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(1) POL-05-I-1036 GAUHATI UNIVERSITY Institute of Distance and Open Learning M.A. First Semester (under CBCS) POLITICAL SCIENCE Paper: POL-05-I-1036 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-I Contents: Block I: Theories of International Relations Unit 1: Growth of IR as a discipline Unit 2: Theory of International Relations Unit 3: Levels of Analysis Unit 4: Non-western IR theory Unit 5: International Relations: Gap between theory and practise Block II: Contending theories of International Relations Unit 1: Classical, Structural and Defensive Realism Unit 2: Liberalism and Neoliberlaism Unit 3: Regime Theory Unit 4: The English School Unit 5: Marxism and dependency theory Block III: Alternative perspectives on International Relations Unit 1: Postmodernism Unit 2: Critical Theory Unit 3: Social constructivism Unit 4: Feminism in International relations Unit 5: Ecologism Block IV: Key debates in International Relations Unit 1: Civilization, race and identity Unit 2: Globalization: concept Unit 3: Globalisation and its resistance Unit 4: Emerging world order Unit 5: Liberal democracy and democratic peace

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BLOCK: I THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1 | P a g e Unit 1: Growth Of International Relations Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Meaning of International Relations 1.4 Development of the Study of International Relations 1.4.1 Development till the Second World War 1.4.2 Development after the Second World War 1.5 Nature and Scope of International Relations 1.5.1 Nature of International Relations 1.5.2 Scope of International Relations 1.6 Summing up 1.7 References and Suggested Readings 1.1 Introduction The scientific and technological advancement and improvements in the meansof communication have brought the countries of the world closer. In moderntimes, the world has greatly shrunk as a result of the scientific andtechnological development. As a result, events occurred in a particular countryinfluence the other countries of the world. Besides, the countries are mutuallydependent on each other and no country can remain aloof. Therefore,International Relationship is as much a product of necessity as socialexistence itself. The study of International Relations is vital for theunderstanding of the interpersonal relations between states. As an academicdiscipline, International Relations has emerged after the First World War.With the changing situations at the international sphere, the nature ofInternational Relations is changing and its scope is also widening. As a subjectof study it concerns peoples and cultures throughout the world.This unit specifically deals with the meaning of International Relations and itsdevelopment as an academic discipline. Moreover, reading of this unit willalso help you to understand the nature and scope of International Relations.

2 | P a g e 1.2 Objectives International Relations comprises the norms, rules, established practices andinstitutions governing the relation among sovereign states. By the end of thisunit you will able to discuss the meaning of International Relations examine the various definitions of International Relations describe the developmental stages of International Relations analyze the nature and scope of International Relations 1.3Meaning of International Relations International Relations primarily studies interactions/relations among all theactors of the international community. It is concerned with the behaviour ofinternational system or the interactions and relations among nations andother international actors present in the international environment.International Relations seeks to study mainly the political dimension of therelations among nations.Jeremy Bentham first used the term 'international' in 1780 when he talkedof 'International jurisprudence'.

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According to H. J. Morgenthau,'International Relations includes analysis of political relations and problemsof peace among nations'.

Again Burton says that International Relationsinclude the study of all such events and circumstances which affect more than one state. It is

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a system of peaceful communications whereby statesconsciously and in their own interest, would like to avoid conflict becausethe costs of conflicts are too high.

Hence it can be said that International Relations is a system of interactionsamong nations that involve the use of power. However, in the present time,International Relations also include the study of political, economic and culturalrelations. Stop To Consider: International Politics and International Relations: Here it is pertinent to know that International Relations is often confused withterms like World Politics, international affairs, International Politics etc. The term International Politics has a wider connotations than International Relationsbecause it embraces all sorts of relations among peoples and groups in theworld society viz, political,

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social, cultural, economic, legal, official as well asnon- official. Thus, all international transactions – financial and commercial,international sports, technical co-operation, cultural visits, 3 | P a g e business visits, tradeand economic relations, diplomatic relations

etc form part of InternationalPolitics. On the other hand, 'International Relations' reduces the scope of studyand is mainly

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concerned with the study of power-relations among nations andthe study of other aspects of relations is incidental to this basic necessity.According to

Prof. E. H. Carr, '

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International Relations includes only those aspectsof International Politics in which some conflict of purpose or interest

isinvolved'.Despite the differences, many

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writers do not like to draw a line of demarcationbetween International Relations and International Politics. Scholars likeMorgenthau and Kenneth Thompson use the term inter-changeably and regardInternational Relations as an inalienable part of International

Politics .The scope and complexity of the interactions among the countries of theworld is changing making the study of International Relations a challengingsubject.Strictly defined,

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the field of International Relations concerns the relationshipsamong the world's governments. But these relationships cannot beunderstood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (suchas international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals);with other social structures (including economics, culture and domesticpolitics); and with geographical and historical influences.

Though International Relations and International Politics are usedinterchangeably, as a field of study, International Relations have uncertainboundaries. As a part of political science, International Relations is aboutInternational Politics— the decisions of governments concerning their actionstowards other governments. However, to some extent the field isinterdisciplinary, relating International Politics to economics, history,sociology and other disciplines. Some universities offer separate degreeor departments for International Relations. However, in most of theuniversities, International Relations fall under Political Science. The focus ison the politics of economic relationships, or the politics of environmentalmanagement. Politics is the process by which power is acquired, maintained and increased.Given the meaning to politics, International Politics may be described as aprocess

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of adjustment of relationships among nations in favour of a nation or a group of nations by means of power. Its focus is on three things: nationalinterest, conflict and power. The first is adjective, the second is the conditionand the third is the means of International Politics. International Politics,therefore, can be described as a set of these aspects of relations amongindependent political communities in which some element of conflict

ofinterests is present. But at the same time, interests of some nations may be identical. It is, therefore, a phenomenon of recurring pattern of conflict andharmony,

4 | P a g e but cooperation is only possible only through control of conflict.Conflict at least can be channelised into a desired direction. Thus, International Politics is the study of the control of conflict and establishmentof cooperation.Political relations among nations cover a range of activities—diplomacy,war, trade relations, alliances, cultural exchanges, participation in internationalorganizations and so forth. Particular activities within one of these spheresmake up distinct issue areas on which scholars and foreign policy makersfocus attention. Example of issue areas include global trade negotiations, or specific ethnic conflicts such as the India-Pakistan and Arab-Israeli conflicts.But one kind of politics that can have an international character is not generallyincluded in the field of International Politics i,e the internal politics of foreign countries. It is necessary to understand the nature of International Politics in order todistinguish between International Relations and similar expressions like worldpolitics, international affairs and International Relations. International Relations has been described as the process of influencing, manipulating or controlling major groups in the world, so as to safeguard and advance the interests of some against the opposition of others. This implies that International Relationsis also described by some writers like Herbert Spiro as World Politics. Butworld politics is different from International Relations. World politics would be possible only when we are able to achieve a world state, which is still a far cry. Similarly, International Relations should not be confused withInternational Affairs, as the latter includes non-political matters also.Another term often need as a synonym of International Relations is International Politics. The scope of the two yet not been well settled. Margenthau and K.W. Thompson, however, maintain that the core of International Relationsis International Relations. The general approach to

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the study of International Relations has been in terms of international

institutions, International Relations, power rivalries, international strategy and enforcement procedures whichare studied under International Relations also. Yet both are not the same. The term international between nations, in fact, describes all aspects ofrelationships between nations—politics

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or non-political, peaceful or warlike,legal or cultural, economic or geographical, official or non- official.

International Relations as such embrace the totality of the relationships amongnations. On the other hand, the study of International Relations is only a subcategoryof International Relations, although the most important one. Forthe time being, however, International Politics should be treated as theoreticalaspects of International Relations.

5 | P a g e Check Your Progress 1. Define International Relations? 2. Make a comparative analysis between International Politics and International Relations. 3. Write true or false a) Jeremy Bentham first used the term 'international'. b) International Politics includes analysis of political relations and problems. 1.4 Development of the Study of International Relations The study of International Relations is a relatively recent arrival on the academicscene. Although the study of International Relations is considered to be a modern phenomenon, the principles and techniques of its study, at least in their rudimentary form, can be traced back to the dawn of history. The ancient civilizations like the Egyptians, Chinese, Greeks and Indians developed a code of inter-state conduct. However, the International Relations at that time were designed to serve a very limited purpose and truly speaking it was not international in character. The states of that period mostly established relations with the state of the same region, thereby making it regional relation. With Renaissance and Reformation, territorial state emerged and with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the tradition of International Relations between different states set in, which continues to the present time. As an academic discipline, the study of International Relations gained recognition in the war (1919-1939) period. The first chair of International Politics, called the 'Woodrow Wilson Chair' was founded in 1919 at the University College of Wales. Several prominent professors like Alfred Zimmern, C.K. Webster, Reynolds, E.H. Carr, all well known historians, were the early occupants of the chair. This event marks the starting point ofthe development of International Relations as an Independent discipline. In1919, the School of Foreign Service came into existence in Georgetown University, which was followed in 1924 by the establishment of the Schoolof International Studies at the University of Southern California. During the period between the two world wars as many as eleven institutions relating to the study of International Relations came into existence. International Relations as a field of study experienced phenomenal growth inthe post-1945 period. Devastations of the two World Wars, increase in thenumber of sovereign nation states, emergence of many supra-national and non- state actors and the threat of new war have given new dimensions tothe study of International Relations.

Thus, in the twentieth century the study of International Relations has passed through various stages of development. According to Kenneth Thomson, it has passed through four main stages of development. Let us now discuss the stages of development of International Relations. 1.4.1 Development till the Second World War: As has been mentioned earlier, the interactions among nations can be traced back to the dawn of history. However the emergence of International Relations as an academic discipline is a recent phenomenon. Here we have attempted to study the development of International Relations in the period till the breakout of Second World War and after. The first stage, upto the end of the First World War, was dominated by the monopoly of diplomatic historians, who generally avoided the study of current affairs. They adopted a chronological and descriptive approach and made no attempt to draw some principles from their study of historical facts. This historical orientation precluded the development of a theoretical care for the discipline.As such, no theory of International Relations could develop during the period. Their attempts brought to light certain interesting and important facts about past International Relations. This phase isalso termed as the Diplomatic History Phase. During the second stage, starting after the end of World War I, thescholars of International Relations emphasized the study of current events and concerned themselves with the interpretation of the immediate significance of current developments and problems. It can be said that this approach was an attempt to do what had been ignored by diplomatic historians. But no attempt was made to relate the past. The review of newspapers, periodicals and journals was considered to be the right and necessary step for understanding theday to day relations among the nations. The result was that no well conceived theoretical or methodological foundation could emergeby which the significance of current events could be understood inthe context of the totality of history and the future of international conduct. This phase is therefore described as the 'Current events stage'. The third period also began after the First World War and continued to exist throughout the inter-war years and after. Shocked by the First World War, the prevailing scholarship adopted an essentially legalistic-moralistic approach and looked upon war as both an accident and sin, and suggested international institutions to provide alternative to this 'ultimate argument of kings'. It stressed the institutionalization

of International Relations through law and organizations and firmly believed that international problems could be solved by international institutions. The Fourteen Points listed by American President, Woodrow Wilson were together regarded as a charter of reforms for relations among nations. In general, the temper and scholarship at the early inter-war period was characterized by a spirit of optimism. Hence, the concern of the scholars led to the creation of an ideal international society. The Paris Peace Conference and the subsequent establishment of the League of Nations gave strength to the optimism that it was possibleto make efforts towards an improvement of International Relations. It must be remembered here that the main concern during the period was not to understand the nature of International Relations but to develop legal institutions and organizational devices. In short, the concentration of research and academic interests was in the field of international law and organization. This period had strong faith in the goodness of human relations. It was believed that all international problems could be solved by developing a system of international law and by successfully organizing and working international organizations. This approach, too, was not sound, as it ignored the hard realities of international life. However, this era of liberalism and optimism did not last for long. The Third stage of development of International Relations is also regarded as the 'Legal-Institutional Stage' or the 'Law and Organization Stage'. 1.4.2 Development after the Second World War: International Relations assumes very important role in the post World War II period with the emergence of the new independent nations in different parts of the world. The Second World War threw a challenge to the approaches of the inter war period and necessitated a search for a new approach to the study of International Relations. In this new environment, the fourth phase of the development of the study of International Relations started. In this phase, the emphasis has shifted from International Law and organization to faces and influences which shape and condition the behaviour of the states. It is no longer restricted to diplomatic history or the form and structure of international organization. Instead, our main concern now is fourfold: motivating factors of the foreign policies everywhere, techniques of the conduct of foreign policies, mode to the resolution of international conflicts, and the creation of a new international order based on socio economic justice. While during the inter-war years the League of

Nations had been at the centre of international studies, now world politics is the setting in which International Relations are studied. Even the functions and purposes of theUnited Nations are now studied in a political rather than in a constitutional context. The purpose of studying the world issues now is not to praise or condemn them but to understand them. An important aspect of the impact of the Second World War was the realization of the unsoundness of the earlier assumption that there was a global common interest in peace. Consequently, our attention shifted from the presumed availability of this common interest to finding what people and nations really wanted and why there was conflict among them. This is what marked a new phase in thedevelopment of the study of International Relations. This phase is essentially concerned with theoretical investigation. Commendable efforts have, however, been made during the post-1945 period to develop scientific theories of International Relations. It started with the development of Realist theory in the late 1940s. Although a general and satisfactory theory of International Relations is yet to be evolved, these efforts have given rise to various new scientific approaches to the study of International Relations. The emergence of Behavioural Revolution in politics has also influenced the approaches and methods to the study of International Relations in the post-Second World War period. The scholars of International Relations used inter-disciplinary approach, which was favoured by the Behaviouralists. Emphasis was also given to the development of more and more sophisticated tools and methods in the study of International Relations. Thus, in the fourth stage of development, International Relations became a very vast and complex field of study. However, what is important for our present purpose is the fact that thestudy of International Relations has very much changed in its content andnature after the Second World War. Technological development, liquidation of colonialism, the rise of new nations, the emergence of new international values and crystallization of old ones, end of cold war, wave of globalization, the role of international morality and public opinion, and above all, the desire for seeking a theoretical order in the knowledge of international affairs brought changes in the nature of International Relations. In other words, the nature of International Relations cannot be studied in absolute isolation from what Joseph Roucek calls the sociological nature of the twentieth century.

In this connection, two other things must also be borne in mind when we study the development of International Relations in this twenty first century.One, that a proper understanding of the present nature of International Politics is not possible with a clear understanding of its nature in the pre-1945 period of last century; and two, that the change in the present nature of International Relations is not the total change in any contrasting terms. It is true that International Relations of today has freed itself from some of its old dimensions and has assumed some new ones. But it is also true that it has retained a few of its old dimensions. Stop to Consider International Relations and International Laws: International law is understood as law between nations, but also those relating tointernational organizations, private companies and NGOs, private international law, state laws, relations between domestic politics and international law andother related questions. International law is diverse. Therefore it is impossible to talk about the role of International Law in universal and trans-historical terms.The same is true with International Relations. There are a variety of International Laws, depending on forms or 'sources', the particular area they are supposed to regulate, the way they are understood and perceived in different countries and indifferent historical periods and so on. Some scholars of International Relations, especially institutionalists and constructivists, have dealt with relevant treaties and decisions and resolutions of international organizations in such fields as international trade, global environment, disarmament, human rights and humanitarian intervention. Thus, the study of International Relations after behaviouralism generally showed lack of interest in the role of international law in the context of International Relations. However, many scholars believe that International Law is still relevant and plays an important role in International Politics. The scope of International Relations is much wider than that of InternationalLaw. SAQ: Do you think that World War II changed the scenario of International Politics? Give arguments in favour of your answer. (80 words) . . . .

10 | P a g e 1.5 Nature and Scope of International Relations: In the previous section, we have dealt with the various stages of the development of International Relations. We have also found that with the development of the International Relations, subject-matter and the field of the discipline is also widening. Therefore, it can be said that the nature as wellas the scope of International Relations is changing and widening with the passage of time. Now in this section we are going to discuss nature and scope of International Relations. 1.5.1 Nature of International Relations International Relations, as the name suggests, is concerned with relations and interactions among nations. While politics is defined as struggle for power,International Relations has been defined as struggle for power among nations.According to Morgenthau, 'International Relations like all politics is strugglefor power. Whatever may be the ultimate aim, its immediate aim is always power'.While discussing the nature of International Relations, it is pertinent for you toknow the basic elements of it which are as follows: Nations are the primary actors in International Relations as groups are in politics. However, with the passage of time, several non state ,trans-national and supra-national groups and organizations have also come to play an important role here. Each nation has its own national interest for the fulfillment of which its policies are formulated. International Relations involves the art of preserving or securing goals of national interests by using control over other nations. Since every nation has its own national interest, the interests of various nations may be in conflict with each other at the international level. This results in disputes among various nations. Therefore, methods are worked out for accommodation, reconciliation and adjustment of the conflicts among the nations. Hence, conflict andco-operation, as well as coercion and persuasion are present in International Relations. In a conflicting situation, every nation wants to secure its own the goals. For securing these goals nations use power. That is why each nation is continuously engaged in the process of acquiring, maintaining and increasing power. Power is defined as the ability toinfluence, control and regulate behaviour and actions of other nations for securing intended results.

11 | P a g e Power is also considered as the means and end of International Politics. Nations use power for securing the goals and always seekto increase and maintain power. International Relations is also regarded as the process of conflict resolution among nations. We have already learnt that there areconflicts of interests among nations at the international level. However, existence of conflicts compels the nations with similar goals to cooperate with each other. Thus, International Relations aims at resolving conflicts among nations. International Relations involves continuous interactions among nations.Because of the existence of conflicts, attempts must be made to adjust the relations among nations. Therefore, the nations are always are always engaged in the process of interactions. Foreign policy serves as a means for fulfilling national interests.Therefore, the relations among nations at the international sphere take the form of interactions among the foreign policies of the nations. The above mentioned points describe the nature of International Relations.Now let us discuss the scope of the subject matter of International Relations.As has been mentioned earlier, the scope of International Relations has been widening with the passage of time.

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It encompasses much more than relations among nation states and international organization and groups.

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encompasses much more than relations among nation states and international organization and groups.

Globalisation, scientific and technological advancements have brought the nations of the world closer. If we examine the nature of International Relations today, it is found that

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it includes variety of transnational relationships at various levels,above and below the level of the nation

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it includes variety of transnational relationships at various levels,above and below the level of the nation

states. Now, International Relations goes beyond the political relations among nations to include economical, geographical, historical, legal, sociological, psychological and cultural relations. Stop To Consider: Globalization and International Relations By globalization we simply mean the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies such that events in one part of the world have effects onpeoples and societies far away. In other words we can say that a globalized world is one in which political, economic, cultural, social events become more and more interconnected. On the other hand International Relations primarily

12 | P a g e studies interactions/relations among all the actors of the international community.International Relations seeks to study mainly the political dimension of the relations among nations, but to a limited extent. But in the contemporary period due to the advancement of science and technology International Relations gets a moreexpanded global character unlike its traditional dimensions. For example, the incident of 11th September 2001 probably more than any other events, broughtinto the mind how just globalized the contemporary world is. The incident followed by the war in Afghanistan (2001-2002) and the controversial attack on Iraq in2003, and subsequent insurgency and Civil war, are some of the examples of the current International Relations which is more globalized. Because in the above mentioned incidents, states involved international coalitions and transitional violent networks in conflicts that linked events in different parts of the world. 1.5.2 Scope of International Relations Already we have learnt the nature of International Relations. Regarding the scope of International Relations we can say that in the initial stages International Politics studied only diplomatic history. But soon the study of International Law was included in its scope. After World War I, with the establishment of the League of Nation, the study of international institutions was also included in its scope. After World War II, its field further widened and thusat present, International Relations have become very extensive.The scope of International Relations includes the following major areas in the contemporary period: Nation-states occupy a primary place in International Relations. International Relations is all about the relations and interactions amongtwo or more nations. Therefore, the scope of International Relations always includes the study of relations among the nations. National interests and National powers are two important areas of International Relations. Each nation's behaviour is guided by its own interest at the international sphere. Therefore, in the study of International Politics, national interest needs to be studied. Moreover, through the national interests, the nations try to maintain and enhance the national power. It has been observed by scholars like Morgenthau that International Relations

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can be understood only if viewed as 'interest defined in terms of power'.

Hence, it can be said that, power is the basis of inter-state relations and as such it forms an important part of the subject matter of International Relations. National interest is closely associated with the Foreign policy of the nations. Foreign policies aim at securing the objectives of the

13 | P a g e national interests. In fact, a study of foreign policies of various nations alone can explain the nature of relations and interactions among the nations. International Relations also includes economic instruments and trade relations among various nations in the Modern period. Today, economic instruments like foreign aid, loans, global markets etc influence the course of International Relations. Political relations are also guided and shaped by economic relations. International Institutions and the regional organizations have come to occupy very important position in International Relations today. BesidesUNO, several regional organizations like NATO, OAS, OAU, OPEC,ASEAN, EU, SAARC etc play very important role in the International Politics today. Moreover, several trading blocs like G-8, G-77, G-20,G-24 etc have also come to play an important role in International Relations and become a subject-matter of International Relations today. Again, several non-state international or supra-national or trans- national actors, NGOs, Human Rights Organizations, Peace movements have also come under the scope of International Relations. Several concepts have controlled the behaviour of the nations in the international environment. The concepts of Balance of Power, Regionalism, Disarmament and arms Control, International Law, WorldPublic Opinion, diplomacy etc are the important principles, processes and concepts of International Relations. These have been continuously influencing the actual operation of the foreign policies of all the nations and hence have come to assume very important role in InternationalPolitics. The scope of International Relations has been widening with the inclusion of major contemporary issues and problems like international terrorism, protection of Human Rights, issue of Climate Change, environmental protection, ethnic conflicts, sustainable development etc.Thus, it can be said that

etc. Check Your Progress: 1. Describe the scope of International Relations. 2. Analyze the scope of International Relations. 3. Write a note on the changing nature of International Relations. 4. How does globalization affect International Relations? Give a critical view.

14 | P a g e 1.6. Summing up After reading this unit, you are now in a position to discuss the meaning ofInternational Relations. You have also learnt that International Relations assumes a very important role in the present time because no state can remain isolated from the rest of the world. Moreover, technological and scientific advancements have brought the nations of the world closer necessitating the study of International Relations. Now you are in a position to distinguish between International Relations and International Relations. International Relations has a wider meaning and is

Moreover, this unit has also helped you inlearning the development of International Relations as an academic discipline.In the post Second World War period, International Relations assumes newdirection with the emergence of new nation states. You have also learnt that with the changing time and scope, the nature of International Relations is also changing. Now besides the states, several non-state, trans-national and supra-national groups and organizations are also playing very importantrole in the study of International Relations. It serves as a platform for the interaction of foreign policies of the nations. Moreover, economic associations and trade relationships have also come to play very important role in International Relations in modern times. Its changing scope can also be understood from the inclusion of contemporary issues and problems like international terrorism, the protection of Human Rights, the issue of Climate Change, environmental protection, ethnic conflicts, sustainable development etc. In the next unit of this block we shall deal with at length the major approaches to the study of International Relations. 1.7. References and Suggested Readings Mahendra Kumar: Theoretical Aspects of International Relations, Shiva Lal Agarwal & Co Jashua S. Goldstein: International Relations, Fifth Edition, Pearson Education, 2003 C.W. Kegley (Jr), E. R. Wittkopt: World Politics, Trend and Trnsformation, seventh Edition, 1999 Urmila Sharma, S.K. Sharma: International Relations, Theory and History, 2000

15 | P a g e Unit 2 Theories of International Relations 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Objectives 2.3 Realist Theory 2.4 Other theories of International Relations 2.4.1 System Theory 2.4.2 Decision Making Theory 2.4.3 Game Theory 2.4.4 Communication Theory 2.5 Summing up 2.6 References and Suggested Readings 2.1 Introduction A theory attempts to explain something systematically or a set of guiding principles to study a phenomenon or some events. Theory gives meaning and clarity to our knowledge of facts by drawing generalizations and values to concepts, hypotheses, models and variables in social science research. In international Relations, theories allow us to understand the world through different lenses. For studying International Relations systematically, the scholars have adopted different theories in different periods of time. After 1940s there was a change in theInternational scenario which forced the political thinkers to formulate new theories for studying new emerging situations. This has resulted in the development of several other theories for studying International Relations. In this unit an attempt has been made to discuss different approaches to the study of International Relations. 2.2 Objectives: The scope of International Relations has greatly expanded over the years.Therefore, the earlier methods used in the study of International Relations have failed to analyze the new emerging situations. Under such circumstances new approaches to

discuss the idealist and realist approaches to the study of International Relations. ☐ elaborate modern approaches like system or decision-making approaches.

16 | P a g e ☐ examine game theory and communication theory of International Relations. 2.3.RealistTheory: Realism in International Relations emerges out of the individual belief that others are always trying to destroy him and therefore, he must be ready to destroy others whenever needed in order to protect himself. The basic assumption underlying the realist theory is the perpetual existence of conflicts among nations in one form or the other. This approach held the belief that a contest of power is going on in the world and this can neither be controlled nor regulated by international law or world government. Political philosophies of Thomas Hobbes and Niccolo Machiavelli provided the ground for the emergence of realist approach. Advocates of the new, ascendant paradigm known as realism, as a general philosophy, emerged to frame an intellectual movement whose message reads like the antithesis of idealism. In the International Relations, among the principal advocates of realism are E.H. Carr, George F. Kennan, HansJ. Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr and Kenneth W. Thompson. Realism regards politics as the struggle for power and seeks to explain it with the help of such factors as power, security and national interest. Conflicts of interests among the states are assumed to be inevitable. According to realism, the main challenge before the state is to survive in a hostile environment. To this end, no means is more important than the acquisition of power, and no principle is more important than self-help. In this conception, state sovereignty gives the heads of state the freedom and responsibility to do whatever is necessary to advance the state's interest and survival. As it has been mentioned earlier, realism opposes the principles of idealism. For realism, respect for moral principles is a wasteful and dangerous interference in the national pursuit of national power. A state's philosophical or ethical preferences are neither good nor bad - what matters is whether they serve its self-interest. Thus, the game of International Politics revolves around the pursuit of power: acquiring it, increasing it, projecting it andusing it to bend others to one's will. At the extreme, realism appears to accept war as normal and rejects morality as it pertains to relations between individuals. The basic assumptions of Realism are as follows: ☐ People are by nature narrowly selfish and ethically flawed, and cannot free themselves from the sinful fact that they are born to watch out for themselves. ☐ Of all people's evil ways, none are more prevalent or dangerous than their instinctive lust for power and their desire to dominate others.

17 | P a g e ☐ The possibility of eradicating the instinct for power is a utopian aspiration. ☐ International Politics is—as Thomas Hobbes puts it a struggle for power, "a war of all against all". ☐ The primary obligation of every state is to promote its national interest, and to acquire power for this purpose. ☐ The nature of the international system dictates that states acquire sufficient military capabilities to deter attack by potential enemies. ☐ Economics is less relevant to national security than its military might; economics is important primarily as a means of acquiring national power and prestige. ☐ Allies might increase a state's ability to defend itself, but their loyalty and reliability should not be assumed. ☐ States should never entrust the task of self-protection to international security organizations or international law and should resist efforts to regulate international conduct. Morgenthau is the most popular of all the realist thinkers. He has offered arealistic theory of International Relations. According to him, 'InternationalPolitics,

Morgenthauin his realist theory laid down six principles which are as follows: a) Politics is governed by objective laws which are based on human nature and psychology. We can understand the political phenomena by developing a political theory based on human psychology and reason. b) Morgenthau lays great emphasis on the concept of national interest which he defines in terms of power. He states that politics cannot be understood in moral and religious terms but only on rational basis. c) According to him, interest is not fixed and is moulded by the environments. d) He believes that the universal moral principles cannot be applied to state's actions and these must be modified according to the circumstances of time and place. e) Morgenthau does not find any identity between moral aspirations of a nation and the moral law which governs the universe and asserts that all political actors pursue their national interests. f) He is of the view that political sphere is as autonomous as the spheres of economist, or the lawyer or the moralist. The Realist approach is also subjected to criticism because of the boldness with which its proponents stated assumptions about political behaviour. Moreover, the concept of 'national interest' has been the object of considerable criticism as there is no operational meaning to the concept.Thus this approach suffers from ambiguity.

18 | P a g e The Realist thinkers are also criticized for their efforts to draw from the pasta series of political concepts for the analysis of the contemporary international system. Pursuit of limited national objectives, the separation of foreign policy from domestic politics, the conduct of secret diplomacy, the use of balance of power as a technique for the management of power, and the pleas fornations to place reduced emphasis on ideology as a conditioner of international conduct, have little relevance to the international system today. By urging that nations return to the practices of an earlier period, some realist writers over estimate the extent to which such change in the present international system is possible. In emphasizing power as the principal motivation for political behaviour, the Realists have made themselves the objects of criticism. According to thecritics, no universally acceptable definition of power has been offered bythe Realists. Prominent realist thinker, Morgenthau considers power as a psychological relationship. But psychological relationships themselves arevery vague. In addition, the Realists have been criticized for allegedly having placed too much emphasis on power, to the relative exclusion of other important variables. Despite the shortcomings of realist approach, it is still relevant in analyzing international problems, especially in times of global tension. This happened,for example, in the early 1980s when the cold war competition between the United States and Soviet Union entered an embittered new phase and their arms race accelerated. 2.4 Other theories of International Relations Traditional theories to the study of International Relations have failed to alarge extent to analyze international situations because of their inherent drawbacks. As a result, modern approaches to the study of International Relations have come up. In this section, let us discuss some of the modern approaches to the study of International Politics. 2.4.1 System Theory: This approach emerged in the field of International Relations in the twentieth century. It can be regarded as a result of Behavioural Revolution in social sciences. There has been no unanimity among the scholars regarding the meaning of a system. This approach seeks to analyze International Relationsas a system of interactions which are interdependent and interrelated. Itstudies International Relations as a system of behaviour of international actions. It should be remembered

19 | P a g e here that a system is probably the most widelyused term in political science and International Relations today. System describes (a) a theoretical framework for the coding of data about politicalphenomena; (b) an integrated set of relationship based on a hypotheticalset of political variables, e.g., an international system involving worldgovernment; (c) a set of relationships among political variables in aninternational system, and (d) any set of variables in interaction. \ International Relations involve describable regularities in the interactions among nationsand as such it can be explained and analyzed as international system. Morton Kaplan views international system as 'an analytical entity for explaining the behaviour of international actors and the regulative, integrative anddisintegrative consequences of their policies'.System analysis describes a variety of techniques, such as cost-effectivenessstudies, that are designed to allow rational choices in decisions regardingthe allocation of resources. But in the literature of political science, 'System analysis' has often been used interchangeably with 'System theory' in so far as it is employed to describe conceptual frameworks and methodologiesfor understanding the operation of political systems. It aids in determining apolitical system's capacity for maintaining its equilibrium in the face of stressand for adapting to changes that are forced internally and externally. Again, a system may be loosely or tightly organized. It may be stable orunstable. Smaller systems (or subsystems) may exist within larger systems. Every system, in some sense, involves communications which do not permitthe flow of information leading to a self adjusting process. Every system has inputs and outputs; the output of one system may become the input of another with which it is coupled. When systems are coupled in two directions, we speak of the occurrence of "feedback". Some inputs may affect the state ofthe system and create disturbances in its equilibrium, after-which the system returns to its former normal state. Other inputs may have such an impact asto transform the characteristic behaviour of the system; instead of returning to its former state of equilibrium, it might achieve equilibrium at a different level and under different characteristic operating conditions. The system theory was first expounded by McClelland in 1955. The system theory in International Relations has been elaborately discussed

20 | P a g e by MortonA. Kaplan, Stanely Holfmann, Kenneth Bulding and Harold Guetzkow. Of all writers who discussed the system theory in International Relations indetail, Morton A. Kaplan has made the greatest effort to specify rules and patterns of interaction within his model of the international system. Kaplan has constructed six models of hypothetical international systems which provide a theoretical framework within which hypotheses can be generated and fasted. Within each model he has developed five sets of variables: the essential rules, the transformation rules, the actor classificatory variables, the capability variables and the information variables. The so-called"essential" rules are essential because they describe the behaviour necessary to maintain the equilibrium in the system. The actor classificatory variables set forth the structural characteristics of the actors. Capability variables indicate armament levels, technologies and other elements of power available to actors. Information variables refer to the levels of communication within the system. Kaplan maintains that there is some coherence, regularity and order in International Politics. According to him, International Politics implies two things: international system and nation-state system. Nation States are the main actors in International Politics but their rule changes with the change of international system. Kaplan identified six models of international system in his analysis of International Politics. The first model of Kaplan is the balance of power system which roughly corresponds to that which was prevalent in the western world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The operation of balance of power system has six important rules which may be enumerated as follows: (1) Each State can increase its power without war, (2) The primary obligation of each national actor must be to itself by protecting its interests even at the risk of war, (3) One actor should not eliminate an important national actor, (4) The national actor should oppose any coalition acquiring a preponderantposition, (5) The national actor should prevent others from subscribing to supra-national principle, and (6) Defeated actor should be permitted reentryinto the system. The balance of power system worked well as an absolute system for two (18 th and 19 th) centuries in Europe and appearedas a rule of universal applicability. But since the beginning of the twentiethcentury these rules are not operating well.

21 | P a g e The second model is described by Kaplan as a bipolar system. He believes that the breaking of balance of power system may result in the bipolarsystem—the 'loose bipolar system' and the 'tight bipolar system'. In theloose bipolar system each block has a leading actor. What followed just after the Second World War was the loose bipolar system. In this systemboth supranational actors as well as national actors participate. The loose bipolar system is characterized by two major block actors (North AtlanticTreaty Organization and Warsaw Treaty Organization), non-aligned actors (India, Egypt etc.) and universal actor (United Nations). However, this system has a considerable degree of inherent instability.The third model as has been identified by Kaplan is tight bi-polar. The loose bi-polar system may be transformed into a 'tight bi-polar system'. In this model, non- aligned states or non-members of either block would either disappear or shall have little importance. Even the universal actor shall not be in a position to mediate between the two block actors and may possibly cease to exist. However, the tight bipolar system has failed to materialize. According to Kaplan the fourth model is Universal system. It would be possible when the United Nations becomes sufficiently strong to check war and when the block system ceases to exist. It would be like a world federation with governmental powers, yet leaving sufficient authority to the nation states. The fifth model of Kaplan is called 'hierarchical international system'. It may come into existence when a universal actor absorbs the whole world and only one nation is left as the universal actor with unchallenged authority. In this unipolar system, national actors will be just territorial/administrative subdivisions of the international system rather than independent political units. This system can be both directive and non-directive. It will be directive if it is formed as a result of world conquest by a national actor. But it wouldbe non-directive if power is distributed among nations according to the hierarchy under the overall domination of a single national actor.The sixth model projected by Kaplan is the 'unit-veto system'. The essence of this system is that all states will be equally able to destroy each other.This system is possible in a condition in which all actors come to possess weapons of such a nature that any actor is able to destroy another actor,even though at the risk of his own destruction. Thus, the sixth models of international systems proposed by Morton Kaplan have only limited merit. The balance of power system is impracticable incontemporary times. Kaplan was wrong in predicting that the balance of power system leads first to loose Bi-polar system and then to a tight Bipolar system. The course of evolution of International Relations in the post-World War II reflected that the

opposite was true. He also overlooks the fact that the concept of national interest has already undergone a transformation so as to be compatible with the universal interest. Again, the fourth hypothetical models of Kaplan also appear to be totally impracticable. It is really doubtful that the existing international organization,t he United Nations, to become a really powerful and effective universal actor. Likewise, unit veto system is also far from practicable. His models ignore the role of the economic, technological, personal, geopolitical and political factors of international organizations.Therefore, it can be said that the system theory is only a theoretical tool which has many operational difficulties. Again, being behaviourally oriented, it is value- neutral. Another major shortcoming with system analysis is its attempt to reduce things to quantitative variables. But human material is complex and the behaviour of statesmen is difficult to predict. Moreover,system theory ignores the psychological and social forces affecting the operations of a system. Stop to Consider Genesis of System Approach Genesis of system approach can be found in natural resources. This idea isdeveloped from biology and then adopted by the social scientists. The Germanbiologist Ludwig Van Bertalanfly was the first to state the formulations of thegeneral systems theory way back in 1930s. He defined system as a set of 'elementsstudying in interaction'. The post-Second World War era period witnessed, inthe USA particularly, a fundamental shift in the writings of numerous Americanscholars when they began to borrow a lot from other social and natural sciencesso as to give new empirical orientation to political studies which helped ultimatelyto examine numerous concepts, out in the process enriched their findings. 2.4.2 Decision-Making Theory: Decision-making approach is a very popular approach in International Politics. Decision-making is simply the act of choosing among available alternatives, about which a certain amount of uncertainty exists. It furnishes a comprehensive and useful checklist of the factors which one ought to take into account in any attempt to analyze policy making, either as a process ina specific case. Its central focus is upon something much smaller than thewhole political system.

The intellectual origins of the decision making theory go back to theeighteenth century. In 1738 Daniel Bernouli produced formulations of thedecision-making theory. Anthony Downs in 1957 produced formulationsof governmental decision-making in terms of economic theories also contributed to the growth of the decision- making theory. In the late 1950sand early 1960s several writers like William Riker, James Robinson and Herbert Simon brought about an enrichment of the decision making approach to the study of political science. Thinkers like Richard C. Synder, H.W.Bruck and BortonSapin have made significant contributions towards the growth of this approach in the later period. Decision making is a process or a sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, and definition of alternatives.The object of the decision making theory is to devise a conceptual framework that can help us in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by thedecision makers. The setting consists of internal and external parts. The internal settings include domestic politics, public opinion, personalities and organizations. The external setting implies all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system existing at a particular time e.g. the factors beyond the territorial boundaries of the state, the decision of other states and the nature of their society.There is difference of opinion among the theorists of this approach and different lines are followed by them. The first line places emphasis on environmental factors which mean how the environments influence the decision making. The environment has two aspects—one which the decisionmakers can see and the other which is beyond their perception and estimation. This aspect was emphasized by Herold Sprout and Margaret Sprout. The second includes the personality factor. The study of the personality of the decision makers can be helpful in explaining things at least so long as the same decision makers continue to control the foreign policy.This factor was emphasized by Alexander George and Juliettee George. Third line of approach is related to a study of those actors who actually participate in the formulation of foreign policy. There are at least five elements which influence the foreign policy making: the public opinion, interests groups, and the media of mass- communication, and specific agents in theexecutive branch and specific committees of a legislature. According to Synder, there are two fundamental purposes of decision making approach. They are : ☐ To help identify and isolate the 'crucial structures' in the political realm where action is initiated and carried out and where decisions must be made ☐ To help analyze systematically the decision-making behaviour 'which leads to action and which sustains action'.While discussing the

24 | P a g e decision-making approach, Synder has also pointed out certain variables of decision-making approach. They are: ☐ Decision Actors: This approach focuses enquiry on a class of actorscalled decision-makers, who make the decisions and are actually responsible for them. ☐ Decision-makers as actors in a situation: The behaviour of the decision maker has to be studied in terms of action analysis and they should be treated as actors in a situation. ☐ The setting: It is important to take into account the environment or the situation in which they formulated and implemented the decisions. ☐ Decision situation: It should also be taken in to account as to whether the situation was certain, risky, stressful, crucial, hostile, threatening, short of time, controllable or uncontrollable. ☐ Decision Process: Snyder's model gives key importance to the studyof decision-making process. Decision making theory in International Politics should be taken as theinteraction of foreign policies and that for the understanding of the interaction the only useful approach can be to study it in the context of foreign policy decisions. But the theory suffers from several short comings. In the first place it is too empirical. It completely ignores the norms values or high principles which exercise profound influence on International Politics. Moreover, the theory offers a 'state-centric' model of International Politics. It merely tries to prove that the decision makers tend to fit incominginformation into their existing theories and images. Furthermore, the theory mainly focuses on the motives and actions of the decision makers andcompletely ignores the role of other factors which influence the pattern ofInternational Politics. Finally, it ignores the objective nature of international developments. It does not supply any criteria either to explain the patternsof power politics or to prescribe the rulers of international behaviour. The decision-making framework is intended to show how and why a nationacts in the International Politics. However, a general study of the International Relations cannot be fruitfully made with the exclusive help of the decision making theory even though it is very useful as a tool in the foreign policy analysis. SAQ: To what extent the variables put forwarded by Synder affect the decisionmaking process? Discuss. (80 words) . . . .

25 | P a g e 2.4.3 Game Theory Game theory is a specialized form of decision-making theory and acontroversial one. This theory attempts at applying different models of gameto International Politics. When we deal with international strategic situations,game theory helps us to clarify our thought about available choices, suggestsnovel possibilities which might not otherwise have occurred to us, and inducesus to penetrate to a deeper, more generalized level of comprehension atwhich more powerful analytic methodologies might usefully be brought intoplay.The theory of game has been developed mainly by the mathematicians andthe economists. Martin Shubnik, Oscar Morgenstern and Karl Deutsch were among the first two, who recognized the importance of game theory. It is a method of analysis and also of reflecting the best course of action.This theory attempts to give a decision regarding what action is rational in a particular situation. Game theory is based upon an abstract form of reason in garising from a combination of mathematics and logic. Nearly all game theoristswould agree that the theory with which they deal is addressed to what is "rationally correct" behaviour in conflicting situations in which the participantsare trying to "win", rather than to the way individuals actually do behave inconflicting situations.Each game is characterized by the following elements: ☐ Conflict: In the game of International Relations, nations are in conflictwith each other. Each one tries to defeat the other. In other words,International Politics is a game between opponents. ☐ Rules of the Game: The opponents in International Relations observecertain rules or norms which condition their behaviours like in every game. ☐ Rational behaviour: The players are guided by rational behaviour and each tries to choose the best course of action that can bring him maximum gains. ☐ Strategy: The concept of strategy is a core concept of game theory. A strategy means a skillful plan or the previously decided set of moves tobe taken when the anticipated moves of the opponents require them.The model which the theory employs is that of a game of strategy and not agame of chance. Game theory envisages several types of games. The basic game is known as the 'two person-zero sum' game. In this game, there areonly two players. The struggle is decisive, the victory destroys the loser. Another type of game is called the 'constant-sum game'. The game in which both the players try to acquire equal benefit is known as the 'non-zero sum game'. In this game there is both conflict and co-operation between the players. It is a game in which neither side loses and both may win.The game theory is particularly applicable to the study of those social phenomena in which the actors are struggling hard for their own advantage but do not

have any real control over the factors which are crucial in deciding the outcome of the game. The range of such phenomena is extremely wideand covers all the economic, political, military and social aspects. The game theory has been applied to all these aspects, in varying degrees. Game theory is a model of rational behaviour. If used as a descriptive model it can provide a standard by which policy actions can be judged as rationalor irrational. But it fails to tell us why states as actors sometimes behave irrationally. It assumes that participants have similar objectives, norms and leadership characteristics, a situation that obviously can never be obtained in reality. Further, it assumes that decision makers are perfectly rational anda moral in their decisions and have perfect information or intelligence availableto them. But conscious rational decisions appear to be an exception ratherthan a role. The real weakness of the game theory is that it can be applied with some success to cases of 'two-person zero sum' games. But in International Politics, there are few such situations. Most often there are mixed games in International Politics. Some have questioned the validity of the game theory in its zero-sum form. The main objection is that the game theory in this form has contributed very little to problems like limited war, deterrence, surprise attacks, atomic blackmail, and massive retaliation. International Politics doesnot relate only to war. The concept of zero-sum game is loosing its importance since the conflicting parties no more want war. The balance of nuclear power and devastating nature of wars have placed a premium on negotiations rather than confrontation. Hence, to avoid the pit-falls of zero-sum game, someother game theories such as 'chicken game' and the game of "philosopher's dilemma" are developed. But they too have their own limitations. Stop To Consider Other Modern Approaches to International Politics: The scientific or modern approaches to International Politics attach moreimportance to the methods and techniques. The advocates of this approach tryto build up theory of International Relations on the basis of logical, mathematicaland empirical grounds. Equilibrium approach:

Equilibrium approach is an approach which according to Quincy Wright, is a relationship among the forces operating upon or within an entity or group ofentities so that the whole manifests in some degree of stability. George Liska and Morton Kaplan are the main exponents of the equilibrium approach. Equilibrium is of two types: static and dynamic. In static equilibrium a self maintaining system of automatic compensatory reaction occurs after disturbances, restoring the original conditions. This type of equilibrium is foundin constitutional cases as well as in general cases. Since all elements are interdependent and inter-related, a process of action and reaction ultimately leads to dynamic equilibrium. A country with relatively equal distribution of power provides the example of constitutional or institutional order or equilibrium. It is a theoretical norm and an actual tendency towards equilibrium. According to George Liska, multiple equilibrium involves political, economic, military, socio cultural aspects of a society. It is a desirable step towards stability. Morton Kaplan states that equilibrium approach can define balance of power system in the true sense of the term. According to George Catlin , equilibrium is not a process but an actual condition. Equilibrium assumes that International Relations tend towards stability and equilibrium. However, one of the defects of this approach lies in the fact that since the variables of International Politics arenot measurable in exact proportion, the possibility of empirical verification is very limited. Besides, Karl Deutsch developed Quantitative theory and developed certain measurable indices of community development. Behavioural approach tries to analyze International Relations as a strife between various national characters. SAQ In your opinion which kind of game is more applicable in contemporary world politics? (60 words) . . . .

2.4.4 Communication Theory The communication theory, relatively the latest in the study of International Politics, is related to cybernetics—the science of control and communication system. If politics is a system, the control of the system depends oncommunications and the ability of the state is related to its ability to deal with the information. The communication system is of great importance in understanding a political system

28 | P a g e because no operation of political system can communicate with each other. Communication links together the parts of the system and also the present with the past and the future, so that demands are followed by politics. Communication has been used both in narrow and broad sense. In the narrow sense it includes the procedures by which one mind may affect another. In the wider sense it involves not only oral speech but all human behaviour. In a still wider sense it is used with reference to the ways inwhich the political environment excites signals in the central nervous system together with the ways in which the human beings operate upon the physical environments. It may be observed that the term 'political communication' as an approach to the analytical study of International Relations is different from the term communication used in relation to the media of dissemination of information. As students of International Relations we are not concerned with the channel of communication like press, radio, though they may form a part of the study of political communication. On the other hand we are concerned with the study of communication approach in relation to the study of international political system. Political communication envisages certain concepts pertaining to operating structures viz, flow, processes and outcomes. As regards to operating structure every system has 'reception system' dealing with the intake of information. It also covers other functions like scanning operation, selection of information and data processing. The intake, along with the relevant past experiences, is used by the decision making part. The 'flows and processes'deal with the channels and other terms like loads and loan capacity. Load relates to the overall intake of information of any given time. Load capacity is related to factors like responsiveness (taking account of and handling incoming information), fidelity (accuracy with which information is transmitted in the various processes), voice and distortions (the distortions that tend to affect the accuracy of information transmitted). The outcome manifested inthe form of decisions is the result of inputs. For a proper understanding of the operation of communication we mustunderstand other terms like feedback, lag, gain and lead. Feedback refers to the message about the actions which are returned to the system andenable the decision makers to access their success or failure. Leg is a measure of delay in reporting and acting on information about the consequences ofthe decisions and actions. Gain represents the extensiveness of a system's response to the information. Lead refers to the capacity to respond to theforecasts of future consequences.The element which leads to the integration in the system is the communication process. Lasswell formulated it as "who says what in what channel, towhom with what affect." In other words when

29 | P a g e we make use of psychological methods to influence others, we essentially engage in an exercise in'communication'. According to Karl Deutsch, there are three processes of cybernetics which can be applied to politics. First, the use of models in social sciences thathelp man to understand complex processes. Second, as the existing modelsare incapable of effectively representing the crucial relationship in socialsciences, the cybernetic model should be developed so that these crucial relationships can be isolated, identified and measured. Third, cyberneticsmodel can be offered to politics in general as well as International Politics. In the international sphere Deutsch is concerned with security politics in the context of peace and war. Referring to Security Community, a group which has developed the institutions and processes to assure peaceful changes, he says, it is the result of integration process which includes psychological role-taking and process leading to mutual interdependence and mutual responsiveness. The communication theory is of great importance in so far as it tries to explain the International Relations in terms of a single objective, viz., national interest. It asserts that International Politics is no more important and the state is fast losing its status as a monolithic sovereign body. The theory doesnot look at power as the key factor in the political phenomena and emphasizes the dependable condition of human efforts and expectations for the attainment of the good of the society. Moreover, this theory makes use of quantitative data which could be used as complementary tool to check, and confirm the judgement of the political analysis. Thus it provides a deeper and a systematic understanding of the various events. But probably the most important contribution of the communication theory is that it has greatly widened the concept of political process by including the role of the individual and the groups within the political framework of the state. At the international level, it has emphasized that the consideration like boundaries of state, political and military security (which were the dominant objectives and motivations of state) have lost their importance inthe present context because of the concept of single system of interdependent world. Check Your Progress: 1. Discuss Realist theory of International Relations 2. What is system theory? Analyze its main models. 3. Analyze the three types of game forwarded by the game theory. 4. Critically examine the communication theory in the study of International Relations.

30 | P a g e 2.5 Summing up After going through this unit now you are in a position to illustrate different theories to the study of International Relations. In this context it is pertinent to mention here that an approach is similar to a theory. It includes generalization, explanation and prediction of international scenario just likea theory. Here you have also learnt that the difference between a theory and an approach lies in the fact that a theory tries to give a complete picture of International Relations, whereas approaches are partial and through them International Relations can be studied in parts or compartments. Nevertheless, there are various approaches to study International Relations systematically. All you know that in International Relations the sovereign nation state is theactual or real participant. And the approaches to the study of InternationalRelations analyze the structure and the mechanism of these nation state systems. However no approach is free from criticism. After reading this unit, it canbe said that, the theories of International Relationshave become increasingly inter-disciplinary, behavioural, comparative and scientific. Considering the changing scenario of International Politics many different approaches have emerged to analyze international system from various contemporary perspective, for example social constructivism theory, feminism theory, environmental approaches etc. In this changing scenario International Relations has transformed from state centric study to the studyof global strategic phenomenon. 2.6 References and Suggested Readings Kumar Mahendra: Theoretical Aspects of International Politics, Shiva Lal Agarwal & Co.2000 Goldstein, Jashua S.: International Relations, Fifth Edition, Pearson Education, 2003 Kegley C.W. (Jr), E. R. Wittkopt: World Politics, Trend and Transformation, Seventh Edition, 1999 Chandra Prakash: Theories of International Relations, Third Edition, 2005 Sharma Urmila, S.K. Sharma: International Relations, Theory and History, 2000

31 | P a g e Unit 3: Levels of Analysis Unit Structure : 3.1 Introduction 3.2 objectives 3.3 Levels of Analysis 3.4 The Three Level of analysis 3.4.1 International or Systemic Level 3.4.2 State Level 3.4.3 Individual Level 3.5 Structures, institutions, and levels of analysis 3.6 Conclusion 3.7 Reference and suggested Readings 3.1 Introduction As we have already learnt that, the study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. In spite of this diversity, several major schools of thought are discernable, differentiated principally by the variables they emphasize. We shall start with the origins of the theoretical study of international relations, the traditional scientific and post behavioral schools in international relations and then move on to the various theories, for example systems theory, functional theory, decision making theory, simulation and games theory. Finally we shall get down to the application and utility of these theories. 3.2 Objectives The major objective of this unit is to interpret and describe international relations, to study a variety of explanations for various events and non-events, and to consider various prescriptions or solutions to different kinds of problems. At a more prosaic level, it is hoped that you will become a more intelligent consumer of news about

32 | P a g e international issues. As you become familiar with the various approaches to the study of IR, and with their particular strengths and weaknesses, you will be able more readily to identify the options available to international actors and the constraints within which they operate. 3.3 Levels of Analysis As we know that, International relations, or the relationships and interactions between different nations and ethnicities, is inherently complex, both in practice and as an academic discipline. Since the publication of Kenneth Waltz's Man, the State, and War in 1959, scholars and diplomats have found it useful to think about the numerous factors that shape international relations by breaking them into different levels of analysis -- individual, state and international. These different levels of analysis illuminate different reasons for why countries go to war, sign treaties or pursue alliances -- is it due to the personalities of individual leaders, the values of particular nations as a whole or the characteristics of the international system as a whole? Thinking of different levels of analysis in International Relation means that the observer and analyst may choose to focus on the international system as a whole, parts of the system in interaction with each other, or some of its parts in particular. What forms the parts or components of this system is again a matter of perspective. The international system can be conceived of as made up of states, groups of states, organisations, societies or individuals within and across those societies. International Relation generally distinguishes between three levels of analysis: the system, the state, and the individual – but the group level is also important to consider as a fourth. To be able to use the level of analysis as an analytical device, we need to be clear about what we are most interested in. We have to clarify for ourselves what it is exactly that we want to look at when discussing a particular theme or issue concerning the 'international' sphere. If we were to study and understand the 2008 global financial crisis and its consequences, for example, there would be various ways of approaching, discussing and presenting the issue. To determine the level of analysis we would need to determine what those levels are and ask ourselves some questions, which we can explore below.

Background The level of analysis debate in IR began in the late 1950s when Kenneth Waltz(1959) published his classic text, Man, the state, and war. In it, he posits three'images' as independent variables to explain state behaviour as the dependentvariable—in his case, the decision of a state to go to war. The first image is theindividual, in which properties of humans are examined in terms of their causalimpacts on whether a state goes to war. The main property considered is thematerial condition of human nature, but this image is also consistent withideational properties such as social identities.The actual term 'levels of analysis' was coined by Singer in his 1960 review of Waltz (1959). In it, he argues that all three levels are needed, but that 'the key variable is not the system itself, but the way in which that system is perceived, evaluated, and responded to by the decision makers in the several and separate states' (Singer 1960, 461). In other words, Singer initially suggested the individual level to be the most important. However, by the following year, when he published his famous article on the topic, Singer had substantially rethought his positions. Self Asking Questions Discuss the origin of the concept of Level of Analysis (50 words) --- ------------------------------ --- ------- -- ------------------ --- --- -- --- --- -------------- --- By level of analysis, we mean the recognition of the existence of different levels of analyzing foreign policy. Generally there exist five levels of analysis in foreign policy. Each of these can provide an insight into the foreign policy action of a given state. It also presents a case study approach to the examination of the state's foreign policy action. The levels of analysis are as follows: a) Individual: If we take the individual for example and focus our attention on the activities or statements or writings of the foreign minister of a state, we can conduct a study into the foreign policy of such a state. We can,

for example. Using this level of analysis, collect all the speeches and writings of Henry Kissinger while in office as American Secretary of State, and on the basis of this, make some analysis of United States foreign policy at that particular period. However, even though this approach will provide useful insights into the foreign policy of the United States for example, it has its limitations in the sense that we would be ignoring other levels of analysis which may also provide useful input into foreign policy study. b) Legislature: At this level, we can study the debate and contributions of the legislature as regards foreign policy. In the United States, Russia and Nigeria, for instance, both arms of the legislature have committees on foreign relations. The activities of such committees could be thoroughly examined and studied. The attitudinal posture and deliberations of these committees on the country's foreign relations matters a lot. In conducting such a study, one is focusing attention on a broader spectrum (legislature) than the individual. c) Bureaucracy: In looking at this level of foreign policy analysis, one is considering the activities of the various branches of bureaucracy vis-à-vis foreign relations. The process of decision-making which rests in the hands of the bureaucrats quite often reflects all shades of opinion held by them. Problems encountered in reaching foreign policy decisions are also considered in this respect. d) National: Here, we are moving towards the completeness of the process of foreign policy analysis of a state. This level includes interest groups and it gives a broader picture of the foreign policy. Articulate groups in the state express their views on what should constitute the foreign policy. Government can ill-afford to ignore the opinions while formulating the state's foreign policy. e) International: In the study of foreign policy, the external' environment has some bearing in shaping the foreign policy of a state. Here, we study various external stimuli in the process of the foreign policy. Assuming that there is war between Pakistan and Bangladesh, the external stimuli will be the stimuli generated by a third party like India. When astate reacts to external stimuli, the reaction would enhance the study of the foreign policy of the state. Stop to consider Marxism and Levels of Analysis Most theories of international relations fall into one of the three levels of analysis. Marxism, however, does not rely simply on individual, state or

international levels, but sees class as the category that underlies all political relations. Decisions are made by power brokers who are members of the ruling, or elite class. The wealthy, capital-holding class exerts power over the working class, and will continue to do so until the working class gains control over the means of production. On an international level, imperialism is also explained by class relations. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, capitalist nations needed raw materials as well as outlets for their factory-made products. These factors led to the imperialist foreign policies of most of Western Europe, something that Marxists argue has continued to shape international relations today through the international financial oligarchy of multinational banks and corporations. In the Marxist view, it is class relations that motivate and underlie decisions at the individual, state and international levels. 3.4 The Three Level of analysis The fact that levels of analysis have been used in so many different ways indicatesa demand for language that will give expression to these various related concepts.To grant us sufficient leverage, a definition of the term should be able to clearlyspecify how levels of analysis, micro- and macro-structure and agent andstructure fit together. It should be consistent with how the concept has been usedhistorically since its inception, but it should also enable scholars with differentontological and epistemological commitments to converse about the nouns whichconstitute IR, even if their views about the ontological status of these nouns differ. IR generally distinguishes between three levels of analysis: the system, the state, and the individual – but the group level is also important to consider as a fourth. To be able to use the level of analysis as an analytical device, we need to be clear about what we are most interested in. 3.4.1 International or Systemic Level The international or systemic level of analysis argues that all foreign policy can be understood without even looking at the internal characteristics of nations or individuals. Rather, characteristics of the international system lead nations to behave in particular ways based upon how much power they hold. The most easily understood example of international level analysis is the Cold War, when there was a bipolar system where two nations -- the United States and the USSR -- both held substantial power. When two nations hold the majority of international power, there will inevitability be tensions between the two nations, and all their decisions will be based on maintaining their

power among nations and preventing the other nation from gaining more power. As China gained power in the 1970s, a tripolar system emerged, and no one wanted to be the "odd man" out, with the other two nations allied against the third. The Unites States used this to its advantage by reopening relations with China and thus forcing the USSR's hand in diplomatic relations. A more modern example would be U.S. intervention in Iraq; supporters of international level analysis argue that the United States is the only power -- the superpower -- in a unipolar system, necessitating its military action to demonstrate and maintain its power. Self Asking Questions Discuss the level of analysis in your own words in the context of International relation. (50 wordss) 3.4.2 State Level Supporters of state level analysis argue that the international system level tells only part of the story of international relations, but looking at the backgrounds of states -- type of government, economic performance, geography, history and cultural values -- can offer a more complete explanation. In this view, it is important to note that the Cold War was not just a conflict between two superpowers but that one of the two powers was a democracy. Similarly, the economic systems of the two powers -- capitalist and communist -- are also significant. A state-level analyst could point to the collapse of the USSR's economy in the 1980s as one of the factors leading to the end of the Cold War. The U.S. intervention in Iraq could be explained by the U.S. cultural belief that its political and economic systems are "good" while other systems are "bad." 3.4.3 Individual Level Finally, the individual level emphasizes the "great man in history" concept. In this view, the very personalities of leaders shape foreign policy. Leaders are not simply mechanically responding to international or state systems, but taking an active role in determine international relations. Perhaps the most obvious example of a individual level analysis is explaining World War II through Adolf Hitler's leadership; another would be when scholars attribute the end

of the Cold War to the relationship between President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev. Once again using the Iraq War example, an individual level analysis would examine the character and ideology of George W. Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney and other key players in influencing the U.S. military action. Stop to Consider Marxism and Levels of Analysis Most theories of international relations fall into one of the three levels of analysis. Marxism, however, does not rely simply on individual, state or international levels, but sees class as the category that underlies all political relations. Decisions are made by power brokers who are members of the ruling, or elite class. The wealthy, capital- holding class exerts power over the working class, and will continue to do so until the working class gains control over the means of production. On an international level, imperialism is also explained by class relations. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, capitalist nations needed raw materials as well as outlets for their factory- made products. These factors led to the imperialist foreign policies of most of Western Europe, something that Marxists argue has continued to shape international relations today through the international financial oligarchy of multinational banks and corporations. In the Marxist view, it is class relations that motivate and underlie decisions at the individual, state and international levels. (source: https://classroom.synonym.com/describe-realism-liberalism-beliefs-20338.html) 3.5 Structures, institutions, and levels of analysis Since the 1970s the study of international relations has been marked by a renewed debate about the relationship between structures and institutions in international systems. On one side of the controversy was a revival of the school of realism, known as neorealism, which emerged with the publication of Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics in 1979. Neorealism represented an effort to inject greater precision, or conceptual rigour, into realist theory. While retaining power as a central explanatory notion, Waltz's neorealism also incorporated the idea of structure as it is reflected in alliances and other cooperative arrangements among states of varying sizes, strengths, and capabilities. A bipolar system, for example, is a structure in which two states are dominant and the remaining states are allied with one or the other dominant state. According to Waltz and other neorealists, the structure of the international system limits the foreign-policy options available to states and influences international institutions in important ways. The United Nations (UN), for example, mirrors the structure of the existing international system insofar as it is dominated by leading powers such as the permanent members of the Security Council. Changes in international structure, including the rise

of new powers, eventually lead to changes within international institutions. Thus, some neorealists have suggested that the Security Council's permanent membership will eventually be expanded to include countries such as Germany, India, Japan, and others. On the other side of the structures-institutions debate have been the neoliberal institutionalists, who contend that institutions matter beyond simply reflecting or codifying the power structure of the international system. Although neoliberal institutionalists accept the realist conception of states as the principal actors in a fundamentally anarchic environment, they argue that state behaviour can be modified by interaction with international institutions such as the European Union (EU), NATO, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the UN. Such interaction, they contend, reduces the long-term potential for international conflict. Although neorealist structuralists and neoliberal institutionalists generally agree that international cooperation is possible, neorealists are much more skeptical of its chances for long-term success. According to neorealist logic, NATO should have dissolved in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bipolar structure that had led to its formation. Instead, NATO was transformed

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in the decade following the end of the Cold War,

taking on new tasks and responsibilities. This contradiction may be apparent, however, only because such adaptation can be viewed as reinforcing the neorealist thesis that institutions reflect the existing international structure: when that structure changes, they must change accordingly if they are to survive. Thus, NATO was able to survive because it underwent a transformation. At the same time, NATO's adaptation reflects the neoliberal-institutionalist contention that international organizations can modify national interests through the process of cooperation. Thus, NATO countries have altered their policies to take account of the needs of other members, and potential members have undergone rigorous internal reform in order to qualify for membership. Consequently, each theory appears to offer useful insights, and both together can form the basis of a unified approach to the relationship between structures and institutions. Stop to Consider Constructivism In the late 20th century the study of international relations was increasingly influenced by constructivism. According to this approach, the behaviour of humans is determined by their identity, which itself is shaped by society's values, history, practices, and institutions. Constructivists hold that all institutions, including the state, are socially constructed, in the sense that they

reflect an "intersubjective consensus" of shared beliefs about political practice, acceptable social behaviour, and values. In much the same way, the individual members of the state or other unit continuously construct the reality about which policy decisions, including decisions about war and peace and conflict and cooperation, are made. Central to neorealist structural theory is the levels-of-analysis question—i.e., the question of whether international inquiry should be focused at the individual, state, international-system, or other level. Introduced in the 1950s as part of an attempt to make research in international relations more scientific, the levels-of-analysis question provided a conceptual basis for addressing issues such as the effect of structure (bipolar or multipolar) on the behaviour of states or other units. At the same time, it offered a means of distinguishing between different sources of explanation and different objects of analysis. Thus, assuming that the international system shapes the options available to states as actors, it is plausible to suggest that the way in which decision makers respond to such options depends on how they perceive them and on the related opportunities and constraints created by domestic- level forces. In the 1980s this perspective was reflected in the burgeoning literature on "democratic peace theory," an approach that President Wilson undoubtedly had in mind when he called on Congress to support an effort "to make the world safe for democracy." Democratic peace theorists appealed to the internal characteristics of democratic states in order to explain why democracies tend not to fight each other. According to them, the peaceful norms that democratic states have developed for resolving differences with each other are an outgrowth of their domestic traditions of law and order, compromise, due process, protection of individual rights—including property rights and the right to freedom of speech—and an independent judiciary. In

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The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (1939),

E.H. Carr contended that individuals' interest in the creation of a peaceful world could determine the foreign policies of democracies. A world constituted entirely of democracies, according to this view, would be peaceful. By the late 1990s neorealist structuralist theory had been supplemented, in what was termed neoclassical realist theory, by explorations of the implications of structure, not just at the international-system level but also at the state level and within the state at the individual and group levels. Realist theory continued to be marked by major disagreements, however, a situation that supporters claimed was a reflection of rich intellectual resources and that detractors cited as an indication of fractured conceptual foundations. In

40 | P a g e any event, the contemporary effort to update, refine, and broaden realist theory, as well as the ongoing debate between neorealism and neoliberalism, may represent a trend toward a synthesis of the various realist schools of thought. Although the study of international relations must account for theunique, new, and non-recurring phenomenon, it is also concerned withrecurring processes and patterns of behaviour. These patterns occur withmuch regularity and often transcend specific historical episodes. Theyprovide opportunities for scholars to draw generalisations and conceptualisations that cut across historical events. The generalisations provide a platform for the formulation of explanatory paradigms on suchissues as the causes of war, imperialism, escalation, crises, alliance,deterrence, etc. without having to describe specific historical wars, alliances, crisis and other issues. It is the possibility of drawing such generalisations and concepts, building explanatory models andparadigms, which underlines the importance of the theoretical study ofinternational relations. Since World War II, international relations scholarship has moved frommere description of events, the analysis of international treaties with a legalistic and moral tone, to the development of explanatory theories andparadigms on international phenomena. The process evolved towards thedevelopment of a "predictive science' of international relations. Thelogic of international relations as a predictive science is based on theclaim that when enough basic propositions about the behaviour of policymakers, states, and international systems have been tested and verifiedthrough rigorous research methods, predictive statements, i.e., theories,can be advanced with sufficient clarity. Check your Progress 1. What do you mean by level of analysis in International Relation? 2. Discuss the Three Level of analysis in International Relation. 3. Examine the role of institutions in the study of level of analysis in International Relation. 3.6 Summing Up From the study we have a clear picture that theories are methods of organizing information in order to lead to understanding of observed phenomenon.The international studies literature often refers to the

41 | P a g e "level of analysis problem." From this unit the points out that what has often passed for a single problem actually consists of at least three separate issues: the use of aggregate data to make ecological inferences in statistical analyses; the definition of primitive units in international relations theory; and the identification of the effects of systems on their individual constituent units. The paper goes on to show that some of the problems that have been discussed under the "level of analysis" rubric can be better understood if each of these different issues is considered separately.Levels of Analysis is related to the explaining of causes of phenomenon (Buzan, 1995). The coming to the fore of levels of analysis in international relations was the result of the behavioral movement during the 1950s that was attempting to apply methodology of natural sciences in social sciences. Before that, traditional approaches were dominant, and they were more oriented towards history and law. The works of Kenneth N. Waltz, Morton A. Kaplan, and J. David Singer have had major roles in bringing levels of analysis into international relations (Buzan, 1995). Since then, the works of Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver have added the level of regional analysis to International Relations studies. This article reviews the three main levels of analysis and also explains the regional level of analysis in international relations. 3.7 Reference and suggested Readings Bacharach, M. (2006). Beyond Individual Choice: Teams and Frames inGame Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Baird, D., Gertner, R., & Picker, R. (1994). Game Theory and the Law.Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Bertalanffy, L.V. & Laszlo, E. (1972). The Relevance of GeneralSystems Theory. Paper presented to Ludwig von Bertalanffy on his seventieth birthday. The International Library of SystemsTheory and Philosophy. New York. Binmore, K. (1987). Modeling Rational Players I. Economics andPhilosophy, 3: 179–214. Binmore, K. (1994). Game Theory and the Social Contract (vol. 1):Playing Fair. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Binmore, K. (1998). Game Theory and the Social Contract (vol. 2): JustPlaying. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Binmore, K. (2007). Does Game Theory Work? The BargainingChallenge. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

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43 | P a g e Unit 4: Non-western International Relation theory Unit Structure : 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Objectives 4.3Non-Western International Relation (IR) Theory 4.4 Explanations for the dominance of the West 4.5 Non-Western IR Theory 4.5.1 Criticisms 4.6 Evolution: "Global IR" 4.7 Summing Up 4.8 References and Suggested Readings

44 | P a g e 4.1 Introduction As we have learnt International Relation to denote the academic discipline of International Relations and 'international relations' to refer to its substantive domain of study (i.e. the practice of global politics). More specifically, in this first short article, I examine whether the reasons given for the need to theorise a "non-Western" International Relation are well grounded and how we could further galvanise the project. In the second (follow-up) article, I will attempt to show why the ongoing enterprises must refocus their attention, broadening the range of their own questions and undertakings. Here we call our attention to reflexive solidarity. The discussion in the two articles is by no means exhaustive in scope. Nor do we imply that the discussion represents the total view of the non-Western International Relation communities. Nonetheless, I hope that, despite its necessary brevity, my engagement will be useful for understanding and advancing our debate on non-Western International Relation theorisation and theoretical diversity in the field. Discussion of the Western centrism of international relations theory is not a recent trend for International Relation scholars. Since the 1960s and the 1970s, especially with the decolonization period, Western-centric International Relation has been criticized by the Dependency School and World System theorists. However, efforts aiming to generate a non-Western International Relation Theory within peripheral states is a phenomenon of recent years. Even though the majority of such studies are located in Asian countries, the Turkish academy is not an exception, regarding the debate on the possibility of an Anatolian school of International Relation his review critically examines one of such efforts by another Turkish scholar, Seyfi Say, who in his book İbn Haldun'unDüşünceSistemiveUluslararasıİlişkilerKuramı (Ibn Khaldun's System of Thought and International Relations Theory)aims to go beyond the Western centrism of International Relation by employing the ideas of Ibn Khaldun. 4.2 Objectives After going through this u nit we will be able to • discuss Non-Western International Relation (IR) Theory 45 | P a g e • Explain the reasons for the dominance of the West In these contexts, whether there are any substantial merits to developing a 'non-Western' International Relation theory and what such a theory would (or should) look like are topics of heated debate in contemporary International Relation. This interest in the theorisation of 'non-Western' International Relation results largely from discontent with the epistemic value of mainstream theories, namely realism, liberalism, and constructivism, all of which have 'Western' – or, more specifically, 'Eurocentric' (Patomaki, 2007) – analytical or normative underpinnings (Acharya and Buzan, 2017; Johnston, 2012). Western/Eurocentric theories, the criticism goes, misrepresent and therefore misunderstand much of 'the rest of the world' (Acharya, 2014: 647). In addition, advocates of 'non-Western' IR theory building often point out that Asia has cultures, institutions, norms, and worldviews that are inherently different from those derived from or advanced in Europe. 4.3 Non-Western International Relation (IR) Theory In this light, the main challenge that the IR discipline has to address is the legacy of 'Western cultural imperialism', in an idealist fashion, rather than the specific social and geo-economic structure that both enabled and shaped the formin which 'Western IR' has been materialised since 1919. As a result of this idealist critique, it is widely recognisedthat 'cultural representation' (Acharya, 2014) is indeed the deep structural problem of the IR discipline rather than the material historical pillars and infrastructure that enabled its emergence. The logical consequence of this has been the mainstream approach that understands 'non-Western IR thought' as the theory produced in non- western societies, which are in opposition to the conventional geography of an eternal 'West'. Hence the apparent importance of Confucianism, Hinduism or political Islam as 'non-Western' ontological sources in the new theoretical formulations. The activation of such cultural imaginaries as ontological foundations from 'non-Western' societies in the context of the production of 'non- Western IR theory' is conceived as the logical step towards a more pluralistic and 'cultural' egalitarian discipline. It is worth clarifying that we are not arguing against cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is the very foundation of humanity. On the contrary, I argue that it is important to critically engage with the very enterprise

46 | P a g e of 'non-Western IR theory' in its current disciplinary form. Despite the respectable efforts to turn the IR discipline into a more pluralistic field, critical scholars have taken for granted the essentialist notion of 'non- Western IR theory', uncritically assuming that such theory is only produced in non-Western societies in a binary contrast to that of conventional IR. This not only reifies 'the West' as an eternal and fixed entity but also orientalises the 'non-West'. For this reason, this article seeks to answer the following question: what constitutes 'non- Western IR theory'? To properly analyse the production of 'non- Western IR theory', we first need to sketch out what we mean by 'the West' and its relationship with the emergence of the IR discipline. In the next section, following the work of Kees van der Pijl, I will define the 'West' as what he describes as the 'Lockean Heartland'. 4.4 Explanations for the dominance of the West It is not contested that Western IR was the first in the field as a self- consciousacademic discipline attempting to understand and theorize about thedynamics of world politics. Nor is there much doubt that the main ideas inthis discipline are deeply rooted in the particularities and peculiarities ofEuropean history, the rise of the West to world power, and the imposition ofits own political structure onto the rest of the world. Taken together, these twofacts mean that non-Western attempts to develop thinking about IR, like lateindustrializers, necessarily have to make their way in an environment already heavily conditioned by earlier developments. It is therefore not surprising thatnobody disputes that, although academic IR is now a global activity (albeitvery unevenly distributed, even within the West), it remains massively dominated by Western thinking. While this situation is not intrinsically puzzling, itis helpful to look in more detail at the reasons why. Some explanations leavelittle or no room or reason for remedial action. Others suggest that the condition of Western dominance is likely to be temporary.Western IRT has discovered the right path to understanding IRIf true, this explanation would put IRT on a par with physics, chemistry, andmathematics whose theories can reasonably claim universal standing regardlessof cultural context. This special issue would then have no point other than toexhort non-Westerners to engage themselves more in the established theoreti-cal debates. One would not expect the laws of physics, or IR, to vary justbecause they were being discussed by Asians rather than Westerners, but onemight well expect a larger body of participants to improve the quality of

47 | P a g e criticism, insight, and application. We think that this claim cannot be defended inany absolute sense, not least because so much of Western IRT is drawn frommodern Western history. One consequence of this 'Westphalian straightjacket'is an over-emphasis on anarchy and an under-emphasis on the many possibili-ties for how international systems and societies could (and have) been con-structed. In pursuit of 'scientific' status, mainstream Western IRT has alsobeen excessively concerned with rather narrow, rational choice, views ofmotive in power politics, strategy, and economics. It is only beginning to cometo terms with the wider range of possibilities such as identity, honor, tradition, etc. There can be no doubt that Western IRT has generated significant insights and deserves to be taken seriously by all who are interested in the subject. However, equally there can be no doubt that it is rooted in a very specifichistory, and that a more world historical perspective should open up additional perspectives. 4.5 Non-Western IR Theory Many critical IR scholars have called for "broadening" the theoretical horizon of IR beyond "the current West-centrism" (Buzan 2016: 155). One of the early responses to this call was to draw renewed attention to non-Western societies' histories, cultures, and philosophies and incorporate them in the theorisation of international relations; in this context, whether there are any substantial merits to developing a non- Western IR theory and what such a theory would (or should) look like have now become topics of heated debate. Of course, as will be discussed in detail in the following section, contemporary events such as the rise of China have contributed to the development of non- Western (or indigenous) theories and concepts (Qin, 2011, 2016a; Yan, 2011; Zhang, 2012; Zhao, 2009). Advocates of Chinese IR and (by extension) non-Western IR theory building often point out that Asia has histories, cultures, norms, and worldviews that are inherently different from those derived from or advanced in Europe. This idea has also resonance with discontent with the epistemic value of mainstream IR theories, namely realism, liberalism, and constructivism, all of which have Western—or, more specifically, "Eurocentric" (Patomäki, 2007)—analytical or normative underpinnings (Acharya and Buzan, 2017; Johnston, 2012). Western theories, the criticism goes, misrepresent and therefore misunderstand much of "the rest of the world" (Acharya, 2014: 647). For example, in his well-known piece, "Gettings Asia Wrong," David Kang (2003: 57–

48 | P a g e 58) notes that "most international relations theories derived from the European experience of the past four centuries … do a poor job as they are applied to Asia." Indeed, critiques of this kind have long served as a starting premise in theoretical studies on the international politics of Asia. Almost two decades ago, Peter Katzenstein (1997: 1) wrote as follows: "Theories based on Western, and especially West European, experience have been of little use in making sense of Asian regionalism." Similarly, Jeffrey Herbst (2000: 23) commented that "[i]nternational relations theory, derived from an extended series of case studies of Europe, has become notorious for falling short of accounting for the richness and particularity of Asia's regional politics." It is in this respect that Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan have put together a special issue and a follow-up edited volume (Acharya and Buzan, 2007; 2010), asking "Why is there no non-Western international theory?" despite the fact that "the sources of international relations theory conspicuously fail to correspond to the global distribution of its subjects" (Acharya and Buzan, 2010: 1-2). With the help of a group of scholars examining the status of IR theory or theoretical studies in various countries and sub-regions in Asia, Acharya and Buzan's contributions show the reasons for the marginalisation of non-Western voices and histories in the global debates on IR theory and what needs to be done to mitigate the issue. Since Acharya and Buzan's seminal forum was published, there has been a great deal of studies by non-Western IR communities that aim to develop new theories and concepts from their own perspectives Here, China's rise has added momentum to attempts to build new or indigenous theories—especially within the Chinese IR community. Yaqing Qin at the China Foreign Affairs University states that Chinese IR theory "is likely and inevitabl[y] to emerge along with the great economic and social transformation that China has been experiencing" (Qin, 2007: 313). The scholarly practices of building an IR theory "with Chinese characteristics" are a case in point. Although consensus on what "Chinese characteristics" actually are has yet to be determined, many Chinese (and non-Chinese) scholars hold that the establishment of a Chinese IR theory or a "Chinese School" of IR is desirable or "natural" (Kristensen and Nielsen, 2013: 19; Qin, 2016b); in this light, Confucianism, Marxism, "Tianxia" (all-under-heaven), and the Chinese tributary system are all cited as theoretical resources for Chinese IR (see, e.g. Kang, 2010; Qin, 2016a; Xinning, 2001; Wan, 2012; Wang, 2011; Xuetong, 2011; Zhang, 2012; Zhao, 2009).

49 | P a g e Although there have been multiple voices and different narratives about "Chinese IR," let us look at three established Chinese scholars and their approaches to IR theory as representative of indigenous Chinese thinking on international relations: Qin Yaqing's relational theory, Yan Xuetong's moral realism, and Zhao Tingyang'sTianxiatheory. Qin Yaqing's relational theory begins with his belief that existing mainstream IR theories fall short of answering how the world works. He holds that these theories, founded on the European Enlightenment's belief in reason and ontological individualism, privilege individual actors' rationality over social and processual relationality. By contrast, indigenous Chinese traditions, including Confucianism, foreground social contexts and relations, and the relationality that emerges from them. Qin (2016: 36) writes: it is "relationality" that determines human actors' existence and meaning; we can exist only as "actors-in- relations." From this perspective, interactions between and among states are defined by various types of relationships: equality, hierarchy, and relationships that fall between the two. Thus, the analysis of international relations "should start from a study of relations rather than taking nation-states as independent entities.… It is the social relationships that define what is rational and appropriate" (Qin 2016: 38). Also, Qin argues that relational theory is an evolutionary theory whose epistemology is based on the traditional Chinese understanding of dialectics, namely Zhongyong. Unlike the Hegelian understanding of dialectics, based on thesis, antithesis, synthesis, the two ends in Zhongyong dialectics are non-conflictual: they interact not as thesis and antithesis, but as co-theses, giving rise to a complimentary and co- evolutionary process (Qin 2018: 153-174). Like Qin's work, Yan Xuetong's work on moral realism also draws on Chinese traditional thought and history, specifically those of pre-Qin dynasty thinkers and rulers. Although Yan is cautious about the possibility of establishing a distinctive "Chinese School" of IR, he believes that Chinese scholars should have "an interest in rediscovering traditional Chinese IR concepts" and enrich IR theories "with traditional Chinese thought" (Yan 2011: 255-259). The central questions posed by Yan's moral realism are why only some rising states can achieve their goals and why a hegemon cannot remain a hegemon forever. A related and more contemporary question is how and why China can narrow its power gap with the US. To answer these questions, he focuses on the history of the hegemony-aspiring state of Qi and the strategies taken by its prime minister, Xunzi. He then draws out key elements of moral realism, such as Wang Dao ("kingly way"). This traditional Chinese notion stresses the moral values of

50 | P a g e righteousness and benevolence over the legalistic Western values of equality and democracy. Yan's moral realism calls for a policy of leading by example that claims to avoid the "double standards" it finds in Western practices of world politics. It also suggests what sort of Chinese foreign policy would be conducive to forming an alternative international order and ensuring China's global leadership. While conceding that Chinese traditional values do not necessarily compete with Western liberal norms, such as justice and equality, Yan emphasises that they "can by all means transcend the hegemonic values of the United States" (Yan 2013:17). Zhao Tingyang is probably the best-known scholar who has applied the Chinese concept of Tianxia to the study of international relations. In Chinese history and philosophy, Tianxia literally means "the earth or all lands under the sky" (Zhao 2005). The historical backdrop of Zhao's work is the events of the displacement of the Shang dynasty by the Zhou dynasty and the resulting challenge facing Zhou nationals. As a small tribe, the Zhou had to be able to control a large number of more powerful tribes, including the collapsed Shang. In coping with this challenge, the Zhou devised the system of Tianxia so as to maintain their legitimacy and manage the stability of the newly established political order. The Tianxia system aspires to "'harmony' through a universal agreement in the 'hearts' of all people" (Zhao 2005: 21-34). From the analysis of these historical experiences, Zhao develops the notions of world sovereignty and world order based on the Tianxia system. The highest unit of international relations is, he argues, the "world" and not the state; as such, the challenge of statecraft is world-building, not nation-building (Zhao 2005, 2009). He rejects the Westphalian nation-state model and criticises it for causing international conflicts and failed states. Relatedly, Zhao associates Tianxia with fairness and impartiality to all: Tianxia "envisions a world system characterized by harmony and cooperation without hegemony" (Zhao 2005: 35-43). He argues that Tianxia offers a "far better model of a future world order that takes into account the interests of the entire world," whatever its constituent elements (Zhao 2018: 123). 4.5.1 Criticisms As is clear from the above, there has been a great deal of interest in non-Western IR theorisation; this trend includes a strong and increasing commitment to the development of indigenous IR theories among Chinese IR scholars. At the same time, however, a number of

51 | P a g e empirical, epistemological, and normative criticisms have been raised against attempts to develop a Chinese IR theory and (by extension) non-Western IR. Empirically, the international relations of the Asian region are not fundamentally different from those of Europe, in the sense that anarchy, survival, and the balance of power have been the key operating principles of state-to-state interactions since the pre-modern period. For example, based on a detailed archive analysis of China's foreign relations under the Song and Ming dynasties, Yuan-kang Wang concludes that in the "anarchical" international environment at that time "Confucian culture did not constrain ... [Chinese] leaders" decisions to use force; in making such decisions, leaders have been mainly motivated by their assessment of the balance of power between China and its adversary" (Wang, 2011: 181). This finding leads Wang to defend the theoretical utility of structural realism based on the Westphalian system. Epistemologically, too, critics point out that it is "unscientific" to emphasise and/or incorporate a particular culture or the worldview of a particular nation or region into IR theory, for a legitimately "scientific" theory should seek "universality, generality" (Choi, 2008; Xinning, 2001). Mainstream (positivist) IR theorists and methodologists argue that IR studies ought to seek observable general patterns of states" external behaviour, develop empirically verifiable "covering law" explanations, and test their hypotheses through cross- case comparisons. For example, Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba make it clear that generality is the single most important measure of progress in IR, stressing that "the question is less whether ... a theory is false or not ... than how much of the world the theory can help us explain" (King et al., 1994: 101, emphasis in original). From this perspective, any attempt to develop an indigenous IR theory, be it non-Western or Western, is suspect because it delimits the general applicability of theory. In the case of a Chinese IR theory, criticism of this kind can increasingly be found in studies by younger Chinese IR scholars. According to Xinning Song (2001: 68), Chinese scholars, especially younger ones who have studied in the West, think that it is "unscientific or unnecessary to emphasize the so-called Chinese characteristics." A similar criticism can be found among Korean IR scholars in regard to attempts to build a "Korean-style" IR theory (Cho, 2015). Critics of the "Korean School" of IR frequently ask how can we make a distinctively Korean IR theory while trying to be as generalisable as possible? Any theory or theorisation based on

52 | P a g e Korea's unique historical experiences, the criticism goes, "must be tested under the principle of generality" (Choi 2008: 215). Normative criticisms of attempts to build a non-Western IR theory highlight the relationship between power and knowledge. Critics point out that although theory-building enterprises in the non-West contexts commonly begin by problematising Western-dominated IR, the ongoing scholarly practices and discourses associated with non-Western IR can also entail (or reproduce) the same hierarchic and exclusionary structure of knowledge production, which can fall prey to particular national or regional interests. For example, in his discussion of Chinese visions of world order, William Callahan doubts the applicability of Tianxia. He claims that what the notion of Tianxia does is "blur" the conceptual and practical "boundaries between empire and globalism, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism". Rather than help us move towards a "post-hegemonic" world, Tianxia serves to be a philosophical foundation upon which "China's hierarchical governance is updated for the twenty-first century" (Callahan, 2008: 749). Echoing this view, Ching-Chang Chen (2011: 16) notes that although it is our "responsibility" to make IR more pluralistic and democratic, "most intellectual endeavors to construct non-Western IR theory in Asia run the risk of inviting nativism." Relatedly, Andrew Hurrell (2016: 149–150) has added that although developing culturally specific ways of understanding the world "undoubtedly encourages greater pluralism," attempts to do so can also lead to a national and regional "inwardness" that works to reproduce the very "ethnocentricities" that are being challenged. 4.6 Evolution: "Global IR" These concerns, particularly that about the potential nativist undercurrent of the non-Western IR theory-building enterprise, are indeed shared by many non-Western IR scholars (see, e.g., Behera 2010; Chen 2012; Kosuke 2015; Shahi and Ascione 2016); for this reason, they often use the term "post-Western" IR, as opposed to "non- Western" IR. But their priority—as is the case in non-Western IR theorisation—is to address "the current West-centrism of IR" (Buzan, 2016: 156); to this end, they, too, draw attention to their cultural or philosophical traditions. Of course, this interest in traditions is intended not to establish a national or indigenous "school" of IR, but to embrace a wider range of histories, knowledge claims, and philosophies. 53 | P a g e 4.7 Summing Up Going a step further, more recent studies, in the name of "Global IR" have begun to pay greater attention to how to overcome the West/non- West (self-other) binary when it comes to opening up the present parochial landscape of IR. Global IR sets out to safeguard against a tug of war between Western and non-Western IR and subsumption of one of them in favour of the other. Being wary of both problems, namely the current West-centrism in IR and the potential danger of nativism of non-Western IR theorisation, Global IR attempts to render international relations studies more inclusive and pluralistic in terms of theory and knowledge claims.The idea of Global IR was first introduced by Amitav Acharya. In his presidential address at the annual convention of the International Studies Association in 2014, Acharya explained what Global IR is or should be. His background assumption is this: IR does "not reflect the voices, experiences … and contributions of the vast majority of the societies and states in the world" (Acharya 2014: 647). Yet, instead of arguing for a counter (i.e. 'anti-Western') approach, he presented the possibility of a global discipline that transcends the divide between "the West and the Rest." In his views, IR should be a "truly inclusive" discipline that recognises its multiple and diverse foundations and histories. In this light, Global IR disagrees with the view that existing IR theories and methodologies need to be discarded and displaced. This is neither possible nor desirable. Instead, Global IR argues that these theories and methodologies need to be challenged and broadened with insights from the ideas and practices of non-Western societies. Acharya and Barry Buzan have recently noted as follows: "our key concern about any national school is whether it can "deprovincialize"—i.e. travel beyond the national or regional context from which it is derived in the first place…" (Acharya and Buzan 2017: 361). In short, what Global IR seeks is not to discard or disavow mainstream theories and concepts sourced from the West, but to render our discipline more inclusive and broader, so that it reflects voices and experiences outside the West more fully. Epistemologically, Global IR is grounded in "pluralistic universalism" and "theoretical pluralism" (Acharya 2016: 4-5)—which reject any form of monistic universalism that puts forth a singular idea of truth or

modernity. Instead, it calls upon scholars to respect the geo-epistemic diversity of truth claims and the empiric-historical existence of multiple modernities. It is thus interested in developing alternative but equally valid theories of knowledge through bringing in indigenous ideas and experiences of societies and cultures other than those of the West; but, more importantly, Global IR reminds us that scholarly enterprises of this kind should not lead to a nativist or self-centred binary thinking. As such, one of the key issues central interest to Global IR is to build bridges among divergent intellectual concerns and claims across the West/non-West divide. "Encouraging debate and dialogue across perspectives … is a core purpose of the Global IR project," Acharya writes, because a conversation "among the likeminded"—for example, among those interested in non-Western IR theory building—not only "carries a greater risk of the fragmentation of the discipline," but also fails to achieve mutual learning and a "truly" global and inclusive field (Acharya 2016: 14; Acharya and Buzan 2017: 362). In this respect, there has recently been the emerging literature on "dialogue" beyond the West/non-West distinction in the Global IR debate (see, e.g., Hutchings, 2011; Bilgin 2016; Eun 2018). To summarise, the currents of debate over "broadening" the theoretical or discursive horizons of IR beyond the Western disciplinary dominance have evolved over the past decade or so, embracing a wide range of epistemic concerns; their contributions to grappling with the problem of the Western-dominated IR are dense. However, despite such a meaningful effort, be it "non-Western IR," "post-Western IR," or "Global IR," and its recent contributions, several critical questions and issues still remain unclear or under-explored. In the next article, I will discuss what is missing in the debate and how we could further galvanise the project of the "broadening" of IR. 4.8 References and Suggested Readings Acharya A (2014) Global International Relations (IR) and regional worlds: A new agenda for international studies. International Studies Quarterly 58(4): 647–659. Acharya A (2016) Advancing Global IR: Challenges, contentions, and contributions. International Studies Review 18(1): 4–15.

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56 | P a g e Unit 5: International Relations: Gap between theory and practise Unit Structure : 5.1 Introduction 5.2 Objectives 5.3 Theorising International Relation 5.4 Gap between theory and practise 5.5 Theory and International Relations 5.6 Summing Up 5.6 References and Suggested Readings 5.1 Introduction The discipline of International Relations (IR) is the academic study ofthe origins and consequences (both empirical and normative) of aworld divided among states. So defined, IR is a very broad discipline. Itincludes a variety of sub-fields such as diplomatic statecraft and foreignpolicy analysis, comparative politics, historical sociology, internationalpolitical economy, international history, strategic studies and militaryaffairs, ethics, and international political theory. In addition to its widescope, the study of international relations is shaped by the interplaybetween continuity and change in its subject-matter. Accordingly, thecontents of this book reflect both the scope of the discipline as well asdramatic developments in world politics that have taken place since theend of the cold war. 5.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able to • theorising international relation • understand the gap between theory and practice

5.3 Theorising International Relation The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Some emerge from within the discipline itself; others have been imported, in whole or in part, from disciplines such as economics or sociology. Indeed, few social scientific theories have not been applied to the study of relations amongst nations. Many theories of international relations are internally and externally contested, and few scholars believe only in one or another. In spite of this diversity, several major schools of thought are discernable, differentiated principally by the variables they emphasize. We shall start with the origins of the theoretical study of international relations, the traditional scientific and post behavioral schools in international relations and then move on to the various theories, for example systems theory, functional theory, decision making theory, simulation and games theory. Finally we shall get down to the application and utility of these theories. The word 'theory' is used in a bewildering variety of ways in the studyof international relations. It is applied to propositions and arguments atvarying levels of abstraction, and debates over its most appropriatemeaning have proceeded apace with little consensus achieved. If thereis no agreement on how best to understand this term, let alone howbest to engage in developing and criticising the existing stock ofinternational relations theory, there is much greater consensus over theways in which the term is used. Three in particular stand out.First, for most scholars a theory is simply an explanation of an event or pattern of behaviour in the 'real' world. This is otherwise known asempirical theory. A theory explains such patterns by elaborating on whythey take place. In one (in)famous expression, a theory explains laws of behaviour. According to this conception, theories are useful instruments.If we know why and how events relate to each other, we maythen be able to intervene and perhaps change reality to suit our purposes.This conception of empirical theory rests on two importantassumptions. First, there is a categorical distinction between theory andpractice. The world consists of an apparently random collection of factsthat need to be described and studied to discern how they are related. Second, it is common to come across the phrase normative theory.Unlike empirical theory, normative theory is concerned to elaboratethe ethical standards used to judge international conduct. Today, there exists a large body of normative theory concerned with

theuse of force (just war theory) and distributive justice in internationalrelations. When is it right or appropriate to use militaryforce? Is the present distribution of global wealth and income fair?These are the kinds of questions that normative theory seeks toanswer. Stop to Consider Defining Theory By one definition, theories are collections or sets of laws pertaining to a particularbehavior or phenomenon. In addition to income, for example, associationsmay be established between voters' education, their religion, and theirparents' political commitment, on the one hand, and the way they vote, on theother hand. If the probabilistic laws thus established are taken together, highercorrelations are achieved between voters' characteristics (the independent variables)and choice of party (the dependent variable). Theories are, then, morecomplex than laws, but only quantitatively so. Between laws and theories no differenceof kind appears. 5.4 Theory and International Relations Theory, in general, has had various meanings in the social sciences and, particularly in international relations. Some of the definitions that the term has elicited include the following. a. Deductive systems in which propositions are set forth, which purportedly contain internal logical consistency. b. A taxonomy, classificatory scheme, or conceptual framework which provides for the orderly arrangement and examination of data. c. A series of propositions about political behaviour inductively derived either from empirical studies or the comparative examination of case materials from the past. d. The development of a series of statements about rational behaviour based upon a dominant motive such as power. Such a theory provides a description of the political behaviour of rational actors. e. A set of norms or values indicating how political actors ought to behave. f. A set of proposals of action for the statesman. A renowned scholar of international relations, Quincy Wright has defined a general theory of international relations as —a comprehensive, coherent, and self-correcting body of knowledge contributing to the understanding, the prediction, me evaluation, and the control of relations among states and of conditions of the world.‖ In

59 | P a g e his elaboration of this definition, Wright argues that the theory must necessarily cover all aspects of the field. It should, according to him, be expressed in generalized propositions in a very clear and accurate manner; and as few as possible. This, in essence, means that —the theory should be parsimonious, and not as diffuse and complicated as to be confusing.‖ Other ideal requirements that a general theory of international relations should fulfill include the following. a. Every part of the theory should, as a matter of necessity, be logically consistent with every other part; b. The theory should be formulated in a style that is conducive to continual improvement and updating; c. Instead of being purely speculative, its theses should be capable of consistent verification on the basis of available evidence; d. It should contribute to an objective understanding of international reality, rather than one distorted by national perspective; e. It should enable us to predict at least some things; and, lastly, f. It should also help us to arrive at value judgments. As Wright concedes, there is no doubt that it would be extremely difficult and perhaps impossible to achieve a perfect theory that could fulfil all the ideal requirements enumerated above. Stop to Consider Division of theory As we know that IR theories study and analyse the International Relations from a theoretical perspectives. The IR theories can be divided into:- positive/rationalist theories and post- positivist/reflectivity theories. Origin and Importance of the Theoretical Study of International Relations Although the study of international relations must account for theunique, new, and non-recurring phenomenon, it is also concerned withrecurring processes and patterns of behaviour. These patterns occur withmuch regularity and often transcend specific historical episodes. Theyprovide opportunities for scholars to draw generalisations and conceptualisations that cut across historical events. The generalizations provide a platform for the formulation of explanatory paradigms on suchissues as the causes of war, imperialism, escalation, crises, alliance,deterrence, etc. without having to describe specific historical wars,alliances, crisis and other issues. It is the possibility of drawing such generalisations and concepts,

60 | P a g e building explanatory models andparadigms, which underlines the importance of the theoretical study ofinternational relations. Since World War II, international relations scholarship has moved frommere description of events, the analysis of international treaties with alegalistic and moral tone, to the development of explanatory theories andparadigms on international phenomena. The process evolved towards thedevelopment of a "predictive science' of international relations. Thelogic of international relations as a predictive science is based on theclaim that when enough basic propositions about the behaviour of policymakers, states, and international systems have been tested and verifiedthrough rigorous research methods, predictive statements, i.e., theories,can be advanced with sufficient clarity. Check your Progress 1. What do you mean by theory? 2. Discuss the origin of theoretical study in international relations. 3. Explain the role of theory in International relation. 5.6 Gap between theory and practice Theory and practice are linked by empirical propositions that summarise the degree to which certain facts are connected to other facts. Onlywhen we have a large body of such propositions can we engage in thehard work of attempting to explain them. Second, theories are nevertrue or false in any absolute sense. Whilst theories must always betested against the evidence, they can only be replaced by better theoriesthat are either more coherent or more comprehensive in the scope oftheir explanatory power than their rivals. Steve Klabnik believes there is always a tension between theory and practice. These two separate realms are connected through a process of abstraction and application. To explain this process by way of theory, theory deterritorializes practice, and practice reterritorializes theory: A theory, which is becoming practice; and a practice, which is becoming theory. To explain, theory is abstracted practice, and practice is applied theory. The only way you can get these two camps to talk to each other is to figure out what the theory says that provides value to those who practice.

61 | P a g e DifferenceBetween.com explains that the differences between theory and practice are: • It is all too easy to explain the concepts of thirst, pain and sorrow in theory, but the person realizes the difference only when he undergoes these experiences in real life. • In theory, many assumptions are made to explain the phenomenon and concepts, whereas in real life, there are no assumptions and conditions are always unique. • The dichotomy of theory and practice will remain as these two form the backbone of all learning procedures. John Mariotti, president and CEO of The Enterprise Group, stated in his blog that in theory, there is very little difference between theory and practice; in practice there's a hell of a lot of difference. Such it is in life and in business and in politics. Theory teaches us how things should work in a perfect world. Experience teaches us how theory might or might not work in an imperfect world. More importantly, experience prepares us to seek other inputs and different kinds of solutions when the imperfections of the real world bite us. Only in the school of hard knocks does real world experience instill about how to deal with the difference between theory and practice. When experience is theoretical and not practical, mistakes are unavoidable and on-the-job fixes are all that is left. To maximize one's understanding of theory and practice, realize there is a balance between concepts. I encourage nonprofit professionals to read and understand theory to the greatest degree possible and seek to apply these theories in practice. We also need to realize there is no better education than on the job training. It should be noted that the sheer variety of empirical theory in thestudy of international relations is very wide indeed. It is common todistinguish between middle-range theory and grand theory. For example,there is a big difference between a theory that tries to explain singleevents like the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, a theory thattries to account for the variation of patterns of war and peace amongthe great powers over the last 200 years, and a theory that attempts toexplain why war itself takes place.

Broad range of theoretical perspectives in IR is the result of a process – one increasingly hard to keep up with – of the adaptation of insights from related and neighbouring (social) sciences . It is in fact a key 62 |

P a g e

characteristic of IR, in common with all social science disciplines, that it cannot be neatly separated from disciplines such as sociology or political philosophy and theory, nor even from economics, political geography, psychology or law. Drawing on the categories and concepts found in these neighbouring disciplines can often help IR achieve additional insights. This is particularly true when we consider that international relations are becoming increasingly globalized. The object of study no longer fits neatly within the boundaries of a discipline historically devoted to the study of interstate relations. It is only against this background that we can understand why the corpus of contemporary IR theory has branched off into a multiplicity of approaches, such as the huge range of critical, constructivist and postmodern theories that have proliferated since the 1990s. This has dismantled the boundaries between formerly separate academic disciplines and brought to the fore the "social" character of international relations; consequently, IR scholars now need to engage in genuine social theorizing rather than maintaining an exclusive domain of IR theories devoted to the study of interstate relations (see, for example, Albert and Buzan 2013).

Because it is a social science, there is always a close interplay between theory building in International Relations and the discipline's historical and sociopolitical context . Progress in IR theory is closely linked with events in the "real world" of international politics, such as the development of the bipolar system following the Second World War, the decolonization of large parts of Africa and Asia in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Vietnam War and the global economic crisis triggered by the "oil price shocks" of the 1970s, the rise of emerging powers since the 2000s and what we generally perceive as the "processes of globalization". Global political upheavals such as the end of the East–West conflict, the shift in the role of sovereign nation states associated with globalization, and the increasing impact of transnational non-state actors rooted in economy and society have exercised and continue to exercise an enduring influence on a whole generation of theory-oriented scholars, doing much to shape their theoretical ideas about international relations. The theory of IR finds itself confronted with new challenges in the light of phenomena such as "failing" or "failed states" and the resulting security and developmental tasks involved in international "state-building", the emergence of new, globally organized forces of violence resulting from the erosion of the state monopoly of power and, not least, the increasing global economic and political importance of China and other rising powers (such as India, Brazil or Turkey) and of entire world regions (above all Asia) – all of which are highly significant in their effects on the 63 | P a g e structure of the international system and in their practical political implications. Another demonstration of the link between IR theory and the real world is the increasing number of studies that review and reappraise past theoretical work in light of the global and European crises and the political processes of the "Arab Spring". While initially the end of the East–West conflict was generally interpreted – with theoretical back-up – as an opportunity to advance world peace (the key terms here being "new world order", "peace dividend", "nuclear disarmament", etc.), events such as "9/11", the fight against international terrorism, along with new international problems such as securing energy supplies, international climate protection and, not least, turbulence in the international financial and capital markets, have refocused theoretical attention on the ambivalent, transitional and conflictual nature of international politics

and global order. Stop

To Consider Three dimensions of theory: ontology, epistemology and normativity It is important to highlight three key dimensions of theories. First, a theory makes statements about the observer's perspective on the object of investigation. This is the ontological dimension of IR theory ("theory of being"). The ontology underpinning a theory, its conception of "the way the world is" or "what the world is made of", refers to the substantive ideas or Manuela Spindler and Siegfried Schieder world-view – understood as a system of assumptions and beliefs – that a theory engenders about its object, in this case, international relations. The question here is "What is ?" or "What is the nature of the subject matter?" In this sense, a theory of international relations formulates general assumptions about international relations, that is, the actors' sphere of action, the type or "quality" of the key actors, their goals and preferences, as well as the driving forces of international politics and its fundamental problems and developmental prospects . 5.5

Summing Up We ought to be able to understand our society and world politics better by exploring the ways in which ideologies shape and structure the ways in which people live and act. In many respects, then, IR theory reflects these ways of living and acting too. Thus, we can think of IR theory as itself an ideological reflection of the world around us. R. B. J. Walker (1993, 6) has made the contentious suggestion that 'theories of international relations are more interesting as aspects of contemporary world politics that need to be explained than as explanations of world politics.' You might not want to go that far, but there is no doubt that there is nothing politically or ideologically neutral about IR theory – and locating IR theories in their historical and intellectual context exposes this irreversibly.

64 | P a g e Self Asking Questions What do you understand by gap between theory and practice. (100 words) --- 5.6 References and Suggested Readings A I

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Johnston Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History (Princeton

University Press Princeton 1995). A

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Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51

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Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51

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of International Politics' (1997) 51 IntlOrg 513–53. A Wendt _Constructing International Politics' (1995) 20(1) International Security 71–81. A Wendt Social Theory of International Politics (CUP Cambridge 2000)

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of International Politics' (1997) 51 IntlOrg 513–53. A Wendt _Constructing International Politics' (1995) 20(1) International Security 71–81. A Wendt Social Theory of International Politics (CUP Cambridge 2000)

Alan C. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science, (4th edition), Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1985 B Koremenos (ed) _The Rational Design of International Institutions' (2001) 55 IntlOrg 761–1103. BA

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Ackerly M Stern and J True (eds) Feminist Methodologies for International Relations (

CUP Cambridge 2006).

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D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

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D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

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D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

New York 1993). David A.

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Baldwin, —Power Analysis and World Politics: New trends versus Old Tendencies,‖ World Politics, vol. 31, no. 2, (

January 1979)

BLOCK: II CONTENDING THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

65 | P a g e Unit 1: Classical, Structural and Defensive Realism Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Understanding Realism 1.4 Classical Realism 1.4.1 Morgenthau's Theory of International Politics 1.5 Structural Realism 1.5.1 Evolution of Structural Realism 1.6 Defensive Realism 1.7 Summing Up 1.8 References and Suggested Readings 1.1 Introduction Scholars have interpreted the term ‗theory' in different ways. Indeed, the concept has been used so indiscriminately and imprecisely by social scientists in general that it is virtually in danger of losing any meaningful content'. What is central, however, is that a theory should always have scientific propositions which, when tested, are certified to be valid. Its predictive value should be rated high.Secondly, a theory should have universal applicability, and one should be able to make generalizations on it. As Thomas Jenkin opines, —... a theory about anything is an abstracted generalization. As such, it is primarily and initially a matter of mind rather than a matter of fact.‖ Furthermore, a theory should be capable of guiding research. In the words of Stanley Hoffman, theory is understood as —a systematic study of observable phenomena that tries to discover the principal variables, to explain the behaviour, and to reveal the characteristic types of relations among national units‖. The third module of this material focuses specifically on theories

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of international relations. 66 | P a g e 1.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able to •

discuss realism • understand various types of realism 1.3 Understanding Realism In the discipline of International Relations (IR), realism is a school of thought that emphasises the competitive and conflictual side of international relations.Realism's roots are often said to be found in some of humankind's earliesthistorical writings, particularly Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War,which raged between 431 and 404 BCE. Thucydides, writing over twothousand years ago, was not a 'realist' because IR theory did not exist innamed form until the twentieth century. However, when looking back from acontemporary vantage point, theorists detected many similarities in the thought patterns and behaviours of the ancient world and the modern world.They then drew on his writings, and that of others, to lend weight to the ideathat there was a timeless theory spanning all recorded human history. Thattheory was named 'realism'. As a political theory, realism's intellectual root can be traced to the following figures. Thucydides (460- 406 B.C.) and Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). The insights that these figures provided have been grouped under the doctrine of raison d'état or reason of state. Writers associate raison d'état with providing a set of proposition to leaders on how to conduct their foreign policies so as to ensure the security of the state.According to the historian, Frieddrich Meinecke, raison d'etat is the fundamental principles of international conduct, the state first law of motion, it tell the statesman what he must do to preserve the health and strength of the state (Meinecke, 1957:1). Most importantly, the state which is identified as the key factor in international politics must pursue power, and it is the duty of the state to calculate rationally the most appropriate steps that should be taken so as to perpetuate the life of the state in a hostile environment. For realists, the survival of the state can never be guaranteed, because the use of force leading to war is a legitimate instrument of state craft. The realist subscribe to the view that the state is the only actor in the international system. This is often referred to as state-centric. Statism is the term given to the idea of the state as a legitimate representative

67 | P a g e of the collective will of the people. Outside the boundaries of the state, realist argue that a condition of anarchy exists. By anarchy, what is often mean is that international politics takes place in an arena that has no overarching central authority above the individual collection of sovereign states. In a state of anarchy, states compete with one another for security, market influence, etc. And the nature of the competition is often seen in zero-sum terms; in other words, more for one actor, less for another. This competitive logic of power politics makes greener: on universal principles difficult. Given that the. Firs: move of the state is to organize power domestically. And the second is to accumulate power internationally, what then is power? The basics of realism The first assumption of realism is that the nation-state (usually abbreviated to'state') is the principle actor in international relations. Other bodies exist, such as individuals and organisations, but their power is limited. Second, the stateis a unitary actor. National interests, especially in times of war, lead the stateto speak and act with one voice. Third, decision-makers are rational actors inthe sense that rational decision-making leads to the pursuit of the nationalinterest. Here, taking actions that would make your state weak or vulnerablewould not be rational. Realism suggests that all leaders, no matter what their political persuasion, recognise this as they attempt to manage their state'saffairs in order to survive in a competitive environment. Finally, states live in acontext of anarchy – that is, in the absence of anyone being in chargeinternationally. The often-used analogy of there being 'no one to call' in aninternational emergency helps to underline this point. Within our own stateswe typically have police forces, militaries, courts and so on. In an emergency,there is an expectation that these institutions will 'do something' in response. Self Asking Questions What do you mean by Realism? (50 words) ----------- --- ------------------------------------ --- ------------------------------------ -------------------- ---

68 | P a g e 1.4 Classical Realism Realism is a school of thought that explains international relations interms of power. Some scholars refer to the exercise of power by statestoward each other as realpolitik or power politics. Like utopianism ininternational relations theory, realism has its intellectual roots in theolder political philosophy of the West and in the writings of non-Western ancient authors such as Sun Tzu in China, Kautilya in India, as well as Thucydides in ancient Greece. From the classical realists' paradigm, states are rational actors whose decisions to maximise power derive from rational calculations of risksand gains, and of the shifts in the power balance in the internationalsystem. The nature of the international system reflects this emphasis onpower. To be sure, a hand full of "great powers" and their militaryalliances define the world order. For instance, two superpowers withtheir allies defined the system during the Cold War, from 1945 to 1990.Against this background, realists ground themselves in a long tradition. Indeed, realists believe that power politics is timeless and cross-cultural.For instance, the Chinese strategist Sun Tzu, who lived 2,000 years ago,advised the rulers of states on how to survive in an era when war hasbecome a systematic instrument of power. According to Sun Tzu, moralreasoning is not very useful to the state rulers who are surrounded with armed and dangerous neighbours. He showed rulers how to use power toadvance their interests and protect their survival. The Greek historian, Thucydides captures the essence of relative power among the Greek-City-States. In his book, History of the Peloponnesian War, he describes the causes of the war in power terms,"What made the

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war inevitable was the growth in Athenian power and the fear this caused in Sparta."

Today, statesmen like the leaders of Sparta, employ war as an instrument of state strategy and policy on calculations of power. Indeed, today's international relations operate onthe famous dictum by Thucydides, "

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the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.

Indeed, his conception of the importance of power, together with the propensity of states to form competing alliances places Thucydides well within the realist school. Niccolo Machiavelli, like Thucydides, who developed an understanding of state behaviour from his observation of relations

between Athens and Sparta, Machiavelli, analysed interstate relations in the Italian system ofthe 16th century. His emphasis on the ruler's need to adopt moralstandards different from those of the individual in order to ensure thestate's survival, his concern with power, his assumption that politics is characterised by a clash of interests, and his pessimistic view of human nature clearly puts him within the realist paradigm or school of international relations. In the 17th century, Thomas Hobbes discussed the free-for-all that existswhen government is absent and people seek their own selfish interests.He called it the "state of nature" or "state of war", what we would call intoday's parlance the law of the jungle in contrast to the rule of law. Like other modern realists, Hobbes concerned himself with the underlying forces of politics and with the nature of power in political relationships. 1.4.1 Morgenthau's Theory of International Politics Since Hans Morgenthau is the chief priest of the realist school, it becomes pertinent to discuss in details his realist theory of internationalrelations. After World War II, Hans Morgenthau argued that international politics is governed by objective, universal laws based on national interests defined in terms of power not psychological motives of decision makers. In his celebrated work, Politics among Nations(1948), the chief realist sets forth

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six principles of realist theory. Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism Firstly, certain objective laws that have their roots in human nature

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govern politics. It maintains that human nature has not changed since classical times. Therefore,

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in order to improve society, it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. The operations of these laws being impervious to our performances, men will change them only at the risk of failure.

For realism, theory consists in ascertaining facts and giving them meaning through reason. It assumes that the character of a foreign policy can be ascertained only through the examination of the political acts performed and of the foreseeable consequences of these acts. Therefore, in theorising about international politics, it is necessary to employ historical data for examining politicalacts and their consequences. In systematising these vast amounts ofhistorical data, the student of politics should empathise
with the position of a statesman who must meet a certain problem of foreign policy undercertain circumstances. Therefore, we must ask, what are the rational alternatives from which a statesman may choose who must meet this problem under these circumstances (presuming always that he acts in arational manner), and which of these rational alternatives this particular statesman, acting under these circumstances, is likely to choose. Secondly, Morgenthau posits that

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statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power

and that historical evidence proves this assumption. This concept, central to Morgenthau's realism, gives continuity and unity to the seemingly diverse foreign policies of thewidely separated nation-states. Moreover, the concept interest defined as power makes it possible to evaluate actions of political leaders at different points in history. To describe Morgenthau's framework in more contemporary phraseology, it is a model of interaction within an international system. Using historical data, Morgenthau compared the real world with the interaction patterns within his model. The concept of interest defined as power imposes intellectual discipline upon the observer, infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics, and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible. Thirdly, realism assumes that its key concept of interest defined as power is an objective category, which is universally valid, but it doesnot endow the concept with a meaning that is final. However, in a world in which sovereign nations vie for power, the foreign policies of all nations must consider survival the minimum goal of foreign policy. Accordingly, all nations are compelled to protect their physical,political, and cultural identity against encroachments by other nations. Thus, national interest is identified with national survival. Taken in isolation, the determination of its content in a concrete situation is relatively simple, for it encompasses the integrity of the nation's territory, of its political institutions, and of its culture.

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As long as the world is divided into nations, Morgenthau asserted, the national interest would remain the last word in world politics.

In this regard, interest is the essence of politics. Fourthly, political

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realism is aware of the moral significance of political action,

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aware of the moral significance of political action, it is also aware of the

ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirement of successful political action. Indeed,Morgenthau states

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that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states

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that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place.

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universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but

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they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place.

In pursuit of the national interest, nation-states are governed by a morality that differs from the morality of individuals in 71 | P a g e their personal relationships. To confuse an individual's morality with a state's moralityis to court national disaster. Because the primary official responsibility of statesmen is the survival of the nation-state, their obligations to the citizenry require a different mode of moral judgment from that of theindividual. Fifthly, political realism refuses to identify

As it distinguishes between truth and opinion, so it distinguishes between truth and idolatry. The knowledge that interest is defined in terms of power saves from moral excesses and political folly. Indeed, knowing that international politics is placed within a framework of defining interests in terms of power makes us able to judge other nations as we judge our own judge our own. Lastly, the difference between political realism and other schools of thought is not only real but also profound. In Morgenthau's view, the political realist maintains the autonomy of political sphere just as the economists, the lawyer, and the moralist maintain theirs. In fact, he stresses the autonomy of the political sphere. In his view, Political actions must be judged by political criteria. The economist asks, how does this policy affect the welfare of society, or a segment of it? The lawyer asks, is this policy in accord with the rules of law?' The realist asks, how does this policy affect the power of the nation? In power struggles, nations follow policies designed to preserve the status quo, to achieve imperialistic expansion, or to gain prestige. In Morgenthau's view, domestic and international politics can be reduced to one of three basic types: A political policy seeks either to keep power, to increase power, or to demonstrate power. Stop to Consider Offensive Realism At the end of the Cold War in 1990, the international community experienced a lot of optimism. Many believed that "perpetual peace" among the great powers is finally at hand. That the world has entered a stage in which there is little chance that the major powers will engage each other in security competition, much less war, which has become an archaic enterprise. In the words of one famous author, the end of the Cold War signifies the "the end of history." Indeed, this school of thought believes that great powers no longer view each other as potential military rivals, but instead as members of a family of nations, members of the "international community."

72 | P a g e 1.5 Structural Realism Structural realism, or neorealism, is a theory of international relations that says power is the most important factor in international relations. … Defensive realism points towards "structural modifiers" such as the security dilemma and geography, and elite beliefs and perceptions to explain the outbreak of conflict. The realist theory has furnished an abundant basis for the formation of what is termed a neorealist approach to international relations theory. It explains patterns of international events in terms of the system structure the international distribution of power rather than in terms of the internal make up of individual states. Waltz argues for a neorealist approach based on patterned relationships among actors in an international system that is anarchical. In this respect, drawing, upon the paradigm of international politics of classical realism, Neorealism contains an emphasis on those features of the structure that mould the way in which the components relate to one another. According to Waltz, the term structure connotes the way in which the parts are arranged. In domestic politics, there is hierarchical relationship in which units stand in formal differentiation from one another by reference to the degree of authority or the function, which they perform. By contrast, the international system lacks comparable governmental institutions. Actors stand in a horizontal relationship with each other, with each state the formal equal (sovereignty) of the other. The focus of structural realism is the arrangement of the parts of the international system with respect to each other. According to Waltz, the concept of structure is because units differently juxtaposed and combined behave differently and interestingly produce different outcomes. Basic to an anarchic system, by virtue of its structure, is the need for member units to rely on whatever means or arrangements they can generate in order to ensure survival and enhance security.

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For structural realists, human nature has little to do with why states want power. Instead, it is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked. In essence, great powers are trapped in an iron cage where they have little choice but to compete with each other for power if they hope to survive. Structural realist theories ignore cultural differences among states as well as differences in regime type, mainly because the international 73 |

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system creates the same basic incentives for all great powers. Whether a state is democratic or autocratic matters relatively little for how it acts towards other states. Nor does it matter much who is in charge of conducting a state's foreign policy. Structural realists treat states as if they were black boxes: they are assumed to be alike, save for the fact that some states are more or less

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system creates the same basic incentives for all great powers. Whether a state is democratic or autocratic matters relatively little for how it acts towards other states. Nor does it matter much who is in charge of conducting a state's foreign policy. Structural realists treat states as if they were black boxes: they are assumed to be alike, save for the fact that some states are more or less

powerfulthan others 1.5.1 Evolution of Structural Realism Kenneth N. Waltz's Theory of International Politics profoundly affected international relations theory. Structural realism as developed by Waltz argues that the anarchic system and the distribution of capabilities are powerful constraints and inducements which produce "sameness" in the behavior of states. For Waltz, international relations is anarchic and not hierarchical, populated by functionally similar units, and the structure of the international system or polarity varies based on the distribution of capabilities. The anarchic nature of the international system, and the assumptions that states "at a minimum, seek their own preservation" and are socialized to imitate each other, allows Waltz to explain recurring international patterns and outcomes such as balances of power, war proneness of different distributions of power, and recurrent alliance formation (1979:118; for realist theories of foreign policy, see the literature on classical realism such as Gulick 1955; Wolfers 1962; Morgenthau 1963; Thucydides 1982; and neoclassical realism including Friedberg 1988; Snyder 1991; Wohlforth 1993; Christensen 1996; Elman 1996; Rose 1998; Schweller 2006; Rathbun 2008; Lobell et al. 2009). Waltz's structural realism influenced many of the major debates in the field in the 1980s and 1990s including neoliberal institutionalism (Keohane 1984; Oye 1986; Baldwin 1993; Ruggie 1993); the agent–structure debate (Wendt 1987; Dessler 1989); the significance of non-state actors (Krasner 1983); and more recently, the new international hierarchy studies (Lake 2003; 2009; Hobson and Sharman 2005) and the degenerative research program controversy (Vasquez 1997; Legro and Moravcsik 1999). Criticism and dissatisfaction with Waltz's structural realism (Ruggie 1983; Ashley 1986; Keohane 1986; Buzan et al. 1993) fueled the constructivist, cultural, ideational, and Innenpolitik research agendas (Wendt 1992; Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Rosecrance and Stein 1993; Katzenstein 1996; Adler and Barnett 1998; Guzzini 1998). Derived from Waltz's structural realism, structural realist theorists can be divided into two competing versions with competing assumptions

74 | P a g e and policy prescriptions: offensive realism and defensive realism (for reviews of this literature see Lynn-Jones and Miller 1995; Frankel 1996; Miller 1996; Brooks 1997; Taliaferro 2000/01; James 2002; Walt 2002; Schweller 2003; Nexon 2009; the terms "aggressive" and "defensive" realism originally appeared in Jack Snyder's Myths of Empire). One distinction between these two versions of realism is the role of the anarchic international system and whether it encourages states to maximize their security or to maximize their power and influence. A second distinction is whether conquest and expansion pay, and more generally, the cause of pathological state behavior including over expansion, self encirclement, and over extension. A final distinction is whether states are primarily revisionist in their intentions, or at least assumed to be, or whether states are primarily motivated by security-seeking behavior. Check Your Progress 1. What are the basics of Realism? 2. Discuss the contribution of Realism to the study of international Relation. 3. Point out the Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism. 4. Analyse the concept of Structural Realism 1.6 Defensive Realism In international relations, defensive neorealism is a structural theory derived from the school of neorealism. It finds its foundation in political scientist Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics, in which Waltz argues that the anarchical structure of the international system encourages states to maintain moderate and reserved policies in order to attain security. In contrast, offensive realism assumes that states seek to maximize their power and influence to achieve security through domination and hegemony. Defensive neorealism asserts that aggressive expansion as promoted by offensive neorealists upsets the tendency of states to conform to the balance of power theory, thereby decreasing the primary objective of the state, which they argue is ensuring its security. While defensive realism does not deny the reality of interstate conflict, nor that incentives for state expansion do exist, it contends that these incentives are sporadic rather than endemic. Defensive neorealism points towards "structural modifiers", such as the security dilemma and geography, and elite beliefs and perceptions to explain the outbreak of conflict.

75 | P a g e For defensive or positional realists (Joseph Grieco coined the term "defensive positionalists" in Cooperation Among Nations), security is plentiful. Major powers seek to maximize their security by preserving the existing balance of power through mostly defensive strategies (Jervis 1978; Waltz 1979; Posen 1984; Walt 1987; Grieco 1990; Snyder 1991; Glaser 1994/5; Layne 1997; Van Evera 1999). Defensive realists maintain that the international system encourages states to pursue moderate and restrained behavior to ensure their survival and safety, and provides incentives for expansion in only a few select instances. The rationale is that aggression, competition, and expansion to maximize power through primacy and preponderance are unproductive because they will provoke the security dilemma and counterbalancing behavior, and thereby thwart the state's effort to increase its security. As Christopher Layne concisely notes, "states balance against hegemons" (1993:87). For defensive realists, since the international system rarely provides incentives for expansion, "structural modifiers," including the offense−defense military balance and geography, and domestic and unit-level pathologies such as elite beliefs, perceptions, and logrolled imperial coalitions, explain overexpansion, underbalancing, self-encirclement, and overextension (Taliaferro 2000/01). Check Your Progress i. What is neorealism? ii. What is the best way for states to survive in a dangerous world? iii. What is defensive realism? 1.7 Summing Up Realism is a theory that claims to explain the reality of international politics. It emphasises the constraints on politics that result from humankind's egoisticnature and the absence of a central authority above the state. For realists, thehighest goal is the survival of the state, which explains why states' actions arejudged according to the ethics of responsibility rather than by moral principles.The dominance of realism has generated a significant strand of literature criticising its main tenets. However, despite the value of the criticisms, which will be explored in the rest of this book, realism continues to provide valuableinsights and remains an important analytical tool for every student of InternationalRelations.

76 | P a g e In this unit, we discussed realism. The realist paradigm explainsinternational relations in power terms. Realism has its intellectual rootsin the older political philosophy of the West and in the writings of non-Western ancient authors such as Sun Tzu in China, Kautilya in India, as well as Thucydides in ancient Greece. According to Sun Tzu, moral reasoning is not very useful to the state rulers who are surrounded with armed and dangerous neighbours. He showed rulers how to use power toadvance their interests and protect their survival. Hans Morgenthau, whois the chief priest of the school of modern realism, authored his famousbook, Politics among Nations, (1948), shortly after the World War II. Inthe book, Morgenthau sets forth six principles of realist theory andprovocatively argued that international politics is governed by objective,universal laws based on national interests defined in terms of power notpsychological motives of decision makers. Taking realism to a higher level of refinement, Kenneth Waltz developed the concept ofNeorealism. He opines that, the structure shapes the political relationships that take place among its members. Similarly, JohnMearsheimer has taken realism further by developing what he calls offensive realism. Overall, today's international relations operate on the famous dictum by Thucydides, "

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the strong do what they have the powerto do and the weak accept what they have to accept."

Indeed, realismprevails! 1.8 References and Suggested Readings Goldstein, J.S. &Pevehouse, J. C. (2011). International Relations. (9 th ed.). San Francisco: Longman, Pearson Education. James, E. Dougherty & Robert, L Pfaltzgraff Jr. (1990). Contending Theories of International Relations. (3th ed.). New York: Harper Collins Publishers. John,

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Mearsheimer (2001). The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: Norton

and Company.

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Morgenthau, H. J.(1985). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

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Morgenthau, H. J.(1985). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

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Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

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Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

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Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

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Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 |

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Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 | P

a g e Unit 2: Liberalism and Neoliberlaism Unit Structure : 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Objectives 2.3 Liberalism 2.3.1 The Evolution of Liberal Thought 2.4 Classical Liberalism 2.5 Neoleberalism 2.5 Summing Up 2.6 References and Suggested Readings 2.1 Introduction Traditionally there have been two central theories of IR: liberalism and realism. Although they have come under great challenge from other theories, they remain central to the discipline. At its height, liberalism was referred to as a 'utopian' theory and to some degree is still recognised as such today. Its proponents view human beings as innately good and believe peace and harmony between nations is not only achievable, but desirable. In the late eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant developed the idea that states that shared liberal values should have no reason for going to war against one another. In Kant's eyes, the more liberal states there were in the world, the more peaceful it would become, since liberal states are ruled by their citizens and citizens are rarely disposed to go to war. This is in contrast to the rule of kings and other non-elected rulers who frequently have selfish desires out of step with citizens. His ideas have resonated and continue to be developed by modern liberals, most notably in the democratic peace theory, which posits

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that democracies do not go to war with each other.

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that democracies do not go to war with each other.

This unit will dwell on one of the earliest theories of International Relations i.e. Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism. 78 | P a g e 2.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able to Examine liberal thoughts in International Relation Understand Neoleberalism 2.3 Liberalism Liberalism is a defining feature of modern democracy, illustrated by the prevalence of the term 'liberal democracy' as a way to describe countries with free and fair elections, rule of law and protected civil liberties. However, liberalism – when discussed within the realm of IR theory – has evolved into a distinct entity of its own. Liberalism contains a variety of concepts and argu-ments about how institutions, behaviours and economic connections contain and mitigate the violent power of states. When compared to realism, it adds more factors into our field of view – especially a consideration of citizens and international organisations. Most notably, liberalism has been the traditional foil of realism in IR theory as it offers a more optimistic world view, grounded in a different reading of history to that found in realist scholarship. Liberalism is one of the early approaches to the study of International Relations. It was dominant from the early 1900s through to late 1930s. The approach was motivated by the desire to prevent war. However not all idealists believed that the economic principles of free trade would lead to peace. Hobson (1902) argued that imperialism — the control of foreign people and their resources was becoming the primary cause of conflict in International Politics. The outbreak of the First World War shifted Liberal thinking towards a recognition that peace is not a natural phenomenon, but is one that can be constructed. In a severe critique of the idea that peace and prosperity were part of a natural order. Luard (1992:465) argued that peace and prosperity required consciously devised machinery. But the most famous advocate of an international authority for the management of international relations was Woodrow Wilson, the former President of the United States of America. According to him peace could only be secured with the creation of an international institution to regulate international anarchy. Security should not be left to secret bilateral diplomatic ideals and a blind faith in the balance of power. Like domestic society, international society must have a system of government which has democratic procedures for coping with disputes

79 | P a g e and international forces which could be mobilized if negotiations fail. In his famous fourteen points speech addressed to congress in January 1918, Wilson argued that: A general association of nations must be formed to preserve the coming peace (cited in Dunore, 200 1: 167). Liberalism viewed the All liberal theories place state-society relation as the core value of International relations. The argued that fundamental premise that state behavior reflects the relationship between it and the domestic and transnational society in which it is embedded. They believed on the influence of economic interdependence, varying conceptions of collective goods provision, or domestic representation. This basic insight can be restated more precisely in terms of three "hard core" assumptions, which specify, respectively, the nature of societal actors, the nature of the state, and the nature of the international system. The basics of liberalism Liberalism is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual person to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of govern-ment. Consequently, liberals emphasise the wellbeing of the individual as the fundamental building block of a just political system. A political system characterised by unchecked power, such as a monarchy or a dictatorship, cannot protect the life and liberty of its citizens. Therefore, the main concern of liberalism is to construct institutions that protect individual freedom by limiting and checking political power. While these are issues of domestic politics, the realm of IR is also important to liberals because a state's activities abroad can have a strong influence on liberty at home. Liberals are particularly troubled by militaristic foreign policies. The primary concern is that war requires states to build up military power. This power can be used for fighting foreign states, but it can also be used to oppress its own citizens. For this reason, political systems rooted in liberalism often limit military power by such means as ensuring civilian control over the military. The first assumption of Liberalist scholars was that national self- determination within Europe would remove one of the major sources of war. Each nationality should be organized as an independent state. A second assumption was that war often resulted from secret agreements between states, and that, if citizen of these states were aware of such agreements, they would not be tolerated. The liberalists called for an end to secret diplomacy and urged greater public participation in the conduct of foreign policy. Thirdly, the liberalists

80 | P a g e called for an end to balance of power in favour of a system of International Collective security that would require states to reduce their military preparedness to the lowest possible level and to rely on the combined military capability of the world community for their security against armed aggression. It also assumed that: i. A world governing body would exist to determine whether aggression had occurred and to coo ordinate a global response. ii. States would automatically join in collective responses to aggression anywhere in the world (Maghoori, 2002:10). Basically, the liberalist embraced a world view based on the follow belief: i. Human nature is essentially good or altruistic and people are, therefore, capable of mutual aid and collaboration; ii. The fundamental human concern for the welfare of others makes progress possible; iii. Bad human

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behavior is not a product of evil people, but of evil justifications and structural arrangement that encourage people to act selfishly and to harm

others including making wars; iv. War is not inevitable and its frequency can be reduced by eradicating the institutional arrangement that motivate people to act selfishly, and to harm others; v. War is an international problem that requires collective or multilateral rather than national efforts to eliminate it; vi. International society must reorgafli5e itself to eliminate the institutions that make war to likely occur Self Asking Question What are the beliefs of the Liberalists? (200 words) -- ------------------ -- -- -- ---------------- -- ----------- -- -- -- -- -------------- 2.3.1 The Evolution of Liberal Thought Liberal theory became prominent during the First World War. For Liberals like U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson, World War I was —the war to end all war‖. He was convinced that another terrible war would

81 | P a g e erupt if states resumed practicing power politics. Liberals were set out to reform the international system. The Liberal or Idealist generally fell into three groups. The First Group advocated creating international institutions to reduce the struggle for power between states. The establishment of the League of Nations was the embodiment of this line of thought. It founders hoped to prevent future wars by organizing a system of collective security that would mobilize the entire international community against any future aggressor. The League founders states that peace was indivisible; an attack on one member of the League would be considered an attack on all. Kegley and i Raymond (2007:33). Because no state was more powerful than the combination of all other states, aggressor would be deterred and war averted. A second group called for the use of legal procedure to settle disputes before they escalated to armed conflict. Adjudication is a judicial procedure for resolving conflict by referring them to a standing court for a binding decision. Immediately after the war several governments drafted a statute to establish a permanent Court of International Justice. Liberal advocate of the court argued that the permanent Court of International Justice would replace military retaliation with a judicial body capable of bringing the facts of a dispute to light and giving a just verdict. A third group of liberal thinkers followed the biblical injunction that state should beat their swords into plowshares and sought disarmament as a means of avoiding war. Their efforts led to the 1921 and 1922 Washington Naval Conference which tried to reduce maritime competition among the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy by placing limitations on battleships. The aim of this group was to reduce international tensions by promoting general disarmament which led them to convene the Geneva Disarmament conference in 1932. Stop to Consider MAIN CHARACTERISTICS of LIBERALISM As we know Liberals

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have strong faith in human reason. This characteristic can be traced back to the ideas of John Locke (1632- 1704) who argued that 1. reason is necessary for arriving at truth and right action. Reason is necessary for understanding and shaping nature and society. 2.

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believe in the possibility of historical progress. Human reason and processes of social learning make progress possible. In the liberal conception therefore, mankind is not doomed to live in a state of perpetual conflict, but can choose political strategies to avoid it. 82 |

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believe in the possibility of historical progress. Human reason and processes of social learning make progress possible. In the liberal conception therefore, mankind is not doomed to live in a state of perpetual conflict, but can choose political strategies to avoid it. 82 |

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believe in the possibility of historical progress. Human reason and processes of social learning make progress possible. In the liberal conception therefore, mankind is not doomed to live in a state of perpetual conflict, but can choose political strategies to avoid it. 82 |

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believe in the possibility of historical progress. Human reason and processes of social learning make progress possible. In the liberal conception therefore, mankind is not doomed to live in a state of perpetual conflict, but can choose political strategies to avoid it. 82 |

P a g e 3. liberals

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focus on state-society linkages and claim the existence of a close connection between domestic institutions and politics on the one hand and the international politics on the other. 2.4

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focus on state-society linkages and claim the existence of a close connection between domestic institutions and politics on the one hand and the international politics on the other. 2.4

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focus on state-society linkages and claim the existence of a close connection between domestic institutions and politics on the one hand and the international politics on the other. 2.4

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CLASSICAL LIBERALISM Classic liberalism is the name given to liberal thought in the pre- Second World War years. As we saw, liberalism bestowed importance on the idea of human reason. It believes that all individuals are rational creatures. Hence, they are in a better position to decide what is for their own good. It is precisely because human beings are driven by the logic of reason that they have a tendency to cooperate with one another, especially in areas where they have common interest. Such cooperation can occur both domestically and internationally (Jackson and Sorensen 2008: 98). Liberalism focuses on the idea of individual liberty. basics of classical liberalism can be found in the ideas of Adam Smith, John Locke and Jeremy Bentham. John Locke (1688) is known as the father of classical liberalism. He argued that government should rule by the consent of the governed. Locke argued the case of limited government. The main responsibility of the government is to protect the rights and liberties of its citizens. Adam Smith (1776) believed in the idea of 'economic man'. Smith believed that if every individual tries to maximize their self-interest, it will lead to overall economic prosperity in the society. Smith coined the term laissez faire economy. According to this idea, the market the state shall not interfere in the activities of the market. Smith visualized that a free market can bring about overall national prosperity. Bentham introduced the concept of the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number'. Thus, individuals should focus on those activities which maximizes pleasure and minimizes pain. Bentham also proposed that there should be an international court. The spirit of Bentham's idea can be observed in the structures and functions of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) (Sutch and Elias 2010). (

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https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71847/1/Unit-8.pdf) Though, liberalism was success

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in influencing policy making process but failed in avoiding conflict and war. Finally it lead to the 'Twenty Years' crisis (E.H. Carr, 1939) and eventually to the World War II. During these years, with the United States not joining the League and the emergence of Nazism and Fascism in Europe, liberal ideas and strategies could not

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be popularized.
83 | P a g e Stop to Consider Republican Liberalism Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is the founder of Republican Liberalism. His ideas inspired the rise of this thought along with and contemporary American scholar, Michael Doyle. It argued that as the democratic governments possess and followed

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positive features so they do not go to war with one another. This is the core idea of the democratic peace theory. This thought poses a challenge to the realist claims that peace depends on the systemic balance of power rather than the domestic nature of the governments.

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Republican liberalism, advocates and argued for the

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promotion of democracy worldwide to achieve peace. In this sense, it is one of theories with a strong normative element. 2.5

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Neoleberalism In the 1980s a new Liberal critique of Realism became dominant. The approach stressed the importance of international institutions in reducing international conflict and tension. The argument is based on the core liberal idea that seeking long. Term mutual gain is often more rational than maximizing individual short term gains. The approach became known as —neo-liberal institutionalism‖ or Neo Liberalism. The neo-Liberal concedes to realism several important assumptions — among them, that states are unitary actors rationally pursuing self- interest. However, the neo-liberalist argued that states do cooperate with one another, because it is in their interest to do so. States can also use institutions to facilitate the pursuit of Mutual gain (Goldstein, 2001:113). In spite of many sources of conflict in International Relations, states do find ways to cooperate with one another. States can create mutual rule, expectations and institutions to promote behavior that enhances the possibilities for mutual gain. Neo-Liberalists

acknowledge that cooperation between states is likely to be fragile, particularly where enforcement procedures are weak. However in an environment of increasing regional and global integration, states, can often find out without any external force — a coincidence of strategic and economic interest which can be turned around into a formalized agreement determining the rules of conduct. In such areas such as environmental degradation and the threat of terrorism, the necessity for formalized cooperation between states is

evident.

84 | P a g e Liberal Institutionalism suggest that the way to peace and prosperity is to have independent states pool their resources and even surrender some of their sovereignty to create integrated societies to promote economic growth or respond to regional challenges. The European Union is one such institution that started as a regional community for encouraging multi-lateral cooperation in the production of coal and steel in the 1950s. The European Union today is a model of success in regional integration. Another key aspect of liberal institutional scholarship was the trans- nationalism and complex inter-dependence of the 1970s (Keohane, Nye 1972, 1977). Scholars in this camp argued that the world had become more pluralistic in terms of actors involved in international interactions and that these actors had become more dependent on each other. Complex inter-dependence presented a world with four characteristics. (i) increasing linkages among states and non-state actors (ii) a new agenda of international issues with no distinction between low and high politics (iii) a recognition of multiple channels for interaction among actor across national boundaries; (iv) the decline of the efficacy of military force as a tool of statecraft. Complex inter- dependence scholars would argue that globalization represents an increase in linkages and channels for interaction (Lamy, 200 1:188). Stop to Consider Liberals Areas of study 1. Democratic peace theory 2. Commercial peace theory 3. Institutional peace theory Sociological Liberalism Another neo-Liberal variant is known as sociological liberalism. Scholars in this group argued that the notion of community and the process of interdependence are important elements. As trans-national activities increase, people, in distant lands are linked and their governments become more interdependent As a result it becomes more difficult and more costly for states to act alone and to avoid cooperation with neighbors. The cost of war or other unwholesome behavior increase for all states and eventually, a peaceful international community is built (Lamy, 2001:189). Trade and Inter-Dependence or Commercial Liberalism This type of Liberal theory holds that, it is in a state's best interest to pursue free trade and economic interdependence; doing so increases

85 | P a g e levels of wealth and security. Normal Angell made the first definitive statement of this Liberal Approach in his 1913 work The Great illusion. The illusion to which Angell referred is that war making is the best means to achieve power, wealth and security. Among Angell's points were that you cannot destroy people and resources without destroying the wealth that you are trying to obtain, that internationalization and interdependence have made war unprofitable, and that regular and permanent gains from cooperation and trade more than offset the losses of foregoing empire, occupation and war booty. A more recent (1980) statement of trade and interdependence theory argues that this view is even more appropriate now than in Angell's day. Richard Rosecrance (The Rise of the Trading State) reiterates Angell's assertion that the benefits of trade outweigh those of war and conquest. This is especially so in the post-1945 period. Technological and industrial developments — especially the advents of nuclear weapons — have made war more dangerous and destructive than ever before. Advances in technology and industry have simultaneously made free global trade and interdependence more profitable than ever before. According to Rosecrance, the primary objective of the nation- state is exchange and trade. A state does not need a large population, tract of land, or army to achieve this. States are wisest to pursue technological and commercial specialization that give them important, wealth-generating riches in an inter-dependent world. Stop to Consider Democratic Peace Theory Democratic Peace Theory is an extension of Liberal theory. It is perhaps the most widely known Liberal theory of International Relations. It holds that democracies do not go to war with one another, and a more democratic world is therefore a more peaceful world. Democratic Peace theory is a core idea underpinning national security policies of democracy promotion. Democratic Peace theory works in two ways. First and most simply, war is often considered to be inconsistent with Liberal-democratic values. Democracies do not fight one another because it is morally/ethically the wrong thing to do. Secondly, the structure of democratic governments makes it more difficult for leaders to wage war. Unlike dictators, democratic leaders face governmental checks and balances, require some level of public support, and worry about the electoral consequences of their actions. Democracies are believed to be more peaceful countries because of these constraints on leaders.

86 | P a g e 2.5 Critics of Liberalism Contemporary liberal philosophy is fundamentally flawed despite the appeal of its seemingly more grounded orientation to real world cultural differences. In recent developments have prompted a revival of interest in liberal theories of international relations, among them the spread of democratic institutions, economic liberalisation and the increasing significance of international institutions in many aspects of our life. Many viewed liberal international relations theory as over impressed by and promoted by Western governments. This is the time of rethinking the challenges of liberalism in a 'globalising' world order characterised by extreme economic inequality, social upheavals and the reassertion of cultural differences and the questions whether and how liberal values can at all be realised in such a world have been left to political theorists, whose struggles with these issues attract little interest in an international relations discipline still largely committed to the idea of a purely empirical social science. Even, among the Liberals there is no philosophical justification which enjoys general acceptance. For practical political purposes, however, there is no insuperable problem in endorsing liberalism as a universal ideal while acknowledging that others may legitimately support different ideals. Alasdair MacIntyre remarks 'liberalism has become the kind of social and cultural tradition in which incoherence is at home'. MacIntyre attributes liberalism's incoherence to the co- presence in liberal culture of logically incompatible and incommensurable modern individualist values and the virtues of pre- modern cultural and intellectual traditions, such as competing conceptions of justice and desert. He suggests that this incoherence is socially and politically protected because the survival of the liberal tradition depends on it. Distinguishing between the liberal intellectual tradition and the wider social and cultural tradition in which the former is embedded, he also suggests that this protection is partly afforded by the liberal intellectual tradition, that is, by liberalism's various traditions of inquiry—such as utilitarianism, natural rights theory and contractarianism.(MacIntyre, 'A Partial Response to my Critics', pp. 291-). Harvard law professor Adrian Vermeule argued that, Liberalism "constantly disrupts deeply cherished traditions among its subject populations, stirring unrest, animosity, and eventually political reaction and backlash.

87 | P a g e Left anti-liberals, by contrast, pinpoint liberal economic doctrine as the source of the current woes. Liberalism's vision of the economy as a zone of individual freedom, in their view, has given rise to a deep system of exploitation that makes a mockery of liberal claims to be democratic — an oppressive system referred to as "neoliberalism." Nancy Fraser, a professor at the New School, said "Neoliberalism in any guise is not the solution but the problem,". "The sort of change we require can only come from elsewhere, from a project that is at the very least anti-neoliberal, if not anti-capitalist." To criticise liberalism is not merely engage in ordinary political argumentation. It is to call into question the entire existing system that defines the world's democracies. It is, by its nature, a radical claim. But these are radical times. Several trends and shock events have combined to create a sense of rolling crisis. This certainly traces back to the Great Recession; arguably, it began as far back as the 9/11 attacks. But what's clear is that liberalism's peril became acute in 2016, when the twin shocks of Brexit and Trump proved that illiberal right-wing populism had emerged as a serious challenge to liberal hegemony. Check Your Progress 1. Explain the Evolution of Liberal Thought . 2. What do you mean by Neoleberalism. Explain. 3. Discuss articulately the theories of Liberalism and neo liberalism. (500 words) 2.5 Summing Up A core argument of liberalism is that concentrations of unaccountable violent power are the fundamental threat to individual liberty and must be restrained. The primary means of restraining power are institutions and norms at both domestic and international level. At the international level institutions and organisations limit the power of states by fostering cooperation and providing a means for imposing costs on states that violate international agreements. Economic institutions are particularly effective at fostering cooperation because of the substantial benefits that can be derived from economic interdependence. Finally, liberal norms add a further limitation on the use of power by shaping our understanding of what types of behaviour are appropriate. Today, it is clear that liberalism is not a 'utopian' 88 | P a g e theory describing a dream world of peace and happiness as it was once accused of being. It provides a consistent rejoinder to realism, firmly rooted in evidence and a deep theoretical tradition. 2.6 References and Suggested Readings A I

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Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51

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89 | P a g e Unit 3: Regime Theory Unit Structure : 3.1 Introduction 3.2 Objectives 3.3 The Regime Theory 3.3.1 Regime Theory and the State 3.3.2 Evolution of Regime Theory 3.4 Summing Up 3.5 References and Suggested Readings 3.1 Introduction John Locke continues to have a large following in international relations. His ideas about the social contract and the responsibilities of rulers towards their subjects have contributed to a number of the theories that you will study in unit 2, particularly Liberalism. Locke is also credited with popularising the idea of natural rights – today referred to as human rights and certainly one of the main interests of modern IR. Finally, Locke's view that human nature can be improved by the use of reason to learn from past mistakes has found a voice in regime theory, which seeks to solve international problems through cooperation between international actors. 3.2

Regime Theory of international relation 3.3 The Regime Theory Regime theory is an approach within international relations theory, a sub-discipline of political science, which seeks to explain the occurrence of co-operation among States by focusing on the role that regimes play in mitigating international anarchy and overcoming various collective action problems among States (International Relations, Principal Theories; State.) Different schools of thought within international relations have emerged, and various analytical approaches exist within the regime theory itself.

90 | P a g e However, typically regime theory is associated with neoliberal institutionalism that builds on a premise that regimes are central in facilitating international co-operation and constraining the behaviour of States. Thus, in international relations literature, regime the or is often used interchangeably with the terms 'institutionalism' or 'neoliberal institutionalism'. Regimes are sets of principles, procedures, norms, or rules that govern particular issue areas within international relations. Regimes are important because they facilitate some form of global governance in an anarchical realm. They reflect the fact that states often have converging interests and are willing to cooperate to achieve certain outcomes. As a consequence, some scholars believe that regimes play a significant role in reducing the level of international conflict between states and facilitating cooperation at the international level. Regimes can take the form of conventions, international agreements, treaties, or international institutions. They can be found in a variety of issue areas, including economics, the environment, policing, transport, security, communications, human rights, arms control, even copyright and patents. Indeed, they exist in most issue areas where states have similar interests. The World Trade Organisation (WTO), the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) are all examples of firmly established regimes. A regime can be bilateral, multilateral, regional or global in scope. It can also be formal and highly institutionalised or quite loose and informal. The WTO is a good example of a formal and institutionalised regime, while UNCLOS and the CWC have fewer institutional structures underpinning them. Yet they are similar in the sense that each requires compliance from states. States that have accepted the conditions set out by the regime are under an obligation to act according to its principles. The notion of convergence is crucial to understanding the character of regimes. Regimes presuppose that states have similar interests across a range of issues and that these interests can best be served by coordinated action. In other words, regimes provide a regulatory framework for states that facilitates a semblance of global governance. Imagine, for example, the difficulty in getting mail to someone on the other side of the world without a formal agreement governing the distribution of mail. Think for a moment about the chaos in the skies if there were no rules or procedures regulating airline traffic. Who would risk overseas flight under such circumstances? Some scholars have argued that regimes function best when power is concentrated in the hands of a preponderant state. Hegemonic stability theory suggests that the presence of a hegemon makes it possible (and

91 | P a g e easier) to enforce rules and norms across an issue area. The role of the United States in putting in place an open trading system in the aftermath of the Second World War is often cited as an example of the importance of power in determining the success of regimes. In short we can summarise this theory as, the term "international regime" was originally used to describe formal agreements between states, but the concept has since evolved after going through considerable critique and reformulation. A universal agreement on the precise nature or elements of a regime has remained elusive, despite a general consensus on the definition. Nevertheless, the concept of regime offers a unique opportunity to better understand international relationships by underscoring the importance of specific attributes of international, multinational, and nongovernmental groups, sets of behavioral or epistemic practices, and processes of learning. As a heuristic device, regime theory helps to explain the rise of complex interaction between states, organizations, corporations, and other institutions as well as the potential for ideas or behavior to shape the international system. Regime theory has supplemented traditional explanations of international order, including hegemonic stability theory or neorealism, by explaining the emergence of cooperation and organization within what would traditionally be considered anarchical or highly unpredictable conditions. Common approaches to regime theory include realism, neoliberalism, cognitivism, and constructivism. Part of the strength of regime theory is that it has remained an elastic concept and has been used to analyze a huge diversity of issues, with many promising results. Regime theory should continue highlighting both the ideational and material dimensions of organization and bringing together positivist, inductive, and critical approaches to understanding power, interest, and identity so as to generate a series of new conversations or trajectories for exploring the creation of international order. Stop To Consider Power-Based Approach There are different base of regime theory. We can divide the study of regime theory into a power-based approach, an interest-based approach, and a knowledge-based approach. Let's have a look at the Power based Approach. The power-based approach, sometimes referred to as neorealism, of regime theory attempts to explain international regimes in terms of the distribution of power among the most relevant actors of particular international policy. It assumes that states and other actors act rationally. Hegemonic-stability theory (HST) is one of the most well-

known power-based approaches in international regime theory. In a nutshell, HST suggests that a hegemon, a country that dominates all others, will encourage the development of regimes that are consonant with its interests to develop support for its policies without the expense of forcing its will on other states using more costly means, such as economic sanctions or force. For example, the United States has played a large role in fashioning a global financial and economic system that aligns with its interests and values. Of course, the hegemon will not permit the formation of any regime contrary to its interests. In our example, the U.S. will not permit an economic regime that discourages free trade. Theoretical foundations While realism predicts that conflict should be the norm in international relations, regime theorists say that there is cooperation despite anarchy. Often they cite cooperation in trade, human rights, and collective security, among other issues. These instances of cooperation are regimes. The most commonly cited definition comes from Stephen Krasner, who defines regimes as "institutions possessing norms, decision rules, and procedures which facilitate a convergence of expectations". Thus, the concept of regimes is broader than that of a formal organization. Not all approaches to regime theory, however are liberal or neoliberal; some realist scholars like Joseph Grieco developed hybrid theories which take a realism-based approach to this fundamentally liberal theory. (Realists do not say cooperation never happens, just that it's not the norm—a difference of degree). Self Asking Questions Define regime theory in your own words. (50 words) -- ------------------- -- --------------- -- --- --- --- ------------------- -- Different Types of Regimes Regimes exist in various domains of international politics. There are, for example, Collective security regimes (including United Nations [UN] norms, principles, and procedures constraining the use of force in foreign affairs; Use of Force, Prohibition of), economic regimes

(including international trade regime and international monetary regime; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD]; International Monetary Fund [IMF]; World Trade Organization [WTO]),human rights regimes (including the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms [1950] and various international treaties and customary norms protecting civil, political, economic, and social rights), and environmental regimes (including regimes protecting biodiversity or regulating emissions; Biological Diversity, International Protection ;Environment, International Protection) Regimes are traditionally thought of as being composed of States. More recent studies of regimes, however, acknowledge that regimes comprising non-governmental organizations or individuals can also guide and regulate the behaviour of States and various non-State actors (firms, groups, individuals). Since the 1970s, theoretical inquiry into regimes has developed into a growth industry. Today, there are at least three main divisions within contemporary regime theory: • Realist theories stress the role of power in generating cooperation between states. • Interest-based theories highlight the value of regimes in promoting the common interests of states. • Knowledge-based theories focus primarily on the way that ideas and norms shape perceptions of international problems and the role of regimes in this process. Despite the differences of emphasis in these approaches, all agree that regimes are an important source of stability in the international arena, particularly as states increasingly confront problems that do not respect territorial boundaries and require international cooperation. Stop to Consider Interest-Based Approach Like the power-based approach, the interest-based approach also assumes that actors are rational. However, according to the interest- based approach, rational states will engage in long-term cooperation to achieve absolute gains. Importantly, this means that a state may give up a short-term advantage to cooperate with another state or group of states to maintain cooperation with each other for a larger, long-term gain.

94 | P a g e 3.3.1 Regime Theory and the State Regime theory regards States as principal actors in world politics. States are assumed to be rational, unitary actors who seek to maximize their national self-interest. Rationality means that States have ordered and consistent preferences that lead them to pursue policies that maximize their individual utility. These assumptions are shared with a realist paradigm of international relations. Unlike realism, regime theory emphasizes that States' interests are not necessarily conflictual. International politics is not a zero-sum game where a gain for one State would necessarily mean a loss to another State. States are assumed to be motivated by absolute instead of relative gains. States often have common interests with other States and engage in co-operation with one another to pursue joint gains. Common interests do not mean that States' interests would be identical. Instead, co-operation takes place when States mutually adjust their policies in situations where they have both conflicting and common interests. States consider future consequences of their present actions and adopt a long-term view to interaction with other States. When States perceive that there are benefits from co-operation, they are sometimes willing to forego their short-term interests to accomplish their common interests in the long term. Regime theory acknowledges that regimes are significant in facilitating co-operation among States, and capable of exerting independent influence on them. The presence of regimes modifies anarchy that would otherwise prevail in international relations. The distribution of capabilities among States, while not irrelevant, is not the only determinant of international outcomes. In addition to power, regimes matter. Check your progress 1. Discuss the meaning and definition of Regime Theory. 2. What are the types of Regime Theory. 3. Write a note on Regime Theory and the State. 3.3.2 Evolution of Regime Theory International institutions have been studied extensively since their proliferation, especially following World War II. In the post-war world, the studies focused first on formal international organizations. By the 1970s international relations scholars turned their attention to international regimes more generally. This shift in the research agenda

95 | P a g e represented an attempt to analyse international co-operation and governance more broadly. In the 1980s, the work of Robert Keohane and his neoliberal, functional explanations for the creation and maintenance of regimes provided lasting contributions to the debate on international regimes. Regime theory emerged as a challenge to the realist school of international relations. Following two world wars, States' inability to limit war in their international relations had become obvious, heightening the need for increased international co-operation. Regime theorists viewed the realists' focus on State power and interest as too narrow, emphasizing common interests shared by all States and their growing interdependence among one another. The mainstream regime theory is firmly rooted in the rationalist tradition. Thus, throughout its evolution, economic theories focusing on the role of information and transaction costs have influenced the work of regime theorists. Regime theory also draws on various game- theoretic models developed in economics to illustrate different strategic situations and to predict and explain the likelihood of international co-operation. Stop to Consider Difference between regime theory & Realist Theory Regime theory shares many of the analytical assumptions of realism, which also builds on the presumption that States are rational, unitary actors that act in pursuit of maximizing their individual national interests. Both theories hence reflect a commitment to a rationalist research agenda. Realists are, however, considerably more pessimistic about the prospects of international co-operation among egoistic States that operate in an anarchic system. Realists believe that international outcomes reflect the distribution of power among States. Unlike regime theorists, who believe that States engage in international co-operation largely in pursuit of absolute gains, realists have stressed that States are most concerned with relative gains. In other words, while regime theory claims that States care only about their own gains and losses from international co-operation, realists argue that States' willingness to co- operate depends on whether they achieve more gains relative to other States by co- operating. Regimes: Dimensions of variance and change Regimes may change over time in at least four ways: strength, organizational form, scope, and allocation mode. a. Strength The majority of "regime change" studies try to explain why regimes eventually weaken or decay." Strength is measured by the degree of compliance with regime injunctions, particularly in

96 | P a g e instances where short term or "myopic" self-interests collide with regime rules. b. Organizational form In its quest to move beyond the study of concrete international organizations, recent regimes literature has largely ignored problems of organizational design and operation. Some issues are conducive to decentralized regulation: regime injunctions may only call on states to share information, or to refrain from certain actions, such as polluting, over-fishing, nuclear testing, or raising tariffs. c. Scope Scope refers to the range of issues the regime covers. Though changes in regime scope have attracted little theoretical attention, its neglect can cause misleading characterizations. The failure to comply with certain GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) provisions signaled a weakening of the trade regime in the 1970s. d. Allocational mode Regimes can endorse different social mechanisms for resource allocation. A market-oriented regime supports the private allocation of resources, discourages national controls, guarantees property rights, and facilitates private contracting. As Oran Young states, "free enterprise systems are not institutional arrangements operating outside or in the absence of any regime. Such systems clearly require explicit structures of property or use rights." Apart from these in terms of basic theoretical orientations to the concept of international regimes, Krasner has identified three positions. 1. Structuralism: argues that regimes are epiphenomena, manifestations of the distribution of power, rather than having a significant independent existence or effect. In such a formulation, regimes are variables dependent on power. This position is readily identifiable as realist. 2. Grotianism: the opposing position, one that argues the significant existence and effects of regimes: that regimes are independent variables in their own right, permeating international life. The very concept of regimes, as Krasner notes, tends to favour this position, since it argues their importance for study as causal factors, whereas the structuralist position would see them primarily as outcomes, and perhaps only as incidental outcomes at that. 3. Modified structuralism: the classic, uneasy middle ground. This position incorporates elements of realism, including a focus on states

97 | P a g e and a concern for state power, while arguing that regimes do have effects on international behaviour that make them worth studying. (https://www.google.co.in/url?
sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjEypS258L2A
hWUjYKHfiLB0k4FBAWegQIAxAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fprism.ucalgary.ca%2Fbitstream%2Fhandl
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z2nVlwf4BYD) Critical Appreciation At the time of globalization and transnationalization, we have seen changes in the organization of economic activity, particularly the of productive processes and the growing power, mobility and political influence of financial capital pave the way for a new patterns of political-economic relations are emerging both within and across national borders. In such situation, where structural changes in the international economy open up new opportunities for domestically- based actors to access global markets, it is the time to recognize that even countries with little historical enthusiasm for neoliberalism, like Japan or Korea, were experiencing significant transformations of domestic relations and a diminution of state capacities even before the crisis (Leyshon 1994, Woo-Cumings 1997). It has been observed that, over the past 10 years, regime theory has become the dominant paradigm for studying urban politics in liberal democracies. Yet there is disagreement about how far it can help us to understand urban political processes. Regime theory is best understood as a theory of structuring with limits in its analysis of the market economy. These limits undermine its ability to explain the importance of political agency—the scope of individual or collective choice in political decisions and the impact of those choices in the evolution of US cities. It is also noticed that there are important normative dimensions to regime theory, most fully articulated in Elkin's commercial republic, which academic commentaries have not acknowledged. However, the empirical analysis developed in regime theory contradicts its normative objectives. The absence of a conceptualization of market dynamics, in the light of pessimism about the prospects for equitable regime governance, not only limits it as a theory of structuring but it also renders it unable to explain how the commercial republic can be realized. Regime theory is, therefore, unconvincing for two reasons. It cannot explain how much local politics matter, and it fails to demonstrate that its normative goal—more equitable regime governance—can be achieved, given the realities of the US market economy. Regime theory needs a more developed understanding of structuring. It may be fruitful, therefore, for regime theorists to re- engage critically with variants of Marxism, which unlike Structuralism, recognize the possibility of agency.

98 | P a g e We have found some central problems currently facing by regime theory and to a direction for a response. On the one hand, regime theory could challenge structural realism, which seems to offer little grasp on social or community phenomena because of its fixation on power and on a theory that is hamstrung by an unreasonable parsimony. The international world, it seems, may not be, or at least may not necessarily be, a Hobbesian state of nature; indeed, the whole "state of nature/state of war" formulation may be not only highly conditional but also seriously misleading. Simplistic realism and structural realism is simplistic simply will not do. Thus, and conversely, too ready and uncritical an adoption of realist devices and reasoning, in an attempt to protect the concept of regimes from realist attacks, could be harmful. On the other hand, the defects of a liberal analysis, as well as of an analysis assuming that American concerns, attitudes, and perceptions are synonymous with those of everyone else (or, at least, of all right-thinking actors), are also clear, however attractive such analyses may become when writers turn from theory to prescription. One fundamental problem of regime theory, then, is that it has been placed in a continuum between a simplistic realism and an apologetic and hopeful liberalism. However, Regime theory gives us a chance to build on the insights of realism while escaping the restrictions of its structuralist formulation. It gives us a chance to move beyond the old liberal-realist debate, to draw on philosophical, sociological, and other sources of insights that could liberate us from this debate, and thus possibly to grapple more successfully with a world that fits neither a narrow realist nor a liberal perspective. 3.4 Summing Up From the above discussions we come to conclude that, Regime theory focuses on descriptive questions instead of a normative analysis. The theory seeks to explain and predict State behaviour and international outcomes, leaving aside questions such as what is a legally justifiable way for States to act. It adopts an external as opposed to an internal perspective on law, and its ability to answer normative questions about the content and validity of international law is therefore limited. Regime theory cannot replace a legal analysis of the international system but its explanatory powers can be harnessed to generate both theoretical and practical insights that can lead to a richer and more comprehensive understanding of the role international law plays in international relations.

99 | P a g e 3.5 References and Suggested Readings RMA Crawford Regime Theory in the Post-Cold War World: Rethinking Neoliberal Approaches to International Relations (Dartmouth Aldershot 1996). A Hasenclever, P Mayer, and V Rittberger Theories of International Regimes (CUP Cambridge 1997). AP Rubin Ethics and Authority in International Law (CUP Cambridge 1997). A

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P a g e Unit 4: The English School Unit Structure : 4.1 Introduction 4.2 Objectives 4.3 The English School 4.3.1 The basics of

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the English school 4.3.2 Order and Justice in International Relations 4.4 The English school

and the European Union 4.5 Critical appreciation of English School 4.6 Debates within the English school 4.7 Summing Up 4.8 References and Suggested Readings 4.1 Introduction The thinking of the English school is often viewed as a middle ground between liberal and realist theories. Its theory involves the idea of a society of states existing at the international level. Hedley Bull, one of the core figures of the English school, agreed with traditional theories that the international system was anarchic. However, he insisted this does not mean the absence of norms (expected behaviours), thus claiming a societal aspect to international politics. In this sense, states form an 'Anarchical Society' (Bull 1977) where a type of order does exist, based on shared norms and behaviours. The English school provides the basis for the study of international and world history in terms of the social structures of international orders. Unlike many theories that claim a certain sector of the subject of International Relations, the English school provides a holistic approach to the subject, attempting to see the world as a whole. English school theory is built around establishing distinctions between three key concepts: international system, international society and world society. By doing so it opens up a new space in IR theory and offers a middle ground between the opposing theories of realism and liberalism.

101 | P a g e 4.2

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Objectives After going through this unit you will be able to • explain the

thinking of English School in International Relation 4.3

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The English School The English school is a term that became popular in the 1970s, to describe a group of predominantly British or British-inspired writers for whom International Society is the primary bases of analysis (Jorres, 1971; Linklater and Suganami, 2006). Its most influential members include; Hedley Bull, Martin Wight, John Vincent and Adam Watson.

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The English School remains one of the most important approaches to International politics.

The international society approach to IR theory, often referred to as the "English school" or the Grotian School exists outside the mainstream social science debates that dominate US international studies. Its own rich history characterises its attempts to avoid the polarisation seen in the debates between realists and liberals and by its commitment to the study of what Hedley Bull, one of the school's chief contributors calls "the anarchical society." The Main argument

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of the English School is that sovereign states form a society, even though an anarchic one in that they do not have to submit to the will of a higher power. The fact that states have succeeded in creating a society of sovereign equals is for the English School one of the most interesting dimensions of International Relations. There is they argue, a surprisingly low level of violence between states given that their condition is one of anarchy (in the sense of the absence of a higher political authority).

The English School, however do not ignore

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the phenomenon of violence in relations between states. Its members regard violence as

part and parcel of the internationals system. They also stressed that violence is controlled to a reasonable level by International Law and morality.

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Members of the English school maintain that the International political system is mute civil and orderly than realists and neo-realists suggest. 102 |

P a g e In other words we can describe English School of thought as that approach which recognises that anarchy is a structural feature of international relations and that sovereign states form a society that uses conceptions of order and justice in its rhetoric and its calculations. Therefore, the approach looks at balance of power and international law, great power politics and the spread of cosmopolitan values. The great strength of the approach is its refusal to engage with the positivist methodological turn in IR. Self Asking Questions What is your opinion on the thoughts of English School. (50 words) .... 4.3.1 The basics of the English school The English school is built around three key concepts: international system, international society and world society. Hedley Bull (1977, 9– 10) defined the

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international system as being formed 'when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts of a whole.'

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formed 'when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to

According to this definition, the international system is mainly about power politics among states whose actions are conditioned by the structure of international anarchy. An international society exists when a group of like-minded states '

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conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

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conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

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conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

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conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

In other words, international society is about the creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions. Finally, world society is more fundamental than international society because 'the ultimate units of the great society of all mankind are not states … but individual human beings' (Bull 1977, 21). Thus, world society transcends the state system and takes individ-uals, non-state actors and ultimately the global population as the focus of global societal identities and arrangements. It is important to note here that in the English school the term 'institution' is different to the term 'organisation'.

103 | P a g e According to English school thought, 'institutions' refer to long-term practices among states (such as diplomacy, law and war) rather than to international bureaucratic structures (organisations) that may be established to facilitate state interaction. To refer to international organisations, the English school uses the term 'pseudo-institutions' or 'secondary institutions' to show that the effectiveness of international organisations depends on the function of an international society's primary institutions. According to English School, there are three distinct spheres at play in international politics, and these three elements always operate simultaneously. They are, first, the international system; second, international society; and third, world society. Barry Buzan provides an explanation of each sphere: 1. International System (Hobbes/Machiavelli): is about power politics amongst states, and Realism puts the structure and process of international anarchy at the centre of IR theory. This position is broadly parallel to mainstream realism and structural realism and is thus well developed and clearly understood. 2. International Society (Grotius): is about

Rationalism puts the creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions at the centre of IR theory. This position has some parallels to regime theory, but is much deeper, having constitutive rather than merely instrumental implications. International society has been the main focus of English School thinking, and the concept is quite well developed and relatively clear. 3. World Society (Kant): takes

as the focus of global societal identities and arrangements, and Revolutionism puts transcendence of the state system at the centre of IR theory. Revolutionism is mostly about forms of universalist cosmopolitanism. Stop to Consider International Relations and International Society The present nation-state system emerged in 1648 when European diplomats and princes congregated in Westphalia to sign a peace treaty that ended the 30 Years War. This vital feature of our political landscape continues to shape the internal system 365 years after. Before this time, the groups and individuals in Western Europe existed with loyalty to a few feudal Lords or central monarch and not to the state. The modern European states system has been hugely successful

104 | P a g e and influential. What started as a political settlement to a European problem eventually spread across the globe. Thereafter, the Westphalian system became the universal system of international politics. Until date, this trend still underpins contemporary international relations. Functioning international system requires a high degree of interaction, and it is most effective when safeguarded by a supporting community structure. The international society provides the platform for interaction between states that remain the principal actor in international relations.

behaviour. 4.3.2

Order and Justice in International Relations The English school is interested in the process which Transforms systems of states into societies of state nod the norms and institutions which prevent the collapse of law and

order. There are various theories on how to ensure order and justice in International Relations one of the theories' is the Solidarist International Society theory as espoused by Nicolas Wheeler (2000) in his classic work Saving Strangers o explain intervention in states bedeviled with crises. The Solidarist theory of International Society falls within the English School of thought. Interestingly, he English School offers the concept of international society as an alternative to both the realist concentration of power as- the defining force in international relations and the utopian demand to revolutionize the state-based international system. According to English School theorists, the structure of international society is shaped by recurrent patterns of state interactions that are embodied in rules and often expressed as common interest and common values. (Bull, 1966). Disagreement about the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention reflect two different conceptions of international society that were first indentified by Hedley Bull; pluralism and solidarism. Both conceptions agree that the state system is actually a society of states, which includes commonly agreed values, rules and institutions. There is disagreement, however about the normative content of this

society. A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

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common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

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common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

Pluralists insist that international society is founded on acceptance of a plurality of actors and the existence of a constitution as the best guarantor of the protection of the actors (Rengger, 2000:105). International Society permits, the diffusion of power to peoples via the plurality of states allowing each nation and state to develop its way of life. The normative content of such an international society is limited to a mutual interest in the continued existence of the society. Thus, pluralist international society rests on mutual recognition of state sovereignty and the norm of non-intervention. For pluralists, states are unable to agree about substantive issue such as human rights but do recognized that they are bound by the rules of sovereignty of non- intervention (Dunne, 1998:106; Linklater, 2000:20). A key debate within the English school revolves around pluralism and solidarism. Pluralism refers to international societies with a relatively low degree of shared norms, rules and institutions. Solidarism refers to types of international society with a relatively high degree of shared norms, rules and institutions. The pluralist/solidarist debate is basically about how international society relates to world society or, in other words, to people. The main question has been how to reduce the tension between the needs and imperatives of states and the needs and imperatives of humankind. These are regularly in conflict both in real world situations and in the theory. Most English school scholars operate within this debate, taking the tension between the imperatives of order and justice as the core problem to be addressed. Stop to Consider Solidarism Solidarism agrees with realism that state have a responsibility to protect the security and well being of their citizens, but it parts company with it on the question of whether this obligation _ obligation to non-citizens. The debate within Solidarist international society theory is over the character of these obligations. Solidarism argues that states committed to these principles of good international citizenship are not required to sacrifice vital interest in defence of human rights but they are required to forsake narrow commercial and political advantage when this conflict with human rights. The hard question is whether solidarism requires state leader to risk and lose soldiers' lives to save non-citizens, Solidarist battle cry that leaders are burdened Me defence of human rights begs the question to hw this balances against their responsibility protect the lives of citizens (Jackson, 100). 4.4 The English school and the European Union Following the end of the Second World War in 1945, six European states formed a regional international system in the sense that they had

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sufficient contact between them, and had sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts of a whole' (

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contact between them, and had sufficient impact on one another's decisions to

Bull 1977, 9–10). Applying Bull's definition of international society, relatively soon an international society was formed

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in the sense that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

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in the sense that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

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in the sense that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

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in the sense that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

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that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

In other words, these European states that today are associated with the European Union (EU) created a set of rules and institutions to govern and manage their affairs. As time progressed, the integration process gained strength, breadth and depth, resulting in the creation of supranational institutions (legal powers existing beyond the state), law and policies. This, in turn, led, among other things, to the creation of an EU world society that underpins the EU international society. At the same time, EU law and policies seek to regulate the relations between the Union and, on the one hand, its member states and, on the other, its people. In this way, the tension between the needs and imperatives of states and the needs and imperatives of people, as well as the tension between the imperatives of order and justice, which constitute the core of the pluralist/solidarist debate, are addressed. The process of the EU enlargement as it went from six members in 1951 to 28 in 2013 is not very different from the process of the historical expansion of European international society. As in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, EU member states had to define the conditions under which they would admit candidate states. As a result, European states that aspire to EU membership need to meet specific political and economic criteria. Like the historical standard of 'civilisation', the EU's membership conditions are an expression of the assumptions used to distinguish those that belong to the expanding Union from those that do not. Those that fulfil the political and economic conditions set by the EU states will be brought inside while those that do not conform will be left outside. Like the non-European states before, EU candidate states had to learn to adjust themselves to new realities, sometimes at significant cost to their own societies. Self Asking Questions Relate thought of English School with the formation of European Union. (100 words) ....
....

.... 4.5 Critical appreciation of English School As we have learnt that, The English school approach recognises that anarchy is a structural feature of international relations and that sovereign states form a society that uses conceptions of order and justice in its rhetoric and its calculations. Therefore, the approach looks at balance of power and international law, great power politics and the spread of cosmopolitan values. The great strength of the approach is its refusal to engage with the positivist methodological turn in IR. But, the English School has been criticized for taking the nexus of morality and politics as an unexamined assumption. I without analyzing centrally important issues; exploring the origin and exact nature of this nexus determining who benefits from moral discourse in the political sphere, when, and why; and addressing 1'ssible critiques of the view that morality substantively informs the structure of international society (Berta Esperanza, 2002). More so, the English School has been criticized reifying existing international norms, values a institution in a way that obscures their social and. politically contested nature, and which there for obscures the significant role of social movement the reproduction of world politics (Alejandro Colas. 2001). International nongovernmental organizations are also largely overlooked in English School ana1ysis. as is their role in the construction of the structure and norms of international society (Boli and Thom 1999). However, it is often said that, the English school provides the basis for the study of international and world history in terms of the social structures of international orders. Unlike many theories that claim a certain sector of the subject of International Relations, the English school provides a holistic approach to the subject, attempting to see the world as a whole. English school theory is built around establishing distinctions between three key concepts: international system, international society and world society. By doing so it opens up a new space in IR theory and offers a middle ground between the opposing theories of realism and liberalism.

108 | P a g e Stop to Consider Standard of Civilisation The standard of civilisation included such elements as the guarantee of basic human rights and the maintenance of a domestic legal system guaranteeing justice for all. Thus, by definition, countries unwilling or unable to guarantee such rights could not be considered 'civilised'. Consequently, non-European candidate states were judged not only by how they conducted their foreign relations but also by how they governed themselves. The process also led to the creation of hierarchical relations between two new categories of states: the 'civilisers' and the 'civilisees'. Or to put it another way, the 'teachers' and the 'pupils'. 4.6 Debates within the English school Two important debates have taken place within the English school. First, whether the distinction between an international system and an international society is valid and, if yes, then where does the boundary line between the two forms of international order lie. The second turns on pluralist versus solidarist understandings and the relationship between international society and world society. The first debate has resulted in the acceptance of the premise that an international system constitutes a weak/thin form of an international society. Although the pluralist/solidarist debate is still ongoing, one should recognise that certain changes in international society (e.g. a shift from a world of perpetual war pre-1945 to a world of relative peace post 1945) are accompanied by some other important developments in world society. For example, there has been a growing demand for human rights as people increasingly understand that they are embedded in a single global economy and a single global environment. At the same time, technology and social media enable widely shared experiences. These developments have led to an increased interplay between international society and world society that has the potential of stabilising international society by embedding ideas not just in the minds of political and economic elites but also in the minds of ordinary citizens. Check Your Progress 1. Critically examine the notion of English School. 2. What are the basic principles of English School. 3. Write a note on the importance of Order and Justice in the study of English School.

109 | P a g e 4.7 Summing Up After going through this unit we come to know that, most of the theories which examine the global arena focusing on either one, or a small number of, issues or units of analysis to make their case about the nature or character of the International politics. While some theorists may desire alterations or a decline in the power of the state, states have not declined so far as to be removed from their place as the central actors in international relations. In this context, the English School, provides us a three-fold method for understanding how the world operates. In its original articulations, the English School was designed to incorporate the two major theories which were trying to explain international outcomes, namely realism and liberalism. In order to come to a better, more complete, understanding of IR, English School theorists sought to answer an essential question: "How is one to incorporate the co-operative aspect of international relations

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into the realist conception of the conflictual nature of the international system." As from the above discussions it is cleared that, in English School there are three distinct spheres at play in international politics,

and these three elements are always operating simultaneously. They are first, the international system; second, international society; and third, world society. However, the world society element of English School theory is able to allow for a wide array of theorists to discuss various critical elements and their effects on the society of states. Whether these come in the form of emancipation theory, globalisation theory, neo- or postcolonial theory or even postmodern thinking, the critical thinkers who choose to adopt an English School method are forced to ground their work in some understanding of the state or international society. Making sure that any contemporary efforts to examine the international arena can maintain traditional elements is an essential component of modern IR. 4.8 References and Suggested Readings

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111 111 | P a g e Unit 5: Marxism and dependency theory Unit Structure : 5.1 Introduction 5.2 Objectives 5.3 Marxism in International Relations 5.4 Different types of Dependency Theory 5.4.1 Moderate 5.4.2 Radical 5.4.3 World System Theory 5.5 Other Marxist theories of International Relations and Dependency Theory 5.5.1 Gramscianism 5.5.2 Robert Cox on 'world order' 5.6 Major Concepts in Dependency Theory 5.6.1 It is a Historical Process 5.6.2 Divided into Core, Periphery, and Semi-Periphery 5.6.3 Dependency as Criticism to Liberal Theories 5.6.4 Criticism to Modernization Theory 5.6.5 Globalization Promoting Dependency 5.7 Criticism of Marxist and Dependency theory 5.8 Summing up 5.9 References/ Suggested Readings 5.1 Introduction Dependency theory is an approach to understand economic underdevelopment which is caused by restrictions imposed by the global political and economic order. It tries to bring out the real picture of economic interdependence and resource flow from a "periphery" or a poor states to a "core" or rich states, exploiting the resources of underdeveloped countries. Dependency theory emerged in Latin America during 1950s to criticize the liberal understanding of economic and political development. Dependency is a condition when a country is dependent on another country for development and expansion of its economy. Therefore, dependency theory tries to understand and explore the reasons for economic backwardness and underdevelopment of countries mostly in global south, how it is

112 112 | P a g e different from global north and how the system of dependency can be resolved. When we talk about dependency theory, writings of two scholars are very relevant. First, it is Immanuel Wallerstein and second, Andre Gunder Frank who put forwarded the idea of World System Theory or Dependency Theory. Along with that there are other scholars which contributed to the ideas of dependency theory. Therefore, we can state that dependency is a view of the relationship between developed and underdeveloped countries which has its origin from Lenin's theory of imperialism and emphasize on penetration of the capitalist states to the Third World countries, especially to the Latin America. In this unit we are going to discuss the theory in detail. 5.2 Objectives The Marxian approach/Dependency theory is very relevant in understanding international relations. Different theories of Marxism played an important role to understand the gap between the rich and poor nations which is influenced by the global market structure. This unit is an attempt to bring out relevance of Marxism in international relations and how a system of dominance of the rich to the poor continues. After reading this unit you will be able to: • Explain Marxist theories of international relations • Discuss dependency theory • Explain the process of world-system • Examine and compare different perspectives of Marxism • Relate exploitation to contemporary times SAQ Give a brief introduction of dependency theory. (100 words)

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113 113 | P a g e 5.3 Marxism in International Relations The Marxist approach to study international relations is distinct compared to other approaches to study international relations. If is different because it argued for the change that need to bring in the international system. According to Marxist, the definition given by other theories to international relations such as war, treaties, economic cooperation take place in a structure which always influence the event in international system. The structure which is focused by Marxist is the global capitalist system which favours the rich countries and discriminate the poor nations. The core idea of Marxist theory is the process of exploitation by the rich counties to the poor countries. Marxism has its root in the 19 th century after the name of economist Karl Marx. Marx and Engels published their famous book The communist Manifesto (1848) which is a critique of Europe's capitalist economic and political system. The period when this theory emerged was a transition period from traditional feudal system to industrialized society where landless people had to migrate to cities in search of jobs in factories. However, the capitalist class exploited the poor section and suppressed any uprisings from the working class. The idea of Marxism is bit similar to realism in terms of power struggle to dominate others. But, Marxism does not believe that states as unit of analysis, rather than that gave priority to the socio economic classes. Marxists also supported the idea of neo-liberalism which argues that non-state actors are also influential actor in international relations. It also believed the idea of interdependence among the nations but critical about who benefits out of this. According to Marxists, the international bourgeoisies and rich countries takes benefit and exploits the poor nations. There are some core elements of Marxist approach to international relations which will help you to understand Marxism in international relations. Core elements of Marxist Approach to international relations 1. The political structure cannot give total understanding of the world system. Along with political, social world must be understood and analyzed in totality along with the political understanding. 2. Another element of the Marxist approach is the materialist conception of history. It tries to understand the process of economic development of a society from historical point of view, i.e., how the means of production changes according to

114 114 | P a g e time. The central idea is to understand the tension between the means of production (land, labor and capital) and relations of production (the way the means of production are arranged in any given society) which formed the economic base of a given society. 3. Marxist understanding gave importance to class structure to analyze the society and international structure. According to Marxist approach, society is prone to class conflict and similarly in international relations as well, conflict is inevitable. 4. Marxistsare critique of the capitalist structure and argued that capitalism is a mechanism to exploit the poor (whether it is individuals or states). 5. Marxist believes that capitalism will be withered away and one day it will be replaced by socialism. 6. The whole world can be analyzed by inequalities prevails in terms of rich and the poor countries. Marxists believed that rich countries exploit the poor countries, controlling the means of production. 7. Marxism in international relations aims to analyze the how capitalism works in the world. They argue that structure of capitalism works under a hidden strategy and Marxists have explored the hidden structure. Marx provided very little understanding on international relations. But,Marxist scholars interpreted his ideas of class structure and exploitations to understand the structure of international relations. The different understanding which emerged post-Marx is the results of Marx's writing in different times. Stop to Consider: Marxism: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels formulated the original ideas, concepts and theories which later known as the Marxism, but Marx and Engels termed their theory as 'scientific socialism'. Marx and Engels analyzed the historical forces and development taken in different stages. They believe that the structure of capitalism will

115 115 | P a g e collapse as a result of revolutions of the working class and will bring about a socialist transformation and eventually full communism. They used 'material' factor to define the social and economic relations and also the state and the distribution of political power. Marx and Engels believed that society is divided into mainly two classes which are proletariat (working class) and bourgeoisie (capitalist). The economic relations between these classes are that bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat by taking control on means of production. 5.4 Different types of Dependency Theory Dependency theory is notsingle theory which explains the economic dependence, but it is a set of theories or approaches to understand continued economic dependency and underdevelopment especially in the global south. Theorists who favour the dependency structure are divided into different schools including moderate which is represented by Raul Prebisch, radical school by Andre Gunder Frank and World System theory by Immanuel Wallerstein. 5.4.1 Moderate School of thought The works of Raul Prebisch (1901-1986) are very relevant in formulating the dependency theory. He was and Argentine economist and served at different posts such as professor of economics, Director- General of the Argentine Central bank, headed the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). His study The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principle Problems (1950) focused on the economic backwardness of Latin American countries and a contributing study towards dependency theory. Predisch argued that the adverse conditions of trade with the developed countries have contributed in economic exploitation and underdevelopment of the Latin American countries. The developed nations exploited the Latin American countries by low export prices of primary commodities and high import prices of the finished products. The underdeveloped countries including Latin America is a great source for primary/raw materials which are exported to the industrially advance countries. However, the finished products produced in the

116 116 | P a g e advance countries have to be imported to the underdeveloped nations by a huge margin of price. The differences between the price of export and import are very high which adversely affect the economy the underdeveloped nations. Thus, from the study of export and import process and its impact in the economy of Latin America laid foundations for the dependency theory. He criticized the liberal economic structure and the theory of comparative advantage of developing countries. The liberal theorists tries to argue that by means of free market the underdeveloped countries are benefitting, however Predisch argue that free market structure is the main cause of underdevelopment. The developed nations are getting richer and underdeveloped nations are getting poorer. Therefore, to overcome such situations he urged for state intervention, land reforms, economic integration and to reduce import by promoting domestic industrialization. 5.4.2 Radical School of thought Radical dependency theory is the outcome of Marxism and Lenin's view of imperialism. Andre Gunder Frank, James Cockcroft, and Dale Johnson are the prominent scholars of radical school of thought of dependency theory. The main idea of this school is that the force behind any dependency is the structure of capitalism. The developed countries treat the developing countries as the market for their finished products and also consider it as place for investment. In the process the developing nations borrow capital from the developed nations and as a result the process of loan repayment deteriorates the economic conditions of the developing countries. Moreover, the developing countries experienced colonialism, exploitation from their colonial masters and had to be dependent on colonial powers which forced them into peripheral region. As a result, because of economic instability the countries in periphery have to depend on the core of developed countries for capital, technology and find products. The peripheral regions supply the primary goods and cheap labour to the core countries. The process of development and underdevelopment of the peripheral regions fully depends on the core/developed countries. In this situation, the developing countries are fully dependent on the wish and whims of the core. Here, periphery states do not have any control on their economy, and therefore, they always try to satisfy the core states. The radicals believed that the division and

117 117 | P a g e differentiation of core and periphery is because of exploitations during the days of colonialism which created an unequal economy between core and periphery. Therefore, Frank argued that socialist revolution is the only solution to come out of exploitation and dependency towards the core states. 5.4.3 World System Theory The world-system theory emerged when Marx's ideas were first implemented to understand international relations. Many scholars including Hobson, Bukharin, Hilferding, Luxemburg and Lenin criticized the policies of imperialism which ultimately gave rise to idea of world system theory. Lenin accepted Marx's ideas that class conflict is inevitable. But in the modern world the structure of capitalism is different which is a new monopoly capitalism with two- tier structure had developed in the world economy with strong core exploiting the less-developed periphery. Lenin's views were also supported by the Latin American Dependency School which focuses on core and periphery in depth. As we have already discussed that Raul Prebisch argued that periphery was suffering from the process of exploitation of the core by means of trade. The prices of manufactured goods are higher compared to raw materials for which periphery are becoming poorer relative to the core. This idea was also supported by different scholars such as Andre Gunder Frank and Henrique Fernando Cardoso. From this understanding the world-system theory can be said to be emerged. The most knownscholar which contributed to the idea of world-system theory is Immanuel Wallerstein. Wallerstein termed the social organizations that dominate the structure and running of the world is as 'world-system'. He gave two perspectives of world-system: world-empires and world-economies. The main difference between these two ideas is that how distribution of resource is done and who gets what. The world-empire is a central political system which decides the procedure to redistribution of resources from peripheral to core areas. On the other hand, world-economy is not a central authority to decide, but shows multiple competing centers of power which is based on the market. However, if we compare the two processes we could witness that they are same as resources are transferred from periphery to the core. Wallerstein argued that modern world-system is an example of a world-economy. Wallerstein introduced the 'semi-periphery' as another category between the 'core' and 'periphery'. So, accding to the world-system theory wealth or resources are transferred from

118 118 | P a g e periphery to semi-periphery and then to centre in an exploitative nature. The semi-peripheral states are the developing economies of the world such as India, China, South Africa, and Brazil which are featured by modern industries and large peasantry. The world system theory scholars believe that world is divided on the basis of a principle of division of labor. On that basis Marxists tries to understand the world dividing into (i) core countries, (ii) semi-core countries, (iii) periphery or peripheral countries and (iv) semi-periphery countries. According to their understanding, the core and the semi-core countries possess the skilled labor and infrastructure for production process and on the other hand periphery and semi-periphery countries with low skilled labor which concentrate on extraction of raw materials. On the basis of the division of labor and production of countries, the resources go from periphery to semi-periphery then to core. The established structure of coercion and exploitation cannot be changed which the Marxist termed as 'World System Theory'. However, the theory also believes that capitalist global economy will be replaced by socialism due to contradiction within the capitalist structure. Stop to Consider: Indicators of world inequality • World's one-fifth population is living under poverty. • Average income of the developed countries is more than 30 times than the poor countries. • Tariff on manufactured goods on the developing countries are higher than the manufactured goods of developed countries. • Women and children are the most vulnerable in scale of inequality. • Children of African countries are mostly illiterate. • Education, health, and basic facilities of the poor countries are vulnerable because of low investment and welfare fund. • One billion people lack access to clean water. • The developing countries are still under debt to be repaid.

119 119 | P a g e 5.5 Other Marxist theories of International Relations and Dependency Theory 5.5.1 Gramscianism Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), was one of the founders of Italian Communist Party, said to be most creative Marxist thinker of the twentieth century has contributed his ideas by his remarkable Prison Notebooks which is a combinations of long essays written when he was in captivity. His writing focuses on political ideas, economics, philosophy, history, and literacy criticism. The question he dealt with was why it is difficult to promote revolution in Western Europe and he answered the question by introducing the idea of hegemony. Hegemony depicts the most powerful state in the international system where the system or the economy is controlled by the hegemonic country. For example, at contemporary time we can state that USA is the hegemony. Gramsci's concepts were based on his own reflections of history and from his personal experience of political and social struggle. According to him the state is the basic entity in international relations and the place where social conflicts take place and where hegemonies of social classes are built. Hegemony at the international level is not merely an order among states. It is an order within a world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of production.It is also a complex of international social relationships which connect the social classes of the different countries. World hegemony is describable as a social structure, an economic structure, and a political structure; and it cannot be simply one of these things but must be all three.World hegemony, furthermore, is expressed in universal norms, institutions and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries- rules which support the dominant mode of production. 5.5.2 Robert Cox on 'world order' Robert Cox developed a Gramscian approach that combines both a critique of prevailing theories of international relations and international political economy and the development of an alternative understanding of world politics. He argued with him famous sentence,

120 120 | P a g e 'Theory is always for someone and for some purpose'. The theories such as realism and the contemporary neo-realism are to serve the interests of those who can prosper under such order that may be inhabitants of developed nations or may be for ruling elites. The main motive of such theory is to dominate the inferior or the poor nations to establish a proper hegemony. Cox draws Gramsci's notion of hegemony and implemented it into the international relations. According to Cox, successive dominant powers in the international system have shaped a world order that suits their interests, and have done this not out of their capabilities, but also as they have managed to get consent of exploitation from the disadvantaged group of states. Cox argued that the idea of 'free trade' is so widely popularized that all the nations will prosper under such conditions. However, the reality is that free trade is only for the benefit of hegemonic state and benefits for peripheral states are negligible. This is a way to exploit the world by the liberal capitalist states and to form their hegemony. Check Your Progress 1. Define Marxism. 2. How would you account for the continuing vitality of Marxist thought? 3. Explain the dependency theory. 4. How useful is the Wallerstein's understanding on semi- periphery? 5. How do you relate Gramsci's notion of hegemony to the contemporary international politics? 6. What is Robert Cox's understanding on world order? 5.6 Major Concepts in Dependency Theory 5.6.1 It is a Historical Process Dependency is not newly emerged process, but it is the result of continuous historical process. Through the process of colonialism and rule, the colonial capitalist structure moved the socio-economic environment of the colonized countries in such a way that after independence as well these countries have to be dependent on capitalist rulers and work on wish and whims on the requirement of the capitalism. As a result, the colonies and underdeveloped regions

121 121 | P a g e supplied the primary goods/raw materials to the capitalist masters and import the finished products which were produced by the capitalist economies. The trend of export and import continued after the end of colonialist structure as well. Dependency theorists argue that the trend cannot be changed until and unless the economic difference exists between the developed and underdeveloped countries. The countries which were under colonialism and at present developing or underdeveloped falls under the category of periphery and the core structure is retained by Europe earlier which has transferred to USA later on because of economic development. Though the theory of dependency existed in the 20 th century, but the process of dependency is a historical origin. 5.6.2 Divided into Core, Periphery, and Semi-Periphery Dependency theorists divided the world-economy in two categories, the core and the periphery. The core countries are the developed economies in the global north (e.g. Europe, USA, and Japan) which are technologically advanced and industrially developed, powerful governments, a strong middle class and large working class. Core countries are also characterized by their democratic governments, high wages of labourers, import raw materials, export manufactures, high investment and their welfare services. The core is also known as metropolitan or centres to denote the industrially developed countries of the world. On the other hand periphery is the countries which are developing or the least developed countries which falls in the global south such as Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. These countries are mostly agrarian in nature with low middle class and large number of unskilled workers. It is also characterized by the non-democratic governments of the countries which export the raw materials and import manufacture goods, below subsistence wages and no welfare services. In addition to the core and periphery, Immanuel Wallerstein introduced a middle position which is known as semi-periphery because of stratified economic conditions of the world. The semi- periphery countries are the emerging economies such as India, China, South Africa, and Brazil which are characterized by growing industries, emerging cities and large agricultural development. Semi- periphery countries are said to be authoritarian governments which export 'mature' manufactures raw materials, import manufactures raw materials, provide low wages to workers, and low welfare services. The contribution of Wallerstein is a major development towards understanding of the world economic structure and process of dependency.

122 122 | P a g e 5.6.3 Dependency as Criticism to Liberal Theories Dependency theory emerged as the critique to the liberal thinkers in international relations. According to liberal thinkers of economic development, economic activities among the countries should be spontaneous and should be promoted by means of interdependence which should be free from any regulations. Liberal economist such as Adam Smith argued that economic activities should be left free to regulate with its own rule and to bring progress accordingly. In the similar line Jean-Baptiste Say also supported the free functioning of the capitalist structure of economy without much intervention of the government. Other scholars such as David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham emphasized on the free trade policies which will promote development of the economies of all the countries. One country can produce the commodities which will bring comparative advantage to their countries. By means of free market each nations will be interdependent and goods will be available at cheapest prices as possible. Bentham argued that this will maximize their pleasure and minimize their pain. Toward the end, it will bring greatest happiness of the greatest number. On the other hand, if we understand the new socio-political and economic system which emerged in Europe and colonies, are not free from problems. It created a problem of class division in the society and conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The condition is in favour to exploitation of the proletariat and it is degrading. However, the liberals argue that this will be resolved by the process of free market. The growing inequality between the classes gave rise to working class movements and formation of Marxism following the ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883). The ideas of liberals were not supported by the Marxist because of exploitative nature of the capitalist structure. They argue that, in the name of liberalism, the developed countries are exploiting the developing/underdeveloped countries and creating a condition of dependency. The idea of comparative advantage put forwarded by the liberals seems to be a myth rather than reality. Therefore, the dependency theory is said to be a theory of criticism toward liberal theories. 5.6.4 Criticism to Modernization Theory Modernization theory is an approach which insists that less developed countries can develop their economy by concentrating on economic

123 123 | P a g e growth, replacing traditional methods by modern technology and adopting socio-political and economic system like the developed countries. The theory try to argue that there should be mass industrialization, economic growth, and adopting liberal institutions. One of the famous scholars who put forwarded the modernization theory is Walt Whitman Rostow. According to Rostow, the process of economic development for the countries goes stage by stage. The first stage is the 'traditional' stage in which people do not think about improving their living standard. The second is 'take-off' state, when the states think about improvement. During third stage, countries improves their technology, get industrialized and at the last stage countries could be witnessed with highest economic growth, consumption and high living standard. The theory is severely criticized by dependency theory. Dependency theorists argue that modernization theory cannot be generalized as it has not understood the historical experiences of colonized countries which set conditions for restricting development. The modernization theory ignored the exploitation carried out by the colonizers and its relations to the development of the underdeveloped countries. Therefore, we can say that dependency theory also emerged as the criticism of modernization theory. 5.6.5 Globalization Promoting Dependency The dependency theorists hold that the process of globalization is also responsible for the process of dependency. According to them, the present phase of globalization is 'neoliberal globalization' which is dominated by the transnational corporations (TNCs). Few of the TNCs form hegemony in the process of import and export in the entire world. The production and distribution is done on the wish of such oligarchic market structure. Therefore, the periphery countries are dependable more on the core countries for capital and finished products. The institutional laws made by International Monetary Fund (IMF) make the periphery states to withdraw the welfare schemes and to adopt free market policies. Many empirical studies have been done to understand the relation between globalization and dependency and most of the studies argued that they have a great relation. The process of globalization has created conditions for more dependency among the core and periphery in terms of capital, investment, good production, and on import and export. The process of globalization will further deteriorate the conditions of the underdeveloped/developing countries enlarging the gap between the core and the peripheries.

124 124 | P a g e SAQ Make a comparative analysis of the Liberal, Modernist and Dependency theories. As per your view which one the best suited theory to understand contemporary international relations? (50+50 words)

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.... 5.7 Criticism of Marxist and Dependency theory The Marxist depicted a different perspective of international relations which shows exploitation of poor nations by the developed nations by means of capitalism and free market. The Marxist, especially the dependency theory emerged as the critique of liberal and modernization approach of development in the international relations. But, the idea/theory is not out of criticism. The liberals and modernization theorists targeted the dependency theory and criticised on many aspects. Here are some of the criticisms. 1. The Marxist theory emphasized on the class conflict which was also used to understand the behavior of the states in the international relations. However, the critics argue that Marxist depict a negative scenario to understand international relations rather than showing the positive aspect of international relations. 2. The liberals and modernists argued that the success of the Asian Tigers such as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong actually nullify the claims made by dependency theory. These countries are successful in achieving targets of industrialization and high economic growth. But, the dependency theory is unable to explain the process of development of these countries from their perspective. 3. The Marxist also put forwarded a framework to understand the unfairness of the world. It shows the division of the world into core and periphery where core exploits the peripheral nations by means of trade. Critics argued that rather than unifying the

125 125 | P a g e world the Marxist are trying to divide the world by bringing up the issues of inequality, economic dependency, exploitation and unfairness. 4. The dependency theory argues that core is not interested in development of the periphery countries. However, the liberal criticized this idea and argues that core always seek to develop the periphery to find new spaces for investment and new market. 5. Bill Warren, a British Marxist rejected Lenin's view and argued that capitalism was fulfilling its historic role in the periphery by rapidly developing the means of production and framing the phase for future socialism. According to him colonialism brought about a marked improvement in material welfare in the world politics. It put forwarded better health facilities, better education and access to consumer goods. After the colonialism, capitalism has developed in the third world countries and Neo-Marxist argued that it is a good sign as it is a way forward for socialism. Despite the criticism put forwarded by the critics, the understanding of dependency theory in the contemporary world politics cannot be denied as world is totally divided on the basis of wealth and power they posses. The Marxist brings forth the problem of dominance and hegemony of the powerful nations and reason behind why poor nations fail to progress economically and politically. Stop to Consider Development of Neo-Marxism The idea of Neo-Marxism is directly linked to the ideas of Karl Marx as Neo-Marxist derived their ideas directly from the writings of Marx. The Neo-Marxist returned to the fundamental tenets of Marxist thought and sought to implement in the international relations. On the basis of Marx's understanding they criticized other developments within Marxism and other theories of international relations to make their own understanding contribution to understand contemporary world politics.

126 126 | P a g e 5.8 Summing up Marxism and dependency theory has emerged as the critique of liberal and modernization theories of development. Liberal theorists hold that by means of dependency in economic sphere, the countries will get mutual benefit and ultimately will lead to process of all the nations. However, the dependency theory challenged the idea by arguing that the process of dependency has become a breeding ground for the process of exploitation of the poor nations by the rich. The relations between the core and periphery led to exploitations of natural resources of the periphery and selling the final products at high prices for which the economic conditions of peripheries are deteriorating. According to the dependency theory, emergence of such condition is because of capitalist structure and historical exploitation of colonies by their masters. Dependency also argues that after the formal end of colonialism, the former masters are retaining power on the periphery in economic activities and force them to be dependent on the core. While discussing the Marxist theory of international relation we have discussed the fundamental principles of Marxism and dependency theory. In the era of globalization the trend of integration of national economics, economic interdependence, social movements, communication revolution are growing in a faster rate which helped in development of consciousness among people of the states. According to Marxist understanding, the globe has been dominated by single dominating entity which is global capitalist system which has gradually degraded the humanity to lower level. Marxist also believes that the process of globalization is extending capitalism and making a platform for exploitation of poor nations by the developed or rich nations. However, they argue that there is nothing natural or inevitable about world order based on a global market. The current organization of global capitalism is in a constant state of change and crisis which will be transformed to socialism in near future. Check Your Progress 1. What are the core elements of dependency theory? 2. Examine the causes of dependency among the countries. 3. Critically examine the other Marxist theories towards understanding international relations. 4. Examine the critiques of dependency theory. 5. Examine how globalization promotes dependency in the international relations.

127 127 | P a g e 5.9 References/ Suggested Readings

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Basu, R. (ed), (2012) International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues New Delhi, Sage.

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Baylis, J. and Smith, S. (eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, New York: Oxford University Press

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Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approches, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

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Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approches, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (2004). World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction, Durham: Duke University Press. Check Your Prgress Very short questions (1 Mark): 1. Marxism explains international relations in terms of conflict and class war between --------- and -------------- states. Ans: Rich states, poor states. 2. What is the nature of Marxist approach to international relations? Ans: Normative-Ideological Approach 3. According to Marxists, evolution and expansion of capitalism leads to what? Ans: Imperialism and colonialism. Short questions (2 Marks): 1. What is Marxism? 2. What is dependency theory? 3. How Marxist approach views and projects the future of world? Brief questions (5 Marks): 1. Discuss the basic tenets of dependency theory in international relations.

128 128 | P a g e 2. How do you differentiate between Liberal and Marxist understanding in international relations? 3. How dependency explains exploitation of poor developing countries? Long questions (10 Marks): 1. How would you justify for continuing vitality of dependency theory? 2. Discuss world-system theory. 3. What is hegemony? How Gramsci defined hegemony in international relations. ***

BLOCK: III ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

129 | P a g e Unit – 1 Postmodernism Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Definitions and Concept 1.4 Origin and Development 1.5 Attributes 1.6 Ideologues or Postmodernist Theorists 1.7 Contributions 1.8 Limitations 1.9 Summing Up 1.10 References and Further Reading 1.1 Introduction Postmodernism has been a widely discussed concept in subjects likearchitecture, art and music, literature, cultural studies, gender studies, international relations, political science, sociologyetc.Over the years, the study of postmodernism has gained much currency among scholars transcending the traditional disciplinary boundaries. However, the concept has often been misunderstood since it is not considered as a coherent set of principles and bears multiple connotations. Moreover, scholars have tried to define postmodernism considering own field of enquiry. Therefore, an in depth study of the concept is a prerequisite before we embark on postmodernism in the context of international relations. However, as a preliminary remark, it can be observed that,postmodernism in international relations has been considered as a departure from the classical world view marked by "new and complex

130 | P a g e articulation of world conditions and issues". As a reaction to modernism for its inability and failure to address the world issues, postmodernist theorists try to interpret events of international relations in a more objective way. 1.2 Objectives This unit is an attempt to understand postmodernism as an idea and how it has been understood in international relations. After going through the unit you will be able to - • explain the definitions and concept of postmodernism • understandorigin and development of postmodernism in international relations • discussthe various ideologues of postmodernism and their contributions • understandtheissues involved with the concept of postmodernism • express contributions of postmodernism and its limitations 1.3 Definition and Concept Postmodernism as an idea is not easy to define. Scholars across disciplines have tried to define the concept from different perspectives considering their field of enquiry. However, we hardly come across any well accepted definition of postmodernism.In fact, there is no unanimity among the scholars on its definitions. Regarding the definition of postmodernism, Geoffrey Bennington observes that, "there is an unusual degree of disagreement as to what postmodernism is and perhaps the disagreement about the meaning or existence of the postmodern is precisely what defines postmodern" (cited in Devetak1999: 62). British scholar Andrew Heywoodhas also described postmodernism as a "controversial and confusing term" (2012: 62). According to him,it was first used to "describe experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development in general" (ibid). One of the primary factors behind this complexity has been the very nature of postmodernismand the way it has been described across disciplines.Nevertheless, the concept has largely been considered as a pull of ideas embedded with "distrust towards everything and lacking any clear cut directions" (see ignou). In fact,

131 | P a g e the idea goes against or opposed to the principle of any formal definition attached with a given ideology or concept. It is more akin towards a non-formal kind of discussion/debate bereft of traditional definitions. Like its definitions, postmodernism is very difficult toconceptualise. Some scholars have tried to conceptualise it as an 'ideology' like any other ideologies – an 'ism' that many people across the world believe and practice.However, it is not something a 'coherent set of principles or doctrines'. As an idea, it is acritique of the "existing set of ideas or classical understanding of truth, reason, identity, and objectivity, of the ideas of universal progress or emancipation, of single networks, grand narratives or ultimate grounds of explanation" (see ignou unit 2). It describes the world as "contingent, ungrounded, diverse, unstable, indeterminate, a set of disunited cultures or interpretations which breed a degree of skepticism about the objectivity of truth, history and norms, the 'givenness' of natures and the coherence of identities" (ibid). The postmodern theorist denies the existence of certainty of any idea or absolute universal truth. According to them, there is no such thing as certainty, rather they emphasise on discourse, debate and democracy whichwill enable to deconstruct the prevailing thought (Heywood 2012: 62). STOP TO CONSIDER Postmodernism facilitates/attributes 'new ways of seeing the world'. It is like 'resisting the grand narratives' of absolute truth and certainty. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1924-1998) in his La Condition Postmoderne published in France in 1979 observes that, "we now live in an era in which legitimizing 'master narratives' are in crisis and in decline. These narratives are contained in or implied by major philosophies, such as Kantianism, Hegelianism, and Marxism, which argue that history is progressive, that knowledge can liberate us, and all knowledge has a secret unity. The two main narratives Lyotard is attacking are those of the progressive emancipation of humanity – from Christian redemption to Marxist utopia – and that of the triumph of science. Lyotard considers that such doctrines have 'lost their credibility' since the Second World War: simplifying to the extreme, I define postmodern as incredulity towards metanarratives" (in Butler 2002: 13).

132 | P a g e 1.4 Origin and Development Postmodernism has often been mistaken of recent origin. In fact, over the years, the term – postmodern has increasingly been used not only in academic discussions; but in day-to-day life style including fashion, art, culture,and so on. However, it needs to be pointed out here that, the concept has been travelled through a long past dating back tothe 16 th century Europe that continued up to middle of the 20 th century. This long period that roughly covers four hundred years constitute the modern age – the enlighten period of European history. J. M. Thompson in an article published in 'The Hibbert Journal' in 1914 used the term for the first time. Through his writing, Thompson tried to understand the changes that took place within the Christian society of that time. In the subsequent period, it was used as an "experimental movements in western arts, architecture and cultural development" (Heywood). One of the fundamental issues associated with the understanding of postmodernism is modernism. In fact, postmodernism has often been considered as a continuation or an extension of modernism. Postmodernity, according to Andrew Heywood (2012), "sometimes portrayed as the late modernity, has both thrown up new ideological movements and transformed established ones". It begunas a result of industrialization process in Europe that culminated into the growth of new set of ideas, doctrines, scientific inventions etc. The industrialisation period in Europe had been marked by expansion of capital, machines, market etc. However, it could not resolve many of the problems emerged and as a reaction to it postmodernism emerged. In the words of Andrew Heywood, "while modern societies were structured by industrialization and class solidarity, postmodern societies are increasingly fragmented and pluralistic 'information societies' in which individuals are transformed from procedures to consumers, and individualism replaces class, religious and ethnic loyalties" (Heywood 2012). In international relations, the concept gained currency after end of the Second World War particularly in France. The postmodernist theorists consider international relations in terms of how issues of language, ideas, norms, abstract etc. have affected political actions (Lyotard 1984).The origin of postmodernism is closely related to modernism. In fact, it is not possible to understand postmodernism withoutlooking at how modernism as an idea was developed in Europe after 18 th century. As a European phenomenon, modernism was related to scientific and technological development which wasaimed at to

133 | P a g e improve human conditions. The technological innovation that led to the creation of aircrafts, automobiles, machines, and other electrical equipments resulted social and economic development of the entire human society. As a result, human life became easy, safe as well as faster than ever. However, despite its enormous contributions, one cannot nullify the negative impact of scientific and technological innovations as has been witnessed in both the world wars. The scientific expertise/knowledge was rather used to develop dangerous explosives including nuclearbombs. The untold sufferings caused by these two world wars particularly the Second World War revealed the negative aspects of modernity. As a result, people started to question the necessity or the very idea of modernism since it resulted discomfort and disruption rather than improvement of human life. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1. What is postmodernism? 2. Explain why postmodernism as an idea is difficult to define? 3. Discuss how did postmodernism emergeas a reaction to modernism? 4. Explain the characteristics features of modernity that emerged in Europe? 1.5 Attributes After going through the definitions, concept, origin and development of postmodernism, certain attributes can be inferred. First, one of the primary attributes of postmodernism is that, "there is no basic objectivity in the world, everything involving human beings is subjective in nature". This is equally true in the context of international relations while analysing the complex relationships among different countries across the world. Second, the discourse of 'power' and 'domination' and how they influence each other constitute one of the core issues inthe understanding of postmodernist thought. Michel Foucault – one of the most influential postmodernist theorists of our time havetalked about this relationships in his various writings which has been discussed in the subsequent portion of the unit. Third, postmodernist thinkers have always emphasise on the principle of "pluralism and relativism". It has rejected the doctrine of 'absolute value' and abstract 'belief'. Self Asking Questions (SAQ) Do you believe that, postmodernism is a realistic concept? Give reasons to justify your position. (20+60 words)

Ideologue of Postmodernism The concept of post modernism received wide attention since 1960s particularly from the French scholars.Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900), Michel Foucault (1926-1984), Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), Jean Francois Lyotard (1924-1998), Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014), Chantal Mouffe (1943 -) etc. are some of the foremost postmodernist theorists and intellectuals who have made significant contributions towards the development of postmodernism over the years. However, as has been pointed out earlier, postmodernism as a continuation or break away from modernity has a long past and it has been evolved from time to time. Therefore, an understanding of the philosophers who have contributed towards its development seems necessary. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900)–a German philosopher and cultural criticwas one of the influential modern thinkerswho had'anticipated the emergence of postmodernism'since the post Enlightenment period.The 19 th century philosopher wrote extensively and most of his works were published in his later period of life. Some of his notable worksinclude – Daybreak (1881), The Gay Science (1882), Beyond Good and Evil (1886), On the Genealogy of Morality (1887). He was a critic of the traditional European morality, religionand rationalism. He criticised the conventional philosophical ideas and questioned the principles of reason, truth, scientism, universality etc. attached with modernity. Moreover, he took on the issues of the social and political ideas which were associated with the notion of modernity.Nietzsche'scriticisms primarily based

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on "psychological diagnoses that expose false consciousness infecting people's received ideas".

One of the important aspects of his ideas was the insistence on the importance of power. In fact, Nietzsche's central idea revolves around the "will to power doctrine" – where everyone tries to enhance their power. According to him,it is the 'desire for power and domination' that denies/nullifies the claim to possess truth. Because of his ideas, Nietzsche was often associated with modern thinkers including Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud who had advocated the principle of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' against the traditional values of modernity.

135 | P a g e French philosopher and historian –Michel Foucault (1926- 1984)has been considered as one of the most prominent postmodernist thinkers. His exceptional ideas and contributions on issues of clinical science, sexuality, psychiatry, power etc. have generated critical debates across disciplines in the contemporary period. In fact, Foucault has arguably made the most influential analysis of the 'relationship between discourse and power through his writings'. According to him, "power is never localized here or there, but rather employed and exercised through a net-like organization". It needs to be pointed here out that, Foucault tried to analyse 'power relations' in terms of its 'distinct modalities, strategies, tactics, practices, and techniques'; not power in itself. The central argument of Foucault was based on issues of "power" and "the structuralist and the post-structuralsit movements" that spans through some ofhis critically acclaimed works that include – History of Madness in the Classical Age (1961), The Birth of the Clinic (1963), The Archaeology of Knowledge (1969), Discipline and Punish (1975), The History of Sexuality (1976).In addition, Foucault is credited with two significant posthumously published lecture series – Security, Territory, Population (1977-1978) and The Birth of Biopolitics (1978-1979) delivered at various platforms across Europe, United States of America and other countries. Jacques Derrida (1930 – 2004), the French philosopher and literary theorist has often been considered as one of the founder of postmodernism. He is known for his ideaof 'semiotic analysis' which is also known as 'deconstruction' which he used in his book – Of Grammatology (1967), for the first time. In literary term, deconstruction has been considered as a 'philosophical theory of criticism' that attempts to unearth the deep rooted contradictions. In fact, deconstruction has been considered as a "reaction against the old assumption of the presence of a stable centre, objectivity, and absolute truth". Hecriticised and questions the western political philosophy and western culture as well. In fact, Derrida famously wrote "all my essays an attempt to have it out with this formidable question". His notable works include – Speech and Phenomena (1967), Writing and Difference (1967) and Margins of Philosophy (1972). Moreover, Derrida's is also best known for his idea of 'post-structuralism'. Jean Francois Lyotard (1924-1998) – the French philosopher and cultural critic is one of the foremost postmodernist philosophers. His book - The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge published in 1979 is an important contribution in the understanding of postmodernism. In fact, the book is considered as the Bible in the study of postmodernism. Lyotardemphasise on the replacement of

136 | P a g e 'grant narratives by little narratives' while examining the changing nature of knowledge in the postmodern period. As an advocate of "relativism of knowledge" he refuted the "scientific rationality" while saying "let us wage a war on totality, and let us celebrate differences". STOP TO CONSIDER Post-structuralism is a philosophical and literary theory that emerged in France during 1960s as a critique to structuralism.It rejects the notion of a literary text "having a single purpose". It rather emphasizes on to create "new and individual purpose, meaning and existence for a given text". Jacques Derrida was one of the foremost proponents of post-structuralism. 1.7 Contributions of Postmodernism As it has been discussed, postmodernism as a concept has no abstract principles or doctrines. It is a loosely formulated concept that questions the existing knowledge. That is why, many scholars consider postmodernism as a"movement that arose independently" in different fields of enquiry. Moreover, since it is not restricted to any particular discipline, therefore, postmodernism has touched almost all the branches of literature, humanities, social sciences etc. In postmodern theory, no one is superior hence no one is inferior as well. The traditional notion of being superior in terms of race, culture, gender, etc. has no reference in it. Hence, the postmodernist theorists have emphasized more on "little narratives" by deconstructing the "grand or meta-narratives" or by shifting the importance from "centre-periphery world setting to a pluri-centric world". Critiquing the existing truth or established knowledge, the postmodernist thinkers have set fourth an important beginning by exploring new ideas, styles etc. in different fields. Check Your Progress 1. Discuss Michel Foucault's contribution on postmodernism? 2. What is deconstruction? Discuss why did Derrida challenge western philosophy or western culture? 3. Explain the various attributes of postmodernism? 4. Do you believe that, postmodernism has added knowledge to the existing knowledge system?

137 | P a g e 1.8 Limitations Postmodernism has its own limitations and thus, it is not devoid ofcriticisms. One of the major factors behind the criticism is the very nature of the concept since it has no definite structure or set of doctrines.Many of the contemporary thinkers have criticized postmodernism because of its 'vagueness' in interpreting the social structure. Critiquing the postmodern theory, Naom Chomsky – one of the most influential public intellectual of our time argues that "it is meaningless as it has nothing to add to empirical and analytical knowledge". Moreover, postmodernism has been criticised for "undermining all major accomplishments of post-Enlightenment western modernity"and it has been alleged to contribute"a rebellious, irreverent impulse at the core of modern intellectual activity which constructs little and damages much" (Mishra 3). At the extreme point, it has also been leveled as an "intellectual scandal" that the critics consider as an "accumulation of directionless subjectivities that constitute anarchical excess" (ibid). Pauline Rosenau argues that"postmodernism criticizes the inconsistency of modernism, but refuses to be heldto norms of consistency itself". 1.9 Summing Up Postmodernism is a very complex idea to understand. The complexity added further due to the multiplicity of its uses in different contexts across disciplines. Nevertheless,as a reaction to modernity, postmodernism has ushered new ideas, developed new perspectives to look athow things can be interpreted differently. It teaches us to critique and challenge the existing the existing 'truth', the established knowledge. In the process, it has itself faced criticisms from different corners. But, despite the challenges, postmodernism has been emerged as a significant way to analyse socio-political relationship because of its increasing emephasise on 'debate, discourse and democracy'.It is because of the fact that, the postmodern theorists believe that, "the way of understanding andinterpreting the world has changed or needs to be changed". 1.10References and Suggested Reading Agger, Ben (1991): Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance, Annual Review of Sociology, Vo. 17 (1991), pp. 105-131.

138 | P a g e Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok (ed.) (2014): Political Theory: An Introduction, Pearson: New Delhi. Butler, Christopher (2002): Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford University Press: New York. Devetak, Richard (1999): Theories, Practices and Postmodernism in International Relations, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 12:2, 61-76, DOI: 10.1080/09557579908400243. Mahjebeen, Joanna and Deka, Barasa (2011): 'Contemporary Issues and Debates in Political Theory', in Akhil Ranjan Dutta (ed.) Political Theory: Issues, Concepts and Debates, Arun Prakashan: Guwahati. Mishra, Atul. Postmodernism and International Relations,accessed on 02/08/2021, (https://epgp.inflibnet.ac.in/Home/ViewSubject?catid=29) Heywood, Andrew (2012): Political Ideologies: An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan: United Kingdom. Postmodernism (ignou), accessed on 02/08/2021 https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/38435/1/Unit-2.pdf https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nietzsche/ 1.11 Model Questions 1. What is postmodernism? Discuss it characteristics. 2. Explain the two methods used by Michel Foucault in his thought? 3. Critically discuss the contributions of postmodernism in international relations. 4. Discuss the limitations of postmodernism.

139 | P a g e Unit – II Critical Theory Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Concept and Definitions 1.4 Origin and Development 1.5 Ideologues the Critical Theory 1.6 Critical Theory in International Relations 1.7 Contributions 1.8 Summing Up 1.9 References and Further Reading 1.10 Model Questions 1.1 Introduction Critical theory has been considered as a significant theoretical development discussed in a wide range of disciplines since its emergence in 1923, an initiative of the Frankfurt School, Germany. As a departure from the "traditional theories", critical theory attempts to evolve an "alternative path of social development in accordance with the essence of Marxism" (Gauba 2013: 308). It has been considered as the" representative of Neo-Marxism"– an extension of the Marxian philosophy that seeks to understand the society form "emancipatory values". As the name itself suggest, critical theory is a set of doctrines or philosophy that "questions the

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modern social and political life through a method of immanent critique" (

Burchill et. all 2005: 138).Since its inception, critical theory has been able to generate new trends/ideas/discourse across disciplines that include – philosophy, literary criticism, humanities, psychology, economics, gender studies, cultural studies, international relations etc.

140 | P a g e 1.2 Objectives This unit is an attempt to understand the emergence of critical theory in international relations. After going through the unit you will be able to – a. understand the concept of critical theory b. explain the origin and development of critical theory in international relations c. know about the ideologues of critical theory and their contributions d. explain the contributions and limitations of critical theory 1.3 Concept and Definitions Critical theory is difficult to conceptualise in a very precise manner. As has been pointed out above, critical theory is a set of theories or combination of ideas which critics or questions the existing philosophy or principles.The study of critical theory is very open in nature and therefore, it has been involved with wide range of disciplines and issues that includes – feminism, postmodernism, post-structuralism, constructivism etc. It has been considered as a post-positivistic approach that tried to explain the complex power relationships including international relations. The development of critical theory has primarily been influenced by two set of principles or ideas. First, influence of the Marxian philosophy and the emergence of the Frankfurt School popularly known as Neo-Marxist thinkers. Second, the contributions of the German philosopher – Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) – who has been considered as the second generation of critical theorists and the narratives of the "post-nationalism and discourse ethnics" (Chaudhuri, n.d.). The primary objective of the critical theorists, in the words of Max Horkheimer (1972), is to– "emancipate human from slavery" and "

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create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

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create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

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create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

Therefore it is envisaged that, the critical theorists strive not only to challenge and dismantle the

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traditional forms of theorizing, but it also problematises and seeks to dismantle entrenched forms of social life that constrain human freedom (

Burchill et. all 2005: 140). Accordingly, O. P. Gauba has mentioned about three principles upon which the critical theory is based on. First, the knowledge of truth

141 | P a g e cannot be solely based on the information obtained through scientific method; ethical standards should also be invoked to determine the truth. Second, the use of technology should be confined to the fulfillment of essential needs of human beings; it should not be allowed to become the source of technological domination. Third, political philosophy should focus on the conditions of alienation in the capitalist society and motivate people to win freedom from these oppressive conditions (2013: 309). The critical theorists consider the society as its "object of analysis". It tries to draw

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attention to the "relationship between knowledge and society, which is so frequently excluded from mainstream theoretical analysis, critical theory recognizes the political nature of knowledge

claim" (Burchill et. all 2005: 139). Regarding critical theory, Davaid Held observes that, "the exponents of the critical theory tried to develop a critical perspective in the discussion of all social practices, that is a perspective which is preoccupied by the critique of ideology – of systematically distorted accounts of reality which attempt to conceal and legitimate asymmetrical power relations. They were concerned with the way in which social interests, conflicts and contradictions are expressed in thought, and how they are produced and reproduced in systems of domination. Through an examination of these systems they hoped to enhance awareness of the roots of domination, undermine ideologies and help to compel changes in consciousness and action" (A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, edited by Tom Bottomore: 1983, cited in Gauba 2013: 308). The Critical theory has been referred as the "Hegelian brand of Marxism" by the Frankfurt School. They consider it as a "blend of Marxist political economy, Hegelian philosophy and Freudian psychology" (Heywood 2012: 124). It needs to be pointed here out that, the Frankfurt School has been termed as the "new left" – a term that refers to "an ideological movement that sought to revitalize socialist thought by developing a radical critique of advanced industrial society, stressing the need for decentralization, participation and personal liberation" (Heywood 2012: 124). STOP TO CONSIDER Neo-Marxism is the new addition or an extension of the classical Marxian philosophy. It is neither considered as a "fixed doctrine", or a "single theory" nor any "specific school of thought", rather it is a combination of various "approaches and ideas". It has largely been considered as a departure from the classical Marxian

142 | P a g e philosophy of historical materialism –one of the core concepts of the Marxian theory. Rather it combines various forms of "consciousness as the proper subject of social analysis". It is also regarded as an "intellectual orientation which maintains its faith in some of the basic tenets of Marxism and tends to highlight their new aspects". Antonio Gramsci (1891 – 1937), Louis Althusser (1918 – 1980), Rosa Luxemburg (1871 – 1919), Theodor Adorno (1903 – 1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898 – 1979), Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) etc. are some of the chief exponents of Neo- Marxism.As an idea, Neo-Marxism has been involved with Humanism, Structuralism, Existentialism, Psychology, Economics etc. 1.4 Origin and Development The origin of the critical theory can be traced back to the Frankfurt School established in 1923 at the Institute of Social Research, University of Frankfurt, Germany. However, the political situation in Germany during the period because of the rise of Adolf Hitler (1889 – 1945) forced the Frankfurt School to relocate to United States for few years. However, they could return back to Frankfurt, Germany in early 1950s – few years after the end of the Second World War. The chief exponents of the critical theory include –

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Max Horkheimer (1895 – 1973), Theodor Adorno (1903 – 1969), Walter Benjamin (1892 – 1940), Herbert Marcuse (1898 – 1979), Erich Fromm (1900 – 1980), Leo Lowenthal (1900 – 1993)

etc. popularly known as the Frankfurt School. They all have made significant contributions in the development of the critical theory in the twentieth century. In the subsequent period, German scholar – Jurgen Habermas (born 1929) contributed immensely in its development. The origin of critical theory was influenced by the writings of German philosophers like – Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1820 – 1895), and Karl Marx (1818 – 1884). In addition to that, writings of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900) and Max Weber (1864 – 1920) also impacted in the emergence of critical theory. Moreover, some scholars have argued about the influence of the "classical Greek thought" on its origin. It needs to be pointed here out that, critical theory developed as a part of the "critique of positivism on epistemological grounds". The critical theorists have questioned positivism on various grounds. First, it has rejected the "presence of an objective external reality" as advocated by positivist theorists. Second, the critical theorists have challenged the

"subject-object distinction", and third, questioned the "possibility of developing a value free social science on the basis of scientific assumptions of positivism" (Chaudhuri, n.d.). CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1. Analyse the role of Frankfurt School in the development of critical theory? 2. How does critical the oryimpact the classical understanding of Marxian philosophy? 3. Does Neo-Marxism nullify classical Marxism? 4. Write a note on the inter-disciplinary nature of critical theory. 1.5 Ideologues of the Critical Theory As has been mentioned above, the emergence of critical theory has been the offshoot of the contributions made by the Frankfurt School. The development of critical theory passed through a critical time witnessed in the twentieth century. The devastation caused by the Second World War, the economic crisis of 1930s, disillusionment of the soviet socialism etc. all have impacted the Frankfurt School to look beyond the traditional theories to analyse the world order. As a result, many critical theorists came out with their ideas in the development of critical theory. Among them, Max Horkheimer has been considered as one of the chief exponents of the critical theory. In fact, he is credited with coining the term itself. In his essay on "Traditional and Critical Theory" published in 1937, he tried to differentiated the traditional theory from the critical theory. According to him, "the traditional mode of theorizing was limited to the registration and explication of phenomena in abstraction from their social contexts and origins, on the other hand, critical theory focuses on the concrete genesis of factual- social conditions and especially on the role of human agency and productivity in the process" (Dallmayr 1984: 471). According to Max Horkheimer (1972),

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critical theory intended "not simply to eliminate one or other abuse, but to analyse the underlying social structures which result in these abuses with the intention of overcoming them" (

cited in Burchill et. all 2005: 139). German philosopher and sociologist —Jurgen Habermas (born 1929)is one of the prominent exponents of Critical Theory. In fact, he is considered as the second generation of Frankfurt School critical theorists who have written extensively on issues including international relations. Some of his notable works include — The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962), Knowledge

and Human Interests (1968), The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity (1985), The Theory of Communicative Action (1981), The Future of Human Nature (2001) etc. However, it needs to be pointed out here that, Habermas was himself a critic of the first generation of Frankfurt School. In fact, he tried to "develop and remodel critical theory into new dimensions" by continuing the "critique of reason and rationality" of the Frankfurt School of thought. He developed the idea of communicative action that aims to "transmits and renew cultural knowledge in a process of achieving mutual understanding". Besides, his analysis of the "relation between knowledge and human interests and discourse ethnics" has been very significant in understanding and evolving an "alternative critical positions within international relations" (Yalvac 2017: 6). STOP TO CONSIDER 1. Positivism is a philosophical theory emerged in early nineteenth century. Germen sociologist — August Comte has been considered as the founder of positivism. According to him, all societies have three basic stages — theological, metaphysical and scientific. Positivism is a philosophical system based on empirical method to investigate the issues in social and physical science as well. It emphasises on scientific method which is considered as the "only source of true knowledge". It is considered as the "gold standard" as described by Smith Steve (1963), "against which other theories are evaluated". However, positivism faced a lot of criticisms because of its inherent limitations. In fact, the critical theory is a part of the post-positivist approach to look at the issues beyond positivism. 2. 1.6 Critical Theory in International Relations International relations as a field of enquiry emphasis on the relationships exist among the countries. It is a continuous multidisciplinary process that involves the study of foreign policy analysis, diplomacy, international security and development, global political economy and governance, environment and so on. The emergence of critical theory as a "European development" that had witnessed arguably the most turbulent period in the twentieth century as mentioned earlier, interpreted the complex relationships among different countries going beyond the traditional theories of liberalism, realism, Marxism etc. However, it is only since the beginning of the 1980s that, the critical theorists can make a real impact on the study of international relations. Since then, the mainstream international

relations have witnessed the emergence of different types of critical international relations theory. The critical theorists have challenged the mainstream understanding of international relations and tried to evolve an alternative approach to analyse the complex issues pertaining to the global affairs. In the process, the critical theorists ventured into areas of critical importance and tried to develop new approaches in international relations, challenging the hitherto established principles or concepts advocated by the positivist theorists. In this regard, mention needs to be mentioned about Jurgen Habermas – often considered as the second generation of the Frankfurt School and his idea of communication action theory. In fact, during that time, the international theorists started to "critique the limits of realism" by drawing upon Habermas theory. In the subsequent periods, Robert Cox, Richard Ashley, Mark Hoffman, Andrew Linklater etc. – the critical international theorists have contributed immensely in the development of critical theory in the study of international relations. Self Asking Questions (SAQ) Do you believe that, the emergence of critical theory has radically changed the study of international relations from its earlier avatar? Give reasons to justify your position. -------- -- -- --------------------------------- -- -- -- ---------------- --------------------------------- -- --------------------------------- -- ----- -- -- ------------------------------- 1.7Contribution Emergence of critical theory has unfolded many important dimensions which were hitherto unknown in the study of international relations. In fact, the critical theorists have contested most of the principles made the mainstream international theorist. The critical theory has put forwarded an alternative perspective to look at the social issues that aims at "decreasing dominations" and at the same time "levering freedom in all forms". As it has been pointed out earlier, one of the most important contributions of the critical theorists has been their unwavering support for "human emancipation form slavery". Unlike

the classical Marxist theorists, the critical theorists envisaged a "society free from exploitation, slavery and greed". According to them, the objective of social struggle is "human emancipation on a large scale in a fully rational society" (Dallmayr 1984: 473). In order to do that, the critical theorists, they sought for a society wherein the "idea of a state of affairs in which man's action no longer flow from a mechanism but from his own decisions" (ibid). Moreover, the critical theory has made significant contributions in the development of Marxian philosophy– albeit in a new form i.e. the Neo-Marxism. Like the Marxist thinkers, they oppose the capitalist ideology which is based on exploitation and extraction of resources. At the same time, they were also "dissatisfied with the soviet socialism". Therefore, the contributions of the critical theorists to map an alternative narrative have been of immense significance across disciplines. 1.8 Summing Up Ever since its emergence in 1923 – as a part of the initiative of the Frankfurt School, Germany, the critical theorists have come across a long journey. In the process, they have developed new ideas and insights to look at the complex social, political etc. relationships. As a departure from the traditional theories, the critical theorists have tried to provide a "critique of the dogmatism" available in traditional modes of theorizing. The critical theory remains a vital philosophical tradition which tries to create an alternative path away from "slavery and greed" that aims at "human emancipation". One of the fundamental attributes of critical theory is that, it questions the existing knowledge system – thereby tries to create a better future.

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This critique reveals the unexamined assumptions that guide traditional modes of thought, and exposes the complicity of traditional modes of thought in prevailing political and social conditions. (

Burchill et. all 2005). 1.9 References and Further Reading Agger, Ben (1991): "Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance", Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 17, pp. 105-131: Annual Reviews. Bhargava, Rajeev and Acharya, Ashok (ed.) (2014): Political Theory: An Introduction, Pearson: New Delhi.

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1.10 Model Questions 1. What is critical theory? Discuss how critical theory is different from traditional theories? 2. Discuss the factors that led to the emergence of critical theory in the study of international relations? 3. Explain the contributions of Jurgen Habermas in the development of critical theory. 4. Discuss the contributions of critical theory in the study of international relations. 5. What is Neo-Marxism? Why critical theory has been considered as the representative of Neo-Marxism? 6. Write a note on 'Positivism'.Discuss the limitations of positivism put forwarded by the critical theorists? 7. Discuss the limitations of critical theory?

149 | P a g e Unit 4: Feminism in International Relations Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objective 1.3 Feminist Theory 1.4 Origin of Feminist Theory 1.5 Feminism in International Relations 1.6 Types of Feminist International Relations Theories 1.6.1Liberal Feminist International Relations Theory 1.6.2 Critical Feminist International Relations Theory 1.6.3Postcolonial Feminist International Relations Theory 1.6.4 Post-structural Feminist International Relations Theory 1.7 Feminism and Global Politics: 1.7.1 Feminist views on War and Security 1.7.2 Feminist critique of Realist Theory 1.8 Summing up 1.9 References and Suggested Readings: 1.1 Introduction: This chapter deals with one of the significant theories of studying International Relations i.e., feminist theory. Feminist theory to study International Relationsemerged during the post-cold war period. It was in the 1980s that feminist scholars started taking part in research of different academic disciplines. In due course of time, it expanded to the discourse of International Relations as well. According to the feminists, women were always excluded from domestic as well as international political life. International Relations was considered to be the exclusive domain of men.

150 | P a g e 1.2 Objective: This unit is an attempt to analyze the feminist theory of International Relations.

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After going through this unit, you will be able to- • Discuss the meaning of

feminism and feminist theory • Explain the origin of feminism. • Understand the feminist international relations theory • Discuss the feminist views on security, power and war 1.3 Feminist Theory: Before delving into the details of feminist international relations theory, let us first understand what is feminism. Feminist international relations theory came into existence in the 1980s, but feminism or feminist theory as a social theory emerged long back. The main thrust of feminist theory is to understand the gender inequality prevalent across the world and to eliminate such discrimination or subordination faced by women. The feminists believe that the construction of gendered norms are inequal towards women and that men are regarded to be superior to women. The feminists also argue that women had a long history of economic, political, physical as well as social subordination as a result of such unequal gendered construction. Thus, feminism is all about providing equality and justice to all women. They believe that the diverse experience of women has been neglected and overlooked throughout history. Therefore, they made an attempt to rewrite and re-examine histories by including the role and experiences of women. Feminism or feminist theory believes in equality between men and women. Feminist theory vehemently criticizes patriarchy. Patriarchy is a social system that puts men at the helm of social and political affairs. In patriarchal societies, men are considered to be superior to women. In patriarchal families as well, the male members are considered to be the head of the family. The male members take the important decisions regarding the household and these decisions are imposed upon the female members. Feminist theorythus criticizes patriarchy and aims at an equal relationship between men and women.

151 | P a g e 1.4 Origin of Feminist Theory: The feminist theory is centered around two key assumptions; firstly, women faced deprivation and subordination on the basis of their sex and secondly, this subordination needs to be eliminated. Although the term feminist theory or feminism is of recent origin but similar views and ideas can be traced back to ancient civilization of Greece and China. The book written by Christine de Pisan titled "Book of the City Stop to Consider • Feminist international relations theory came into existence in the 1980s. But as a social theory it is very old. • Feminist theory believes that women had to face subordination for a very long time as social construction of gendered norms consider men to be superior than women. • The feminists therefore try to eliminate such inequality to promote justice and equality for all women. • For a better understanding let us first discuss the difference between sex and gender. Sex is comprised of the biological attributes of human beings. While gender comprises of the roles and behavior constructed by the society and attributed to male and female sex. Sex therefore is biological while gender is a man-made construct. • The society has assigned specific functions to male and female on the basis of their gender. These gendered norms constructed by the society creates inequality among men and women. The main motive of the Feminists is to mitigate this inequality and provide justice for all women. • The society tries to inculcate gender specific role and behavior in the minds of men and women since their childhood. The girl child is taught to play with dolls and kitchen toys as it is believed that once they grow up, they will have to get married, produce babies and take charge of the kitchen and household chores at their husband's house. On the contrary, the boys are given toys like cars and guns to inculcate in them a sense of physical superiority and masculine characteristics. The boys are taught to behave in a certain way, for e.g., boys are taught that they are physically strong and that they should not display their emotions in front of everyone. If a boy cries, it is very often told that "Boys don't cry" or "Why are you crying like a girl". Physical weakness and being emotional and sensitive are regarded to be the characteristics of a girl. • The favorite color of the boys should be blue and girls should love the color pink is another such social construct that the society imposes upon the small children. • The social construct regarding occupations is also significant. Our society assumes that men are physically strong, powerful and

152 | P a g e Ladies" (1405) was one such example that contains significant feminist arguments. In this book Christine put forward certain arguments against the misogynist writings by male authors of the day. However, it was only in the 19 th century that feminist movement in an organized manner took place. "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" by Mary Wollstonecraft published in 1792 is regarded as the first text of modern feminism. The feminist movement became organized with a specific aim by the mid-nineteenth century. The feminists realized that they do not have political and legal rights which are enjoyed by their male counterparts. So, the feminist movement during this period centered around the demand for female suffrage, the right to vote. This phase is known as the first wave feminism. In this period the feminist movement campaigned for equal political rights for men and women. The men were already exercising the legal and political rights that women have been denied from a very long time. It was believed by the feminists that if women are provided with the right to vote, all the existing discriminations against women will soon disappear. The feminist movement for equal political and legal rights emerged as the strongest in countries with advanced political democracy. In 1840s, the Women's movement in USA got inspired by the campaign against the practice of slavery. In 1848, US Women's Rights Movement was born with the famous Seneca Falls Convention. The women suffrage movement in USA got a momentum in 1869 with the establishment of the National Women's Suffrage Association. Movements demanding for women's suffrage emerged in other western countries as well. An organized women suffrage movement emerged in the United Kingdom during the 1850s. The first wave feminism came to an end as countries started providing voting rights to women, the first country being New Zealand in 1893. The US constitution was amended to grant voting rights to American women in 1920. The United Kingdom introduced female suffrage in 1918, but the women had to wait till 1928 to exercise their right to vote. The feminist movement came to a halt after women were granted the right to vote. The major objective of the first wave was female franchise and right to vote was achieved. Many feminists were of the view that once women receive equal legal and political rights as of men, they will achieve complete emancipation. But it did not happen; after the grant of voting rights to women the feminist movement only weakened. In 1960s the feminist movement was reinforced with the advent of the second wave of feminism.

153 | P a g e The second wave of feminist thought was relaunched with the publication of The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan in 1963. Her book portrayed the social construct that believes women find pleasure and fulfillment in household work and bearing children. The women were actually unhappy and frustrated as their role was confined to household chores and taking care of their children. She named it 'the problem with no name'. The second wave feminism made it clear that the grant of equal legal and political right was not enough and it did not solve the real problems of women. So, the feminist ideas and arguments took a radical and revolutionary turn during the second wave of feminism. Feminist writers like Kate Millet in her book "Sexual Politics" (1970) and Germaine Greer in "The Female Eunuch" highlighted personal, psychological and sexual facets of discrimination upon women. In the earlier phase the feminist movement was limited to only political aspect of discrimination but the second wave feminists pushed this border and reached out to women suffering from personal and psychological discrimination. The objective of the second wave feminism is to achieve 'women's liberation'. They also believed that only political or legal changes are not enough to fulfill this objective, a revolutionary social change is the only way to achieve 'women's liberation'. Ever since the emergence of Second Wave in the 1970s, feminist thought has gradually transformed into a distinctive ideology. It challenges the conventional and mainstream political thought and provides an alternative perspective to political theories. Feminist movement or simply feminism, has been successful in creating awareness about gender issues and providing gender perspective to a wide area of academic disciplines. Feminist organizations have also become quite common in western as well as developing countries in today's world. Apart from these, feminism today has a wide spectrum of ideas that can be categorized into various types like- liberal feminism, socialist/ Marxist feminism, radical feminism, postmodern feminism, black feminism, lesbian feminism, transfeminism and so on. 1.5 Feminism in International Relations: Although feminist theory as a social theory was present since a very long time, it got its place in the study of International Relations in the late 1980s. Feminist International Relations theories provided an alternative way to look at international relations. They advocated the use of gendered perspective or gender lens to look at global politics, which was being ignored earlier. There are two major ways to include

154 | P a g e feminist theories in the discourse of international relations, these are known as empirical feminism and analytical feminism. Empirical Feminism is influenced by liberal feminism and they believe in adding women to prevailing analytical frameworks. It is known as empirical feminism because it deals with representing women in a discourse like International Relations which is conventionally dominated by male. They argue that the contribution made by women in the making of global politics has been overlooked. But this way has its own limitations in providing a gender lens to the study of international relations. The first limitation being the demonstration of gender as empirical category rather than analytical category. The second limitation identified with empirical feminism is its inability to give sufficient importance to eliminate gender imbalances. On the other hand, analytical feminism gives prominence to the gender biases that exist in the mainstream theories of international relations, like realism. Analytical feminism reveals the hidden biases of mainstream theories. Although mainstream theories are said to be gender-neutral, but the social and political context of these mainstream theories are rooted in male domination. The objective of analytical feminism is to uncover the "masculinist bias" reflected by the mainstream theories of international relations. The feminist international relations theorists argue that women have been under-represented in the state as well as in global governance. Therefore, women participation and women representation in a state is very crucial to understand the status of gender imbalance in a state. In a gender unequal state women are under-represented and their experiences and skills are completely neglected in the practice of government. Apart from neglecting their skill and experience, women are often deprived of the socio-political and economic power possessed by the governmental positions. The international feminist theorists influenced by the feminist work in other disciplines to reveal that women are excluded from participating in governmental activities ever since the emergence of the state. The feminist international relations theorists also criticized some of the basic texts of the discipline like Hobbes' Leviathan and Machiavelli's The Prince for articulating the idea of state without giving due representation to women. These texts were written at a time when women had no legal status and they were considered to be an object or property of the male members. Women were believed to be weak and emotional, therefore the responsibility to protect women from politics was given to men.

155 | P a g e Carol Pateman criticizes the idea of Hobbes that a heterosexual marriage which subordinates women is essential for establishing civil society and that eventually led to the formation of state. Consequently, the idea of state put men at the ruling position over women through legal and social violence. Thus, according to the feminist international relations theorists state was not to be regarded as a neutral institution, rather it was the major source of power relations between the genders. Men were always considered to be physically strong and hence they were entrusted with the responsibility to protect women. This was also visible in the armed forces of the states, as only male members were allowed to join the armed forces. Megan Mackenzie argues that women were forcefully excluded from military to reaffirm the stereotype that men have superior skill in combat. To quote Aaron Belkin, soldier 'attain masculine status by showing that they are not- feminine, not-weak, not-queer, not-emotional'. The whole process of state formation and its post effects neglected and overlooked the role of women. The feminist international relations theorists thus posed the question- "Where are the women?" Search for an answer to this question led to re-evaluation of the emergence of state. The formation of state led to the creation of social and political relations on the basis of marriage which resulted in subordination of women. The military or armed forces constitute the structure of the state. This structure is also based on a power relation between the genders where men are provided with the responsibility to protect women. The feminist international relations theorists believe in deconstructing the idea of state and military as they try to portray the power relation between men and women as natural relationship. Such kind of relationship was constituted to justify violence against women in the name of protection. 1.6 Types of Feminist International Relations Theories: The major objective of the feminist international theory was to eliminate the gender bias existent in the discourse of international relations. While all the feminists agree that domestic as well as international politics was regarded as a man's domain, they have different views on how subordination of women happened and in what ways these biases can be eliminated. On the basis of this varied ideas or interpretations, feminist theories of international relations can be categorized into different types or strands. In this chapter we will discuss four of the most significant types of feminist international theories. These are explained below:

156 | P a g e 1.6.1Liberal Feminist International Relations Theory: Liberal feminists challenge the way women gets represented in the national or international platform. They believe that there are very few women at the position of power and hence, advocate that such powerful position should be extended to women as well. To eliminate gender inequality from governance they argue that women should be put at the top most positions of national and international governance. According to the liberal feminists there is a wide gap in terms of distribution of power between the sexes, therefore they argue that laws should be changed to increase women representation. The number of women international organizations is very less. To quote Gquel website 'as of September 2015, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights has no female judges; the International Court of Justice has 15 judges and only 3 are women; the United Nations Human Rights Committee has 18 members and only 5 are women'. Liberal feminists believe that inequality between men and women challenges the process of human development and it can also cause violence and war. Liberal feminist international relations theorists argue- 'the fate of nations is tied to the status of women'. Many liberal feminists are of the view that 'systemic gender inequality and discrimination against women are the root causes of violence'. 1.6.2 Critical Feminist International Relations Theory: Critical feminists are influenced by Marxist and socialist theories. This theory of international relations centers around the role of women in the economy and mode of production. They criticized the belief of liberal feminists that power will bring positive change and including women at the powerful positions of governance will solve the problem of discrimination against women. One theorist of critical feminism Iris Young argues that there are two major reasons behind oppression of women. First one is "patriarchy" and second one is the mode of production. As mode of production is mostly controlled by men it creates class struggle and leads to alienation of women from work. As a believer in Marxist and socialist traditions, critical feminist theorists view gender discrimination and class oppression is interconnected. According to critical feminists, gender discrimination is made more prominent with the division of 'paid' and 'unpaid' labour. The work done by women are often devalued and considered unpaid. This division of paid and unpaid labour treated a 'double burden' of work on women. Women who work, be it waged labour or

157 | P a g e some other works are supposed to do household chores at the same time, which leads to a double burden of work. They also believe that not all women face similar experiences by virtue of being a woman. Therefore, they criticize the notion of considering the experience of white women to be universally applicable. 1.6.3Postcolonial Feminist International Relations Theory: Postcolonial feminists try to highlight the issue of gender and women during the colonial times and how it continues to have an impact even today. They argue that colonization of all women did not happen equally. Women from the global South had to suffer from colonialism, while the women from global North got benefits of colonialism. Pettmanreferred to the status of global South women as 'Inferior sex within the "superior race"'. The colonizers made it evident that the women of global South need protection from the irmale counterpart. The justification to do so is quoted by Spivak as 'White man saving brown women from brown men'. The postcolonial feminists argue that this kind justification for protection often led to violence against women. Such kind of violence against women in the name of protecting them was visible during the wars launched by the United States against Iraq and Afghanistan. The Postcolonial feminists challenge such kind of imposed rights upon women as it violates the sovereignty of women and gives man agency or authority over women. The postcolonial feminists argue that the recent challenges of climate change and environmental exploitation faced by the world community are also a legacy of colonialism. Although these challenges have impact all over the world, the poor women of global South will be the worst sufferers. The majority of women of global south are dependent on agricultural products. The postcolonial feminists also call out against the construction that gives women the responsibility to conserve the environment by labelling them 'closer to nature', but without any authority or agency over their own work. 1.6.4 Post-structural Feminist International Relations Theory: The post structural feminist theory of international relations is mostly drawn from the work of Judith Butler. While most of the feminists

view gender as a social construct on the basis of sex, Butler gives an opposing argument. According to her, sex is a construction of gender. Gender is not caused by sex, but sex itself is an effect of social construction. She challenged the conception of biological sex, as sex itself was a fixed and permanent referent. She further explains that the idea of "Biology is destiny" leads to the cultural construction of sex. Butler also talks about the concept of "Gender performativity". It assumes gender to be what one performs, not what one is. Therefore, gender cannot be chosen freely. The performances to be done by different genders are highly regulated within the context of heterosexuality. The post-structuralists try to reveal the construction of gender in the mechanisms of international relations and how gendered power relation is created. 1.7 Feminism and Global Politics: Global or international politics is all about the struggle for power. International relation was gender blind for a very long time. It was only during the cold war that feminist theorists have challenged this view and started looking at international relations using a gender lens. International relations is guided by the power relations between the states. The feminist scholars challenged the notion of power to be shaped by masculine traits. The concept of power is deeply rooted in unequal gendered norms. The history of power struggle reveals that men controls women leading to subordination of women. In international relations men are given a central position while women remained as secondary actors. Feminists challenged the whole notion of masculine conceptualization of power. Feminist scholars are completely against the consideration that masculine experience is a universal experience. Feminists also argue that considering male experience to be universal provides only an exclusionary view of international relations. For a better understanding of the role of women in global politics we will have to understand how feminist view the major elements of global politics. Global politics centers around the concepts of power, security, war. 1.7.1 Feminist views on War and Security: The analysis of security is integral to the study of international relations. The prime objective of the states is to protect its national security. Again, the responsibility to protect one's state is vested in the armed forces constituted by men. The threat to one's national security

comes from external forces i.e., other states. In the name of protecting national interest states often resort to the use of violence which leads to war. The objective of national security is to minimize the chances of war therefore states try to build a strong-armed force. Feminist scholars do not agree to such notion of security as they believe it to be based on masculine assumption of rivalry. They believe in an alternative notion of security i.e., the notion of 'human security'. The event of war is regarded as creation of men and women are given a secondary position during war. The UNESCO Charter begins with the sentence that' since wars are made in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that peace should be made'. Wars according to feminists is a gendering activity. During the same war men and women suffer differently. Feminists argue, war re-enforces the stereotype of gender and re-structures gender relations. Women constitute the majority of victims in a war. The decision regarding the conduct of war is taken by men, as they actively participate in political and public life. Women had to suffer because of decisions taken by men. Feminist scholars are of the view that in the policy making level women are barely visible. Therefore, policy decisions are taken by men. Wars are fought by the armed forces constituted by men. Even though women do not take part in wars, they also constitute a big portion of the casualties. With the advent of modern weapons wars spread out to civilian areas as well. Statistics show that non-combatants constitute more than 75% of war casualties. Sexual violence on women at the time of war is another lethal impact of war on women. War rape is another serious crime faced by women during wars. Military prostitution is another such heinous crime against women that needs the spotlight. Stop to consider Women and War Feminist scholars consider war to be associated closely with masculinity. The senior political and military positions in a state are dominated by the male members, implying that major decisions regarding war and peace to be made by men. The justification behind the conduct of war is termed as 'protection myth' i.e., it is the responsibility of men who are inherently powerful to protect the weak and vulnerable women. Even though women do not take part in war, they get brutally affected by war. For example, in World War II 25 million militaries died, whereas the number of civilian deaths was 42 million, most of which were women. In armed conflicts majority of victims are women and children. Another serious concern with wars is that, sexual violence and rape has been used as a 'systematic,

organized tactic of war'. War rape is not a new thing; the evidence of war rape can be find in the Old Testament of Bible. Some examples of war rape instances are- • 'by 1993, the Zenica Centre for the Registration of War and Genocide Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina had documented over 40,000 cases of war-related rape, and' • 'between 23,000 and 45,000 Kosovo Albanian women are believed to have been raped during 1998–99, at the height of the conflict with Serbia'. Apart from war rapes, another serious cause of concern is military prostitution. Military prostitution is not only physical and exploitation of women but it also includes economic exploitation. It can influence international politics as well. One such example is • '

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the exploitative sexual alliances between Korean prostitutes and US soldiers defined and

helped to support

By undertaking to police the sexual health and work conduct of prostitutes ,the South Korean government sought to create a more hospitable environment for US troops, sacrificing the human security of the women concerned for the benefit of national security'. 1.7.2 Feminist critique of Realist Theory: Mainstream theories of international relations have neglected women and their experience for a very long time. International relations mostly dealt with masculine and patriarchal aspect of the state. The realist theory of international relations focused on state and national security where women had no place. The major argument of the realist theory was that state is the primary protector of national security. Here, the state was given the responsibility to protect as state was viewed as a masculine entity. Feminist scholars criticized this notion of realist theory for considering state to be masculine and neglecting the role of women. Feminist scholar Rosemary Grant criticizes realism for considering patriarchy to be essential for maintaining social order. As a result of this notion of the realist thinkers, women were excluded from the governance of the state. Feminists also criticized the realist idea of identification of citizens as male and "other". Women came under the "other" category and regarded as outsiders. Realist theorists consider men to be the major actor of the state. This was visible in the writings of Thomas Hobbes and Machiavelli. They

161 | P a g e have placed sovereign man at the center of state affairs. Another realist thinker Hans Morgenthau argued that "nature of man" was at the center for theorizing international relations. It is in the nature of men to dominate and thus men were placed at a superior position for the existence of the states in international politics. Therefore, feminist theorists came up with an alternative to mainstream theories of international relations as theories like realism have excluded women from international relations. 1.8 Summing up: Feminism advocates for equal rights of both men and women. Women have a history of exploitation and subordination and feminist theory emphasizes on correcting the past misdeeds by giving women equal rights and opportunities with men. Feminism believes in equality of men and women and it fights against the social constructs that consider men to be superior than women. Feminist international relations theorists argue that women were under-represented in state and global governance. They criticize mainstream theories like realism for accepting patriarchal norms to be essential for sustaining social order. The feminist international relations theorists also criticize the conventional notion of security and power for sidelining the experiences of women. 1.9 References and Suggested Readings:

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Baylis, John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 205/244** W

John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

95% **MATCHING BLOCK 208/244** W

John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

88% **MATCHING BLOCK 206/244** W

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92% **MATCHING BLOCK 207/244** W

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Chatterjee, Aneek. International Relations Today: Concepts and Applications, Pearson, 2010 Heywood, Andrew. Global Politics. Palgrave Macmillan,2014. Heywood, Andrew. Political Ideologies: An Introduction. Macmillan Education, 2017 Derian, James Der,ed. International Theory-Critical Investigations. New York University Press,1995

162 | P a g e Check Your Progress Very Short Questions: 1. When did feminism start in International Relations? Ans: During the 1980s 2. What does feminism advocate in International Relations? Ans: Rights of Women 3. What is the name of the book authored by Christine de Pisan? Ans: "Book of the City Ladies" (1405) 4. What is the goal of liberal feminism? Ans: Complete Gender Equality 5. Who wrote the book "Sexual Politics" (1970)? Ans: Kate Millet 6. What does post-colonial feminism study? Ans: the subordination of women according to their social and cultural context 7. How does feminism see security? Ans: Highly Gendered 8. Who wrote The Feminine Mystique? Ans: Betty Friedman 9. Who wrote "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman"? Ans: Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 10. Who wrote Bananas, Beaches and Bases? Ans: Cynthia Enloe Answer briefly 1. How do feminists define power? 2. How do feminists analyse the state? 3. What is the feminist critique of Realism? 4. Why do feminists see war as a gendered process? 5. What is the feminist vision of security? 6. How did feminism's 'second wave' differ from its' first wave'? 7. Why is the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' so important in feminist theory? 8. Write a short note on Postcolonial Feminist International Relations. Discuss briefly 1. Discuss the feminist theory to study international studies. 2. What are the different types of feminism in international relations? 3.Discuss the feminist vision of security and war?

166 | P a g e unit: 5-Alternative perspective on International Relations UNIT 5 ECOLOGISM UNIT STRUCTURE : 5.1 Introduction 5.2 Objectives 5.3 Ecologism 5.4. Origins and development of Green Political Theory 5.5 Types of green ideology 5.6. Themes of green ideology 5.7. Green ideology and global environmental politics in contemporary times 5.8 Summing up 5.9 References and Suggested Readings 5.10 Model Questions 5.11 Answer to Check Your Progress _____ 5.1 Introduction Making peace with nature is the defining task of the 21st century. It must be the top, top priority for everyone, everywhere. AntónioGuterres, United Nations Secretary-General Letter from the Executive Director, UNEP in 2020. According to the State of the Global Climate 2020- • Some 9.8 million displacements, largely due to hydrometeorological hazards and disasters, were recorded during the first half of 2020. • Disruptions to the agriculture sector by COVID-19 exacerbated weather impacts along the entire food supply chain, elevating levels of food insecurity World Meteorological Organization, 2021

167 | P a g e The above statements and statistics reflects the importance of protection of the environment and conserving global commons in contemporary times. At a time when climate change, ozone depletion and increasing use of pesticides in agricultural produce has become the norm, Green political theory or ecologism as a school of thought not only raises philosophical questions, like-what is the relationship between man and environment, but it combines normative thinking with empirical suggestions, like –what can be done. Ecologism, as an ideology is not only concerned with human-nonhuman relations but also seeks to enquire into the role of the state and non-state forces in the protection of the environment. 5.2

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Objectives After going through this unit, you will be able to: • know the concept of

ecologism, • discuss importance of green ideology, • understand the challenges the state faces in maintaining the delicate balance between environment, market and development. 5.3 Ecologism The field of international relations has gradually widened to include environmental issues. In the face trans-boundary character of environmental challenges, vulnerabilities of the states stands exposed. While science and technology has helped become humans become more efficient, it has also contributed to increase in use of plastic, wastage and 'sink' problems. Therefore the emergence of ecologism as school of thought in largely linked to understanding the causes of ecological degradation but as humanity becomes deeply involved in exploitation of nature, it also seeks to provide solutions to this challenge. Ecologism, as a broad approach not only focuses on relations between the human and the nonhuman it also looks into state policies and its impact and the environment. Furthermore, ecologism also studies the political and economic impact of burning issues like climate change, deforestation, and displacement. Ecologism is part of green political theory should be seen as an 'ideology' as it is prescriptive in nature. Ecologism argues that the earth and its resources are finite. The rapid growth of population and coupled with excessive consumption of natural resources has led to undermining of 'nature', which has had

168 | P a g e major consequences for the vulnerable segments of the society and which will have long term repercussion for greater humanity. Planet earth is finite and there is indeed 'limits to growth'. 5.4 Origins and development of Green Political Theory The origin of 'green' political theory can be traced to the Industrial Revolution and its negative fallout. The Industrial Revolution led to major changes in rights of the workers, mechanisation of means of production and excessive use of natural resources. It must be recalled that the industrial revolution was also linked with colonialism and imperialism; it did create a sense of injustice amongst the vast majority of the underdeveloped nations. With the emergence of the science of ecology and later the integration of science, ethics and politics in diagnosing and providing answers to socio-ecological and related problems, especially issues around pollution control and lifestyles and the quest for 'good life', that the 'ecological crisis' in the 1960s became more mainstream. In the 1970s, issues of global warming, excessive use of natural resource, deforestation the 'limits to growth' thesis gained prominence. There was a feeling amongst the global community about the eminent ecological disaster if rampant industrialization continues at the same pace. Again, there was a growing consciousness about the interconnected need between the human and the non-human world and the need for its protection as well as its conservation. As 'rights of animals' became increasingly more important, so too did the need for the protection of the 'global commons'. The idea of a 'sustainable society' and respect for universal human rights gained momentum in mainstream political discourse. The attempt to 'humanise' the STOP TO CONSIDER Green Movement, it encompasses the terms environmentalism and ecologism. Though often used interchangeably, there is a subtle distinction between the two. Environmentalism as term is not an 'ideology' but rather denotes its concerns about protection of the environment from human intervention. It argues about the need for a 'managerial approach' to issues of pollution control, climate change and resource management. Ecologism- as a philosophy, human beings is only part of the greater nature. As an ideology, it stresses the need for radical changes in the relationship between man and the non-human world.

169 | P a g e development process started to make rapid strides - humans and ecology were increasingly recognized as being part of a 'web', intricately related. Green political theory is prescriptive in nature and includes transformation of the 'economic world. Furthermore, green political theory seeks to extend the 'moral community', as it seeks to highlight not only the challenges for the present generation but also seeks to provide a roadmap of 'sustainability' for the future generations. The origins and development of green political theory can be explained in terms of 'waves'. The 'first wave' of green political theory was primarily focusing of ecologism as an ideology. The 'second wave' was characterized by the debates between green political theory and other mainstream theories of International Relation such as liberalism, socialism, feminism etc. The third wave' reflects the applied nature of green politics and to its interdisciplinary character. As the world become engulfed in various ecological issues- deforestation, artificial floods, climate change and sustainable development, the key challenge for green political theory is to reflect on the variety of environmental concerns on an equal footing. The standpoint of individual, communities and nations on finding solutions to environmental problems will greatly differ. Additionally, the interdisciplinary character of the subject matter makes this approach to understanding world politics very vast in character.

_____ 5.5Types of green ideology Green ideology is not only 'human-centered thinking' which draws its inspiration from other established political traditions, but it also reflects on mechanism to address various ecological challenges. Green ideology is not a very coherent 'ideology' because it not only encompasses divergent goals but the different sub-schools envisages various aspects of the human –non human world. STOP TO CONSIDER Anthropocentrism: It is a viewpoint that human beings are the central entities in the world. Ethical principles are applied only to human being not for other living beings. While being opposed to eco-centrism, it refers to 'human centered nature'. It gives primacy to needs and values of human beings at the cost of nature.

170 | P a g e Some of the important sub-traditions within green ideology are: Modernistecology: It is a sub-school within the green ideology framework that is practiced by mainstream political parties and environmental groups. Also known as 'reformist ecology', it continues to espouse the goal of economic growth within the capitalist framework with 'environment sustainable practices'. Thus it is also known as 'shallow ecology'. One of the essential features of this school is the recognition that natural resources are 'finite' and there are 'limits to growth'. Pollution, environmental degradation and excessive use of non−renewable natural resources will result in greater harm for the larger humanity in the long run. It is a school that believes in 'sustainable development'. This school of thought is often criticized by the radical ecologists as being 'part of the problem rather than part of the solution'. Often it supports the idea of 'green capitalism' or market based solution to larger environmental problems. Amongst others, it believes in greater taxation for industries without questioning the idea of 'capitalism'. Often promoting the use of 'green technology', this school of thought has been greatly favoured by the conservatives and global industrialists. It espouses the idea of 'responsible consumption'. It looks at the role of the state in a more favourable manner, i.e the government has an effective role to play in protection of environment and promote the optimal use of its natural resources. Social ecology: This term was coined by Murray Bookchin. Broadly it refers to the idea that environmental degradation is linked to existing social structures. Therefore any measure to protect the environment will require radical social change. Furthermore, it can be classified into three distinct ideas- Social ecology, thus defined, encompasses three distinct traditions: STOP TO CONSIDER Sustainable development: The watchword of this form of green ideology is therefore sustainable development (in the sense of 'weak' sustainability) or, more specifically, environmentally-sustainable capitalism. As, in economic terms, this means 'getting richer more slowly', modernist ecology extends moral and philosophical sensibilities only in modest directions.

171 | P a g e • Ecosocialism: According to this tradition, the relentless quest for profits under capitalist mode of economy has resulted in environmental crises. This viewpoint has been greatly favoured by the German Greens and followers of Marxist ideology. The key argument is that the market economy has led to 'commodification' of the nature. Capitalism breeds consumerism, hence the constant quest for growth has led to environmental degradation. Therefore all attempts to protect the environment will require radical social change and even 'social revolution'. For the Ecosocialists,'socialism is naturally ecological'. However, it must be recalled that a mere change in ownership of means of production does not imply protection of the environment. • Eco-anarchism: This theory while rejecting the idea of a 'government', a 'stateless society' is advocated by the anarchists; a stateless society is based on 'diversity' and 'mutual respect'. There are no external regulators in a stateless society. This stateless society is one composed of communes and is rather 'decentralised' in character. Life in such societies is rather closely connected with the natural environment and is based on the idea of 'self-sufficiency' through small scale industries, without any dependence on the external factors except the ecology. As a result of this close connection are decentralized communities and the natural environment which in turn leads to long term respect for the ecology. This school of thought is has been greatly influenced by the ideas put forth by William Morris and Kropotkin. Murray Bookchin's 'Our Synthetic Environment'(1962) stressed on the idea that 'social stability' can be only achieved through ecological balance. Largely this school of ecologism believes in the importance of 'participatory mechanism' in management and conservation of natural resources. • Ecofeminism: This school of thought has now emerged as a powerful force in academia as well as in practice. The key theme is that the destruction of ecology and the natural environment is related to 'patriarchy'; the larger natural world is under threat from patriarchal elements and institutions of power. It is the 'sexual division of labour' that allows men to assume dominance over women and the nature. The relationship between women and nature is not a new one; the 'Gaia paradigm', named after Greek goddess of Earth, reinforces the idea of living organisms interacting with the inorganic elements through a self-regulating mechanism.

172 | P a g e Feminism advocates values of cooperation, nurturing and reciprocity which is adequately reflected in the relationship between women and nature. For the eco-feminists, patriarchy promotes the dominance of culture over nature which needs to be challenged. Deep ecology: It is also known as 'eco-centrism', the term 'deep ecology' was coined in 1973 by Arne Naess. It is 'deep' for it asks more fundamental questions about ecology and the need for its conservation. At the heart of this school of thought, is the contradiction between the irreconcilable differences between ecology and anthropocentricism. This viewpoint advocates 'bio-centric equality' and that all species have 'equal right to live and bloom'. It is a more radical in its approach for it advocates 'ecological consciousnesses, where the distinction between humankind and nature is questioned. The idea of nature being 'valueless' and a resource that can be exploited endlessly has been severely criticized the deep ecologists. As a result, advocates of this school stress the need for a paradigm shift in the way humans think about the natural world. It stresses the need for maintenance of 'ecological balance over the achievement of narrowly human ends'. Advocating the importance of 'population control', 'bioregionalism', 'wilderness preservation' and 'simple living' it challenges the mainstream views about the state and its measure to conserve the ecology. However, deep-ecologism has been seen as rather 'socially conservative' as well as 'philosophically andmorally flawed'. In practical terms, anthropocentricism and ecology are mutually reinforcing. Theorists in Green Politics Key works Arne Naess Ecology, Community and Lifestyle (1989) Murray Bookchin Ecology of Freedom (1982) Vandana Shiva Monocultures of the Mind (1993) Carolyn Merchant The Death of Nature (1983) Garrett Hardin The Ecology of Freedom (1982) _____
5.6Themes of green ideology Andrew Heywood in 'Political Ideologies' (2017) highlights that despite of being composed of different schools with different philosophical underpinnings, there are certain key themes that pervades across this ideology. They are-

173 | P a g e • Ecology: It is the central theme of all forms of green thought. Ecosystems are not 'closed' but rather a reflection of harmony- all plants and animals depend on each other. The natural world is complex web of ecosystem, known as 'ecosphere'. When looked upon from a deeper perspective, ecology is contradictory to the needs of 'humankind', where capitalism and industrialization have often thought to be the answer to all the developmental challenges across the globe. The depletion of finite resources degradation of environment will surely hurt nations in the long run. • Holism: It refers to the interconnected character of nature and its surroundings. 'Holism' suggests that different parts are organically connected; parts cannot be understood in isolation. A 'system' best reflects this reciprocal relationship between parts and the whole, each capable of influencing the other. • Sustainability: Human beings have been accused as being particularly insensitive towards nature. The natural world and its resources have been seen as a tool which can be over-exploited, endlessly. 'Tragedy of the commons' has become a reality. Global environmental problems such as climate change and deforestation have become a reality that has come to haunt vulnerable communities. Therefore the international community must come up with solutions wherein 'sustainable' practices for protection of environment gets imminence. At the current pace of global industrialization, the fragile ecosystem will surely collapse, whereby the future generations will suffer. • Environmental ethics: While the issue of 'sustainability' of the environment, as to how much is to left for the future generation, remains a complex question unanswered; an alternative moral standards need to be developed. Peter Singer's views on condemning of 'speciesism' i.e the belief that one species is superior to the other, must be put forth. Like humans, animals also have rights; they also feel pain and pleasure. Therefore, rights of human beings cannot be above those of animals. Likewise Goodin (1992) argues about the 'green theory of value' wherein natural resources should be prized because they are a result of a natural process rather than human action. • From having to being: Green philosophy provides us a critique materialism and capitalism in different ways. Largely because capitalism promotes consumerism which in turn affects our natural habitat. The prevalence of a consumerist society means that delicate balance between ecology and human needs will continue to be hampered. Therefore there is a need to develop alternative or post materialist lifestyle, where the quality of life is enhanced while

174 | P a g e giving up consumerist way of life. Sharing, caring, spirituality and newer modes of green transportation is now promoted by green thinkers. _____ 5.7Green ideology and global environmental politics in contemporary times In contrast to the mainstream theories of international relations, green ideology has emerged as a powerful narrative. Ecologism as a theory has been able to draw attention in the field of international relations because of their focus on ecology and its ability to discuss about the relations between the human and non-human world. What makes this ideology different from others is that it is not only prescriptive in nature, but gradually states are now beginning to implement the measures suggested by different environmental movements and the civil society. The issue of environment- its conservation, degradation and promotion has become a global one, for it truly encapsulates multiple actors-each operating under its own philosophy of what is considered to be the right balance between human and the non- human world. Environmental degradation is truly a global problem which no state can confront on its own, rather it has to be addressed at different 'levels' and through a multipronged approach. Climate change and rising sea levels, excessive use of fossil fuel, deforestation, floods and droughts have become truly impacted nations across the globe. In India, environmental movements too have made their presence felt is shaping state policies towards development projects. Environmental movements in India Year /Place Bishnoi Movement 1700, Khejarli, Marwar region, Rajasthan state. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS Questions: 1. What is ecology? 2. What is ecofeminism? 3. What is sustainable development? 4. What is anthropocentrism? 5. What is environmentalism? 175 | P a g e Chipko Movement 1973, Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand. Save Silent Valley Movement 1978, Silent Valley, an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala, India. Jungle BachaoAndholan 1982, Singhbhum district of Bihar Appiko Movement 1983, Uttara Kannada and Shimoga districts of Karnataka State Narmada BachaoAndholan (NBA) 1985, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Tehri Dam Conflict 1990's, Bhagirathi River near Tehri in Uttarakhand. Globally, environmental movements have become key players in shaping state policies towards environment. Such movements seek to address 'resource', 'sink' and 'ethical problems'. All these problems are intimately connected with rapid consumerism, faulty state policies, high population growth rate and rapid industrialization. Several international NGOs are now involved in addressing issues pertaining to environment and its conservation. International NGOs Year Place/Headquarter Area of interest Global Footprint Network 2003 California, USA Sustainability, ecological footprint and biocapacity. Greenpeace 1971 Amsterdam, Netherlands Climate change, anti-nuclear issues, commercial whaling, deforestation, genetic engineering.

176 | P a g e Rainforest Alliance 1987 USA Conservation of biodiversity and ensure sustainable livelihoods. The Climate Reality Project 2006 Washington, D.C., U.S Climate change education. Traffic (conservation programme) 1976 Cambridge, UK Trade in wild plants and animals. Wetlands International 1937 Netherlands Sustain and restore wetlands. World Wide Fund for Nature 1969 Switzerland Conservation and reduction of threats to the diversity of life on Earth. Conservation International 1987 USA Protect nature - fresh water, livelihoods and a stable climate. Since the 1970s, the international community has taken certain key initiatives which have thrust environmental issues to the mainstream. Environmental Moments Year Event /Treaty/Programme 2019 The United Nations General Assembly declares 2021—2030 as the United Nations Decade on Ecosystem Restoration. 2017 The Minamata Convention on Mercury comes into force with the objective of protecting human health and the environment from anthropogenic emissions and releases of mercury compounds.

177 | P a g e 2016 In response to the global trafficking crisis, UNEP launches Wild for Life, a campaign to protect endangered wildlife species. 2015 The United Nations Sustainable Development Summit leads to the adoption of 17 Sustainable Development Goals as part of a new global agenda on sustainable development 2014 The Climate Summit 2014 is held at UN Headquarters in New York. 2012 The United Nations General Assembly establishes the universal membership of UNEP's governing body, ushering in a new era of stronger international environmental governance during the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, also known as RIO+20. 2009 The Copenhagen Climate Change Conference raised climate change policy to the highest political level. Close to 115 world leaders attended the high-level segment, making it one of the largest gatherings of world leaders ever outside UN headquarters in New York. 2007 The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts to build and disseminate knowledge about human-made climate change and to lay foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change. 2002 The World Summit on Sustainable Development takes place in Johannesburg, with a focus on improving people's lives and conserving our natural resources in a world that is growing in population. 2001 United Nations Member States adopt the Stockholm Convention. The Convention, which includes 176 parties, aims to protect human health and the environment from chemicals that persist for long periods in the environment. 2000 103 countries sign the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety, a supplement to the Convention on Biological Diversity. 1998 The United Nations launches the Rotterdam Convention to promote shared responsibilities in relation to the import of hazardous chemicals and pesticides. 1997 The General Assembly convenes a Special Session focused on the environment. Known as Earth Summit +5, its aim is to accelerate the implementation of Agenda 21 and launch a new global partnership for sustainable development.

1996 The United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification enters into force. 1992 The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Earth Summit, takes place in Rio de Janeiro, 3–14 June. It establishes several major environmental agreements, including Agenda 21, and opens two multilateral treaties for signature: the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity 1989 183 countries adopt the Basel Convention to regulate the movement and disposal of hazardous waste. 1988 UNEP and the World Meteorological Organization launch the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change with the objective of providing governments at all levels with scientific information that they can use to develop climate policies. 1987 The World Commission on Environment and Development delivers the Brundtland Report to the General Assembly, ushering in a new approach to environmental action focused on the concepts of sustainable development. 1979 Seventeen countries agree to cooperate in research and support protections on 120 migratory species and establish the Bonn Convention on Migratory Species. 1974 The world celebrates the first World Environment Day on 5 June, under the theme "Only One Earth." 1972 The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is established after the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm, Sweden 5–16 June 1972. 1968 In one of the earliest organizing documents of multilateral environmental action, the United Nations Secretary-General delivers a report, Activities of United Nations Organizations and Programmes Relevant to the Human Environment. The report lays the groundwork for the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as the world's leading environmental authority. Source: United Nations Environment Programme Environmental Moments: A UNEP@50 timeline available at https://www.unep.org/news-and- stories/story/environmental-moments-un75-timeline The measures of the state to protect the environment have been questioned by many environmental groups. Many a times, most

environmental groups are part of the coalition of the greater anti- globalisation/ anti-capitalism movement. International cooperation has proved to be difficult because the richer western nations blame the third world countries rapid population growth rate for environmental degradation but richer countries also consume fossil fuel at a higher rate. According to the World Bank (2021) Climate change has not slowed down and its connection with human wellbeing and poverty is increasingly visible. Unchecked, it will push 132 million people into poverty over the next 10 years, undoing hard-won development gains. 1 According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC,2021)-

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The frequency and intensity of some extreme weather and climate events have increased as a consequence of global warming and will continue to increase under medium and high emission scenarios. 2

As the world faces greater uncertainty, ecologism serves as a timely reminder to the global leadership about the environmental challenges ahead. As an ideology, it certainly is based on certain normative values and it does carry with it a certain amount of persuasive power. The initiatives taken by global institutions reveal that certainly environment and its challenges have become more 'mainstream' in international relations.
_____ 5.8 Summing up Ecologism as an ideology has assumed significant importance in contemporary times. While it does have certain normative elements in its theme, it has been able to gain major foothold among academicians, policy makers and even the major industries which have realized that earth and its resources need to protected. This school of thought is extremely vast but it has managed to be more than just a prescriptive ideology. The international community and various international NGOs have now picked up the pace towards addressing issues of climate change, deforestation, sustainable development, desertification and promotion of participation by local communities in their programmes.

STOP TO CONSIDER Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change: "The IPCC was created to provide policymakers with regular scientific assessments on climate change, its implications and potential future risks, as well as to put forward adaptation and mitigation options. Created by the United Nations Environment Programme (UN Environment) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in 1988, the IPCC has 195 Member countries." (Details available at www.ipcc.ch) 5.9References and Suggested Readings Baylis, J.,

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and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goodin, Robert E. (1992).Green Political Theory., Polity Press. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS Questions: 7. What is Agenda 21? 8. When was the UNEP established? 9. What is deep ecology? 10. What is ecoanarchism? 11. When is the World Environment Day celebrated? 12. In which year was the IPCC awarded the Nobel Prize?

168 | P a g e Harris, Paul G.(2014), Routledge Handbook of Global Environmental Politics, Routeldge: NY Heywood, Andrew.(2017), Political Ideologies : An introduction. Red Globe Press. Weber, Cynthia (2010), International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction (3rd edn.) London: Sage CHECK YOUR PROGRESS A) Short Questions Q 1: Who wrote 'The Silent Spring'? Q 2: What is the full form of IPCC? Q 3: What is the full form of UNEP? Q 4: In which year was the Brundtland Report published? Q 5: What is the Bonn Convention related to? Q 6: The World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in which city? B) Long Questions Q 1: Discuss the origin and development of green political theory. Q 2:Discuss the different types of green ideology. Q 3:What are the key themes of green ideology. Q 4:Write a note on global environmental politics. Q 5:Analyse the efforts of the global community in protection of the environment. *******************************XXXXXXXX***************** ************* Endnotes: 1 Climate Change, available at https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/climatechange/overview, accessed on 23 August 2021 2 Technical Summary IPCC, https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/sites/4/2020/07/03_Technical-Summary- TS_V2.pdf, accessed on 23 August 2021

BLOCK: IV KEY DEBATES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

169 | P a g e UNIT 1 CIVILIZATION, RACE AND IDENTITY Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 What is Civilization? 1.3.1 Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations 1.3.2 The Clash of Civilizations: Debate 1.4 What is Race? 1.4.1 Racism in International Relations 1.4.2 Racial Discrimination 1.5 What is Identity? 1.5.1 Identity Politics in International Relations 1.6 Summary 1.7 References and Suggestive Readings 1.1 Introduction Civilization, race and identity are the three crucial concepts of International Relations (IR). These concepts are not new and can be traced back to the world war period. However, its usages can be seen prominently after the end of the Cold War, where the world has witnessed the rise of multipolar world order in ethnic, religious and cultural ground. Though the 21 st century is known as the age of globalization, yet this age is also marked by the consciousness of emerging civilizations on cultural ground. Race has been a core concern in the IR since the genocide of Jewis people in Germany by Hitler. Race is a social phenomenon refers to a group of people who are socially defined on the basis of similar/dissimilar characteristics. In this unit, our aim is to deal with the concepts of civilization, race and identity and its implications in the new world order. While discussing Civilization in IR, it is crucial to understand Huntington's idea on the clash of civilization. Race and ethnicity are also crucial in understanding the civilizational crisis and in the process the consciousness of one's identity plays a critical role. Therefore, analyzing the interrelationship among three is another endeavour of the study.

170 | P a g e 1.2 Objectives Civilization, race and identity are the three core concerned areas of IR in the globalizing world order, where national boundaries are fluid yet bounded. In this unit, our prime objective is to • Describes the concept of civilization, race and identity • Explain the meaning of civilization, race and identity in IR • Understand the core ideas of civilization with particular reference to the "clash of civilizations" • Analyze the concept of race and identity in shaping IR 1.3 What is Civilization? Civilization, in general, means the social and cultural development through which a society or place reaches an advanced stage of development. The concept of civilization is used in IR. In IR, civilization can be understood as a process of social identifications which is based on large-scale collectivities as comparison to different other units of smaller social entities. They are large both in time framework and in space which they cover. Yurdusev describes civilization as "large-scale collective identifications" (Yurdusev, 2003). To him, historically, all the civilizations of the world has comprised of certain international systems, accompanied by culture, progress and development. In IR, civilization comes in to prominence in establishing the dominance of one civilization over others. In this context, Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis is important to understand. 1.3.1 Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations The end of the Cold War has marked an era where culture started influencing the world politics instead of ideologies. One of the most significantly discussed works that attempts to point out the importance of culture in contemporary global politics has been Samuel P. Huntington's "clash of civilizations" thesis. This is a theory which postulates that in the post-Cold War world, the conflict among nations will not occur on the ground of economy or ideology but rather on the ground of culture. Though the thesis was written within the context of post-Cold War period, but the concept of civilizational clash started growing attention during 1990s in areas such as former Yugoslavia,

171 | P a g e Rawanda in terms of ethnic conflicts. However, the thesis and its arguments had its greatest impact after September 11, 2001. This marks the changing nature of the world order where global terrorism was seen as a result of an emerging clash between the Islam and the West. Huntington's core argument was that in the new world order or in the new global politics civilization would work as a primary force than ideology. To Huntington, a civilization means "culture writ large" (Heywood, 2011). In this way, Huntington's concept of civilization is going against the neo-liberal institutional idea of international interdependence and international co-operation. In terms of realism, he believes in the traditional view of realism that stresses upon the power driven states as the key actors of world politics. However, Huntington accepts that the struggle for power took place within civilizational framework and not on the ground of ideology. To Huntington, cultural conflicts happen at two different levels: I. Micro level- It occurs at the "fault-lines" between civilizations. Here, "one human tribe" group tend to clash with another tribal group which can be seen as communal wars. II. Macro level- At this level, conflict occurs between two large civilizations. Sometimes, it can be seen as clash among powerful states, particularly "core" states. In the 21 st century, Huntington warned about likelihood of civilizational conflict between China and the West, and between the West and the Islam. He also accepted the potential of conflict between the West and the "Rest" that can be spearheaded by the anti- Western alliance of China and Islamic states of the world together. Huntington's account on civilizational conflicts has been criticised on various grounds. Firstly, at micro level, Huntington talks about the clashes among tribal groups having homogenous culture. But in practice, concept of homogenous culture is problematic as civilizations are consisted of "blurred or hybrid cultural identities" (Heywood, 2011). Secondly, Huntington focuses more on "culturalism". He, however, fails to recognize the fact that cultural identities are shaped by both social and political circumstances. For example, the ethnic conflicts of former Yugoslavia in the 1990s were not the product of natural hatreds but rather it could be seen as the consequences of growing national and radical doctrines that had been created by the collapse of communism. Thirdly, critics argue that conflicts between civilizations are more of an

172 | P a g e expression of perceived political, economic and social injustices rather than of any cultural rivalry. Stop to Consider Culturalism Culturalism is a belief that every human being are culturally defined creatures. Here, culture works as the universal basis for personal and social identity. Nevertheless, the idea of a "clash of civilizations" thesis is important in the 21 st century global world order to have a understanding about the growing political importance of culture, more specifically considering a de-ideologized world order and a move against the Western global hegemony. Huntington critically explains the capacity of cultural differences in creating political conflict. He recognized that global civilizational conflicts are directly linked with the shifting balance of power among different civilizations and these conflicts can only be managed by political intervention. Know Your Progress Question 1: What do you understand by civilization? (20 words) ....

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Question 2: What is the core argument of Huntington's "clash of civilizations"? Explain briefly with examples. (30+40 words) ....

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Question 3: On what grounds Huntington's thesis has been criticized? (40 words)

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173 | P a g e 1.3.2 The Clash of Civilizations: Debate Huntington's work on the "clash of civilizations" suggests that 21 st century will be marked by increasing civilizational conflict and tensions, but this conflict will be cultural in nature than any ideological orientation. It is neither political nor economic. But, the rise of globalizing world order has challenged this thesis. Therefore, there is a need to understand the debate to have a clear understanding on civilizational conflict. Supporters of civilizational conflict argue that 21 st century is the century of culture. Since the end of the Cold War, globalization has minimized the sense of civic belongingness among nations and as a result the concept of "cosmopolitanism" has come in to question. As ideology is believed to be faded in this world order, therefore, it is culture that takes prominence in the world affairs. In this context, people are becoming conscious about their identities. This forces them to think in terms of their religion, ancestry, history, values, customs etc. This form of understanding creates a bond among those nations who shares similar cultural bonds. For example, "Hinduization", "Islamization", "Russianization" etc. A stronger concern for identity and cultural belonging leads to conflict and tension among different culture. It happens because different cultures follow different rules, values and customs. Moreover, one particular culture sees another culture as the fault culture in understanding the world. Therefore, there is less chance that cross- cultural affinity can be brought about. Together with that, the feeling of "otherness" creates a gap between "us" and "them"; "us" as privileged civilization and "them" as "barbarian" civilization. There are certain trends which Huntington highlighted drew attention to civilizational tension. It happens, according to him, because of the rise of multipolar world which is marked by "multicivilizational" character. This includes the declining trend of the US hegemony in the world affairs and the rise of China as an emerging giant in the global economy. The resurgence of Islam and their population explosion can be regarded another tension area where there is an inescapable civilizational dimension. Stop to Consider Cosmopolitanism It is the idea that postulates that all human beings are members of a

174 | P a g e single community. The idea promotes universal moral standards, focuses on establishing global political structures and developing an atmosphere where respect and tolerance for different culture is practised. Immanual Kant envisioned a cosmopolitan world where there is no army rule; rather people are being governed within a representative global institution. Critics of the "clash of civilizations" thesis argue that Huntington's notion of culture and civilization is complex and fragmented. They argue that the "clash of civilizations" thesis portrayed culture as rigid and "hermetically sealed". This gave rise to a narrow concept of civilization and seemingly unchanging sets of values, understanding and traditions. The idea of conflict among civilizations is based on homogenous model is problematic. It is because, in practice, civilizations are not homogenous blocks, but they are complex and often open to external influence. For instance, the "Western civilization", the "Islamic civilization", as Huntington puts, fails to consider the political, cultural and social divisions within each civilization. Together with that, Huntington also failed in understanding the influence of one civilization in the development of other. Critics also highlighted the idea that the cultural difference doesn't really linked with political antagonism. To them, cultural similarity can't guarantee peace and stability as most wars take place within states that belong to the same civilization. In fact, there are also considerable evidences where states from different cultures, religious or ethnic groups have been living together sharing empathy for each other. Finally, when two cultural groups fight with each other then it can be seen as the manifestation of deeper political and social factors. The "clash of civilizations" thesis, according to critics, ignores the effect of globalization in bringing together the states of the world. It also fails to understand how globalization has already blurred cultural differences in many parts of the world. Check Your Progress Question 1: Briefly explain the declining trend of the "clash of civilizations" thesis in the global world order.

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175 | P a g e Self Asking Question Question 1: Do you believe that there is an emerging trend of civilizational conflict in the world? Give reasons. (60 words) 1.4

What is Race? Generally, race is social identification of humans based on shared physical and social qualities. They are viewed different and distinct based on their colour and appearances. The term "race" was used to denote a group of people who speaks the same and common language. Modern science regards race as a social construction where rules to become distinct and different from others are made by the society. While race is determined by physical similarities within groups, yet race doesn't have any inherent biological meaning. The concept of race is foundational to racism. Racism is a belief system that sees that human beings can be divided based on the superiority of one race over another. Racism as social construct has developed within various legal, economic and socio-political context. As a social construct, racism has real material and physical effects in the lives of people through institutionalized practices of discrimination. 1.4.1 Racism in International Relations (IR) Ashley Montagu in his masterpiece "Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race" (1954) describes racism as "an important subject about which clear thinking is generally avoided". Racism in IR is a large, complex and contentious issue. Racism is the concept that postulates that human groups possess different behavioural traits which can be seen from superior and subordinate behaviour. Racism is a modern concept which arises during the age of imperialism in the Europe and the subsequent growth of capitalism. South Africa's "Anti-Apartheid" Movement can be understood as an outcome of racial discrimination against the black people.

176 | P a g e As a part of "civilizing mission" or the "Christianizing mission" European imperialism succeeded in establishing right of the superior people. This could be seen as the justification given by Europeans to maintain and extend their domination in those lands that comes under European imperialism. The concept of inequality of races was systematized in the later part of the 19 th century. In the US, racism was started as a result of the attempt to justify the enslavement of the black skinned people of Africa. Together with that Jim Crow Law (laws enacted for racial segregation in the Southern US) was designed to reduce the black Americans in higher positions. They believed that black Americans were born only for servitude. Governor of South Carolina J.H. Hammond brought the concept of racism in a critical point through his theory of "mudsill". According to that theory, "in every society there must be a class to do the menial tasks" (Melle, 2009). It also argued that in every society the lower class people, both politically and socio- economically, was necessary for the progress and development of the upper class. The Civil War took the issue of slavery as an important concern of the war but not racism. Stop to Consider Mudsill Theory Mudsill theory is the idea which argues that there must be a lower class of people for the upper classes people. James Henry Hammond coined the term "Mudsill Theory". This concept was directly used to advocate the slavery system. It was because, in order to establish grip on the Southern economy, they need African slaves for the development of Southern market. This theory was criticised on the ground that it helped in increasing racial discrimination and it is exploitative in nature. Self Asking Question Question 1: Why is racism so critical to understand in the International relations? ....

177 | P a g e Check Your progress Question 1: What do you understand by race and racism in International Relations? (30 words) ....

....

....

Question 2: How has racism evolved? What are the various ways through which racism was expanded in the global politics? (20+30 words) ....

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.... 1.4.2

Racial Discrimination While the concept of race and ethnicity are considered to be different, yet these two concepts have a long history of equivalence. Ethnicity is closely interrelated with race as ethnic identities are also distinct identities. In both the concepts the division of human groups based on certain qualities are treated to be essential. Therefore, racism and racial discrimination are used to describe discrimination on the ethnic basis or cultural basis. The United Nation Convention on Racial Discrimination sees no differentiation between ethnic and racial discrimination. The Convention argues that the superiority on the ground of racial differentiation is scientifically false, socially unjust, morally condemnable and a threat to greater human society. Although many countries around the globe have adopted various legislations in reducing the racial discrimination, yet the first step towards achieving this aim has been taken by the United Nations (UN), namely the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR recognizes the dignity of people as "human being". Therefore, human beings have equal economic, social, cultural and political rights including education. The Declaration further coded that everyone is entitled to have these rights "without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". The UN doesn't define the term "racism". But, in 1965, the UN

178 | P a g e International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was enacted. According to this Convention, racial discrimination is a concept that means "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life". The policy of racial hygiene that was implemented by the Nazi Party is crucial to understand in the context of racial discrimination. This was started as a domestic policy but it had expansionist foreign policy of creating "living space" for the Aryan race. This policy took the form of genocidel war waged by the Imperial German Army in opposition to the Herero and Nama peoples of Southwest Africa. As a result of which in between 1941-1945, the Nazi Germany took initiative to save its own race by systematically slaughtering almost six million Jewish people who lived inside Germany. In the world history, this event is remembered as "holocaust". In 1948, a new governance system called "apartheid" was formulated in the South African government. The apartheid system was based on the separate development of the races. This system regarded African black people as inferior in comparison to whites. This system, however, turned out to be discriminatory and inhumane as it treated the black as insignificant people of the world. Throughout the Cold War period, this system was highly condemned by the UN General Assembly, but nothing fruitful happened. In addition, a group of independent Asian and African states met in the place called Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 so as to propose a structure of governance system though which the apartheid regime can be removed and racism could be outlawed. Racism in international politics is contested not only through diplomatic relations but also through social movements. During the Cold War period, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African communities League took a step to confront and strike against the racial hierarchies and exclusions of the world politics. The Black Power Movement in the United States confronted with the institutional racism in American society. The movement aimed at promoting the dignity and self-empowerment of the Black people. It also tried in bringing the Black people in to the mainstream and re-valued "blackness" as an attribute of beauty and the best of humanity instead of its earlier status of inferiority and ugliness. The Black Power of 1960s' has its impact on and influences upon various other anti-racial

179 | P a g e movements including the Dalits in India. As a systematic step against the racial discrimination, another turn was seen in 2016 where one singer preformed with a troupe of dancers in American Super Bowl sports event which invoked the image of Black Power. Discrimination at any place is not justified, being within domestic environment or in the international environment. However, equal rights and dignity of every individual should be a considerable matter of world politics. Check Your Progress Question 1: What so you mean by racial discrimination in the world politics?

....
....
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Question 2: Mention two important UN conventions that dealt with reducing the racial discrimination in the International politics? ....

....
.... Self

Asking Questions Question 1: What are the roles of social movements in reducing racial discrimination globally?

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.... 1.5

What is Identity? Identity, in general, refers to a stable and enduring sense of selfhood. David Campbell notes that "identity is an inescapable dimension of being. No body could be without it" (Campbell, 1992). Identity is a concept which refers continuity and sameness in situations. Identity

180 | P a g e manifests the notion of self. It all about understanding who I am (self- identity), what role do I have in the society (social identity) and how my identity is related with the surrounded people (humane identity). These form the collective identity. The identity question is very critical in the study of global politics, especially after the end of Cold War the sense of identity among civilizations is increasing. Therefore, to understand the identity politics in IR is crucial to have a clear understanding on the world politics. 1.5.1 Identity Politics in International Relations While the politics of the Cold War era was dominated by the ideological rivalry, yet the aftermath had witnessed the structure of cultural difference. The divide between capitalism and communism was based on the contrasting models of industrial society. The capitalist model supported private property based on competitive markets, whereas communism advocated the model of collective ownership based on central planning. Though capitalism won over communist regime, yet the concept of identity politics started getting importance since 1980s. Identity politics view the idea of liberal universalism as a source of oppression. It also negates cultural imperialism because it tends to marginalize and demoralize subordinate groups and people. It is because, in the form of liberal universalism the dominant groups such as men, whites, wealthy try to establish their own interest at the cost of subordinate groups such as women, blacks, poor etc. However, identity politics has its positive aspect of understanding in bringing liberation and empowerment. It believes that social and cultural empowerment and achievement is possible through a process of cultural self assertion. This self assertion leads to pure or authentic form of identity among people. For example, the black consciousness movement, black nationalism etc against racism. Black Nationalism is one of the crucial identity based movement where they fought for their civil rights. Check Your Progress Question 1: What do you mean by identity? Is identity a crucial matter of concern in IR? (20+30 words). ....

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181 | P a g e Approaches to identity in IR There are three main approaches that views identity from three different perspectives in IR. These approaches can be discussed as follow: • Realist view: the realists have put less emphasis on the issue of identity. Realism is a state centred theory and hence, its prime focus is based on the interests and behaviours of the state. Since states are viewed as focal, unified and cohesive entities, therefore it talks about political allegiance and social belonging. As most states are viewed as nation-states, therefore, identity is developed through the ties of nationality and citizenship. National identity is natural according to the realists' thinkers. • Liberal view: liberals understand identity only in terms of personal traits of an individual. For liberals, identity is universal. The liberals commitment to individualism has its implications on identity. To them, the idea of race, religion, culture, gender, social class are of secondary importance and they are not core human identity. • Critical view: the Marxist theory of IR understands identity in terms of social class. This theory believes that people tend to identify those who share same economic position and that determine their class position in the society in the form of identity. Other forms of identity. Class identities are regarded as provisional identity and they are the manifestations of capitalist oppression. This could be swept away once the classless and the communist society had been established. Social constructivists have emphasized the interests and actions of the global actors. These interests and actions shape the sense of identity among individual and among nations. To constructivists, identity is fluid and can't be universal. Self Asking Question Question 1: Which approach do you think fits best in understanding the identity politics in IR? ....

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182 | P a g e 1.6 Summary This unit dealt with the 21 st century global world order with particular reference to civilization, race and identity. These three are crucial in analyzing and interpreting so as to understand the current world order and how these issues have an impact in maintaining foreign policy of a country. These three concepts are interlinked. The formation of identity is closely interconnected with civilization, because the formation of various identities has the power to create disputes among themselves and this way they try to find out their similar identities. Here, racial identity is inherent. The whites against the black can also be seen as racial discrimination. These clashes among races and identities may lead to civilizational crisis and which Huntington rightly pointed out that the 21 st century will be the century of clashes among civilizations. However, globalization has been playing an important role in bringing all the people across the world in a global village through international interdependence, yet clashes are inherent in the global politics. 1.7 References and Suggestive Readings ➢ Heywood, A. (2011). Global Politics. Palgrave Macmillan. ➢ Jackson and Sorensen (2013). Introduction to International Relations. Oxford University Press. ➢ Rattansi. (2007). Racism A Very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press.

183 | P a g e BLOCK IV-UNIT 2 GLOBALISATION-THE CONCEPT UNIT STRUCTURE : 2.1 Introduction 2.2 Objectives 2.3 Globalisation- concept 2.4.Globalisations- Economic dimensions 2.5 Globalisations- Political dimensions 2.6. Globalisations- Cultural dimensions 2.7 Summing up 2.8 References and Suggested Readings 2.9 Model Questions 2.10 Answer to Check Your Progress _____ 2.1 Introduction The Covid-19 pandemic is a grim reminder to the global community that the world is becoming increasingly connected. Like this pandemic, the emergence of several other problems −climate change, global terrorism, financial shocks in stock markets etc. reflects the inability of states to overcome global challenges unilaterally. Indeed a globalised world presents us challenges as well as opportunities. Globalisation is probably the most controversial word in contemporary international relations, for it hard to define and it is a force one can seldom escape. According to the Human Development Report (1999), it represents 'shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders'. The interconnected of world markets and economies, the spread of information and technology, the synchronization of values and goals for the western world, presence of social media- all reflect 'contemporary' globalization. However it has not been a boon for all, as it continues to be resisted from different quarters of the globe. Globalisation is a dynamic process and not a uniform one; a host of factors are influencing the trajectory and its intensity in different parts of the globe. 2.2

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Objectives After going through this unit, you will be able to: • know the concept of

globalisation,
184 | P a g e • understand the different dimensions of globalisation, • identify the factors that are resisting this phenomenon. 2.3 Globalisation-concept The concept of 'politics' has different key dimensions- domestic and global. Several actors are operating at both these levels constantly that are constantly influencing each other. There are a growing number of issues which are truly 'global' in character and the 'risks' 1 that are bound to have worldwide implications. The Covid-19 pandemic has revealed that the world is truly interconnected ad no state can address such problems unilaterally. The increase in global flows- technology, markets and ideas has 'flattened' 2 and made the world a 'borderless' 3 one, but global challenges continue to test states and greater humanity. According to Pieterse, partly because of the fluidity of the concept, periodising globalization is always difficult. Mostly prevalent is the Eurocentric view of globalization which begins with the 'rise of west' (15 th -18 th centuries). However such a viewpoint ignores the 'non- western' contribution to human civilization and disregards the various aspects of globalization. 4 MAJOR PERSPECTIVES ON START OF GLOBALIZATION Time frame Dynamics of globalization Disciplines Short 1970 Production and transport technologies, form of enterprises, value chains, marketing; cultural flows Economics, political science, cultural and communication studies Medium 1800 Modernity Sociology 1500 World market, modern capitalism Political Economy Long 3000 BCE Growing connectivity; forms of social cooperation History, anthropology, archaeology
185 | P a g e Source: Nederveen Pieterse, Jan (2012) "Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization," New Global Studies: Vol. 6: Iss. 2, Article 1. If growing 'connectivity' across the regions are to be taken into perspective, Pieterse identifies the following phases: PHASES OF GLOBALIZATION Phases Start time Central nodes Dynamics Eurasian globalization 3000 BCE Eurasia Agricultural and urban revolutions, migrations, trade, ancient empires Afro-Eurasian 1000 BCE Greco-Roman world, West Asia, East Africa Commercial revolution Oriental globalization 1-trade flows are primarily eastward, from the Middle East towards Asia 500 CE Middle East Emergence of a world economy, caravan trade Oriental globalization 2-2, the balance is westward, from Asia towards the Middle East 1100 East and South Asia and multicentric Productivity, technology, urbanization; Silk Routes Multicentric 1500 Atlantic expansion Triangular trade, Americas Euro-Atlantic 1800 Euro- Atlantic economy Industrialization, colonial division of labor

186 | P a g e 20C globalization 1950 US, Europe, Japan: Trilateral globalization Multinational corporations, (end of) cold war, global value chains 21C globalization 2000 East Asia, BRICS, emerging societies, petro economies New geography of trade, global rebalancing Source: Nederveen Pieterse, Jan (2012) "Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization," New Global Studies: Vol. 6: Iss. 2, Article 1. However it is clear, that new actors (TNCs, INGOs), increased interconnectedness and institutions of global governance (IMF, WB) have come to play an important role in contemporary globalization. From a theoretical perspective, mainstream theories of international relations interpret the phenomenon of globalization from different 'lenses'. Realists are skeptical of globalization as a process that can promote peace and cooperation. For the realists, globalization has been created by states for promoting their narrow self-interests. Inspite of globalization, the dominance of the state will continue for the world will continue to remain an insecure entity. In contrast the liberals are optimistic about the process and results of globalization. A borderless world will create greater opportunities and increase productivity. Globalization is seen a 'positive sum game', where markets will bring benefits to all and promote cooperation as well as peace in the long run. In turn, the 'critical' theorists asks questions about the process of globalization and its ability to promote equality and the ability to achieve social justice. Globalisation is seen as western imperialism; it has led to growing disparities and has diminished voices of marginalized communities. STOP TO CONSIDER 'Runaway World': Eminent theorist Anthony Giddens argues in his classic book Runaway world: How globalisation is reshaping our lives (2000) focuses on two important themes of globalization-risk and detraditionalisation. Institutions such as the state and family are no longer able to provide clearly defined norms and rules of behaviour.

187 | P a g e For Giddens, globalization is a 'unpredictable' and 'destabilizing' process. Most of risks –such as global warming and nuclear disasters are 'manufactured'. Issues of identity of the individual and the state are in a flux; the emergence of new social movements further undermines the legitimacy of the state. 2.4 Globalisation – economic dimension Industrialization, changes in methods of production global distribution of goods, exchange of services is some of many facets of contemporary globalization. Not only has there been 'intensification' of economic relations between countries, the flow of capital and technology has greatly interlinked national economies; the emergence of new markets and new trading blocs has affected the growth and development of states and individuals in the different ways. Giant transnational companies have emerged with considerable economic and political clout. The history of present-day economic globalization can be traced back to creation of the economic institutions in Bretton Woods (New Hampshire, USA) in July 1944, namely – the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The goal of the Bretton Woods conference was to 'establish a framework for economic cooperation and development that would lead to a more stable and prosperous global economy.' 5 STOP TO CONSIDER IMF: (Headquarter – Washington DC; Estd- 27 December 1945) The IMF promotes monetary cooperation and provides policy advice and capacity development support to preserve global macroeconomic and financial stability and help countries build and maintain strong economies. WB: (Headquarter – Washington DC; Estd- July 1944) The World Bank promotes long-term economic development and poverty reduction by providing technical and financial support to help countries reform certain sectors or implement specific projects—such as building schools and health centers, providing water and electricity, fighting disease, and protecting the environment. For more details-imf.org

188 | P a g e Along with the IMF and

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the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1947)

was created for enforcing multilateral trade agreements. The GATT was succeeded by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 which further facilitated economic globalisation. For nearly three decades, the world witnessed the 'golden age of controlled capitalism'. However by the early 1970s, the emergence of new states and the unprecedented energy crises in created major economic turmoil for the US and the global markets. In 1971, the US soon abandoned the 'gold –based fixed rate system'. 'Neoliberalism' as an ideology further legitimized this economic integration of the South and the North. US President Ronald Reagon and British Prime Minister pushed forward neoliberal agenda. The emergence of certain keywords-'privatisation, deregulation and liberalization' became associated with neoliberal globalisations. As the world became more integrated- the impact of financial shocks became more 'global'. The 1997-98 Asian Financial Crisis highlights the volatility of the international financial system. According to a report of the World Bank (2002): Globalization also produces winners and losers, both between countries and within them. Between countries, globalization is now mostly reducing inequality. About 3 billion people live in "new globalizing" developing countries. During the 1990s this group grew at 5 percent per capita compared to 2 percent for the rich countries. The number of extreme poor (living on less than $1 per day) in the new globalizers declined by 120 million between 1993 and 1998. However, many poor countries-with about 2 billion people-have been left out of the process of globalization. Many are becoming marginal to the world economy, often with declining incomes and rising poverty. 6 Furthermore, the emergence of Transnational Companies (TNCs) have transformed the nature and functional of national economies. Not only they hold considerable economic clout but in most of the developing world, they continue to influence the state institutions. 7 Multinational companies are increasingly setting up branches and subsidiaries in many developing countries. Global supply chains, which consist of interconnected economic networks, have been linked to areas where there is abundance of raw materials and cheap labour. This has generated considerable debate as to whether globalization creates a 'race to the bottom'.

189 | P a g e _____ 2.5 Globalisation-political dimension
The nature, role and functioning of the state has come under increasing scrutiny in the post-Cold War era. State and its institutions are increasingly under pressure to perform from domestic and international forces. The growing impact of global institutions, multilateral agreements, trading blocs is now increasingly felt by countries of 'south'. Mechanisms for global governance, the rise of regional groupings, the presence of international regimes and the increasing call for 'democratisation' has had major repercussion for societies and states of the developing world. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) led to creation of states based on principles of territory and sovereignty. It signaled that all state were equal but with asymmetric powers and the presence of international law was for ensuring 'minimal rules of coexistence'. 8 At the end of the World War-I, in Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points', the principles of self-determination received its clearest expression. There was again strong commitment towards establishment of a global institution which could ensure 'collective security'. Though the League of Nations (1920) did not achieve much success, it prepared the ground for the establishment of The United Nations (1945). The UN and its various agencies steadily increased its sphere of influence and undertook several activities which undermined the inviolability of state territoriality and its jurisdiction. By the 1990s, the forces of globalization had grown stronger; the emergence of a 'new world order' meant that the 'borderless world' has become a close reality. It signaled that global problems, such as those of global terrorism, refugee inflows, climate change, will require transnational cooperation between states. There was a growing realization among states that their ability to determine the course of international as well as domestic action was rather limited. Rather international organizations and regimes were shaping state policies and choices. The emergence of global economic institutions- the IMF, WB, G20; the increasing economic importance of regional blocs -EU and ASEAN, have greatly affected the jurisdiction and the influence of states. The proliferation of international NGOs with worldwide membership and reach, further influences state policies. Global civil society which is composed International NGOs like the ICRC, Green Peace, and Amnesty International, too pressurize state policies.

190 | P a g e _____ 2.6 Globalisation-cultural dimension The cultural dimension is one of the most contested facets of globalization. States have proved to be rather limited institution when it comes to regulating interaction of cultures across borders. 'Cultures' is an extensive concept; often it is 'constructed', hybrid and dynamic in character. Finding expression in -language, music, literature and dance form, cultures and identities of communities as well as of individuals is rather contested. Migration of peoples across countries has been a regular phenomenon of human civilization. However the current phase of globalization, which is marked by intensification of relations and ideas, is having a homogenizing effect on local cultures. Rapid modernization, the introduction of information technology, spread of consumerist values has ensured that 'uniqueness' of particular cultures is no longer sacred. The spread of English language, coca-colonization and McDonaldisation of the third world, fashion, movies and music have transcended state borders. The advent of social media and increasing individualism has given birth to new values, goals and aspirations of youths and communities. STOP TO CONSIDER End of History: It is philosophical argument put forward by Francis Fukuyama in his book The end of History and the Last Man (1992). He argues that the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, marks the 'end of history' as there is 'total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism.' Furthermore, he argues the triumph of Western STOP TO CONSIDER European Union (Capital-Brussels, Belgium) Formed in 1993, the European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 27 states of Europe. With the goal of 'promotion of peace', 'security and justice without internal borders' it seeks to protect certain values-human dignity, freedom, democracy. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012, the EU has been at the forefront of advancing the cause of democracy, reconciliation and respect for human rights. The EU is a single economic market and has a common currency-the Euro. For more details- www. europa.eu

191 | P a g e Liberal democracy' and the 'unbashed victory of economic and political liberalism.' As a result there is a constant friction between the 'traditional' and 'modern' ideas as well as values which have accompanied the process of globalization. Perhaps more worrying for the global community is the rise of religious fundamentalism and ethnonationalism. While globalization has promoted certain 'homogenizing' ideas, it has been resisted from various quarters. Cultures is a particular region are seldom homogenous; the 'hybridity of cultures' has become the norm. The forces of globalization have slowly endangered the 'languages' of indigenous communities. _____ 2.7 Summing up The narrative about 'globalisation' is filled with contradictory and rather complex questions -is globalization a good or bad phenomenon? Does globalization give equal opportunities to all- men and women, rich and the poor? Globalisation has come to imply that 'new actors on the world stage' e.g.-WTO, INGOs; 'new tools' e.g.- social media and greater use of artificial intelligence (AI); as well as a greater 'trend towards global governance' or 'new rules' e.g. intellectual property rights and growth of new global multilateral institutions. But it remains a rather fluid concept which has been sharply criticized by many. It is contested for at least two or three very powerful reasons. One is that globalization is not new; if you think of the spread of European empires across the world during the last five hundred years then most people's experience of global CHECK YOUR PROGRESS Questions: 1. What is globalisation? 2. What is IMF? 3. What are the goals of the EU? 4. What is the Peace of Westphalia (1648)? 5. What are the thrust areas of neoliberal philosophy?

192 | P a g e interconnectedness is an experience of colonization and exploitation. So the reasons why parts of the world don't rejoice over increased global interconnectedness are quite understandable. David Held (2004) The benefits of globalization continue to grow unevenly and voices of the marginalized communities continue to remain negligible. The industrially powerful 'North' countries have immensely benefited from the process of globalization, the developing southern bloc of countries has not got their due benefits. Income inequalities have risen too. According to the World Social Report (2020)- 'Income inequality among countries has declined in relative terms but is still higher than inequality within most countries. Absolute income differences between countries continue to grow.' It additionally points out that 'the average income of people living in the European Union is 11 times higher than that of people in sub-Saharan Africa; the income of people in Northern America is 16 times higher than that of sub-Saharan Africans'. 9 Furthermore issues of climate change, deforestation and other such non –traditional security challenges have accompanied the process of globalization, thus affecting the marginalized communities even more. According to the report 'Fulfilling the promise of globalization: advancing sustainable development in an interconnected world' by the UN Secretary General (2017), three clear 'megatrends' are seen in the contemporary globalization, i.e. – 'shifts in production and labour markets; rapid advances in technology; and climate change'. This report also clearly says that- While globalization has been credited with contributing to rapid economic growth, it has not universally delivered on its promise to foster equitable growth and sustainable development. As a result, globalization and multilateralism have been challenged by popular discontent in a number of countries over the past years. Resistance to globalization is growing from those below. In the book 'Globalisation and its discontents' by Joseph E.Stiglitz (2002) he highlights- Today, few-apart from those with vested interests who benefit from keeping out the goods produced by the poor countries-- defend the hypocrisy of pretending to help developing countries by forcing them to open up their markets to the goods of the advanced industrial countries while keeping their

193 | P a g e own markets protected, policies that make the rich richer and the poor more impoverished—and increasingly angry. 10 The neoliberal policies pursued by WTO and the IMF have led to anti-globalisation/ trade protests (Battle for Seattle in 1999, Protests in Genoa, 2001, Occupy Wall Street, 2011) in different parts of the world. Social movements, old and new, have emerged to challenge the dominant capitalist development model of economy. Privatization of state resources and deregulation of the economy has greatly affected the lives of millions across the world. STOP TO CONSIDER Occupy Wall Street (September 2011) It was a protest movement which was started in New York and gradually spread as the 'Occupy Movement' to numerous cities such as London, Rome and Ottawa. Started by anti-consumerist and pro-environment group Adbusters, it raised issues of social and economic inequality as well as corruption. The Occupy Movement targeted large corporations for their inability to distribute benefits to the needy. Students across the US protested against fee hikes and budget cuts in the education sector. Through the use of social media sites such as 'Facebook' and 'Twitter', the protestors coordinated protest events and expressed the disdain towards their governments. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS Questions: 7. What are the Bretton Woods institutions? 8. When was the League of Nations established? 9. What is 'End of History'? 10.What are the 'three megatrends' of contemporary globalization. 11. What is Adbusters associated with?

194 | P a g e 2.8 References and Suggested Readings Baylis,

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Zehfuss, M & Edkins, J (ed.) 2014, Global Politics: A New Introduction. 2nd edn, Routledge, Abingdon. 2.9 Model Questions A) Short Questions Q 1: When was the WTO established? Q 2: Who wrote the book- Globalization and its discontents? Q 3: In which year was the 'Occupy Wallstreet'? Q 4: Who wrote-The end of History and the Last Man? Q 5: Which city is the capital of the European Union? Long Questions Q 1: Discuss the different 'phases' of globalsiation. Q 2: Discuss the cultural dimensions of globalisation. Q 3: Analyse the factors that shape contemporary globalisation. Q 4: Discuss the political dimensions of globalisation. Q 5: Analyse the reasons for 'resistance' to globalisation.
195 | P a g e 2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Answer to Q No. 1: 1995 Answer to Q No. 2: Joseph Stiglitz Answer to Q No. 3: 2011 Answer to Q No. 4: Francis Fukuyama Answer to Q No. 5: Brussels
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Unit 3 Globalisation and its Resistance Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Meaning and Nature 1.4 Globalisation; Causes and its Resistance 1.4.1 Causes responsible towards the growth and development of globalization 1.4.2 Impacts of Globalisation: Positive Implications 1.4.3 Impacts of Globalisation: Negative Implications 1.4.4 Globalisation and its Resistance 1.5 Summing Up 1.6 References and Suggested Readings 1.1 Introduction The post Cold War international relations are characterized by the process of globalisation and liberalization. The term globalisation is a post Cold War and post- Soviet development. It changed the very intellectual comprehension of international politics and economy, apart from the global power-equations and relations among nations. Infact, it has now become one of the most frequently used terms in Politics and Economics; a buzzword of the 21 st century. The term 'globalisation' has acquired considerable force during the 1990s and has captured world attention in many spheres like information superhighway, Internet, international trade, telecommunication etc. it is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. The objective of making the world a truly inter-related, inter-dependent, developed global village governs the on-going

process of globalisation. It represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity, to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics. Globalisation can be incredibly empowering and incredibly coercive. It is not only homogenizing cultures but also enabling people to share their unique individuality farther and farther. 1.2 Objectives This unit is designed with a view to understand and have knowledge about one of the burning issues of contemporary times i.e. globalisation. By the end of this unit you will be able to:- • Understand the concept of globalisation together with its nature. • Analyze the significant factors towards growth of globalisation. • Discuss about both the positive and negative implications of globalisation. • Discuss about globalisation and its resistance. 1.3 Meaning and Nature Globalisation is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. Globalisation means integrating the economy of a country with the economies of other countries in the process of free flow of trade and capital. It also includes the movement of persons i.e. Brain Drain across borders. In other words Globalisation means integrating our economy with the 'World Economy'. The idea of globalisation is not something new. The process began around 200 BC and 1000 AD. In the words of Edward S. Herman "Globalisation is both an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing". Likewise Baylis and Smith define, "Globalisation as the process whereby social relations acquires relatively distance less and borderless qualities." The concept of globalisation is quite controversial as the term has different meanings for different people. In economic sense,

globalisation means extending of economic activities across national boundaries. It means integrating the economy of the country with the world economy. As a result of globalisation international markets are integrated; national economics are thrown open to the market forces of the world and the scope of government's national macroeconomic policies is curtailed. Briefly, free flow of economic transactions across the political boundaries of nations or borderless trade is globalisation. However, broadly globalisation is the expansion and intensification of connections and movements of people, goods, capital, and ideas and cultures-between countries. To some people this process implies the need to replace national institutional with global ones. According to Rubens Ricupera, Secretary General of the UNCTAD, " Globalisation is the integration of the world economy as the result of three main forces: i) increase in trade in goods and services ii) the increase in the investment of transnational companies and the consequent change in nature of production iii) international financial and exchange rate transactions. Globalisation gives or assigns thrust to two areas:- Liberalisation and Privatisation. Liberalization proclaims freedom of trade and investment; creation of free trade area, elimination of government controls on allocation of resources in the domestic economy, removal of restrictions on external trade and payments, expansion of foreign investments, loans and aid and rapid technological progress. Privatization allows private sector and other foreign companies to produce goods and services. Nature of Globalisation • Integration of domestic economy with global economy as well as opening up of the economy to foreign capital, foreign investment, foreign technology and free competition. • Globalisation provides free flow of trade relations among all the nations. Each state grants MFN (most favoured nation) status to other states and keeps its business and trade away from excessive and hard regulatory and protective regimes. • It helps in expansion of multinational corporations (MNCs) and free flow of international capital and other economic transactions across the political boundaries of the nations. • The scope of the process of globalisation seems to be increasing rather than narrowing over time, taking on cultural, political, social and environmental dimensions in addition to the economic.

200 | P a g e • It stands for liberating the import export activity and securing a free flow of goods and services across borders thereby encouraging the process of collaborations among the entrepreneurs with a view to secure rapid modernization, development and technological advancement. • Several international institutions including the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UN agencies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), THE United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) etc plays an important role in the process of globalisation. • Economic activities can be governed both by the domestic market and also the world market. It stands for the process of integrating the domestic economy with world economies. Encouraging fiscal and financial reforms with a view to give strength to free world trade, free enterprise and market forces. Globalisation in short is characterized by 'shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. It has swung open the door to opportunities. 1.4 Globalisation; Causes and its Resistance Globalisation refers to a broader and integrated process of transformation of the world into a global village characterized by free world trade, freedom of access to world markets and increased social, economic, cultural linkages and relations among the people of the world. It is neither a purely economic process nor is related to communications only. It is a broad process of increasing socio- economic, industrial-trade-cultural relations among the people living in all parts of the globe. It refers to the process which is considered essential for transforming the world into an inter-related and inter- dependent global village. It is aimed at securing the benefits of free trade, open access to markets and equal participating in securing sustainable development for all the people. In general sense, the aim of globalisation is to secure socio-economic integration and development of all the people of the world through a free flow of goods, services, information, knowledge and people across all boundaries.

201 | P a g e 1.4.1 Causes responsible towards the growth and development of globalization The significant causes and factors towards the growth and development of globalisation are highlighted below: • Adoption of liberalization policies by different countries in the post-communist era mainly contributed for the growth of globalisation. As a result of these policies restrictions on international economic transactions were removed. With the removal of these constraints, road to globalisation was all clear. The first impact of openness was witnessed in world trade in goods and services and it was followed by foreign direct investment (FDI) and financial sector. • Technological innovations are a significant factor in this regard. There is no doubt that the invention of the telegraph, telephone, microchip in more recent times has revolutionized communication between different parts of the world. The ability of ideas, capital, commodities and people to move more easily from one part of the world to another has been made possible largely by technological advances. Revolution in the spheres of transport and communication has converted the world into a global village. Jet aircrafts, computers, satellites, internet, e-commerce, e-mail and information technology all have served to remove frontiers of time and space. Besides, the cost of transmission and reception of information has fallen considerably. • Experience of some Asian developing countries also promoted the idea of globalisation. These countries were South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore who by adopting the policies of liberalization and globalisation achieved new heights of economic success. Their economic success story earned for them the name of 'Asian Tigers'. China also succeeded in achieving high rate of economic growth by resorting to the process of globalisation. These success stories of globalisation inspired other countries to globalize their economies. • Several international institutions namely the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank together with UN agencies like ILO, the UNDP, and the UNCTAD etc have also created an international environment in which the process of globalisation may flourish. With the formation of the WTO in 1995 this process was accelerated. It is an organisation of 148 countries

202 | P a g e that is the primary rule-making body of the globalisation process. Since then it has become one of the most powerful international organisations. The United Nations Organisation also plays a key role as a central pillar of the international system in the management of global economic integration. • Failure of Soviet Socialist Model is another cause towards the growth of globalisation. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, centrally planned and command economies of the Soviet Union and East European countries miserably failed. By 1991, communist system collapsed in these countries due to dismal economic performance, controlled markets and closed door policy. After the failure of Soviet Socialist Model, all these countries also adopted Western model of free market economy, policies of liberalization and globalisation. 1.4.2 Impacts of Globalisation: Positive Implications • Globalisation has proved to be quite beneficial to the consumers. Globalisation promotes competition. Under the pressure of competition human beings will strive to give their best. There is no denying the fact that competition brought the world economic order many benefits in terms of a very efficient economy at a very low cost. Global competition puts an emphasis on consumer concern, delivering the consumer the very best quality and variety of goods. This helps to bring down prices because consumers have a choice and can drive inefficient operators out of business. In short, competition is an attempt to get consumer support that results in continuous global search for what the consumer needs. It leads to an ongoing programme on how to produce and deliver the best product. It aims at maintaining quality control in the competitive market. • More availability of investable funds in the form of Foreign Direct Investment. Globalisation encourages flow of foreign capital in the form of foreign direct investment, commercial borrowings; collaborations etc. transference of capital from developed to underdeveloped countries will be mutually beneficial. The developed countries have surplus capital. Globalisation helps in flow of surplus capital of developed countries to underdeveloped countries. As a result this transference of resources, developed countries earn profit and

203 | P a g e in case of underdeveloped countries, investment in productive activities increases. • Helps in development and strengthening of domestic economies of developing countries. Globalisation has promoted economic equality and reduced poverty. The integration of poor economies with richer ones has provided many opportunities for poor people to improve their lives. Globalisation has helped reduce poverty in a large number in developing countries. It has helped in creating new job opportunities in industries and multinational companies. • As far as cultural consequences are concerned it would be a mistake to assume that cultural consequences of globalisation are always negative. Actually culture is not a static thing. All cultures accept outside influences all the time. Some external influences are negative because they reduce our choices. But sometimes external influences simply enlarge our choices and sometimes they modify our culture without overwhelming the traditional norms. For instance. The burger is no substitute for a masala dosa and therefore does not pose any real challenge. In the same way blue jeans can go well with a homespun khadi kurta. Here the outcome of outside influences is a new combination that is unique. This clashing combination has been exported back to the country. Thus it can be said that globalisation broadens our cultural outlook and promotes cultural homogenization. • Globalisation helps in socio-economic transformation. It is not only an economic phenomenon. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. It is found that due to globalisation, personnel in management and other superior positions will come to underdeveloped countries with their own life styles which will have good influence on these societies. If those attracted by Euro-American lifestyles also adopt some good features of these societies such as dignity of labour, responsibility for neighbourhood or community welfare, respect for law and other and respect for knowledge and character, there would be positive advantages in terms of social change. If these virtues spread to the rural areas, then the rural people will also be benefited and liberated from wrong and blind beliefs. • Globalisation encourages entry of multinational corporations. These corporations have unique and empirical capacity to increase production and distribution. Wherever they go they make radical changes in the existing production system of that

204 | P a g e country, their superior technology, professional, managerial competence and quality are of paramount importance to the country. These corporations bring modern technology with them. They can offer investment on research and development (R&D). As a result process of research is initiated. These corporations apply innovations to underdeveloped countries through their subsidies. 1.4.3 Impacts of Globalisation: Negative Implications As 'Every Rose has its Thorn', in a similar way globalisation also faces certain criticisms and possesses certain loopholes. The following demerits or negative implications of globalisation may be enumerated in support of its criticisms:- • Globalisation has led to the Diminishing role of the state. State sovereignty is no more absolute and non-state actors are playing significant role in the national politics of states as well as in international politics. In contemporary times, state sovereignty in many developing countries has been severely reduced under the influence of globalisation and of increasing detailed prescriptions from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and other external actors. Under the pressure from the IFIs and the new dispensation of the WTO, liberalization, privatization and structural adjustment policies have been imposed or adopted by many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, thereby diminishing the economic role of the state in framing its policies or setting its development goals. • Although globalisation provided new job opportunities for few hundred highly skilled workers it failed to generate sufficient employment opportunities on a large scale. Regarding agriculture too, farmers are to be educated enough to take up modern methods of cultivation practiced in developing countries. • Globalisation promotes the concentration of wealth in fewer hands and market policy is governed purely by market forces i.e. Income Inequality. • The immediate impact of globalisation might be to increase the debt burden of the developing countries which are already under heavy debt. The mounting impact will led them in a debt trap from which it may be very difficult for them to recover. It has been argued that debt servicing is imposing a real burden 205 | P a g e on the economies of many developing countries. Since a large percentage of exports are devoted to debt servicing it is to be assumed that the impact of growth in exports on economic growth has weakened. The debt service ratio does not affect economic development only but it also influences the rate at which economic development takes place. Debt servicing is a heavy burden on the balance of payments of the developing countries • Globalisation has led to the depletion of natural resources. The increased demand for export shifts the country's natural resources such as land, forests, and minerals into a tradeable sector and away from production for local consumption. Globalisation thus ignores the long term consequences of the depletion of natural resources. • Globalisation involves not only free flow of goods , services, capital, labour and finance but also ideas, information, drugs, arms and even terrorists across the globe. The networks of transnational terrorists are also operating in the context of globalisation. 1.4.4 Globalisation and its Resistance Resistance to globalisation refers to the gamut of struggles and actions of social groups and individuals in response to the dislocating consequences of neo-liberal reforms and its effects in the spheres of the economy, politics and identity/culture. Losing of its centrality, autonomy and sovereignty by the state in the age of globalisation has become a major theme of debate in the disciplines of Political Science and International Relations. Globalisation today is accompanied by growing inequalities, both within and between countries, and by a threat of exclusion faced by many people. The critics criticize CHECK YOUR PROGRESS 1. Discuss the impacts of globalisation in India? 206 | P a g e globalisation as the corporate agenda of the big business and the ideology the developed countries to dominate and control the international economic system in a bigger, deeper and more subtle and intensive manner. The political and socio-economic effects of globalisation are exaggerated by both its detractors and supporters. It has been argued in its favour that it would bring almost immediate prosperity and well being. But unfortunately that is not what we have been seeing around us. If we consider what growth, globalisation began to accelerate in last few years, what we have to conclude is that the average growth of the world economy was mediocre. Globalisation is not producing the acceleration of growth worldwide as expected. Globalisation is mutually beneficial when capital, labour, technology and goods flow between equals. In other words when the country is ready to face the world competition on equal terms. Otherwise any attempt by the underdeveloped economies to globalise their economies can rebound adversely on the vast majority of the people, who is in poverty, lack of education and malnutrition. Economic globalisation has created an intense division of opinion all over the world. Some scholars point out that globalisation is likely to benefit only a small section of the population while impoverishing those who were dependent on government jobs and welfare. According to the critics globalisation has not led to the same degree of increase in the movement of people across the globe. Developed countries have carefully guarded their borders with visa policies to ensure job security to their own citizens. 1.5 Summing Up The concept of globalisation has proved to be quite controversial as several scholars hold that it has essentially limited the concept of state sovereignty while some other scholars accept it as useful and ideal. However, neither of the two views is fully valid. State sovereignty continues to be intact in its internal and external dimensions. The state continues to be sovereign state and its sovereignty continues to be comprehensive, permanent and absolute while its functions have undergone a change. People continue to live and enjoy their lives as citizens of their respective states. Recently the globalisation debate shifted from focusing on whether world economic integration is good or bad to the best ways of managing the globalisation process. While

207 | P a g e globalisation has the potential to make all people better off, there is no assurance that it will do so or that all changes will be positive. 1.6 References and Suggested Readings Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (2012). International Relations. Delhi, India: Anmol Publications PVT.LTD. Ghai,K.K. (2007). International Relations: Theory and Practice of International Politics. New Delhi, India: Kalyani Publishers. Kumar, S.Ram & Singh, Namrata. (2002). Together with Political Science. New Delhi, India: Rachna Sagar. Bharti, Pooja. (2012). Political Science. Noida, India: Jiwan Publishing House. Pathak, Guptajit. (2012). Political Science. Guwahati, India: Kuber Publication. Points to Remember • Globalisation signifies integration of the economy of a country with the economies of other countries. It is a process by which earth is considered as a 'global village'. • Causes of Globalisation- Economic Cultural, Technological. • Globalization gives rise to a uniform culture or what is called cultural homogenization.

208 | P a g e UNIT 4 EMERGING WORLD ORDER Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 Post-Cold War World Order 1.3.1 Different Perspectives to Understand the World - Realist Perspective - Liberal Perspective - Marxist Perspective 1.4 US Hegemony and Global Order 1.4.1 The Global War on Terror and Beyond 1.4.2 Does the USA Remain a Global Hegemon? 1.5 Rise of Multipolar World Order 1.5.1 Rise of Multipolarity 1.5.2 Implications of Multipolarity 1.6 Summary 1.7 References and Suggestive Readings 1.1 Introduction It was President George W. Bush of the United States of America, who first coined the term "new international order" after the fall of Berlin War in 1989. But, here, questions come- what a new world order is? What marks that newness? Generally, a world order can be described as an arrangement in which international relations are carried out in an organized way. More specifically, when we say about a new and emerging world order, we talk about new arrangements in the international relations which are not marked by the bipolar world of Cold War politics. It was the disintegration of former Soviet Union, which formally brought in to an end of the Cold War in the global politics. However, we can't say that global politics stopped there and a new system emerged abruptly. The emerging world order has also been travelling based on the sovereign state system which started with the formation of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In this context, the new world order covers the significant changes that have come up in the structure of international relations.

209 | P a g e In this unit, our aim is to give a brief overview of the emerging world order with the rise of United States (US) hegemony in the global world order. Together with that, there has been a significant rise of terror activities and for which "global war on terror" was started after the significant 9/11 attack. That event questions the hegemonic tendency of US in the international affair. Moreover, with the rise of new economic blocks around the world and the emergence of China as an emerging power, the concept of a multi-polar world has come up in the global politics. Engaging with these concepts will broaden our knowledge about the emerging international world order. 1.2 Objectives The disintegration of former Soviet Union marked a change in the international world order of unipolarity and some thinkers opined that it is an era of multi-polarity. Considering the emergence of a new world order in the global politics, this chapter aims at: • Explain the concept of emerging world order • Understand the role of US in this new international order • Analysis the US hegemonic tendency with respect to the global "war on terror" • Identify the broad perspective of rise of the multipolar world and its implications 1.3 Post-Cold War World Order As the concept of new international world order started taking prominence, the ranking of the major actors of global politics have also changed enormously and, therefore, the distribution of power has also continued to change. Moreover, as power dimensions have changed the status of many state actors, there are certain states that had vanished from the world scenario. In fact, there are new states that have emerged in the international world order. For example, Soviet Union disintegrated and there are fifteen new Republics emerged. Yugoslavia has witnessed too many ethnic conflicts which fragmented it in to nearly five states. Apart from physical changes of geographical boundaries, the world has witnessed far reaching changes in the economy of the world. To give an example, the states of the Socialist block have replaced the Communist party rule in favour of western style multi-party democracy.

210 | P a g e There are several other factors that have contributed to the emergence of the new world order. Although, the sovereign states have continued to be the base in international relations, yet, states have to face various factors that have greatly transformed the nature of its functioning. On economic front, the boundaries of the nation-state are becoming open with the introduction of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) where the erstwhile licence raj system has abolished by giving prominence to Transnational Companies (TNC's) and Multinational Companies (MNC's) in order to gain profit. Increasing demands of technologies in building nuclear weapons or the weapons of mass destruction has a negative impact in the new system. The non-traditional security threat such as- terrorism, illegal drug trade of narcotics, rise of contagious diseases such as AIDS and COVID 19, environmental issues such as global warming, climate change have occupied the major concern of the new world order. Therefore, collectively mitigating these issues become core concern of international relations. Self Asking Question What do you understand by the concept of emerging world order? How has it evolved? 1.3.1

Different perspectives to understand the World The interpretations of this emerging world order are varied in each school of thought of international relations. The mainstream theories such as Realism and Liberalism look at the emerging world order from the perspective of the nation-state and international interdependence. However, Marxism focuses on the regimes of inequality. Therefore, a close overview will broaden our knowledge on their views. The Realist Perspective The realist tradition in International Relations (IR) accepts that there is a new world order. But, it didn't start with the Gulf War. The realist thinkers started with the distribution of power or the power sharing behaviour of the units as the determining factors of the world order. To

211 | P a g e realists, it was with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the new world order started taking prominence. The rapid decline of the Soviet Union led to the disintegration of the bipolar world which was divided in to two blocks of power politics. This event provided certain stability to the new world order. While the Cold War fuelled a number of conflicts in the Third World, yet it was aimed at determination of power maximizing behaviour of the US. Therefore, power is crucial in IR according to the realist thinkers. The Liberal Perspective After the end of the Cold War, the bipolar nature of the global world order collapsed. At that time, the rise of US as the only power, which followed the liberal order, marked the victory of liberal capitalism. It was believed that the great ideological divide between the socialist regime and the liberalism was responsible for the conflict that the world witnessed. Therefore, the disintegration of Socialist regime marked the "end of history" as enunciated by Francis Fukuyama. According to this view, the history has come to an end considering the victory of liberal world order. Here, there is no competitor to liberal capitalism ideologically. International Relations, in this way, become unified in to a single world system. Various factors have promoted the upliftment of liberal ideologies or more particularly the neo-liberal institutionalism with the help of LPG. Structural Adjustment Programme has helped the Third World Countries to receive financial help from the great powers. These processes, hence, has paved the way for heavy industrialization. The Marxist Perspective The Marxist perspective of the International Relations is critical about the emergence of this new capitalist world order. The Marxists argue that the liberal capitalist model is based on inequality. Therefore, when inequality continues to rise as a result of power maximizing behaviour of the state without considering the values of the labour, then automatically, the system will collapse. In dealing with the question of the disintegration of Socialist regime, these thinkers opine that it is an opportunity for the emerging states to establish themselves as powerful actors. They believe that the exploitative behaviour of capitalism with rising inequality will be the greater cause for the downfall of capitalism in coming decades. Stop to Consider Hegemony Hegemony is the leadership or domination of one element of a system over others. Gramsci used the term to refer to the ideological

212 | P a g e leadership of the bourgeoisie over subsidiary classes. In international politics, a hegemon is the leading state within a group of states. Hegemonic status is stand on the possession of structural power, particularly the control of economic and military resources, enabling the hegemon to shape the preferences and actions of other states. The hegemon does it by the combination of both consent and force. Check Your Progress Question 1: Briefly explain the views of mainstream theories of International Relations in terms of understanding the emerging world order. ....

Question 2: Write a short note on the Marxist perspective in understanding the new world order. 1.4

USA has been referred as "global hegemon" in the world politics. USA since its inception is a political nation defined more by its liberal ideology than culture. The American Revolution of 1776 was dependent upon the political freedom, individual self-sufficiency and constitutional government. However, during 1970s' and 1980s', the world had witnessed the decline of US hegemony considering the emergence of both external and internal challenges. Internally, the Civil Rights Movement, women's movement had challenged the traditional views on the matter such as race, consumerism, abortion, gender role etc. (Heywood, 2011). Together with that, the external crisis of Vietnam War, Iran hostage Crisis and most crucially the rise of economic competitors such as Japan, Germany and "Asian Tigers" had its impact on USA's foreign policy. The rise and fall of great powers are not only

213 | P a g e determined by the armed conflict but also by the economic strength in comparison to other states. Nevertheless, the USA proved its resilient power both economically and politically. The hand behind this journey was the Reagan Administration. The Reagan administration has helped the USA to strengthen its nationalism by preaching the "frontier ideology". Frontier ideology of USA administration is based on entrepreneurialism, tax cutting and "roll back" of the welfare state by accepting more assertive and anti-communist foreign policy. The end of the Cold War helped in the rise of economic globalization which opened a place for new global markets and opportunities for capitalist enterprises. Therefore, the US hegemony is seen in its unilaterist tendency of foreign policy dynamics. For example, the USA in the George W. Bush administration refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol on global climate change. However, the event of 9/11 significantly altered the hegemonic tendency of USA in to the balance of world order. Stop to Consider Unipolarity It refers to an international system in which there is one preeminent state, or 'pole'. In a unipolar system there is a single great power, with an absence of potential rivals. However, as this implies some form of world government, unipolarity is always relative and not absolute. Unipolarity has been defended on the grounds that the dominant actor is able to act as the 'world's police officer' settling disputes and preventing war and guaranteeing economic and financial stability by setting and maintaining ground rules for economic behaviour. Bipolarity Bipolarity refers to an international system which revolves around two major power blocs. The term is commonly associated with the Cold War. For a system to be genuinely bipolar a rough equality must occur between the two pre-eminent powers or power blocs, certainly in terms of their military capacity. Neo-realists have argued that this equilibrium implies that bipolar systems are stable and relatively peaceful, being biased in favour of a balance of power. Liberals, however, have associated bipolarity with tension and insecurity, resulting from their tendency to breed hegemonic ambition and prioritize military power.

214 | P a g e Multipolarity Multipolarity refers to a global system in which there are three power centres or sometimes more than that. In this system, the power is diffused in such a way that no country can solely keep it with oneself. Neorealists argue that multipolarity creates a bias, which can lead instability and an increased possibility of war. Liberals, however, argue that multipolar systems are categorized by an inclination towards multilateralism, as more even distribution of global power promotes harmony, cooperation and integration. Check Your Progress Question 1: What do you understand by the concept of hegemony? (30 words) ....
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Question 2: Explain briefly the hegemonic tendency of USA in the context of emerging world order.
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.... 1.4.1

The Global War on Terror and Beyond September 11, 2001 is regarded as a crucial point in the formation of world order, where the tremendous attack on USA's Pentagon House took place, comparable to 1945 or 1990. Indeed, some analysts have argued that 9/11 was the point where the actual nature of the post-Cold War era was shown. It could be said as the beginning of a period of unparalleled global contention and instability. In that sense, the beginning of the 'war on terror', rather than the fall down of communism, marked the birth of the 'real' twenty-first century.

215 | P a g e A variety of theories have been formulated to explain the rise of global or transnational terrorism. One of the most significant of these is Samuel P. Huntington's the 'clash of civilizations'. In that theory he suggests that it is an ingredient of a larger tendency for cultural and specifically religious conflict to presuppose greater eminence in twenty-first century global politics. According to Robert Cooper, the East–West confrontation of the Cold War world order had helped establishing a world which was divided into three main parts: the "premodern" world, the "modern" world and the "postmodern" world. According to Cooper, the "premodern" world denotes the post-colonial states that didn't get any benefit from both the regimes during the Cold War period. For example, Somalia, Afghanistan and Liberia, were seen as "weak states", "failed states" or 'rogue states'. In the "modern" world, states are more concerned about their territorial integrity and sovereignty based on the principles of "balance of power". It signifies that the interests of one state can only be counteracted by the capabilities of another state. While talking about the "postmodern" world order, the author primarily deals with Europe and the European Union (EU). Here, the states have evolved beyond power politics and they rejected war as a means to attain security in the global world order. In fact, as against war, they favour the global governance. This view of the new world order, however, embodies a range of challenges and new security threats. When the various countries of the world started acquiring the nuclear weapons, the "security dilemma" of the world has increased to a significant point. Here, the instabilities of the premodern world terrorize to spill over into the modern and even the postmodern worlds. Cooper recognized that a kind of "new imperialism" came in to prominence. The USA, considering the 9/11 event as a threat to the global world order started working against it. More than a global threat, USA was more concerned about their national security. The Bush administration, after the attack started considering those states as terrorist states that sponsored terrorism for its national interest. After 9/11 the USA's approach to the 'war on terror' quickly started to take shape. It started with the US-led military assault on Afghanistan in October 2001 that brought down the Taliban regime. After that, in January 2002, President Bush identified Iraq, Iran and North Korea as ingredient of an 'axis of evil'. The 'war on terror' aspect continued to move in a radical and controversial direction with the Iraq War in 2003. The war against Iraq was justified by the USA administration using the doctrine of preventive attack as Saddam regime had link with the al-Qaeda and that Iraq was in possession of Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). 216 | P a g e The global war on terror has been recorded as problematic due to certain reasons. a. Firstly, the USA overestimated the efficiency of military power which also in some cases proved to be true. But, it had reduced the "soft power" capability of the USA in dealing with foreign policy objectives. b. Second, the strategy 'democracy from above' has proved to be failed in recognizing the difficulties involved in nation- building. Because, stable democratic institutions generally rest upon the subsistence of a democratic culture and that requires a certain level of socio-economic development. Considering the extreme use of the global war on terror and interventions conducted by the USA government to reduce the terrorist activities in order to establish its world hegemony has come in to question. It is because, in the name of humanitarian intervention, the USA has intervened in the internal politics of the countries of Middle East. Stop to Consider Global War on Terror The 'war on terror' known in US policy circles as the Global War on Terror. It refers to the hard work by the USA and its key partners to destroy the forces responsible for global terrorism. Launched in the aftermath of 9/11, it aims to counter the threats posed by non-state actors and especially terrorist groups, so-called 'rogue' states, weapons of mass destruction and the militant theories of radicalized Islam. Self Asking Questions Question 1: How has the global "war on terror" in the post- Cold World era has changed the status of US hegemony in the world? (80 words). ....
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217 | P a g e 1.4.2 Does USA Remain as a Global Hegemon? Debates about the rise and decline of the USA's global hegemony are not a new topic of discussion. After the end of the Cold War, the entire scenery of the world has gone in to a tremendous change. Where some thinkers were talking about the unipolar world, others were making comments on the multipolar world. However, the hegemonic tendency of USA was seen in almost all aspects of the international affairs. But the 9/11 attack proved to be a game changer where the hegemonic tendency of the USA was questioned. The debate around the hegemonic tendency of the USA can be understood as follows: Yes No 1. In terms of global military dominance the USA's military strength is huge, with over 700 military bases in 100 countries. Moreover, USA has the power of high technological weaponry and air power. 2. On the economic front, the USA spends around 40% of world's spending in research and development to ensure high productivity level. They are resilient enough to upgrade its economy in the topmost position. 3. The population of the USA is another factor that proves that the USA will continue to become hegemony. The expected population of the US by 2050 is 439 million. Together with that, the emerging population is expected to be highly educated and skilled in areas of research, particularly in science and technology. 4. In terms of structural 1. Considering the USA as the advanced power of the world, the role of the hegemonic tendency become redundant. It is because, despite being militarily a strong nation terrorists and insurgency tactics such as 9/11 event threatened the US hegemony at the world level. 2. USA has been witnessing a relative economic decline. Though largest economy of the world, yet the emerging economies like China and India have been challenging the economic dominance of the US. 3. The USA's "soft power" is also declining. It is because of the widening gap of global inequality, "Americanization", and the US military intervention on Iraq on humanitarian ground has serious impact on its "soft power". 4. The USA has also lost its diplomatic influence in

218 | P a g e power, the USA has been exercising enormous power over global institutions, such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). 5. In global economic decision making, the USA has greater influence as compared to the other emerging economies of the world. Latin America. Against the US diplomacy, other emerging powers have been influencing some other countries. For example, China over Tibet, Russia over Georgia etc. 5. The decline of USA's structural power is seen in the rise of the G-20 group as one of the prominent global forum on economic policy making. Stop to Consider Soft Power Soft power is the ability to co-opt in a situation. It is soft in the sense that it doesn't talk about coercion or military power. It shapes the power relations through appeal and attraction. The currency of soft power can be seen in cultural values, political values and more particularly in determining foreign policies. Check Your Progress Question 1: Briefly explain the debate over declining US hegemony in the context of emerging world order. (80 words) ....

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Rise of Multipolar World Order Since the late 1990s, the idea of multipolarity has gained eminence around the globe. At a time, when the discussions were going on about the declining hegemonic tendency of the US and the emergence of various countries particularly China and Russia, it leads us to analyze the enhanced trends to multipolarity in the world affair. It is crucial to understand the rise of multipolar world order which Amitav Acharya (2014) has termed as "multiplex" world. Together with that, the

219 | P a g e opportunities and challenges faced by India in this emerging multipolar world order are important to analyze. 1.5.1 Rise of Multipolarity The current world order is created by a number of multipolar trends. The rise of emerging powers is significant development in this world order. Apart from the USA, China has been emerged as a great rival power against the USA. The basis of China's emerging power status can be measured through its rapid economic development. The rapid economic development of China can be traced back to the market reforms of mid 1970s' under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. This rise of economy has reached at a stage where in 2009 China became the largest exporter globally. Moreover, in 2010, it became the second largest economy of the world overtaking Japan (Heywood, 2011). By the end of 2010, Chinese economy became 90 times larger as it was before in 1978. The main reason behind giant development of China is its population. China has the highest population of the world and it is the place of cheap labour market. Thus, it has become the manufacturing hub of global economy in the 21 st century. Together with that China has also growing its military capacity in terms of arms expenditure. The increasing influence of China is evident in World Trade Organization (WTO) and G 20 Countries over some global issues such as climate change. In terms of "soft power", China has been influencing the Asian countries in terms of cultural links. The rise of China can be seen as a great shift in the global balance of power. However, there are certain barriers of China's growing economy. In 1979, due to increasing population China introduced the one child policy. It means that in 2022, China has the most ageing population in the world which can put its economy at heavy risk. Moreover, China's political and economic contradiction has been creating tensions within the nation. Politically, China has been governed by one party rule system by the Chinese Communist Party encouraged by the idea of Stalinism. Economically, it has been following the global market capitalism system. It, in a way, means that two contradicting ideologies have been functional in China. Though the communist regime has the ability to do away with the "audacious infrastructure programmes", yet, it may fail in coping with the liberalizing tendency created by the market system or capitalism. Russia's re-emergence as a major power is another development in the rise of multipolar world. Since the decline and fall of former USSR in

220 | P a g e 1990s', Russia has emerged as a growing market economy through transition and with the "shock therapy". This has led by the expansion of oil and gas productivity. Also, the landmass of Russia is greater in comparison to other countries of the world. Although, Russian landmass is highly unexplored, yet, Russia has managed to emerge as global energy super power as a result of globalizing world order. The growing energy power of Russia has resulted in influencing over the Eastern European Countries in controlling the price and flow of resources in terms of oil and gas. Even in the globalizing world order, Russia's economic confidence has also strengthened its nationalism. The country is focusing more on enhancing its military strength and assertiveness against the US military power. The US military power and its influence in NATO have posing threat to the Russian nationalism in terms of protecting its territory. In fact, Russia's military expenditure lags behind NATO's expenditure. For example, the Russia- Ukraine war can be seen as a weapon of expansionist policy of NATO in controlling the countries of the world. Stop to Consider Shock therapy According to the International Monetary Fund, shock therapy involves three different radical and contradictory structural policies: 1. Liberalization 2. Financial stabilization 3. Privatization In the rise of this multipolar world order, there are various factors directly involved in the process. Three broader developments that have helped in the pluralisation of global power can be explained as follows: • Globalization helps in increased integration and cooperation among nations. This integration has witnessed less military conflicts among nations for the pursuit of national self-interest, as national self-interest is embedded in interconnectedness and interdependence among nations. • The emergence of global governance is another development that involves in dealing with the questions of global concern such as- climate change, global warming, migration, diseases, narcotics etc. These problems are transnational and can only be solved through transnational cooperation. This is possible only

221 | P a g e through global governance with efficient, accountable and transparent decisions. • The rise of non-state actors such as transnational corporations (TNCs'), multinational corporations (MNCs') and non- governmental organizations (NGOs') have its impact on the rise of multipolar world. These organizations have merged the world economy in such a chain that everything gets connected through privatization with enhanced production and profit. Together with that, the rise of global civil society has helped in bringing the cosmopolitanism in to existence through empowering the marginalized groups and movements. India, in this multipolar world order, has been increasing its weight. It is not a global power, but it has been a rising power or a middle power (Sridharan, 2017). Within the South Asian region, India is a regional power considering its size, area, population, military capability as well as gross domestic products (GDP). Globally, India is a middle power with a mindset of growing material and infrastructural capabilities, economic development as well as consolidated democracy. Self Asking Question Question 1: How do you see the rise of global economic powers in countering the US hegemony in global politics?

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.... Check Your Progress Question 1: What are the crucial developments that have helped in the rise of a multipolar world order? (60 words). ....

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.... Question 2: what do you understand by multipolar world order? How has it different from unipolar and bipolar world order? (20+30 words).

222 | P a g e ....
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.... 1.5.2 Implications of Multipolarity The end of Cold War marked both opportunities and challenges for India in its foreign policy dynamics. Opportunities are varied as it opens up India's diplomatic, economic and political ties with the global powers. Some of the opportunities can be explained as below: • In the context of emerging multipolar world order, India has been strengthening its economic diplomacy by attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in to the country and increasing participation in regional and multilateral forums. This can be seen in introducing some flagship programmes such as Digital India, Skill India, Make in India, Startup India etc. FDI inflow of India in 2017-2018 is US $ 61.9 billion (Kukreja, 2020). • The new world order has created an opportunity for India in managing the great powers with pragmatism. In this case, India's engagement with the USA has proven to be successful. The Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal (2005) is the result of convergence of pragmatic relationship between India and the USA. • Considering China's rise and its influence across the world, India has been responding to counter China's strategy against India. In the recent years, China's effort to establish closer political and economic relations among the nations of the South Asia aimed at encircling India strategically. For example, Sino-Pakistan nexus, introduction of the China- Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) etc. Despite problems, India has been keen in maintaining economic partnership with China. • India is situated in one of the one of the problematic neighbourhood of the world. Considering that, India has started taking new initiatives in the neighbourhood. As part of that, in order to enhance the level of connectivity, such as transportation, electricity, power grids Bangladesh-Bhutan- India-Nepal (BBIN) have started working on its improved relationship among themselves.

223 | P a g e • Within this multipolar world order, India is taking steps in integrating the subcontinent. As South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) remains largely non- functional because of hostility created by Pakistan, India has been moving to build relationship with transregional institutions. For example, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi- Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) has created to connect the eastern subcontinent with parts of Southeast Asia for transregional cooperation (Kukreja, 2015). • In the post- Cold War world order, the Asia- Pacific region gains prominence as the centre of economic and strategic concerns. In this context, India's "look east" cum "act east" policy is an attempt to increase India's footprint in East Asia. This policy not only aims at improving partnership or cooperation with the countries of South East Asia but also aims at addressing the China's growing influence in the region. Japan, a growing economy of the world, is ready to help India to become an economic power. • India's engagement with the Central Asia can be termed as another opportunity that the multipolar world order has created. This region is crucial for the need of energy, trade and security. For example, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has been providing opportunities to India to work with the Central Asian Republics and Russia to enhance its own strategic interest in the region. Apart from these, India has been engaging with the African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa etc. to enhance its maritime security. Despite opportunities, India has also faced certain challenges from the multipolar world. Among them are terrorism, nuclear threat, climate change and India's engagement with the neighbouring countries. Challenges are such that despite being a regional power, India doesn't have the capacity to change the policies of its neighbours. India's geostrategic and geographic location put some pressure on its foreign policy. As these constraints are evident, therefore, India is needed to make a progressive step towards enhancing its diplomatic relationship with the countries of the world that are strategically crucial for India. Together with that, there is a need to develop India's "economic weight and military reach" (Sridharan, 2015).

224 | P a g e Check your Progress Question 1: What are the opportunities India has acquired in the multipolar world order? (80 words) ....

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.... 1.6 Summary The emerging world order is made up of multipolarity. The mainstream theories of IR have given their views about the emergence of the multipolar world. The Marxist perspective is also crucial in understanding the emerging world order. The US hegemony and its subsequent development in terms of rise of global economic powers have questioned the hegemonic tendency of a unipolar world. India's role and opportunities in this world order is crucial to understand its foreign policy dynamics. Overall, this unit tries to capture the events of global politics from the emerging world perspective. 1.7 References and Suggestive Readings ➢ Kukreja, V. (2015). India's foreign policy in the emerging multi- polar world: Challenges and opportunities. Bihar Journal of Political Science, 4(1), 215–227. ➢ Kukreja, V. (2020). India in the Emergent Multipolar World Order: Dynamics and Strategic Challenges. India Quarterly, 76(1) 8–23. ➢ Sridharan, I. (2017). Where is India headed? Possible future directions in Indian foreign policy. International Affairs, 93(1), 51–68. ➢ Heywood, A. (2011). Global Politics. Palgrave Macmillan.

225 | P a g e Unit 5 Liberal Democracy and Democratic Peace Unit Structure : 1.1 Introduction 1.2 Objectives 1.3 What is Liberal Democracy? 1.4 Main features of Liberal and Democracy 1.5 Origin and Historical arguments on Liberal Democracy 1.6 Capitalism and Liberal Democracy 1.7 Challenges to Liberal Democracy 1.8 Democratic Peace Theory 1.9 Origin of Democratic Peace 1.10 Main Arguments 1.11 Criticism 1.12 Summing Up 1.13 References.

226 | P a g e 1.1 Introduction: Liberal democracy is a popular form of government in the world. However, not since the early 1960's have so many countries experimented with liberal democratic political system. Simply, liberal democracy is a type of representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and generally moderated by a constitution that puts emphasis on the protection of the rights and liberties of individuals. It also places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities. Constitutions of liberal democracies protect individual rights and liberties, which generally include the following: rights to speak, privacy, property and equality before the law, and freedoms of speech, assembly and religion. In liberal democracies these rights are constitutionally guaranteed, or are otherwise created by statutory law or case law, which may in turn empower various civil institutions to administer or enforce these rights. Liberal democracies value tolerance and pluralism as differing social and political views are permitted to co-exist and compete for political power through elections. Therefore, elections are integral part of liberal democracy. Elections are held regularly in a liberal democracy where groups with differing political views have the opportunity to achieve political power. In this unit, we will try to interpret democratic liberalism, its characteristic and relevance and various approaches to study it. This unit will also attempt to highlight the important features of the liberal democracy, summarize major analytical framework in the field and identify several current global debates. A careful study of this unit will provide the students a better base for understanding and analyzing the correlation between liberal democracy and capitalism, issues and problems that liberal democracy currently facing. In

addition, special focus will be given on Democratic Peace Theory and its relevance today. 1.2 Objectives: The liberal democracies have both well-established and accessible procedures for protecting the liberties of individual citizens. The liberal democracy values liberty, equality and fraternity as its building blocks. It may take the form of a constitutional republic or a constitutional monarchy. Some of the important features of liberal democracy are – universal adult suffrage, individual freedom and liberty, gender equitable regime, strong civil society and free and fair elections.

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After going through this unit, you should be able to: • understand the idea of

liberal democracy • explore the correlation between liberal democracy and capitalism • explicate the changing nature of liberal democracy • understand the basic principles of democratic peace. 1.3 What is liberal democracy? Less than a quarter-century ago, democracy appeared to be confirmed, with a few exceptions, to North America and Western Europe. These countries were characterized by industrial economies, sizable middle classes, and high literacy rates—factors that many political scientists regarded as prerequisites for successful democracy. Free and fair elections, rule of law and protection of individual liberties also made these countries strong and stable. Shortly, these countries are described as "liberal democracies." Before 1990's, majority of the countries were neither liberal nor democratic. They were ruled by a various forms of dictatorships—military, single-party, revolutionary, Marxist- Leninist—that rejected free, multiparty elections. However, by the early 1990s, this situation had changed dramatically, as a surprising

number of autocratic regimes around the world fell from power. They were generally succeeded by regimes that at least aspired to be democratic, giving rise to the phenomenon that Samuel P. Huntington termed the "third wave" of democratization. Samuel P. Huntington in his award winning book "The Third Wave Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century," published in 1991, talked about the "third wave" of democratization during the period 1970s through the mid 2000. During 1974 to 1991, liberal democracy became the default form of government in many of these newly democratic countries. However, many of these new aspiring democracies faced challenges and turned to authoritarianism. Although many of them held unambiguously free and fair elections; however, failed in providing the protection of individual liberties and adherence to the rule of law commonly found in the long-established democracies. Elections were conducted regularly but as Prof Huntington argued that the introduction of elections in non- Western societies may often lead to victory of anti-liberal parties. So these democracies turned into "electoral" democracies rather than "liberal democracies." Stop to Consider: • Liberal democracies usually exercise universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership. • However, especially historically, some countries regarded as liberal democracies have had a more limited franchise. There may also be qualifications like a registration procedure to be allowed to vote. • The decisions taken through elections are taken not by all of the citizens, but rather by those who choose to participate by voting. • In a liberal democracy, the elections should be free and fair. • The political process should be competitive. Political

pluralism is usually defined as the presence of multiple and distinct political parties representing different ideologies and principles. A constitution in a liberal democracy defines the democratic nature of the state. The main purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. The American political tradition emphasise the separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between the three branches of government. Many European democracies are more likely to emphasise the importance of the principle of rule of law. Governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedure. Many democracies use federalism as a tool to prevent misuse and increase public input by dividing governing powers between municipal, provincial and national governments. So, limited exercise of power through constitution and accountability are the key elements of democracy. In other words, individualism, popular sovereignty and limited government are the foundation of liberal democracy. 1.4 Main features of Liberal Democracy: There are two significant components in liberal democracy -- the liberal component which talks about limits on political power and the democratic component which deals with people' s rule, participation and representative institutions. Liberalism aims to free the people and democracy stands for "empowering people." It also means safeguarding people from tyranny and arbitrariness. This is achieved through ensuring political representation to people. Political parties are important mediums to provide this representation to people in a

230 | P a g e democratic country. There are different forms of representation, which can be direct, indirect, proportional etc. Each society, depending on the nature and composition of its population, will have different types of party systems. Generally, a more homogeneous society tends to have two party-systems and a heterogeneous or multi-ethnic society tends to have a multi-party system. Liberalism and democracy can't have one without the other. Currently, the election of legislative representatives and other public officials is the chief mechanism by which the people exercise their rule. Today, democracy implies virtually universal suffrage and eligibility to run for office. Elections are regarded as embodying the majoritarian and popular aspect of contemporary liberal democracy. However, the term "liberal" in "liberal democracy" does not imply that the government of such a democracy must follow the political ideology of liberalism. It is merely a reference to the fact that the initial framework for modern liberal democracy was created during the Age of Enlightenment by philosophers advocating liberty. They emphasized the right of the individual to have immunity from the unchecked exercise of authority. At present, there are numerous different political ideologies that support liberal democracy, which include conservatism, Christian democracy, social democracy and some forms of socialism. The word "liberal" in the phase liberal democracy refers not to the matter of who rules but to matter of how that rule is exercised. It basically implies that government is limited in its powers and its modes of acting. It is limited first by the rule of law, and especially by a fundamental law or constitution but ultimately limited by the rights of the individual. The use of "human rights" previously known as natural or inalienable rights mainly originated in liberalism. The primacy of individual means that the protection of the private sphere along with the plurality and diversity of the ends that people seek in their pursuit of happiness, is a key element of liberal political order.

231 | P a g e Values such as liberty, equality and fraternity are considered as the key values of a liberal democratic society. On the other hand, liberal democracy is also inseparable from free market and property rights. Karl Marx targets the liberal democracy as it violates the concept of economic equality. The class divide which is an inherent feature of capitalism has to be overcome by abolishing private property. Socialist democracy is contradictory to liberal democracy as it aimed at overthrowing capitalism, which actually gets strength from liberal democracy. According to many critics, liberal democracy creates class division in the society. Elite theorist like Gaetano Mosca, Wilfredo Pareto and Robert Michel criticized the liberal democracy who pointed out that in any given society it the few elites who tend to rule rather than the people at large. Tolerance is another important attribute of liberal democracy. In a liberal democracy, concepts like pluralism and diversity of views must be respected. To maintain that people should be free as long as their freedom does not restrict that of others would too severely limit the scope of pluralism, due to the pervasiveness of conflicts. It is sometimes held that a liberal society should be tolerant of all pursuits that do not undermine liberal tolerance itself. But in addition to being subject to contested interpretation and abuse, this does not easily work to rule out things like religious intolerance that, unlike limitations on freedom of political expression or association, do not always have direct political consequences. It also does not easily rule out practices oppressive to the members of a minority population that is sufficiently isolated that general tolerance in its larger society is not threatened. Arguing that tolerance is inviolate in the private realm but not the public space shifts the problem to identifying the boundary between the private and the public domains, or, alternatively, of determining when private-realm behavior merits exceptional state interference.

232 | P a g e 1.5: Origin and Historical Argument on Liberal Democracy: The origin of liberal democracy could be traced back to the Europe in the 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. The possibility of democracy had not been seriously considered by political theory since classical antiquity, and the widely held belief was that democracies would be inherently unstable and chaotic in their policies due to the changing nature of the people. It was further believed that democracy was contrary to human nature, as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent and in need of a strong leader to restrain their destructive impulses. Many European monarchs held that their power had been ordained by God, and that questioning their right to rule was tantamount to blasphemy. These conventional views were challenged at first by a relatively small group of Enlightenment intellectuals, who believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They argued that all people are created equal, and therefore political authority cannot be justified on the basis of "noble blood", a supposed privileged connection to God, or any other characteristic that is alleged to make one person superior to others. They further argued that governments exist to serve the people, not vice versa, and that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the governed. By the end of the 18th century, these ideas inspired two significant revolutions - the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism and instituted forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of the Enlightenment philosophers into practice. However, none of these forms of government was precisely what we would call a liberal democracy we know today. Although the French attempt turned out to

233 | P a g e be temporary, but they were the early from which liberal democracy later grew. Since the supporters of these forms of government were known as liberals, the governments themselves came to be known as liberal democracies. When the first prototypical liberal democracies were founded, the liberals themselves were viewed as an extreme and rather dangerous fringe group that threatened international peace and stability. However, liberal democratic ideals soon became widespread among the general population, and, over the 19th century, traditional monarchy was forced on a continuous defensive and withdrawal. Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased being a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream. At the same time, a number of non-liberal ideologies developed that took the concept of liberal democracy and made it their own. The political spectrum changed; traditional monarchy became more and more a fringe view and liberal democracy became more and more popular. By the end of the 19th century, liberal democracy was no longer only a "liberal" idea, but an idea supported by many different ideologies. After World War I and especially after World War II, "liberal democracy" achieved a dominant position among theories of government and is now endorsed by the vast majority of the political spectrum. John Stuart Mill, in his essays, On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government, for the first time, gave the systematic explanation and defence of liberal democracy. J.S. Mill, as a pro- democrat advocate, welcomed the progress in equality; yet in a review of Democracy in America he still enthusiastically recommended the work to his fellow British scholars. In particular Mill agreed with Tocqueville's claims that majority, mass culture stifles free and informed thought and that an omnipotent majority could oppress a minority. Taken together, Mill's essays may in large part be read as a sustained effort to confront this problem by the straightforward method of combining democracy and liberalism.

234 | P a g e In previous eras, Mill observed, tyranny was something experienced by the majority of a nation's people at the hands of a minority so there was no danger of the majority 'tyrannizing over itself.' However, with the emergence of large democratic nations particularly like the United States, a need was created for the people 'to limit their power over themselves'. The aim of on Liberty, then, was to identify the principles in accord with which the people should secure this limitation. Most of the essay is explained to explication and defence of Mill's claim that 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others In giving his principle content, Mill defended the most important liberties to protect, namely the freedoms of conscience, thought and feeling, holding and expressing opinions, pursuing one's life plans, and combining with others for any purpose. Because these civil liberties typically and directly affect only those who enjoy them, people should be exempted from the interference, paternalistic or otherwise, by others and especially by the state, including the democratic state. Mill also devoted little space to working out the details of how the liberties are to be safeguarded, but it was clear that in general he thought there should be areas of citizens' lives free of state regulation and legal limits on what even a democratically mandated government can legislate. That is, he favoured preservation of a distinction between private and public realms and the rule of law. In Mill's opinion, regarding democracy, direct citizen participation in the affairs of government is to be encouraged primarily for its functions of engendering confidence in people about their ability to govern themselves and of developing intellectual talents and communal, moral values. However, since direct participation is impossible in a large society, Mill thought that 'the ideal type of a perfect government must be a representative democracy.

235 | P a g e Another important political thinker, Sartori identifies liberalism primarily with the protection of individual freedoms and democracy with equality, which he thinks includes not just political equality but grows out of and promotes a measure of social and economic equality as well. In the nineteenth century, the liberal element prevailed over the democratic, while in the twentieth 'the pendulum has swung and today it is the democratic component that prevails over the liberal.' Sartori also tried define the relationship between liberal and democratic dimensions. He expressed the view shared by all liberal- democratic theorists that the former ought to contain the power of democratically elected governments over individuals by putting restrictions on state actions and by limiting the scope of permissible state action. This relation is visible clearly in the case of "political liberties" such as the right to vote, run for office, or form political parties, which makes ongoing democracy more secure. In addition, Mill describes one way that democracy strengthens civil liberties as well as political ones. At the same time, liberalism strengthens democracy. By restricting the domain of proper government activity to the public realm, bureaucracy is kept in check, which not only protects people from its interference with their freedoms, but also enables the citizenry at large to develop skills important for self-government. Stop to consider • Virtually all liberal-democratic theorists can agree in their endorsement of representative democracy where representatives are chosen in accord with formal procedures combined with state protection of political and civil liberties and a private sphere free of state interference. • Pluralism and political individualism provide core points of orientation for these theorists as well as being regarded important values in popular political culture for sustaining liberal democracy.

236 | P a g e • Within this shared core, liberal-democratic theorists may be sorted according to stands on various positions: developmentalist/protectionist; containment of democracy by liberalism/interactive support of liberalism and democracy; 'autonomist'/'determinist;' positive liberty advocacy/ negative liberty advocacy; political liberalism/comprehensive liberalism; foundationalism/anti- foundationalism. • They likely to differ in their locations on some ranges where one may be more or less accommodating to: informal political participation; flexibility in the political interpretation of basic principles; group rights and group character formation; state neutrality regarding concepts of a good society or life; national diversity; and egalitarian economic policies. 1.6: Liberal Democracy and Capitalism Liberal democracy and capitalism have proved to be the most popular political and economic systems despite intermittent challenges. Fundamentally, democracy celebrates the common good and capitalism advocates the personal good. Capitalism follows the logic of unequal property rights whereas democracy aims at giving equal civic and political rights. Democratic politics is embedded in consent and compromise and Capitalism is all about hierarchical decision making. Today, democracy today is celebrated as one of the most successful political systems in the contemporary era. Its simple meaning implies a form of government in which decision-making is by the people, for the people and of the people. Generally, the historical roots of democracy are traced to the ancient Greek cities of Athens and Sparta where direct participation of people in city assembly was encouraged. In recent

237 | P a g e years, the idea that democracy is essentially a system which originated in the West and popularized by North America and Europe. However, it must be noted that the adjective "liberal" before the word democracy denotes a specific meaning and definition of individual freedom, the role of the state and role of the market. The liberal understanding of democracy has been in favour of greater individual rights and lesser interference of the state. The term liberal may denote two diametrically opposing meanings, for instance, it can simply mean the absence of restraints i.e. negative liberty or it can mean individual's capability to engage in the process of governance and decision making. Thus, there are different versions of democracy depending on the meaning and definition adopted for the idea of liberty/personal freedom and role of the state. According to Karl Marx, capitalism thrived because proletariat class is repressed and kept misinformed. His notion of collapse of the capitalist system under the weight of its inner contradictions no longer holds as capitalism has survived these challenges by adapting and accommodating itself within the liberal democratic setting. There are various assumptions, theories, and approaches to look at the interrelationship between capitalism and democracy. For example, greater democratisation results in greater redistribution since the median voter belong to the lower income group. However, they do not provide much leverage on explaining the observed variance in redistributive politics in different countries. The other main approach to the study of capitalism and democracy focuses on the role of political power, especially the organizational and political strength of labour. The birth of liberal democracy in the shadow of modernity and growing industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century later became a global phenomenon and was taken as historically established and socially given. The growth of liberal democracy and capitalism globally today is being revisited and questioned for the world is

238 | P a g e trapped in unimaginable problems and issues. The unprecedented technological and material progress is an outcome of the capitalist system but it also has created an unimaginable gulf between the haves and have nots, climate change, growing tensions among communities on account of pressing economic conditions, rising terrorism, increasing unemployment and most importantly growth of the self- interested and atomistic individual. On the other hand, it is also necessary to mull over the fact that this very liberal democratic space has allowed alternative politics to come to the forefront. All over the world, we could witness a rise in mobilisation of masses against inequality, racial/ethnic discrimination, gender-based oppression etc. This is a ray of hope that democracy still can offer a thriving space for alternative politics as well economics. Currently, there are three possible alternatives to rescue the world from liberal democracies being hijacked by market capitalism. They are democratic socialism, democratic liberalism, and social capitalism. These alternatives can offer effective solutions to an impending problem that is at the root of all other interrelated problems, that is, inequality. The liberal democratic and capitalist world system need to revisit the proposition that market functions best when they are complemented by government/political system. The growing inequalities warrant urgent attention from the political system to curtail the spread of the market. More than ever, economic power seems today to have become political power while citizens appear to be almost entirely stripped of their democratic defence tools and their capacity to impress on the political economy interests and demands incommensurable with those of capital owners. 1.7 Challenges to Liberal Democracy: Today, liberal democracy faces multiple external challenges—from ethnonational autocracies, from regimes claiming to be based on God's word rather than the will of the people, from the success of strong- handed meritocracy in places such as Singapore, and, not least, from

239 | P a g e the astonishing economic accomplishments of China's market-oriented socialist system. But there is also an internal challenge to liberal democracy, a challenge from populists who seek to drive a wedge between democracy and liberalism. Liberal norms and policies, they claim, weaken democracy and harm the people. Thus, liberal institutions that prevent the people from acting democratically in their own interest should be set aside. It is this challenge on which I wish to focus. Across Europe and North America, long-established political arrangements are facing a challenge. Its milestones have included the Brexit vote; the 2016 U.S. election; the doubling of support for France's National Front; the rise of the antiestablishment Five Star Movement in Italy; the entrance of the far-right Alternative for Germany into the Bundestag; moves by traditional right-leaning parties toward the policies of the far-right in order to secure victories in the March 2017 Dutch and October 2017 Austrian parliamentary elections; the outright victory of the populist ANO party in the Czech Republic's October 2017 parliamentary elections; and most troubling, the entrenchment in Hungary of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's self- styled "illiberal democracy," which seems to be emerging as a template for Poland's governing Law and Justice party and—some scholars believe—for insurgent parties in Western Europe as well. This revolt threatened the assumptions that shaped liberal democracy's forward march in the 1990s and that continue to guide mainstream politicians and policy makers of the center-left and center-right. In India, liberal democracy is facing challenge with the rise of Hindu nationalism and radical Hindu parties. Minority rights are on constant threat with rise of majoritarian Hindu ideology and rights. Liberal Democracy in a non-Western country: Taiwan

240 | P a g e Taiwan is a young democracy in East Asia, which offers a pluralistic and inclusive experience to its residents. Taiwan's story of democratic transition along with its awareness for liberal principles is fascinating. Over the years, it grew stronger and this island nation became one of the strongest gender equitable liberal democracies in Asia. In terms of gender equality, Taiwan ranks 9 th in the world and the rank is much above than China, Japan, Korea and Singapore. Citizens of Taiwan have also embraced enthusiastically human rights and multiculturalism based on the principle of self determination. The election of Tsai Ing-wen, first women president in East Asia for two terms (2016 & 2020) boosted the scope of women's political empowerment with 42% Parliamentary representation, legislative reforms in all areas of equity and security, and an vibrant women's and queer movement. The democratic transition in Taiwan has created an environment for critical debate and discussion on the crucial issues of labour, political awareness and minority rights within the domestic political arena. Along with democratic transition, some major developments took place in Taiwan in terms of feminist movement and women and LGBTQ rights. Since 1990's, the women's movement in Taiwan was a great success by promoting, organizing and mobilizing debates of gender equality in the areas of equal pay and opportunities, children rights and protection against domestic abuse. Some of the important issues brought to attention by the women's movement are the Act for the prevention of Prostitution of Children and Youths passed in 1995; the Revision of family Provision in the Civil Code passed in September 1996; the Act for the prevention of domestic violence passed in May 1998; and the Act for the Prevention and Treatment of Sexual Assault Problems passed in 1996; and the Equal Employment Act for Men and Women passed in 2000.

241 | P a g e 1.8 Democratic Peace Theory: Historically it is proved that liberal democracies don't go for war with each other. Democratic peace is the proposition that democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. The main assumption of Democratic Peace Theory is countries with liberal democratic forms of government

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are less likely to go to war with one another than

those with other forms of government. Advocates of the theory draw on the writings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant and other 18 th -century Enlightenment thinkers, writings of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who in his 1917 World War I message to US Congress stated that "The world must be made safe for democracy." Dependent on the ideologies of liberalism, such as civil liberties and political freedom, the Democratic Peace Theory holds that democracies are hesitant to go to war with other democratic countries. Currently, Democratic Peace is a popular area of research. The democratic peace proposition has many possible empirical and theoretical forms. On the empirical side, some propose that democracies are more peaceful in their relations with all other states in the system while some propose that democracies are more peaceful only in their relations with other democracies; others argue that the more democracies there are in a region or the international system, the more peaceful the region or international system will be; and still others doubt the existence of any significant relationship between democracy and peace. On the theoretical side, there are many different accounts of the relationship between democracy and peace, with most focusing on domestic political institutions, domestic political norms, and constructed identities. The democratic peace proposition is connected to many other propositions linking domestic politics and international relations, including that democracies are more likely to cooperate with

242 | P a g e each other, that democracies are more likely to win the wars they fight, that escalating military casualties degrade public support for war, that leaders initiate conflict to secure their domestic hold on power, that democracies fight shorter wars, that different kinds of democracies experience different kinds of conflict behavior, that different kinds of authoritarian systems experience different kinds of conflict behavior, and others. The democratic peace also overlaps with related ideas such as the liberal peace and the commercial peace. 1.9 Origin of Democratic Peace: The democratic peace proposition has been appearing in Western thought for millennia; however, Immanuel Kant in 1991 furnished its first modern formulation in his essay "Perpetual Peace." In this essay, Kant argued that nations with constitutional republic governments are less likely to go to war because doing so requires the consent of the people—who would actually be fighting the war. The idea that global democracy would provide a solid foundation for global peace was restated in 1917 by Woodrow Wilson as a justification for American entry into World War I and then as part of his vision for a new world order. The United States first promoted the concepts of the Democratic Peace Theory in 1832 by adopting the Monroe Doctrine. In this historic piece of international policy, the U.S. affirmed that it would not tolerate any attempt by European monarchies to colonize any democratic nation in North or South America. Modern political science first observed the dyadic democratic peace— that democracies tend not to fight each other—in the 1970s. The theory received fuller theoretical and empirical attention in the 1990s. Francis Fukuyama 1992, in his famous argument that humanity had reached "the end of history," incorporates the democratic peace proposition. In the 2000s, proponents of the democratic peace responded to their critics and embedded the democratic peace in a

243 | P a g e broader Kantian peace. Perhaps the strongest evidence supporting the Democratic Peace Theory is the fact that there were no wars between democracies during the 20th century. Advocated of Democratic Peace provide several reasons for the tendency of democratic states to maintain peace: • The citizens of democracies usually have some say over legislative decisions to declare war. • In democracies, the voting public holds their elected leaders responsible for human and financial war losses. • When held publicly accountable, government leaders are likely to create diplomatic institutions for resolving international tensions. • Democracies rarely view countries with similar policies and form of government as hostile. • Usually possessing more wealth that other states, democracies avoid war to preserve their resources. 1.10 Main Arguments: There are two main variants of democratic peace theory. First one -the structural account argues that it is the institutions of representative government, which hold elected officials and decision-makers accountable to a wide electorate, that make war a largely unattractive option for both the government and its citizens. Because the costs and risks of war directly affect large segments of the population, it is expected that the average voter will throw the incumbent leader/party out of office if they initiate a losing or unnecessary war, thus, providing a clear institutional incentive for democratic leaders to anticipate such an electoral response before deciding to go to war. However, this view does not assume that all citizens and elected representatives are liberal-minded, but simply that democratic structures that give citizens leverage over government decisions will

244 | P a g e make it less likely that a democratic leader will be able to initiate a war with another liberal democracy. Thus, even with an authoritarian leader in place, institutions such as free speech, political pluralism, and competitive elections will make it difficult for these leaders to convince or persuade the public to go to war. Advocates of the normative/cultural perspective, on the other hand, argue that shared democratic and liberal values best explain the peace that exists between democratic states. According to this view, democratic political culture encourages peaceful means of conflict resolution which are extended beyond the domestic political process to other democratic states because leaders in both countries hold a reasonable expectation that their counterparts will also be able to work out their differences peacefully. Political ideology, therefore, determines how democracies distinguish allies from adversaries: democracies that represent and act in their citizens' interests are treated with respect and consideration, whereas non-democracies that use violence and oppression against their own people are regarded with mistrust and suspicion. The importance of perception means that even if a particular state has 'enlightened citizens and liberal- democratic institutions,' unless other democratic states regard it as a genuine liberal democracy then the democratic peace proposition will not hold. Stop to Consider: •

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The Democratic Peace Theory holds that democratic countries are less likely to go to war with one another than

non-democratic countries. • The theory evolved from the writings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant and the adoption of the 1832 Monroe Doctrine by the United States. • The theory is based on the fact that declaring war in democratic countries requires citizen support and legislative

245 | P a g e approval. • Critics of the theory argue that merely being democratic may not be the primary reason for peace between democracies. 1.11 Criticism: Critics of the Democratic Peace argue that the simple quality of being democratic in nature may not be the main reason for the historic tendency of peace between democracies. Some critics have argued that it was actually the Industrial Revolution that led to peace during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The resulting prosperity and economic stability made all of the newly modernized countries— democratic and nondemocratic—much less belligerent toward each other than in preindustrial times. Several factors arising from modernization may have generated a greater aversion to war among industrialized nations than democracy alone. Such factors included higher standards of living, less poverty, full employment, more leisure time, and the spread of consumerism. Modernized countries simply no longer felt the need to dominate each other in order to survive. Democratic Peace Theory has also been criticized for failing to prove a cause-and-effect relationship between wars and types of government and the ease with which definitions of "democracy" and "war" can be manipulated to prove a non-existent trend. A significant study conducted in 2002 study contends that as many wars have been fought between democracies as might be statistically expected between non- democracies. Other critics argue that throughout history, it has been the evolution of power, more than democracy or its absence that has determined peace or war. Specifically, they suggest that the effect called "liberal

246 | P a g e democratic peace" is really due to "realist" factors including military and economic alliances between democratic governments. Realists argue that it is not common polities but rather common interests that can best explain the low incidence of wars between democracies. Beginning with the Cold War, they point out that democratic states have been far more likely to formally align themselves with other democracies than in the century before, suggesting that common strategic interests are a more important factor than domestic political processes. Thus, the particular structure of the international political system is the key factor determining how states will act. But the realist critique has been largely disproven by studies that have persuasively found that democracy, rather than alliance prevents conflict and war; nonaligned democracies are less likely to fight each other than aligned non democracies; and two nondemocratic states that share common interests are more likely to fight each other than two democracies that do not share common interests. SAQ Explain the main arguments of Democratic Peace Theory (150 Words) 1.12 Summing up This unit is relevant for understanding the main arguments about "Liberal Democracy." Liberal Democracy is particularly considered as a product and characteristic feature of modernity. It came into existence as a result of civil war against royal absolutism and paved the way for the transfer of powers from the Crown to the British parliament. Since then, liberal democracy has expanded not only in physical terms but also has matured in terms of meaning ascribed to it.

247 | P a g e The American and French Revolutions coupled with the growth of industrial capitalism since the late 18th century has deepened the roots of democracy. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the political ideas of John Locke who invoked the idea of inalienable rights of man, Bentham's defence of representative politics, J S Mill's championing of suffrage for women have greatly contributed to the development of democracy particularly in a liberal sense. You may also be in a position to understand the definition, significance and various features of liberal democracy. After reading the first segment you could find out that how liberal democracy is connected with capitalism. This unit also discusses in details about another dominant theory in international relations i.e. democratic peace. This democratic peace proposition not only challenges the validity of other political systems i.e., fascism, communism, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, but also the prevailing realist account of international relations, which emphasises balance-of-power calculations and common strategic interests in order to explain the peace and stability that characterises relations between liberal democracies. 1.13 References: Baylis J. and S. Smith, International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues, Sage, New Delhi, 2012 Basu, Rumki, International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues, Sage, New Delhi, 2012 Cunningham, Frank, Theories of Democracy – A Critical Introduction, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2002 Gat, Azar, The Democratic Peace Theory Reframed: The Impact of Modernity." Cambridge University Press, 2006 Plattner, Marc F, Liberalism and Democracy, Can't Have One without the Other, Foreign Affairs, Vol 77, No 2, March/April 1998

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writers do not like to draw a line of demarcation between International Relations and International Politics. Even some top ranking scholars like Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson use these terms inter-changeably as they regard "International Politics as an inalienable part of International

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the field of International Relations deals with the relationships among the world's governments; however, these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals); with other structures (including economies, culture, and domestic politics); and with geographical and historical influences (

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of adjustment of relationship among nations in favor of a nation or a group of nations by means of power. Three important things relevant to international politics are national interest, conflict and power. The first is the objective the second is the condition, and the third is the means of international politics, therefore, can be described as a set of those aspects of relations among independent states in which some elements of conflict

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The core concepts of international relations are International Organization, International Law, Foreign Policy, International Conflict, International Economic Relations and Military Thought and Strategy. International/Regional Security, Strategic Studies, International Political Economy, Conflict/War and Peace Studies, Globalization, International Regimes. Moreover it covers , state sovereignty, ecological sustainability, nuclear proliferation, nationalism, economic development, terrorism, organized crime, human security,

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The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (1939),

The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation ...

30/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (1939),

The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations, 2

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

31/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Acharya A (2017) Theorising the international relations of Asia: Necessity or indulgence? Some reflections.

Acharya, A. (2017). '"Theorising the International Relations of Asia: Necessity or Indulgence?" Some Reflections',

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

32/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

Theorising the international relations of Asia: Necessity or indulgence? Some reflections.

Theorising the international relations of Asia: necessity or indulgence?' Some reflections

W https://www.researchgate.net/topic/International-Relations-Theory/publications

33/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	10 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	10 WORDS

Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and beyond Asia.

Non- Western International Relations Theory. Perspectives on and beyond Asia.

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

34/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	72%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Acharya A and Buzan B (eds) (2010) Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and beyond Asia. London: Routledge.

Acharya, and Barry Non-Western International Relations Theory – Perspectives on and beyond Asia. London. Routledge.

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

characteristic of IR, in common with all socialscience disciplines, that it cannot be neatly separated from disciplines such as sociology orpolitical philosophy and theory, nor even from economics, political geography, psychologyor law. Drawing on the categories and concepts found in these neighbouring disciplines can often help IR achieve additional insights. This is particularly true when we consider thatinternational relations are becoming increasingly globalized. The object of study no longer fits neatly within the boundaries of a discipline historically devoted to the study of interstaterelations. It is only against this background that we can understand why the corpus ofcontemporary IR theory has branched off into a multiplicity of approaches, such as the hugerange of critical, constructivist and postmodern theories that have proliferated since the1990s. This has dismantled the boundaries between formerly separate academic disciplinesand brought to the fore the "social" character of international relations; consequently, IRscholars now need to engage in genuine social theorizing rather than maintaining an exclusivedomain of IR theories devoted to the study of interstate relations (see, for example,Albert and Buzan 2013).

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W   https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

Because it is a social science, there is alwaysa close interplay between theory building in International Relations and the discipline'shistorical and sociopolitical context . Progress in IR theory is closely linked with events inthe "real world" of international politics, such as the development of the bipolar systemfollowing the Second World War, the decolonization of large parts of Africa and Asia in thelate 1950s and early 1960s, the Vietnam War and the global economic crisis triggered bythe "oil price shocks" of the 1970s, the rise of emerging powers since the 2000s and whatwe generally perceive as the "processes of globalization". Global political upheavals such asthe end of the East–West conflict, the shift in the role of sovereign nation states associatedwith globalization, and the increasing impact of transnational non-state actors rooted ineconomy and society have exercised and continue to exercise an enduring influence on awhole generation of theory-oriented scholars, doing much to shape their theoretical ideasabout international relations. The theory of IR finds itself confronted with new challenges inthe light of phenomena such as "failing" or "failed states" and the resulting security anddevelopmental tasks involved in international "state-building", the emergence of new,globally organized forces of violence resulting from the erosion of the state monopoly ofpower and, not least, the increasing global economic and political importance of Chinaand other rising powers (such as India, Brazil or Turkey) and of entire world regions (aboveall Asia) – all of which are highly significant in their effects on the 63 | P a g e structure of the internalsystem and in their practical political implications. Another demonstration of the linkbetween IR theory and the real world is the increasing number of studies that review andreappraise past theoretical work in light of the global and European crises and the politicalprocesses of the "Arab Spring". While initially the end of the East–West conflict was generallyinterpreted – with theoretical back-up – as an opportunity to advance world peace (thekey terms here being "new world order", "peace dividend", "nuclear disarmament", etc.),events such as "9/11", the fight against international terrorism, along with new internationalproblems such as securing energy supplies, international climate protection and, not least,turbulence in the international financial and capital markets, have refocused theoreticalattention on the ambivalent, transitional and conflictual nature of international politics

because it is a social science, there is always a close interplay between theory building in International Relations and the discipline's historical and sociopolitical context . Progress in IR theory is closely linked with events in the "real world" of international politics, such as the development of the bipolar system following the Second World War, the decolonization of large parts of Africa and Asia in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Vietnam War and the global economic crisis triggered by the "oil price shocks" of the 1970s, the rise of emerging powers since the 2000s and what we generally perceive as the "processes of globalization". Global political upheavals such as the end of the East–West conÀict, the shift in the role of sovereign nation states associated with globalization, and the increasing impact of transnational non-state actors rooted in economy and society have exercised and continue to exercise an enduring inÀuence on a whole generation of theory-oriented scholars, doing much to shape their theoretical ideas about international relations. The theory of IR ¿ nds itself confronted with new challenges in the light of phenomena such as "failing" or "failed states" and the resulting security and developmental tasks involved in international "state-building", the emergence of new, globally organized forces of violence resulting from the erosion of the state monopoly of power and, not least, the increasing global economic and political importance of China and other rising powers (such as India, Brazil or Turkey) and of entire world regions (above all Asia) – all of which are highly signi¿ cant in their effects on the structure of the interna- tional system and in their practical political implications. Another demonstration of the link between IR theory and the real world is the increasing number of studies that review and reappraise past theoretical work in light of the global and European crises and the political processes of the "Arab Spring". While initially the end of the East–West conÀict was gener- ally interpreted – with theoretical back-up – as an opportunity to advance world peace (the key terms here being "new world order", "peace dividend", "nuclear disarmament", etc.), events such as "9/11", the ¿ ght against international terrorism, along with new international problems such as securing energy supplies, international climate protection and, not least, turbulence in the international ¿ nancial and capital markets, have refocused theoretical attention on the ambivalent, transitional and conÀ ictual nature of international politics

W   https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

47/244 · SUBMITTED TEXT · 169 WORDS · 97% MATCHING TEXT · 169 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT	MATCHING TEXT
To Consider Three dimensions of theory: ontology, epistemology and normativity It is important to highlight three key dimensions of theories. First, a theory makes statements about the observer's perspective on the object of investigation. This is the ontological dimension of IR theory ("theory of being"). The ontology underpinning a theory, its conception of "the way the world is" or "what the world is made of", refers to the substantive ideas or Manuela Spindler and Siegfried Schieder world-view – understood as a system of assumptions and beliefs – that a theory engenders about its object, in this case, international relations. The question here is "What is ?" or "What is the nature of the subject matter?" In this sense, a theory of international relations formulates general assumptions about international relations, that is, the actors' sphere of action, the type or "quality" of the key actors, their goals and preferences, as well as the driving forces of international politics and its fundamental problems and developmental prospects . 5.5	to dispute. 2.1 Three dimensions of theory: ontology, epistemology and normativity It is important to highlight three key dimensions of theories. First, a theory makes statements about the observer's perspective on the object of investigation. This is the ontological dimension of IR theory ("theory of being"). The ontology underpinning a theory, its conception of "the way the world is" or "what the world is made of", refers to the substantive ideas or 6 Manuela Spindler and Siegfried Schieder world-view – understood as a system of assumptions and beliefs – that a theory engenders about its object, in this case, international relations. The question here is "What is ?" or "What is the nature of the subject matter?" In this sense, a theory of international relations formulates general assumptions about international relations, that is, the actors' sphere of action, the type or "quality" of the key actors, their goals and preferences, as well as the driving forces of international politics and its fundamental problems and developmental prospects.

W https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

48/244 · SUBMITTED TEXT · 13 WORDS · 95% MATCHING TEXT · 13 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT	MATCHING TEXT
Johnston Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History (Princeton	Johnston, A. I. (1995) Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History (Princeton).

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

49/244 · SUBMITTED TEXT · 13 WORDS · 100% MATCHING TEXT · 13 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT	MATCHING TEXT
Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51	Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics", 51

W https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4576376/mod_folder/content/0/Aula%206%20-%20Slaughter% ...

50/244 · SUBMITTED TEXT · 13 WORDS · 100% MATCHING TEXT · 13 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT	MATCHING TEXT
Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51	Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics",

W https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1471&context=honors

| 51/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 28 WORDS | 57% | MATCHING TEXT | 28 WORDS |

of International Politics' (1997) 51 IntlOrg 513–53. A Wendt _Constructing International Politics' (1995) 20(1) International Security 71–81. A Wendt Social Theory of International Politics (CUP Cambridge 2000)

of Power Politics', Organization 46 (2), 391–425. Wendt, Alexander (1995) 'Constructing International Politics', International Security 20 (1), 71–81. Wendt, Alexander (1999) Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation ...

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of International Politics' (1997) 51 IntlOrg 513–53. A Wendt _Constructing International Politics' (1995) 20(1) International Security 71–81. A Wendt Social Theory of International Politics (CUP Cambridge 2000)

of Power Politics', Organization 46 (2), 391–425. Wendt, Alexander (1995) 'Constructing International Politics', International Security 20 (1), 71–81. Wendt, Alexander (1999) Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/key-concepts-in-international-relations-6ro1q7d8gvn0

| 53/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

Ackerly M Stern and J True (eds) Feminist Methodologies for International Relations (

Ackerly, M. Stern and J. True (eds), Feminist Methodologies for International Relations (

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| 54/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 92% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.), Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate. New York: Columbia University Press, 116–43.

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

| 55/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 92% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

| 56/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 92% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

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57/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Baldwin, —Power Analysis and World Politics: New trends versus Old Tendencies,‖ World Politics, vol. 31, no. 2, (

Baldwin, "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends versus Old Tendencies" in World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1979,

W https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/15859/Kostagiannis2014.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

58/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	29 WORDS	55%	MATCHING TEXT	29 WORDS

of international relations. 66 | P a g e 1.2 Objectives After going through this unit you will be able to •

of International Relations: Historical Background 1.9 Exercise 1.11 Reference 1.1 OBJECTIVES After going through this unit, we will be able to: ?

W http://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/slmfiles/BAPS-07_BLOCK-01.pdf

59/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	86%	MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

war inevitable was the growth in Athenian power and the fear this caused in Sparta."

war inevitable was the growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta.'

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60/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept.

the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept . . .

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

61/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	43%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

six principles of realist theory. Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism Firstly, certain objective laws that have their roots in human nature

six principles of the realist theory of international politics. Morgenthau had outlined that political realism believes that politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature;

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62/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	43%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

six principles of realist theory. Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism Firstly, certain objective laws that have their roots in human nature

six principles of the realist theory of international politics. Morgenthau had outlined that political realism believes that politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature;

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| 63/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 25 WORDS | 43% | MATCHING TEXT | 25 WORDS |

six principles of realist theory. Morgenthau's Six Principles of Political Realism Firstly, certain objective laws that have their roots in human nature

six principles of the realist theory of international politics. Morgenthau had outlined that political realism believes that politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature;

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| 64/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 38 WORDS | 87% | MATCHING TEXT | 38 WORDS |

in order to improve society, it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. The operations of these laws being impervious to our performances, men will change them only at the risk of failure.

In order to improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives. The operation of these laws being impervious to our preferences, men will challenge them only at the risk of failure. (

W https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1471&context=honors

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| 65/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 12 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 12 WORDS |

statesmen think and act in terms of interest defined as power

Statesmen "think and act in terms of interest defined as power" (5).

W https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/

| 66/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 23 WORDS | 63% | MATCHING TEXT | 23 WORDS |

As long as the world is divided into nations, Morgenthau asserted, the national interest would remain the last word in world politics.

As long as the world is politically organized into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in world politics."

W http://egyanagar.osou.ac.in/slmfiles/BAPS-07_BLOCK-01.pdf

| 67/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 11 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 11 WORDS |

realism is aware of the moral significance of political action,

Realism is aware of the moral significance of political action.

W https://ndisc.nd.edu/news-media/news/an-introduction-to-realism-in-international-relations/

| 68/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 15 WORDS | 78% | MATCHING TEXT | 15 WORDS |

aware of the moral significance of political action, it is also aware of the

aware of the moral significance of political action, they are also aware of the

W   https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/

| 69/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states

that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states' (

W   http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 70/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 18 WORDS | 94% | MATCHING TEXT | 18 WORDS |

universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but

Universal moral principles," he asserts, "cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation, but …

W   https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/

| 71/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 32 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 32 WORDS |

that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place.

that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place.

W   https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

| 72/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place.

they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place" (9).

W   https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/

| 73/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 16 WORDS | 80% | MATCHING TEXT | 16 WORDS |

the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe.

the moral aspirations of a particular nation to the moral laws which govern the universe.

W   https://ndisc.nd.edu/news-media/news/an-introduction-to-realism-in-international-relations/

| 74/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 184 WORDS | **98%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 184 WORDS |

For structural realists, human nature has little to do with why states want power. Instead, it is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked. In essence, great powers are trapped in an iron cage where they have little choice but to compete with each other for power if they hope to survive. Structural realist theories ignore cultural differences among states as well as differences in regime type, mainly because the international 73 |

For structural realists, sometimes called neorealists, human nature has little to do with why states want power. Instead, it is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked. In essence, great powers are trapped in an iron cage where they have little choice but to compete with each other for power if they hope to survive. Structural realist theories ignore cultural differences among states as well as differences in regime type, mainly because the international

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| 75/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 184 WORDS | **98%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 184 WORDS |

For structural realists, human nature has little to do with why states want power. Instead, it is the structure or architecture of the international system that forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked. In essence, great powers are trapped in an iron cage where they have little choice but to compete with each other for power if they hope to survive. Structural realist theories ignore cultural differences among states as well as differences in regime type, mainly because the international 73 |

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| 76/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 96 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 96 WORDS |

system creates the same basic incentives for all great powers. Whether a state is democratic or autocratic matters relatively little for how it acts towards other states. Nor does it matter much who is in charge of conducting a state's foreign policy. Structural realists treat states as if they were black boxes: they are assumed to be alike, save for the fact that some states are more or less

system creates the same basic incentives for all great powers. Whether a state is democratic or autocratic matters relatively little for how it acts towards other states. Nor does it matter much who is in charge of conducting a state's foreign policy. Structural realists treat states as if they were black boxes: they are assumed to be alike, save for the fact that some states are more or less

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| 77/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 96 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 96 WORDS |

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| 78/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 19 WORDS | 88% | MATCHING TEXT | 19 WORDS |

the strong do what they have the powerto do and the weak accept what they have to accept."

the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept . . .

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| 79/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 12 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 12 WORDS |

Mearsheimer (2001). The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. New York: Norton

Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, New York: Norton, 2001,

W https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/15859/Kostagiannis2014.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

| 80/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 88% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. 3rd ed. New York.

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| 81/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 88% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. 3rd ed. New York.

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| 82/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 88% | MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. 3rd ed. New York.

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83/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	71%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Morgenthau, H. J.(1985). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

Morgenthau, J. (1961) Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace (New York:

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation ...

84/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	17 WORDS	90%	MATCHING TEXT	17 WORDS

Morgenthau, H. J.(1985). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. (4th ed.). New York:

Morgenthau, H. J. (1985). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, 6th edn. New York:

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

85/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 |

Thucydides. (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. trans. Rex Warner. London. Penguin Books.

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86/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 |

Thucydides. (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. trans. Rex Warner. London. Penguin Books.

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

87/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 |

Thucydides. (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. trans. Rex Warner. London. Penguin Books.

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88/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	76%	MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 |

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War (1954), trans. Rex Warner (London: Penguin Books).

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89/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	75%	MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

Thucydides (1954). History of the Peloponnesian War. Translated by Rex Warner, London: Penguin Books. 77 | P

Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. by Rex Warner (New York: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 48.

W https://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~aldous/157/Papers/gaddis.pdf

90/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

that democracies do not go to war with each other.

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91/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	11 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	11 WORDS

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92/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	25 WORDS	50%	MATCHING TEXT	25 WORDS

behavior is not a product of evil people, but of evil justifications and structural arrangement that encourage people to act selfishly and to harm

behavior is not the result of evil man, but the result of human institutions and structural arrangements that motivate human beings to act selfishly and to harm

W https://archives.palarch.nl/index.php/jae/article/download/8574/7999/16805

93/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	56 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	56 WORDS

have strong faith in human reason. This characteristic can be traced back to the ideas of John Locke (1632- 1704) who argued that 1. reason is necessary for arriving at truth and right action. Reason is necessary for understanding and shaping nature and society. 2.

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94/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 56 WORDS **96%** **MATCHING TEXT** 56 WORDS

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97/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 57 WORDS **100%** **MATCHING TEXT** 57 WORDS

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101/244 · **SUBMITTED TEXT** · 40 WORDS · **100%** · **MATCHING TEXT** · 40 WORDS

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109/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   61 WORDS   **82% MATCHING TEXT**   61 WORDS

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promotion of democracy worldwide to achieve peace, one of the most fundamental values of all political values. In this sense, it is one of theories with a strong normative element. 122

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| 121/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 78 WORDS | 76% | MATCHING TEXT | 78 WORDS |

acknowledge that cooperation between states is likely to be fragile, particularly where enforcement procedures are weak. However in an environment of increasing regional and global integration, states, can often find out without any external force — a coincidence of strategic and economic interest which can be turned around into a formalized agreement determining the rules of conduct. In such areas such as environmental degradation and the threat of terrorism, the necessity for formalized cooperation between states is

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| 122/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 95% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

Johnston Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History (Princeton

Johnston, A. I. (1995) Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History (Princeton).

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 123/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51

Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics", 51

W https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4576376/mod_folder/content/0/Aula%206%20-%20Slaughter% ...

| 124/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

Moravcsik _Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics' (1997) 51

Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics",

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| 125/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 28 WORDS | 57% | MATCHING TEXT | 28 WORDS |

of International Politics' (1997) 51 IntlOrg 513–53. A Wendt _Constructing International Politics' (1995) 20(1) International Security 71–81. A Wendt Social Theory of International Politics (CUP Cambridge 2000)

of Power Politics', Organization 46 (2), 391–425. Wendt, Alexander (1995) 'Constructing International Politics', International Security 20 (1), 71–81. Wendt, Alexander (1999) Social Theory of International Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge

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126/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	28 WORDS	57%	MATCHING TEXT	28 WORDS

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127/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	13 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	13 WORDS

Ackerly M Stern and J True (eds) Feminist Methodologies for International Relations (

Ackerly, M. Stern and J. True (eds), Feminist Methodologies for International Relations (

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128/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.), Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate. New York: Columbia University Press, 116–43.

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

129/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

130/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	92%	MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

W https://pdfcoffee.com/hin-100504-international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smi ...

131/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	18 WORDS	96%	MATCHING TEXT	18 WORDS

Baldwin, —Power Analysis and World Politics: New trends versus Old Tendencies,‖ World Politics, vol. 31, no. 2, (

Baldwin, "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends versus Old Tendencies" in World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 2, 1979,

W https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/15859/Kostagiannis2014.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

138/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	57 WORDS	84% MATCHING TEXT	57 WORDS

The English School The English school is a term that became popular in the 1970s, to describe a group of predominantly British or British-inspired writers for whom International Society is the primary bases of analysis (Jorres, 1971; Linklater and Suganami, 2006). Its most influential members include; Hedley Bull, Martin Wight, John Vincent and Adam Watson.

The English School ANDREW LINKLATER 'The English School' is a term coined in the 1970s to describe a group of predominantly British or British-inspired writers for whom international society is the primary object of analysis (Jones 1981; Linklater and Suganami 2006). Its most influential members include Hedley Bull, Martin Wight, John Vincent and Adam Watson

W   http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

139/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	16 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	16 WORDS

The English School remains one of the most important approaches to International politics.

The English School remains one of the most important approaches to international politics

W   http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

140/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	91 WORDS	91% MATCHING TEXT	91 WORDS

of the English School is that sovereign states form a society, even though an anarchic one in that they do not have to submit to the will of a higher power. The fact that states have succeeded in creating a society of sovereign equals is for the English School one of the most interesting dimensions of International Relations. There is they argue, a surprisingly low level of violence between states given that their condition is one of anarchy (in the sense of the absence of a higher political authority).

of the English School is that sovereign states form a society, albeit an anarchic one in that they do not have to submit to the will of a higher power. The fact that states have succeeded in creating a society of sovereign equals is for the English School one of the most fascinating dimensions of international relations. There is, they argue, a surprisingly high level of order and a surprisingly low level of violence between states given that their condition is one of anarchy (in the sense of the absence of a higher political authority).

W   http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

141/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	14 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	14 WORDS

the phenomenon of violence in relations between states. Its members regard violence as

the phenomenon of violence in relations between states. Its members regard violence as

W   http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 142/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 26 WORDS | 93% | MATCHING TEXT | 26 WORDS |

Members of the English school maintain that the International political system is mute civil and orderly than realists and neo-realists suggest. 102 |

members of the English School maintain that the international political system is more civil and orderly than realists and neo-realists suggest.

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

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| 143/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 21 WORDS | 90% | MATCHING TEXT | 21 WORDS |

formed 'when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to

formed when two or more states have suf- ficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

| 144/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 34 WORDS | 82% | MATCHING TEXT | 34 WORDS |

international system as being formed 'when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as parts of a whole.'

international system)', he argued, 'formed when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave – at least in some measure – as parts of a whole' (1977: 9–10).

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

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| 145/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 26 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 26 WORDS |

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (1977: 13).3

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d …

| 146/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 26 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 26 WORDS |

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (1977: 13).3

W https://pdfcoffee.com/hin-100504-international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smi …

| 147/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 29 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 29 WORDS |

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977: 13).

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation …

148/244 — SUBMITTED TEXT — 29 WORDS — 100% MATCHING TEXT — 29 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

MATCHING TEXT

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions. Bull (1995: 9–13)

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

149/244 — SUBMITTED TEXT — 29 WORDS — 100% MATCHING TEXT — 29 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

MATCHING TEXT

conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977: 13).

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/key-concepts-in-international-relations-6ro1q7d8gvn0

150/244 — SUBMITTED TEXT — 18 WORDS — 100% MATCHING TEXT — 18 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT

the institutionalisation of shared interest and identity amongst states, and

MATCHING TEXT

the institutionalization of shared interest and identity amongst states, and

W https://www.profolus.com/topics/major-theories-of-international-relations/

151/244 — SUBMITTED TEXT — 12 WORDS — 87% MATCHING TEXT — 12 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT

individuals, non-state organisations and ultimately the global population as a whole

MATCHING TEXT

individuals, non-state organizations, and ultimately the global population as a whole. 4.

W https://www.profolus.com/topics/major-theories-of-international-relations/

152/244 — SUBMITTED TEXT — 43 WORDS — 86% MATCHING TEXT — 43 WORDS

SUBMITTED TEXT

Integration is one of the central themes in the interdisciplinary approach to international relations. Studies of past and present tendencies towards integration as well as towards conflict in the international community suggest factors that have important bearing on contemporary diplomacy and political

MATCHING TEXT

integration is one of the focus point in the interdisciplinary approach to international relations Studies of past am present tendencies towards integration as well as towards conflict in the international community may suggest factors that have an important bearing on contemporary diplomacy and political

W https://www.politicalscienceview.com/nature-purpose-and-scope-of-international-relations/

| 153/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 37 WORDS | **77%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 37 WORDS |

Order and Justice in International Relations The English school is interested in the process which Transforms systems of states into societies of state nod the norms and institutions which prevent the collapse of law and

Order and justice in international relations The English School is interested in the processes which transform systems of states into societies of states and in the norms and institutions which prevent the collapse of civility and

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 154/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 41 WORDS | **87%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 41 WORDS |

society. A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

Society A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

| 155/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 35 WORDS | **72%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 35 WORDS |

international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

international society comes into being when 'a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, forms a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d …

| 156/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 35 WORDS | **72%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 35 WORDS |

international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

international society comes into being when 'a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, forms a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a

W https://pdfcoffee.com/hin-100504-international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smi …

157/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 40 WORDS | **61%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 40 WORDS

A society of states (or international society) exists when a group of state, conscious of certain common interest and common value, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a 105 |

A 'society of states', on the other comes into being 'when a group of states, con- scious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

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158/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 19 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 19 WORDS

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (1977: 13).3

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

159/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 19 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 19 WORDS

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (1977: 13).3

W https://pdfcoffee.com/hin-100504-international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smi ...

160/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 21 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 21 WORDS

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977: 13).

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation ...

161/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 21 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 21 WORDS

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions. Bull (1995: 9–13)

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

162/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 21 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 21 WORDS

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions (Bull, 1979:13).

common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977: 13).

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/key-concepts-in-international-relations-6ro1q7d8gvn0

| 168/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 31 WORDS | 94% MATCHING TEXT | 31 WORDS |

that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

that 'conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977: 13).

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation …

| 169/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 34 WORDS | 100% MATCHING TEXT | 34 WORDS |

in the sense that 'they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the working of common institutions' (Bull 1977, 13).

in the sense that conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions. Bull (1995: 9–13)

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

| 170/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 50 WORDS | 48% MATCHING TEXT | 50 WORDS |

into the realist conception of the conflictual nature of the international system." As from the above discussions it is cleared that, in English School there are three distinct spheres at play in international politics,

into the realist conception of the conflicted nature of the international system? Central to the argument of the English School is that there are three distinct spheres at work in international politics.

W https://www.profolus.com/topics/major-theories-of-international-relations/

| 171/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 87% MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. (3

Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation …

| 172/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 14 WORDS | 100% MATCHING TEXT | 14 WORDS |

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. (3

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, 2

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio …

173/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. (3

Bull, H. (1977/1995), The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

174/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. (3

Bull, H. (1977/1995), The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (

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175/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **87%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

Bull, H. (1995). The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. (3

Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/key-concepts-in-international-relations-6ro1q7d8gvn0

176/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **92%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.), Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate. New York: Columbia University Press, 116–43.

W https://download.bibis.ir/Books/Politics/International/2022/Introduction-To-International-Relatio ...

177/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **92%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

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178/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 14 WORDS | **92%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 14 WORDS

D A Baldwin (ed) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (Columbia University Press

D. A. Baldwin (ed.) Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

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179/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 16 WORDS **96%** MATCHING TEXT 16 WORDS

New York 1993). Dunne, T. (1998) Inventing International Society: A History of the English School,

New York: Dunne, T. (1998), Inventing International Society: A History of the English School (

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

180/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 16 WORDS **96%** MATCHING TEXT 16 WORDS

New York 1993). Dunne, T. (1998) Inventing International Society: A History of the English School,

New York: Dunne, T. (1998), Inventing International Society: A History of the English School (

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181/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 13 WORDS **100%** MATCHING TEXT 13 WORDS

Dunne, T. (1998) Inventing International Society: A History of the English School,

Dunne, T. (1998) Inventing International Society: A History of the English School (

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

182/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 16 WORDS **87%** MATCHING TEXT 16 WORDS

Basu, R. (ed), (2012) International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues New Delhi, Sage.

Basu (Ed.), International Politics- Concepts, Theories and Issues (221-247). New Delhi. Sage

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

183/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 16 WORDS **87%** MATCHING TEXT 16 WORDS

Basu, R. (ed), (2012) International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues New Delhi, Sage.

Basu (Ed.), International Politics- Concepts, Theories and Issues (221-247). New Delhi. Sage

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

184/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 16 WORDS **87%** MATCHING TEXT 16 WORDS

Basu, R. (ed), (2012) International Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues New Delhi, Sage.

Basu (Ed.), International Politics- Concepts, Theories and Issues (221-247). New Delhi. Sage

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/1/Block-3.pdf

185/244 SUBMITTED TEXT 17 WORDS **83%** MATCHING TEXT 17 WORDS

J. and Smith, S. (eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations,

J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 3

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

| 186/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 17 WORDS | 83% | MATCHING TEXT | 17 WORDS |

J. and Smith, S. (eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations,

J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 3

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| 187/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 19 WORDS | 81% | MATCHING TEXT | 19 WORDS |

eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, New York: Oxford University Press

eds), The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4

W http://library.unisel.edu.my/equip-unisel/custom/ebook_catalog/KeyConceptsInInternationalRelation ...

| 188/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 19 WORDS | 81% | MATCHING TEXT | 19 WORDS |

eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, New York: Oxford University Press

eds), The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4

W https://vdoc.pub/documents/key-concepts-in-international-relations-6ro1q7d8gvn0

| 189/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 24 WORDS | 69% | MATCHING TEXT | 24 WORDS |

Baylis, J. and Smith, S. (eds), (2008) The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, New York: Oxford University Press

Baylis , John and Smith , eds) 2011 : The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. 5edn. Oxford : Oxford University Press .

W https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

| 190/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 15 WORDS | 76% | MATCHING TEXT | 15 WORDS |

Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approches, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches, 3rd edn (Oxford, Oxford, University Press).

W https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

| 191/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 15 WORDS | 76% | MATCHING TEXT | 15 WORDS |

Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approches, 3rd Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches, 3rd edn (Oxford, Oxford, University Press).

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| 192/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 12 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 12 WORDS |

on "psychological diagnoses that expose false consciousness infecting people's received ideas".

on psychological diagnoses that expose false consciousness infecting people's received ideas;

W https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nietzsche/

| 193/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 12 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 12 WORDS |

modern social and political life through a method of immanent critique" (

modern social and political life through a method of immanent critique.

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| 194/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 13 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 13 WORDS |

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers" of human beings (

W https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

| 195/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 13 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 13 WORDS |

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers" of human beings (

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/3/Block-3.pdf

| 196/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 13 WORDS | **100%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 13 WORDS |

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of human beings".

create a world which satisfies the needs and powers" of human beings (

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/1/Block-3.pdf

| 197/244 | **SUBMITTED TEXT** | 22 WORDS | **71%** | **MATCHING TEXT** | 22 WORDS |

traditional forms of theorizing, but it also problematises and seeks to dismantle entrenched forms of social life that constrain human freedom (

traditional forms of theorizing, it also problematizes and seeks to dismantle entrenched forms of social life that constrain human freedom.

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 198/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 26 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 26 WORDS |

attention to the "relationship between knowledge and society, which is so frequently excluded from mainstream theoretical analysis, critical theory recognizes the political nature of knowledge

attention to the relationship between knowledge and society, which is so frequently excluded from mainstream theoretical analysis, critical theory recognizes the political nature of knowledge

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 199/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 31 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 31 WORDS |

Max Horkheimer (1895 – 1973), Theodor Adorno (1903 – 1969), Walter Benjamin (1892 – 1940), Herbert Marcuse (1898 – 1979), Erich Fromm (1900 – 1980), Leo Lowenthal (1900 – 1993)

Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Leo Lowenthal

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 200/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 30 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 30 WORDS |

critical theory intended "not simply to eliminate one or other abuse, but to analyse the underlying social structures which result in these abuses with the intention of overcoming them" (

Critical theory intended 'not simply to eliminate one or other abuse', but to analyse the underlying social structures which result in these abuses with the intention of overcoming them (

W http://lib.jnu.ac.in/sites/default/files/RefrenceFile/Theories-of-IR.pdf

| 201/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 28 WORDS | 100% | MATCHING TEXT | 28 WORDS |

This critique reveals the unexamined assumptions that guide traditional modes of thought, and exposes the complicity of traditional modes of thought in prevailing political and social conditions. (

This critique reveals the unexamined assumptions that guide traditional modes of thought, and exposes the complicity of traditional modes of thought in prevailing political and social conditions.

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| 202/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 16 WORDS | 78% | MATCHING TEXT | 16 WORDS |

After going through this unit, you will be able to- • Discuss the meaning of

After going through this Unit, you should be able to understand: ? The meaning of

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| 203/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 13 WORDS | 87% | MATCHING TEXT | 13 WORDS |

the exploitative sexual alliances between Korean prostitutes and US soldiers defined and

the exploitative sexual alliances between Korean prostitutes (kijich'on women) and US soldiers defined and

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| 204/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 16 WORDS | 87% | MATCHING TEXT | 16 WORDS |

the similarly unequal military alliance between the USA and South Korea in the post-war era.

the similarly unequal military alliance between the United States and South Korea in the post- war era.

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| 205/244 | SUBMITTED TEXT | 22 WORDS | 95% | MATCHING TEXT | 22 WORDS |

John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

John Baylis, Smith and Patricia Owens (The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 4

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Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

Smith and P. Owens (The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 192–206.

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The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

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John, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011

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215/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 17 WORDS **80%** **MATCHING TEXT** 17 WORDS

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, Fourth Edition (2008), The Globalisation of World Politics (New York: Oxford

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds.). The Globalization of World Politics. New York. Oxford. (124-141).

W http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/71845/1/Block-3.pdf

216/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 20 WORDS **82%** **MATCHING TEXT** 20 WORDS

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, Fourth Edition (2008), The Globalisation of World Politics (New York: Oxford University Press)

Steve Smith and Patricia Owens (eds), The Globalization of World Politics (New York: Oxford University Press).

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University Press) Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005), Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001), Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (eds.). Theories of International Relations.

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218/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 30 WORDS **77%** **MATCHING TEXT** 30 WORDS

University Press) Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005), Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001), Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (eds.). Theories of International Relations.

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219/244 **SUBMITTED TEXT** 30 WORDS **77%** **MATCHING TEXT** 30 WORDS

University Press) Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005), Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001), Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (eds.). Theories of International Relations.

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University Press) Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005), Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001), Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (eds.). Theories of International Relations.

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221/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   19 WORDS   **81%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   19 WORDS

and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

and Steve Smith (eds), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 185–202.

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223/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   22 WORDS   **65%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   22 WORDS

Dunne, T., MiljaKurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

and Smith , Steve (eds) 2013 : International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity . 3rd edn. Oxford : Oxford University Press .

W   https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

226/244

SUBMITTED TEXT	19 WORDS	70% MATCHING TEXT	19 WORDS

Objectives After going through this unit, you will be able to: • know the concept of

OBJECTIVES After going through this Unit, you should be able to understand: ? The definition of

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227/244

SUBMITTED TEXT	12 WORDS	100% MATCHING TEXT	12 WORDS

the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1947)

the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (

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228/244

SUBMITTED TEXT	20 WORDS	62% MATCHING TEXT	20 WORDS

J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (Eds.). (2020). The globalization of world politics (8th ed.). Oxford University Press.

J. Baylis, S. Smith, and P. Owens (eds), The Globalization of World Politics, 8th edn. Oxford: University Press, 196–218.

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229/244

SUBMITTED TEXT	30 WORDS	77% MATCHING TEXT	30 WORDS

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005). Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001). Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (Theories of International Relations.

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230/244

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University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005). Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001). Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (Theories of International Relations.

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231/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   30 WORDS   **77%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   30 WORDS

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005). Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001). Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (Theories of International Relations.

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232/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   30 WORDS   **77%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   30 WORDS

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley (2005). Understanding International Relations (3rd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott et al. (2001). Theories of International Relations (2

University Press. Brown, Chris and Kirsten Ainley. (2009). Understanding International Relations. Hampshire and New York. Palgrave Macmillan. Burchill, Scott (2013). "Liberalism", in Scott Burchill et al., (Theories of International Relations.

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233/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   23 WORDS   **77%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   23 WORDS

Dunne, T., Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013). International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 185–202.

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Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013). International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kurki, and S. Smith (eds), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

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235/244   **SUBMITTED TEXT**   23 WORDS   **67%**   **MATCHING TEXT**   23 WORDS

Dunne, T., Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013). International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dunne, T., M., and Smith, S. (2013) (eds.), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd end. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

W   https://xdocs.net/documents/international-relations-theories-tim-dunne-milja-kurki-steve-smith-5d ...

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Dunne, T., Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013). International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds), International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 185–202.

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237/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	61%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

Theories of International Relations (2nd edn.), New York: Palgrave Macmillan Dunne, T., Milja Kurki and Steve Smith (eds.) (2013). International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive th edn. New York : Longman . Tim , Kurki , Milja and Smith , Steve (eds) 2013 : International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity . 3rd edn. Oxford : Oxford University Press .

W https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/personal/schieder-spindler_2014_theories_of_ir.pdf

238/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	15 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	15 WORDS

Steger, M. B. (2009). Globalization: A very short introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Steger, M. B. (2017). Globalization: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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239/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	21 WORDS	100%	MATCHING TEXT	21 WORDS

The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux 3

The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

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240/244	SUBMITTED TEXT	34 WORDS	58%	MATCHING TEXT	34 WORDS

World Bank (2002). Globalization, Growth, and Poverty : Building an Inclusive World Economy . Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press. Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/14051 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO. 7

World Bank. 2002. Globalization, Growth, and Poverty : Building an Inclusive World Economy. A World Bank policy research report;. © Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/14051 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO."

W https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/14051

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US Hegemony and Global Order Since the end of the Cold War,

US hegemony and global capitalist order 1990: The end of the Cold War.

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