access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food. It's not just about having enough food, but having the right kind of food that people can access and afford. Food security ensures people don't have to worry about their next meal and can maintain a healthy diet. Relief aid meant to increase food security for communities can be enhanced to alleviate food insecurity in communities.
3. **Health Security:** This involves having access to basic healthcare services and protection from diseases. It means people can get medical treatment when they need it, access essential medicines, and receive preventive care. Health security ensures people can maintain their physical and mental well-being. Therefore, there is a dire need to re(building) a robust healthcare system in respective countries.
4. **Environmental Security:** This relates to living in a healthy environment with access to clean air, safe drinking water, and unpolluted land. It includes protection from environmental degradation, natural disasters, and the impacts of climate change. Environmental security ensures people have a safe and sustainable environment to live in. Therefore, international actors should be investing more in installing environmentally sound management practices.
5. **Personal Security:** This means being protected from physical violence and threats to personal safety. It includes safety from crime, domestic violence, terrorism, and other forms of physical harm. Personal security ensures people can live without constant fear for their physical well-being. Therefore, there is a need for law and order interventions, as well as increased police programmes and training to ensure personal security.
6. **Community Security:** This protects people's cultural identity, values, and relationships within their community. It ensures that people can be part of their traditional or chosen communities without facing discrimination or persecution. Community security allows people to maintain their cultural practices and social connections. Therefore, there should be efforts to promote disarmament and demobilisation to enhance social harmony.
7. **Political Security:** This involves the protection of basic human rights and freedom from political oppression. It includes the right to vote, express opinions, and participate in political processes without fear of persecution. Political security ensures people can exercise their civil rights and have a voice in decisions affecting their lives. Therefore, relevant actors and stakeholders should support to make a smooth transition to democratic practices in applicable societies and countries.

Table 2: Root Causes of Human Insecurity

Dimensions of Human Insecurity	Root Causes
Economic insecurity	Persistent poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities and skill development
Food insecurity	Hunger, famine, sudden rise in food prices, malnutrition
Health insecurity	Epidemics, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of access to basic health care, poor health services and infrastructure
Environmental insecurity	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters
Personal insecurity	Physical violence in all its forms, human trafficking, child labour, identity-based inequalities like gender and disability, lack of resource ownership or opportunities
Community insecurity	Lack of community resources and infrastructure like drinking water, access to connectivity, Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity-based tensions, crime, terrorism
Political insecurity	Political repression, human rights violations, lack of rule of law and justice

Source: Cited in (UNDP Nepal, 2024, p. 24).

These seven components of human security are deeply interconnected, with challenges in one area often cascading into others. Understanding these connections is crucial for developing comprehensive approaches to enhance human security globally. It is also worth noting that international community's response through various initiatives and frameworks demonstrates the growing recognition of human security as a crucial paradigm in international development and security studies.

4.5 HUMAN SECURITY AND SDGs

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), adopted by the United Nations in 2015, provide a comprehensive framework to address global challenges and promote sustainable development by 2030. The 17 SDGs encompass a wide range of targets, including eradicating poverty and hunger, ensuring quality education and healthcare, promoting gender equality, addressing climate change, and fostering peace and justice. The overarching aim is to achieve an inclusive and sustainable future for all, leaving no one behind.

Human security, introduced to the global agenda through the UN Development Programme's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report, complements the SDGs by emphasising a people-centred approach to security. It focuses on protecting individuals from threats to their survival, livelihood, and dignity, encompassing freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity. Human security recognises the interlinkages between peace, development, and human rights, making it a critical tool in achieving the SDGs.

These official lines show a deeper correlation between human security and SDGs:

“Today we are also taking a decision of great historic significance. We resolve to build a better future for all people, including the millions who have been denied the chance to lead decent, dignified and rewarding lives and to achieve their full human potential. We can be the first generation to succeed in ending poverty; just as we may be the last to have a chance of saving the planet. The world will be a better place in 2030 if we succeed in our objectives.”

Source: United Nations General Assembly Resolution (UNGA, 2015, p. 12).

At the high-level event ‘Human Security at 25: Building on its Contributions to Achieve the SDGs’ held in February 2019, stakeholders reaffirmed the relevance of human security in the SDG era. The event highlighted the need to scale up investments and renew momentum to address multidimensional challenges such as forced displacement, natural disasters, and poverty. Through active involvement in initiatives like the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS), Japan’s leadership in this domain underscores the importance of integrating human security into global and local development frameworks. (IISD, 2019).

Human security serves as a unifying framework to address interconnected challenges and break down traditional silos in policymaking. Its relevance to the SDGs is evident in its ability to design localised, context-specific interventions, as seen in Cameroon, where UNTFHS-supported programs have significantly improved lives. Moreover, countries like Thailand have successfully mainstreamed human security in their SDG localisation efforts, introducing ambitious healthcare reforms and universal coverage schemes. (IISD, 2019).

The link between human security and education, highlighted by Norway through the Safe Schools Declaration, further emphasises its role in safeguarding the future. By addressing threats to education, fostering inclusive governance, and promoting resilience, human security directly contributes to achieving SDG targets. Additionally, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) considers SDGs alignment with the Global Compact on Refugees, which was adopted in 2018, highlighting the crucial role of the Compact in burden-sharing and fostering global solidarity. (IISD, 2019).

In essence, human security provides a critical lens for implementing the SDGs by integrating peace, development, and human rights. By focusing on individual well-being and addressing the root causes of insecurity, it offers a comprehensive approach to achieving sustainable development and ensuring a dignified future for all.

4.6 CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO HUMAN SECURITY

The contemporary global scenario shows unprecedented challenges to human security, exacerbated by the interconnected nature of threats in the Anthropocene era. Now let us look into some of the key indicators and trends that demonstrate the escalating scale of human security challenges across multiple dimensions.

- 1. Food Insecurity and Nutritional Challenges:** The global food security crisis has reached alarming proportions, with approximately 800 million people experiencing hunger in 2020. More concerning is the broader spectrum of food insecurity affecting 2.4 billion people worldwide. This deterioration results from compounded socioeconomic and environmental factors, significantly amplified by the COVID-19 pandemic during 2020-2021. The situation represents a critical regression in global efforts to achieve zero hunger. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). Climate change's impact on agricultural productivity is manifesting through measurable reductions in caloric output, with data indicating a mean yearly decline of 1 per cent in edible caloric yield among the world's ten principal crop varieties. This phenomenon has contributed to diminished caloric availability in approximately 50 per cent of nations experiencing food insecurity. In agrarian-dependent economies such as Ghana and Ethiopia, where the agricultural sector constitutes a significant portion of employment, climate variability has demonstrated adverse effects on household income levels and exacerbated food security challenges. (UNDP, 2022, p. 52).
- 2. Climate Change and Human Mortality:** Climate change poses a severe threat to human survival, particularly in developing nations. Moderate mitigation scenarios project approximately 40 million climate-related deaths because of higher temperatures from the present to the century's end. This projection underscores the disproportionate impact of climate change on vulnerable populations and highlights the urgency of climate action. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). The health impacts of climate change are projected to be distributed unequally across global populations. Regions containing approximately 80 per cent of the world's inhabitants are anticipated to experience significant increases in mortality rates. In certain areas within the Arab States and Sub-Saharan Africa, climate change-related deaths may exceed current primary causes of mortality, including cancer and cardiovascular disease. Conversely, territories representing the remaining 20 per cent of the global population may observe decreased overall death rates, primarily due to reduced exposure to extreme cold conditions. (UNDP, 2022, p. 54).

- 3. Forced Displacement and Migration:** The phenomenon of forced displacement has reached unprecedented levels, with 82.4 million people displaced in 2020 - double the number from the previous decade. Climate change acts as a threat multiplier, potentially accelerating displacement rates if adequate mitigation measures are not ensured in letter and spirit. This trend indicates a growing crisis in human mobility and security. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). Natural disasters caused significant population displacement, with 31 million people forced to relocate in 2020. Projections suggest this trend may escalate dramatically, with an estimated 1 billion individuals potentially facing forced migration by 2050. Coastal regions face particular vulnerability, as over 1 billion residents in low-elevation coastal zones confront increased flooding risks from both gradual sea level rise and acute weather events such as storms and extreme tides. The population exposed to permanent sea level rise is projected to increase substantially, from 110 million currently to approximately 200 million by 2100. Small Island Developing States face existential threats from these environmental changes, with their communities' fundamental infrastructure and economic activities particularly susceptible to sea level rise, increasing ocean acidity, and extreme weather phenomena. (UNDP, 2022, pp. 47-48).
- 4. Digital Technologies Threats:** While digital technologies offer solutions to Anthropocene challenges, they also tend to introduce new vulnerabilities. The rapid digital expansion was accelerated by the pandemic, but also has led to increased cybercrime, with projected annual costs reaching \$6 trillion by late 2021. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). The widespread adoption of digital technologies necessitates a human security perspective to address potential risks to well-being, rights, and capabilities. Cyberattacks targeting personal information and critical systems pose significant threats, while measures to counter these harms can inadvertently undermine human rights and freedoms. Algorithmic decision-making risks exacerbating discrimination and fostering insecure work environments. Furthermore, unequal access to essential technologies, such as COVID-19 vaccines, can profoundly impact individual and societal security. Without addressing these challenges, new technologies may fail to realise their potential to enhance human capabilities. (UNDP, 2022, p. 75).
- 5. Violent Conflict:** The scale of conflict-affected populations has reached critical levels, with approximately 1.2 billion people living in conflict zones. Notably, 560 million of these individuals reside outside traditionally fragile settings, indicating the expanding nature of violent conflict in contemporary society. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). Violence and fear compel many to flee their homes, with the number of forcibly displaced individuals reaching 82.4 million in 2020. Conflicts in Afghanistan, Somalia, and Syria account for over half of the global refugee population. However, displacement is not confined to war zones; overlapping threats, including violence, criminality, and impunity, undermine citizen security and force migration. In Central America's Northern Triangle, escalating violence and insecurity are key drivers of displacement. (UNDP, 2022, p. 89).

- 6. Inequalities and Discrimination:** Systemic inequalities continue to undermine human dignity, particularly affecting LGBTQ+ communities. In 87 per cent of 193 countries, these individuals face legal barriers to identity recognition and full citizenship. This widespread discrimination represents a fundamental human security challenge. (UNDP, 2022, p. 5). Therefore, it is important to highlight the pervasive horizontal inequalities that shape our world, noting that individuals, while possessing plural identities, are often affected by systematic disparities that harm human security. Such inequalities impact not only the marginalised but society as a whole. Addressing these disparities is a matter of justice, necessitating efforts to enhance the well-being of those disadvantaged. Equally important is fostering individual agency, as empowering the excluded strengthens overall human security. Eliminating horizontal inequalities highlights the critical need for integrating solidarity with protection and empowerment strategies. (UNDP, 2022, p. 109).
- 7. Gender-Based Violence:** Violence against women and girls remains a persistent threat to human security. The statistics are alarming: 47,000 women and girls were killed by intimate partners or family members in 2020, averaging one death every 11 minutes. This violence ranges from subtle microaggressions to severe forms like femicide, representing a comprehensive threat to women's security. (UNDP, 2022, pp. 5-6). Women face gendered impacts during conflicts and are often excluded from disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration processes, as societal biases misidentify them as non-combatants or subordinate figures. Human security emphasises the ability of all individuals to meet their essential needs and achieve self-sufficiency. Empowering women requires moving beyond framing them solely as victims and instead engaging with their perspectives on security. By amplifying women's voices, a more inclusive narrative of security emerges—one that respects their economic, political, and human rights while empowering them to drive their own development. (UNDP, 2022, p. 112).
- 8. Health Threats:** A growing disparity exists between countries with very high and low Human Development Index (HDI) values regarding healthcare universality. Nations with less universal healthcare systems face dual challenges: managing non-communicable diseases and repercussions of pandemics, highlighting the critical nature of healthcare inequality. (UNDP, 2022, p. 6). It is also to be noted that health determinants encompass a range of transnational norms, policies, and practices shaped by global political interactions across sectors, including trade regulations and international aid. These determinants often exacerbate health disparities, such as restrictive intellectual property rules for essential medicines or fiscal austerity measures limiting healthcare spending. Addressing these challenges frequently requires cross-sectoral and international interventions, as many issues extend beyond the capacity of national healthcare systems alone. (UNDP, 2022, p. 133).

These indicators collectively demonstrate the complex and interconnected nature of human security threats in the Anthropocene era. The data suggests an urgent need for comprehensive, coordinated responses to address these multifaceted challenges. Understanding these trends is crucial for developing effective policies and interventions to enhance global human security.

4.7 LET US SUM UP

The study of human security should be considered as a significant paradigm shift in how we conceptualise security in international relations. This unit has explored various dimensions of human security, from its theoretical foundations to contemporary challenges. Let us recall what we have learned so far from this unit.

The concept of human security, introduced by the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, marked a departure from traditional state-centric security approaches. It established four fundamental characteristics: universality, people-centred focus, interdependence, and early prevention. This framework emphasises that security threats affect people globally, though their intensity may vary across regions and communities.

The theoretical understanding of human security is rooted in multiple perspectives, including Critical Security Studies, Constructivism, and Feminist approaches. These theoretical frameworks have helped reshape our understanding of security by emphasising individual and community needs over state interests. Moreover, the liberal peace theory and capability approach has provided crucial theoretical foundations by linking development with security.

It is also worth remembering that the unit detailed seven interconnected components of human security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. It must have been interesting to observe that these components demonstrate how security threats are multifaceted and interconnected. For instance, environmental degradation can lead to food insecurity, which in turn may trigger economic instability and forced migration.

The relationship between human security and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) highlights how security and development are intrinsically linked. Human security is a unifying framework that helps implement the SDGs by integrating peace, development, and human rights. This integration is evident in various global initiatives and national policies, such as Thailand's healthcare reforms and Japan's leadership in human security initiatives.

Contemporary challenges to human security are particularly complex in the Anthropocene era. Climate change poses existential threats, with projections indicating approximately 40 million climate-related deaths by the century's end. Forced displacement has reached unprecedented levels, with 82.4 million people displaced in 2020. Digital technologies, while

offering solutions, have introduced new vulnerabilities, with cybercrime costs projected to reach \$6 trillion annually.

The unit also highlighted how specific groups face disproportionate security challenges. Gender-based violence remains a persistent threat, with alarming statistics showing that 47,000 women and girls were killed by intimate partners or family members in 2020. Systemic inequalities continue to affect LGBTQ+ communities, with 87 per cent of countries maintaining legal barriers to their full citizenship rights.

Health security has emerged as a critical concern, particularly in the context of global pandemics and healthcare inequalities between nations with different Human Development Index (HDI) values. The interconnected nature of health determinants requires cross-sectoral and international interventions.

As student, we need to understand that aforementioned various aspects of human security is crucial for policymakers, researchers, and practitioners in international relations. The comprehensive nature of human security challenges requires integrated approaches that address both immediate threats and underlying causes while promoting sustainable development and human dignity. Therefore, the holistic understanding of human security helps develop more effective policies and interventions to address the complex, interconnected challenges of the 21st century. It reminds us that true security can only be achieved by focusing on the well-being and dignity of individuals while addressing systemic inequalities and promoting sustainable development.

4.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: QUESTIONS

1. Critically analyse the key differences between national security and human security approaches. How has this shift influenced international relations?
2. “Human security is characterised by four fundamental features.” Elaborate on these features with relevant examples.
3. Discuss how Critical Security Studies and Constructivism have contributed to the theoretical understanding of human security.
4. Examine the interconnected nature of the seven core components of human security. How do challenges in one component affect others?
5. Evaluate the relationship between human security and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). How do they complement each other in achieving global development?
6. Analyse the impact of climate change on human security, particularly focusing on food security and forced displacement.

7. How has the digital revolution created new challenges for human security? Discuss with reference to cybercrime and technological inequalities.
8. Examine the gender dimensions of human security challenges, particularly focusing on violence against women and their exclusion from security processes.

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

CLIMATE CHANGE, DISARMAMENT

Unit Structure

- 5.1 Objectives
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Climate Change
- 5.4 Climate Change Challenges
- 5.5 Global Climate Change Regime
- 5.6 Climate Change and India
- 5.7 Major Challenges
- 5.8 Conclusion
- 5.9 Exercise
- 5.10 Disarmament
- 5.11 A Snapshot of Disarmament and Arms Control Efforts
- 5.12 The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT): Relevance and Challenges
- 5.13 Conclusion
- 5.14 Exercise
- 5.15 Reference

5.1 OBJECTIVE

- 1. To discuss the non-traditional security threats
- 2. To understand climate change
- 3. To understand Disarmament

5.2 INTRODUCTION

This module is structured to engage with and critically examine the most pressing contemporary issues shaping the global agenda in international politics. Realism is presented as the dominant theoretical framework in International Relations and Security Studies, while liberalism is explored as its most significant theoretical challenger. Additionally, Marxist perspectives serve as a critique of liberal frameworks, and constructivist and critical schools offer alternative viewpoints to realist paradigms.

The module focuses on three central themes—human security, climate change, and disarmament—each analyzed within the context of these

theoretical approaches. To ensure a comprehensive understanding, the foundational principles of realism, liberalism, Marxism, constructivism, and critical theory are extensively covered in the first and second units. This theoretical foundation provides the tools to critically assess and engage with the complexities of contemporary international politics.

Human security, climate change, and disarmament have emerged as central concerns in the discourse of international politics and security studies in the 21st century. The issue of disarmament, which gained prominence during the Cold War, experienced a resurgence of relevance after nearly two decades of unipolarity in the global order (1989–2008), during which the United States held a position of unparalleled dominance as a nation-state. Similarly, while climate change and human security began to garner attention in international politics in the aftermath of the Second World War, these issues gained significant momentum and reached a global scale of concern following the end of the Cold War.

5.3 CLIMATE CHANGE

Traditionally, security is defined as protecting the state and maintaining territorial integrity from threats posed by external actors. This understanding resulted from the Westphalian treaty signed in 1648. The focus has been on the military and political aspects of protecting national interests from external threats and securing the state. It is considered that if a state is protected, then its citizens are automatically protected. Many scholars helped to include the concept of Climate change in security. Barry Buzan, through his books like “People, States and Fear,” originally published in 1983 and get revised after end of cold war argued for expanding the state focused understanding of security to include nonmilitary (non- traditional) dimensions and include challenges like Climate Change and environmental degradation.. His work laid the theoretical foundation for UNDP’s 1994 report. However, Barry Buzan, also provided the critique and raise concerns about over-expansion of the term "security". He argued that not everything under the sun should be covered in the definition of security as broadening it too much might dilute its analytical utility.

Climate change is affecting nature and human surroundings, making it one of the most pressing challenges of the present and future. The mass consumption pattern, spike in transportation, and increased industrialization fuelled by the overexploitation of hydrocarbon-based energy sources. This causes the accumulation of greenhouse gases (GHGs), like Carbon Dioxide (CO₂), Methane (CH₄), Nitrous Oxide (N₂O), and Fluorinated Gases, at an unprecedented rate, causing climate change induced weather phenomena. According to the Emissions Gap Report 2024, the power sector is the most significant global contributor to GHG emissions, followed by transport, agriculture and industry. Deforestation at an unparalleled rate added another element to the complication of the problem.

Climate change-induced disasters threaten individual lives and livelihoods on such a large scale that they have become an essential aspect of human

security. The IPCC's many assessment reports highlighted how climate change is eroding cultural ties and forcing people to migrate from low-lying areas to high-elevation areas.

Today's impact of climate change is caused by the historic accumulation of GHGs in the atmosphere resulting from the industrialization of developed countries like the UK, France and the USA as well as newly developing countries like China and India, rising releases of GHGs in the atmosphere. Although Climate change has been an important issue of discussion for decades, what is new is the stark visibility of the anthropogenic changes that occurred by exploiting hydrocarbon-based energy sources. Today, as climate change threatens the existence of countries and peoples around the world, irrespective of their geographic location, a new awakening to address the problem is in full swing. Countries worldwide are working towards creating a climate change regime to tackle this global issue, as it is no secret that climate change transcends national borders and requires collective action.

5.4 CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGES

The impact of climate change is visible in terms of rising global temperatures leading to frequent heatwaves, causing heat strokes and respiratory problems, and affecting marine animals and agricultural productivity. The frequency of extreme weather events like cyclones, floods, droughts, and heavy rainfall is increasing. These are causing displacement, loss of life, infrastructure damage, and impacting the resilience capabilities of state apparatus and citizens.

The following examples highlight the magnitude of the problem: UNEP identified that sea-level rise in coastal areas could affect 6 million or 16 million by the end of this century. UNEP's Adaptation Gap Report 2020 identified that extreme droughts could affect more than 2 billion people by 2050, impacting agriculture and food systems globally. WHO estimates that 7 million people die every year from air pollution, and climate change is expected to worsen this problem by increasing air pollution levels. The WHO reports that floods and droughts resulting from climate change exacerbate the spread of waterborne diseases. Also, according to the UN, climate change could affect up to 5 billion people by 2050, leading to freshwater shortages in many regions.

5.5 GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE REGIME

A Global Climate Change Regime (GCCR), which could be considered a subpart of the Global Environmental Regime, is the collective global framework created to address the causes and consequences of climate change, mitigate its impacts, and adapt to the environmental, economic, and social changes caused by climate induced disasters. This includes global agreements, treaties, and institutions coordinating countries' actions, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the private sector, and other stakeholders, to limit global warming, reduce GHG emissions, and promote

sustainable development. In this context, “global” refers to the official and unofficial activities of key institutions such as governments, NGOs, businesses, universities, and research organizations. This reflects the shared responsibility for managing our resources sustainably (Saunier & Meganck, 2013).

GCCR has seen significant progress since the 1990s and the first two decades of the 21st century witnessed large-scale participation from governments, NGOs, and businesses. Conference of parties (COPs) are currently the largest annual meetings convened by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), a multilateral treaty adopted in 1992, play the most important role in GCCR. Participation from a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including governments, Intergovernmental organizations, and NGOs, makes it a multi-stakeholder summit. The discussion agenda revolves around addressing climate change (tackling the climate crisis) and building resilience (finance, technology, and capacity-building). Although every COP matters, as acknowledged by UNFCCC Executive Secretary Simon Stiell, a few have significantly impacted climate change diplomacy and taken the movement forward.

COP 1, Rio Earth Summit, formalized the Common But Differentiated Responsibility (CBDR) principle- the idea that developed countries, which historically contributed more to global emissions, should take the lead in addressing climate change. COP 3, Kyoto Protocol, first legally binding treaty to commit developed countries to reduce emissions. Kyoto protocol was adopted in 1997 but entered into force in 2005 and expired in 2020. It set binding emissions reduction targets for developed countries (Annex I countries), based on the principle of CBDR. It had two main mechanisms to help countries meet their targets: emissions trading (carbon market), clean development mechanism (CDM), and joint implementation (JI).

The Kyoto Protocol is succeeded by the Paris Agreement (PA) in COP21 concluded in paris in 2015. The Paris Agreement is the most significant climate agreement to date aims to limit global temperature rise to well below 2°C, with efforts to limit it to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels. PA is different from its predecessors such that unlike the Kyoto Protocol, which set binding emission reduction targets only for developed countries, the PA requires all countries—developed and developing alike—to take action based on their capacities, and levels of development. It follows a bottom-up approach, where each country sets its own emission reduction targets, known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs). These NDCs are updated every five years, with countries expected to increase their ambitions over time. The agreement also includes provisions for financial support to developing countries, and recent COP29, famously known as the Finance COP, called upon developed countries to transfer US\$ 300 billion in finance to developing countries, helping them mitigate, adapt, and compensate victims of Loss and Damage.

Other set of reports helped include Climate change in the broader understanding of security that includes United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)’s 1994 HDR Report, Millennium Development Goals

(MDGs) of 2000 which are sets of 8 goals and 21 targets focused upon on improving health and living condition of human. It had an implementation period between 2000-2015 and were succeeded by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. This marked a transition to a broader, more inclusive framework for global development. SDG are 17 goals and 169 target goals with implementation period between 2015-2030. The focused area of SDG is broad and more inclusive, covering hunger, poverty, health, education, gender equality, reduced inequalities, climate action, clean energy and others. Both MDG and SDG successfully linked Human security with developmental and welfare aspects.

These annual summits (COPs) have been successful in keeping the low-level political agenda of climate change alive and almost on equal footing with agendas of high politics, like the Russia-Ukraine war and the Israel-Palestine conflicts, and they are also on par with issues of geopolitics, like maritime security and the trade war between the USA and China.

5.6 CLIMATE CHANGE AND INDIA

India is the most populous country in the world. It is 5th largest economy, continues to maintain an impressive economic growth and could soon become the 3rd largest economy in due course of time. India is also the 3rd largest GHGs emitter in the world and is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to its large population, and socio-economic disparities. However, India has played an important role in global climate negotiations and has set ambitious targets in Paris Agreement (2015) which was later updated to mitigate the impacts of climate change. At present, India aimed at achieving 50% of installed electric power capacity from non-fossil fuel sources by 2030. Reducing emissions intensity by 45% by 2030 compared to 2005 levels. It also aimed to create a carbon sink of 2.5 to 3 billion tons of CO₂ equivalent by 2030 through afforestation and reforestation and achieve carbon neutrality by 2070.

5.7 MAJOR CHALLENGES

Climate action faces a number of interrelated challenges that slow down the global efforts to mitigate Climate Change. Political will continue to be one of the major challenges as governments are unable to fulfill their commitment to mitigation and adaptation efforts; they continue to priorities immediate economic gains ahead of long-term environmental sustainability. The disparities in the achievement of commitment among countries made on international platforms further reflect a lack of political will. Another issue of policy will is frequent changes happening in the government around the world; for example, in 2024, around 60 countries went for democratic elections and a great change in political leadership was witnessed. In the US, President-elect Donald Trump could reduce several US commitments on climate change and will likely withdraw a large amount of finance from climate actions. Accountability, lack of efficient measures, enforcement tools and standardized reporting mechanisms pose another set of challenges to climate action. The financial component and lack of transfer of

technologies from the global north to the global south present a significant and practical obstacle to climate action. Technology transfer is essential for a global shift to sustainable practices, but prices, capacity-building requirements, and concerns about intellectual property rights impede it. Clean technology, infrastructure adaption, and emissions reduction initiatives may require larger investments than are now accessible.

5.8 CONCLUSION

Climate change poses a significant threat to countries around the world. Its large-scale impacts include rising sea levels, extreme weather events, floods and droughts, and disrupted agriculture. Climate change is directly impacting the progress of sustainable development goals and human development; it is causing insecurity in people's lives and is also considered an important determinant of human migration. Despite international efforts to address the issue of climate change, achieving consensus remains difficult. The lack of trust between developed and developing countries was recently witnessed in recent COPs. Addressing climate change requires urgent and collective global action; otherwise, it will have long-lasting impacts on the civilizations around the world.

5.9 EXERCISE

1. Explain how Climate change is a threat to the human and economic development of a nation.
2. Explain the Global Climate Change Regime. Does COP play any significant role in climate change diplomacy?
3. How does India look at climate change, and how is it contributing to its fight against climate change?

5.10 DISARMAMENT

Neville Chamberlain in his 1938 speech observed that "In war, whichever side may call itself the victor, there are no winners, but all are losers". Next year, he declared war against Germany. Neville Chamberlain's words remained the major learning from two world war's that no side actually wins a war, the winner is merely decided on the basis of who loses less. Although, history has a lot to teach every country about the catastrophes of wars, still the two military blocks emerged after the World War 2, armed themselves with enough weapons to destroy the earth many times over. By 1960s, The NATO block, under the leadership of USA and Warshaw pact under the leadership of Sovier Union became locked in an arms race. In this backgorund grew an immediate concern for effective check on arms race and efforts towards disarmament and arms control.

Disarmament simply means the reduction or elimination of armaments. Disarmament is based on the belief that weapons are the major cause of uncertainty and war, and elimination would reduce the chances of war.

According to Morgenthau, Disarmament means the elimination of national armaments to a point where no nation is in a position to commit acts of aggression successfully. Many times the term is misunderstood as a synonym for arms control. However, arms control stands for regulating and limiting the development, testing, and deployment of certain types of weapons. The aim here is to reduce the possibility of war and its potential destructiveness.

5.11 A SNAPSHOT OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS

Why to arm in the first place- The main reason for states to acquire weapons is to ensure their survival. Realist schools understanding of self-help and anarchic international system left no choice with states other than to acquire weapons to guarantee their safety. When one state increases its number of weapons even for defensive purposes, others perceive it offensive act and a potential threat to their security. As a consequence other state also arms themselves in response and this created a classic case of security dilemma. According to John hertz, security dilemma is a situation in which to seek security, state buys more weapons, causing others to feel insecure, which leads to arms races and increased insecurity rather than reducing it. Hence, security dilemma and quest to self-help leads to arms race.

The history of disarmament and arms control dates back to the ancient time itself however post post-World War 2 efforts were made initially by 1946 Baruch Plan. It proposed for an international control over atomic weapons and energy. However it faced the heat of colder and failed due to tensions between USA and Soviet Union. In 1952, another attempt by the United Nations made in the form of establishing Disarmament Commission to promote arms reduction. To delink atomic weapons and energy components of the technology, then US President Eisenhower proposed "Atoms for Peace" initiative in 1953. It encouraged peaceful nuclear technology applications and at the same time checking the weapons proliferation.

The 1961 Antarctic Treaty was the first successful disarmament treaty. It successfully demilitarised Antarctica and banned nuclear testing there. The 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT), 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT), 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET), and 1996 Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) all aimed at restricting nuclear testing and checking nuclear weapon proliferation. Of these, the NPT stands out as the most important and partially successful and CTBT, which aimed to ban all nuclear explosions, hasn't entered into force as key nations, including the US, which never ratified it.

A list of other important arms control treaties instrumental in global disarmament efforts.

Year	Treaty	Objective
1972	Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty	Limited missile defense systems to achieve strategic stability.
1972	Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention (BTWC)	Prohibited the development and stockpiling of biological weapons.
1970s	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT-I & SALT-II)	To control the nuclear arms race between the US and the Soviet Union.
1987	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty	It was aimed to eliminate an entire class of nuclear missiles.
1991 & 1993	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START-I & START-II)	It reduced the US and Russian nuclear arsenals.
1993	Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)	It banned the development, production, and use of chemical weapons.
2002	Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT)	It was aimed to facilitate nuclear arms reductions between the US and Russia.
2010	New START	It aimed at arms reduction efforts between the US and Russia.

The above-mentioned arms control treaties have played an important role in promoting disarmament. They have helped restrict the spread and development of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and bring the global community together for international cooperation. The 1972 ABM Treaty limited missile defence systems and was signed between the US and the Soviet Union to address the arms race during the Cold War. The same year, the BTWC was adopted, which prohibited the development and stockpiling of biological weapons, which was instrumental in banning an entire category of weapons of mass destruction. The SALT I and SALT II in the 1970s were important in controlling the arms race and laid the foundation for later agreements, such as the INF Treaty (1987) between the US and the Soviet Union, that successfully eliminated an entire class of nuclear missiles. It was instrumental in de-escalating tensions in Europe. During the 1990s, START-I and START-II played an important role in

reducing the nuclear stockpiles of the US and Russia. Similarly, the CWC successfully banned chemical weapons. In the 21st century, SORT in 2002 and the New START Treaty in 2010 helped maintain progress in arms control by limiting nuclear warheads. They helped in ensuring verification mechanisms remain in place.

5.12 THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT): RELEVANCE AND CHALLENGES

The three fundamental pillars of NPT are: non-proliferation, disarmament, and peaceful use of nuclear energy. The first prohibits nuclear weapons states (NWS) to transfer nuclear weapons technology to non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS). The second commits NWS to pursue complete disarmament and the third give rights to all states to develop nuclear technology for peaceful use. The treaty recognises only five nuclear weapons states: USA, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China. India, Pakistan, and Israel have never signed the NPT. However, North Korea initially joined but withdrew in 2003, becoming the only nation to exit the treaty. Currently, 191 states are party to the NPT, making it the most widely adhered-to arms control agreement. In reality testing, NPT failed to prevent nuclear proliferation effectively, and progress on disarmament by NWS remained an issue.

NPT's effectiveness in non-proliferation and disarmament become a subject of scholarly debate. Fuhrmann and Lupu (2016) supported the argument that the NPT treaty plays a significant role in promoting non-proliferation efforts. They argued that NPT membership is associated with a lower likelihood of pursuing nuclear weapons. According to them, the NPT has shown effectiveness in curbing proliferation and states that commit to the NPT are less likely to develop nuclear weapons. However, the NPT has limited influence on nuclear decisions when national security issues come up. National security issues take precedence over treaty obligations and states prioritise their security needs over compliance with the NPT. The major challenges to NPT Implementation come from non-NPT nuclear states such as India, Pakistan and Israel, NPT treaty defectors such as North Korea, and the rising threat of nuclear terrorism coming from groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS. Iran's case has further challenged the NPT's effectiveness. While still an NPT member, it was non-compliant with the treaty and pursued its nuclear program, leading to international sanctions and negotiations.

The introduction of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in 2017 has added another dimension to the disarmament landscape and created normative pressure for disarmament. It is aimed to promote a legal and moral imperative for disarmament, to delegitimise their possession, thereby influencing state behaviour and public opinion regarding nuclear armament. However, NPT is facing new challenges in an evolving global security landscape. The shift from a bipolar to a multipolar nuclear world has made disarmament more difficult. Additionally, emerging technologies, such as AI and cyber warfare, pose new risks. They

can undermine traditional deterrence and increase the likelihood of miscalculation. Cyber warfare could bring risks to nuclear infrastructure. If states or terrorist groups hack into nuclear command networks, they can bring disruptions in early warning systems, leading to false alarms and potentially preemptive military strikes. Traditional nuclear deterrence depends on human judgment, but using AI in military systems could complicate threat assessments since decisions would be based on automation rather than human input. Additionally, the absence of international rules on cyber warfare and AI in military use makes it hard to build trust between countries and hampers global disarmament efforts.

5.13 CONCLUSION

Weapons of different kinds, including nuclear weapons, have destructive capacity, and advancement in it shaped the course of global politics time and again. The Cold War period witnessed the arms race for more sophisticated weapons, which had the potential to destroy Earth multiple times. Nuclear nonproliferation has dominated the agenda for disarmament and arms control. Despite several efforts through multilateral treaties, as discussed in the section, episodes of acute tension, such as those involving North Korea and Iran, highlighted the failure of disarmament efforts. While the vision of a nuclear-free world has gained currency and acquired support from diverse backgrounds of people and few regions were declared nuclear-free, it failed to check the number of weapons of mass destruction from the stockpiles of five permanent countries. Achieving meaningful disarmament will require a careful balance of moral leadership, diplomatic engagement, and the recognition of the intricate link between security assurances and global stability.

5.14 EXERCISE

1. What do you understand by disarmament and how is it different from arms control?
2. What are the most important treaties of disarmament during the Cold War period?

5.15 REFERENCE

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