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SKILL  
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ACCESSIBILITY

JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV

PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

(Established by Act No. 19 of 2019 of the Legislature of State of Punjab)

BACHELOR OF ARTS

CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

(BAB33604T) INTERNATIONAL POLITICS:  
THEORY AND PRACTICE

SEMESTER VI

Head Quarter: C/28, The Lower Mall, Patiala-147001

WEBSITE: [www.psou.ac.in](http://www.psou.ac.in)

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**COURSE COORDINATOR AND EDITOR:**  
**DR. SUKHPAL KAUR**  
Assistant Professor in Political Science  
JGND PSOU, Patiala



**JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY,  
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**PREFACE**

Jagat Guru Nanak Dev Punjab State Open University, Patiala was established in December 2019 by Act 19 of the Legislature of State of Punjab. It is the first and only Open University of the State, entrusted with the responsibility of making higher education accessible to all, especially to those sections of society who do not have the means, time or opportunity to pursue regular education.

In keeping with the nature of an Open University, this University provides a flexible education system to suit every need. The time given to complete a programme is double the duration of a regular mode programme. Well-designed study material has been prepared in consultation with experts in their respective fields.

The University offers programmes which have been designed to provide relevant, skill-based and employability-enhancing education. The study material provided in this booklet is self-instructional, with self-assessment exercises, and recommendations for further readings. The syllabus has been divided in sections, and provided as units for simplification.

The University has a network of 110 Learner Support Centres/Study Centres, to enable students to make use of reading facilities, and for curriculum-based counseling and practicals. We, at the University, welcome you to be a part of this institution of knowledge.

Dr. G.S. Batra  
Dean Academic Affairs



**BACHELOR OF ARTS**  
**CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**SEMESTER – VI**  
**(BAB33604T) INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

**MAX. MARKS: 100**

**EXTERNAL: 70**

**INTERNAL: 30**

**PASS: 40%**

**Credits: 6**

**Objective:** The aim of this course is to make the students to comprehend various theories and concepts of international politics.

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PAPER SETTER/EXAMINER:**

1. The syllabus prescribed should be strictly adhered to.
2. The question paper will consist of three sections: A, B, and C. Sections A and B will have four questions each from the respective sections of the syllabus and will carry 10 marks each. The candidates will attempt two questions from each section.
3. Section C will have fifteen short answer questions covering the entire syllabus. Each question will carry 3 marks. Candidates will attempt any 10 questions from this section.
4. The examiner shall give a clear instruction to the candidates to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.
5. The duration of each paper will be three hours.

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES:**

Candidates are required to attempt any two questions each from the sections A, and B of the question paper, and any ten short answer questions from Section C. They have to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.

**SECTION – A**

1. International Politics: Meaning, Nature and Scope and its Significance.
2. Theories to study International Politics: Idealism, Realism and Neo-Realism.
3. Dependency Theory: Meaning, Features, Views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein
4. National Power: Meaning, Nature, Kinds, Determinants and its Limitations.
5. Management of Power: Balance of Power and Collective Security.

**SECTION – B**

1. Cold War and Post-Cold War Era in International Politics.
2. Disarmament and Arms Control.
3. Concept of Non-Alignment: Meaning, Basis, Role and its Relevance.
4. Non-State Actors: Meaning and Role of NGOs, INGOs and MNCs.
5. Emerging Trends in International Politics.

**Recommended Readings:**

1. H. Bull: *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, London, Macmillan, 2002.
2. John Baylis and Steve Smith: *The Globalisation of World Politics*, OUP, Oxford, 2001.
3. A. Roberts: "The UN and International Security", *Survival*, Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 1993.
4. A. Hurrell: "Collective Security and International Order Revision", *International Relations*, Vol. II, No. 1, April 1992.
5. S.P. Verma: *International System and the Third World*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1988.
6. H.J. Morgenthau: *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th Edn., revised by K.W. Thompson, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1985.
7. S.H. Hoffman (ed.): *Contemporary Theory in International Relations*, Massachusetts, Addison Wesley, 1979.
8. N.D. Palmer and H. Perkins: *International Relations*, Calcutta Scientific Book Company, 1971.
9. J. Frankel: *The Making of Foreign Policy*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963.
10. E.H. Carr: *Conditions of Peace*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1944.
11. E.H. Carr: *The Twenty Year Crisis*, London, Macmillan, 1939.



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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE**  
**COURSE (BAB33604T): INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

**COURSE COORDINATOR- DR. SUKHPAL KAUR**  
**SEMESTER - VI**

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| Unit 3  | Dependency Theory: Meaning, Features, Views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein    |
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT I: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: MEANING, NATURE, SCOPE AND ITS  
SIGNIFICANCE**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 11.0. Learning objectives
- 11.1. Key Words
- 11.2. Introduction
- 11.3. Define International Politics
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## **1.0 Learning objectives**

The students will be able to-

- Understand the meaning of International Politics.
- Understand the nature and scope of International Politics
- Understand the significance of International Politics

### **1.1. Key Words**

State, Politics, National Interest, War, Conflict Resolution, Diplomacy

**1.2 Introduction-** Politics is usually concerned with power struggles. This struggle at a global level is called International Politics. International politics is growing in importance as a subject of study these days. It tackles some of the world's most important issues, including power, violence, sovereignty, states, empires, intervention, inequality, justice, and democracy, as well as war and peace, the structure of the world economy, and the causes and effects of global inequality. Drawing from theoretical and methodological traditions from history, law, political science, geography, sociology, and gender studies, the area is also very interdisciplinary. Nonetheless, the field of international politics has greatly benefited from the influence of political science. The conclusion of World War I can be seen as the catalyst for the development of international politics as a separate academic discipline. The War has raised concerns about how to restore security and peace to the world for upcoming years. Consequently, the founding of the University College of Wales' Chair for International Politics in 1919 marks a turning point in the field's evolution as an academic discipline. The Department of International Relations was established in the ensuing years by the London School of Economics in 1923, the University of Southern California in 1930, and the University of Oxford in 1931. In addition, the global political environment made it possible for international politics to become a prominent area of study. International politics consequently gained popularity on a global scale. Similar to other social sciences, a distinct identity has been attained.

**1.3 Define International Politics-** The study of international relations, which is the main emphasis of international politics, is largely influenced by political, diplomatic, military, and strategic terminology. There are, in fact, a variety of definitions for international politics. According to their theoretical stances, academics put out the definitions. International politics, in the words of H.J. Morgenthau, "is the struggle for and use of power among nations." This

formulation made it extremely evident that power plays a determining role in international politics. Every nation strives to amass and amplify its power in order to secure its interests at home. Similarly, Padelford and Lincoln describe international politics as how state policies interact with a shifting balance of power. Furthermore, Palmer and Perkins share the belief that the state system is the primary focus of international politics. Simultaneously, Charles Schleicher proposed a comprehensive concept of international politics that encompasses all ties between states, even those that are not political. IP is not characterised by a single definition. We can see from these definitions that international politics is basically a series of interactions between states. In actuality, the state plays a major role in IP research. It mostly addresses international cooperation and conflict at the political level. It is a state-dominated view since definitions under this category emphasize the study of politics and relations among the nation-states. It emphasises nation-states' formal and political relationships and views them as the main players in international politics. Stated differently, these were not the definitions of international relations, but rather of international politics. International politics was the primary field of study during the early years of the discipline, up to the 1950s. The following definitions are the most common in this category:

- **Padelford and Lincoln** define international politics as the interaction of state policies within the changing power relations patterns. In their later work, they defined it as individual nation-states' interaction to pursue their perceived national interests and goals.
- **Schleicher** acknowledging that not all interstate ties are political, but all interstate relations as part of international politics.
- **Morgenthau's** definition focuses mostly on the issue of power and peace as well as political connections. He defined international politics as the contestation and application of power among states.
- **Burton** regards it as a peaceful communication system whereby states consciously and in their own interest would like to avoid conflict because conflict costs are too high.
- **Frankel** describes the field of international politics encompasses not only the foreign policies of individual states but also their interactions with each other, the

international system, international organisations, non-state social groups, the functioning of the international system, and state governments at all levels.

- **Mahendra Kumar**, an Indian scholar, provided a definition of international politics after analysing its theoretical components. According to him, international politics is the process by which countries use their policies and actions to further their own national interests, which may conflict with those of other countries. He asserts that every era of the twentieth century's international politics can be covered by this description.

### **1.3.1 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

In 1919, the University of Wales in the United Kingdom created the first Chair in International Relations. The inaugural chair holders were distinguished historians, Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster. The study of international relations at the time consisted mostly of diplomatic history. The nature and content of the subject have evolved during the following seven decades. Descriptive diplomatic history has been supplanted by the analytical study of politics today. The new field that has emerged since the Second World War is today referred to as international politics. It is narrower and more scientific than international relations. Even now, the two names are occasionally used interchangeably. However, they focus on two different fields of study, or topic. International politics and international relations are independent fields, notwithstanding Hans Morgenthau's belief that "the core of international relations is international politics". He asserts that the field of international relations is far more expansive than that of international politics. As Morgenthau puts it, international relations encompass political, economic, and cultural ties, while politics among nations is a fight for power. According to Harold and Margaret Sprout, all human activity on one side of a country line that influences behaviour on the other side of the boundary is included in international relations. Conversely, international politics primarily addresses disputes and collaboration between countries at the political level. International politics, according to Padelford and Lincoln, is the interplay between state policies and the shifting dynamics of the power structure. Palmer and Perkins share a similar opinion that the state system is the primary focus of international politics. International relations is broader than international politics since it

encompasses all forms of relationships between sovereign states. In fact, as IR students, we will study international relations and state collaboration. However, we also research other aspects of international relations, such as economic interaction and the function of non-state actors. The main differences between both are-

1. **DIFFERENT IN THEIR SUBJECT MATTER:** The idea of international relations encompasses a wide range of topics, including political, non-political, social, economic, cultural, legal, governmental, and non-governmental ties. Comparatively speaking, the relationship between international politics and the ongoing fight for dominance between various states is that each state, no matter how powerful or weak, aspires to increase its influence over other states.
2. **DIFFERENCE IN THE METHOD OF STUDY:** The study of international relations employs the explanatory technique, whereas the study of international politics uses the analytical method.
3. **DIFFERENCE IN THEIR OBJECTIVE:** The formation of international peace is the ultimate goal of international relations, and in order to achieve this goal, mutual understanding and cooperation between various countries are encouraged. Comparatively speaking, international politics is a "struggle for power," and in order to achieve this goal, various countries continue to wage wars, incite conflicts, and engage in political maneuvers.

#### **1.4 NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS:**

1. **Nations are the primary actors:** The major actors in international politics are sovereign States. The study of international politics examines these relations. The world's nations are the ones who decide when to declare war or peace. Even though there are numerous national and international institutions, the State ultimately has the authority to uphold equilibrium or seize power in order to defend the interests of the nation.
2. **The objective is to protect national interests:** Every sovereign state's first goal is to safeguard its own interests. If it is ambitious, it can accomplish this by controlling other States in addition to defending its own. Since interests are dynamic and always shifting, states must adapt to one another without sacrificing their own sovereignty.
3. **Power is the means as well as an end to achieve national objectives:** Power is a means to an end, which is ironic in and of itself. Each State should be able to exercise authority

in order to safeguard its own national interests. However, in order to achieve power, one must possess a variety of tools, such as a powerful military and robust economy.

4. **Conflict and cooperation are both subjects:** Studying international politics includes not just state disputes but also different approaches to mutual cooperation. One State's objectives may coincide or conflict with those of the others. Tension and conflicts between States result from this. However, in order to balance the divergent interests and prevent war, nation states are also engaged in an ongoing process of accommodation and adjustment. So, international politics also studies the role of persuasion and coercion.
5. **Studies conflict resolution:** Too many conflicts, tensions, and wars that have resulted in fatalities and devastation have plagued the world's society. Human rights violations have occurred on several times. It's a common belief that women and children suffer while males make war. There are bereaved women and orphaned children. Nobody gains from conflict and war. Any conflict benefits no one but the makers of weaponry. Therefore, the United States is constantly looking for ways to resolve disputes. These attempts at conflict resolution are studied in international politics.
6. **It is a continuous interaction among nations:** Interactions between nations occur constantly. Countries enter into treaties with one another covering economic, military matters, and cultural issues. States can trust one another thanks to these treaties. They establish ties between the States. Conversely, there exist states that are perpetually at odds with one another. There are many levels of interaction between states. Every one of these tasks needs to be researched.
7. **Power brings power:** Because they can, powerful nations will inevitably battle for it. In geopolitics, weaker nations typically don't have a significant influence. Strong nations are those that are members of alliances such as the G20 or G7.
8. **Deliberate:** The process never ends. Power disputes persisted even after World War II. By assisting different nations, the USSR and the US engaged in proxy conflicts. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the USSR broke up, and Russia replaced it as a rival to the US. China is currently the US's main rival, and this conflict will never stop.
9. **Behaviour Analysis:** It has been noted that with time, the behaviours of different nations vary. India was somewhat pro-USSR throughout the Cold War, but there was never a

formal alliance. India continued to draw closer to the US after the fall of the USSR, and the US now regards India as one of its most significant strategic allies.

10. **Scientific Analysis:** Statistics and data science are occasionally employed to research and forecast world politics. In a recent piece, an American writer demonstrated how inflation is rising in Britain and falling in Russia using a graph. Given that Russia has been sanctioned by Britain but not the other way around, this was somewhat ironic.

11. **Inter-disciplinary nature:** International politics is absolutely inter-disciplinary. It depends greatly on other subjects like history, geography, economics, etc.

#### 1.4.1 Check Your Progress

##### I. Define International Politics.

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##### II. Discuss the nature of International Politics.

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### 1.5 SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

As a subject of study, International Politics is relatively new and developing subject. Its scope has continuously expanded and developing. The scope of study of International Relations includes this following major areas or topics:

1. **State System-** The state system is the starting point for the study of international relations. Over the past three centuries, the state system has had a significant impact on the global scene. Individuals organise into sovereign states and work to achieve their goals through them. Conflict arises from these independent states' conflicting interests, and international politics is the inevitable result of such conflicts. States do not all want to be like every other national state. Some are important due to their proximity to other important places, some because of their military or economic

- might, and yet others because of their ties to other racial or cultural groups. In a nutshell, international relations is the study of relations between sovereign states, which in turn produce inter-state connections.
2. **Relations in Conflict and Cooperation-** The study of connections between two or more states is known as international relations. These relationships are frequently complicated and impacted by a wide range of geopolitical, historical, social, religious, ideological, strategic, and leadership variables. These relationships have, in general, involved both cooperation and conflict. The two sides of the same coin are cooperation and conflict. The study of both cooperative and conflictual inter-state relations is the main focus of international relations, which is inspired by the fact that there have been more conflicts than corporations throughout history.
  3. **Diplomatic History-** The discipline's early years were mostly devoted to historical research. For a considerable amount of time, diplomatic or international history was synonymous with international relations. According to this custom, a few significant occurrences were examined from a historical standpoint. Although many new and improved ways eventually supplanted the historical approach, historical events and facts continued to be relevant to international relations. For instance, one must travel back in time to understand the historical context of the recent Indo-Pak relations. International relations and the study of general history, particularly diplomatic history, are inextricably linked.
  4. **Power-** Power emerged as the primary issue in the study of international relations in the years following World War II. Morgenthau argues that power is the only factor in international politics. Only when politics is understood as the definition of interest in terms of a national state's power can it be understood realistically. Power is relevant both theoretically and practically. It has a significant influence on both the overall status of international relations and the policy of the world's most powerful nations. Studying the nature, components, and assessment of national power as well as the balance of power, power equations, and constraints on national power are all part of studying international relations. International law, international morality, global public opinion, balance of power, collective security, and international relations are some of the major constraints on power that are being researched.

5. **International Law and Organisations-** State activity and national authority are constrained by international law. As a result, it is acknowledged as being a crucial component of studying international relations. A system of norms known as international law governs and establishes the pattern of action between states throughout times of peace and war. Consequently, comprehending international relations or having a solid grasp of international law are essential. In the modern world, groups with an international or regional focus, such as the United Nations, the most extensive of all international organisations, and regional alliances like the OAS, SAARC, NATO, and EEC, have grown in importance. These multinational organisations, which follow their own set of rules, offer places for collaboration and dispute resolution. These groups were founded to promote member state cooperation in the areas of technology, culture, economics, and military affairs. All of these groups and institutions are relevant to interstate interactions; hence they fall under the purview of international relations.
6. **War and Peace-** The majority of studies on international relations centre on the issue of war and peace. It is a problem just as much as human survival. Conflicts between two or more nations or their groups are frequently caused by conflicts of interest and struggles for supremacy among them. War is a phenomenon that is as old as the state itself, and it is usually followed by peace negotiations and actions. Today, this field studies war and peace more methodically. Understanding international relations is crucial for understanding humanity as a whole and calls for an interdisciplinary approach to analysis.
7. **National Interest-** The goals of sovereign governments are their national interests, which they pursue with the aid of force and by using foreign policy as a tool. In a sense, the focal point around which international relations assembles is national interests. As Hartmann accurately notes, the mechanisms by which governments modify their national interests to those of other states are the main focus of international relations as a subject of study. As a result, the conduct of national policy revolves around the issue of national interest. Analysing the past and present of a country's foreign policy can now be done with the help of the national interest study.



8. **Ideologies-** The growth of competing ideologies including liberalism, totalitarianism, Nazism, fascism, capitalism, socialism, and communism is another feature of the twentieth century. Ideological problems gained prominence on the global stage as a result of conflicting political, economic, and social systems. Many of the global issues that have arisen after the First World War have ideological undertones, which has further complicated ties between states. Although there has been debate in the past few years about the end of ideology and the de-idolization of international relations, ideologies are still important to consider when studying international relations. It is necessary to consider both the idealisation and deidealization processes in order to comprehend modern international relations.
9. **Foreign Policy-** Foreign policies are how sovereign states conduct their international relations and communicate with one another. As such, foreign policies are similar to a national interest charter in international politics, outlining points of agreement and disagreement. It describes the principles by which the state will impose its will and the extent of its overall efficacy. Even if they are not the entire field of study for international relations, foreign policies play a big role in it.
10. **Alliances and Groupings-** While the majority of the large multilateral alliances that were so successful in the 1950s and early 1960s—such as NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO, CENTO, and others—have undoubtedly lost their significance, alliance politics has grown in importance as a field of study in postwar international relations. The development of these military alliances, their level of unity, and their effects on the balance of power among the member states were the main topics of research in the field of international relations. Various than armed alliances, there are various types of groupings: the free world, the Islamic world, the Arab world, the African world, the communist world, etc. They collaborate on a wide range of common topics both inside and outside the UN. International relations deals with the unifying elements, their level of unity, and their conflicts with other groups.
11. **Economic Factors-** Similar to defence interests, economic interests are important in interstate relations since they play a part in political transactions between states. The food crisis, economic planning and development, exchange rates, tariffs, exchange controls, commodity agreements, international trade, balance of payments, foreign

aid, the differences between developed and developing economies, the call for a New International Economic Order, international investment, multinational corporations, international economic agencies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, as well as numerous other UN agencies and regional economic agencies, are all irreducible factors in international relations. While many non-communist models also acknowledge the importance of economic variables in international life, the Marxist approach to international relations placed a strong emphasis on economic factors alone. Insofar as they impact relations between states, economic concerns are under the purview of international relations.

### **1.5.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

Within the field of contemporary social science, international politics is a prominent field of study. Understanding the political and economic interests of other nations has made studying international politics essential for all nations. There have been numerous global conflicts involving major powers in the twenty-first century. Because international politics are changing so quickly every day, scholars who study or do research about the politics of other countries encounter difficulties. Power is a fundamental component of the school of international politics. Powers have a significant role in international politics because they have fluctuated throughout human history and because many great power nations have experienced periods of historical grandeur. Political science and international politics are distinct fields because political science is taught all throughout the world. The modern world is more interconnected than it has ever been in human history. However, the influence of large countries over weak and impoverished nations has complicated international wars. Interests and influence are global. When conducting any type of multidisciplinary engagement, the study of international relations has become essential to comprehending and studying the political and economic interests of every country. These days, new and developing challenges including the environment, globalisation, terrorism, and energy are now part of international politics. The importance of non-state players, such as non-governmental organisations, multinational businesses, and international organisations, is also examined by this discipline. During the period between 1945 and 1991, when the Cold War ended, a number of themes in international relations acquired importance. These include: the rise in importance of non-state actors in international relations; globalisation; energy; the

environment; terrorism; and the revolution in communication. These problems shaped a new world order that was very different from the previous one. The study of international politics became more dynamic, intricate, and comprehensive as a result of this new arrangement.

### **1.5.2 Check Your Progress**

#### **I. Discuss the scope of International Politics.**

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#### **II. Write down the significance of International Politics.**

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### **1.6 CONCLUSION**

Understanding the interactions and power dynamics of states, non-state actors, and international organisations in the global arena is made possible by studying international politics. Anyone engaged in the field of international relations must have a solid understanding of the meaning, nature, and scope of international politics since it serves as a basis for analysing and comprehending the intricate problems and events that define our world. The complexity and dynamism of international politics are traits that represent the various interests, convictions, and goals of the players engaged. International politics deals with a broad range of topics, including trade, human rights, diplomacy, and security. International politics offers important insights into how nations and other actors pursue their interests and negotiate the opportunities and challenges of the global arena by looking at these problems. It is both desirable and necessary to distinguish between international relations and international politics. International relations encompass a broader range of relationships than international politics, encompassing political, economic, geographic, legal, and cultural aspects. International politics is limited to the formal and diplomatic interactions between nations. The nature and content of international politics have changed significantly, especially

after the Second World War, mostly as a result of groundbreaking advancements in communication technology. The days of secret diplomacy are long gone. The diplomacy of summits and conferences has altered the character of international politics. Its purview has expanded to encompass not only official political connections but also a wide range of cultural, scientific, and commercial endeavours.

### **1.7 SUGGESTED BOOKS**

- Baylis, John et al. (eds.) (2015). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. New Delhi: OUP.
- Hocking, Brian and Michael Smith. (2014). *World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Kumar, Mahendra. (2017). *The Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*. Shiva Lal Agrwal.
- Wilkinson, Paul. (2007). *International Relations*. New Delhi: OUP.
- Chatterjee, Aneek. (2018). *International Relations Today*. New Delhi: Pearson.
- Carstnaes, Walter, et al. (eds.) (2012). *Handbook of International Relations*. New Delhi: Sage. George, Jim and Anthony D.
- Heywood, A. (2011). *An Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford publications.
- Basu, Rumki (2012). *International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues*, SAGE Publications.

**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 2: Theories to study International Politics: Idealism, Realism and Neo- Realism**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 2.0. Learning objectives
- 2.1. Key Words
- 2.2. Introduction
- 2.3. Evolution of International Theories
- 2.4. Idealism
  - 2.4.1. Assumptions of Idealism
  - 2.4.2. Check your progress I
- 2.5. Realism
  - 2.5.1. Assumptions of Realism
  - 2.5.2. Check Your Progress II
- 2.6. Neo- Realism
  - 2.6.1. Basic Tenets of Neo- Realism
  - 2.6.2. Check Your Progress III
- 2.7. Conclusion
- 2.8. Suggested Readings

## **2.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Explain the concept of Idealism
- Understand the meaning of Realism and its assumptions
- Examine the Classical and Neo- Realism in International Politics

## **2.1. KEY WORDS**

State, Conflict, National Interest, Force, Power.

**2.2. Introduction-** The diplomatic and political exchanges between the governments of other nations are referred to as international politics. International politics is a relatively new academic field. It is possible to refer to this subject of study as the "youngest of all the social sciences" because of how young it is. As a field of study, international politics looks at the ways in which governments and non-state actors engage in political cooperation and competition. Traditionally, it has focused on the interactions between various countries. International politics were controlled by a steady hierarchy of issues from 1945 until the late 1980s, which was the time of the Cold War. Nowadays, a plethora of non-security concerns vie with security for the focus of decision-makers, impartial analysts, and the general public. Thus, this field has been studying increasing global terrorism, environmental protection, nuclear proliferation, human rights violations, unfavourable effects of globalisation, unfair economic systems, etc. over the past 20 years or so. Even though international relations (IR) were only formally developed and studied in the 20th century, individuals have been methodically thinking about world politics for much longer. The writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu, as well as later theorists like Niccolo Machiavelli of the 16th century, are the origins of the unsentimental power politics emphasis of Realism in the modern age. Similarly, the idealistic perspective on human nature and the potential for human advancement advanced by liberalism finds its foundation in the works of Enlightenment philosophers like Thomas Jefferson and other American democracy founders, as well as Immanuel Kant, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

**2.3 Evolution of International Theories-** In the modern international arena, international relations are crucial for states. The majority of countries work hard to keep friendly relations with other countries. The majority of nations aim to be dominant in the military, political sphere, and economic sphere when it comes to upholding international relations. All nations have the same objective, but they may choose different routes and develop unique plans of action to get there. The maintenance of international relations between nations is the subject of international relations theory. These theories examine the strategies and frameworks that countries use to preserve friendly relations with one another. These theories examine international relations from several angles and aid in the analysis of why maintaining international relations is necessary. Theories of international relations examine and assess these relationships from a theoretical standpoint. These theories are a collection of concepts that describe the operation of the global system. "International politics" is a term that needs no explanation. It was once thought to be the study of international politics, although these days it's more commonly called "international studies" or "international relations." Nonetheless, even though international politics is merely a subfield of political science, its analysis is more interdisciplinary in nature. From the First and Second World Wars to the founding of the League of Nations and the United Nations, world history has seen several ups and downs since 1919. The world has advanced significantly during the past century, and national borders are vanishing. The discipline's nature has changed significantly as a result. The discipline's primary analytical focus is no longer nation-state studies alone. In addition to people and nation-states, a third class of political players is beginning to appear. The study of political science has traditionally concentrated on how people or organisations interact with one another. The aim of these kinds of exchanges was to establish certain widely recognised standards and control people's social lives. Consequently, the nation-state model was the most effective and generally recognised paradigm. The nation-state evolved as a bounded political arena for political activity. It was at this point that international politics began. There are three general phases in the development of the field of international politics.

### **Theories of International Politics-**

#### **2.4 Idealism-**

International relations were established as a field of study following World War 1. The idealist approach was the first theoretical strategy to be used. Scholars of international relations periodically evaluate their work. Since the First World War, international relations (IR) have

produced a vast amount of literature as an organised discipline. As a formal academic discipline, IR must be reviewed on a regular basis. As a result, idealism is included in both traditional and classical conceptions. It is also known as the legal-international approach since its main areas of focus include international organisations and institutions as well as international law. Plato is credited with originating classical idealism as a political theory. As IR, this theory is used in contemporary ways.

International politics gained a normative dimension as a result of the idealist approach's strong emphasis on standards and values. The eighteenth century saw the emergence of modern idealism, which is recognised as the primary source of inspiration for the French and American revolutions. To comprehend the process of writing a realism disciplinary history and its connection to advancement and identity, we need to have a basic understanding of texts from the eras when "idealism" was purportedly in control. A future built on collaboration, mutual understanding, trust, compassion, and nonviolence was imagined and designed by certain intellectuals in the aftermath of the two world wars, which claimed millions of lives. It would undoubtedly be an idealistic reconstruction and portrayal of a world distinct from anarchic international relations compared to the Hobbesian state of nature, in which all nations were perpetually at war, driven by their petty, power-hungry egos and narrowly selfish objectives.

**EXPONENTS-** The following thinkers and statesmen are proponents of Idealism: Jenks, Russell, Deutsch, Haas, Nye, Falk, Best, Bailly, Walzer, Brown and Maclean, Lasswell, Chen, Goodwin, F. C. Northrup, Gentz, Herren Ranke, Corbett, Friedmann, Wilson, Alfred Zimmern, and others. Richard Rossecrance, Robert O. Keohane, Charles E. Osgood, and Richard A. Falk are a few examples of modern idealists.

**2.4.1. ASSUMPTIONS-** According to Kelley, Jr. and Wittkopf, the common assumptions about reality and the consensus that their points of view generated were what turned their movement into a coherent paradigm among academics in the West. They claimed that idealists presented a worldview that was typically based on the following premises:

- Humans are fundamentally "good" and have the capacity for cooperation, mutual aid, and altruism.
- Progress is made possible by humans' innate instinct for the well-being of others;



- Wicked institutions and structural arrangements that provide incentives for people to act selfishly and damage others, including starting wars, are the source of bad human behaviour rather than wicked people themselves;
- The worst aspect of the international system is represented by wars;
- War is preventable and can be ended by dismantling the institutional structures that promote it.
- In order to eradicate war, which is an international issue, global action must be taken as opposed to national.
- In order to eradicate the structures that increase the likelihood of war, international society must reform.
- Idealism is the belief that, in a world that is becoming smaller and more interconnected, progressive individuals bound by common political, economic, and other interests would naturally lead to reason, international peace, and order.

**EXPLANATION-** The idealists provide the following justifications and solutions for resolving global issues and transforming global anarchy:

- In the mainstream international organisational components of this method, states serve as primary players and units of analysis. Reorganising the foreign state system's institutions and legal framework can lead to a gradual transformation of its operations.
- Moral states ought to behave morally in international relations, abstain from all forms of conventional power politics, and adhere to nonpartisanship norms.
- In an effort to replace the territorial state system, which is unstable and competitive, efforts should be undertaken to establish supranational organisations. Idealist institutional solutions to the problem of war were characteristic of the establishment of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation, as well as an emphasis on international cooperation in social problems as means of achieving peace.
- There was also a suggestion for legal war control. It demanded new international standards to prevent conflict from starting and to limit its destructiveness if it does.
- The constraints imposed by international institutions and laws on traditional nation-state diplomacy, statecraft, the use of collective security to maintain the balance of power and wage war, the settlement of the Pacific, multilateral conference diplomacy, the institutionalisation of public opinion worldwide, etc.

- Idealists also advocated abolishing firearms as a means.
- During the idealistic era, efforts to achieve worldwide disarmament and armaments control served as symbols of the way to peace.
- Since idealists believe that up to this point, conflicts have been between dictatorial and democratic regimes, efforts should be done to ensure that these forces vanish. The primary causes of war in the world have been totalitarian regimes. The world would be at peace and harmony if they were eliminated.

### **CRITICAL EVALUATION**

There are numerous reasons to criticise idealist theory. The majority of the presumptions that form its foundation are only partially true. Despite having many conventions and ideas, it is not at all like reality. It makes sense why it is called utopian because it is fictitious and impractical. Its recommendations for improving the global situation are challenging to put into practice. World government or world federation is nowhere in sight. As a result, idealism is unable to offer a satisfactory explanation for global politics. The idealist desires an empire and regulations, but he or she fails to see that in order to handle situations where these qualities are lacking, one must become knowledgeable about the "science" or maxims of international politics. It offered a clear and relatively simple topic of attention throughout the early phases of international studies.

#### **2.4.2. Check Your Progress I**

**I.** Write in detail the Idealist theory of International Politics?

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**II.** Describe the Assumptions of Idealism Theory.

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### **2.5 Realism-**

The most prevalent school of thinking in international relations following World War II has been realism, which is still relevant in the current context. The realist school of thought primarily considers power and how states utilise it. Stated differently, its primary focus lies in actual politics. On the other hand, practicality dictates that pressing needs shouldn't be overlooked in the moment. Realists contend that the national interest will always be the highest political priority, whereas idealists contend that human values will eventually become the primary concern of all people. Realists believe that pursuing policies with long-term goals and idealistic concepts that seem unachievable is pointless. The idealist or utopian view, which sees power politics as only an aberrant or transitory stage of history, and the realist approach have little in common.

### **2.5.1 REALISM: MAIN ASSUMPTIONS-**

- **States are the Primary Actors in the International System-** Three explicit meanings are associated with this realism assumption: i) Sovereign state conflicts occur in the field of international politics. International politics revolves around the confrontational interactions between these sovereign states. (ii) States are independent, logical actors in international affairs. Sovereign governments are incredibly strong, cohesive, have set political objectives, and perform cost-benefit analyses—at least conceptually. (iii) Every state aims to advance and protect its own "interest" when interacting with other states. Every state's primary concern is its own security and power expansion. (iv) Every state aims to protect and amass power in order to guarantee its own security. Just having power prevents others from attacking it.
- **International Politics is Anarchic in Character-** International relations is defined by "anarchy" in realism. When there is anarchy, there is no "central authority" or "world government" to regulate or establish order in the interactions between sovereign states that are wary of one another and that, in an attempt to feel safer, keep accumulating power. An assumed political state known as "anarchy" occurs when there is no global authority to maintain law and order. This presumption "frees" the state to act in its own best interests or the "national interest" by relying only on its own resources and conducting cost-benefit analyses. Political, military,

technological, and economic might must all continue to grow and develop into a formidable force; otherwise, the state may jeopardise its security and existence.

- **Control over Material Resources is Fundamental to World Politics-** Every state continuously aspires to obtain the greatest amount of control over its material resources in order to increase its capabilities, and this control-driven tendency is essential to world politics. By associating this assumption with other presumptions that the method promotes, realism attempts to defend it. States are motivated to control material resources for three reasons: 1) there is no central authority to allocate resources among its constituent units in a reasonable manner; 2) there is a shortage of material resources; and 3) material resources increase a state's ability to use coercion against its rivals, which is essential in anarchic political systems. These justifications push a state to develop ever-greater capabilities. The principles and insights of Realism, which form the foundation of the Realist School, have been explored by several researchers in addition to E. H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, and Kenneth Waltz. Of course, these academics differ greatly from one another—between Morgenthau and Waltz, for example. That said, realism is comprised of multiple strands or categories, even though its fundamental assumptions and tenets are the same.

### **CLASSICAL REALISM**

There is a vast and rich philosophical history that realism has inherited. Important writings from Greece, Rome, India, and China contain its main points. According to academics, Thucydides, the Greek philosopher, demonstrates realism's doubt on the restraints of morality in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and his idea of a "state of nature" are major sources of inspiration for realists. The release of Edward Hallett Carr's *The 20 Year's Crisis* in 1939 is typically cited as the catalyst for the development of twentieth-century "Classical" Realism. A few more Classical Realists made contributions in the 1940s and 1950s. But after being published in 1948, Hans Morgenthau's *Politics among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace* emerged as the unchallenged champion of "Political Realism." "Classical" Realism holds that human nature is rooted in the desire for power and the accumulation of power. It seems sense that states are constantly fighting to expand their powers without boundaries. "Classical" realism attributes human

nature's propensity for strife and war. Certain conflicts are justified, for instance, by belligerent leaders or by internal political structures that allow avaricious local factions to pursue self-serving expansionist overseas strategies.

#### **Tenets of Classical Realism-**

- **International politics is power politics:** Realism, sometimes known as "Political Realism," professes to provide a "realistic" explanation of IR. Idealism and wishful thinking are absent. Power and self-interest are at the core of global politics. For this reason, the "classical" realism model of international politics is often known as the "power politics" paradigm. Politics, according to Morgenthau, is "a struggle for power over men," and "the modes of acquiring, maintaining, and demonstrating power determines the technique of political action." Power is the immediate purpose of politics, regardless of its ultimate end.
- **State egoism and conflict:** Man is inherently competitive and self-centered; in other words, egoism is what makes us human. The state is exactly the same. Moreover, the state system functions within the framework of global anarchy. Therefore, the central idea of realist theory can be summed up as follows: power politics = egoism + anarchy. One distinctive aspect of "Classical" Realism is its strong egoistic explanation of power politics.
- **A logical statecraft advances the interests of the nation:** The Realism School places a strong focus on statecraft. In particular, "classical" realists do it. The idealism that resulted in the formation of the League of Nations and the Versailles Treaty were harshly criticised by E.H. Carr. Carr claimed that when drafting the peace treaties, world leaders let "wishing" to take precedence over "thinking." The winning powers' dominant cognitive processes were motivated by retaliation rather than logic.
- **Serving the national interest is political morality:** In the Realist tradition, the national interest serves as the primary guidance when it comes to statecraft. This worry draws attention to the Realist perspective on political morality. Realism's detractors view it as immoral; some even claim it is morality-free.

#### **2.5.2 Check Your Progress II**

- I. Describe the Realist theory of International Politics.

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II. Write in detail about the Classical Realism.

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## **2.6 NEOREALISM**

The 1970s saw the emergence of fresh concepts, some of which challenged "Classical" Realist presumptions. These concepts collectively come to be known as "Neorealism," or "Structural Realism," as Kenneth Waltz refers to them. In 1979, Waltz used the term "structural realism" in his Theory of International Politics. International political theories can be produced at "three levels of analysis - individual, the state, and the international system," according to Waltz. The primary shortcoming of "Classical" Realism is its inability to account for behaviour at a level higher than the state. International politics are solely explained by the character and actions of states, according to classical realism. To put it another way, the fundamental ideas of "Classical" Realism are egoism and national interest. Waltz makes a significant advancement. He uses the framework of the international system to explain state behaviour. Stated differently, Neorealism employs a "the outside" perspective to explain international politics, whereas "Classical" Realism views it from "the inside." Neorealism emphasises the effects of anarchy by refocusing attention from the state to the international system. The fact that states function in an area devoid of a formal central authority gives rise to the features of international existence. Waltz makes use of ideas of systems. According to him, a system is made up of components that interact with one another and a structure. Three components make up political structures: the distribution of capabilities, the nature of the units, and an organising principle. According to Waltz, there are two aspects of the international system's structure that never change: anarchy, which results from the absence of a central authority, and self-help, which keeps all of the units functioning similarly. As a result, the distribution of capabilities is the only structural variable, and the primary differentiation between bipolar and multipolar systems is made. Put another way, the power difference between nations

becomes important in the anarchic world system when all governments are concerned about security. The world politics are shaped by the relative powers of states.

### 2.6.1 Basic Tenets of Neo- Realism

- **Anarchy is the organizing principle of the International System:** The fundamental distinction between Neorealism and "Classical" Realism is their divergent perspectives on the origins and nature of state preferences. Unlike 'Classical' Realism, Neorealism disregards the internal composition of various governments. Morgenthau's "Classical" Realism was predicated on the idea that state leaders are driven by a desire for power. Waltz's theory, in contrast, makes the minimal assumption that states want to survive and ignores state characteristics and the motivations of leaders as causal variables for international outcomes. Put differently, Waltz disregards two fundamental tenets of "Classical" Realism: the expansion of state authority and egoism. Rather, he examines the third premise, which is the anarchy within the global system. There are two important aspects to remember: states in the anarchic international system are linked to one another. Notable changes occur in various sectors of the international system when certain units or their relationships with one another alter. Second, the international system is not the totality of its constituent elements. Instead, the characteristics and behaviours of the international system differ from those of its constituent parts.
- **Security Dilemma:** Many of the findings drawn by Neorealism and Structural Realism are similar to those of "Classical" Realism. But it does so by examining systemic reasons as opposed to those at the individual and state levels. This indicates that it places greater emphasis on the anarchic nature of the international system in which governments function than on the nature of humans. Kenneth Waltz highlights the differences between his methodology and Morgenthau's. In contrast to "Classical" Realism, which holds individual, self-centered, and narrow-minded people accountable for war, Waltz identifies the international system's anarchic structure as the primary cause of war's repeated occurrence. According to him, states are victims of the "security dilemma," in which a state's attempts to maintain its existence endanger the security of neighbouring states. Waltz contends that in an anarchic international system, a state's only reasonable course of action is to retain sufficient military and political might to defend itself against attack, in line with realism's

concept of self-help. In the process, it might spend money on new armaments or form alliances with nations that might or might not support it in times of need. Regrettably, neighbouring states perceive these self-defense measures as menacing, prompting them to bolster their own armed forces and form alliances in response. In a world defined by mutual suspicion, one state's attempts to safeguard its survival make other states less secure, forcing them to respond with their own self-help strategies.

- **Balance of Power, Polarity and Stability:** Bloodshed and overt violence are not always the result of states' tendency to view other states as foes. Rather, Neorealists and "Classical" Realists share the fundamental belief held by all Realists: the balance of power can contain conflict. However, Neorealists view the balance of power (BOP) as an outcome of the structural dynamics of the international system, specifically the allocation of power between and among nations, whereas "Classical" Realists treat the BOP as the result of careful statecraft. Recall that in Waltz's view, the distribution of power and power capability is a variable rather than a constant. Bipolar systems are typically associated with stability and a lower chance of conflict, whereas multipolar systems are typically associated with instability and a higher risk of war, according to Waltz and Neorealists. This led Waltz and other Neorealists to caution about the ramifications of the post-Cold War era's growing multipolarity and to see the bipolarity of the Cold War as a "long peace" in general. It follows that Neorealists are obviously unhappy with the growing trend of multipolarism.
- **Defensive Realism-** Regarding the appropriate amount of power for a state, structural realists disagree with one another. On this matter, there are two points of view. The first is presented by defensive realists, whose principal proponents are Stephen Van Evera, Kenneth Waltz, and Jack Snyder. Defensive realists contend that since governments desire security, balancing can lead to a stable international equilibrium. They disagree with offensive realists' claim that governments aim for hegemony, arguing that doing so is counterproductive from a strategic standpoint. States seek a reasonable balance of power rather than hegemony for a variety of reasons. Initially, other states will counterbalance any state that is too strong. Second, conquering is possible, but it would not be profitable due to its high expenses. Nationalism makes it hard to subjugate the conquered. These elements would restrict a state's desire for power should they endanger their own existence.



- **Offensive Realism-** In his 2001 book *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, John Mearsheimer presented offensive realism as Kenneth Waltz's neo-realism's heir. He contends that states prioritise power over security. States are always looking for ways to increase their authority, and hegemony is the ultimate objective. This makes it more difficult to balance the way to create equilibrium in international politics. According to offensive realists, balancing is frequently ineffective, allowing an aggressor to exploit its opponents. States that are under danger occasionally turn to buck passing rather of forming an alliance to oppose an enemy. This implies that they stay out of the picture and rely on other states to neutralise the possible enemy. Aggression is encouraged by such behaviour. Furthermore, offensive realists contend that history typically demonstrates that the party that starts a conflict wins. Although hegemony is elusive, the United States established its dominance in the Western Hemisphere during the 1800s.

### 1.6.2 Check Your Progress III

I. What do you know about the theory of Neo-Realism.

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**2.7 CONCLUSION-** The field of international relations is still characterised by the conflict between idealism and realism. On the one hand, realism contends that power struggles and survival instincts drive international politics, leaving states in a state of perpetual conflict devoid of any chance for advancement or evolution. As opposed to this, idealism holds that a world of harmony, wealth, and well-being may be created via human collaboration and shared ideals and ambitions. This unit has goal to evaluate the idealism vs. realism issue from an ontological perspective while also taking into account the controversy it has sparked. Two extreme and diametrically opposed ontological perspectives on international relations, which arise from disparate ideas and deeds regarding how States behave in a global society, can be used to describe the argument between idealism and realism. Nevertheless, they do not preclude one another. The question of whether states, in their capacity as sovereigns, have to abide by moral standards

or other interests, such as laws or regulations, or whether they can act in a way that best serves their goals and interests—which are exclusively focused on maximising power—arises in the context of international politics. These ontological visions are not reconcilable, and can coexist in constant tension with each other.

## **2.8 Suggested Readings**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 3: Dependency Theory: Meaning, Features, Views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 3.0. Learning objectives
- 3.1. Key Words
- 3.2. Introduction
- 3.3. Origin of the term Dependency
- 3.4. The basic premises of dependency theory
  - 3.4.1 Check Your Progress I
- 3.5. Views of Andrew Gunder Frank
  - 3.5.1. Frank's main argument
  - 3.5.2. Check Your Progress II
- 3.6. Views of Wallerstein (World System Theory)
  - 3.6.1 Core, Periphery and Semi-Periphery
  - 3.6.2 Check Your Progress III
- 3.7. Conclusion
- 3.8. Suggested Readings

### **3.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Know about the genesis of the Dependency Theory.
- Learn about the ideas of A.G Frank.
- Learn about the World System Theory of Wallerstein.

#### **3.1. Key Words**

Dependency, Development, Underdevelopment, World System Theory

#### **3.2 Introduction**

Dependency theory holds that the Third World economies' integration into the capitalist global system is precisely what has led to the condition of underdevelopment. Therefore, dependency in development studies refers to a situation where a certain nation or region depends on another for growth, assistance, and survival. The economically impoverished nations of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and Latin America are referred to as the third world countries. These nations are seen to have many traits, including large birthrates, poverty, and a reliance on more developed nations for economic support. Therefore, the word suggests that the third world is exploited and that revolution is in store for it.

Dependency theory of development is a theory of international relations that looks at the interactions and ties between countries in the Global North and Global South, where the latter frequently depend on the former for commerce, economic assistance, and other things. The more contemporary forms of dependency theory can be traced back to the work of Raul Prebisch in the 1950s, but their roots are in Marxist philosophy. While researching development and international relations, Prebisch found something fascinating in the states of Latin America. Specifically, "Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that growth in richer countries did not always translate into growth in less developed countries." Moreover, their research revealed that significant economic issues in the poorer countries were frequently caused

by economic activity in the richer countries. Neoclassical theory did not foresee such a scenario. Prebisch therefore looked for an explanation for the economic conditions that resulted from the rich states becoming richer and the economic imbalance that was not being explained. His original claim was that developing nations were shipping their raw resources to the Global North, which would then process them into completed goods and resell them to the less developed nations. As finished goods, these items had a far higher value than when they were incomplete. Prebisch contended that the economically weaker states ought to change to an import-substitution economy in order to avoid buying these goods from the wealthier states and instead manufacture them in-house so they can resell them on the global market. Scholars contend, however, that there were certain problems with this policy advice for nations in the global south. The post-World War II era is largely to blame for the problems that the states of the Global South have faced. International organisations including the World Bank, the IMF, and the GATT (now known as the World Trade Organisation) were established during that time, in 1944. These organisations were established to enhance economic cooperation, but many detractors contend that wealthy nations also used them as instruments to advance capitalism and neo-liberal economic ideas within the framework of the global economy. However, in the early decades after World War II, the same Global North states that were advocating neoliberalism were at times themselves establishing protectionist policies for their own economic sectors. As a result, several countries in the Global South expressed their policies through these organisations in the decades that followed their founding. For instance, in the 1970s, Global South states addressed the UN General Assembly about a "New International Economic Order," questioning the then-current economic framework, which they saw as maintaining the Global South's dependence on the North (the dependency theory argument) and the North's adherence to policies that they believed would benefit them, even at the expense of the economies of the Global South. Theoretically, the theory was warmly embraced by activists and marginalised members of society in the Global North because they recognised the issues with U.S. international and domestic policy, including treatment of minority groups at home and through their political, economic, and military actions.

### **3.3 Origin of the Term Dependency:**

The Latin 'dependere' and the Latin suffix 'entia' are the two sources from whence the word "dependency" originated. Furthermore, it is important to separate this phrase from "dependency." A state that first owes its allegiance directly to a dominant sovereign entity is

referred to as being "dependent." It suggests that any state can only rely on another strong state for its foreign political and economic needs. Contrarily, dependency approaches the matter from a completely different angle, emphasising international capital, economic class structure, and the state's role in regulating and forming the local, foreign, and class factors that drive the development or underdevelopment of a given nation. According to Raymond Duvall (1978), dependency can be characterised in this way as the process by which peripheral nations integrate into the global capitalist system and give rise to structural distortions within those societies. Dependency theorists really have a tendency to highlight how the growth or underdevelopment of emerging nations is a reflection of the rise of industrialised capitalist nations. Brazilian economist Dos Santos (1970) provided a very insightful definition of reliance. According to him, the economics of some nations are "conditioned by the development and expansion" of other economies, to which the economies of the former are susceptible. Actually, it seems that a developing nation's need on outside influences on its political, financial, and economic systems as well as its technological and cultural life is a necessary part of that relationship. According to Osvaldo Sunkel (1972), dependency tends to "ensure a self-reinforcing accumulation of privilege for special groups as well as the continued existence of a marginal class" and "produce a situation where access to the means and benefits of development becomes selective." Thus, in general, the following characteristics of reliance can be recognised: First, the development of international division of labour and the birth of capitalism are directly associated with the historical phenomena of dependency. Secondly, dependency is a syndrome of related characteristics of a transnational alliance between local and foreign capital and technology, restricted developmental choices and domestic distortions that are caused by the incorporation of peripheral countries into the orbit of international capitalist system.

### **3.4 The basic premises of dependency theory are:**

1. Low-income countries offer inexpensive labour and natural resources. They serve as export hubs for outmoded technology as well as markets for wealthy countries, without which the latter could not support their current level of living. In their exchanges with wealthy nations on the market, poor nations are at a disadvantage.
2. Rich countries deliberately use a variety of strategies to keep their citizens dependent. This power encompasses banking and money, politics, economics, media control, education,

culture, sports, and all facets of human resource development, including hiring and training employees.

3. Rich nations fiercely oppose any attempts by poor nations to buck their power through economic sanctions and perhaps even military action. The impoverishment of the peripheral nations is not due to their lack of integration, despite what proponents of free market economics frequently claim, but rather to the manner in which they are incorporated into the global system.
4. Underdevelopment is an entirely distinct state from undevelopment. The latter phrase only describes a situation where resources are not being utilised. The continent of North America, for instance, was seen by European colonists as undeveloped since it was not aggressively farmed to the extent that would have fulfilled its potential. When resources are actively employed, but not in a way that benefits the poorer states where they are found, but rather in the dominating states, this is referred to as underdevelopment.
5. The world's poorest nations are situated in a radically different historical context when it comes to the distinction between underdevelopment and undevelopment. These nations are neither "behind" nor "catching up" to the world's wealthier nations. They are not impoverished because they have not kept up with technological advancements or European states' Enlightenment ideals. They are impoverished because they were forced to integrate into the European economy solely as suppliers of labour at low cost or as manufacturers of raw materials, and they were not allowed to sell their resources in a manner that would have put them in direct competition with the powerful governments.
6. According to dependency theory, there are better ways to use resources than the ways that dominant governments force people to use them. Some criteria are mentioned, however it's unclear exactly what these favoured patterns might be. For instance, export agriculture is one of the prevalent state policies that dependency theorists most frequently criticise. The argument against these economies is that, despite producing large amounts of food for export, many of them have relatively high rates of malnutrition. Many proponents of dependency theory would contend that in order to lower the rates of hunger, those agricultural lands ought to be used for domestic food production.
7. To reiterate what was said before, dependency theorists are predicated on the idea that each nation has a distinct "national" economic interest that should be stated. Dependency theory

and realism actually have a comparable theoretical concern in this regard. The dependence perspective stands out because its proponents contend that meeting the needs of the impoverished within a society is the only way to achieve this national interest, as opposed to meeting the demands of businesses or the government. Determining what is "best" for the impoverished is, in the long run, a challenging analytical challenge. The national economic interest has not yet been operationally defined by dependency theorists.

8. The resource diversion throughout time is sustained not only by the authority of dominating nations but also by the dominance of elites in the dependent states (remember, dependent connections date back to the European expansion beginning in the fourteenth century). According to dependency theorists, the reason these elites continue to have a dependent relationship is because their personal interests align with those of the dominating governments. These elites have comparable ideals and cultures with the elites in powerful governments, where they were typically taught. As a result, a dependent relationship is actually a "voluntary" one. In a dependent state, one need not contend that the elites are intentionally disregarding the interests of their impoverished because they really believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine.

### **3.4.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

- I. Describe the origin of the term Dependency?

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- II. Write down the basic premises of the Dependency theory?

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### **3.5. Views of Andrew Gunder Frank**



Andre Gunder Frank was a left-wing economist and political activist who wrote widely in the fields of economics, social and political history, development studies and international relations. A German national, he is best known today for his work on what he called 'the development of underdevelopment' or 'dependency theory'. He also commented critically on what he called the 'world system' of the 1970s and 1980s that maintained inequality in the world.

### **1.5.1 Frank's main argument:**

Frank posited that within our globalised and interconnected society, certain nations emerge as winners and others as losers. Dependency theory holds that less developed nations' citizens are not to fault for their society' inability to advance. Rather, he put out the theory that Western governments purposefully neglected to advance these nations. He made the case that historically, "core" countries like the United States and the United Kingdom, which comprised the elite "metropolis," had taken advantage of "peripheral" countries by maintaining them as dependent and underdeveloped satellites. Richest countries grow affluent through taking advantage of the poorest countries and using them as a cheap labour and raw material source. He maintained that this exploitative relationship persisted into the twentieth century due to the dominance of Western nations in international trade, the emergence of large multinational corporations, and the dependence of less developed nations on aid from the West. Examples of this exploitative relationship throughout history included the practice of slavery and Western colonisation of other parts of the world.

### **Historical perspective:**

Frank's historical research, which he considered to be crucial to comprehending development concerns, served as the inspiration for his theories regarding underdevelopment. He challenged proponents of modernization theory, such as Walt Rostow, who contend that nations progress as they transition from traditional to modern economies and as they adopt the norms and values of developed nations. He contended that these conceptions of development overlooked the fact that underdevelopment was caused by the capitalist system rather than by it. According to him, there is a presumption that developing nations are merely "behind" the developed world and must catch up. According to him, this perspective—which held that developing nations were currently experiencing a period of history that established nations had long since moved past was ignorant. He claimed that this simplistic view failed to take account of the impact on underdeveloped countries of their relations with developed countries who colonised them throughout history.

Frank also questioned the notion that a nation's underdevelopment was caused by its own economic, political, social, and cultural structures and that the only way to develop such a nation was to replace its existing structures with those of a developed, capitalist hub or "metropole" by "diffusing" (i.e., distributing and spreading) capital, systems, and even values. Instead, he advocated for the exact opposite course of action, arguing that the only way for these impoverished nations to experience economic development was to break free from what he called "the politics of diffusion" and reject the notion that the developed capitalist centres would miraculously intervene by "diffusing" their capitalist characteristics to the impoverished regions. Additionally, Frank disapproved of the "dual society" theory, which was applicable to nations with glaring income or cultural disparities. This notion held that some segments of society—such as metropolitan areas or metropolises—were seen as more advanced, modern, and developed than other segments, which were thought to be more remote, rural, or archaic. The developed portion was perceived as having benefited from capitalism's influence, whilst the other portion still need the benefits of capitalism to be distributed to it. Frank cautioned that adopting this theory which held that capitalism was a beneficial force would only serve to exacerbate the underdevelopment situation.

### **The development of underdevelopment: Satellites and Metropolises:**

Frank carefully examined the historical impacts of capitalism before formulating his theories. For instance, Frank studied the privileged position of cities in the region that originally formed during the 16th century conquest by Spain and Portugal in order to investigate inequality and underdevelopment in Latin America in the 1960s. The city could appear to be a prime example of capitalism's triumph in the developing globe. Frank, however, asserted that the city's current purpose was to economically subjugate the native population that resided in the nearby rural settlements. According to him, the city was the "metropole" that ruled the "satellites" in its immediate vicinity. Similarly, these metropolises served as the dominating nation's satellites within the European colonial space. According to Frank, this "metropolis-satellite" relationship has sustained itself throughout history, allowing resources to be extracted from satellites and returned to the dominant metropolis. According to him, his research on the histories of Chile and Brazil supported this theory, showing how the "satellite underdevelopment" chain affected these nations' interactions with Europe as well as their own internal economies. He also noted how the

"satellite metropolis" relationship persisted at different levels, entwining the most remote regions of Latin America into a network that benefited capitalist Western nations.

### **1.5.2. Check Your Progress II**

I. What are the main arguments of A.G Frank?

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II. Discuss the dependency theory of A.G Frank.

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### **1.6 Views of Wallerstein (World System Theory):**

Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory is a more thorough interpretation of dependence theory. World Systems theory is centred on a more expansive geographic framework than the moderate and radical dependence theorists, who restrict their research to the economic relationships between the core and periphery. It is based on Lenin's interpretation of imperialism, and World Systems theory maintains that the evolution of global capitalism is the sole framework for interpreting the modern world. Since the "long" sixteenth century (1450–1640) saw the emergence of the capitalist world economy in Europe, there is only one world system in existence today. The "production for the market to gain the maximum profit, and unequal exchange relations between the core and the peripheral states" are the hallmarks of the global capitalism economy, according to Wallerstein. Additionally, the global capital has created a hierarchical framework that establishes each state's place in the global economy. The core takes advantage of the periphery through market mechanisms and hierarchical organisation.

As a third classification between the "periphery" and the "core," Wallerstein presents the "semi-periphery." The developing economies of South Africa, Brazil, China, India, and other semi-peripheral states are distinguished by characteristics like big populations, modern industries, and cities. World Systems theorists assert that it is extremely uncommon for a position to shift within the core/periphery/semi-periphery hierarchy. As a result, the core, periphery, and semi-periphery

of the global capitalist economy continue to exist. As a result, modernization and liberal conceptions of socioeconomic and political growth are criticised by the World Systems theory. Furthermore, according to World Systems theory, the semi periphery states split the periphery, making it challenging to form a cohesive resistance against the core. Because of the divides between the semi-periphery-periphery groups, the core continues to preserve its control. But according to the World Systems theory, capitalism will eventually collapse and be replaced by socialism due to the contradictions that exist inside the global capitalist economy.

### **Core, Periphery and Semi-Periphery:**

According to the world-systems analysis the origin and expansion of capitalism and simultaneously, the international division of labour divided the world economy into four economic zones namely, core, periphery, semi-periphery and external areas.

### **Core Countries:**

The world's most powerful and dominant nations, both militarily and economically, make up the core. The core nations possess the means of production, are highly industrialised, and have highly skilled labourers. Actually, the highly skilled labour from other economic zones is drawn to them due to their high degree of industrialization and technological innovation. Rather than producing raw materials, the core countries are manufacturers. They are at the forefront of all industrial and technical advancements. These are the nations that have benefited most from the capitalism system and concentrate on capital-intensive industries. They are able to take control of global trade and profit from capital surpluses in this trade because they have a powerful and dominant bourgeoisie class in their local area. Significant influence is exerted by the core countries over non-core countries. By controlling and taking advantage of the peripheral nations, they gain tremendous advantages. These are marketplaces for inexpensive labour and raw materials from countries on the periphery. They take advantage of the peripheral nations by charging a premium for their manufactured goods and commodities. Additionally, they earn handsomely from capital investments they make in peripheral nations, rendering such nations vulnerable and dependent on them. The history of the global capitalism system demonstrates that groups of core countries have competed to build their supremacy over periphery countries in the desire for economic domination and access to resources. There have been instances where a core nation has succeeded in asserting its dominance over others.

### **Periphery Countries:**

The world's militarily and economically disadvantaged and exploited nations are known as the peripheral countries. They have a reservoir of unskilled workforce, are the least industrialised, and often own very little of the global manufacturing means. The economy of peripheral nations is mostly based on agriculture and the production of cash crops, with a sizable population of peasants. They are the main suppliers of raw materials to the core countries and lack robust central administrations. They must rely on oppressive labour practices, which are frequently imposed externally by the governments of the core countries, and they participate in labor-intensive industry. They are susceptible to investments from transnational and multinational companies based in core nations, which appropriate a large portion of the excess produced by unfair trade. The periphery countries manifest high degree of social inequality. They have a small bourgeoisie class, which fulfils its vested interests by forging connections with the multinational and transnational corporations. Numerous instances of core countries establishing or attempting to establish their monopoly over periphery countries in order to maximise their profits and benefits are abundant in the history of the global capitalist system. Wallerstein's theories of trade and investment concentration—which hold that investments and commerce between peripheral nations are primarily made by a small number of core nations, if any at all—become applicable in this situation. The peripheral country's already precarious situation is made worse by a heavy concentration of trade and investment. If the core country decided to stop trading and investing with the periphery countries, the latter would suffer severe economic consequences. This idea is eloquently shown by the example of Latin America, a periphery with a concentration of investment and commerce with the United States of America.

### **Semi-periphery Countries:**

Countries that lie halfway between the core and the periphery are referred to as semi-peripheral. These are the nations that need to work towards achieving core status while also trying to keep themselves from slipping into peripheral status. Stated differently, developing peripheral and decreasing core countries can give rise to semi-peripheries. These are emerging and industrialising nations, with increasingly diverse economies. Semi-peripheral countries have more developed and varied economies than periphery countries. They do not, however, have the same level of dominance in global trade as the core nations. They have import and export agreements with the core and periphery nations, respectively. Wallerstein argues that semi-peripheries are absolutely necessary for the stability of the global system. The two opposing

economic zones, the peripheries and the cores, are buffered by the semi-peripheries. They demolish and redirect groups in peripheral areas that may undermine the control of core-states by easing political pressures, tensions, and dissent.

**External areas:**

Furthermore, Wallerstein concentrates on the exterior domains. These are regions that do not fall within the global economic system. They are the ones that have minimal impact on international trade and uphold an independent division of labour. Rather than trading with the outer world, they conduct internal commerce. For a considerable amount of time up to the 20th century, when it joined the European global economy, Russia fit this description.

**3.6. Check Your Progress III**

1. Write down the World System Theory of Wallerstein.

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**3.7 Conclusion:**

According to dependency theory, developing countries give resources to industrialised countries at their own expense. This notion was developed in 1960 by a researcher named Raul Prebisch in response to a statistic. Prebisch observed in his studies that the developing countries provided the riches for the developed ones. Dependency Theory therefore maintains that developing countries are totally dependent on developed countries, which prevents them from being self-sufficient. There are several ways to explain dependence theories, and colonialism is one of them. Colonialism postulates that developed countries occupied previously unoccupied areas, using their military might and clout to seize control of the new areas' natural riches.

**3.8.Suggested Readings**

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 4: NATIONAL POWER: MEANING, NATURE, KINDS, DETERMINANTS AND  
ITS LIMITATIONS**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 4.0. Learning objectives
- 4.1. Key Words
- 4.2. Introduction
- 4.3. Meaning of National Power
  - 4.3.1 Definitions of National Power
- 4.4. Nature of National Power
  - 4.4.1. Check Your Progress I
- 4.5. Kinds of National Power
  - 4.5.1. Check Your Progress II
- 4.6. Determinants of National power
  - 4.6.1 Check Your Progress III
- 4.7. Limitations
- 4.8. Suggested Readings



#### **4.0.LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Learn about the meaning of National Power.
- Examine different kinds of National Power.
- Understand the determinants of National Power.

#### **4.1.KEY WORDS**

State, Power, Geography, Force, Military, Ideology

#### **4.2 INTRODUCTION:**

From the beginning of human history, power has been at the core of human connections. Power is a fundamental component of politics and plays a significant influence in international relations. A state's standing in the international arena is based more on its military might than its level of civilization or culture. The dictionary meaning of the term power is “that in a person or thing which enables them to act on other persons or things”. An essential element of international politics is national power. International politics is essentially the process of nations vying for dominance in order to achieve their respective national interests and aims. Due to each nation-state's sovereign status and the lack of a fully functional, centralised international machinery that could authoritatively allocate values among the nations, each state is always required to secure its national interests through the exercise of its national power.

#### **4.3 MEANING OF NATIONAL POWER**

National power is the capacity or ability of a nation with the use of which it can get its will obeyed by other nation. It has to do with the ability to use force or the threat of using force against other countries. A nation can utilise national power to exert control over the actions of other nations so that they conform to its own wishes. National Power is an important component in international politics. Amidst absence of a central, regulatory international mechanism, every state secures its national interests by asserting national power. In a nutshell, national power is a country's capacity to protect the aims and objectives of its national interests when interacting with other countries. It entails having the ability to threaten or use force, as well as having

influence over others, in order to achieve national interest objectives. A nation's power is determined by a wide range of elements.

#### **4.3.1. DEFINATIONS OF NATIONAL POWER**

According to Hans Morgenthau, “National Power as “A psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter, through the influence that the former exerts over the latter’s mind.”

According to Georg Shwarzenberger, “The power is the capacity to impose one’s will on other by reliance on effective sanctions in the case of noncompliance.”

According to Hartman, “National Power denotes the ability of a nation to fulfill national goals. It tells us as to how much powerful or weak a particular nation is in securing its national goals.”

According to Padelford and Lincon, “National power is that combination of power and capacity of a state which the state uses for fulfilling its national interests and goals.”

#### **4.4. NATURE OF NATIONAL POWER**

For understanding the nature of national power let us know the meaning of terms ‘National’ and ‘Power’.

- 1. NATIONAL:** Generally speaking, the word "national" refers to something that is national. Therefore, a nation's power is referred to as national power. Nonetheless, the notion of "nation" in the context of national power differs from that of political science. A nation is characterised by a strong feeling of national identity among its members, which is based on shared racial, religious, cultural, historical, and economic characteristics, among other factors, according to political science. The word "nation" refers to the authority of the assembly of statesmen, diplomats, and decision-makers who act on behalf of the nation when discussing national powers. More precisely, it refers to the authority of those in charge of crafting and carrying out the country's foreign policy in an effort to achieve its objectives. The power of the state's entire populace does not equate to national power. People's perception of the power of decision-makers as their own is solely due to a psychological connection. Solutionbooth.com offers business consulting services in IT administration,

consulting, security, and cloud solutions. A country's ability to safeguard its national interests through the ability of its leaders, diplomats, and decision-makers to act more decisively is a true measure of its power. Therefore, in the context of international politics, national power genuinely refers to the capacity of a nation's decision-makers to protect their country's interests.

2. **POWER:** To comprehend the essence of power within the framework of National Power, it is important to differentiate between Power and Force, Power and Influence, Force and Influence, and various other aspects of power.

**A. Power and Force:** Force is defined as physical force, violence inflicted by the state, jail, fines, or even war. A psychological connection of control supported by the use of force or the threat of using force is known as power. Power is supplanted by force when genuine military or police action, including physical force and warfare, is employed to achieve specific goals. Wolfe and Coulomb's equate "force with military capacity of a nation, either in reserve or actualized." They regard power as "a wider concept that not only includes the threat or the actual use of force but may also rely on positive and non-violent means of persuasion, such as economic rewards, acts of cooperation and ideological solidarity."

**B. Power and Influence:** There is a small distinction between influence and power. These concepts are closely associated, sharing comparable factors and sources, and even with regard to the intended outcome. Both require the capacity to influence other people's behaviour in a desired way. The two, though, are not interchangeable. Power entails the use of force or the threat of using it. Political and legal power are supported by the state's authority or sovereignty. Influence is the process of trying to persuade someone else to act in a certain way rather than using force or threats. Influence has a greater democratic reach than power and a wider sphere of application. While nations attempt to influence one another, their ability to use force or the threat of using force ultimately determines their level of success. Hence, the true currency of international politics is power rather than influence. Influence plays a submissive role to power. Just strong nations possess the ability to exert influence. Power is therefore neither force nor influence. However, at the moment, it incorporates both influence and force in one way or another.

- 3. National Power is both a Means as well as an End in International Relations:** The ability to influence the actions of other governments in order to achieve specific goals is known as national power. It is acknowledged as the means by which a country can achieve the desired goals—peace, security, advancement, growth, prestige, and increased power. In order to protect their interests in international relations, nations utilise power. Because of this, power becomes a tool in international relations. Power is, however, actually sought after as a goal or as a means to an end. Power is desired by nations for both their present and future requirements. As a result, they constantly strive to accumulate power reserves and hence chase power as a goal. In other words, power is a means to an end, much like money.
- 4. National Power is the Ability to Secure Goals of National Interest:** National power is the capacity or ability of a country to affect or modify the actions of other countries in order to protect the objectives of its own national interest. In this kind of partnership, a strong country can use international relations to further its own national interests. A country's capacity to achieve its goals and objectives in international relations is a key indicator of its national power.
- 5. National Power is Dynamic and Relative in Character:** The strength of a nation is always based on its resources and time. A country's power must be evaluated by comparing its national strength to that of other countries as well as by analysing its own capabilities and capacities. National Power is also dynamic. It never stops rising or falling. The disastrous outcome of India's conflict with China in 1962 significantly diminished India's national power in international affairs. However, a fairly decent showing in the 1965 war with Pakistan and a resounding triumph in the 1971 war significantly increased India's national power. India's capacity to exert influence on other countries significantly expanded in the post-1971 era. India's national strength has been further bolstered by its standing as one of the founding members of the Non-aligned, a significant leader of the Third World, and positive advancements in economic and technological growth. Unfortunately, India's capacity to wield influence in international affairs has occasionally been negatively impacted by certain internal concerns and challenges. India's influence in international affairs has been constrained by internal unrest. India's national power has therefore been dynamic, as have the powers of other countries. Because national power is dynamic and non-stable, it must be continuously, or at least occasionally, assessed in order to comprehend the place of the

country in international relations. The national power is always changing. A strong nation may in the future grow weaker or stronger. This is dependent on the numerous facets of national power as well as shifts in the power potential of neighbouring countries. A nation's might is always measured against the powers of other nations, especially its enemies. The US's increased influence in international affairs in 1990 was a result of the USSR's collapse and the Russian government's decline.

- 6. No Two Nations Have Equal Power:** It is also important to remember that no two countries can or should have total power. Between two equally strong superpowers, great powers, or major powers, there can only be a loose equality. A nation's might is always greater or lesser than the combined power of all other nations.
- 7. There Are Several Elements of National Power:** A nation's capabilities, which are based on a number of variables like geography, population, industrial capacity, diplomacy, military readiness, quality of leadership and governance, etc., are frequently used to analyse and evaluate a country's power. An assessment of a nation's national power necessitates a quantitative and qualitative analysis of all these aspects.
- 8. Actual Power and Potential Power:** Additionally, a nation's prospective power must be examined in addition to its current power in any examination of its power. Potential power is the electricity that can be generated during emergencies and times of need, whereas actual power is the power that is readily available. It alludes to both the capacity for handling crises and the potential for electricity availability in the future.
- 9. National Power is the Currency of International Relations:** In international relations, every country aims to use its strength to protect its interests. This characteristic leads us to view international relations as a power struggle. The only way to understand the nature of this power conflict is to examine the national powers of different countries. One can assess a country's potential or current position in international relations by analysing its level of national power. It is also necessary to comprehend each country's national interests.
- 10. National Power is the Basis as Well as a Means of Foreign Policy:** A nation's foreign policy is based on its national might. Only that foreign policy, supported by sufficient national force, can effectively secure the objectives of national interest. Again, the national might of each state determines the statesmen's and diplomats' capacity to act and respond with others.

#### 4.4.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Explain the nature of National Power.

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#### 4.5. KINDS OF NATIONAL POWER

The three forms of national power are inseparable from each other. Without economic power no nation can develop her military power, and without the latter no nation can play an active role in international relations. Psychological power can be enduringly and really effective only when it is backed by economic and military power. Some of the major dimensions of national power in international politics are as follows: 1. Military Power 2. Economic Power 3. Psychological Power.

1. **Military Power:** Another significant aspect of national authority is the military. It is thought to be extremely necessary for accomplishing the goal of national security. The most important component of any nation's national interest is security. In actuality, ensuring national security is every country's top priority. Each and every nation prioritises its security since it is always thought that a country's security may be violated by war or other acts of aggression by other states. Every country keeps an army to guard against potential violations of its security. Every nation's security and territorial integrity are thought to be primarily ensured by military force. Therefore, a crucial component of national power is military might. The military might of a state determines its place and significance in international relations. No state can achieve the status of superpower or major power without first developing into a formidable military force. The United States of America is a strong military force and a superpower. Despite having strong economies, Germany and Japan are not seen as great or superpowers due to their meagre armed forces. The components of military power, the military might of other countries, and the other two types of national strength—economic and psychological—must all be considered when assessing a country's military might. Russia, the former USSR's successor, is still a nuclear power, but due to its

fragile economy, it is no longer regarded as a superpower. Despite having a strong military, China is not seen as a superpower.

2. **Economic Power:** The second major aspect of national power is economic power. It is defined by a country's capacity to meet its own demands and regulate the actions of other governments by granting or refusing access to economic products and services. The most important tool available to a state today for influencing the policies and actions of other governments is its economic diplomacy. Without sufficient economic might, no state can rise to the status of a military force. According to Palmer and Perkins “Economic power is inseparable from military power, for it is one of its basic components, to say that under conditions of modern warfare, economic power is military power is only a slight exaggeration.” Rich and developed countries use their economic might to persuade other states to give them loans and other forms of financial assistance. Rich governments also attempt to protect their interests in international relations by using their economic clout. It is employed to secure a desired change in the behaviour of other states by means of both coercion and induction through economic pressure. In fact, economic power is now seen as a form of national power that is even more significant than military power in the modern day. One can cite Japan as an example to support this claim. The fundamental cause of the Third World countries' poor power situations has been their lack of economic might. A country's raw materials, natural resources, food stockpiles, industrial and technological capacity, GNP, trade surplus, means of transportation and communication, GDP, GDP per capita, and other aspects must all be considered when assessing its economic strength.
3. **Psychological Power:** Psychological power is the nation's perception and opinion power. It is common knowledge that persuasive negotiating and propaganda play important roles in international affairs. The states employ these tactics to ensure that other states behave in a way that they desire. The role of this aspect of national power has increased due to advancements in communication, public opinion and the mass media's increased influence over foreign policy, the rise of the open and conference diplomacy era, the acceptance of alternative ideologies, the growth in person-to-person interactions, the role of social movements and NGOs, and the increased importance of publicity and propaganda in international relations. A nation constantly seeks to sway the citizens and leaders of other nations through psychological and cultural tactics. The psychological component of a

nation's strength is its capacity to sway people via organised media attention, cultural and educational exchanges, and other means.

#### 4.5.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Write down the kinds of National Power’.

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#### 4.6. DETERMINANTS/ ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER

Hans Morgenthau has grouped elements of national power under permanent and temporary elements. Organski has classified it into two: natural determinants and social determinants. Natural determinants include geography, resources and population; and social determinants include economic development, political structures and national morale. Palmer and Perkins and several others make a distinction between tangible and intangible elements of national power. Tangible elements are composed of elements that can be assessed in quantitative terms like economic development, resources, geography, population and technology. And intangible elements are non-quantitative such as ideational and psychological factors like ideology, morale, leadership, personality. Introduction Broadly, elements of national power include the following: geography; natural resources including raw materials and food; population; economic development and industrial capacity; technology; military preparedness; ideology; leadership; organization and quality of government; national character and morale. Let us examine each one of them in some details.

1. **Geography:** Among the factors that determine a nation's power, geography is the most constant, observable, everlasting, and organic component. Highlighting the importance of geography, Napoleon Bonaparte once said, “The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography.” We must comprehend the significance of a state's size, location, climate, topography, and boundaries in order to comprehend geography as a component of national power.



2. **Size:** A big nation can better defend its borders by retreating during an assault, has superior natural resources, can support a larger population, and can build significant industrial complexes. However, a huge country may also be an impediment to development due to its topography, climate, and lack of natural resources. The size of a nation could not have much of an impact on international relations. Even though the USA has a smaller territory than Russia, it is nonetheless stronger. Israel has a strong defence system in spite of its modest size.
3. **Location:** England's location aided in its rise to prominence as a naval and imperial force. Because of its position, the USA was able to maintain its isolationist policies, while Canada's proximity to the US has kept it from rising to the status of a superpower.
4. **Climate:** A country's economy, culture, and food production are all influenced by its climate. Their development has been impeded by the extreme heat of the Sahara and the frigid Arctic Zone.
5. **Topography:** A nation may be more susceptible to expansionism if its borders are arbitrary or plain. The USA has benefited from the power of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the Himalayas are widely thought to guard India's northern frontiers.
6. **Boundaries:** Friendly and constructive ties between nations are derived from established and natural boundaries. Unresolved disputes can lead to a weakened national economy.
7. **Natural Resources:** Natural resource self-sufficiency promotes a nation's growth. The development of industry, the construction of military installations, and agriculture—including food self-sufficiency—are all made possible by resource self-sufficiency. In two sections, Morgenthau addressed the importance of natural resources: food and raw materials. Three categories further separate raw materials: first, natural products like rubber, jute, bamboo, etc.; second, minerals like coal, petroleum, iron, copper, zinc, manganese, etc.; and third, animal products like meat, eggs, milk, silk, etc. Morgenthau once remarked, "Nations self sufficient in food are better placed than nations which import food," in reference to "food" as a decisive determinant in national power. Indians became dependent on the United States during the 1950s and 1960s food scarcity. Food aid was a tactic used by the West to influence Indian foreign policy. India was able to establish its national power and achieve food self-sufficiency thanks to the Green Revolution in the 1970s.

8. **Population:** A nation's ability to develop is hampered by its population's laziness, ignorance, incompetence, unemployment, and lack of expertise. A population that is literate, skilled, disciplined, and robust promotes national power and progress in the nation. One way to measure a state's dedication to nation-building is by its investment in human resource development.
9. **Economic Development:** A country's power is also based on its degree of economic development. It is a way to increase both military might and the well-being and wealth of the populace. A nation that is developed, healthy, affluent, and expanding has an effect on the entire world. It can use financial tools including grants, trade, loans, rewards, and aid to further its objectives on a global scale. The United States frequently utilizes market access and aid to influence the actions and policies of other states. Without US approval, the IMF and World Bank never sanction a loan or development aid to a nation. A weak country with a low level of development and poverty faces severe constraints on its ability to govern itself.
10. **Industrial Capacity:** The growth of industrial capacity is facilitated by industrialization and technology. A nation with strong industrial infrastructure could grow to become a superpower. Because of their enormous industrial capacities, the United States of America, Britain, Germany, China, France, and Japan are considered super and great powers. India's less developed industrial sector is the reason for its development gap, even with the country possessing the same raw materials as the USA and Russia. Natural resources are extracted and transformed into industrial commodities with the assistance of an industrial sector. These days, analysts discuss about a "knowledge economy." Countries are being forced to increase their proficiency in these new technologies due to the revolution in communication and information technology as well as the start of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which includes artificial intelligence (AI).
11. **Technology:** Human welfare and advancement are made possible by highly developed technological know-how. Technology is important for the development of the military, the transportation and communication industries, the economy, and society. In international relations, information technology, nuclear technology, space technology, and missile technology have all become significant sources of power and influence. When a nation can manufacture industrial and high-tech goods domestically without relying on imports, its national power increases even more.

12. **Military Preparedness:** It plays a significant role in advancing national interest and the effectiveness of foreign policy. Having access to cutting-edge and complex weaponry can provide one a tactical and military edge. A nation's military readiness is further strengthened by an effective and efficient military leadership and a skilled, trained, competent, committed, and disciplined armed forces. However, since military readiness depends on a nation's industrial capability, technological advancements, strategic considerations, economic strength, and governmental policies, it cannot be used as a stand-alone indicator of national power.
13. **Ideology:** A nation's ideology is an intangible source of power. It may give rise to international friendship or hostility. The world condemned Hitler's Nazism in Germany and Mussolini's fascism in Italy for weakening their respective countries' national powers. Following 1945, the Cold War resulted from the ideological conflict between communism and capitalism, which saw numerous nations form alliances to protect their borders. During the Cold War, India was able to defy the orders of superpowers thanks to its pursuit of non-alignment (NAM).
14. **Leadership:** The efficient and competent use of raw materials, human resources, and natural resources is directed by a strong and determined leader. The nation advances and succeeds under the direction of a responsible, committed, and capable leadership.
15. **Organisation and Quality of Government:** A corrupt and incompetent government squanders human and natural resources and weakens the position of the country abroad. For example, good governance is facilitated by a robust, democratic, efficient, and accountable government, which also raises the country's profile and efficacy in international affairs. Pakistan's economy and society have failed as a result of a feeble civilian administration.
16. **National Character and Morale:** It is an intangible component of national strength as well. National Character describes the characteristics, disposition, and ability of the populace. Indians are recognised for their idealism, tolerance, and religious convictions, for instance. Germans are known for their work ethic and discipline, while Americans are known for their creativity, self-starting nature, and adventurous spirit. "Degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policy of government in peace and war, it permeates all activities of a nation, its agriculture and industrial production as well as its military establishment and diplomatic service," according to Morgenthau, is the definition of national morale. Dam

construction, victory in the 1965 and 1971 conflicts, the development of information technology, and India's consistent economic expansion all raised spirits there. Additionally, its morale was damaged by the war's 1962 defeat, the emergency declared, and the shaky coalition regimes that followed in 1991.

#### **4.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III**

1. What are the determinants of National Power?

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2. Describe the meaning, nature and determinants of National Power.

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#### **4.7 LIMITATIONS**

The effectiveness of national power is diminished by a number of circumstances. One reason is that states are prevented from upsetting the balance of power in the international system by the balance of power. Second, international organisations and the law control state action, as Neorealism emphasises. It establishes a set of guidelines that are mandatory for all of them. Third, moral principles and norms that regulate state action constitute international morality. The international community upholds values such as respecting others' sovereignty, preserving everyone's right to life, and refraining from meddling in their affairs. Fourth, states are compelled by global public opinion to formulate public policies that reflect that sentiment. The strength of global public opinion is demonstrated by the existence of powerful peace movements, campaigns to protect the rights of minorities and ethnic groups, and opposition to sexual abuse, drug prohibition, human trafficking, and nuclear weapons. Fifth, national power is managed by the "collective security" premise. It is predicated on the idea that, in the event of a breach by any

state or states, states work together to achieve peace and security. Lastly, a tool for limiting national power is arms control and disarmament. Arms control is the use of international agreements or policies to lessen or regulate the arms race. Disarmament also refers to the elimination of all current weapons and ammunition.

#### **4.9 Suggested Readings**

- Baylis, John et al. (eds.) (2015). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. New Delhi: OUP.
- Chatterjee, Aneek. (2018). *International Relations Today*. New Delhi: Pearson.
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 5: MANAGEMENT OF POWER: BALANCE OF POWER AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 5.0. Learning objectives
- 5.1. Key Words
- 5.2. Introduction
- 5.3. Meaning of Balance of Power
- 5.4. Nature of Balance of Power
  - 5.4.1. Check Your Progress I
- 5.5. History of Balance of Power
  - 5.5.1 Balance of Power during the Cold War
  - 5.5.2. Methods of Balance of Power
  - 5.5.3 Check Your Progress II
- 5.6. Collective Security
  - 5.6.1. Introduction
  - 5.6.2. Meaning and Definition
- 5.7. Features of Collective Security
  - 5.7.1. UN Collective Security Concept
  - 5.7.2. Nature of Collective Security
  - 5.7.3. Critical Evaluation
  - 5.7.4. Check Your Progress II
- 5.8. Suggested Readings

## **5.0.LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Examine the nature of Balance of Power
- Understand the meaning and concept of Collective Security.

### **5.1.KEY WORDS**

State, Power, Strategy, Multipolarity, Force, Cold War, Anarchy

### **5.2 INTRODUCTION:**

One of the most hotly debated theoretical and practical ideas in international relations is the balance of power. In actuality, it is the most important variable in systemic theories of international stability and the cornerstone of realism in all its forms, especially classical and structural realism. Although the concept of balancing power was present in some form in ancient Greek, Indian, and Chinese statecraft, it gained popularity in Europe from the 17th century. It gained prominence in legal and political philosophy with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Legal scholars and decision-makers considered the idea to be essential to understanding international law and strategy. The idea of balance of power is one whose worth should be thoroughly examined, as evidenced by the fact that academics and decision-makers have found it to be relevant throughout history. According to the theory, peace can be achieved when contending states have a balance of power. However, when there is an imbalance in power, a stronger state can attack a weaker state, depriving it of its security and autonomy. By preventing aggression in the first place and, in the event that that fails, by making sure the aggressor does not materially change the balance of power, the balance of power is meant to keep any power from growing too strong. Realists believe that international anarchy is the birthplace of the balance of power.

### **5.3 MEANING OF BALANCE OF POWER**

The distribution of equal power across nations is known as the balance of power (BoP) in international relations. One state cannot dominate others when power is divided fairly, and no state feels threatened. According to the balance of power hypothesis, if one state gains strength, it

will attack the weaker state, giving the endangered states a chance to band together defensively. According to Sidney Fay, it's a just equilibrium that prevents any nation from being too powerful to impose its will or force on another. "A system in which some nations regulate their power relations without any interference by any big power," is how Inis Claude puts it. There is no global government, according to the logic of the balance of power doctrine. Additionally, in order to defend itself from external attacks, each state must rely on its own arsenal of weapons and tactics. Therefore, in order to counterbalance an opponent that poses a threat to a nation, that nation either mobilises its own resources or forms an alliance with other nations.

#### **5.4 NATURE OF BALANCE OF POWER**

- A.** Unstable and Temporary: BoP has a limited lifespan. Additionally, nations frequently shuffle their alliances and allegiances in order to further their own interests.
- B.** Active Intervention is Necessary: BoP is Not a Natural Endowment. Political leaders must actively intervene in its development and upkeep.
- C.** War puts the rule of law to the test: it keeps conflict from starting and breaks it once it does.
- D.** Not a tool for peace: the unstable global environment is the reason why BoP occurs. Peace is not assured by it.
- E.** Big Powers are the major players: Small powers are either the play's allies, spectators, or victims, while strong powers are the primary forces behind the creation and upkeep of BoP.
- F.** Requires numerous States: In order for BoP to occur, numerous states must uphold power dynamics.
- G.** National Interest is the Priority: Any State may adopt it, and the decision-making process is based on national interest.

##### **5.4.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

1. Explain the nature of Balance of Power.

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## **5.5. HISTORY OF BALANCE OF POWER**

The idea of Balance of Power is as old as time itself. Greeks and Thucydides both employed it; an ancient Athenian political theorist claimed that Balance of Power promotes security in the global order. The idea was brought back to life in the fifteenth century during the Renaissance in the city-states of Italy. Balance of Power took the place of internationalism following the 1648 signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, which established the boundaries between independent states. Balance of Power was in charge of maintaining international security for a century, from 1815 to 1914. But the First World War's beginning in 1914 upset the delicate equilibrium between the various nations. The idea was resurrected from 1919 until 1939, but when the Second World War broke out, it failed once more. During the Cold War, the USSR-led communist governments and the USA-led capitalist powers were in a tenuous balance. Following the fall of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc, the United States assumed leadership of the world stage, and unipolarity became the cornerstone of international relations. The importance of the balance of power (BoP) has increased due to the rise of rising countries like China, India, and others, as well as the resulting multipolarity in the international system.

### **5.5.1 BALANCE OF POWER DURING THE COLD WAR**

The balance of power reached its peak during the Cold War, both conceptually and practically. During this period, the nuclear weapons race and mutual deterrence were major factors in determining the balance of power. As Gaddis (1982) and Mastanduno (1985) note, containment became a key tactic for both superpowers. Leffler 1992 examines this phenomenon in the context of the early phases of the struggle. Despite giving the appearance of preserving a balance of power, both the USSR and the US tried frequently to get the upper hand out of concern that the other would overcome them. As a result, there was a race to acquire conventional and nuclear weapons, and agreements to regulate arms grew to be a way to maintain deterrence. George, et al. 1988 has more information about this. As part of containment measures, the superpowers courted allies from nonaligned nations and waged proxy wars in a number of areas, including Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan. During this time, nuclear deterrent replaced conventional deterrence as the primary goal of balance-of-power tactics. The idea of mutual assured destruction—which is predicated on the idea of balance of power is covered in Jervis 1990, however this relationship isn't always properly explained. Throughout the Cold War, the balance of power changed gradually. The first

phase spanned from the conclusion of World War II until the Soviet Union's detonation of the first nuclear bomb in 1949. During this time, the USSR and the US were building up their domestic armaments stockpiles and forming ally blocs like the Warsaw Pact and NATO in an effort to counterbalance one another. The two superpowers swiftly shifted from seeing each other as allies to adversarial powers, as Larson 1985 contends. Although the Kennedy administration chose a flexible response policy, employing a combination of conventional and nuclear weapons to deter the Soviet Union, the US initially increased its armaments largely through nuclear means. During this time, the Soviet Union's alliance with Communist China started to erode. Kirby et al. (2005) explores how the rapprochement of China and the United States in the 1970s signaled a shift in the balance of power in the United States' favour. The ratification of arms control treaties by the US and the USSR during the 1970s contributed to a period of détente that stabilised the balance of power. Garthoff 1994 has further information on this. With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Reagan administration's attempts to contain the USSR, the relationship became unstable once more in the 1980s during what is sometimes referred to as the Second Cold War. However, the Cold War came to an end when Mikhail Gorbachev sought to defuse tensions with his glasnost and perestroika policies and as the Soviet Union started to fall apart.

### **5.5.2 METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER**

1. Compensation: The majority of it is related to territory. If a state is deemed unsafe for the balance, it is partitioned or annexed. In the event that their colonial possessions or the balance between them were threatened, colonial powers would split the regions among themselves using this manner. European imperial powers split and drew new borders for tiny states before the First World War, particularly in eastern Europe and the Balkans.
2. Alliances and Counter Alliances: To fight the threat, maintain their position, and increase their strength inside the international system, a number of countries form an alliance. An alliance's formation usually results in the development of a counter-alliance. US established CENTO, NATO, and SEATO during the Cold War, while the USSR established the Warsaw Pact.
3. Intervention and Non-Intervention: This authoritarian approach is used to alter or uphold a desired state of affairs within a nation. A few instances are the USSR's involvement in

Afghanistan and the US government's involvement in North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and Iraq.

4. **Divide and Rule:** This strategy uses division to subdue and undermine the opposition. For instance, China has been attempting to splinter the states of ASEAN in order to prevent them from cooperating against its assertive actions in the South China Sea.
5. **Buffer Zones:** Two major powers, who are typically rivals, are divided by neutral zones. Subsequently, every superpower attempts to assert its dominance over the buffer zone, resulting in a conflict between the two major powers within the neutral zone.
6. **Armaments and Disarmaments:** Nations engage in an arms race to acquire more weapons for defence in order to protect themselves inside the international system. This could spark conflict and act as a disincentive to global peace and security. Disarmament, the practice of asking nations to cut back on and eventually do away with the use of weapons for both offensive and defence, is now gaining traction. Weapons bans are demanded by treaties like the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Prohibition of nuclear weapons.
7. **Balancer:** With the unipolarity/multipolarity syndrome in the global order, this idea is employed less commonly these days. However, in the past, Britain served as a counterbalance in Europe. A balancer is impartial and has no affiliation with any of the opposing parties. To maintain equilibrium, it engages in mediation and negotiation between the two.

## METHODS OF BALANCE OF POWER

| METHODS                         | RELEVANCE   | EXAMPLES  |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Alliances and Counter-alliances | Forming coalitions; both offensive and defensive; not permanent   | NATO, SEATO, CENTO, Warsaw Pact   |
| Compensations                   | Partition and division of territories by large powers at the expense of smaller ones.                           | Partition of Germany by the treaty of Versailles, division of Korea and Vietnam after 2 <sup>nd</sup> world war |
| Buffer states                   | States may be placed between powerful states to keep rival powers out of direct contact with each other.        | Nepal and Bhutan serve as a buffer states between India and China.  |
| Armaments and disarmaments      | Armament- increased military power and weaponry; Disarmament- proportionate reduction in arms to end arms race. | USA and USSR stockpiling arms during cold war in the name of security; Disarmament treaties NPT, CTBT etc.      |
| Divide and rule                 | Age old policy of weakening competitors by dividing them territorially or politically.                          | Europe was divided in to western and eastern Europe by US and USSR based on ideological differences.            |

### Critical Evaluation

The following are justifications for why the BoP is a valuable instrument for preserving world peace and stability:

i) The BoP contributes stability to the global order. "BoP has many a times prevented a war," said Fredric Geniz. Only when a state aspires to overwhelming power does war ensue. ii) It assists in making modifications and readjusting in order to stop war from breaking out. iii) Several governments take part in preserving the status quo, which frequently causes bipolarity or multipolarity in the global order.

iv) Small states benefit from the public goods that are provided in balance, such as international peace, law and order, and security.

v) It deters hostilities. In most cases, the threat posed by a hegemonic coalition is met with a counter alliance. A robust opposition restrains either party's overbearing authority.

vi) It contributes to global order and peace. It was successful in averting conflict from 1815 and 1914.

### **Arguments not in favour of BoP are:**

- i) As the world grew more unipolar in the 1990s, BoP became less significant. The USA is the hegemon in terms of military might, and the world is still unipolar. As of right today, no collection of nations can balance the US.
- ii) BoP is insufficient and ineffective as a means of upholding order in global society. It creates a fearful feeling.
- iii) The arrangement of BoP is hazy and unstable. Because it is founded on insecurity and dread, it dominates.
- iv) States typically aren't allowed to leave alliances.
- v) The peace isn't genuine. Human rights protection and morality are the cornerstones of international peace. BoP peace is predicated on a persistent aversion to conflict.
- vi) States change throughout time. Their abilities are constantly increasing or decreasing, which has the potential to jeopardise the stability of BoP.

### **Is BOP Still Relevant?**

There has been a radical shift in international relations. States in Europe used to be in charge. The BoP principle is no longer necessary because of the waning influence of big countries due to the rise of diverse states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Second, the principal European powers in the BoP declined as a result of the end of imperialism and colonialism. Third, the international arena no longer has the balancer. This had been done earlier by Britain. Fourth, the spread of nuclear weapons has brought about a terrible circumstance. Their application may result in a devastating conflict that alters society forever. How is a nuclear power balanced? A world conflict is no longer desired by the nations. Regretfully, Balance of Power does not rule out war. Fifth, a major factor in reducing tensions and promoting harmony and peace has been the establishment of the United Nations and other international and regional entities. BoP comes from a time before there were any international organisations. However, BoP hasn't entirely become outdated. It has moved from the global stage to the regional one. Friedrich and Martin Wright, two of BoP's detractors, acknowledge that BoP remains a crucial component of international relations.

### **5.5.3 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II**

1. Discuss the methods of Balance of Power.

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2. Critically evaluate the concept of Balance of Power.

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## **5.6 COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

### **5.6.1 INTRODUCTION**

It is a security agreement in which a state acknowledges that the security of one is the security of all in the political, regional, or international spheres. As a result, in the event of a threat or breach of peace, the states in an alliance work together to guarantee protection for everyone. Because the combined strength of all nations is utilised to thwart aggression or war against any state, collective security serves as a deterrence against aggression. It is predicated on the idea that violence directed towards one person also targets others. Aggression must be met with collective action by a number of governments in order to maintain world peace and community. In Schleicher's words, "collective security is an agreement among states wherein all pledge to assist one another in the event that any member of the system commits certain prohibited acts (war and aggression) against another member." "Collective" and "security" are the two essential components of collective security. The safety of one country is intrinsically connected to the safety of all countries. International security is embedded in national security. Every nation's security is compromised when one country's security is compromised. By "collective," we imply that a collection of states must deal with the aggressor as a whole. The idea of "All for One and One for All" is emphasized. Organski in his work World Politics lists five basic assumptions of collective security: (i) Member

nation-states will be able to determine who is the aggressor in an armed confrontation. (ii) The commitment of each member nation-state to halting the aggression is equal. (iii) Every member nation-state has the same degree of autonomy and capacity to participate in acts of aggression. (iv) The member states' combined strength will be sufficient to thwart the assault. (v) The aggressor nation will have to change course or risk defeat in the framework of common security. According to Morgenthau, three conditions must be met for collective security to be effective: (i) In order to overcome the aggressor, the combined military might must be greater than his. (ii) The member nations have to have the same views on the stability of international law. (iii) The common good, which is the collective defence of all member states, should take precedence over competing interests among member states.

### **5.6.2 MEANING AND DEFINITION**

A collective security measure is just that—collective security. The objective is symbolised by the term security, while the character of the joined strength to counteract attack is indicated by the word collective. Every state will be considered attacked if there is an attack on one, according to the fundamental tenet of collective security. All nations will now care for each other's security as if it were their own, with security being their shared priority.

According to Morgenthau “one for all and all for one is the watchword of collective security.” On collective security Palmer and Perkins observe “It clearly implies collective measure for dealing with threat to peace”.

George Schwarzenegger has defined collective security as machinery for joint action in order to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order”.

According to F.H Hartmann collective security is basically a mutual insurance plan against aggression anywhere and everywhere.

### **5.7 FEATURES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

- i) A tool for power management: When a war or attack breaks out, collective security is employed to handle the situation in order to maintain world peace.
- ii) It recognises the universality of aggression: It recognises that governments must unite to oppose acts of aggression, which will inevitably occur.

- iii) States are committed to putting an end to aggression: States combine their resources to halt aggression.
- iv) It averts war: An aggressor country will refrain from attacking since it is aware that a collective defence will stop it.
- v) War is the enemy and not the state: Collective Security works towards eliminating war not the aggressive state.

### **5.7.1 UN COLLECTIVE SECURITY CONCEPT**

According to the United Nations Charter, the maintenance of global peace and security may be accomplished through the application of collective security measures. The UN Charter's Chapter VII, "Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace and Acts of Aggression," discusses the collective security system. Articles 39–51 of Chapter VII, which establish a communal framework for preserving world peace and security, are among its thirteen articles. The task of launching collective security measures against the act of aggression has been given to the UN Security Council. The following are covered in the 13 articles.

**Article 39:** Responsibility of Security Council to determine whether an action is an act of aggression or not and to decide on the steps to secure international peace.

**Article 40:** States that the first step towards prevention of war/aggression can be provisional measures like ceasefire.

**Article 41:** Refers to enforcement actions other than collective military actions. It can recommend sanctions against the aggressor.

**Article 42:** Security Council can take military action to preserve international peace and security

**Article 43:** Members of Security Council are required to contribute resources, effort and forces for raising collective security force that may have to take action under Article 42.

**Articles 44-47:** Procedures for raising, maintaining and using UN Peace Keeping Force for collective security action.

**Article 48:** Action on the decision of Security Council is to be taken by all the members or some of them as the Security Council may determine.



**Article 49:** Members of the United Nations have to mutually assist in carrying out decisions by Security Council.

**Article 50:** Lays down the ways in which non-member states can adjust their policies and actions towards the decision that may be taken up by the Security Council under Articles 41-42

**Article 51:** In case of an armed attack against a State, UN accepts the right of the State to individually or collectively take measures for self-defense until the Security Council has taken measures to protect international peace and security.

In 1950, the Korean Crisis was resolved with the first application of collective security. It was utilised once more in the Suez Canal crisis in 1956. It was also employed in the war against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan in 2001, as well as during the crises in the Congo, Hungary, Lebanon, and Iran. However, when the United States attacked Iraq in 2003 without the approval of the United Nations, Collective Security came under intense scrutiny.

### **5.7.2 NATURE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY**

Collective Security stands for preserving security through collective actions. Its two key elements are:

1. All countries have security as their first priority. At the moment, every country's security is intricately connected to the security of every other country. International security encompasses national security. In actuality, any assault on one country's security affects the security of all the nations. Therefore, it is the duty of every nation to protect the victim nation's security.
2. Within the framework of collective security, the term "collective" designates the strategy to be used to protect national security in the case of a war or other hostile act. The combined might of all the nations must be used to counter the aggression's strength. To counteract aggression or put a stop to a war, all states must establish an international preponderance of power.

The underlying principle of Collective Security has been 'One for All and All for One'. Aggression or war against any one nation is a war against all the nations. Therefore, all the nations are to act collectively against every War/Aggression.

### **5.7.3 CRITICAL EVALUATION**

Even if the concept of collective security was developed with the noble goal of maintaining global peace and security, it is overly idealistic. It is assumed that all countries fully comprehend their obligation to defend one another. Furthermore, it's not always easy to pinpoint the attacker. Perhaps the aggressor acted in self-defense. War as a way of securing peace is acknowledged by collective security. Furthermore, there's a good chance that an ideology or special interest could influence a war and make it less impartial. The UN's inability to maintain a permanent international force to uphold the Security Council's resolution on collective security is the other main issue. The procedure is drawn out, and there is a significant lag between the date of attack and the mobilisation and arrival of an international peacekeeping force in the affected area. Last but not least, the idea of collective security carries risk since a local conflict may turn into a worldwide conflict. Despite the aforementioned objections, the goal of crisis management is to maintain international peace and avert conflict by utilising collective security.

#### **5.7.4 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III**

1. Explain the features of Collective Security.

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2. Define the meaning of Collective Security.

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#### **5.8 CONCLUSION**

Important governing principles of the international system are balance of power, national interest, national power, and collective security. Utilising resources such as location, natural resources, population, economic development, technology, military might, industrial capacity, leadership, ideology, diplomacy, and so forth effectively helps states increase their power at the national level. States then protect their individual national interests by using their increased national power. The defence of one's physical, political, and cultural identity against foreign nation-state encroachment

is known as national interest. Every country strives to protect its interests and strengthen its national power, so there's a good potential it might upset the balance of international relations. International peace and harmony can be maintained by two mechanisms: the balance of power and collective security. Even though the system of collective security has flaws, it is nonetheless relevant to the state of world politics today. Although there are theoretical flaws in the collective security system, in reality it has learned to adapt by combining peacekeeping and preventative diplomacy to remain functional. The success of collective security in the modern day depends on its combination with other peaceful measures or peaceful dispute resolution techniques.

### **5.9 Suggested Readings**

- Baylis, John et al. (eds.) (2015). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. New Delhi: OUP.
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 6: Cold War and Post-Cold War Era in International Politics**

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**STRUCTURE:**

6.0. Learning objectives

6.1. Key Words

6.2. Introduction

6.3. What is Cold War?

6.4. Causes of the Cold War

6.4.1. Check Your Progress I

6.5. Stages of Cold War

6.5.1 Check Your Progress II

6.6. Post-Cold War Era

6.6.1 Check Your Progress III

6.7 Conclusion

6.8 Suggested Readings

## **6.0.LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Cold War
- Examine the stages of Cold War.
- Understand the nature of Post-Cold War era

## **6.1.KEY WORDS**

State, Power, Strategy, Ideology Multipolarity, Force, Cold War, Anarchy

## **6.2 Introduction**

The Cold War was a lengthy struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet regime became an ally of the Western democracies in 1941 as a result of Nazi assault against the USSR. However, following the war world, progressively different perspectives caused rifts between people who had previously been allies. The world was split into two opposing camps as the USSR and the US continued to expand their own spheres of influence. Thus, the Cold War was not just a fight between the US and the USSR but a worldwide struggle that impacted other nations, especially the European continent. In fact, one of the primary battlegrounds of the conflict was the split Europe into two blocs. While the nations of Eastern Europe became USSR satellites, the United States supported the start of the European integration project in Western Europe. Beginning in 1947, the two enemies engaged in a protracted strategic and ideological struggle interspersed by crises of differing severity. They did this by using every tool at their disposal for subversion and intimidation. The two Great Powers never engaged in direct combat, but they brought the world dangerously close to nuclear war multiple times. The sole method that might effectively avert a military conflict was nuclear deterrence. Paradoxically, the armaments race was sparked by this "balance of terror." Moments of détente, or better ties between the two camps, were interspersed by periods of hostility. The term "impossible peace, improbable war" sums up the Cold War system well, according to political analyst Raymond Aron.

### **6.3 What is Cold War?**

The peace that had existed between the USSR, the USA, and the British Empire started to fade as World War II came to a conclusion, and the old mistrust surfaced once more. Soviet Russia and the West's relations shortly grew so severe that, despite the fact that there was never a direct armed battle between the two opposing camps, the Cold War's initial phase began in the decade after 1945 and lasted into the 1980s despite multiple "Thaws." Cold War refers to the two sides' use of economic pressure, propaganda, and a general strategy of non-cooperation against one another, rather than allowing their animosity to materialise into a violent battle. A condition of military and political hostility between the nations in the Eastern Bloc, which included the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies, and the USA and its NATO allies, among others. The Cold War is another name for World War II. The word "cold" refers to the lack of large-scale direct fighting between the two adversaries despite significant regional conflicts that are backed by both sides and known as proxy wars. The Cold War tore apart the short wartime alliance against Nazi Germany, leaving the USSR and the USA as two superpowers with distinct political and economic philosophies. The Soviet Union and the United States fought each other in the Cold War for many years. The years 1948–1953 saw the height of the Cold War. Between 1953 to 1957, there was a slight detente in the Cold War. The Pact of Warsaw, which was a cohesive military organisation was established in 1955. Then, from 1958 to 1962, the cold war intensified once more. Both the US and the Soviet Union were producing intercontinental ballistic missiles. In order to be able to launch nuclear strikes on American cities, the Soviet Union started covertly stationing missiles in Cuba. The Soviet Union and the United States avoided direct military conflict in Europe throughout the duration of the Cold War.

### **6.4 Causes of the Cold War:**

The Russia Revolt was one of the effects of World War I. On the one hand, it prompted nations to intervene in the Russian Civil War, including the United States, and revolution, depending on new ideological and antagonistic slogans. With the aid of the global communist movement and the capitalist system parties, fresh disputes, and rivalries developed. Monroe's decree states that although Stalin temporarily abandoned previous policies of looking abroad by declaring socialism in the nation, he nevertheless saw the United States as the main enemy of the masses because it was the world's dominant capitalist power, contributing to the weakening of Europe after the war and the continuation of American isolationism. On the brink of World War I, Stalin attempted to

transform the Soviet Union into a force comparable to that of the outside world, despite oppression and bloodshed at home. Following the 1942–1943 Battle of Stalingrad, which made clear that the Soviet Union had defeated Hitler, the post-war European dilemma of how to divide the powers started to worry people and pose a threat to the alliance.

The Tehran Conference in November 1943 marked the pinnacle of international cooperation; nevertheless, the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945 saw a decline in Allied cooperation. Despite suffering significant losses in terms of lives and wealth during World War II, the Soviet Union continued to grow in strength and influence. As opposed to the The United States dropped two atomic bombs in the final week of the war against Japan, demonstrating its might to the world and positioning itself as the world's largest industrial power after the war. The Cold War dominated European and international politics after Stalin refused to allow democratic elections in the seized countries and Truman declared his ideology. The start of the Cold War is frequently linked to Sovietization of Eastern Europe, the Berlin blockade, and the threat policy of communism. It is easy to interpret Churchill's March 5, 1946, speech in Fulton regarding the "Iron Curtain" as the official beginning of the Cold War. Thus, the roots of our disagreements stem from Soviet relations, as did the ensuing dual confrontation. In simple words, the basic causes of the Cold war are as follows:-

- I. The most important reason for the ‘outbreak’ of the Cold War was the Western countries’ fear of communism.
- II. The governments of the Soviet Union were worried by the Soviet Union's growing power, the rise of communist-run governments in Eastern and Central Europe, and the communist parties' expanding influence throughout the world. Britain, the United States, and other nations in West Europe.
- III. In 1949, the victory of the Communist Party of China in the civil war which had been raging there for about two decades added to the alarm.
- IV. The United States publicly stated that its aim was to stop communism from spreading. "Containing" communism was one of the goals of the enormous economic help that the United States provided to West European nations.
- V. Britain and the other West European nations sided with the United States and adopted a policy primarily intended to impede the spread of communism.

Stated differently, the struggles surrounding Germany's dissolution, the establishment of a new power structure following World War II, the communalization of Eastern European nations and their incorporation into the Soviet Union's sphere of influence, the development of a robust anti-communist ideology and strategy in the US, as well as the forming of alliances and anti-alliance One of the elements that can be identified as the reasons and origins of the Cold War was the alliance that fostered a climate of distrust and terror among the allies during the conflict.

#### **6.4.1. Check Your Progress I**

I. What are the causes of Cold War?

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#### **6.5 Stages of the Cold War:-**

**Towards a bipolar world (1945–1953)**- Instead of bringing about a return to peace, the Second World War's end sparked a new struggle. The war had left the great European nations, who had led the world scene in the 1930s, depleted and destroyed, creating the conditions for the rise of two new superpowers in the world. The Soviet Union and the United States gave rise to two blocs, and other nations were obliged to choose between them. With its newfound territory and prestige from defeating Hitler's Germany, the USSR emerged from the war with greater territory. The nation's valiant battle against the invader, epitomised by the triumph at Stalingrad, gave it fresh life. Furthermore, the USSR provided an ideological, a social and economic paradigm that is reaching out to the rest of Europe like never before. In addition, the Red Army was not demobilised at the end of the war, in contrast to the US Army. Thus, in terms of both men and heavy weaponry, the Soviet Union truly had the upper hand in numbers.

The Second World War was decisively won by the United States. Although the US Army was nearly entirely demobilised a few months after hostilities ended, the US Army still suffered relatively little in terms of personnel and equipment losses, and the US continued to be the world's top military power strength. Its air force and navy were unparalleled, and up until 1949, it was the only nation capable of producing nuclear weapons. It also reaffirmed its position as the largest



economic force in the world, as measured by trade volume and production levels in the industrial and agricultural sectors. The conflicts of interest between the new world powers gradually multiplied, and a climate of fear and suspicion reigned.

**The Yalta Conference-** Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt convened in Yalta, in the Crimea on the Black Sea, from February 4–11, 1945, to resolve issues arising from the unavoidable German defeat. Roosevelt was especially keen to get Stalin's help, but Churchill was wary of the might of the Soviet Union. He wished to prevent the Red Army from controlling Central Europe too much. The British and Americans had not yet crossed the Rhine, but the Soviet forces had already advanced to the heart of Europe.

First, the three Great Powers reached an agreement on the terms of occupation: Germany would be split into four zones, with France receiving a zone that would be partially separated from the US and British zones. Berlin, which is located in the Soviet zone, which would be split into four sections as well. The United States obtained the USSR's agreement to enter the fight against Japan, and Roosevelt saw the successful conclusion of his plan for the formation of a United Nations organisation, which was to be created on 25 April 1945. Yalta appeared to be the last attempt to restructure the world on mutual understanding and cooperation. The Western Powers were forced to acknowledge Stalin's role in the areas that Soviet tanks had freed, even if the world had not yet been split into two hemispheres of influence. The Red Army would now have complete authority over Central and Eastern Europe.

**The Potsdam Conference-** The last of the Allied conferences took place from 17 July to 2 August 1945 in Potsdam, near Berlin. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin had built the groundwork for the post-war era six months earlier in the Crimea, but the pledges made in Yalta could not withstand the balance of power in the region. Significant changes had occurred in the climate in the interim period. Compared to Yalta, the atmosphere was far more strained. The major issue at Potsdam was the question of how to handle Germany. The leaders of the Allies were able to reach some agreements in Potsdam despite many disputes.

**The Truman Doctrine-** US President Harry S. Truman deviated from his predecessor Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policy doctrine and rewrote it in this tense international environment. In a speech to the US Congress on March 12, 1947, the President outlined his philosophy of containment, which sought to support the nations under threat from Soviet expansion militarily

and financially. The Truman Doctrine, which was obviously intended to halt the rise of Communism, positioned America against Soviet aggression as the guardian of a free world. Greece and Turkey were awarded a 400 million dollar aid package. The United States' Cold War activism had a justification thanks to this new doctrine. By implementing the containment strategy, the United States urged Turkey to oppose Soviet assertions of ownership over naval installations situated in the Bosphorus. They also succeeded in getting Russian forces to leave Iran. Meanwhile, since March 1947, initiatives to combat Soviet espionage have taken into account, and the US established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). After remaining neutral in European conflicts, the United States underwent a significant historical shift with these reforms to its external policy. Isolationism was no longer an option for the US.

**The Marshall Plan-** George C. Marshall, the US Secretary of State, expressed alarm about the economic challenges facing Europe at the same time. Following World War II, low foreign exchange reserves and the absence of an international economic body with the ability to efficiently coordinate global commerce impeded intra-European trade. The United States chose to aid the European economy through a substantial structural recovery programme because it had an interest in fostering such trade in order to boost its own exports. But there was a political reason for its determination to provide Europe with enormous economic aid. Undoubtedly, the fear of Communist growth in Western Europe played a major role, if not more so than the desire to capture new markets. As a result, the Americans made the decision to combat European poverty and famine, which they believed aided in the development of communism. This was the Marshall Plan.

**The creation of the Soviet buffer zone-** After defeating Hitler's Germany, the USSR emerged from the war with expanded territory and a sense of honour. Despite being confined to the Soviet Union in 1945, the Communist world quickly expanded to Central and Eastern Europe, creating a buffer zone that protected the USSR. Communist propaganda was immensely boosted by the presence of the Soviet troops in the countries that it had liberated in Central and Eastern Europe. The leaders of non-Communist groups were gradually ousted by intimidation, discrediting, or putting them through public trials that resulted in their detention or even execution. The Soviet Union only needed three years to construct people's democracies headed by Communist parties. Almost mercilessly, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were compelled to join the

Soviet Union. However, the Yugoslav Communists' 1948 defiance of the Cominform's directives demonstrated that the USSR was not always able to maintain control over all of its satellite nations.

**The Zhdanov Doctrine and the Cominform-** The Cominform information bureau was established in Belgrade on September 22, 1947, following a conference of representatives from the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and France in the vicinity of Warsaw. Stalin's right-hand man and Soviet delegate Andrei Zhdanov persuaded the attendees of the constitutive meeting to adopt the doctrine that declared the world to be split into two opposing camps: one led by the USSR and the other by the US, which was described as "anti-imperialist and democratic" and "imperialist and antidemocratic." The Soviet Union responded to the Truman policy with this policy. Zhdanov supported "new democracy" while denouncing colonialism and imperialism. He underlined how the democratic workers' movement, Communist parties, and participants in liberation movements in former colonial countries were essential to the global anti-imperialist alliance. As a result, the globe became bipolar in 1947 and split into two opposing blocs. Then in January 1949, in response to the Marshall Plan, the USSR created a programme of economic cooperation with the Soviet bloc countries known as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA or Comecon).

**The Berlin Blockade-** In 1948, the Soviet Union imposed the Berlin Blockade as hostilities between itself and the Allies intensified. The Soviet Union attempted to restrict Allied nations' access to their areas of Berlin by enacting the Berlin Blockade. In addition, the German Democratic Republic's Communist administration started construction of the Berlin Wall—a concrete barrier topped with barbed wire—between East and West Berlin on August 13, 1961. Its main purpose was to stop the large-scale migration of people from East Berlin to West Berlin. Travellers from East and West Berlin were rarely permitted to cross the border, unless there were exceptional reasons. This Berlin Wall functioned as a symbol of the Cold War (US and Soviet Union), until its removal in 1989.

**The Civil War in Greece-** Greece saw bloody clashes between Communist forces and government forces in the years after World War II, with the latter receiving significant financial and military support from the United States and Britain. These nations were afraid that the Communists would eventually overthrow Greece, the last Balkan state to stave against Soviet hegemony. From an economic and strategic perspective, Greece was crucial to preventing Soviet dominance of the

Eastern Mediterranean and safeguarding Middle East oil supplies, given its proximity to Turkey. As a result, the US was dedicated to maintaining the kingdom's independence and territorial integrity and pushed the government to form a government of national unity and implement several economic reforms. With the start of a campaign that would see the royalist army victorious in less than two years, the United States unquestionably became the unchallenged leader of the "free world." The defeat of the Communist revolt in Greece, in which more than 50 000 people died, marked the end of the spread of Soviet influence in Europe.

**The Cuban Crisis-** A fresh test of strength took place in Cuba in 1962 when, for two weeks, there was a real possibility of nuclear war. On October 14, 1962, US spy planes captured images of Soviet intermediate-range rocket launchers following the discovery of missile-carrying Soviet freighters en route to Cuba. As a result, US President John F. Kennedy made the decision to establish a naval blockade, preventing travel to Cuba. The US and the USSR might have engaged in open warfare if Soviet ships had tried to break through. This could have ignited the explosive keg. Germany in particular would have unavoidably turned into a war zone by that point in time. At the last minute, however, and following numerous communications between Moscow and Washington—primarily via the UN as an intermediary—a deal was reached: the Soviet ships consented to retreat, and the Americans promised not to invade Cuba and to remove their rockets from Turkey.

**Improvements in East–West relations** - The two superpowers' desire for détente also defined the early 1970s. They committed not to build land-based launchers, not to produce strategic weapons for a period of five years, and to restrict the quantity of ABM anti-missile missiles in the SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) Treaty of May 26, 1972, which limited strategic weapons. But the pact did not take any action to curb the strength of the USSR and the US, as both countries possessed nuclear weapons capable of multiple overkill, meaning they could destroy each other many times. The US relaxing part of the economic embargo placed on the USSR in 1949 and striking a trade agreement with Moscow in October 1972 were further indications of détente. During Leonid Brezhnev's June 1973 visit to the United States, a treaty on the prevention of nuclear war was signed.

**Soviet expansionism-** Despite the strategic reversal brought about by the two giants' improved relations, the US persisted in defending its spheres of influence globally. US President Jimmy

Carter was able to reunite Egypt with the United States through the Camp David Agreements on September 17, 1978, which called for Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula. Meanwhile, the USSR was benefiting from the decolonisation process and gaining its own new spheres of influence. But the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan on December 24, 1979, sparked a far stronger response from the West. In order to defend the ruling Communists against the increasingly dangerous counter-revolutionary guerrillas, the USSR tried to assist them. Head of State Carter imposed an embargo on grain supplies to the USSR and ordered a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. A resolution denouncing this military invasion was adopted by the UN. The diplomatic censure was not the end of the US response. The Afghan resistance, or Mujahideen, received backing and funding from the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) over the course of the ten-year battle.

**The arms race and 'Star Wars'**- In 1980 New President Ronald Reagan used the term 'evil empire' to describe the USSR and relaunched the arms race. Reagan's Presidency was distinguished in particular by an increase in the budget for the armed forces and military spending. The armaments race grew to such an extent that the phrase "balance of terror" was used to characterise the state of affairs worldwide. The number of direct and indirect interventions rose as détente was forgotten. Ronald Reagan declared on March 23, 1983, the beginning of a massive technological project called the "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI), also referred to as "Star Wars." This project aimed to build a space-based shield that would detect and destroy enemy ballistic missiles as soon as they were launched, shielding the United States from nuclear attack. The USSR was dragged into a mad weapons race by the US project, which never materialised, and this brought the nation perilously close to financial and economic catastrophe. Only in 1985, after Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in the USSR and instituted domestic changes aimed at democratising the government, did Moscow resolve to halt the reckless armaments race that was destroying the nation. Gorbachev made it clear that he wanted to resume negotiations with the United States and forge deeper ties with the West. ... The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which was signed by the US and the USSR on December 8, 1987, called for the destruction of all conventional and nuclear ground-launched missiles with spans three years and spans 500–5,500 kilometres, including the well-known SS–20s and Pershing IIs. This deal ended the arms race between the two superpowers and is regarded as the first genuine nuclear disarmament agreement.

**Towards the end of the Cold War (1985–1989)**- Eastern Europe saw significant geopolitical upheaval in the late 20th century. The Cold War and its divides, which went back to World War II, came to an end with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. With the dissolution of the Communist Party, a bipolar world formed around the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1991, military and economic organisations like the Warsaw Pact and Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) were disbanded.

### 6.5.1. Check Your Progress II

- I. What are the different stages of Cold War?

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## 6.6. Post Cold War Era

Three things defined the post-Cold War world. The first was U.S. power. The second was the rise of China as the center of global industrial growth based on low wages. The third was the re-emergence of Europe as a massive, integrated economic power. Meanwhile, Russia, the main remnant of the Soviet Union, reeled while Japan shifted to a dramatically different economic mode. Two presumptions formed the foundation of the post-Cold War world in its early stages. The first presumption was that although the United States remained the world's leading military and political force, its influence had diminished because the emphasis now was on economics. The United States then assumed that preeminence included the ability to reshape the Islamic world through military action, while China and Europe single-mindedly focused on economic matters. The second phase of the conflict still revolved around the three Great Powers, namely the United States, China, and Europe, but it involved a significant shift in the United States' worldview. There are several defining characteristics to this era we can identify:

- I. The United States continues to be the leading force in the world. But it will proceed cautiously, understanding the vital distinction between omnipotence and preeminence.
- II. Europe is reverting to its former state as a collection of rival nation-states. As Germany envisions a Europe where it controls the budgets of smaller nations, the EU member

states will consider Cyprus and decide to opt for default rather than forfeiting their sovereignty.

- III. Russia is re-emerging. The Russians will continue to fish in murky waters as the European Peninsula breaks apart. Russia is purchasing rail terminals in Slovakia, purchasing metallurgical plants in Poland and Hungary, and offering certain nations special terms for natural gas imports. Remember the Cold War? Russia has always been economically dysfunctional but has possessed enormous influence. Although the transactions they are making—of which this is a small sample—do not serve their economic interests, they significantly strengthen Moscow's political clout.
- IV. China is engrossed in its own management of its altered economic circumstances. It is difficult to align the Communist Party with slower growth rates. Prosperity is the foundation of the Party. It offers little more than a far more authoritarian regime in the absence of prosperity.
- V. A plethora of new nations will rise to challenge China as the low-wage, high-growth hub of the world. A growing number of challengers include less developed regions of Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
- VI. The post-Cold War era has seen an increase in new, primarily non-state actors. These non-state actors are not subject to state authority, possess no nationality, and have no state identity. International nongovernmental organisations like Amnesty International and Greenpeace emerged championing specific topics like defence of human rights and ecology. The rise of these non-state players resulted in the creation of numerous connections between states and non-state actors.
- VII. The post-Cold War era has seen a sharp increase in global trade. With the creation of the WTO, a multilateral trade order based on rules was established. The countries were able to establish economic ties and grow more interdependent as a result of the growing international trade. Economic relationships between private players have been made possible by this quick shift away from conventional relationships, which were centred on interactions between governments. Global banking and corporate interests have become very significant economic players. Foreign economic interactions have supplanted more conventional concerns like border security and defence. The inflexible borders between the states have loosened due to increased international trade, which has also made it possible

for products, capital, and people resources to flow freely between them and create new connections.

### 6.6.1 Check Your Progress III

I. Write in detail about Post-Cold War era.

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### 6.7. CONCLUSION-

The image of international relations following the conclusion of the World War II has been painted by the above discussion. It also covered the ways in which the post-Cold War era has promoted increased international exchanges, the results of these exchanges, significant players and their part in influencing these exchanges, and how these exchanges have shaped the relationships between the nations. The conversation also covered the significant problems facing the new international order and how the globe has changed from a bipolar to a unipolar to a multipolar international order. The globalisation trend accelerated after the end of the Cold War. A New Cold War, also known as Cold War 2.0, is emerging between the US and China as a result of China's ascent. Ideology has a role in this conflict between democracy and authoritarianism in addition to trade and security concerns. Following the coronavirus pandemic, there will probably be some changes in the global order that will affect many nations' foreign policies in the years to come.

### 6.8. Suggested Readings

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 7: DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL**

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**STRUCTURE:**

7.0. Learning objectives

7.1. Key Words

7.2. Introduction

7.3. Meaning of Disarmament

7.3.1. Types of Disarmament

7.3.2 Need for Disarmament

7.3.3 Hindrances in the way of Disarmament

7.3.4 Check Your Progress I

7.4 Efforts for Disarmament

7.4.1. Check Your Progress II

7.5 Arms Control

7.5.1. Check Your Progress III

7.6. Conclusion

7.7. Suggested Readings

## **7.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, Students would be able to:

- To understand the meaning and types of Disarmament.
- To learn the needs and hindrances behind to achieve Disarmament.
- To examine the concept of Arms Control.

### **7.1. KEY WORDS**

State, Power, Treaties, Arms, Agreements, Explosions.

### **7.2. INTRODUCTION:**

There's no other option except peace. These days, war has become an anachronism. Regardless of what has happened in the past, there is no benefit to conflict in the future. The atrocities of war can be demonstrated without documentation. People have always been looking for ways to bring about peace and alternatives to conflict. The frequency of war has not lessened despite the two world wars that have occurred in this century and the terrifying threat of a nuclear apocalypse. Mankind has been greatly frightened by the first two world wars, and the Third World War is perceived as the end of humanity.

It is imperative to acknowledge that modern warfare possesses unimaginably devastating potential. It is well known that the presence of physical weapons can turn hostile and enraged mental states into violent confrontations. Armed forces and weapons both have a comparable role in starting conflicts. Despite the widespread awareness of the destruction caused by war and the desire to prevent it, nations have nearly always refrained from giving up their weapons due to the urgent necessity to defend themselves against external attack. In order to confront the "enemy," the self-help methods mostly consisted of forming alliances with other governments or acquiring larger and better weapons than the "enemy" state. An arms race between states or groups of states resulted from the other states reacting in a similar way. The Eastern and Western blocs of nations, which were formed as military blocs following World War 11, got embroiled in an arms race. A risky arms race was guaranteed when the leaders of the two superpowers—the US and the USSR—sought to obtain more and better weapons than the other. They had accumulated enough weaponry by the early 1960s to repeatedly destroy the planet.

This terrifying prospect gave rise to concerns about the need for an urgent, effective check on the insane arms race as well as the necessity of making real, earnest steps towards disarmament and weapons control. This unit examines weapons control and disarmament efforts for conflict avoidance and containment. Disarmament is the most crucial of the numerous strategies that can be used to stop the conflict. Both arming and disarmament are proposed as means of preventing war when it comes to peace methods.

### **7.3. MEANING OF DISARMAMENT**

Disarmament is the act of not allowing oneself or a nation to own weapons, or specific kinds of weapons. Denying access to weapons is the best way to prevent violent fights since the desire to use a weapon—a stick or a ballistic missile, for example—is strongly correlated with having one on hand. The decrease or abolition of arms is the literal definition of disarmament. Disarmament therefore becomes a top priority for those who reject war or who want to actively prevent it from happening. The rapid advancements in science and technology have led to the development and deployment of highly destructive weapons, ranging from field guns to high explosive bombs, battle ships to submarines, airplanes to rockets, and poisonous gases to nuclear bombs. This has only intensified the need for disarmament. Since "disarmament" is used in such a broad meaning, it often implies some form of restriction, control, elimination, or reduction of armaments. "Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of certain or all armaments for the purpose of ending the armament race," according to Morgenthau. Disarmament has grown to be such a broad term that everything having to do with controlling weapons falls under its purview.

#### **7.3.1. TYPES OF DISARMAMENT:**

1. **General and local disarmament:** All of the major powers, or the majority of them, take part in general disarmament. The World Disarmament Conference of 1932 and the Washington Treaty of 1922, which limited naval armaments and was ratified by all major naval countries, are two examples. We refer to Local Disarmament when only small numbers of nations are participating. The Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 between the United States and Canada is an example of this type.
2. **Quantitative and Qualitative Disarmament:** A general decrease in the majority or all types of arms is referred to as quantitative disarmament. The majority of the countries present at the 1932 global conference had this as their objective. As the United Nations

Atomic Energy Commission discussed, qualitative disarmament seeks to reduce or eliminate just specific categories of arms.

3. **Total Disarmament:** Total disarmament aims at complete elimination of armaments. There would be no weapon of any kind whatsoever.
4. **Disarmament and Arms control:** Disarmament refers only to the control of already-existing weapons and is focused with the reduction or eradication of weaponry. Future armaments race regulation is the focus of arms control. As a result, disarmament deals with the management of current weapons, whereas arms control deals with those of future weapons. While arms control aims to stop the arms race, disarmament aims to control weaponry.

### 7.3.2. NEED FOR DISARMAMENT

1. **The prevention of War and the Establishment of Peace:** Disarmament is considered to be the most effective means of preventing war and guaranteeing peace. It is commonly believed that unless there is disarmament, war and destruction cannot be checked. The only direct cause of war according to disarmament approach is the existence of armaments. It is maintained that since arms are the cause of war, disarmament is the only way to prevent it. Thus, the foundation of the disarmament philosophy is the idea that weapons lead to conflict. Armaments are accumulating and becoming instantly available, which makes war possible, feasible, and, as Clause claims, even enticing for statement to go to war. The disarmament argument operates under the presumption that nations would lose their ability to fight if their armaments were restricted. When a country's military might grows, other citizens start to feel scared and uneasy. Other countries become belligerent as a result, attempting to bolster their military might. In the arena of weaponry, common sense is like to high blood pressure in different countries. And so war panic begins. Sometimes a country defends itself by preparing for an attack. Armed forces give the country a militaristic and aggressive mindset. It would be wrong to claim that armaments are the only thing that create conflict and war. However, they do fuel conflict and war. But total disarmament would eradicate the very instruments of

fighting, bringing about peace. Disarmament should facilitate and fortify the process of peaceful resolution by relieving stress and anxiety.

2. **Nuclear Threat:** The issue of disarmament has become even more crucial in light of the threat posed by nuclear weapons and the slim chance of a nuclear conflict. There will be complete destruction in a nuclear war. However, some have also stated that they believe there is such a strong dread of complete annihilation that a nuclear conflict would never break out. The possibility of a nuclear conflict looming over every conflict has prevented nations from engaging in hostilities during the nuclear era. Disarmament—of conventional and nuclear weapons alike—may be avoided if it is feasible.
3. **Economic:** The economic case for disarmament is a crucial one. The crucial argument that the nations allot for military use is a broad representation of what is withheld from other channels of public and private funding. Nations could have clearly used the resources they so lavishly used for a variety of other reasons if they had not used them for war objectives. The spending on the military has an impact on future economic growth as well as current consumption. The road to economic expansion is blocked. The countries lose out on the opportunity to benefit economically from one another. Trade and the sharing of technology "know how" across international borders have been hindered. Trade and other exchanges would probably be easier if there was no weapons race. An end to the arms race might serve as a significant catalyst for the lowering of other current obstacles.
4. **Social Argument:** The social rationale for disarmament and the economic case are intertwined. Spending on the military has significant social repercussions as well. Poverty, hunger, illness, illiteracy, housing, and the need to raise living standards are issues that affect more than only developing nations. These issues are somewhat prevalent in wealthy nations as well. Money that may be used to fund social services is diverted towards military spending. Global military spending is around 2.5 times greater than the expected total of publicly funded health care spending. Rough calculations indicate that the global budget for medical research is only about 4,000 million dollars, while the global budget for military R&D is approximately 25,000

million dollars. Devastation to the environment is a result of nuclear testing and explosions, which pollute the physical environment.

5. **Political:** Armaments contaminate political ties and inspire mistrust and anxiety throughout the world. The anxiety and suspicion that come with accumulating arms exacerbate political divisions. The building up of arms also raises the potential that using force to resolve international issues may become necessary. In actuality, weapons, which are meant to offer protection, incite political disagreement. Remember that there is no immediate solution to any of humanity's problems through conflict. The spirit of democracy and global peaceful progress is in opposition to the spirit of militarism.
6. **Psychological:** People's thoughts are strangely affected psychologically by a combat situation. Everyone feels as though they have lived in a world where violence has become the norm and where there is enough deadly material to foster a climate of dread, worry, and uncertainty. Certain social psychologists from the West have stated the opinion that the younger generation now believes the world is irrational and that improving society is an impossible goal because of the arms race and the horrors of war.

### **7.3.3. HINDRANCES IN THE WAY OF DISARMAMENT**

1. The security issue and the disarmament issue are closely intertwined. Palmer and Perkins state that there has long been awareness of the inverse relationship between security and disarmament. Disarmament will continue to be a "pipe dream" unless a method is developed that allows nations to feel safer with fewer weapons. A sense of uneasiness is cultivated in them by international conflict and reciprocal fear among the nations. Any attempt at disarmament would be ineffective as long as countries are not guaranteed their security. Given the makeup of the modern international community, no guarantee can be given to countries. Under such circumstances, a nation's security must inevitably rely on its own resources.
2. No country declares itself to be opposed to disarmament per se; rather, it approaches any disarmament strategy from the perspective of its own national interest. Some parties in disarmament negotiations impose criteria that are deemed unacceptable by others.

Consequently, the disarmament discussions end in failure. The nations actually don't really want to disarm, which is why they impose these conditions that might not be agreed upon by others. The disarmament conferences are a failure as a result.

3. The Second World War led to the division of the world into two blocs, which in turn sparked the start of the Cold War. Because of the shaky power balance, every country is worried about its security. Certain psychological elements lead to the development of weapons. Disarmament appears to be a long way off as long as these conditions remain. As a result, countries only take into account disarmament proposals when they compete with the current international order.
4. The super powers have reached the limit in terms of armaments. Put another way, they have increased their potential so much that it would be pointless to go any farther with their arsenal. Both the United States of America and the Soviet Union now possess overkill capabilities. They now have a stake in ending the arms race. However, the countries that lag far behind in the arms race only express a desire for disarmament once they have roughly caught up to the superpowers in terms of weaponry. They believe that the best conditions for disarmament are those of power equality. Given how unlikely this scenario is, disarmament also seems unlikely in the near future.
5. In terms of armaments, the superpowers have reached their maximum. Stated differently, they have so much more potential now that it would be useless to use their armament any more. The Soviet Union and the United States of America both currently have overkill capability. They have an interest in stopping the weapons race today.

#### **7.3.4. Check your progress**

1. Define meaning and types of Disarmament.

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2. Why the world needs Disarmament? Define the hindrances behind to achieve it.

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## 7.4 EFFORTS FOR DISARMAMENT

The Second World War's immense devastation awoke people's consciences throughout the world. Nations throughout the world began rushing to control the arms race out of fear that another war would endanger humanity as a whole. The UN charter placed a strong emphasis on arms regulation. The fundamental Assembly is directed by Article-11(c) to examine the fundamental principles of cooperation in the upholding of international peace and security. However, it is also empowered to recommend to member states the general principles guiding disarmament and weapons regulation. Article 26 states that the world's human and financial resources should be used as little as possible to divert from armaments in order to support the establishment and upkeep of international peace and security. The Security Council will be in charge of creating the blueprints for the system that would regulate armaments. "A military staff committee shall exist to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the regulation of armaments and possible disarmament," states Article-47. The following actions were taken by the UN Organisation to guarantee an efficient disarmament process:

**Atomic Energy Commission:** A commission on atomic energy was established by the UN general assembly in 1945 with the particular goal of bringing about the complete prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as the regulation of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. It was anticipated that the commission would investigate every facet of the issue and offer suggestions. The Security Council was the commission's superior and was supposed to receive the commission's reports and recommendations.

**Commission on Conventional Armaments:** As per the December 1946 General Assembly resolution, the Security Council appointed a commission tasked with formulating and presenting proposals for "the general regulation and reduction at armaments and armed forces" to the council in three months, along with recommendations for workable and efficient safeguards. Note that this commission was expressly prohibited from debating matters pertaining to the control of atomic weapons.

**Disarmament Commission:** Following US President Truman's recommendation that the two disarmament commissions should be unified, the General Assembly established a twelve-member committee (consisting of eleven members of the Security Council and one from Canada) to investigate potential ways to integrate the two commissioners' respective tasks. The committee suggested that the two commissions be combined. The General Assembly adopted the recommendations, and in 1952 a Disarmament Commission was established. All Security Council members plus Canada were to be included. The Disarmament Commission's membership was expanded to 14 by the General Assembly in 1957. The United Nations has all of its members in 1958. The task of drafting a treaty to regulate both conventional and atomic weapons was given to the Commission. Due to the super powers' differing points of view, the Commission, which addressed a number of concerns pertaining to weaponry and their reduction, was unable to make significant headway.

**Atoms for Peace Plan:** President Eisenhower of the United States unveiled a strategy for the peaceful use of atoms in 1953. It recommended the creation of a global repository for fissionable materials for peaceful uses. The "atoms for peace" plan, as it was colloquially known, called for all nations possessing atomic energy to provide the same to the UN Atomic Energy Commission.

**The Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT):** The intense testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons encouraged attempts to restrict their development and proliferation. When the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) was ratified in 1963, the major nations made significant headway towards a test ban. Although nuclear weapons testing continued underground, the PTBT outlawed nuclear testing in space, the ocean, and the atmosphere. Consequently, rather than being a tool for disarmament, the PTBT was a useful tool for addressing environmental challenges.

**Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968):** In July 1968, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed, and it became operative in 1970. 190 nations, including the five States acknowledged as having nuclear weapons under the Treaty, have ratified it. China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States are the five nuclear-armed states as defined by the treaty. Currently, three nations are not members of the NPT because they either have nuclear weapons projects or are suspected of possessing them. These nations are Pakistan, Israel, and India. In 2003, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea declared its intention to

withdraw from the Treaty. States Parties are required by the NPT to convene every five years to evaluate the treaty's implementation.

The NPT has three “pillars” or main areas; 1) Non-proliferation (stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and related technology), 2) Disarmament (getting rid of existing nuclear arsenals), and 3) The right to peacefully use nuclear energy (including access to nuclear technology, which is the right of all States Parties to the NPT).

**Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)**- The CTBT was created to stop nuclear weapon testing and lessen the possibility of an arms race. It outlaws the use of nuclear weapons in any setting, whether for defence or non-defense. On September 10, 1996, the United Nations General Assembly endorsed it. Although almost all states have ratified Article XIV of the CTBT, the Treaty cannot come into effect until these 44 states have done so.

**India and Nuclear Disarmament**- India has consistently demonstrated perfect non-proliferation. India has dedicated itself, in letter and spirit, to the objective of universal and total disarmament since gaining its independence. Following India's independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the country's first prime minister, made it very evident that the country had no intention of developing nuclear weapons and that its nuclear programme was intended for peaceful purposes only. India carried out its first nuclear test, also referred to as a peaceful nuclear explosion, in 1974. Indian efforts towards nuclear disarmament persisted even after the country's nuclear test, and it did not start a nuclear weapons programme. At the UN General Assembly in 1988, Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of India at the time, presented a plan of action for the gradual disarmament of nuclear weapons on a global and regional scale. The plan called for both global and regional disarmament. The Action Plan for Ushering in a Nuclear Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World Order is the name of the plan. The Action Plan called for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons by 2010 in three phases. According to the plan's requirements, all countries should tie themselves to the goal of gradually getting rid of nuclear weapons by 2010, at the latest. Despite announcing that it was a nuclear weapons state and having carried out nuclear tests on May 11 and 13, 1998, India promptly declared that it would not be conducting any more nuclear tests. India has said that, for its security, it will continue to retain a minimal level of credible nuclear deterrence.

#### **7.4.1. Check your progress II**

1. Discuss the main efforts for Disarmament.

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## **7.5. ARMS CONTROL:**

The premise of disarmament is that the presence of weapons is the primary source of unpredictability and hostilities, whereas the premise of the arms control approach is that the presence of weapons is a result rather than a cause of interstate conflicts. The former aims to eradicate weapons, while the latter wants to control the arms race in order to bring about some stability. The general goal of arms control policies is to negotiate restrictions on the creation, acquisition, and use of weaponry. Three major categories can be used to group these policies: arms limitation, arms reduction, and armaments freeze. Lowering the level of arms is the goal of arms reduction policies. This is known as partial disarmament on occasion. The goal of arms limitation strategies is to stop inadvertent warfare outbreaks and to restrict the extent and destructiveness of conflict. Arms freeze policies are designed to limit the development of specific types of weapons so that competing states can feel secure in their military parity. This method of operating new weaponry gave rise to another idea. This has to do with controlling the use of nuclear weapons systems such that their overall deployment will be less harmful or perhaps avoided. Known generally as "nuclear strategic theory," this shaped the superpowers' perspectives during the Cold War. For example, the well-known idea of nuclear deterrence that gained common currency during the Cold War years is a part of this thought. It is widely accepted that a nation's mere possession of nuclear weapons will dissuade an adversary from striking that nation first. An enemy would be restrained by the threat of incurring intolerable damage from the nuclear weapons nation.

Other complex theories of strategy, like as the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) and the first- and second-strike capabilities, sprang from this. This doctrine is predicated on the notion that, given the unimaginable damage that sophisticated nuclear weapons can inflict, competing nuclear weaponry powers should "deliberately" expose themselves to mutual destruction in order to prevent the balance of nuclear terror between the adversaries from waging nuclear war on one another. The strange but perhaps plausible hope that "arms control" should try to restrict defensive weapons on both sides of the nuclear split so that each side can stay open

for an enemy offensive, should any one side be foolishly tempted to attack first, was itself a result of this philosophy. The phrase "arms control" was used to denote a shift from efforts to completely eradicate nuclear weapons while reducing conventional areas in a balanced manner to bolstering deterrence and protecting against surprise attacks.

**The central problems of arms control today:**

- The first issue is determining which "players" should be present at the discussion table when it comes to arms control. Historically, states that possess weapons have been the exclusive holders of the authority to control arms.
- A second issue is that, in the absence of any real symmetry or balance between military capabilities, the organising principle for arms control must be taken into consideration.
- Third, the requirement to create answers to clear-cut proof that certain governments are breaking their legally-mandated commitments and obligations represents a third significant issue for arms control.

**7.5.1. Check your progress III**

1. Critically examine the concept of Arms Control.

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**7.6. CONCLUSION-** As we have seen, the post-World War II arms race was directly fueled by scientific and technological advancements, which in turn sparked significant bilateral and multinational efforts to contain and prevent conflict. As we've seen, weapons control and disarmament are two different strategies even though they share the same objective of achieving military stability and are frequently used synonymously. The distinction between the two ideas, according to Morgenthau, is that "disarmament is the decrease or removal of weaponry. Controlling the armament race to establish some degree of military stability is the goal of arms control. Arms control aims to curb the arms race and facilitate the process of disarmament by regulating the development, stockpiling, and deployment of weapons in a world where total disarmament remains a pipe dream.

## 7.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**  
**SEMESTER VI**  
**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 8: CONCEPT OF NON-ALIGNMENT: MEANING, BASIS, ROLE AND ITS RELEVANCE**

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**STRUCTURE:**

- 8.0. Learning objectives
- 8.1. Key Words
- 8.2. Introduction
- 8.3. Meaning of Non-Alignment
  - 8.3.1 Principles of Non-Alignment
  - 8.3.2 Objectives of Non-Alignment
- 8.4 Basis of Non-Alignment
  - 8.4.1. Check Your Progress I
- 8.5 Role of Non-Alignment
  - 8.5.1. Check Your Progress II
- 8.6. Relevance of Non-Alignment
  - 8.6.1 Check Your Progress III
- 8.7. Conclusion
- 8.8. Suggested Readings

## **8.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- explain the concept of non-alignment and analyse the factors that led to its emergence;
- trace the evolution and functioning of the Non-Aligned Movement; and
- examine the relevance of both non-alignment and the non-aligned movement in a Post Cold War as well as a post Soviet world.

## **8.1. KEY WORDS**

State, Power, Third World, Force, Cold War, Movement

## **8.2. INTRODUCTION:**

The phrase 'non-alignment' refers to the foreign policy of states that chose to pursue an autonomous path in international politics rather than aligning with one of the two blocs led by the two Superpowers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. When many non-aligned states banded together and organised their activities on a similar platform, the Non-Aligned Movement (N.A.M.) was born. Because it allowed the newly independent developing countries to have a major influence on global events, it altered the nature of interactions between states. During the Cold War, a group of states that wanted to maintain their independence or neutrality rather than formally align with the US or the USSR came together to form the Non-Aligned Movement. The Asia-Africa Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in 1955, provided the impetus for the group's fundamental idea. In September 1961, the inaugural NAM Summit Conference was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. As of April 2018, the organisation had 120 members, representing 53 nations in Africa, 39 in Asia, 26 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 2 in Europe (Belarus, Azerbaijan). At NAM, there are ten international organisations and seventeen countries that are observers. Under the direction of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Sukarno of Indonesia, the Non-Aligned Movement was established and staged its inaugural conference, the Belgrade Conference, in 1961. Assuring "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign subjugation was the organization's stated goal in the 1979 Havana Declaration. The NAM was essential in maintaining peace and security as well as stabilising the global order throughout the



Cold War. Non-alignment with the NAM does not imply state neutrality on international matters; rather, it has always been a nonviolent approach to get involved in world affairs.

### **8.3. MEANING OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

As a foreign policy principle, non-alignment advocates for the avoidance of power politics, superpower competition, the Cold War, and the alliance systems of adversarial blocs. It also represents the independent engagement of non-aligned governments in international affairs. There are 120 member countries in it. A model for a New World order is non-alignment, along with its offshoot panchsheel and advantageous bilateralism and multilateralism. George Lisca deserves recognition for coining the phrase "non-alignment" for the first time. Non-alignment was often referred to as independent foreign policy by Nehru.

**8.3.1 Principles of Non-Alignment:** As J.L Nehru was founding members, the principles of NAM was largely guided by Panchsheel principles, some of them are:

- Respect for the principles enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and international law.
- Respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States.
- Peaceful settlement of all international conflicts in accordance with the charter of the United Nations.
- Respect for the political, economic, social and cultural diversity of countries and peoples.
- Defence and promotion of shared interests, justice and cooperation, regardless of the differences existing in the political, economic and social systems of the States, on the basis of mutual respect and the equality of rights.
- Respect for the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of States. No State or group of States has the right to intervene either directly or indirectly, whatever the motive, in the internal affairs of any other State.

- Promotion and defence of multilateralism and multilateral organisations as the appropriate frameworks to resolve, through dialogue and cooperation, the problems affecting humankind.

### **8.3.2 Objectives:**

- NAM has sought to "create an independent path in world politics that would not result in member States becoming pawns in the struggles between the major powers."
- It identifies the right of independent judgment, the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, and the use of moderation in relations with all big powers as the three basic elements that have influenced its approach.
- At present, an additional goal is facilitating a restructuring of the international economic order.

## **8.4 BASIS OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

Afro-Asian revival and bipolar world politics were two concurrent global events that gave rise to non-alignment. The desire for independence from colonial domination and the will to control their own destinies were stoked in the reawakening of the countries of Africa and Asia. As a result, a unique concept of autonomous and active participation in global politics based on personal assessments of both domestic and global interests emerged. Among the recently formed nations, an autonomous stance on domestic and global matters developed from that point on. This Afro-Asian renaissance happened during a period when the globe was split into two antagonistic camps, each led by the United States and the former Soviet Union, respectively, and representing two opposing ideologies, socioeconomic systems, and political systems. Every state sought to expand their spheres of influence by forging military alliances with other nations. Because they declined to form an alliance with either bloc, the newly emerging states' independent stance came to be seen in this sense as non-alignment. The non-aligned method had multiple motivating factors. Economic development was one of these states' main goals, and to achieve it, they required resources in the form of expanded commerce and economic support. They were able to maintain commercial ties with every nation because to non-alignment. The requirement for peace, without which genuine progress would not be possible, was the second necessity. A third source was their requirement to be protected from perceptions of worldwide

threat arising from Cold War politics. There were additional national requirements as well, varying from nation to nation. For instance, India's political processes, historical significance, geographical location, and internal political pluralism all had a significant part in the creation of non-alignment.

#### **8.4.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I**

1. Explain the Basis of Non-Alignment

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#### **8.5 ROLE OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

The Non-aligned Movement's main objective was to put an end to colonialism. The national liberation movements were consistently backed by the NAM conferences, which also granted full membership status to the organisations spearheading those movements. The Decolonization of Asia and Africa was made possible in large part by this assistance. Additionally, it denounced racial injustice and prejudice and fully supported the anti-apartheid campaigns in Namibia and South Africa. With independence and majority control, this repugnant strategy has been abandoned in both countries today. The maintenance of peace and disarmament was a third area where the NAM made a substantial contribution. Its support for human brotherhood, peaceful coexistence, and peace, together with its opposition to all forms of warfare, helped to reduce Cold War tensions and increase the number of calm regions in the world as fewer states joined military alliances. Additionally, it consistently worked to put a stop to the weapons race and achieve disarmament, arguing that only widespread, total disarmament under strong international supervision could lead to global peace and security. It emphasised how limited resources that should have been used for socioeconomic development were obstructed by the arms race. They first demanded the signing of a treaty outlawing the research, manufacture, stockpiling, and use of any chemical weapons, and then they called for a permanent moratorium on nuclear testing.

Fourthly, the non-aligned governments were able to change the makeup of the United Nations and, as a result, the tone of the interstate relations carried out through its channels. During the

1940s and 1950s, the superpower and its allied governments held complete dominance over the United Nations' departments. This condition is now altered by the appearance of non-alignment. In addition to establishing a new voting majority in the General Assembly, it has also produced a single platform on which the third world may advocate for itself. You can no longer afford to overlook this platform. As a result, it is evident that non-alignment has democratised international relations while also making it easier for the third world to participate in global politics. The fifty significant contributions had to do with economic parity.

The NAM was the organisation that demanded the creation of the New International Economic Order (NIEO). The recently independent states continued to be economically unequal despite gaining political sovereignty. They continued to be the same nations that produced raw materials, selling their goods to the developed world at a discount and purchasing manufactured goods from them at a premium. The tragedy was that they had to operate under an oppressive economic system and that system included them both then and now. Because of this, they will always be reliant on the developed North for technology, capital goods, and financing. The NAM called for a restructuring of the international economic and monetary institutions based on equality, non-discrimination, and cooperation in order to put an end to this economic exploitation, which they referred to as "neocolonialism." The fight for economic justice by the Non-Aligned Movement has shown how reasonable it is to split the world into North and South instead of East and West. It has demonstrated that the option between poverty and wealth, rather than between capitalism and communism, is what most people are concerned about. Propaganda against alignment has somewhat forced the developed world to acknowledge that the impoverishment of the third world would eventually have a negative impact on their own wealth. They have been compelled to the negotiation table in large part because of this. Besides the broad success in making third world's economic demands negotiable, non-alignment has won its battle for some specific concerns likewise. For instance, it is now recognised that economic sovereignty over natural resources exists. The developing countries' goal of pursuing an interventionist trade strategy has also been successfully legitimised by non-alignment. It has been successful in drawing attention to the issue raised by the role that multinational corporations play, particularly when it comes to technology transfer.

Additionally, it has been successful in pressuring the IMF to set up a compensatory funding system that aids poor nations in resolving their balance of payments issues. One accomplishment in the cultural sphere should be the creation of the Pool of News Agencies. For the first time in history, countries with weaker economies and political systems are able to interact with the outside world and gather information without the assistance of the western communication system. The developing world has learned how to pursue independent economic development despite being a part of the global capitalist economic order, which makes them dependent on the developed states for capital and technology. This is the non-aligned movement's most significant accomplishment.

## **8.6 RELEVANCE OF NON-ALIGNMENT**

The world is no longer bipolar today. Regarding the nature of its configuration, however, there is also disagreement. Some authors argue that because the United States is the only Super Power, the world is unipolar. Some authors contend that in addition to the United States, other significant centres of power include the European Union, Japan, China, and Russia. Others have still called it "uni-cum-multipolar." Regardless of the language employed, there is no denying that the United States and the other G-7 powers can cooperate to govern the remainder of the globe. The term "new Northern concert of Powers" describes what has emerged. The world is no longer bipolar today. Regarding the nature of its configuration, however, there is also disagreement. Some authors argue that because the United States is the only Super Power, the world is unipolar. Some authors contend that in addition to the United States, other significant centres of power include the European Union, Japan, China, and Russia. Others have still called it "uni-cum-multipolar." Regardless of the language employed, there is no denying that the United States and the other G-7 powers can cooperate to govern the remainder of the globe. The term "new Northern concert of Powers" describes what has emerged. The lack of room for manoeuvring and the absence of an intermediary function make the practice of non-alignment challenging in current global environment. However, its application is crucial, specifically because the South's developing nations must stand up for their independence and work together to avoid being completely overrun by the North. There are numerous reasons why the Non-aligned Movement needs to be revived. This multipolarity creates a hazy, complicated, and uncertain environment for emerging nations, where there might not be many new chances but

rather more vulnerability. As of right now, it doesn't appear like developing nations will be able to take advantage of the distinctions between the main economic powers. Naturally, things could alter in the medium or long run. The Third World countries are also under pressure to comply with all of the developed world's demands regarding market opening and intellectual property rights, despite the fact that most developing nations are implementing significant economic reforms and allowing for market deregulation at the same time that developed nation trends towards protectionism are growing. Similarly, the idea that the Third World is in some way to blame for environmental pollution is being promoted, despite the fact that the Northern countries' wanton resource waste has been the main cause of environmental degradation. Similarly, the idea that the Third World is in some way to blame for environmental pollution is being promoted, despite the fact that the Northern countries' wanton resource waste has been the main cause of environmental degradation. The governments in the North are adamant on preserving their unviable systems of consumption and production. They also anticipate that the governments in the South will make all the concessions and changes required to protect the environment for the benefit of the North. In the name of environmental preservation, the possibility of the North implementing sanctions and other punitive measures on the South now seems quite real.

Thirdly, industrialised nations have a propensity to place excessive limitations on the transfer of technology to developing nations. The expanding number of products covered by the so-called dual use prohibitions practically poses a threat to rob emerging nations of the benefits of technology advancement in numerous crucial fields. These limitations now extend to a wide range of products, including computers, machine tools, chemicals, specialty alloys, and even medical equipment. The limits are enforced under the pretext of curbing proliferation, despite the fact that the countries enforcing them frequently bear the primary blame for it. This is blatantly unfair. Fourthly, there is still a nuclear split between the "haves" and "have-nots" in the world. The 'haves' with nuclear weapons appear committed to holding onto their stockpiles, albeit in smaller amounts, and to keeping others from obtaining them. The irony is that, despite being perceived as the primary danger to the security of nuclear-armed powers, Third World nations are now the targets of nuclear weapons. Rather than being abandoned with the end of the Cold War, deterrence is being kept and refined in order to be applied selectively to Third World countries. Fifth, the new coalition led by the US has effectively conducted an all-out drive to demolish the multilateral character of the international body in order to change its agenda and

weaken its functioning in some areas, rather than revitalising multilateralism under the US. The United Nations' agenda now excludes "hard-core" economic issues like poverty alleviation, development plans, trade, money, finance, and debt. Instead, these issues are handled by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, which have more authority and are able to employ cross-conditionalities and cross-relation. Organisations that belong to the UN family are being kept in check by not receiving the funds that are owed to them. Additionally, the permanent members of the UN Security Council make all of the decisions that have an impact on global peace and security while working closely together. The spread of weapons of mass destruction is stopped by a variety of ad hoc discriminatory regimes. These include the "London Supplier Group" (LSG) for nuclear weapons, the "Australian Club" for chemical weapons, and the Missile Technology Control Regimes, or MTCR, for missiles. The enormous lists of dual-purpose technologies, chemicals, and equipment that are prohibited from being transferred to Third World countries under these regimes effectively halt the technological and industrial growth of emerging nations in those crucial areas. It is therefore exceedingly challenging to determine whether the limitations imposed in a given situation are driven more by the desire to ensure non-proliferation than by a business interest in keeping the nation in question from becoming competitive.

International law does not sanction these systems. They have the impact of weakening multilateralism because they are not a part of the UN and have restricted membership. The threat of nation-state disintegration exists now for all Third World countries. The former Soviet Union, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, and I Yugoslavia are the cases in point. The nations of the new alliances have begun endorsing causes and promoting ideals intended to encourage fissiparous tendencies in those Third World countries where the economic and political situation is far from stable because they are confident in their own national integrity, which is supported by their own or their allies' military might as well as their own relative political stability and economic prosperity. This could result in further nation-state disintegration; signs of this include the recently revealed enthusiasm of the new alliance for self-determination, the use of its economic and political clout to meddle in other states' internal affairs in the name of human rights and good governance, and the sanctions it has successfully pushed for intervention in other nations on humanitarian grounds. While sovereignty has never been total in the modern era, it is currently becoming progressively limited and restricted. Furthermore, there is a current trend in trade that

involves the use of both unilateral and bilateral coercive measures—such as the application of US Trade and Competitiveness Act Special and Super 301—as well as the negotiation of reciprocal access to markets and the use of cross-retaliation. Even after 115 nations, including the United States, signed the GAIT Treaty in Marrakech in April 1994, this practice has persisted. Furthermore, it is evident from the developed countries' attempt to bring up new, non-trade-related issues at the recently concluded GAIT Treaty—such as labour standards, social conditions, and the environment—that the interests of developing nations are unlikely to be better served by the newly formed global trading system.

The aforementioned research demonstrates how the danger to and strain on the independence of the non-aligned countries have changed after the end of the Cold War. The goals and aspirations of the Non-aligned Movements for a just, egalitarian, and democratic global order are at odds with the current unfavourable trends in the world. No matter how large or wealthy, none of the NAM's member nations can handle these new realities on its own. As a result, the nations of NAM need to stick together and take shared positions. But how do you bell the cat, I wonder? The answer is the non-aligned countries can reverse the above negative trends by three important ways:

- a) reforming and strengthening the United Nations;
- b) encouraging South-South Cooperation; and
- c) consolidating the Movement through necessary reforms

Thus, non-alignment is still essential for developing nations now, just as it was during the Cold War, due to the reality of contemporary global politics. Though non-alignment is still significant, the non-aligned movement's influence on contemporary international affairs has been dwindling. The NAM was unable to stop the war between Iraq and Kuwait, two of its members, and it was also unable to effectively intervene in the Gulf problems that followed. Neither could it put an end to Yugoslavia's civil war, which was also a major player. The NAM is currently dealing with significant internal issues, which is one of the causes of its inefficiency. Among these are the membership requirements, which are overly lenient and frequently broken, the members' lack of self-control, the flaws in the consensus-building process, and the lack of a system for keeping track of world events.



### 8.6.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Write down the relevance of Non-Alignment?.

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### 8.6.2 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. What is the role of Non-Alignment?

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- II. Describe the objectives Non-Alignment.

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### 8.7.CONCLUSION

Non-alignment evolved in the context of two global developments: the national liberation efforts of colonies and the Cold War between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. resulting to two military blocs and alliances. The newly formed states were economically impoverished and exposed to fresh imperialist pressures despite gaining political independence. The viewpoint of states who wished to continue acting independently in their foreign policy and relations and stay outside of this alliance framework is referred to as non-alignment. There were several reasons to support non-alignment: political, strategic, economic, and indigenous. Together, these states developed the Non-aligned Movement based on a shared platform. It offered a crucial platform for debating the shared issues that the South's developing nations face and for reaching a consensus on concerted action to accomplish shared objectives. It supports ideals that aim to advance economic and political fairness within the framework of the global community. It made some noteworthy

achievements. There is discussion over the importance of non-alignment in a world without Cold War or bipolarism. Even though the Cold War's backdrop may have changed, the world is still split into wealthy and developing countries. Three-fourths of the world's population lives in developing nations, which are merely on the outside of the global system. Until the system is based on true equality and reciprocity, the non-aligned policy will be in effect. Reviving the Non-aligned Movement is critical to achieving a coordinated effort towards a more equitable global order.

### **8.8.Suggested Readings**

- Baylis, John et al. (eds.) (2015). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. New Delhi: OUP.
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- *Global Politics*. Palgrave Foundations. Hocking, Brian and Michael Smith. (2014).
- *World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. London: Routledge. Kumar, Mahendra. (2017).
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 9: Non- State Actors: Meaning and Role of NGO's, INGO's and MNC's**

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**STRUCTURE:**

9.0. Learning objectives

9.1. Key Words

9.2. Introduction

9.3. Meaning of Non-State actors

9.4. Non-Governmental Organizations

9.4.1. Working culture of NGOs

9.4.2. Role of NGO's

9.4.3. Check your progress I

9.5. International Non-Governmental Organisations

9.5.1. Features of International Non-Governmental Organisations

9.5.2. Check Your Progress II

9.6. Multi-National Corporations

9.6.1 Forms of Multi-National Corporations

9.6.2 Features, Advantages and Limitations of MNC's

9.6.3 Check Your Progress III

9.7. Conclusion

9.8. Suggested Readings

## **9.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Explain the concept of Non-State Actors
- Understand the meaning of NGO's, INGO's and MNC's.
- Examine the relevance of Non-State actors in the contemporary world.

## **9.1. KEY WORDS**

Globalization, State, Trade, Decision-making, Organizations, Policy.

## **9.2. Introduction-**

Numerous actors are involved in what is known as international politics on the global stage. The state is one of the most venerable and widely recognised players on the contemporary world scene. It was previously believed that state-to-state relations comprised international relations. State, in other words, was regarded as the primary player in world affairs. However, with the rise of several non-state entities, this is rapidly changing. Many claim that the power and authority of the states in the international system has decreased due to non-state players, globalisation, and liberalisation. This phenomenon is usually characterised as 'the decreasing role of states' or the 'retreat of the states' in the international system. To express it in simple words, state actors represent a government while non-state actors do not. They do, nevertheless, have an effect on state actors. Non-state players include groups such as MNCs, TNCs, IGOs, NGOs, civil societies, terrorist organisations, religious actors, ethnic actors living abroad, and so on. The state-centric international order has been under pressure from the rise of non-state actors and transnational ties.

The character of international interactions has altered as a result. Nationalism and sovereignty have undergone forced changes as a result of non-state forces. These have had an impact on nation-states' function as participants in international affairs. The existence and acts of non-state actors are increasingly influencing nation-state policies, choices, and actions. Even if non-state actors in international relations have become significant and engaged players in the international system, this does not imply that nation-states will no longer play a crucial part in it. Nation states will play a significant role, particularly in fostering international collaboration and cooperation. Moreover, the existence of intergovernmental institutions and international organisations such as the United Nations and several other international bodies is determined by the desires of the nation-states. In the international system, the nation state continues to have a near monopoly on the exercise of coercive power. It continues to shape non-state actors' actions more than they shape its conduct.

## **9.3. Meaning of Non-State actors-**

Non-state actors (NSAs) are all those actors that are not states, yet that operate at the international level and are potentially relevant to international relations. Therefore, an NSA is important if it meets the following criteria: (1) it has a sizable constituency that spans multiple nations; (2) governments and IGOs have given it official access to political spheres; and (3) it has demonstrated its significance to global politics. The literature often distinguishes between five kinds of non-state actors (NSAs): Epistemic communities, transnational corporations (TNCs), international non-

governmental organisations (INGOs), and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). That first group, though, is disputed. Some contend that because international organisations like the UN, NATO, and WTO were founded by states, are nominally governed by governments, and serve state interests, they are not NSAs.

An international non-governmental organisation (INGO), sometimes known as the second group, is any non-governmental, internationally distributed, nonviolent organisation that was not founded by a government and does not aspire to hold public office. Once more, this is a broad term that includes single-issue organisations like environmental and human rights groups, as well as churches, scouts, professional associations, commercial interests, and trade unions.

Any large-scale, profit-making commercial organisation with offices and/or production units in numerous nations worldwide is considered a TNC, which is the third category of non-state actors. A few examples are Unilever, McDonald's, Shell, BP, Ford, GM, IBM, Microsoft, Deloitte and Touche, etc. Approximately 37,000 transnational corporations operate in the global political economy today.

Another type of NSA is an epistemic community, which is a global network of experts who have similar causal views on certain policy matters. As the extensive body of research on the connection between science and international politics has shown, their significance in the formulation of international policies and the establishment of institutions cannot be overstated.

IGOs are rather autonomous from states in making decisions and policies, given their expertise, formal authority, independent personnel and ties to NGOs.

Last but not least, there is still one category of NSAs that contains a wide range of organisations, including scouts, churches, professional associations, terrorist networks, guerrilla groups, and liberation movements.

#### **9.4. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's)-**

The UN had to distinguish in its Charter between the participation rights of international private organisations and those of intergovernmental specialised agencies, which led to the coining of the phrase "non-governmental organisation," or NGO, in 1945. Almost all forms of private organisations are recognised as NGOs by the UN. Their only requirements are to be free from governmental control, non-profit, law-abiding, and incapable of challenging governments as a political party or with a restricted concentration on human rights. A non-profit, citizen-based organisation that operates outside of the government is known as a non-governmental organisation (NGO). NGOs, sometimes known as civil societies, are cooperative organisations with a focus on social and political goals. They operate at the local, national, and worldwide levels and are not for profit. While the term "NGO" has multiple connotations, it is generally accepted to cover private organisations that operate without government control and that are non-profit and non-criminal. NGOs are defined further as associations that are neither religious nor military.

Two broad groups of NGOs are identified by the World Bank:

1. Operational NGOs, which focus on development projects.
2. Operational NGOs, which are organized to promote particular causes.

##### **9.4.1. Working Culture of NGOs:**

- NGOs play a critical role in providing aid to those in need.

- When a natural disaster or tragedy occurs, such as an earthquake, tsunami, or flood, NGOs can be of considerable assistance.
- NGOs serve as a conduit for information between the public and the government, which communicates, facilitates, or takes an active role in problem-solving.
- NGOs play a big part in raising living standards and lowering poverty rates. NGOs are also making significant contributions to education and research that are vital to the nation's development.
- NGOs supplements government efforts. The future of the country lies with today's youth. NGOs are essential to education.
- NGOs work to reach the young people and underprivileged children and ensure that they receive an education.
- Since NGOs work in most sectors that promote social and economic development as well as environmental awareness, they aid in the sustainable development of the nation.
- Numerous non-governmental organisations are actively promoting social mobilisation around topics such as human rights, the environment, and women's empowerment by organising workshops, marches, and campaigns. The business sector and non-governmental organisations are promoting sustainable development.
- NGOs are significant players in CSR endeavours. Since NGOs are more informed about social issues and social structures, the business sector can greatly benefit from their professional guidance and help when carrying out its corporate social responsibility initiatives.

#### **1.4.2 Role of NGO's-**

NGOs on a local, national, and international level have become important participants and partners in the region's development and conservation efforts. In the realm of community development, they play a pivotal role in aiding the attainment of fundamental necessities and facilities; pinpointing problems, intensifying consciousness, and furnishing data to grassroots communities; elucidating the issues and requirements of the communities and drawing the attention of stakeholders; safeguarding the environmental and developmental entitlements of communities and enhancing their ability to oversee their natural resources; and addressing issues related to sustainable development. Nationally operating NGOs primarily concentrate on policy work, where they identify gaps and weaknesses in existing legal or policy frameworks, gather information and educate the public, business community, and government, and occasionally engage in activist lobbying and protest movements.

- A. Awareness-Raising, Campaigning and Advocacy-** Many different organisations operate throughout the region to promote policy and development programme improvements as well as increase public awareness of environmental issues. These organisations raise public awareness of environmental issues locally, nationally, and worldwide. Some of their campaigns run concurrently at all three levels. For instance, the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) in India has gained respect across the globe for its efforts to mobilise public opinion among the State of Kerala's people's organisations. The KSSP, which has more than 20,000 members, is thought to be one of India's most knowledgeable and well-organized grassroots movements. The Society for the Conservation and Protection of the Environment

(SCOPE), which was founded in 1988 in Pakistan, has been especially effective in organising national environmental campaigns while placing a high value on forming connections with regional NGOs, government agencies, universities, and research facilities. Regional NGO groups are becoming more involved in international campaigns. One such example is Greenpeace China, which has gained significant attention for its campaign against PVC toys and children's products that may contain phthalates, which could be harmful. Following the campaign, Toys R Us declared in November 1998 that all teething, rattles, and pacifiers containing phthalates will be discontinued globally.

- B. Environmental Monitoring and Reporting- Many NGO campaigns are based on research that highlights or monitors specific environmental issues.** For instance, the Centre for Science and Environment in India publishes the Citizen's State of Environment Report, and a group of roughly a dozen NGOs collaborate to create recurring "State of the Environment" reports in Bangladesh. These comprehensive evaluations are frequently enhanced by specialised studies that foster discussion of important environmental issues, raise public knowledge, and call for active community involvement in environmental conservation. The international stock markets can be significantly impacted by environmental journalism. Environmental monitoring and reporting by NGOs have contributed substantially to environmental protection across the region. Several subjects relating to genetic engineering and biodiversity, solid and hazardous waste management, and water resource management have gained prominence in recent years. While more established NGOs are refocusing their research efforts in response to the new difficulties, new NGOs are developing in the region to increase knowledge and awareness of these issues. For instance, the Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) in India played a key role in persuading 28 chosen pulp and paper factories to submit information akin to the USEPA's "toxic releases" database.
- C. Education, Training and Capacity Building-** A growing number of non-governmental organisations have also been promoting conservation activity through education. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) is one of the busiest international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the region that works in the field of environmental education. The IUCN carries out this duty through its Commission on Education and Communication, which has worked to increase teachers' environmental expertise in the area by emphasising networking, capacity building, information sharing, and training. Other NGOs have worked extensively with governments to help develop and implement national environmental education strategies.
- D. Government and NGO Partnerships-** Partnerships between the government and NGOs are promoted in a number of ways. Certain nations have legislation in place to guarantee community and big groups' involvement in the creation of regional and national plans and policies. For instance, Thailand's 1992 Environment Act promotes public participation through environmental NGOs and assigns province and municipal governments the task of environmental management. Governments have made moves to formalize the role of independent NGOs within the decision making institutions by giving them representation.
- E. Regional and International Cooperation and Networking-** NGOs in the Asia-Pacific area are collaborating more in order to address transboundary issues more successfully and

to increase the effectiveness of related campaigns. The Third World Network (TWN), a well-known organisation with its headquarters in Malaysia, is an autonomous global network of non-profit organisations and individuals engaged in development-related matters. TWN carries out research, produces books and periodicals, arranges and attends seminars, and offers a forum for developing nations to voice their concerns and viewpoints at international fora, like United Nations conferences.

If NGOs and civil society organisations are to establish themselves as suitable representatives of the interests and concerns of those people of society who are underprivileged, disenfranchised, and ignorant, then their professionalism and responsibility are essential. Such organisations play a vital role, but their contributions must be supported by solid data and the real demands of the "client" community. It is necessary to identify the appropriate mechanisms for ensuring fair and balanced networking across NGOs and to keep the interests of marginalised groups including women, children, youth, and indigenous people front and centre.

**9.4.1. Check Your Progress I**

**I.** What do you know about Non-State actors?

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**II.** Describe the Role and working culture of NGO's.

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**9.5. International Non-Governmental Organisations INGO's-** International organisations no longer place a high importance on the worry that local armed conflicts could turn into regional or even global wars. Programmes run by the UN and other international governmental organisations (IGOs) focus heavily on threats to our life support systems, including those posed by infectious diseases, environmental degradation, human rights violations, poverty, hunger, and homelessness. Countless international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) have united beyond geographical and topical divides to enhance these programmes, believing them to be insufficient. In recognition of the basic need to build strength within each country, INGOs are giving a high priority to a collaboration, which shares resources, viewpoints, and the planning and carrying out of strategies within each of the UN member states. Individuals or national social organisations may be INGOs' members. The main set of guidelines or instructions for work is the INGOs' prospectus or constitution as at the time of registration. Neither the INGOs nor their prospectuses or constitutions created by international treaties become the subject of international law. Nonetheless, national law is eventually made about these organisations. The INGOs are able to retain both material and immaterial assets and take on new roles. An international nongovernmental organisation (INGO) is any organisation that is registered in a nation in accordance with its laws and regulations. INGOs



are defined as organisations that are not organised or formally linked by treaty, as per the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations' resolution No. 288(x) from February 27, 1950. The following traits of INGOs are highlighted in Article I of the Union of International Association's proposed bill for an international non-governmental organisation treaty:

- a) Not having any objective of economic benefit
- b) Recognized at least by one nation, '
- c) To be an international forum

### **9.5.1 Features of International Non-Governmental Organisations-**

**Planning-** It involves including the community members in all stages of the planning process, from formulation and oversight. Thus, its essence is participatory.

**Technical assistance:** They provide financial and technical assistance to the people.

**By the people, for the people:** The initiatives are not carried out directly by the highest authorities. The local community participates in a number of the program's processes. Rather than having outsiders dictate what they need, the locals contribute their own ideas.

**Masses and organising the masses:** the foundation of all plans and initiatives is the participation of the general public. Awareness campaigns are also introduced concurrently, this method of integrating the general public is successful in achieving the desired results.

**Engaged and accountable force for development:** the locals feel compelled to participate in their programmes to gain the most from them. They therefore take on a greater sense of responsibility and participate actively in the process.

**Participation and empowerment:** Through NGOs and INGOs, a variety of programmes aimed at producing revenue and employment opportunities are introduced. To engage in sustainable economic activity, all individuals are engaged in various related activities. In order for empowerment programmes to be successful, they must be significant and potent for local growth. Through the formation of user groups and groups, the local population participates in the income-generating activities.

**Scale and lack of a long-term perspective:** NGO/INGO programmes' main drawback is that they are often short-term and cover a small area. The majority of programmes end in the middle, rendering all of the funding for them ineffective. This also doesn't contribute to the development of the entire nation.

**Objectives and basic requirements:** These are the main focuses of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which are aimed at promoting sustainability. They can be considered to have a welfare motive because they operate as non-profit organisations. With extensive direction and training, the programmes appear to be well-functioning and sustainable when they are implemented in the community. People also tend to assume responsibility for maintaining the programmes since they stand to gain from them.

**Targeting rural and isolated areas, poverty, the disabled, and women:** NGOs and INGOs are also characterised by their focus on impoverished and those who are unable to improve their level of living while residing in remote and rural locations. These organisations concentrate on the disabled and those who are marginalised by society and the government.

### **9.5.2 Check Your Progress II**

- I. Discuss the meaning and features of INGO's.

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**9.6 Multinational Corporations (MNC's)-** The business entity that characterises foreign direct investment is the multinational corporation, which conducts operations across more than two nations. This form includes the incorporation nation as well as the overseas countries where the company has established branches or subsidiaries. Naturally, there are differences in the scope of multinational corporations' operations in terms of the number of countries in which they conduct business. A sizable multinational company may have hundreds of thousands of workers working abroad in 100 different countries. The multinational corporation is, thus, the product of foreign direct investment that is defined as the effective control of operations in a country by foreign owners. The fact that multinational corporations (MNCs) account for over 25% of global output indicates the importance of MNC activity in the post-war era. Certain multinational corporations (MNCs), like General Motors and Exxon, are so massive and geographically dispersed that their entire revenue and sales turnover can even surpass the GDP of some nations. Several prominent origins or home nations from which significant foreign investment has originated include the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and Italy. The top 100 MNCs in the world are based in the United States, Japan, France, the United Kingdom, and Germany.

Multinational corporations were virtually nonexistent in India after the mid-1970s, when the few that remained were nearly forced out of the nation. Multinational enterprises have, nevertheless, once more gained prominence in the Indian economy throughout time. India opened up a number of areas to private investment when it liberalised and entered the global economy; foreign direct investment (FDI) was especially encouraged. The quantity of FDI inflows during the previous several years can be used to estimate the concentration of FDI in India. Over the past four years, foreign direct investment (FDI) has increased favourably, according to the Press Information Bureau of the Government of India.

**9.6.1 Forms of Multinational Corporations-** A MNE may be privately or publicly owned, controlled, and managed (state-owned and state-managed). An MNE's assets may be owned and managed in a number of ways, including: i) by entities based solely in one nation; ii) by national control organisations that also own and manage their assets internationally; and iii) by multinational organisations. In the actual world, several forms of multinational operations can be seen depending on how they are set up. All multinational enterprises (MNEs) have the trait of their value-adding activities transcending national borders. International sales, in which a company produces in one nation and sells in another, is the most basic type of multinational business. Second, they also conduct cross-border marketing transactions. As a result, they participate in both production and market exchanges on a global scale. Their approach to markets and production is global or worldwide. Fully owned overseas subsidiaries or foreign direct investment are the most common types of multinational business. According to the OECD definition, "FDI is defined as

an investment involving a long-term relationship and reflecting a lasting interest and control of a resident entity in one economy (foreign direct investor or parent enterprise) in an enterprise resident in an economy other than that of the foreign direct investor (FDI enterprise or affiliate enterprise or foreign affiliate)". Stated differently, foreign direct investment occurs when a firm from one nation makes an investment to acquire an ownership stake in an organisation situated in another nation. International joint ventures are another noteworthy type of multinational business that is commonplace all over the world. In this kind of organisation, an established company in the host nation forms a joint venture with the company from the country of origin. When two or more participating enterprises own a sizable enough share of the equity capital to maintain control over the decision-making process, a new entity is created. Economic entities participating in a joint venture that is international or cross-border may represent two or more countries.

### **9.6.2 Features-**

- **Massive Assets and Turnover:** MNCs have enormous financial and physical assets due to their global activities. Massive MNC sales turnover is another effect of this. In actuality, several MNCs surpass the national economies of numerous nations in terms of assets and turnover.
- **Global Production and Marketing Activities via a Network of Branches:** Multinational corporations (MNCs) operate internationally through a network of branches, subsidiaries, and affiliates in host nations.
- **Unity of Control:** This is a trait shared by multinational corporations. MNCs use their head office in their home nation to oversee the operations of their branches abroad. Branch managers function inside the parent company's policy framework.
- **Mammoth Economic Might:** MNCs are significant economic players. Through ongoing company acquisitions and mergers in host nations, they continuously increase their economic clout.
- **Sophisticated and Advanced Technology:** An MNC typically possesses sophisticated and advanced technology at its disposal. It uses capital-intensive technology for both marketing and production.
- **Professional Management:** To manage enormous sums of money, cutting-edge technology, and global business operations, an MNC employs managers with professional training.
- **Aggressive Marketing and Advertising:** To win over foreign business, multinational corporations (MNCs) invest enormous sums of money in marketing and advertising. This is conceivably the main MNC success method. They are able to sell whatever goods or services they create or manufacture thanks to this tactic.
- **Better Quality of Products:** A MNC has to compete on the world level. It, therefore, has to pay special attention the quality of its products

### **Advantages of MNCs-**

- **Employment Creation:** In their host nations, multinational corporations (MNCs) generate a lot of jobs. For nations with high unemployment rates, this is a major benefit of MNCs.

- **Automatic Inflow of Foreign Capital:** MNCs provide much-needed funding for developing nations to develop rapidly. In actuality, foreign capital inflow occurs automatically when MNCs enter the market. The entry of MNCs has, for example, drawn multimillion dollar international investment to India.
- **Appropriate Utilisation of idle Resources:** MNCs are able to make appropriate use of idle human and physical resources of the host nation due to their advanced technical understanding. As a consequence, the host nation's national income rises.
- **Balance of Payment Improvement:** Multinational corporations (MNCs) assist their host nations in strengthening their position in the balance of payments.
- **Technical progress:** MNCs Benefit from 10 host countries' technological progress. are actually a means of transferring technological advancement from one nation to another. Poor host countries start to grow technologically as a result of MNCs.
- **Managerial Development:** MNCs use the newest management approaches, and their employees conduct extensive management research. They do, in a sense, contribute to the professionalisation of management along contemporary lines of thought and practice. The host countries experience management improvement as a result.
- **Dissolution of Local Monopolies:** MNC entry creates competition in the host nations. Local monopolies in host nations either begin to enhance their offerings or lower their costs. Thus, MNCs stopped local monopolists' exploitative tactics. In actuality, MNCs help domestic businesses increase their productivity and calibre. Many Indian businesses obtained ISO-9000 quality certificates as a result of their concern over MNC competition.

#### **Limitations of MNCs-**

- **Risk to Domestic Industries:** MNCs' enormous economic clout puts domestic industries—many of which are still in the early stages of growth—at risk. Domestic industries are unable to meet MNC challenges. Due to the danger posed by MNCs, many domestic industries must close. MNCs impede the host nation's economic progress in this way.
- **No Benefit to Poor People:** MNCs produce only those things, which are used by the rich. Therefore, poor people or host countries do not get, generally, any benefit, out of MNCs.
- **Danger to Independence:** Multinational corporations (MNCs) initially provide a variety of assistance to the host government before progressively becoming involved in the political activities of the host nation. Consequently, there is a long-term, explicit risk to the host nation's independence.
- **Ignore the National Interests of the Host Country:** Multinational corporations (MNCs) invest in the most lucrative industries, ignoring the objectives and national goals of the host nation. They have no interest in helping underdeveloped areas grow, and they never want to see the long-term issues facing the host nation, such as poverty and unemployment, resolved.
- **Misuse of Natural Resources:** Multinational corporations often utilise the host nation's natural resources in an irresponsible manner. They contribute to the quick depletion of

some of the host nation's non-renewable natural resources. MNCs harm the host nation's economic development in this way, permanently harming it.

- Systematic Human Exploitation: MNCs form alliances with major corporations in the host nation to become formidable monopolies. As a result, economic power ends up concentrated in the hands of a select few. These monopolies eventually claim that it is their natural right to take advantage of the underprivileged and enrich themselves at the expense of the working class.

### 9.6.3. Check Your Progress III

1. What do you know about Multinational Corporations? Describe their forms.

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2. Discuss the features, advantages and limitations of Multinational Corporations.

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**9.7. CONCLUSION-** The state-centric international order has been under pressure from the rise of non-state actors and transnational ties. The character of international interactions has altered as a result. Nationalism and sovereignty have undergone forced changes as a result of non-state forces. These have had an impact on nation-states' function as participants in international affairs. The existence and acts of non-state actors are increasingly influencing nation-state policies, choices, and actions. In the global environment, the latter have become influential non-political, commercial, economic, cultural, or trading actors. Examining the functions of multinational companies (MNCs), intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Though, the non-state actors of international relations have emerged as important and active actors in international system, it does not mean that in future, the role of the nation-states will end. The role of nation states will be important especially in promoting international cooperation and collaborations. Moreover, the existence of intergovernmental institutions and international organisations such as the United Nations and several other international bodies is determined by the desires of the nation-states. In the international system, the nation state still has a (near) monopoly on the exercise of coercive power. It continues to shape non-state actors' actions more than they shape its conduct.

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS**

**SEMESTER VI**

**COURSE: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS THEORY AND PRACTICE**

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**UNIT 10: EMERGING TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

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**STRUCTURE:**

10.0. Learning objectives

10.1. Key Words

10.2. Introduction

10.3. Emerging trends in International Politics

10.4. Check your Progress

10.5. Conclusion

10.6. Suggested Readings

## **10.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After reading this unit, you would be able to:

- Understand the emerging trends in International Politics.

## **10.1. KEY WORDS**

Globalization, State, Trade, Decision-making, Organizations, Policy, Nuclear war, Human Rights.

## **10.2. Introduction-**

International politics as practiced and studied in the 1990s was infused with liberal optimism. As a new strategy for handling international relations, international institutions were reinforced and the concept and practice of global governance solidified. New abilities are already arising within this formalised system. Not only are new powers distinct from traditional powers in terms of economics, politics, and culture, but they have also altered the power dynamics that supported global governance. In light of this, this essay explores the effects that rising powers are having on international governance. The current global governance system is progressively giving way to the developing one as new power emerge inside an established one.

A new era of the global system began in the 1990s. Following the fall of the Soviet Union, which discredited alternatives to liberal capitalism and eliminated the last worldwide counterbalance to Western power, the United States ruled supremely. Focus shifted to human rights, international organisations, advancing democracy, and economic liberalisation. "Global governance" started to take shape as a new way of managing international relations and as a viewpoint on world politics at the time, infused with the liberal ethos of the day. The goal was to govern the world through cooperatively "solving problems," with the major political issues already settled in the West's advantage. This project seems to be having difficulties right now. Universal multilateralism has suffered, and power politics seem to be on the increase in places like Crimea and Syria, the back rooms of the United Nations in New York, and the hallways of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in Geneva. With their quick economic development, China, India, and the other three BRICS nations—Brazil, Russia, and South Africa—are posing a growing threat to Western hegemony. The rules and leadership positions of global governance are contested. While neoliberal regimes have not produced the greatest economic growth in the developing world, state capitalism variants have, it appears, provided China and Russia with political options to liberal democracy. New right-wing political movements opposing outward-looking pro-globalization policies have formed in industrialised democracies. In the meantime, the BRICS have started creating their own international institutions and criticising the injustices of the current system. Many developments in international politics occurred in the final decade of the 20th century and the first few years of the 21st century, which altered the character of the newly emerging world order.

The end of the Bi-Polar ore completely establishing the Uni-Polar border, the increasing significance of economic factors over military factors, the deterioration of the power structure, the preference for global factors over mid-privatization, the loss of international organisations' credibility, and the liberalisation and democratisation of the UN in order to increase transparency in its operations. Some significant aspects of the nature of the emerging world order system are the demand for Human rights, the problems with environmental pollution, the global spread of



protection against the ongoing global economic recession, the concern of the international community and people about these issues, the steps taken towards the establishment of a multipolar system, etc. A systematic analysis of these is written below.

### **10.3. Emerging trends in International Politics**

**The Emergence of Global Governance-** Global governance emerged as the sole avenue for reconciling divergent or competing interests and facilitating collaborative efforts, amidst the expanding global market and the denationalisation of policy domains like commerce, investment, healthcare, and the environment. For the first time since the Russian Revolution, capitalism ruled the world essentially unopposed. Resources that had previously been off-limits to investors were brought into the global market in the following places: China through socialist reform with elements of Chinese culture; the former Soviet bloc through shock treatment; and Latin America through structural adjustment initiatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Anarchistic social democratic additions to capitalism even started to emerge, and "third way" social democracy—which was essentially tailored to neoliberal economic guidelines—became apparent. This provided the setting for the first-ever fully global governance structure to arise. This marked the start of a chapter of multilateral institution construction that can only be compared in scale and ambition to the UN system's establishment following World War II.

The WTO's founding and development merely constituted the most significant effort to legitimise the establishment of a liberal international economic order. More aspirational rich nations started looking into the possibility of expanding the multilateral approach to investment liberalisation, supported by an efficient dispute resolution framework, in the same year that the WTO came into action. The fast expansion of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) and the unstoppable rise of international investment arbitration tribunals was not stopped by the governments of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) inability to ratify the Multilateral Agreement on Investment in 1998. By 2012, "the dominance of the view that cooperation in world politics can be enhanced through the construction and support of multilateral institutions based on liberal principles" had become the norm, according to observers like Robert Keohane.<sup>12</sup> Global governance could be pursued in the goal of improving society as well as the common good.

**The Emergence of New Powers-** The new abilities have entered this mixture. The BRICS have not had a good few years. Western sanctions along with low oil prices have hurt Russia's economy since 2014. Brazil's economic trajectory has been hampered by internal reasons and the conclusion of a commodities supercycle; even China's previously rapid growth rates have slowed. Only India has deviated from the norm. The distribution of power in the international system has already undergone a significant alteration since the 1990s institution building phase, despite the slowdown in BRICS expansion. China's GDP increased by 159 percent from \$6.6 trillion to \$17.2 trillion between 2004 and 2014, whereas India's GDP increased by 109 percent from \$3.4 trillion to \$7.0 trillion. The US GDP increased by 16.8%, from \$14.2 trillion to \$16.6 trillion.<sup>14</sup> China is starting to challenge the US and is no longer a small, impoverished nation. India is catching up quickly.

**Establishment of American Hegemony:** Following the conclusion of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States of America established its hegemony in the

international world order with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. Since the United States of America possessed both the greatest military might and the best economy in the world, no nation could seriously threaten its dominance. It had so established its dominance over the global financial institutions and was utilising them to the fullest extent possible to further its objectives. The United Nations, the biggest international organisation was feeling itself helpless before USA as it was in a position to influence the Security Council to its liking. In case any decision of the United Nations is not to the liking of the USA, it does not bother for that and just by-passes the same.

**Setback for the Balance of Power System:** Prior to the fall of the Soviet Union, there existed a bipolar system in which there were two major powers or power blocs worldwide. The Soviet Union headed one bloc, known as the Communist Bloc, while the United States led another, known as the Capitalistic Bloc. Because they were wary of each other's strength, these two power blocs served as a counterbalance to one another. However, one power bloc collapsed and only one remained after the Soviet Union fell apart in 1991, which led to a total tilt of the power balance in favour of one side. This was a significant blow to the global order.

**The only NATO, the Old Military Alliance-** During the Cold War, the United States established the twelve-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in response to the growing menace of Communism. On the other hand, the communist states faced the assault of the capitalist nations. Conversely, the Soviet Union established the WARSAW PACT, which led to the world's undermining of leadership. However, the tension increased and WARSAW PACT ended with the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. However, NATO is a commercial organisation, and all of the former Communist Bloc's members, including Russia, are still members of it. It is now the only strong military alliance in the world, and it is based in Brussels, Belgium. Even though an alliance like NATO is not necessary in the current situation, the USA is making every effort to ensure its survival.

**United Nations credibility-** As a result of the USA's establishment of hegemony in the global order the credibility of UN is eroding. In numerous instances, the UN has not been able to carry out its mandate effectively and has instead continued to act as a passive observer. Some critics of the current situation claim that the United States has taken control of the organisation. These days, no UN decision can be taken that deviates from US policy. The United States has shrunk before the United States, as seen by its actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. The United States and its allies launched an offensive against Iraq despite the UN's disapproval, and the world saw the effects when US President Donald Trump reduced the organisation to "talking shop" status with the UN. Mr. Kofi Annan, the former Secretary General, had offered numerous suggestions to boost the UN's legitimacy.

**Requirement for UN restructuring:** When the UN was founded in 1945, it comprised only 51 member nations, and its founding was done with consideration for the circumstances of the day. However, compared to the demands and circumstances of the mid-20th century, the needs and difficulties of the 21st century are very different. Currently, 193 nations are United Nations members. Therefore, it is felt that the United Nations has to be reorganised and have more democracy and transparency added to its operations in order to better meet the demands and circumstances of the modern world. A greater role in the UN is being demanded by the numerous

new powers that have entered world politics in recent years. They support both the enlargement of the Security Council and the increase in the number of permanent members. The G-4, or India, Japan, Germany, and Brazil, have made a claim to permanent membership in the Security Council. They believe that appropriate and sufficient representation for Latin American, Asian, and African nations should be granted in the Security Council. India's ambition for a permanent membership in the restructured United Nations body received a boost on September 14, 2015, when the UN General Assembly accepted a negotiation document by agreement for the Security Council reforms. This opened the door for discussions on the matter at the 70th session.

**American dominance over International Financial Institutions-** The United States has consolidated its dominance over international financial organisations, including the World Bank and World Trade Organisation, following the conclusion of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The goal of these organisations was to help the underprivileged and developing nations financially by offering loans to them at lower interest rates. However, these institutions are now puppets of the United States of America. These days, these organisations impose a variety of onerous requirements on loans to developing and impoverished nations, which these nations find impossible to meet. Changes to these nations' banking systems, interest rates, and financial policies are demanded, thereby interfering in their domestic affairs.

In order to coordinate their positions on significant global economic issues, the leaders of the BRICS countries gathered in Sanya, China, on April 14, 2011. They adopted a comprehensive declaration at the meeting, which among other things called for the restructuring of international financial institutions to take into account shifts in the global economy and increase the voice and representation of emerging economies. The Sixth BRICS Summit was held in Brazil on July 15-16, 2014 in which resolution was passed to establish BRICS Development Bank with its headquarter in Shanghai which will work as an alternative to West dominated financial institutions like World Bank-WB and International Monetary Fund-IMF.

**Creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO):** On January 1, 1995, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was founded with the aim of regulating global trade, having previously operated as the GATT. Any nation that adheres to the WTO's rules and regulations and supports free trade, open markets, and fixed import tariff rates is eligible to join. Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland, and it now has 162 member countries under its membership. Its Director General is Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, a Nigerian citizen. The World Trade Organisation, or WTO, is dedicated to advancing global trade between countries and removing barriers to it. Critics claim that because the WTO occasionally puts pressure on impoverished countries to accept unfavourable circumstances, it serves as a tool for the rich countries to impose their hegemony over them.

**Globalisation:** The era that followed the conclusion of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union is referred to as this one. Globalisation is the process by which different countries become more dependent on one another and on one another. It has had a significant impact on practically every country's foreign and internal affairs and given international politics a new direction. Globalisation, as used in common parlance, refers to the creation of a global market, the globalisation of the international markets, or both. However, this concept of globalisation is

extremely limited. Globalisation nowadays encompasses more than only the expansion of global markets and money. Instead, it is a free mutual flow of ideas, capital, products, know-how, people, entrepreneurs, and cultures, among other things. The International Monetary Institutions are crucial in achieving this goal. The globe has become a global village as a result of globalisation, and quick means of transportation, communication, the internet, and other things have shrunk the planet.

**Liberalisation-** Liberalisation is defined as "leaving man in the absence of restraints in the liberalised economy." It also refers to "open competition" and "free trade," which are traits of the capitalist system. These liberalisation ideas form the foundation of capitalism, which has a significant role in the current global order. In addition, liberalisation is a useful instrument for giving the Grider Bation process a concrete form. Deregulation and delicensing are the fundamental tenets of liberalisation, which enables manufacturers the flexibility to create industries of their own. Because of all of this, the GDP of practically every nation has expanded, there is a surplus of commodities on the market, and choosing items has gotten easier for consumers.

**Privatisation-** Another significant aspect of the current international system is privatisation. Privatisation is the term used to describe the private sector's dominance over the public sector. It gives industrialists the freedom to create the industries they choose and allows the private sector to enter the public sector. Initially, the public and private sectors form a cooperation, but with time, the public sector is entirely transformed into the private sector. The only thing the state does is assist the private sector. For the industrialists, the entire planet becomes their playground, and they are free to locate their factories wherever they choose. This is demonstrated by the acquisitions of renowned French steel business Arcelor by Mr. Laxmi Mittal and renowned Indian industrialist Mr. Ratan Tata from Corus, a renowned British steel company. Private companies are granted control over services including transportation, water supply, energy, health care, insurance, education, telephone, trains, and aviation, among others. Foreign capital participation is also welcomed.

**Dominant role of multinational corporations (MNCs):** MNCs play a significant role in the nature of the current international order. According to what we've read previously, the private sector now dominates the public sector. Because of this, the multinational corporations have become "anonymous empires" and have taken over control of the global economic system. Some multinational corporations have budgets that are even bigger than those of some tiny nations. Currently, these corporations control a large percentage of the world's commerce. However, it just so happens that the majority of these multinational corporations are American, and it is through them that America has the chance to increase its influence globally. MNCs have both positive and negative effects on developing and underdeveloped nations. While these have contributed to the growth of these nations, they have also taken advantage of their untapped resources.

**Global Information Technology Spread:** With its unique ability to foster greater understanding amongst nations, information technology has become increasingly significant in today's international system. Globalisation and information technology are closely related processes.

Information technology has, in reality, altered the character of international relations, industry, administration, trade, and diplomacy.

**Developed and Developing Country Interdependence:** Globalisation has made both developed and developing countries more dependant. While developed nations possess advanced technology and excess cash, developing nations have abundant raw material resources and inexpensive labour. This explains why today's wealthy nations are investing an increasing amount of money in emerging nations and fully using their abundant raw material resources. MNCs are establishing their manufacturing facilities in underdeveloped nations. More job opportunities are being produced in these countries as a result.

**Increasing Popularity of Economic Organisations:** There were a lot of military organisations in the Bipolar World Order era. Both blocs had established several military partnerships in quest of security, with the United States taking the lead in these agreements. In contrast, as every country is preoccupied with its economic development these days, economic institutions have taken the place of military organisations with the creation of the Uni-Polar Order. The most well-known economic groups in the world include the GATT, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), NAFTA, SAFTA, the G-8, G-15, G-20, G-77, BRICS, and SAARC, among others.

**Growing significance of the human rights issue:** The worldwide community is worried about the issue of human rights violations, which is currently one of the world's most significant issues. Human rights were violated prior to the middle of the 20th century by communists, fascists, and nazis. Upon observing this plight, the United Nations General Assembly established the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, assigning member states the responsibility of safeguarding these rights. However, despite all of these measures, human rights are still being infringed everywhere in the world. Keeping in mind the objective of the enforcement of Human Rights, the United Nations have adopted many covenants. In March, 2006, the General Assembly replaced Human Rights Commission with another an effective body by the name of Human Rights Council.

**Issue of Environmental Protection:** Environmental protection is a major global subject that should worry everyone who is rational. The globe is facing dire implications as the environment becomes more and more contaminated on a daily basis. There are more and more incurable illnesses, rising global temperatures, and other imbalances in the planet. It has the effect of causing unexpected heat, cold, and rain. Even though the environmental pollution catastrophe has been raising red flags for a while, people have been ignoring it. In actuality, people's greed for wealth has rendered them oblivious to the seriousness of the issue. The earth's ozone layer was formed by nature to shield people and native vegetation from the sun's intense beams. However, as the amount of toxic gases on Earth increases, large holes have formed in the Ozone Layer, and from some points, its surface has thinned. As a result, the Earth is now exposed to potentially lethal solar radiation that could wipe out vegetation and human life. In this regard, the rich world has done the most to harm the environment, while the developing and impoverished world has been given the brunt of this duty. The goal of the numerous conferences that the UN held in 1972, 1982, 1985,

1987, 1992, 1997, 2009, 2010, and 2011 around the globe was to draw attention to the issue of environmental pollution and to discuss the necessary steps that needed to be taken to address it. Environment-related topics were debated during the Environment Summit, which took place in Glasgow, Scotland from October 30, 2021 to November 12, 2021, under the auspices of the United Nations. The 26th Conference of Parties, or COP26, is the name given to this conference.

**Globalisation of Terrorism:** Although terrorism is not a new issue, it has become increasingly serious in the final ten years of the 20th century and is currently the greatest threat to international peace. No nation is exempt from its negative effects today. America had prepared Muslim Jihadies during the Cold War in an effort to stem the expansion of Communism and Soviet influence around the world. However, these Muslim Jihadies now pose a threat to international peace and are confronting a powerful nation such as the United States of America. Numerous terrorist attacks have claimed the lives of thousands of people, targeting political figures, institutions of worship, public transportation hubs like buses, trains and aeroplanes, major commercial districts, state legislatures and state assemblies. 49 people were killed in a terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, on March 15, 2019, and about 253 people were killed in another attack in Sri Lanka on April 21, 2019, both of which shocked the globe. These incidents are matter of concern for the international community.

**India, an Emerging Power:** Over the last few years, India has become a significant player on the global stage, mostly due to its advancements in a variety of areas, including industry, science, agriculture, information technology, and research. India's economy is currently expanding at the second-fastest rate in the world, and the G-8 and EU view it as a crucial partner. In addition, India has been acknowledged as a nuclear power by the Nuclear Club and, along with Brazil, Germany, and Japan, is a strong contender for permanent membership in the Security Council. India now has cordial ties with many major international powers, including the United States, France, Russia, China, and the United Kingdom. India is rising to new heights in the economic sphere every day.

**Set back to American Supremacy:** America has long been the dominant force in world politics, influencing every facet of the field. However, the Covid-19 pandemic's expansion has dealt a serious blow to America's hegemony. The corona virus killed the most number of Americans, making it the nation with the highest death rate. It has also had a negative impact on the nation's economy, as the growth rate has decreased significantly. The US economy has collapsed as a result of the thousands of workers who have lost their jobs. The impact of COVID-19 also affected the November 2020 presidential election, with Donald Trump's poor management of the pandemic's spread being one of the factors contributing to his loss. Many voters shared the belief held by Trump's opponent, Democratic Party nominee Joe Biden, that the disastrous impacts of the corona virus in the nation were caused by Trump's negligent behaviour. Joe Biden's election to the US presidency was undoubtedly going to have an impact on the country's and global international politics.

**Aim to Isolate China in the International Field:** As you are aware, the Corona virus originated in Wuhan, China at the end of 2019 and had spread to every country in the globe by the start of 2020. For this reason, the majority of nations blame China for the virus's spread. These nations believe that China enabled the virus to spread over the world at large rather than issuing timely

warnings about its spread. Because of this, everyone on the planet was suffering, and China was to blame for all of this. Many European nations, including the United States, question China's involvement in the virus's spread. Therefore, they support carrying out high-level investigations to learn more about China's involvement in this entire situation. According to them, China ought to pay back all of the nations' damages if it is determined that it was China that caused the virus to spread. Even though China has denied all of these accusations, questions continue to be raised about it. Due to all of this, China is isolated and stigmatised in the international world, but some nations continue to support China in this regard.

#### **10.4. Check your Progress**

I. Discuss in detail about the emerging trends in International Politics.

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#### **10.5. Conclusion-**

International politics is growing in importance as a subject of study these days. It tackles some of the world's most important issues, including power, violence, sovereignty, states, empires, intervention, inequality, justice, and democracy, as well as war and peace, the structure of the global economy, and the causes and effects of global inequality. A wide range of topics and concerns pertaining to international policy that call for governance are among the challenges of global governance. Globalisation and other developments have made it evident that more pieces of governance are needed; these processes are complex, and the US continues to influence many of these pieces, particularly the liberal international economic system, and makes sure that US interests are taken into account in a variety of regimes.

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