

THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MA [Political Science]

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Reviewer

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

Theories of International Relations

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Unit - 2 <ol style="list-style-type: none">4. Liberalism: Democratic Peace Theory5. Neo-liberalism: Neo-liberal Institution and Complex Interdependence Theory; The neo-neo debate6. Game Theory	Unit 2: International Relations Theories-II (Pages: 43-71)
Unit - 3 <ol style="list-style-type: none">7. Behavioral approaches: Systems Theory, Communications Theory and Decision Making Theory8. Marxist theories: Dependency and World System Theory; Critical Theory9. Constructivism	Unit 3: International Relations Theories-III (Pages: 73-110)
Unit - 4 <ol style="list-style-type: none">10. Feminist theory; Post structuralism and Post colonialism11. Theories of Globalization12. Peace studies	Unit 4: International Relations Theories-IV (Pages: 111-184)

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INTRODUCTION

International relations, as the name suggests, is the study of relationships between various nations. The interaction of nations, institutions, cultures and ethnicities is relevant to everyone because everybody is affected by the decisions made by governments and learning about these issues helps in better understanding of the world around. 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.

While studying these relationships, the roles played by NGOs, international NGOs, intergovernmental organizations and multinational corporations also need to be studied. The subject is often considered a part of political science. However, the subject is interdisciplinary in nature and involves a wide range of issues including globalization, foreign interventionism, human rights, state sovereignty, nuclear proliferation, nationalism, economic development, global finance, terrorism, organized crime and human security.

International politics means the diplomatic and political interaction between the governments of different countries. As an academic discipline, international politics is of recent origin. This field of study is so young that it may be called the ‘youngest of all the social sciences’. International politics, as an academic discipline, examines how states and non-state actors cooperate and compete on political issues. It is traditionally concerned with the relations among different nations. During the Cold War period of 1945 through the late 1980s, the stable hierarchy of issues dominated international politics. Today, numerous non-security issues compete with security for the attention of policy makers, independent analysts and citizens. Thus, in the previous two decades or so, growing international terrorism, environmental protection, nuclear proliferation, violation of human rights, negative outcomes of globalization, unjust economic order, etc. are being undertaken by this subject for study.

Although the formal elaboration and study of international relations (IR) began only in the 20th century, people have been thinking systematically about world politics for far longer. The unsentimental power politics emphasis of Realism in the present era has its antecedents in the writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu, as well as later thinkers such as Niccolo Machiavelli of the 16th century. Likewise, the idealistic view of human nature and the possibility of human progress propounded by Liberalism is rooted in the writings of such Enlightenment philosophers as Immanuel Kant, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau—as well as Thomas Jefferson and other founders of American democracy.

This book, *Theories of International Relations*, is written in a self-instructional format and is divided into four units. Each unit begins with an Introduction to the topic followed by an outline of the Unit objectives. The content

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is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to test the reader's understanding of the topic. A list of Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit, and includes short-answer as well as long-answer questions. The Summary and Key Terms section are useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

UNIT 1 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES-I

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Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Unit Objectives
- 1.2 Evolution of International Relations
 - 1.2.1 Nation-State System and Politics
 - 1.2.2 First World War and the League of Nations
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

International relations are important for nations these days in an international arena. Most nations strive to maintain cordial relations with other nations. When it comes to maintaining international relations, most nations strive to achieve power in all aspects—military, politics and economy. The aim of all nations is the same but these nations may take different paths and formulate different strategies to achieve these goals.

The theory of international relations studies how the nations maintain international relations. These theories analyse the ways and means and the structures that nations adopt to maintain cordial international relations. The theory of international relations is based on three concepts—realism, liberalism and constructivism. These concepts study international relations from different viewpoints and help to analyse the need for maintaining international relations.

International relations’ theories study and analyse the international relations from a theoretical perspective. These theories are a set of ideas that explain how the international system works. The international relations’ theories can be divided into positivist/rationalist theories and post-positivist/reflectivity theories. Positivist/rationalist theories are the ones that focus on a state level analysis. State level analysis examines the behaviour of the foreign policy of the states in terms of state

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characteristics. The post-positivist/reflectivity theories are the ones that incorporate the expanded meanings of security, gender, class, and even post-colonial security. The three main theories of international relations include realism, liberalism and constructivism.

Realism is the most dominant theory of international relations. According to realism, the states, work to increase their own power is relative to the power of other states. Realism is a state centric theory of international relations and propounds that the primary aim of the states is self-preservation. Every state strives for power and it is the most powerful state that is able to outdo its competitors. Realism also views that moral behaviour makes states weak and that moral behaviours cannot guide foreign policy. Moral behaviour also does not allow the states to protect themselves and hence can prove to be very risky.

Realism also states that the most reliable and important form of power is the military power. It is the military power that the states use to start a war with others. As per realism, there is also no overarching power that can enforce global rules. In other words, no global rules exist for all states to follow. According to realism, there are no international organizations and laws that have power and these exist till the state exists or till the state accepts these laws. Realism has been practised by several world leaders. In this unit, you will learn about the evolution of international relations as a discipline and the theory of realism and its variants.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Trace the evolution of international relations
- Discuss the great debates on international relations
- Describe the significance of theorizing in international relations
- Assess the features of realism
- Evaluate classical realism as a variant of realism
- Explain structural realism as a variant of realism
- Discuss the subaltern critique of neo-realism

1.2 EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.

–*Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics among Nations*

The term ‘international politics’ is self-explanatory. Originally, it was considered to be the study of politics among the nations, but today, it is often referred to as ‘international studies’ or ‘international relations’. However, although it is only a sub

discipline of political science, the nature of analysis in international politics is more interdisciplinary in character.

The most popular work in the field was published in 1960 by an American scholar Hans J. Morgenthau, titled *Politics among Nations*. However, with the changing nature of relations among the nations, and new formations of nations themselves, this discipline has undergone significant changes.

Broadly, the term ‘international relations’ indicates the political relations among the nation-states. The term ‘world politics’ or ‘international politics’, on the other hand, indicates more unified and coherent politics at the global level. The more commonly used term ‘global politics’ is a recent phenomenon, which is suggestive of a deep interdependent and interconnected world as a ‘global village’.

Since 1919, world history has witnessed many phases full of ups and downs ranging from the First and Second World Wars to the creation of the League of Nations and the United Nations. In the last hundred years, the world has moved far ahead and boundaries between the nation-states are disappearing. As a result, the nature of the discipline has also undergone many changes. The study of the nation-states alone is no more the focal point of analysis in the discipline. Apart from individuals and nation-states, a third layer of political actors is also emerging in politics.

Conventionally, the focus of the discipline of political science has been the way individuals or groups interact with each other. The objective of such interactions was to regulate the social life of individuals and to draft certain commonly accepted norms. Therefore, the most efficient and widely accepted model was the model of the nation-state. The nation-state developed as a defined political space where political activities took place. This marked the beginning of international politics. Broadly, there are three stages of evolution of the discipline of international politics (Figure 1.1).

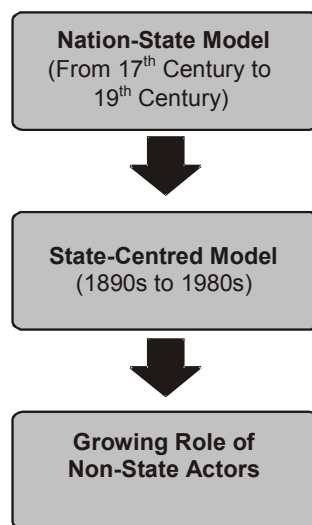


Fig. 1.1 Evolution of the Discipline of International Relations

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1.2.1 Nation-State System and Politics

The emergence of the modern nation-state is also considered to be the rise of modern politics in the world. The present model of the nation-state came into existence, after the treaty of Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648. The primary objective of this treaty was to establish peace among the European nations as these nations were engaged in civil wars for a long time. Therefore, for the cause of ending wars, various nations of west Europe came together and signed the peace treaty in Westphalia.

In this treaty, for the first time in history, the nations agreed upon the principle of state-sovereignty. It was decided that every nation would respect the sovereignty of other nations and not interfere in their internal affairs. The existing boundaries of the nations were also recognized. In other words, for the first time in history, the idea of a nation was given a shape of statehood. A nation's political powers within its boundaries were recognized as supreme and inviolable. The Treaty of Westphalia led to the emergence of a new world order—the order of states. It was also called the Westphalian World Order.

The nature of politics started changing, and now there were two defined levels: (i) politics within the nation, and (ii) politics among the nations. Although it was expected that under the Westphalian system, the European continent will be at peace, this did not happen. After this, the age of colonialism and nationalism emerged.

In the age of colonialism, the European nations got into conflicts with each other over the issue of the control of colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Hence, the focus of conflict started to shift from Europe to the other parts of the world. Besides, two nations which were buried in modern Europe—Germany and Italy, started to upsurge. Under the leadership of Mazzini, many separate states, most of which were dominated by foreign powers, started uniting. On the other hand, due to the efforts of Garibaldi, the various German states started unifying. However, such unification was not possible without the sense of 'we-ness' among the Germans or the Italians. But the cultural unification and slogan of 'one common nation' helped in their unification. Apart from emerging as strong nations, these states were also ambitious to join their neighbours in the race of colonialism.

Consequently, the politics of Europe got intertwined with the internal politics of these newly emerging nations. Besides, these new nations also started posing serious threats to the power and supremacy of the existing powers of Europe like Persia or France. The changing equations among the nations in Europe became more complicated due to the sharp diplomatic endeavours of Otto Von Bismarck of Germany against France. Bismarck made all efforts to isolate France in Europe as it was considered an immediate threat to the emerging German nation. It was natural that such efforts would threaten the peace of Europe sooner or later. However, nobody expected that it would result in a massive war that took the whole world in its grip. The First World War was the consequence of such events.

This was the phase when the idea of the 'nation-state' started getting politicized. The issue of state sovereignty, its expansion and forceful implementation were a few features of the new emerging states. Although the creation of these states was inspired from the concept of nation and nationalism, its expansion to other parts of the world, especially in Asia and Africa was more political and administrative in nature. Gradually, this phase of imperialism took an ugly shape in the form of increasing conflict among the European nations over the control of the colonies. This reached its peak during the First World War, which not only involved European continents but also other states of the world. This phase of international politics lasted till the emergence of the League of Nations.

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1.2.2 First World War and the League of Nations

The formation of League of Nations after the First World War can be categorized as the beginning of the second phase of international politics.

For the first time, many nations were engaged in war with each other at a large scale. Besides this, the World War did not only confine itself to Europe, but spread over to the colonies of European powers like Asia and Africa. A lot of sophisticated military technology was used in this war and at least nine million soldiers are known to have been killed during this. Apart from this, it had a serious economic and social impact. Europe was badly devastated. Other countries in the world were also affected. It generated a serious humanitarian crisis all over the world. But in 1918, the war came to an end with the acceptance of American President Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' for peace. In these points, Wilson mentioned the need for the creation of an international organization in order to ensure territorial integrity of the states. Since these points also became the basis for the 'Peace of Paris' after the First World War, the nations also decided to form a forum for the nation-states in order to discuss matters related to world peace and progress.

These events prepared a background for a more organized evolution of the discipline of international relations. In 1918, in the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, a Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics, for the study of international relations, was established. For the first time, a PhD in international relations was offered by the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

Since then, the discipline of international relations has witnessed many phases of evolution. In the initial phase, its objective was to understand the causes of war. As the major factor of conflict was inter-state in nature, the focus area of the discipline was how to resolve inter-state disputes, especially territorial disputes. The first phase of theorizing in the discipline began with the conventional ideas of normative aspects of politics. The focus was more on what 'ought to be' rather than 'what exists,' apart from achieving the objective of world peace.

However, this utopia of world peace collapsed very soon as the League of Nations, which was formed in 1919, collapsed and resulted in the Second World War. When the theorists were involved in preaching world peace, disarmament and

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other notions, post-war Germany and Italy were involved in a massive drive of amassing of weapons. The European states were talking about world peace, but in reality were preparing for another war which finally culminated in the Second World War.

It is stipulated that the death toll during the Second World War was much higher as compared to the First World War and estimated to kill around 50–70 million people. It also saw the worst form of technological misuse, the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The Second World War not only shook the world but also gave a wake-up call to the scholars of international relations. The earlier focus on peace and normative principles shifted to the incorporation of the harsh realities of politics and war. These events led to a more realistic theorization of international politics.

Along with this, the need was felt to have a more effective and strong international organization. Consequently, the United Nations came into existence and many other new economic institutions like the Bretton Woods Institutions also emerged. Apart from these organizations, the emergence of the Soviet Union led to the Cold War era and formation of military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. Thus, at the international level, there were many other factors along with the states. These factors were political, economic, social and military in nature. This was the beginning of the third phase of international politics.

This period gave birth to realism as the dominant strand of international relations. Realism laid emphasis on viewing the world in its real form, and not how it 'ought to be'. It sought to provide an explanation to the dynamics of the Cold War era. The entire system of nations was seen to be functioning around two power centres or blocs. This was also the era of behavioural revolution in social sciences that emphasized on the scientific study of social phenomena. As a result, a number of approaches emerged to give scientific precision to the phenomena of international relations. Foreign policy analysis or foreign policy decision-making emerged as a new branch of study. It sought to give detailed explanations on the decisions taken by the policymakers in USA and the Soviet Union. The dynamics of the Cold War conditioned the study of international relations.

The rise of USA as the most powerful factor in the international system was also one of the most significant events in international politics. Further, its confrontation with the Soviet Union was an event that had an impact on every part of the globe. This period saw rigorous alliance politics and the rise of the Third World in the international system. It is, therefore, imperative to have a look at the Cold War and its impact on international politics.

1.2.3 Cold War

The term Cold War stands for the period of conflict and aggression between the United States of America and the Soviet Union which lasted from the mid-1940s to

late 1980s. It began when the Second World War ended. Historians are not in agreement on the exact point of time at which the Cold War began, but it is considered that when President Truman of the United States declared an anti-communist policy in 1947, it was the beginning of the Cold War. The tension grew between the communist nations, led by the Soviet Union, and the capitalist nations headed by the United States.

The Cold War was fought on all levels—propaganda, economy, diplomatic manoeuvres as well as physical battles. It was fought in all places—in neutral states, in newly independent nations in Africa, Asia and even in outer space. It was known as the Cold War as there was no active use of weaponry among the two nations, probably due to the fear of nuclear escalation as nuclear weapons had already led to massive destruction during the Second World War. Nevertheless, many indirect conflicts like the Vietnam War and the Korean War did take place. For example, during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the world almost came to the brink of a nuclear war as an American U2 spy plane had taken photographs of Soviet Union's intermediate ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear payloads which the Soviet had sent to Cuba. The US threatened to invade Cuba and this persuaded Soviet Union to take back the missiles.

(a) Causes of the Cold War

The causes of the Cold War are considered to be deep rooted in the differences in political and economic thinking of the United States and the Soviet Union. These differences escalated to the domains of ideology, economic and power as a result of their mutual animosities immediately after the Second World War.

- (i) **Ideological:** United States and the Soviet Union were completely on the opposite ends of a spectrum as far as ideology was concerned. The United States advocated liberalism and the capitalist system of production, while the Soviet Union was the promoter of the communist system.
- (ii) **Economic:** United States promoted free-trade throughout the world, while Soviet Union wanted to preserve and encourage the socialist system of production.
- (iii) **Power rivalry:** After the Second World War, with the decline of Europe, Soviet Union and the United States emerged as the two superpowers, and both wanted to overpower the other, leading to conflicts.

(b) Cold War and international relations

From the 1940s to the late 1980s, Cold War determined the nature of international relations. Alliances were formed and relations were geared according to the demands of the Cold War rivalry between the two superpowers.

The Soviet Union and China started out as allies in 1949 but soon a drift surfaced between them. The US took advantage of this situation and formed an alliance with China in 1971 to team up against Soviet Union. In December 1979, when troops of Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan on the request of Afghani

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President Babrak Karmal, US financed and armed the Afghan guerrillas to support them in the fight against the Soviet troops. The US President Ronald Reagan called the Soviet Union an 'evil empire' and predicted that it would be consigned to the ash heap of history. He initiated a major weapons' build-up and the SDI (Strategic Defence Initiative) which was also called the 'Star Wars'. The Soviet Union was economically weakened. In 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union, he initiated a strategy of pacification towards the Americans and many arms reduction pacts were signed. In February, 1988 Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan, and in 1990 it agreed on the reunification of Germany. In 1989 the communist governments of Eastern Europe were converted into multi party democratic systems through peaceful revolutions. But Rumania was an exception where the bloodshed had brought the change, and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 marking the end of the Cold War.

The period from the mid-1940s to the late 1980s marked the decline of European predominance in international relations as well as the beginning and the end of the Cold War. A very significant development has been the invention and build-up of nuclear weapons. Both nations, United States of America and the Soviet Union, built up huge arsenals of atomic weapons and ballistic missiles. It was also the period which witnessed the formation of military and economic groupings. The military blocs like NATO and the Warsaw Pact were formed. Economic cartels, like OPEC, were also established.

Although during this entire period there were no large-scale, open and conventional wars like the earlier World Wars; however, there were a number of continuous small-scale proxy wars where the US and the Soviet Union supported the opposite warring parties. This led to destructive conflicts like the Vietnam and the Korean Wars. Still persisting conflicts like those in the Middle East and between India-Pakistan owe their origin to the Cold War era.

There is a close and complex relationship between the Cold War and the conflicts in the Third World countries. The involvement of the superpowers, i.e., the US and the Soviet Union, led to the escalation and even prolongation of the conflicts in much of Asia and Africa. The instruments of economic and military aid were widely used by the superpowers to win these countries over to their respective sides. Thus, these countries became victims of the dynamics of the Cold War, which played a crucial role in their domestic affairs. The Cold War had a tremendous impact on the developing nations and the outcomes differed vastly depending upon a number of factors like geopolitics, strategic importance, etc.

In East Asia, China first went communist and later formed an alliance with the US. Japan was demilitarized and helped by the US in rebuilding its economy. In South East Asia, Vietnam suffered several decades of conflicts and the US had to cut a sorry face when it could not prevent the reunification of Vietnam under the communist flag. The conflict also spilled over to Laos and Cambodia. Overall, the conflict took millions of innocent lives. In Thailand and the Philippines, the US was

successful in holding sway by flushing in economic and military aid. In central (and to a lesser extent south) America, the struggle against communism and communist insurgencies lead to US interventions, which resulted in protracted civil wars.

The most long-lasting negative impact of the Cold War on the developing world is seen across sub-Saharan Africa. The Cold War rivalries victimized the newly-independent countries. Both communists and the 'Free World' found their champions in either governments or 'freedom movements' in every country. Arms, money and other forms of aid were pumped in. The situation was further complicated by the resource-rich nature of many of the countries involved. The results were often catastrophic—Angola, for example, suffered one of the longest conflicts in modern history.

Similarly, the Cold War sowed the seeds of a permanent conflict in the Middle East. The Arab–Israel dispute is a product of the Cold War.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is the difference between the terms international relations and international politics?
2. When did the present model of nation-state come into existence?
3. When and where was the first PhD in international relations offered?

1.3 GREAT DEBATES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International relations is a relatively young academic subject—its birth is commonly assumed to have taken place shortly after the First World War—but it has undergone almost explosive growth especially in the post-Second World War years. In a new discipline with many scholarly practitioners there is bound to be much disagreement and controversy, and this has certainly been true of international relations.

Two Great Debates

Two controversies have been labelled 'great debates': the realism-idealism debate in the 1930s and in the decade following the Second World War and the traditionalism-science debate of the 1960s. The former was not a true debate, however, because the idealist faith in legal institutions and moral precepts as paths to international order and peace, which prevailed in the 1930s, was discredited by the failure of the League of Nations and the outbreak of the Second World War. After 1945, there were hardly any idealists left, and the debate took place primarily between pure realists and those who tempered their realism with a touch of idealism. Post-war realism was a collective reaction against idealism and, as a result, tended to exaggerate the differences between the two schools of thought. The similarities between them are actually much more significant than their differences.

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The second great debate is concerned with more fundamental disagreements and the contending sides are more equally matched. Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau, the editors of the volume *Contending Approaches to International Politics*, devoted to the second great debate, arrive at two important conclusions regarding the nature of the controversy. In the first place, they argue that, although there are differences both within the traditionalist camp and within the scientific camp, 'there is one point that commands universal agreement, namely, that it is useful and appropriate to dichotomize the various approaches to international phenomena. Nowhere in this symposium is it claimed that such a dichotomy is an oversimplification'. Secondly, they emphasize that the debate is an exclusively methodological one: 'the controversy is not over the substance of international politics. It is the mode of analysis, not its subject matter, that is the central issue'. These two claims deserve to be carefully examined.

The dichotomous division between scientists and traditionalists in international relations corresponds to the division between the supporters and the opponents of behaviourism in political science. The controversy about behaviourism is often regarded as an instance of a 'scientific revolution' in the sense in which Thomas S. Kuhn uses this term, and behaviourism is then considered to be a Kuhnian 'paradigm'. Briefly, Kuhn argues that in the natural sciences periods of normal science alternate with scientific revolutions. Normal science is guided by a paradigm: a generally accepted approach, model, or theory which constitutes the foundation for the cumulative growth of scientific knowledge. Scientific revolutions are 'non-cumulative developmental episodes in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one'. This definition implies that there are usually two competing paradigms in scientific revolutions. Although Kuhn's theory is primarily based on the development of the natural sciences, many elements of it may also be applied to other scholarly disciplines, including international relations. In particular, the development of international relations since the Second World War fits Kuhn's description of scientific revolutions. And the claim by Knorr and Rosenau that the division in the field is essentially dichotomous is in accord with Kuhn's view that scientific revolutions are characterized by dual-paradigm research.

Not all observers agree with Knorr and Rosenau, however. A recent deliberately exaggerated comment describes the condition of international relations as chaotic and argues that 'there are as many theories as there are theorists'. A clearer denial of the proposition that international relations is in a dual-paradigm condition may be found in Robert T. Holt and John M. Richardson's survey of the closely related field of comparative politics. They identify several of the new approaches as paradigms in Kuhn's sense of the term: general systems analysis, structural-functionalism, psychological approaches, rational-formal models such as game theory, and 'atheoretic approaches'. These approaches correspond to some of the new developments in international relations. Similarly, Bruce M. Russett reports that a factor analysis of citations by sixty-eight international relations scholars in the

period 1966-68 reveals that there are about a dozen distinct schools in the profession rather than just two large groupings.

Methodological and Epistemological Issues

This question cannot be settled without a prior examination of Knorr and Rosenau's second conclusion. Do the scientific-behavioural and the traditional non-behavioural paradigms indeed differ only on methodological issues, and are there indeed no other major dimensions of disagreement and controversy in international relations theory? Two additional differences between behaviourists and traditionalists can be identified without difficulty: their divergent views on the possibility of arriving at a valid general theory and on the question of the political relevance of international relations research. In the words of Harry Howe Ransom, who made a thorough survey of the field in 1968, 'the behavioural school sees a general theory of politics encompassing international relations at the end of the theory road.'

The traditional school doubts that a universal theory is conceivable, researchable, or attainable'. Moreover, the traditionalists tend to give 'a higher priority to the relevance of analysis to the real, observable world'. Although these three dimensions of disagreement are conceptually distinct, they are closely related and coincide to a large extent. The behaviourist with his faith in a discoverable pattern of variables is more likely to be a 'pure' scientist with regard to both his methods and the value-free character of his research than his less optimistic traditionalist colleague.

These divergent methodological and epistemological stances are very fundamental, and they are typical of the differences that divide rival paradigms. According to Kuhn, paradigms differ on such basic values as: 'quantitative predictions are preferable to qualitative ones' and 'science should ... be socially useful'. These examples happen to be exactly the ones that characterize the traditional-behavioural split. Because the differences over the three dimensions are so basic and because they tend to coincide, Knorr and Rosenau's description of international relations as a dual-paradigm discipline is sustained and strengthened.

Substantive Issues

It is strengthened further when the major substantive disagreements are also taken into consideration. First of all, it is important to recognize that different methods may entail different substantive conclusions or at least different substantive hypotheses. Kuhn describes scientific revolutions as clashes between 'world views'. Different ways of looking at the world entail to some extent seeing different worlds: 'the proponents of competing paradigms practice their trade in different worlds ... Both are looking at the world, and what they look at has not changed. But in some areas they see different things, and they see them in different relations one to the other'. The way in which the rival paradigms in international relations judge each other's empirical findings and conclusions provides an apt illustration of such tendencies. Each school considers the other's results to be not just wrong, but absurd. In fact, the result is not necessarily wrong at all; it is the problem to which the other school addresses itself that is wrong. And the answer to a wrong question can only be

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irrelevant and absurd. Traditionalist Hedley Bull condemns the behavioural paradigm not so much for leading to incorrect conclusions as for its 'congenital inability... to deal with the crux of the subject' and its devotion to 'peripheral subjects' and 'marginalia'. The 'absurdities' that are thus 'thrust upon us' ought not to be tolerated. In his rejoinder, Morton A. Kaplan uses similar language and arguments: the conclusions of the traditionalists are not clearly related to the empirical world and are 'absurdly broad'. They are meaningless rather than wrong, and often not wrong at all, but unfalsifiable. The mutual charges of reification also point to the fact that the two schools are really looking at different worlds. Each side accuses the other of imposing a model upon reality and looking at the model instead of at the real world. Bull states that the behavioural model-builder is dangerous because he tends to attribute to the model 'a connexion with reality it does not have', and Kaplan replies that it is the traditionalist 'who is more likely to mistake his model for reality' because his models are implicit ones.

International Anarchy

Moreover, there are two explicit substantive disagreements among post-Second World War international relations scholars which are related both to each other and to the methodological debates between traditionalists and behaviourists: the image of international relations as anarchical versus the view that international politics as comparable to domestic politics, and an exclusive emphasis on nation-states as actors in world politics vs a more inclusive consideration of non-state and 'transnational' actors in addition to the national actors.

Classical international relations theory revolved around the notions of state sovereignty and its logical corollary, international anarchy: the sovereign states, recognizing no higher authority, are in an international state of nature, and the resulting security dilemma forces them to live in a condition of mutual competition and conflict. The first explicit discussions of international relations in terms of the anarchic state of nature occur in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* and, much more extensively, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The State of War*. But the vision of an anarchic world preceded the relatively modern concepts of sovereignty and the state of nature. An embryonic instance of it can already be found in Thucydides, who reports the argument used by a theoretically inclined military commander to the effect that 'among neighbours antagonism is ever a condition of independence'.

The twin notions of sovereignty and international anarchy provided the basis for three interrelated theories: world government, collective security and balance of power. The theory of world government maintains that, since anarchy is the root of international conflict, an international social contract must be concluded to establish a single sovereign world government. Balance-of-power theory, on the contrary, submits that the struggle for power among sovereign states tends to result in a condition of equilibrium that entails a large measure of international order rather than perpetual conflict. Collective security theory, which advocates formal agreement among states to take collective action against any aggressor, can be regarded as a

partial acceptance of the social contract, in which international anarchy is not abolished but only reduced and in which the separate national sovereignties are left intact. Inis L. Claude places the three theories on 'successive points along a continuum' that ranges from a minimum to a maximum of central power and authority. This continuum applies to the normative objectives of the theories; the point of departure of all three is the idea of anarchy among sovereign states.

In the years after the Second World War, the assumption of international anarchy was restated and vigorously defended by Hans J. Morgenthau, Raymond Aron, and other realist writers. Morgenthau's theory, for instance, emphasizes 'the fundamental difference between domestic and international politics', and he argues that international conflict may be treated as a special case of conflict in general, but only 'if one does not neglect the paramount distinctive factor that parties to international conflict are sovereign nations with a monopoly of organized force'. Aron criticizes scholars who fail to make a sharp distinction between international and domestic politics and 'who count acts of violence or homicide without differentiating between murderers and soldiers'. The traditional assumption of an anarchic world seems to him to be 'closer to reality, more in keeping with experience, more instructive, and more productive'.

The Grotian View

The opposite assumption, denying the unique character of international relations and asserting the essential similarity of politics within and between nations, was a minority viewpoint among the classical theorists. Its most important adherents were Grotius and his followers. They emphasized the existence of a common framework of moral and legal norms, and they viewed the world as a society of states with a sufficiently strong and pervasive normative consensus to render the image of the state of nature and international anarchy inapplicable. A second important set of exceptions is Lenin's theory of imperialism and other economic theories of imperialism whose explanations of conflict have almost nothing to do with a distinction between domestic and international politics.

From the late 1950s on, however, the Grotian view has been reasserted with increasing force and frequency. The first clear instance is the comparative study, published in 1957, of integration in the North Atlantic areas by a team of investigators led by Karl W. Deutsch. Their analysis contains a two-pronged attack on the traditional notion of anarchy. First, their point of departure is a conceptual distinction between an amalgamated community, which has 'one supreme decision making centre', and a security-community, in which there is 'real assurance that the members . . . will not fight each other physically'. This means that at the outset the state of nature (i.e. a non-amalgamated or pluralistic community) is deliberately separated from the state of war, actual or potential (a non-security-community). The correlation between anarchy and war is thus rendered into a mere hypothesis. Secondly, the empirical findings reveal, to the surprise of Deutsch and his collaborators, that 'pluralistic security-communities [are] somewhat easier to attain and easier to preserve than

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their amalgamated counterparts’—that, in traditional terminology, anarchy is a better road to peace than social contract! Twelve conditions are essential for the success of amalgamated security-communities, but only three of these are vital for pluralistic ones. Furthermore, amalgamation and the establishment of a ‘monopoly of violence’ tends to be ‘more of a burden than a help’ to the attainment of lasting peace.

The traditional theories with their emphasis on the fundamental difference between international and domestic politics necessarily view sovereignty as absolute and indivisible. When Deutsch uses this notion, he characteristically turns it into a relative concept. In his earlier work on nationalism, he distinguishes between the ‘legal form’ and the more important ‘political substance’ of sovereignty, and he argues that ‘there are shades and gradations of sovereignty... on both sides of the legal borderline’. This also implies reliance on the Grotian concept rather than the traditional one.

Another revealing example may be found in J. David Singer’s well-known discussion of the level-of-analysis problem in international relations. The two levels that Singer distinguishes, the level of the national state and the level of the international system, correspond to the second and third of Kenneth N. Waltz’s well-known ‘images’ which explain war and conflict among states. But whereas Waltz’s third image is international anarchy, Singer contrasts the descriptive, explanatory and predictive capabilities of the two levels of analysis without even once mentioning the sovereignty-anarchy contrast. Bruce M. Russett states this view even more emphatically: ‘It simply is erroneous to think of international politics as anarchic, chaotic, and utterly unlike national politics’. This approach is also adopted by most peace research scholars who tend to believe that international conflict can be understood better in terms of inter-group conflict in general, as suggested by the Grotian metaphor, than in terms of the traditional emphasis on the uniqueness of conflict among sovereign states. An editorial in the first issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* expresses the ‘conviction that the behaviour and interactions of nations are not an isolated and self-contained area of empirical material but part of a much wider field of behaviour and interaction’.

The Actors in International Politics

The second dimension of substantive disagreement concerns the identification of the actors in international politics. The traditional approach is to regard the nation-state as virtually the only kind of actor. In recent years, however, more and more attention has been paid to other actors. For example, Singer describes the international scene as a global system with various subsystems. The subsystems are not only the national states, which he believes are usually assigned too prominent a role, but also intra-national and extra-national entities and inter-nation coalitions and organizations. And Herbert J. Spiro argues that ‘all national and other smaller political systems are component parts’ of the global political system. This new approach stresses the importance of ‘transnational’ relations, which are defined by Joseph S. Nye and Robert O. Keohane as ‘contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments’. Their

definition of a 'significant actor' is: 'any somewhat autonomous individual or organization that controls substantial resources and participates in political relationships with other actors across state lines'.

The two dimensions of substantive disagreement are conceptually distinct, but they are empirically and to a certain extent logically related. The traditional assumption of international anarchy logically implies that the actors are sovereign entities, that is, the nation-states. On the other hand, the Grotian view is logically compatible with both state-centred and transnational approaches. States may be regarded as the actors in international politics, not because they possess sovereignty, but because they are in practice the most active and powerful actors on the international scene. However, the Grotian view is of course more conducive to the transnational approach, because it does not make an *a priori* distinction between national and non-national actors.

The Link between Method and Substance

It has been argued so far, first, that the three methodological-epistemological debates are mutually related and, secondly, that the lines of cleavage in the two substantive debates also tend to coincide. The next step in the argument is to point out that there is also a close relationship between the methodological and substantive debates. A major reason why so many traditionalists feel that it is futile to analyse international relations in the modern social-scientific manner, is the uniquely anarchical nature of the subject-matter. This makes the field qualitatively different from the other fields of political science and the social sciences in general.

An illustrative, although admittedly extreme, instance is Martin Wight's view. After noting 'a kind of recalcitrance of international politics to being theorized about', he explains that theorizing about domestic politics is possible because it falls 'within the realm of normal relationships and calculable results'. But, with the typical traditionalist emphasis on the fact of international anarchy, he continues: 'What for [domestic] political theory is the extreme case (as revolution, or civil war) is for international theory the regular case.' This is tantamount to saying that the fact of international anarchy necessarily entails theoretical anarchy.

Conversely, the Grotian image induces receptivity to the idea that international relations is one of the social sciences and can profitably borrow from their knowledge and methods. One of the scholarly observers of the discipline who has recently called attention to this important point is Chadwick F. Alger. He points out that the 'removal of the intellectual shackles imposed by the image of uniqueness has freed international relations scholars to borrow from the full storehouse of social science knowledge'.

Because each of the five dimensions of disagreement can be dichotomized and because the dichotomies tend to coincide, we can conclude that it is justified to regard the basic division in the second great debate as a dichotomous one between two opposing paradigms. International relations scholars who prefer traditional methods are likely to be guided by the model of international anarchy, to use the

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nation-state as their unit of analysis, to be policy-oriented, and to be pessimistic about the prospects of constructing a valid general theory of their subject. Conversely, the more scientifically inclined scholars are likely to adhere to the Grotian view of international society, to use a transnational approach, to favour pure over applied science, and to be sanguine theory-builders. Knorr and Rosenau's claim of a basic dichotomous configuration of approaches in the field is therefore not only upheld, but also strengthened by the addition of substantive dimensions. At this point, we must in all fairness recall Russett's assertion, based on empirical evidence, that about a dozen distinct schools can be identified. He admits however, that further analysis of the ties between these schools shows that 'where there is some similarity between groups it does indeed follow [the] behavioural/non-behavioural division'.

Exceptions

There are exceptions, of course. The most striking one concerns the two major protagonists in the great methodological debate, Bull and Kaplan. They turn out to be deviant cases when their views on the substantive aspects of the great debate are examined. Five of Kaplan's well-known six international systems correspond to traditional models: three are different forms of balance-of-power systems, the 'hierarchical system' is a system of world government, and the 'unit veto system' is equivalent to a Hobbesian state of nature. In describing these systems, he explicitly relies on the sovereignty-anarchy contrast. The hierarchical system is distinguished from the unit veto system and the three balance of power systems by the fact that the national actors are 'territorial subdivisions of the international system rather than independent political systems'. Bull, on the other hand, adopts the Grotian point of view and follows Deutsch's arguments when he states: 'Formidable though the classic dangers are of a plurality of sovereign states, these have to be reckoned against those inherent in the attempt to contain disparate communities within the framework of a single government.'

Peace research constitutes another exception, although it does not deviate with regard to the two most important dimensions. Most peace research scholars use behavioural methods and adhere to the Grotian substantive model. But they are explicitly and self-consciously policy-oriented. They tend to share Morgenthau's conviction that a theory must not just be a 'guide to understanding' but also an 'ideal for action'; it must be 'a map of the political scene not only in order to understand what the scene is like, but also in order to show the shortest and safest road to a given objective'. A more serious exception is the post-behavioural movement. The post-behaviourists are strongly policy-oriented and extremely critical of behaviourist methods. In these respects, they are neo-traditionalists. But they do not object to the Grotian view of the international system. In fact, the popularity of neo-Marxist theories of imperialism strengthens the Grotian outlook and militates against a return to the traditional view of international anarchy.

Although these exceptions are by no means unimportant, we can conclude that by and large the second great debate is multi-dimensional but nevertheless

roughly dichotomous. This conclusion has to be qualified only in the sense that every classification entails a degree of simplification.

Relations between the Great Debates

Finally, we must examine the possible links between the two great debates. Knorr and Rosenau are right when they state that the second debate is not an outgrowth of the first, and that the foci of the two debates are quite different. But their assertion that by combining the two independent dichotomous divisions one arrives at four research approaches—‘whether one . . . joins the idealist or realist school . . . one can employ either traditional or scientific methods to study the subject’—seems ahistorical, to say the least.

Like the realists, the idealists were traditional in their methodology. Moreover, as far as the substantive disagreement between the two schools is concerned, it is rather misleading to contrast the idealists’ optimism about and faith in legal institutions and moral norms with the hard-nosed power approach of the realists. To the idealists, the crucial legal institution to maintain the peace was the League of Nations or an alternative collective security organization. Collective security does entail formal institutions and legal obligations, but it is nevertheless squarely based on considerations of power and deterrence. Moreover, as was pointed out above, both collective security theory and the theory of balance of power, which is favoured by realists, are predicated on the assumption of international anarchy. It is significant that Morgenthau, the leading realist theorist, condemns collective security but that he accepts the anarchic model so consistently that he is forced to support the underlying logic of collective security theory: ‘As an ideal, collective security is without flaws; it presents indeed the ideal solution of the problem of law enforcement in a community of sovereign nations.’

The realism-idealism debate was therefore a debate within the traditional paradigm. Hence, it was a less significant and fundamental debate than the truly great debate between the traditional and behaviourist paradigms.

1.3.1 Theorization in International Relations

Defining a theory is the first and foremost task before any attempt is made to understand various theories of international politics. Generally, theories are explanations of a phenomenon. They explain as to why a few things materialize, while others do not. According to one definition, theory is a collection or a set of laws pertaining to a particular behaviour or phenomenon. Kenneth Waltz, a prominent scholar of international relations, writes that in international politics, scholars pay more attention to the collection of facts and information. From these facts, they try to draw some trends which are usually termed as theories. According to him, such trends are merely laws and not theories. Theories further provide an explanation as to why such trends occur. Waltz in *Theory of International Politics* says: ‘Rather than being a mere collection of laws, theories are statements that explain them. Theories are qualitatively different from laws.’ (Waltz, 1979:5).

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As discussed above, due to the complexities of international politics, theorization has remained a difficult task. Martin Wight, a British scholar of international relations, writes that due to the dominant role of the states, the nature of theorization in international politics remains difficult. Unlike domestic politics, there is no coherence in international politics. The realm of international politics includes a 'society of states'. States always try to maximize their own gains causing ambiguity in international politics. This will remain difficult until a global government and an organizational structure emerges in the international politics, like domestic politics.

Another prominent figure in the study of international politics, David Singer, argues that a major challenge before the scholars of international politics is to resolve the problem relating to the levels of analysis. He discussed the problems of making an international system, as Kenneth Waltz argues. According to Singer, an international system as the only level of analysis, assumes that all states or sub-system units are homogenous in their actions.

The initial focus of theories regarding international relations was on normative questions. However, the studies are no more normative in nature. Ranging from the nature of polarity to the role of community relations, theorization has developed in the discipline. Some of the theories in international relations are complementary to each other such as rationalism and liberal institutionalism, feminism and critical theory whereas others are quite distinct or rather 'hostile' e.g., realism and liberalism, rationalism and post-modernism.

Smith and Snidal, in *Theories of International Relations* (2008:12–13) identified three features of theorizing in international politics. Firstly, theorizing is about the 'international' political universe. Secondly, the theoretical assumptions in international relations are about what is important in the 'international' political universe. And finally, theorizing involves a logical argument. A theory loses its relevance if it is internally incoherent or suffers from illogical formulations.

Recent theories in the discipline are making efforts to make the discipline more like natural sciences. Hence, the focus is on empiricism, using mathematical techniques and sound methodologies. As a result, the normative part of the theories is losing its significance. The question of what ought to be is almost sidelined in the recent decades. Smith and Snidal also argue that there is a need to bridge the gap between the normative and empirical theories. All theories have some elements of both normative and empirical theories and there are many areas of convergence between them. However, development of one should not be at the cost of the other. They have identified certain areas of convergence between various theories. (See Table 1.1)

Two contemporary developments in the field of methodology are: *methodological individualism* and *rational choice*. Both are offshoots of two intellectual traditions. The first is liberalism, the struggle for freedom and democracy dating back to the period of Enlightenment, the Protestant Reformation, and in some sense to the ancient Greeks. Besides, there have been demands of making the

discipline more action-oriented. There are demands that the discipline should lead the change in the society. In order to do so, there are conclusions that social sciences should set aside the approaches of the past that seek to define persisting structures and laws, and should adopt the less deterministic approach of physics and biology by being sensitive to the emerging and declining historical structures and movements of self-organizations in social and political relations. It should set aside illusions about ‘the end of history’ and concentrate upon purposive change in a chaotic world (Robert W Cox in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, 2009:87).

The study of international relations should focus on key issues affecting the biological survival of the human race; and then on the pursuit of justice, which is essential in maintaining support for a survivable world order (Ibid). Cox further argues that the priorities should be somewhat like:

- Survival of the biosphere
- Avoidance of nuclear war
- Moderating the rich/poor gap
- Assuring protection for the most vulnerable people
- Effective arrangements for negotiating resolution

The point is to try and understand the world as people are making it so as to gain some control over where we are going; and to forgo speculation about an imminent logic of history that will turn out to be an illusion.

However, there have been severe criticisms of the discipline’s theoretical abilities to explain the system. There have been some questions of the discipline’s explanatory capacity, which came into question with the loss of meaning that accompanied the end of the Cold War and the failure to predict the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. Of late, attention has also been directed to the disorder and the violence that has erupted within and between the successor states of empires. It is this contention of a growing number of scholars at the margins of international relations that processes on the ground in these societies challenging the western imagery of a world being set right by the workings of the market, the promotion of democratization, and the commitment towards development. One indication of the fact as to how the established scholarly thinking is away from the daily larger parts of the world is the construct of the ‘emergencies’ which present recurrent breakdowns as somehow exceptional rather than the norm (Calhoun 2004).

A major criticism of the theories of international relations has been the ignorance of the world except Europe, the story of international relations has been told as the internationalization of a system of thought and practice that arose within Europe, the foundational event being Westphalia (Darby 2009: 95). International relations have been a narrative of progress—a reading of the reordering of relations between politics in one part of the globe that were then transposed to cover the world. Such theorizing has been criticized, and it has been said that the settlement of 1648 was not the signal point in the emergence of the modern state system—as has become almost scriptural. Rather, the Westphalian system was characterized by

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distinctly non-modern geopolitical relations, rooted in absolutist pre-capitalist property relations.

In addition to this, Katzenstein and Sil in *Rethinking Asian Security* (2009) argue that the theorization in international relations has been focusing on the paradigms and not on the problems. They say that for most of the past three decades, international relations scholarship has typically been embedded in discrete research traditions, each proclaimed by its adherents to be either inherently superior or flexible enough to be able to subsume the others. Competition among discrete research traditions is certainly a motor for intellectual vitality within a given tradition of international relations. However, vitality within particular traditions does not necessarily constitute the basis for the field of international relations as a whole.

As Gunther Hellman in "Are dialogue and synthesis possible in international relations" (2002:3, quoted in Katzenstein and Sil 2009) notes: 'although the sort of professionalization which Waltzian 'realists' and Wendtian 'constructivists' have helped to bring about in international relations has rightly and widely been hailed as a blessing, it must not be mistaken for intellectual progress.'

Like the discipline of political science, there are various theories of international relations. However, not all but only few have been very popular.

- (a) Realism
- (b) Liberalism
- (c) Marxism
- (d) Constructivism

Table 1.1 Theories of International Relations

Realism	• Power politics
	• States as the actors
Liberalism	• Cooperation
	• Non-state actors as significant players
Marxism	• Economic base decides the superstructure
	• Hegemony and dominance as the characteristics of international order

All these theories explain the nature of international relations in various ways. Realism is more about competition and self-interest. Liberalism on the other hand emphasizes on cooperation and peace. Realism emphasizes on the lack of order. New variants of liberalism in contrast focus more on the emerging institutionalism in international relations. Marxist theories on the other hand attempt to explain the nature and strategies of domination in international politics.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. What are the two debates that have been labelled as the 'great debates'?
5. 'The twin notions of sovereignty and international anarchy provided the basis for three interrelated theories.' What are these?
6. What are the two contemporary developments in the field of methodology?

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1.4 REALISM

Realism is the most popular theory in international politics. Realist theory is closely attached to the political theorists who emphasize on the negative part of human behaviour. According to these theorists, individuals are rational but self-centered beings and their prime objective is to always protect and maximize their self-interest. They are always in a state of competition with each other. Those who are powerful enough survive, whereas the weak, on the other hand are unable to protect themselves. In other words, the search for power and strength is the main motivational force behind an individual's conduct.

The roots of the realist theory can be traced back to the evolution of ancient political thought. Indian thinker Kautilya, in his writings, discussed the various state strategies to ensure survival. Similarly, Italian thinker Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) in his writing, *The Prince*, discussed how a monarch should always make attempts for maximizing state power. Others who followed this tradition were Thucydides (c.460–406BC), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78).

Influenced by these thinkers, many scholars like Hans Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, also implemented these theories in their study of international politics. These theories came up during the two World Wars. In fact these theories emerged as a wave against the pre-war theories of idealism. The idealist school of thought emphasized more on international cooperation and world peace. During the World Wars, such theories failed to explain the reasons for the occurrence of these wars between the nation-states. As a result of these inadequacies of idealism, the realist theories emerged as counter theories of international politics.

Scholars like Hans J. Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, and Reinhold Niebuhr emphasized on the quest of power as the main feature of international politics. It was only after the outbreak of the Second World War that the realist theory became prominent in international politics. All other theories are called *footnotes* to the realist school of thought. As an impact of these theories, power politics became the central point of analysis in the discipline of international politics. These theories greatly influenced the American policy makers in the post-Second World War era. In fact, the Cold War politics was greatly determined by the realist school of thought.

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There are certain common features which have been accepted as the core characteristics of international politics by all realist scholars. However, this does not mean that there is only one type of realism. In fact over the past seventy years, multiple types of realist theories have emerged. Despite agreeing on the common characteristics, there are wide differences in the manner in which they explain the politics between the states. First we will deal with the common features of realism and then we will examine the various types of realism.

Features of Realism

Realist theory pivots on the concept of the state. Joseph M. Grieco, a neo-realist, argues that there are three main assumptions of the realist theory in international states—State is an organization which enjoys the power to use coercive force against the population living in a definite territory. According to realists, states are the main actors in international politics. Study of international politics is nothing but politics amongst the states. States are sovereign authorities not only within their boundaries but they are also the sole authority to decide for their population in the community of nations. This type of state which has emerged after the Treaty of Westphalia remains the focal point of analysis in the realist theory.

Realists accept the state as an actor in the realm of international politics. States are always in search of maximizing their powers. States also have a sense of national interest. Realists believe that preserving the national interest can only be possible by having a strong state. A strong state can only be built through maximizing military strength.

Many new actors have emerged in the last fifty years, e.g., multinational corporations, terrorist organizations, transnational organizations (like the UN), and so on. However, despite the emergence of these new actors, states continue to function as dominant actors in international politics. The nature and degree of interference of such actors in the domestic and international affairs of the states is being determined by the states themselves. In other words, states are still powerful actors who control the challenges coming before them. Besides, their military strength and their ability to use force against their own citizens gives them an edge over other actors.

However, unlike domestic politics where the state machinery functions in a coherent organized manner, in international politics, states are actors who functions in an anarchical setup. In international politics, there is no supernatural body which ensures the order amongst its units. States are free to behave as per their wishes. Anarchy is the governing principle of international politics. This also creates a sense of insecurity amongst the states which further forces them to maximize their power.

According to classical realists like Hans J. Morgenthau, the quest for power is an inalienable part of human behaviour. Thomas Hobbes elaborates human behaviour in the context that individuals are self-centred beings in search of ensuring their security at the cost of others. It is this part of human behaviour which also works at the global level. States also perceive other states as their competitors.

Structural realists like Kenneth Waltz on the other hand argue that it is the systemic compulsions that force the states to behave the way they do.

However, in both the cases, the quest for power leads to a security dilemma amongst the states. In such conditions, states try to maximize their own gains at the cost of others. Realists like John Ruggie have discussed how states calculate their gains against other actors. In other words, states are engaged in ensuring their relative gains against the rival actors.

Anarchy

Another principle which is common in all variants of the realist theory is the principle of anarchy. According to this principle there is no central authority in the realm of international relations. States are independent, rational actors who are free to decide their actions. Kenneth Waltz, in his book *Theory of International Politics* (1979), describes the nature of international system as compared to the system of market in the field of economics. According to him, firms are allowed to freely decide their market strategies, and in the same way, states in international relations function as autonomous actors.

The nature of international politics comprises the onsets of war and conflicts amongst the nations. In domestic politics, the state exists as an authority whose decisions are obeyed by the individuals. The state provides security and ensures law and order. Contrary to this, there is no central authority in international politics. The realm of international politics is characterized as anarchy, where there is a lack of order or insecurity. In such a setup, states are always trying to survive.

States function in an anarchical setup where nobody can be trusted. Hence, the survival of the state depends on its own actions. In other words, every state has to help itself in order to ensure its survival in international politics. This principle of self-help is also crucial in international politics. In order to survive or to protect themselves from powerful nations, smaller nations try to go for alliances with stronger nations. States also try to achieve some sort of balance in order to ensure their own security and safety. The balancing behaviour includes accumulation of 'additional natural capabilities' which match the contender's capabilities. Under this action, states can also go for alliances with other states and can adopt a 'policy of equilibrium' where a state tries to equalize or strengthen its capabilities in comparison with the other states.

Groupism

According to the realist school, states always try to form groups in order to ensure their survival. No state can be so powerful as to do everything on its own. Various limitations to the powers of the state relate to the availability of natural and human resources, technological developments, strategic locations and so on. As a result, the states are forced to cooperate with each other. However, as per the liberals, this cooperation is not a peaceful and healthy cooperation. Rather, states form alliances for the purpose of securing their position in international relations against the rival

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country. The principle of groupism is also a guiding force behind the system of balance of power and different types of polarities in international politics. The balance of power theory argues that in order to balance the relative power of the competitor, states form alliances with each other. The polarity principle on the other hand talks about the nature of concentration of power in international relations. Like magnetic poles there are poles with different strengths. These poles try to arrange the structure of international politics in their favour.

Variants of Realism

As discussed above, despite the commonality of certain principles, there is not any one branch of realism. Rather, there are multiple realisms making attempts to explain international relations in different ways. Classical realism began with scholars like Hans Morgenthau and E.H. Carr. It was further developed by the neo-realists like Kenneth Waltz and John Ruggie who made an attempt to overcome the criticisms of classical realists.

1.4.1 Classical Realism

Broadly, classical realism indicates the evolution of the realist theory prior to the publication of Kenneth Waltz's book the *Theory of International Politics*. In the recent years, generalizations about state behaviour since ancient times ranging from Thucydides till Waltz's book is recognized as part of classical realism. However, realist theory was established as a means to study international politics through the publication of Hans Morgenthau's book *Politics among Nations*. His six principles are widely accepted as the principles of the theory of international relations. These principles are:

- Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.
- Interest is defined in terms of power.
- Interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally valid, but whose meaning can change.
- Universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in the abstract; the circumstances of time and place must be considered.
- The moral laws that govern the universe are distinct for the morals of any one nation.
- The difference between political realism and other schools is real and profound.

The political realist facilitates and maintains the autonomy of the political sphere by asking, 'How does this policy affect the power of the nation?' Political realism is based on a pluralistic concept of human nature. A man who is nothing but a 'political man' would be a beast, for he would be completely lacking in moral restraints. But, in order to develop an autonomous theory of political behaviours, a 'political man' must be abstracted from other aspects of human nature.

Despite being so popular, these principles of Morgenthau's realist theory are widely criticized. J. Ann Tickner, a feminist international relations theorist, has criticized

these principles as nothing but a masculine interpretation of international politics. According to her, Morgenthau completely ignores the cooperative behaviour of states which is also equally significant along with the power politics. Besides, along with the 'real politics' there is also striving for justice, rule and peace in international politics, which Morgenthau tends to ignore.

In addition to the feminist critic, Kenneth Waltz also criticized Morgenthau's principles on the grounds that it does not take into account the impact of international structure on the state behaviour. Besides, Morgenthau's theory also fails to distinguish between the domestic policy and politics at the international level. To bridge this gap, Waltz gave a structural explanation of international politics. This variant of realism is also known as neo-realism.

1.4.2 Structural Realism

What has made realism the most popular scientific theory of international politics is the theory of 'structural realism' propounded by Kenneth Waltz. His theory was published in his book, the *Theory of International Politics*. In this, Waltz argued that it is possible to form a scientific theory of international relations only with the help of a system-level analysis. System is made of structures and units. The interaction between these units determines the way the states behave with each other. His theory was influenced by the behavioural revolution in the analysis of domestic politics where the focus was on political system in place of the state. According to him, a system-level analysis may distinguish international politics from others like economics, social, etc. in international domains.

In order to explain the international system as an independent domain, Waltz draws a distinction between the domestic political system and the international system. He says that in a domestic political system, a hierarchy amongst the various units exists. The units—institutions and agencies—stand vis-à-vis each other in relations of super and subordination. The ordering principle of a system gives first and basic information about how the parts of a realm are related to each other. In a polity, the hierarchy of offices is by no means completely articulated, nor all ambiguities about relations of super and subordination removed. Nevertheless, political actors are formally differentiated according to the degrees of their authority, and their distinct political functions are specified. It means that a broad agreement prevails on the tasks that various parts of a government are to undertake and on the extent of power they legitimately wield. Such specification of roles and differentiation of functions is found in any state, more fully as the state is highly developed. The specification of functions of formally differentiated parts gives the second structural information.

The placement of units in relation to one another is not fully defined by a system's ordering principle and by the formal differentiation of its parts. The standing of units also changes with changes in their relative capabilities. In the performance of their functions, agencies may gain capabilities or lose them.

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A domestic political structure is thus defined, firstly, according to the principle by which it is ordered; secondly, by specifications of the functions of formally differentiated units; and thirdly, by the distribution of capabilities across those units. The functions of various political units, institutions and actors are broadly specified and defined in domestic politics. Capabilities of various units in the domestic political structure keep changing from time to time. In other words, there are three specific features of domestic political system—hierarchy, functional differentiation and relative capabilities.

Waltz tries to apply these formal principles of organization of domestic political system in the realm of international system. Beginning with the first principle of order amongst various institutions, he argues that unlike the domestic system, there is no central authority in international systems and all units are equal to each other. The parts of an international system stand in relations of coordination. Formally, each is the equal of all the others. None is entitled to command; none is required to obey. International systems are thus decentralized and anarchic. The ordering principles of the two structures are distinctly different, and indeed contrary to each other. Domestic political structures have governmental institutions and offices as their concrete counterparts. International politics is the ‘politics in the absence of government’. International organizations do exist, as liberals argue. Supranational agencies are able to act effectively; however, they themselves acquire some of the attributes and capabilities of the states.

Whatever elements of authority emerge internationally, they are tightly linked to the capabilities that provide the foundation for the appearance of these elements. Authority quickly equates to the level of capability. In the absence of agents with a system-wide authority, formal relationships of superior and subordinate are unable to develop. However, the problem is how to explain a system without an order of organizational effects where formal organization is lacking.

Waltz draws an analogy between the market phenomenon in micro-economic theory and international relations. According to him both systems, i.e. the market and international system, are without any defined orders. Self-help and survival are the governing principles in the market amongst various firms; similarly these principles also define the nature of international politics. States are just like firms in the market who compete with each other for survival. The most dependable strategy amongst various units is self-help.

International political systems, just like economic markets, are created as a result of the combination of actions of self-regarding units. International structures are defined in terms of the primary political units of an era, whether they are city states or otherwise. No state desires to support the formation of a structure within which it (and others) will be restricted. International political systems, ‘like economic markets, are individualist in origin, spontaneously generated and unintended’. In both systems, structures are formed by the combination of actions, or co-actions of their units. Whether those units live, prosper, or die, depends on the efforts that they themselves make. Both systems are formed and maintained on the principle of self-help that applies

across the units. While explaining the character of the units, Waltz argues that states are the only units in international politics. Continuing with classical realism's logic, Waltz also accepts states as the most prominent actors and hence should be accepted as the units of analysis in an international system. He also accepts that there are multiple actors emerging worldwide that challenge the state sovereignty.

However, despite the emergence of these actors, he argues that states continue to remain as the most important actors. Again bringing in the analogy of firms in the market system, he says that in a market system, there are many factors which challenge the existence of firms. Firms keep coming and going in a market system. Despite these threats, the market system is interpreted in the form of firms. Similarly in an international system, despite various challenges to the state authority, the state continues to remain the dominant actor. Besides, history shows that the rate of decline of states is very low. States survive for quite long. According to Waltz, 'To call states "like units" is to say that each state is like all other states, in being an "autonomous political unit."' However, saying that a state is sovereign does not imply that states are able to do whatever they please to. There will certainly be many challenges before the states to take the actions which it desires to do. In a micro theory pertaining to international politics or to economics, the motivation of the participants is automatically assumed rather than realistically described. It is assumed that the states set out to ensure their survival. This assumption is a radical simplification which is made to enable the construction of a theory.

Beyond the basic survival motive, states' aims and desires could vary endlessly; they may range from the ambition to be all-conquering, to the desire of being left alone. Survival is a basic prerequisite to achieve any goal that states may be willing to achieve. The survival of the state is taken as the ground of action in a world where the security of states is always under threat.

The second term in the definition of domestic political structures specifies the functions performed by differentiated units. Hierarchy establishes the relationships of the superior and subordinate within a system and highlights their differences. The states that form a part of the international political systems are not officially or formally differentiated by the functions they perform. Anarchy comprises of the coordination activities among a system's units, and that implies their likeness or commonalities.

However, the crucial issue pertains to the question of states being taken as the units of the system. Although states are not the only actors in the arena of international politics, other structures are not defined by the actors. Only the major actor is taken into consideration while defining a structure. The way the structure of a market is defined is by the number of firms competing. Many argue that the analogies drawn between the market and international politics are not really useful. Because of the interpenetration and intermingling of states, they are unable to control the outcomes of their actions, and because large and growing multinational corporations and other non-state actors are not easy to regulate, they often indulge in rivalry with other states in terms of the influence they wield. However, Waltz argues that this argument is not valid. According to Waltz, that the economists and

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economically-minded political scientists have thought this is ironic. The irony lies in the fact that all of the reasons given for scrapping the state-centric concept can be restated more strongly and applied to firms. Firms competing with numerous others have no hope of controlling their market, and oligopolistic firms constantly struggle with imperfect success to do so. Firms, interpenetrate, merge and buy each other at a fast pace. Moreover, firms are constantly threatened and regulated by 'non-firm actors.' Some governments encourage concentration; others work to prevent it. The market structure of parts of an economy may move from a wider to narrower competition or may move in the opposite direction, but whatever the extent and the frequency of change, market structures generated by the interaction of firms are defined by them.

States are the units whose interactions form the structure of international political systems. The death rate amongst states is remarkably low as compared to the life of multinational corporations. To call states 'like units' is to say that each state is like all other states in being an autonomous political unit. It is another way of saying that states are sovereign. The error in the concept of sovereignty lies in linking the sovereignty of state with its ability to do as it desires. Just because a state is sovereign does not mean that it can do as it pleases, that it is free of other's influence, or that it is always able to get what it wants. Sovereign states may be hard-pressed and constrained from acting in ways they would like to. The sovereignty of states has never meant that they are insulated or indifferent from other states' action. To be sovereign and yet to be dependent is not a contradictory situation. Sovereign states typically lead free and easy lives. What then is sovereignty?

A sovereign state decides for itself how it will address its internal and external situations and problems, including whether or not to seek assistance from others (and thereby limit its own freedom by making commitments to them). Sovereign states develop their own strategies, chart their own courses towards progress and decide how to go about meeting their needs and desires. Just as free individuals often make decisions under the heavy pressure of events, similarly, sovereign states are always constrained and often tightly so. States vary from each other in size, wealth, power and form. And yet states are alike in the tasks that they face (most of which are common to all of them), though not in their abilities to perform tasks. Each state duplicates the activities of other states to a considerable extent. Each state has its agencies for making, executing, and interpreting laws and regulations, for raising revenues, and for defending itself.

The parts of a hierarchic system are interrelated in ways that are determined by their functional differentiation as well as by the extent of their capabilities. On the other hand, the units of an anarchic system are functionally undifferentiated. The units of such an order are therefore distinguished primarily by the degree of their capabilities (greater or lesser) for performing similar tasks. The great powers of an era have always been marked off from others by practitioners and theorists alike. The structure of a system changes in line with changes in the level of capabilities across the system's units. Also, changes in structure leads to changed expectations

as to how the units of the system will behave, and the outcomes their interactions will produce. Domestically, the differentiated parts of a system may perform similar tasks. Internationally, units sometimes perform different tasks. Why they do so and how the likelihood of their doing so varies with their capabilities? There are three problems associated with this. According to Waltz, the first problem is: Capability tells us something about units. States are differentiated by the power they possess. This is because power is estimated by comparing the capabilities of a number of units. Though capabilities are the attributes of units, the distribution of capabilities across units is not—this distribution of capabilities is a system-wise concept.

The second problem is how states form alliances. Nationally, just like internationally, structural definitions deal with the relationships between agents and agencies in terms of the organization of realms, and not in terms of the accommodations and conflicts that may occur within them, or the groupings that may form from time to time. These are relations that form and dissolve within a system rather than structural alterations that mark a change from one system to another. In order to understand the nature of the international system, it is important to understand the capability of states.

State capability indicates the ability or power of a state to perform any task similar to others. What decides the nature of the international system is the distribution of capabilities amongst the great powers. The way the capability of these units changes, the nature of international system also changes accordingly. Waltz further argues that in order to understand the international system, the primary task of a scholar of international politics is to look at the state in terms of its capability. Other factors, such as the nature of government, habits, culture and other factors are not taken into account. After the publication of Waltz's book, there have been various modifications in structural realism. A significant version of it is the offensive and defensive realist theories propounded by John Mearsheimer, an international relations theorist.

1.4.3 Defensive and Offensive Realism

Kenneth Waltz's theory left many significant aspects of international politics untouched such as geographical locations, technological developments and so on. Many other scholars while talking about structural realist's framework attempted to make it more explanatory. Defensive realists pointed to the principle of groupism from structural realism. According to them the stronger the group of states' identity, the harder it is to conquer. This further ensures security for states. Similarly, technological development also plays a crucial role in ensuring a state's security. For example, a state with nuclear technology feels secure without making much effort. In other words, while accepting the Waltzian framework of anarchical international structure, defensive realists try to explain various techniques by which states may ensure their security and survival despite being offensive. States become violent only in certain conditions. Under anarchy, the means used by any state increase its own security while decrease other's. This security dilemma causes worry in the

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states about other's intentions. Defensive realism argues that there is greater variation in the expansionist tendencies at the international level. It also suggests that the states ought to generally pursue moderate strategies as the best method to ensure one's security.

On the contrary, offensive realism is closer to the classical realists' notion of anarchy. It focuses on anarchy as a cause of conflicts in international relations. It argues that the anarchical nature of international politics generates a sense of insecurity amongst states. Hence in order to protect themselves, states adopt more offensive and conflict-prone strategies. Anarchy provides strong incentives for expansion. States strive to become stronger as it guarantees their security and survival in international politics. Whenever states realize that the benefits of an expansionist or offensive policies are higher than the cost involved in such an exercise, they adopt expansionist behaviour. This also increases the arms race, unilateral diplomacy, economic policies and opportunistic expansion. Offensive realists criticize defensive realists for deviating from the core of realist theory.

Table 1.2 Realism in International Relations: A Summary

TYPE OF REALISM	KEY THINKERS	KEY TEXTS	BIG IDEA
Classical realism (Human Nature)	Thucydides (C. 430-406 B.C.)	<i>The Peloponnesian War</i>	International Politics is driven by an endless struggle for power which has its roots in human nature. Justice, law and society have either no place or are circumscribed.
	Machiavelli (1532)	<i>The Prince</i>	Political realism recognizes that principles are subordinated to policies; the ultimate skill of the state head is to accept, and adapt to, the changing power political configurations in world politics.
	Morgenthau (1948)	<i>Politics among Nations</i>	Politics is governed by laws that are created by human nature. The mechanism we use to understand international politics is through the concept of interests defined in terms of power.
Structural realism (International system)	Rousseau (C. 1750)	<i>The State of War</i>	It is not human nature but the anarchical system which fosters jealousy, suspicion and insecurity
	Waltz (1979)	<i>Theory of International Relations</i>	Anarchy leads to logic of self-help in which states seek to maximize their security. The most stable distribution of power in the system of bipolarity.
	Mearsheimer (2001)	<i>Tragedy of Great Power Politics</i>	The anarchical, self-help system compels states to maximize their relative power position.
Neo-classical Realism	Zakaria (1998)	<i>From Wealth to Power</i>	The systemic account to world politics provided by structural realism is incomplete. It needs to be supplemented with better accounts of unit level variables such as how power it perceived, how leadership.

Source: Baylis, Smith and Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics*, 1996.

1.4.4 Problems with State-Centric Theories

Below are described the two problems of the state-centric approaches of international politics as discussed by David A. Lake in his book *The State and International Relations*.

Domestic Politics

The realist theory defines ‘national interest’ as a driving force in international relations. However, there is no such thing called ‘national interest.’ Arnold Wolfers in *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics* criticized the idea of national security saying that it is possibly a dangerous concept, more of a theoretical device used by few seeking support for particularistic policies than a real, concrete attribute of the nation as a whole. The idea of national interest also suffers from the similar problems as most policies are redistributive or have differential impacts on the groups even in the same country.

Many scholars highlight the importance of (and focus on) domestic political interests and institutions in order to identify and explain what states desire from international politics. Different issues create and mobilize different political leanings within societies. Countries are driven by internal leanings—both material and normative—that mobilize citizens differently across different contexts. Different political institutions aggregate alternative sets of domestic interests with varying degrees of bias.

As per this new research methodology, in order to understand what states want, analysts must pay attention to how competing and disparate groups are mobilized into the common political processes and how institutions then transform interests into policy. However, this criticism has few limitations. Firstly, the decision of authoritative states are binding on all citizens; and regardless of how divided individuals may be on the issue, the policy, once enacted, binds everyone equally. Secondly, in many international political scenarios, domestic politics explains what states want (and not what they do), i.e., it may explain the preferences of a society in relation to an international issue, but it cannot explain why that society adopts the specific policy or achieves the outcome that it does. One of the most interesting puzzles of international politics is the strategic interaction not only of groups within countries, but also the interactions of states themselves.

Transnational Relations

Another significant criticism of the state-centric theory is that the states do not have control over private non-state actors who can mobilize and move actors across national borders. These actors could be cosmopolitan individuals, multinational corporations or transnational advocacy networks. Even if a state-centric theory might have earlier provided an explanation for international politics, the erosion of state sovereignty and the emergence and growth of transnational forces have now made this explanation a less attractive wager (Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* 1972; 1977).

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Transnational actors began to be studied under international relations in the early 1970s. Though certain transnational actors, such as the Catholic Church, have been in existence since the birth of modern state systems, it is the more recent emergence of multinational corporations (MNCs) that has threatened to check the state sovereignty. However, this argument is not free from criticism. Some analysts argue that states are actually sovereign and, contrary to the perception that they are being challenged by non-state actors, they in fact allow such actors to encourage and exert an influence on world politics. The question arises: Why do states allow the growth of transnational actors? The explanatory power of state-centric theories cannot remain constant. So is the case with the ability of the states to control transnational actors.

There are various explanations to this point. First, the transnational relations appear most developed in liberal states. This is partly a function of interdependence which creates additional outside options for actors, but is also a product of the nature of the larger private spheres of actions in liberal democracies. Technology has also helped in increasing transnational relations. The new communication tools and technologies enable alignment of transnational groups and permit them to circumvent state control. While states have the right to regulate their behaviour, transnational actors can exploit technology to gain an even greater autonomy. New technologies enable multinational corporations to develop global networks that could undermine the ability of states to regulate or tax production. The greater the autonomy of transnational actors, the more impactful will be their role in international politics, and the less useful state-centric theories will be.

1.4.5 Subaltern Critique of Neo-Realism

Neo-realism, also known as structural realism, is a theory of international politics that explains how powerful states behave and how they interact with each other on an international front. Neo-realism simply states that the structure of a state must be taken into account to explain how a state behaves with respect to others internationally. Neo-realism is in fact a new theory that helps to study international relations. The theory of neo-realism was first suggested by Kenneth Waltz in 1979.

Neo-realism is quite different from classical realism. Classical realism states that international relations are built on the basis of human nature and is influenced by the egos and the emotions of the leaders of the states. Neo-realism, on the other hand, does not give any importance to human nature. It states that international relations are based on anarchy.

Neo-realism states that the structural constraints drive the behaviour of the world leaders when it comes to international relations. The nature of the international structure is defined by anarchy and the distribution of the capabilities. Neo-realism is based on the premise that the anarchic ordering principle is decentralized. In other words, the power is not in the hands of one authority. Neo-realism thereby suggests that there is no central authority and each state is considered to be formally equal to others in the system. The theory of neo-realism also states that each state is self-

motivated and seeks to protect its own interests. Each state in the system believes in self-help and furthers its own interests and does not believe in subordinating its interests for the other states.

In a system based on the theory of neo-realism, each state strives to survive. Survival is essential for every state to achieve its other goals and it is this need of survival that influences the behaviour of the states in such a system.

When it comes to neo-realism, self-survival is the ultimate goal of each and every state or nation and thus every state strives to become the ultimate power. To increase their relative power, the states may even indulge in offensive military capabilities. Neo-realism in a way results in what is called security dilemma wherein the states do not trust each other. The lack of mutual trust between states results in internal and external capacity building in terms of military and economic advancements. To balance the power, a state may resort to internal balancing which takes place when a state increases its own capabilities by increasing economic growth or by increasing military spending. A state may even go in for external balancing to increase its relative powers. External balancing takes place when a state enters into alliances to check or control the power of a more powerful state. In other words, the needs of all nations are the same in a system governed by neo-realism but the states may follow different routes and adapt different structures to attain these needs.

The theory of neo-realism of international relations also states that depending on the distribution of capabilities, there are three different types of systems that can be formed. These systems are formed depending upon the number of great powers or superpowers in the system. Accordingly, the three groups are—unipolar, bi-polar and multi-polar systems. In a unipolar system, there is one superpower. In a bipolar system, there are two super powers and a multi-polar system contains more than two great or super powers. According to the neo-realism theory of international relations, a bipolar system is the most successful system that exists. This is because no nation or state forms alliances as there are no extra great powers to form alliances with. In a bipolar system, balancing of power takes place through internal balancing and hence there are no chances of great power wars and thus there is always peace at the international front.

The theory of neo-realism like other theories however does face some criticism. One of the main critics of neo-realism is that it fails to accurately account for issues like wars, avoidance of wars, power balancing, power seeking, death of states, arms races, alliance formations, security competition etc.

Another major critique of neo-realism comes from the subalterns. The subaltern critique of neo-realism is that the Third World is neglected when or excluded when it comes to international relations. It is argued that neo-realism does not take into account the Third World state behaviour, the dominant concerns of the Third World countries, and the causes of conflicts in the Third World. The subalterns criticize neo-realism mainly because neo-realism considers the Third World countries to be

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weak. The subalterns also state that neo-realism states that the Third World is militarily and economically dependent on the external benefactors or countries that are highly industrialized. Neo-realism is also criticized for assuming that the Third World countries are more concerned about short term gains and benefits rather than long terms benefits and gains. Subalterns also argue that neo-realism states that the Third World countries have limited interaction with their neighbouring countries only. According to neo-realism, when it comes to security concerns, the Third World countries are not much concerned about security matters at the international level. In fact, neo-realism suggests that the Third World countries interact only with those neighbouring countries that possess similar characteristics or structures and thus do not maintain international relations like great powers do.

The subalterns also criticize neo-realism stating that it suggests that it is only the external forces that influence the state behaviour. However, it is both the internal and external forces that influence the state behaviour in maintaining international relations. Another criticism is that bipolar system no longer exists and that a unipolar system has emerged with the United States placed as the only existing super power and that there exists an unchecked power.

Another critique of the neo-realism theory is that it highlights security as the main objective of any state. Neo-realism states that most nations aim to maximize their security and can or should do more than the less powerful states. Also neo-realism states that to maximize their power and security, states must abide by the structural constraints. However, neo-realism is criticized for the fact that states in trying to maximize their power get over excited about all the power they have and this leads to an increase in their interests and also geographical expansion. This leads to what are known as hegemonic threats. Subalterns believe that hegemonic threats must be checked by other less powerful states that may fear extinction, loss of sovereignty, autonomy and control of their nation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. Fill in the blanks with appropriate terms.
 - (a) According to the realists, _____ is the governing principle of international politics.
 - (b) Political realism is based on the _____ concept of human nature.
8. State whether the statements are True or False:
 - (a) The three specific features of a domestic political system are hierarchy, functional differentiation and relative capabilities.
 - (b) The realist theory is based primarily on human behaviour.
9. What is the subaltern critique of neo-realism?

1.5 SUMMARY

- The term ‘international politics’ is self-explanatory. Originally, it was considered to be the study of politics among the nations, but today, it is often referred to as ‘international studies’ or ‘international relations’.
- Broadly, the term ‘international relations’ indicates the political relations among the nation-states. The term ‘world politics’ or ‘international politics’, on the other hand, indicates a more unified and coherent politics at the global level.
- The emergence of the modern nation-state is also considered to be the rise of modern politics in the world. The present model of the nation-state came into existence, after the treaty of Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648.
- The Treaty of Westphalia led to the emergence of a new world order—the order of states. It was also called the Westphalian World Order.
- In 1918, in the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, a Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics, for the study of international relations, was established. For the first time, a PhD in international relations was offered by the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.
- The term Cold War stands for the period of conflict and aggression between the United States of America and the Soviet Union which lasted from the mid-1940s to late 1980s. It began when the Second World War ended.
- The most long-lasting negative impact of the Cold War on the developing world is seen across sub-Saharan Africa. The Cold War rivalries victimized the newly-independent countries.
- International relations is a relatively young academic subject—its birth is commonly assumed to have taken place shortly after the First World War—but it has undergone almost explosive growth especially in the post-Second World War years.
- Two controversies have been labelled ‘great debates’: the realism-idealism debate in the 1930s and in the decade following the Second World War and the traditionalism-science debate of the 1960s.
- The dichotomous division between scientists and traditionalists in international relations corresponds to the division between the supporters and the opponents of behaviourism in political science.
- Classical international relations theory revolved around the notions of state sovereignty and its logical corollary, international anarchy: the sovereign states, recognizing no higher authority, are in an international state of nature, and the resulting security dilemma forces them to live in a condition of mutual competition and conflict.
- The opposite assumption, denying the unique character of international relations and asserting the essential similarity of politics within and between nations,

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- was a minority viewpoint among the classical theorists. Its most important adherents were Grotius and his followers.
- The traditional assumption of international anarchy logically implies that the actors are sovereign entities, that is, the nation-states.
 - The realism-idealism debate was a debate within the traditional paradigm. It was a less significant and fundamental debate than the truly great debate between the traditional and behaviourist paradigms.
 - Defining a theory is the first and foremost task before any attempt is made to understand various theories of international politics. Generally, theories are explanations of a phenomenon. They explain as to why a few things materialize, while others do not.
 - Two contemporary developments in the field of methodology are: methodological individualism and rational choice.
 - A major criticism of the theories of international relations has been the ignorance of the world except Europe, the story of international relations has been told as the internationalization of a system of thought and practice that arose within Europe, the foundational event being Westphalia.
 - Realism is the most popular theory of international politics. Realist theory is closely attached to the political theorists who emphasize on the negative part of human behaviour.
 - The roots of the realist theory can be traced back to the evolution of ancient political thought. Indian thinker Kautilya, in his writings, discussed the various state strategies to ensure survival.
 - Realists accept the state as an actor in the realm of international politics. States are always in search of maximizing their powers.
 - Broadly, classical realism indicates the evolution of the realist theory prior to the publication of Kenneth Waltz's book the *Theory of International Politics*.
 - What has made realism the most popular scientific theory of international politics is the theory of 'structural realism' propounded by Kenneth Waltz. His theory was published in his book, the *Theory of International Politics*.
 - Neo-realism is quite different from classical realism. Classical realism states that international relations are built on the basis of human nature and is influenced by the egos and the emotions of the leaders of the states. Neo-realism, on the other hand, does not give any importance to human nature. It states that international relations are based on anarchy.
 - Defensive realism argues that there is greater variation in the expansionist tendencies at the international level. It also suggests that the states ought to generally pursue moderate strategies as the best method to ensure one's security.
 - Offensive realism is closer to the classical realists' notion of anarchy. It focuses on anarchy as a cause of conflicts in international relations. It argues that the

anarchical nature of international politics generates a sense of insecurity amongst states.

- Transnational actors began to be studied under international relations in the early 1970s. Though certain transnational actors, such as the Catholic Church, have been in existence since the birth of modern state systems, it is the more recent emergence of multinational corporations (MNCs) that has threatened to check the state sovereignty.
- The subaltern critique of neo-realism is that the Third World is neglected when or excluded when it comes to international relations.
- Subalterns believe that hegemonic threats must be checked by other less powerful states that may fear extinction, loss of sovereignty, autonomy and control of their nation.

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1.6 KEY TERMS

- **International relations:** It is a branch of political science concerned with relations between nations and primarily with foreign policies.
- **Theory:** It is a collection or a set of laws pertaining to a particular behaviour or phenomenon.
- **Subaltern:** In critical theory and post colonialism, subaltern refers to the populations that are socially, politically and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure of the colony and of the colonial homeland.
- **Anarchy:** It is a state of disorder due to absence or non-recognition of authority or other controlling systems.
- **Realism:** Realism is the predominant school of thought in international relations theory, theoretically formalizing the realpolitik statesmanship of early modern Europe.

1.7 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Broadly, the term ‘international relations’ indicates the political relations among the nation-states. The term ‘world politics’ or ‘international politics’, on the other hand, indicates a more unified and coherent politics at the global level.
2. The emergence of the modern nation-state is also considered to be the rise of modern politics in the world. The present model of the nation-state came into existence, after the treaty of Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648.
3. In 1918, in the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, a Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics, for the study of international relations, was established. For the first time, a PhD in international relations was offered by the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva.

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4. Two controversies have been labelled 'great debates': the realism-idealism debate in the 1930s and in the decade following the Second World War and the traditionalism-science debate of the 1960s.
5. The twin notions of sovereignty and international anarchy provided the basis for three interrelated theories: world government, collective security and balance of power.
6. Two contemporary developments in the field of methodology are: methodological individualism and rational choice.
7. (a) Anarchy;
(b) Pluralistic
8. (a) True;
(b) True
9. The subaltern critique of neo-realism is that the Third World is neglected or excluded when it comes to international relations.

1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How have both the World Wars and League of Nations affected international politics?
2. Write a note on nation-state system and politics.
3. What were the causes of Cold War?
4. What is post-war realism?
5. What is the Grotian view towards international relations?
6. State the three features of theorizing in international politics as identified by Smith and Snidal.
7. Trace the origin of the realist theory.
8. What are the variants of realism?
9. Differentiate between defensive and offensive realism.
10. What are the problems of the state-centric approaches of international politics?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Elaborate upon the origin and evolution of international politics.
2. How has the Cold War affected the international scenario?
3. 'Two controversies have been labelled 'great debates': the realism-idealism debate in the 1930s and in the decade following the Second World War and the traditionalism-science debate of the 1960s.' Discuss.
4. Evaluate the significance of theorization in international relations.

5. What is realism? What are its features?
6. Discuss classical realism as a variant of realism.
7. Evaluate structural realism as a variant of realism.
8. Explain the subaltern critique of neo-realism.

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UNIT 2 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES-II

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Structure

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2.0 INTRODUCTION

There are various approaches used in the study of international relations. This unit deals with three such approaches. In this unit, you will study the theories of liberalism, neo-liberalism and game theory.

Liberalism is a theory of international relations that states that the state preferences play an imperative role in defining the behaviour of the nations when it comes to maintaining international relations. The state preferences may be different for different states. These may be related to the culture, economy, security or politics of a state. Nations on the basis of their preferences work to achieve and fulfil these preferences. Neo-liberalism is advancement in the liberal thinking.

Neo-liberalism is a school of thought that states that when maintaining international relations, the states must first be concerned about the absolute gains rather than the relative gains. Neo-liberal institutionalism mainly focuses on the fact that the international institutions can play a major role in allowing nations to successfully cooperate at the international front. The mainstay of neo-liberal institutionalism is that international cooperation is possible and can be readily achieved by the establishment of international institutions.

Neo-liberal institutionalism is a theory of international relations that suggests the importance of international organizations and regimes in maintaining world peace and cooperation. Neo-liberalism suggests that states cooperate at the international

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front and any conflict arising between the states can be peacefully resolved by the intervention of the international organizations. Neo-liberalism also enables cooperative interdependence among states at the international level. Thus, the states become mutually dependent upon each other economically, culturally, socially as well as politically. This makes the international relations between states cordial and all states exist with peaceful cooperation though there remains competition among them.

Like neo-realism, neo-liberal intuitionism considers anarchy as central to understanding how a state behaves when it comes to international relations. Neo-liberal institutionalism however considers anarchy as the lack of central authority that can enforce agreements and cooperation between states at the international front. Neo-liberal institutionalism also believes that states do not cooperate or fail to cooperate because they fear cheating from other states and are also uncertain about the behaviour of the other states. Cooperation is a collective action and thus on an international front, the states that decide to cooperate may face the risk of 'free riding' or bad behaviour from other states. When international institutions are there, they prevent free riding and prevent states from being cheated by others. In other words, neo-liberal institutionalism encourages cooperation between states at the international level so that the states may gain in the long term from the cooperation.

The game theory is a way of looking at human interaction. It sees human interaction as a series of strategically motivated decisions, which are described as different 'games' or imaginary situations. These games or imaginary situations echo the strategic options involved in political decision-making. The objective of the game theory is to formalize analysis of relationships among two or more actors of international politics. It assists the theoreticians of international relations in describing the interactions among the various actors of global politics. Thus, analysts of international relations have used this theory to explain international politics.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the features of liberalism
- Describe the democratic peace theory under the liberalist theory
- Explain neo-liberal institutionalism and complex interdependence theory
- Assess the neo-neo debate
- Evaluate the game theory in international relations

2.2 LIBERALISM

Liberalism is the theory which has strongly challenged the realist theory of international politics and provided an alternative school of thought. Most of the principle ethics of liberalism are just contrary to the beliefs of realists. Unlike realists where power

politics is the norm, in liberal theories, cooperation amongst the states is the norm. Although, the gulf between the classical liberals and classical realists was wider than the theories which developed later, the basic premises of both the theories are quite different from each other.

In the previous few decades, liberalism has greatly influenced the government policies and public policies of the international organizations and norms of various international agencies. As the era of the Cold War was known as an era of realism, the post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism. In the post-Cold War era, the community of states has realized the relevance of global mechanisms of cooperation. Consequently, global institutions for global governance have been strengthened in the past two decades.

Three events have shifted the attention from the state and power-centred view of international politics described by the realists. First was the emergence of the League of Nations after the First World War in 1919, which was the first joint effort to build an international organization which attempted to limit the state's ability to behave in an uncontrolled manner in relations with other countries. However, it failed to do so and the Second World War took place. But the efforts did not die. After the Second World War, the community of states felt the need for such an organization more seriously. Hence, the United Nations was set up. Despite various problems, the UN has successfully ensured the preservation of world peace. The third significant event has been the evolution of the European Union where countries themselves felt the need to come together in order to ensure the welfare and development of their citizens. These events explain that despite the harsh realities of war, there have always been attempts to bring peace in the world. The liberal school of thought in international relations emphasizes this aspect of the states.

The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations. Thus, the evolution of liberalism in political theory has also helped the development of liberalism in international politics such as recognition of democracy as the most popular political system in which individual rights are protected and an amicable environment for economic development is ensured.

Describing the essential features of liberalism, Stanley Hoffmann, a political writer says: 'The essence of liberalism is self-restraint, moderation, compromise and peace where the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace, at best, or the state of war' (Hoffman 1987 as quoted in Baylis *et al.*: 110).

In contemporary international relations, liberalism has brought many issues of democratization to the front. Hence the world leaders are involved in problems of global justice, equality, poverty eradication and so on. Unlike the realist era when war, arms, race and conflicts were the dominant paradigms, the age of liberalism is fostering democratic ideas and peace. Like the realist theory, there are variants of the liberal theory in international relations as well. However, there are certain principles

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on which these variants agree upon. Some of these commonly accepted principles are discussed below.

States with Natural Rights

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The first and foremost principle on which the liberal ideology is based on is the idea of individual rights. Liberals argue that human beings are born with certain rights which are natural. Rights are certain conditions which are considered as necessary for the development of human beings. Some of the most crucial individual rights are: right to life, liberty and property. John Locke in his writings established these three rights as natural rights which a person gets by virtue of being a human. Since then there has been a significant expansion of the idea of rights and many more have been included in this category. An important right has been the right to political freedom by which every citizen has the right to choose the government of his own choice. The emergence of the principle of adult franchise and representative democracy is closely associated with this.

Idea of Perpetual Peace

The known political philosopher of the eighteenth century Emmanuel Kant propounded the idea of 'perpetual peace' in international relations. Kant argued that a peaceful world cannot be established unless certain globally accepted ideas are accepted. The implementation of such ideas ensures long lasting world peace. According to Doyle, Kant discusses three stages of establishing perpetual peace.

Kant says that there are three 'definitive articles', acceptance of which will guarantee 'perpetual peace.' The first article is based on the principle that the 'civil constitution should be republican in nature' (Doyle, 225). By Republican, Kant means a political society which has established a representative government with a separation of powers. Such a republican system also solves the problem of combining moral autonomy, individualism and social order (Doyle, 226).

The second definitive article of perpetual peace establishes a pacific union amongst the liberal republics. Such a union is created by a treaty amongst the nations. The treaty 'prevents wars and steadily expands its purview, bringing more states into the union'. Doyle says that by such a union, he meant a mutual non-aggression pact, perhaps a collective security agreement and the cosmopolitan law.

The third article of perpetual peace establishes a cosmopolitan law which operates in conjunction with the pacific union. Such a law establishes the principle of 'universal hospitality.' (Kant quoted in Doyle, 227). By universal hospitality, Kant means recognition of the 'right of a foreigner to be treated with hospitality when he arrives upon the soil of another [country].'

Market as an Important Factor

In the entire liberal theory of international relations, the market is given an important place. Liberals believe that private property is an essential part of an individual's development. Hence, along with the right to life and liberty, property was also given

a place in John Locke's idea of natural rights. Besides, individuals are rational beings who know their good from actions. The only thing required is an autonomous environment in which they are allowed to act independently. The state comes into existence for the sake of providing such an environment. Its job is to protect individual freedom and not to interfere in their personal affairs unless it is required for the protection of others' similar rights. In other words, the state is minimalist in nature unlike the realist philosophy where the state is given a primary role.

The liberal philosophy emphasizes on free trade and economic relations amongst the nations. It argues that economic causes are the reasons behind cooperation amongst the states. Hence, economy plays a crucial role unlike power politics which is the focal point in the realist theory of international relations. For this purpose, neo-liberal philosophers emphasize upon the creation of global institutions in order to ensure transparency and accountability in international trade and economic relations amongst nations.

Nature of Social Actors

Unlike the realist view which is state-centric in nature, the liberal view is based on the principles of pluralism. The society is divided in various groups based on various functions like economy, social, political and so on. These groups are always in confrontation with each other. However, the resolution of these issues is based upon political means. Social actors favour some economic, social, cultural and political arrangements than the other.

The view of globalization is a dominant view of social interests in the liberal theoretical framework. The process of globalization is defined as 'changing opportunities and incentives to engage in transnational economic, social and cultural activity.' Without globalization, social actors like states, would have no rational incentive to become a part of world politics. In this context, the most fundamental task of the liberal international relations theory is to define the impact of the shifting terms of economic, social and cultural globalization on social actors and the competing demands they will thus place upon states.

The liberal theory rests on the fact that the stronger the aggregate benefit from social interactions across borders, the greater the demand to engage in such interactions. According to the liberal theory, societal demands are a variable, shifting with factors such as technology, geography, and culture. Andres Moravcsik argues that 'in nearly all social situations, shifts in control over material resources, authoritative values, and opportunities for social control have domestic and transnational distributional implications' (2009:237).

He further argues that conflicting social demands about the management of globalization tend to be associated with three factors. First, contradictory or irreconcilable differences in core beliefs about national, political and social identity promote conflict, whereas complementary beliefs promote harmony and cooperation. Second, resources that can be easily appropriated or monopolized tend to exacerbate conflict by increasing the willingness of social actors to assume cost or risk to enrich

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themselves. Third, large inequalities in domestic, social or political influence may permit certain groups to evade the costs of a costly conflict or rent seeking behaviour, even if the result is inefficient for the society as a whole.

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Nature of the State

According to the neo-liberal theory of international politics, the state represents the demands of a subset of domestic individual and social groups, on the basis of whose interests they define 'state preferences' and act instrumentally to manage globalization. The notion of state preferences means the rank ordering among potential substantive outcomes or 'states of the world' that might result from international political interaction. The states act as representatives of individuals and pursue their interests at the international level because the individual's behaviour is unable to achieve such objectives.

Moravcsik in *Liberal Intergovernmentalism* (2009) argues that internationally, the liberal state is a purposive actor, but domestically it is a representative institution which is constantly subject to capture and recapture, construction and reconstruction, by coalitions and social interests. By the liberal state, the demands of the individuals are translated into the framework of foreign policy. In other words, the change in social demands also results into change in the state behaviour. Deriving state preferences from social preferences is thus a central theoretical task of liberal theory. However, it needs to be emphasized that the state preferences, i.e. the ultimate ends of foreign policy, are different from 'strategies' which are the specific policy goals, bargaining demands, institutional arrangements, tactical stances, military or diplomatic doctrines that states adopt, advocate, or accept in everyday international politics.

The new liberal theory highlights the significance of the domestic representative institutions. Representation is a key determinant (along with the basic nature of social demands themselves) of what states want, and therefore what they do. Every government represents some group or the other. The representative state could be decentralized or centralized in nature, subject to strong or weak rationality conditions, socialized to various attitudes towards risks and responsibility, and flanked by various substitutes for direct representation (Achen, 1995; Grant and Keohane, 2005).

Nature of the International System

Policy interdependence is the key theoretical link between state preferences on the one hand, and state behaviour on the other. It refers to the distribution and interaction of preferences, i.e., the extent to which the pursuit of state preferences necessarily imposes costs and benefits upon other states, independent of the 'transaction costs' imposed by the specific strategic means chosen to obtain them.

Liberals argue that interdependence is amongst those factors which influence state behaviour in the most fundamental sense. Where policy alignments can generate mutual gains with low distributive consequences, there is an incentive for international policy coordination or convergence. The lower the net gains, the greater the distributional conflict whereby the realization of interests by a dominant social group

in one country necessarily imposes costs on dominant social groups in other countries, the greater the potential for inter-state tension and conflict.

By drawing attention to the relative intensity or ‘asymmetrical interdependence’ among state preferences, liberalism highlights a distinctive conception of inter-state power (Keohane and Nye, 1977). In this view, the willingness of the state to expand resources or make concessions in bargaining is a function of preferences, not linkage to an interdependent set of ‘political power resources’ (Baldwin, 1979).

Variants of Liberalism

Like the realist philosophy, there have been various improvements and modifications in the liberal philosophy as well. It is said that in the last fifty years of international relations, the realist theory of international relations and the liberal theory have started coming closer to each other. Realists have accepted that states do cooperate, whereas, liberals on the other hand have accepted that states are the actors in international relations despite having many other active participants. The neo-liberal realism has also accepted the existence of anarchy in international relations.

2.2.1 Democratic Peace Theory

Peacebuilding in conflict-prone and post-conflict countries—aimed at preventing the resumption or escalation of violent conflict and establishing a durable and self-sustaining peace—has generated debates and controversies of great significance to scholarship and policy. The significance of these debates extends far beyond the realms of ‘peace operations’. The extent and scope of contemporary peacebuilding, the motivations of powerful actors that sponsor and implement these activities, and the impact of these activities upon the societies in which they operate all raise fundamental implications for international politics. A key element of these debates relates to the nature and impact of *liberal peacebuilding*: the promotion of democracy, market-based economic reforms and a range of other institutions associated with ‘modern’ states as a driving force for building ‘peace’.

Because of the scope and breadth of peacebuilding activities—and the emphasis on building institutions based upon market economics and democracy—contemporary peacebuilding is often described as ‘liberal peacebuilding’. The theoretical underpinning of liberal peacebuilding is the liberal peace: the idea that certain kinds of (liberally constituted) societies will tend to be more peaceful, both in their domestic affairs and in their international relations, than illiberal states are. The international variant of this theory is the ‘democratic peace’. According to this, consolidated democracies do not go to war with each other because democracies have institutional constraints upon leaders that make initiating conflict with other countries more difficult; in addition, because such countries are interdependent economically, going to war may disrupt economic/trade relations. There has been a great deal of debate about—and challenges to—the democratic peace theory, focusing on the definition of ‘war’ and ‘democracy’ and the manner in which democratic countries have been aggressive to non-democratic countries. Nevertheless, the theory

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enjoys strong support. Moreover, in recent years there has been resurgent interest in the domestic variant of liberal peace theory. That is the notion that liberally constituted states are more internally peaceful, prosperous and humane and even better environmental managers than non-democracies. Indeed, the international and domestic versions of liberal peace theory have recently blended into far-reaching claims about the manifold peace-producing benefits of democratization and marketization:

Countries that govern themselves in a truly democratic fashion do not go to war with one another. They do not aggress against their neighbours to aggrandize themselves or glorify their leaders. Democratic governments do not ethnically 'cleanse' their own populations, and they are much less likely to face ethnic insurgency. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism against one another. They do not build weapons of mass destruction to use on or to threaten one another. Democratic countries form more reliable, open, and enduring trading partnerships. In the long run they offer better and more stable climates for investment. They are more environmentally responsible because they must answer to their own citizens, who organize to protest the destruction of their environments. They are better bets to honour international treaties since they value legal obligations and because their openness makes it much more difficult to breach agreements in secret. Precisely because, within their own borders, they respect competition, civil liberties, property rights, and the rule of law, democracies are the only reliable foundation on which a new world order of international security and prosperity can be built. (Larry Diamond, *Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives*, December, 1995)

All major peacebuilding operations have involved elections or broader democracy-assistance activities. This has given rise to a lively debate exploring the modalities, effectiveness and legitimacy of international efforts to stabilize conflict-prone societies and build peace. Beyond democracy and market economics, liberal peacebuilding also embraces a broader range of practices and values, including secular authority, capacity-building, centralized governance and institutions of justice.

The concept of liberal peacebuilding and the manner in which it is promoted in fragile and divided societies are problematic. The tenets of liberal peacebuilding—liberal democracy, liberal human rights, market values, the integration of societies into globalization and the centralized secular state—are not necessarily universal (or universally applicable) values. Moreover, the liberal peace and its neo-liberal economic dimensions, which have displaced older liberal ideas about welfare, are not necessarily appropriate for conflicted or divided societies. Indeed, democracy and the market are arguably adversarial or even conflictual forces—taken for granted in stable Western democracies but not necessarily suitable for volatile societies that do not enjoy stable institutions.

Peacebuilding activities are not neutral in their normative orientation or impact, and this raises important questions concerning the role of international organizations in attempting to end civil conflict through the promotion of certain political and economic models. In some circumstances, some of the values and approaches may

be at odds with the attainment of sustainable peace, when, for example, they promote a neo-liberal economic agenda, which may exacerbate social or economic tensions or obstruct the reintegration of displaced people; or where democracy promotion exacerbates political conflict and sectarian divisions. As Paris has observed, ‘the process of political and economic liberalization is inherently tumultuous: It can exacerbate social tensions and undermine the prospects for stable peace in the fragile conditions that typically exist in countries just emerging from civil war.’ Some aspects of the liberal peace model are also potentially in tension with each other. Democratization has had questionable results in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia, Burundi and Iraq. This is not to question democracy but to highlight the observation that democratic politics can still be a vehicle for, and indeed exacerbate, sectarianism. Sometimes, the linkage of peacebuilding with state-building and the assumption that it will produce a sovereign state with territorial integrity and inviolable boundaries are also problematic in that they touch upon key causal factors in some conflicts, such as in Kosovo or indirectly in Bosnia.

More fundamentally troubling questions are emerging regarding the value system underpinning the approach of the international community—and imbuing international organizations. Is the liberal peace being promoted in societies in which it may be, for social or cultural reasons, fundamentally inappropriate? Or is it more a matter of sequencing: ensuring that stable foundations and national institutions are installed before liberalization? Either way, there is real concern that ‘post-conflict’ peacebuilding programmes may sow the seeds of their own failure by exacerbating the social tensions that resulted in violent conflict in the first place, or by failing to create the domestic foundations for democratizing and marketizing reforms. As a result, different components of the liberal reform agenda may be clashing with each other in ways that cast doubt on the viability of the larger liberal peacebuilding project.

This also points to a secondary issue of whether international peacebuilding really is ‘liberal’ when (in terms of conflict resolution) it tends to mediate—from the top down—between local power brokers, who are often politically extremist or exclusionary, and ignores grassroots community actors, who are potentially more inclusive and moderate. Thus, the essential mechanism of a liberal social contract is generally absent in post-conflict states, which instead are held together by external actors. This also obstructs more progressive bottom-up forms of peacebuilding that cultivate cosmopolitan peaceful forces and address underlying sources of conflict. The longer-range issue of whether a ‘better’ liberalism is transferable and adequate for a higher quality of peace is still very contentious.

The legitimacy of liberal peacebuilding has come under growing criticism, although there are major differences in terms of whether this is a result of the values and assumptions that underpin it or of its ‘performance’. Thus, some analysts focus on improving sequencing (for example, establishing institutions before liberalization)

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or increasing 'local ownership', participation and consultation, whereas others focus on more fundamental questions about the suitability of liberal political and economic values in different contexts.

In practice, in local contexts there has tended to be a general acceptance of the institutions and norms as well as the material resources of liberal peacebuilding, while at the same time strong criticism of these. This is a clear paradox, which needs unpacking. As Bhikhu Parekh has written in 'The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy', for example: 'the liberal principle of individuation and other liberal ideas are culturally and historically specific. As such a political system based on them cannot claim universal validity.' This resonates strongly on the ground, yet at the same time those who want peace see liberal peacebuilding as a plausible beginning. The legitimacy of international peacebuilding (or key components of it) has also been challenged by the perception of a lack of 'local ownership' and local consultation in international peacebuilding, by its elements of coercion (either overt or subtle), and by the apparent lack of accountability that has accompanied some forms of peacebuilding. Yet the overall project continues for want of an alternative that does not involve a reversion to violence and lawlessness on a grander scale than currently exists. Nevertheless, legitimacy is crucial for peace and for liberalism, and so this raises the issue of how legitimacy might be restored, especially in the wake of the flaws in the US-sponsored state-building operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as inefficiencies and local rejection in many other more traditional peace operations.

This points to a need for a more concerted examination of the political, social and economic resources that individuals and communities need in order to fulfil their role in the social contract within the liberal state in transitional phases when they are dependent upon external support. This would require a readjustment of the role of international financial institutions in particular and of development and donor praxis in order to provide the material resources urgently required to make democracy, human rights, the rule of law and development meaningful for ordinary people in their everyday lives.

From this analysis some related issues emerge. International peacebuilding currently revolves around a distinction between the 'internationals' and 'locals'. In this framework lies a danger of 'romanticizing' the 'local' and validating the 'international' without much connection or communication between the two. This raises the issue of how the 'international' engages the 'local' without accepting certain practices not commensurate with international norms, or performing experiments on the powerless that might have problematic unintended consequences. It may well be that this points to the need for a non-liberal type of peacebuilding, or at least a far greater consideration and respect for alternative modes of politics or polities, if this can be done without creating even greater problems for the population of the host countries.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Which era is known as the age of liberalism?
2. To which era can the roots of the liberal tradition be traced?
3. What is the theoretical underpinning of liberal peacebuilding?

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2.3 NEO-LIBERALISM

Neo-liberal institutionalism focuses on the role of global institutions. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation. This is made possible with the liberal international organizations. Joseph M. Grieco in 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism' (1988) says that there are three variants of neo-liberal institutionalism—functionalist integration theory which developed in the 1940s and 1950s; the neo-functionalist regional integration theories in the 1950s and 1960s; and the interdependence theories in the 1970s. Liberals argue that despite so much war and violence, the international system is still surviving. The core of this survival is the possibility of cooperation amongst the states. In other words, unlike the realist theories, neo-liberals provide a more optimistic picture of international relations.

Countering the realist arguments, realists argue that not the states but other international organizations like the United Nations and its agencies or civil society groups are the dominant actors. Their roles have increased to a substantial level in influencing the state behaviour and policies. This has been forcing the states to cooperate with other states. According to the functionalist integration theorists, the specialized international agencies and their technical experts play a crucial role in the formation of different policies at the state level. They also coordinate amongst various states at different levels which facilitates co-operation amongst them.

The neo-functionalist regional integration theory of liberal institutionalism on the other hand emphasizes more on various civil society organizations or non-governmental organizations like labour unions, political parties, trade associations, and supranational bureaucracies. According to the neo-functionalist school, these actors force states to cooperate with each other. The interdependence theorists focus more on the role of multinational corporations and transnational and trans-governmental coalitions like the World Trade Organizations, World Economic Forum, etc. Unlike other types of global institutions, they are based upon the bargaining and negotiations amongst different states and their exercise to form groups.

All these theorists argue that the state authority is not so centralized and monolithic as realists argue. Rather it is decentralized and divided amongst various non-state and non-governmental organizations. Besides, with the expansion of the

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civil society organizations, various groups are also playing a significant role at the global level. This has made even foreign policy making a decentralized affair and not an exercise dominated by a few central actors.

Neo-liberals also argue that states are no more for power-politics and war prone as realists argue. Rather, the cost of indulging in a war has increased exponentially. The growing threat of nuclear weapons and mobilized national populations were rendering war prohibitively costly (Keohane and Nye). Besides, many economic issues like price stability, higher growth, employment generation and so on has forced the states to be in contact with other states. Welfare and development has started dominating the state agenda at home and not power and prestige. In fact faster development has become a parameter of prestige in international relations. Thus, the states are not power-seeking actors but try to cooperate with each other in order to secure a more comfortable and secure global order.

Finally, the neo-liberals argue that the role of international organizations is such that they foster cooperation amongst states without questioning their sovereignty. Similarly, many international regional organizations like the European Union are an outcome of the realization amongst the states that they have certain limitations in ensuring their citizens' welfare alone. Finally theorists argue that in the contemporary world of interdependence where multiple issues are occurring amongst the states, the bargaining capacity of various political institutions has increased. Unlike the earlier versions of liberal philosophy, neo-liberals believe that states do have a significant role to play in international relations despite challenges on various fronts. States are also rational-unitary actors who decide their own course of action.

2.3.1 Neo-Liberal Institutionalism

The notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations has emerged after realization of the fact that for international cooperation too, certain platforms are required. This led to the debate on the nature, role and functions of such organizations. The neo-liberal institutionalists deal with some of the vital concepts of international organizations for this matter.

Contemporary liberal institutional theory, originating in an enhanced awareness of interdependence in the 1970s, broke with earlier liberal thought in accepting some of the central assumptions of realist theory and defined itself solely in empirical terms. In response to the devastation occasioned by the First World War, liberal institutionalists pursued one overriding goal—the establishment of peace. Initially, it was sought directly through creating an institution, the League of Nations, which would embody a new liberal order in place of the power politics in Europe. The League's failure to fulfill this expectation prompted a radical reformulation—a new approach, functionalism, sought to achieve the goal indirectly. A network of specialized institutions regulating specific areas of international relations would gradually moderate the conflicts that would otherwise lead to war. The increasing significance of economic interdependence by the 1970s resulted into a further radical reformulation of

institutionalism, culminating in Keohane and Joseph Nye's *Power and Interdependence*, (1977), which foreshadowed core ideas of the neo-liberal institutional theory. They did not seek to limit the realist theory but to limit its scope.

Richardson argues that changes in the institutional theory had been prompted mainly by the perceived changes in 'the world.' The shift to neo-liberal institutionalism, it may be suggested was mainly theory-driven. The replacement of the comparative-sociological style of neo-liberal institutionalism was replaced by the acceptance of the mathematical assumptions of rational choice theory and of the core realist assumptions that states continued to be the central actors in international politics. They pursue their self-interested goals, in particular security and material interests. The main difference with neo-realism was the claim that, nonetheless, there was a far greater scope for international cooperation than the neo-realist theory would have it, and that institutions played a crucial role in facilitating this cooperation.

From organizations to regimes, to institutions: Since the Second World War, the field of international organizations has undergone significant changes. In general and consistent with broader changes in political science, the subfield became less normative and increasingly theoretical. What started as the study of international organizations and regional integration underwent a dramatic change in the early 1980s to become what came to be known as the regime theory; and was subsequently rechristened as neo-liberal institutionalism.

The original post-1945 focus was on international organizations, concrete realities with a physical presence—names, addresses and so on. A typical definition was that of 'a formal arrangement transcending national boundaries that provides for the establishment of international machinery to facilitate co-operation among members in the security, economic, social or related fields' (Plano and Olton, 1979:288). This, rather narrow conceptualization was broadened with a focus on regimes defined as 'principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area.'

The second feature of this turn was that it rooted the existence of international institutions in the core elements of realist theory: states, power and interests. Rather than arguing that regimes were somehow a different feature of international life and that they constituted an alternative way of thinking about international politics, regime theorists accepted the realist view of states as the central actors of international politics and they accepted the central realist premise that state behaviour is rooted in power and interest. Political thinkers like Oram Young, Raymond Hopkins and Donald Puchala see regimes as pervasive characteristics of the international system. No patterned behaviour can sustain itself for any length of time without generating a congruent regime. Regimes and behaviours are inextricably linked.

Regimes are broadly understood to consist of sets of (implicit or explicit) principles, norms, rules and decision making parameters. Actors' expectations come together around these parameters in a defined area of international relations. Principles refer to beliefs of fact, cause and righteousness. Norms are standards of behaviour. They are defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions

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or determinants of action. Decision-making factors are the existing practices which decide collective choice.

According to Keohane and Nye, 'Regimes are sets of governing arrangements that include networks of rules, norms and procedures that regularize behaviour and control its effects.' Haas argues that a regime includes a mutually logical set of procedures, rules and norms. Hedley Bull, professor of international relations, emphasizes the importance of rules and institutions in international society. To him, rules are 'general imperative principles which require or authorize prescribed classes of persons or groups to behave in prescribed ways'. Institutions, according to Bull, allow observance of rules by the actions of formulating, communicating, administering, enforcing, interpreting, legitimizing and adapting them.

Regimes should necessarily be considered as something more than temporary arrangements that change with every shift in power of interests. According to Keohane, 'A basic analytic distinction must be made between regimes and agreements. Agreements are ad hoc. The objective of the regime is to allow agreements.' Jervis believes: 'The concept of regimes implies not only norms and expectations that facilitate cooperation, but also a form of cooperation that is more than the following of short-term self interest.'

According to Douglass North, an American economist, before long, the term regime was replaced with that of institutions. The key reason is that it allowed those in international relations to connect intellectually with the re-emergence of the study of institutions in economics, political science and in sociology. In all these fields and in various subfields, an old institutionalism which had focused on formal institutions was being replaced by a 'new institutionalism' which embodied a broader conceptualization. Across fields and subfields, scholars could accept the definition of 'institutions,' as 'the rules of the game in a society, or more formally, humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction'.

Do institutions matter?: Mitchell in *International Organization* states that the first question that arises is: do institutions matter at all? Central to an interest in studying them is the notion that they matter, that they make a difference in the behaviour of states and in the nature of international politics. Scholars have studied the various impacts of institutions. For example, many have looked into the question of state compliance with international institutions, and have found that states by and large comply with the agreements made by them. However, they have also shown how compliance is not easy to ascertain and is related to the design of the institutions (Mitchell, 1994). Much of the force of the original wave of work on compliance literature was that it occurred even within enforcement mechanisms, and a mini-literature was developed on the possibility of a managerial alternative to enforcement as the basis for compliance. However, while it may be difficult to assess the impact of institutions, it remains important that states use institutions to arrive at the outcomes they want.

How institutions come into being: The international institutions serve state purposes and provide explanation but not a description of the process as to how they

came into being. One reason which connects realists' thoughts with the institutional theorists is that hegemonic power creates institutions. Imposition is one form of creating institutions but hegemonic power often provides inducements to create institutions. They provide a variety of forms of leadership central to the process of regime formation (Stein, 1984 and Snidal, 1986).

Institutional Design

International institutions vary from each other in various ways. They vary in their membership and size. Some are universal and encompass almost all states in the international system. Others are regional in character and encompass only a small set of countries, e.g., IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa Dialogue Forum). Some focus on very narrow issues, whereas others are broader and multipurpose in character. Some are embodied in formal organizations, whereas others have no building, no address, and no secretariat. They vary in the degree of attention paid to issues of monitoring and enforcement, in their mechanism for dispute resolution and in how they deal with possible non-compliance by states. They also vary in their rules of procedure as to how collective decisions are made. The issues related to the functioning of international institutions are closely associated with the functioning of domestic institutions. They are also the core of constitutional arrangements at the domestic level. Domestically we speak of franchise, rather than membership, but the issue is same—who is part of the enterprise and who is not. In international organizations, as within countries, representation mechanisms and decision rules determine how preferences are aggregated into a collective choice.

The question of design of international organization is closely associated with the question of the purpose for which the organization is created. Institutions that provided coordination, for example were self-enforcing, and did not require extensive mechanisms for monitoring and enforcement. Thus, they were unlikely to be highly institutionalized and formalized. In contrast, collaborative solutions to prisoner's dilemma problems were subject to defection and cheating and exhibited extensive concern with monitoring and enforcement (Stein, 1982).

Koremenos, Lipson and Snidal in *The Rational Design of International Institutions*, stated that broadly there are five issues of designing of international organizations: membership, scope of issues covered, centralization of tasks, rules for control of the institution and the flexibility of arrangements in dealing with new and unanticipated circumstances (Koremenos, Lipson and Snidal, 2004). These design features do not exhaust the possibilities of modification in the nature of the organization. Thinking of international institutions as forms of governance and thinking of governments as analogues, one can characterize the structure of international institutions as including legislature, executive and judicial features.

Some international institutions are constructed to change the nature of the services or goods being provided. Environmental issues like provision of clean air are quintessential examples of public goods. Yet the international institutions created to clean the air did not approach the problem by instituting a global regulatory regime for air quality; rather they created a market in emission trading (Stein, 2009: 214).

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Historical Institutionalism

Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change. Some institutions arise, decay and disappear. Others arise, grow and develop and become more complex (Holsti, 2004). They take up new tasks and new members. Broadly, institutions can change themselves substantially according to the circumstances under which they are created. The original regime literature emphasized that institutions reflect power and interest, it left open a question as to what would happen to institutions as the distribution of power changes and as the constellation of interest shifted. Institutions develop and become formalized and organized. For example, the Group of Seven (G7) economic summits began as informal exercises but became routine over time. The institutional structure that is NATO was not at all foreseen when the organization was founded.

Institutions also change and take on new tasks with changing conditions. The International Monetary Fund, for example, proved inadequate for its original intention. It then functioned as intended during the 1950s and 1960s, but found a new role as the major states left the system of fixed exchange rates. In other words, the way the IMF functions today is a way that was never intended or imagined by its founders.

2.3.2 Complex Interdependence Theory

Interdependence is a term which is widely and frequently used in this modern globalized world. Interdependence is a situation in the world politics in which all the players of a state are dependent upon each other. Keohane and Nye give a formal definition of interdependence: 'Dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries.'

When it comes to interdependence, the mutual relationship between the states includes both cooperation and competition. When interdependence exists, there also exists cause and effect. In other words, the actions of one actor affect the actions and thoughts of other actors. Interdependence does not always mean peace and cooperation but it also means conflict between the states or the players.

The complex interdependence theory states that with the increasing and growing ties among states at the international level, there are complex ways in which the states become mutually dependent upon each other. The theory also states that the states also become vulnerable to each other's actions and sensitive to each other's needs with the increasing ties and interdependence.

Hugo Genest defines Complex Interdependence as: 'An economic transnationalist concept that assumes that states are not the only important actors, social

welfare issues share centre stage with security issues on the global agenda, and cooperation is as dominant a characteristic of international politics as conflict.’ Genest further adds, ‘In this system of Interdependence, states cooperate because it is in their own common interest and direct result of this cooperation is prosperity and stability in the international system. The trans-nationalists/neoliberals believe that states are not motivated solely by national interest defined in terms of power.’

According to complex interdependence theory, economic, social and environmental issues are also high on priority of the international agenda along with national security and military power.

Complex interdependence is a combination of two opposite views and takes into consideration power politics as well as economic liberalism. The theory takes into account the costs as well as benefits of mutual interdependence. The theory also states that in addition to increasing economic cooperation and ecological interdependence, there is also a possibility of possible military conflicts between the nations at the international front.

The following are the three main characteristics of complex interdependence:

- **Multiple channels:** The complex interdependence theory states that in international politics there are multiple channels that connect the societies. These multiple channels are also used for all inter-state, trans-national and trans-governmental transactions. According to this theory, it is not only the formal ties between the governmental elites that are imperative for cooperation but also informal ties between the governmental elites as well as trans-national organizations that play an important role in maintaining mutual dependence.
- **Absence of hierarchy in issues:** According to the theory of complex interdependence, there is no hierarchy among issues. The dividing line between domestic and foreign policies is lost or becomes blurred when it comes to complex interdependence. In the political world of complex interdependence, the issues to be resolved are not arranged in a clear and consistent hierarchy and there are multiple issues that need to be resolved. One important thing about the world of complex interdependence is that military power and security is not the dominating issue to be resolved and any issue–area can take centrestage at any given time.
- **Minor role of military force:** The complex interdependence theory states that when it comes to resolving economic issues, military power or military force may not play a significant role. In fact, in such a case, the military power of a state may become insignificant and irrelevant. However, this does not imply that the military force of a state can be ignored or sidelined. It is important that states pay attention to the military power of the rival blocs.

The complex interdependence theory analyses five different political processes. The goals of the actors are paid much attention to understand the theory of complex interdependence. However, the theory does not order the goals of the actor in a

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specific order. The theory also states that the goals of the actors may be different and thus every actor may pursue different interests and use different means to achieve the goals.

Another important concept that the theory of complex interdependence takes into consideration is the role of the international organizations that specify the rules and patterns to regularize the cooperation between the states. The theory of complex interdependence also states that these rules and patterns may alter the distribution of power and also the interests of the actors. Another political issue that complex interdependence theory takes into consideration is the instruments of state policy. According to the theory of complex interdependence, the foremost instrument of state policy is not military power. There are several other instruments of state policy that need to be considered including economic power, technological knowledge distribution and even diplomatic resources. The theory of complex interdependence also takes into account agenda formation for different policies and issues. The theory also states that agenda formation for the different issues takes into account diverse factors. The various factors that influence agenda formations include national interest, international regimes and linkages from other issue areas. The theory of complex interdependence also states that there is a possibility of linkage of issue areas. This linkage becomes important to ensure a congruence of patterns across all the issue areas. In other words, the linkage enables the issues to be resolved easily.

2.3.3 Neo-Neo Debate

The neo-neo debate in international relations is an ongoing debate between the scholars of neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism. Neo-realism and neo-liberalism are the two main approaches used to study international relations in the modern world. The scholars of neo-realism and neo-liberalism follow different arguments and support different viewpoints but the neo-neo debate is not entirely based on two totally opposite concepts. Neo-realism and neo-liberalism are both based on the same assumptions and both focus on similar issues of international politics. There are similarities as well as disparities and arguments between the scholars of neo-realism and neo-liberalism. Neo-realism and neo-liberalism both agree that all states are rational egoists and have their self-interest in mind. In other words, the scholars of neo-realism and neo-liberalism view that states work for their self-interest and do not subordinate their self-interest for other states.

The fundamental idea underlying international relations is anarchy. Both neo-realism and neo-liberalism are of the view that the international system is anarchic. However, their ideals and arguments for anarchy and its affects are different which form the key element of the neo-neo debate. According to neo-realism, the absence of anarchy leads to lack of order in a state. On the other hand, the neo-liberals think that the lack of anarchy leads to a lack of cooperation at the international front. Anarchy has two meanings with respect to the neo-neo debate. One is lack of order and the other is lack of government. The neo-realists consider anarchy as a governing principle that causes the states to do what they do. According to neo-liberalists,

anarchy can be mitigated by the establishment of international regimes and institutions. Neo-realists state that anarchy fosters competition among states and inhibits their willingness to cooperate. The neo-liberals are of the view that anarchy does exist in the international field but is regulated and thus the states need to cooperate for their survival in such a setting.

Another key element of the neo-neo debate is the extent to which conflict and cooperation are acknowledged by the system. Neo-realists are of the view that conflict is a prevailing undercurrent in international relations. Neo-liberals are of the view that cooperation at the international level can be achieved by the establishment of international organizations and regimes. The neo-liberals are also of the view that conflicts at the international front can be peacefully resolved by the intervention of the international institutions. The neo-realists on the other hand underestimate the power and the role played by the international institutions. They consider that no rule exists that can drive such institutions to find a peaceful solution for any international conflict. In fact, the neo-realists are of the opinion that such regimes are formulated by the states and exist only till the states have power.

Another concept addressed by the neo-neo debate is that of the problem of absolute and relative gains. Neo-realism is of the view that all states must be concerned with the absolute and relative gains that are derived from international agreements and cooperation between the states at the international level. Neo-realists believe that relative gains are more important for a state and a state may even get into a conflict or a war with another state to achieve these gains. For neo-liberals, relative gains are not very important. The neo-liberals consider that the states can benefit from absolute gains if they cooperate with each other. Thus, the neo-liberals are of the view that in pursuing absolute gains international peace can be maintained and that conflicts may never arise at the international level. The neo-realists consider conflict as the only possible outcome when states strive to achieve relative benefits by cooperating with each other. The neo-realists thus are of the opinion that security and world peace become problems when relative gains are concerned.

The neo-realists pay more emphasis on power maximization and the fact that security and military force are of paramount importance for a state at the international front. The neo-liberals are on the other hand of the opinion that international institutions can play a major role in enabling states to cooperate at the international level and that the conflicts can be resolved by such institutions for world peace.

The neo-neo debate has also been criticized mainly because of the fact that it treats international relations as a science and thus the debate becomes ahistoric in nature. The neo-neo debate also takes the concept of anarchy for granted. It fails to explain the exact meaning of anarchy and its significance with respect to international relations. The neo-neo debate also receives criticism for the fact that cooperation and conflict are discussed from only one angle and leaves all the issues aside. All these shortcomings of the neo-neo debate make it exactly a debate and thus the debate cannot be considered as an advancement of the international relations theory.

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4. What do the neo-liberals argue?
5. State the main goal of the liberal institutionalists.
6. Name the political thinker who stated the emergence of historical institutionalism.
7. For what reason is the neo-neo debate criticized?

2.4 GAME THEORY

The game theory is another approach used in the study of international relations. It was initially influenced by mathematics and economics. It attempts to apply the different models of game to international politics, especially in highly competitive situations when outcomes of the actions are difficult to anticipate. This has led the scholars to create the game theory for a more scientific study of the calculation of probabilities in an uncertain situation. Hence, the game theory is a method of analysis which will select the best course of action.

The game theory has been developed mainly by the economist Oscar Morgenstern and the mathematician John von Neumann in their publication of *The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* and has been advocated by the influential theorists like Martin Shubik, Morton Kaplan, Thomas Schelling, D. Luce, H. Raiffa and Karl Deutsch. They were the first ones to recognize the importance of the game theory. Although it was in the field of economics that it has been used as a model of studying the economic behaviour, of late the game theory has also been applied in many other fields with suitable modifications.

Meaning of the Game Theory

The game theory postulates that by assigning individual participants roles to play in real or imaginative international crises, decision making can be simulated in such a way that it can take into account the wide range of variables in the international process, which is in search of solutions. It involves the application of the art of model building to international politics.

Assumptions of the Game Theory

The game theory assumes that the political process is the confrontation—like a chess game or contest—between two merchants or brokers or the manoeuvres of rival political candidates or the counter actions of opposed diplomats. In other words, the game theory is similar to those in the games and what the game offers.

That is why the game theory tries to determine the nature of the system of powers in the international politics. As the power relations are partly competitive and partly cooperative, they can be analysed as game among players.

The nations are like players of a game which are competing for the fulfillment of their respective national interests. Therefore, the theory seeks to:

- Isolate the variables
- Examine the modes of their interactions
- Infer relationships among the variables
- Construct hypothesis

The game theory as an approach seeks to perform two tasks, namely to formulate the principles which could specify what is rational behaviour in certain situations and to formulate on the basis of the principles the general characteristics of the behaviour.

2.4.1 Different Factors of the Game Theory

The game theory assumes five different factors in important concepts which are useful as a tool of analysis for studying international relations. These five factors are:

(i) Conflict

In international relations, the game theory postulates that the nations are in conflict with each other as each state tries to defeat the other. In other words, international politics is a game between opponents.

(ii) Rules of the game

The opponents in international relations observe certain rules or norms which condition their behaviour as in any other games. The rules are that the equation between the players is straight—the losses of one are the gains of another. These rules are governed by geographical, economic, sociological, biological and psychological factors.

(iii) Rational behaviour

The players are guided by rational behaviour and choose the best course of action that can bring them maximum gains. This can be determined by gaining information or intelligence about the enemy.

(iv) Strategy

The concept of strategy is the core concept in the game theory. It means a ‘skillful plan or the previously decided set of moves which is to be taken as and when the anticipated moves of the opponent require them’. Its aim is to play against anything which the opponent may do. The strategy can be pure or mixed depending upon the number of calculated strategic steps.

(v) Pay-off

The pay-off refers to what the game is worth at the end as the players are engaged in choosing alternatives for use in future situations, which is called the outcome. The full range of the possible outcome is called prospects. The pay-off refers to the gain or loss, which results due to the prospects. A win means a maximum pay-off, a draw or even game stands for the second best pay-off and a defeat is the third pay-off. The aim is to design the best strategies for maximum pay-off.

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2.4.2 Game Theory Models

The game theory models include several types of games and employ the game of a strategy and not a game of chance. The different types of games based on the game theory are as follows:

- Zero sum two person game
- Non-zero sum two person game
- Zero sum n person game
- Non-zero sum n person game

• Zero Sum Two Person Game

In a zero sum two person game, there are only two players with the result of the gain of one of the players leading to an equal loss of the other. The sum of the outcome for the two players is zero. In other words, this model is of pure opposition and is strictly competitive in nature. There is no need of communication, discussion or bargaining and no joint gain or saving.

• Non-Zero Sum Two Person Game

In this model, there are two or more players in the game, where the participants may share the division of the gains in some way and the gain of the one need not be equal to the loss of the other. Such a game requires that the pay-off is divisible and some principles of distribution is applied. The pay-off is shared and the interactions are multi-dimensional.

• Zero-Sum n Person Game

In zero sum n person game, the number of players is more than two. The pay-off is shared and the interactions are multi-dimensional. In this game, there is both conflict and cooperation between the players as the victory of one player need not be the defeat of other players.

• Non-Zero Sum n Person Game

In non-zero sum n person game, there are three or more players. The game situation develops large number of new features and it becomes possible for two or more players to cooperate against the others by pooling their resources and making collective decisions during the play. They may act on the basis of some coalition adjustments, which may reduce the number of adversaries. Sometimes, a member of the coalition may work out a deal in which other participants of the game make his chance of winning absolutely definite.

As Martin Shubik says: 'Coalition then becomes a game within a game in which the players exercise rule and apply resources in order to enforce agreements and keep less advantaged members from breaking away in response to higher bids from the adversary players.' This model has formed the basis through which theorists attempt to analyse international relations.

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Thus, the game theory is a model of rational behaviour which analyses conflict in terms of strategies. It has been used by a number of political scientists for analysing the various aspects of international relations, more particularly conflict and conflict resolution among states. If used as a descriptive model, it can provide a standard by which foreign policy actions can be judged as rational or irrational. According to Morton Kaplan, the game theory is the best tool available for the analysis of strategy. William H. Rikker has used the n zero sum model to study the game of negotiations.

2.4.3 Criticism of Game Theory

The game theory has its limitations as a comprehensive approach of international relations. It does not explain the irrational behaviour of state actors. The various objections raised against the theory includes the following:

- **It is impractical:** According to Martin Shubik, the game theory advocates that individual preferences are measurable. It is impractical to assume that they are fixed and the values among the different decision makers are comparable and ordered.

To assume that decision makers have similar objectives, norms and leadership characteristics are not practical in reality is wrong. It is also wrong to assume that the decision makers are perfectly rational and amoral in their decisions and have perfect information or intelligence available to them. But conscious rational decisions appear to be an exception rather than a rule.

- **It is limited:** The complexities of international relations makes the application of the game theory in describing and explaining the actual struggle or competition or conflict among nations. That is why Thomas Schelling also questioned the validity of the theory, as it has contributed very little in the understanding of international phenomena such as war, surprise attacks, atomic blackmail and massive retaliation.
- **It ignores the fact that politics is like a game and not a game:** Politics is like a game but not a game with fixed uniform and universal rules and regulation. There exists big diversities in the rules and regulations. The essence of international politics lies in the presence of conflict and mutual dependence which demands some kind of cooperation or accommodation between the contending parties, which may look like a game but is not a game in its true sense. For the end of a game either results into a gain or a loss, but in International politics pure conflict and pure coordination are the two extremes of a continuum. As Schelling believes that the range of alternatives is very large, bargaining has become necessary. He has given a model of 'mixed motive game' which in comparison is rich not only from the psychological but also sociological points of view as it covers a wide variety of situations. It also provides a more accurate description of real world situation than the 'zero-sum' model.
- **It is artificial and mechanical:** The game theory seeks to study only certain concrete or imagined issues such as the problem of international relations.

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Model building on social relations can proceed only in a limited way as no model can realistically represent an issue or problem. According to John Nash: 'Such games of pure opposition have extremely limited application in the real world.'

- **It has limited applicability:** The game theory has a limited applicability and at best it can be applied to certain problems of international relations such as war through that too only the concept of 'zero-sum game' can be applied. For international politics does not only relate to a situation of war and there are situations where both conflict and cooperation have been found. Besides the situations of war there are elements of cooperation and accommodation too. These bargaining situations are different from the 'zero sum games' as they do not give any emphasis on the concept of cooperation.

That is why the zero sum game is losing its importance since the conflicting parties do not want a condition of war. The balance of nuclear power and the devastating nature of wars have placed a premium on negotiations rather than confrontation.

- **It ignores the fact that international relations do not have an end like a game:** The game theory has an end unlike the international relations, as it does not have any end in particular. Karl Deutsch has rightly said no great power can pick up its marbles and go home.

In order to avoid the pitfalls the game theorists have introduced different models such as the Prisoner's Dilemma and the Chicken Game, but they too have their own limitations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

8. Name the scholars associated with the development of game theory.
9. What does the game theory postulate?
10. What happens in a non-zero sum n person game?

2.5 SUMMARY

- Liberalism is a theory of international relations that states that the state preferences play an imperative role in defining the behaviour of the nations when it comes to maintaining international relations.
- Liberalism is the theory which has strongly challenged the realist theory of international politics and provided an alternative school of thought. Most of the principle ethics of liberalism are just contrary to the beliefs of realists.
- In the previous few decades, liberalism has greatly influenced the government policies and public policies of the international organizations and norms of various international agencies.

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- As the era of the Cold War was known as an era of realism, the post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism.
- The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations.
- The first and foremost principle on which the liberal ideology is based on is the idea of individual rights. Liberals argue that human beings are born with certain rights which are natural.
- The known political philosopher of the eighteenth century Emmanuel Kant propounded the idea of ‘perpetual peace’ in international relations. Kant argued that a peaceful world cannot be established unless certain globally accepted ideas are accepted.
- The notion of state preferences means the rank ordering among potential substantive outcomes or ‘states of the world’ that might result from international political interaction.
- Peacebuilding in conflict-prone and post-conflict countries—aimed at preventing the resumption or escalation of violent conflict and establishing a durable and self-sustaining peace—has generated debates and controversies of great significance to scholarship and policy.
- The theoretical underpinning of liberal peacebuilding is the liberal peace: the idea that certain kinds of (liberally constituted) societies will tend to be more peaceful, both in their domestic affairs and in their international relations, than illiberal states are. The international variant of this theory is the ‘democratic peace’.
- The concept of liberal peacebuilding and the manner in which it is promoted in fragile and divided societies are problematic. The tenets of liberal peacebuilding—liberal democracy, liberal human rights, market values, the integration of societies into globalization and the centralized secular state—are not necessarily universal (or universally applicable) values.
- Neo-liberal institutionalism focuses on the role of global institutions. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation.
- The notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations has emerged after realization of the fact that for international cooperation too, certain platforms are required. This led to the debate on the nature, role and functions of such organizations.
- What started as the study of international organizations and regional integration underwent a dramatic change in the early 1980s to become what came to be known as the regime theory; and was subsequently rechristened as neo-liberal institutionalism.

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- International institutions vary from each other in various ways. They vary in their membership and size. Some are universal and encompass almost all states in the international system.
- Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change.
- Interdependence is a term which is widely and frequently used in this modern globalized world. Interdependence is a situation in the world politics in which all the players of a state are dependent upon each other.
- The complex interdependence theory states that with the increasing and growing ties among states at the international level, there are complex ways in which the states become mutually dependent upon each other.
- According to the theory of complex interdependence, there is no hierarchy among issues. The dividing line between domestic and foreign policies is lost or becomes blurred when it comes to complex interdependence.
- The neo-neo debate in international relations is a debate between the scholars of neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism.
- According to neo-realism, the absence of anarchy leads to lack of order in a state. On the other hand, the neo-liberals think that the lack of anarchy leads to a lack of cooperation at the international front.
- The neo-neo debate has also been criticized mainly because of the fact that it treats international relations as a science and thus the debate becomes ahistoric in nature.
- The game theory is another approach used in the study of international relations. It was initially influenced by mathematics and economics. It attempts to apply the different models of game to international politics, especially in highly competitive situations when outcomes of the actions are difficult to anticipate.
- The game theory has been developed mainly by the economist Oscar Morgenstern and the mathematician John von Neumann in their publication of *The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* and has been advocated by the influential theorists like Martin Shubik, Morton Kaplan, Thomas Schelling, D. Luce, H. Raiffa and Karl Deutsch.
- In a zero sum two person game, there are only two players with the result of the gain of one of the players leading to an equal loss of the other. The sum of the outcome for the two players is zero.
- In non-zero sum n person game, there are three or more players. The game situation develops large number of new features and it becomes possible for two or more players to cooperate against the others by pooling their resources and making collective decisions during the play.

- The game theory has its limitations as a comprehensive approach of international relations. It does not explain the irrational behaviour of state actors.
- The game theory has an end unlike the international relations, as it does not have any end in particular. Karl Deutsch has rightly said no great power can pick up its marbles and go home.
- In order to avoid the pitfalls, the game theorists have introduced different models such as the Prisoner's Dilemma and the Chicken Game, but they too have their own limitations.

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2.6 KEY TERMS

- **Notion of state preferences:** It means the rank ordering among potential substantive outcomes or 'states of the world' that might result from international political interaction.
- **Dependence:** It means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces.
- **Interdependence:** In world politics, it refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries.

2.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. As the era of the Cold War was known as an era of realism, the post-Cold War era is considered to be the age of liberalism.
2. The roots of liberal tradition can be traced back to the writings of John Locke in the late 17th century. Locke favoured a peaceful relationship amongst the nations as a necessity in order to develop trade and other economic relations.
3. The theoretical underpinning of liberal peacebuilding is the liberal peace: the idea that certain kinds of (liberally constituted) societies will tend to be more peaceful, both in their domestic affairs and in their international relations, than illiberal states are.
4. Neo-liberals argue that although anarchy prevails in international relations and prevents the states from cooperating with each other, yet the states make an attempt to achieve peace and cooperation.
5. The establishment of peace was the main goal of the liberal institutionalists.
6. Holsti, a political thinker, in *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics* stated that along with the development of new institutionalism in the social sciences, there has been the emergence of historical institutionalism, emphasizing the ways in which institutions change.
7. The neo-neo debate has also been criticized mainly because of the fact that it treats international relations as a science and thus the debate becomes ahistoric in nature.

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8. The game theory has been developed mainly by the economist Oscar Morgenstern and the mathematician John von Neumann in their publication of *The Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* and has been advocated by the influential theorists like Martin Shubik, Morton Kaplan, Thomas Schelling, D. Luce, H. Raiffa and Karl Deutsch.
9. The game theory postulates that by assigning individual participants roles to play in real or imaginative international crises, decision making can be simulated in such a way that it can take into account the wide range of variables in the international process, which is in search of solutions.
10. In non-zero sum n person game, there are three or more players. The game situation develops large number of new features and it becomes possible for two or more players to cooperate against the others by pooling their resources and making collective decisions during the play.

2.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is liberalism? What are its variants?
2. What is the idea of perpetual peace?
3. What does the state represent according to the neo-liberal theory?
4. How are neo-liberals different from neo-realists?
5. When did the notion of institutionalism in the theory of international relations emerge?
6. Write a note on historical institutionalism.
7. Define complex interdependence as given by Hugo Genest.
8. What are the key elements of the neo-neo debate?
9. What is the game theory? How does it help in understanding international relations?
10. Describe briefly the various game theory models.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the differences between the realist theory and liberalist theory of international politics.
2. Describe the democratic peace theory of liberalism.
3. Explain the theory of liberalism with respect to the international relations
4. Identify and discuss the various variants of liberalism.
5. Discuss the notion of institutionalism in neo-liberalism.
6. Describe the complex interdependence theory.
7. What are the foci of the neo-neo debate?
8. Critically analyse the game theory in international relations.

2.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 3 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES-III

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Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 Behavioural Approaches
 - 3.2.1 Systems Approach
 - 3.2.2 Communications Theory
 - 3.2.3 Decision-Making Theory
- 3.3 Marxist Theories
 - 3.3.1 Dependency Theory
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3.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit deals with three significant theories to study international relations: behavioural approaches, Marxist theories and constructivism.

Behaviouralism refers to an approach in international relations which seeks to provide an objective and quantified description to explain and predict international political behaviour. Behavioural approaches have been regarded as the turning point in the history of political science, particularly international relations. Behaviouralists questioned the methodologies that were used to describe international relations, particularly by the American scholars in the second half of the 20th century. In the first half of the 20th century, international relations were more of a subject than a discipline, where the non-academic commentators had contributed as much as academicians.

The key element of the behavioural approaches, which also forms the basic unit of analysis, is the individual person. It analyses politics from the aspect of the people and their political behaviour at different levels of analysis. Thus, the focus of the study of the political behaviour is the role of the people in different social structures.

The Marxist theory of international relations is a political and social theory that argues that social change can be brought about by the struggle of the economic class. The dependency theory first emerged in the 1950s when many researchers found that the wealth of poor nations tended to decrease when the wealth of rich nations increased. According to the dependency theory, the reason for this was that the lack of economic growth in several developing countries was due to the treatment

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they received during colonization and their course of development. The model of international relations developed by dependency theorists was called the metropolis–satellite model. According to this model, to remain wealthy, the rich nations of the world (metropolis) need a satellite group of poorer states. Dependency theorists believe that underdevelopment of the Third World nations is the result of the development of the capitalist world.

The world systems theory (also referred to as world systems analysis) evolved out of the dependency school. This theory stresses that the world system should be the primary (but not exclusive) unit of social analysis. It divides the world into three types of countries—core countries, semi-periphery countries and the periphery countries. Core countries are characterized by higher skill and capital-intensive production, while the other two categories of countries are characterized by low-skill, extraction of raw materials and labour-intensive production. However, the system, the world systems theorists' claim, is dynamic, i.e., individual states can gain or lose the core, semi-periphery and periphery status over time. Immanuel Wallerstein developed the most well-known version of the world-systems theory in the 1970s and 1980s. He traced the evolution of the world system from the 15th century, when European feudal economy suffered a crisis and was transformed into a capitalist one.

According to constructivism, it is ideas that define and transform the organization of world politics as they shape the identities of the people; which in turn define the identities and interests of the state. They thereby determine the legitimate action of how the international structure of politics is formed.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the behavioural approaches to international relations such as systems theory, communication theory and decision-making theory
- Evaluate the Marxist approaches to international relations such as dependency and world system theory
- Assess the critical theory in international relations
- Describe constructivism as an approach to study international relations

3.2 BEHAVIOURAL APPROACHES

In the 1960s and 70s, scholars began arguing that politics cannot be studied factually without reference to values. Behavioural approach is informed by socio anthropological and psychological perspectives. It focuses on understanding the reasons behind the action behaviour of states and other international actors.

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Behaviourists tend to mix science with quantitative techniques, while remaining, substantially and methodologically, within the framework of the traditional paradigm, especially by following the inductive reasoning typical of the old paradigm and leading to purely descriptive generalizations. Behaviourist approach insists on interdependence and is ahistorical to a large extent.

Behaviouralists want international relations to follow the process of scientific analysis as they believe that international relations as a social science is not fundamentally different from the natural science. That is why they seek to adopt the same analytical method (including the quantitative methods) in studying international relations. They also favour interdisciplinary studies among the social sciences. This has led to the belief that international relations are also amenable to scientific research. Behaviouralists ask the most fundamental question of how to look at politics in order to study it scientifically. The answer that they have found is to focus on human behaviour as it involves politics and government by investigating the acts, attitudes, preferences and expectations of people in their political context.

3.2.1 Systems Approach

The systems approach is a product of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences. The revolution reflected the quest among the social scientists to arrive at a general body of meaningful knowledge through scientific analysis and interdisciplinary approach, i.e., bringing together relevant concepts from various disciplines of social sciences. It was observed that compartmentalization of phenomena within orthodox disciplines prevented their meaningful integration into coherent knowledge. Therefore, behaviourists emphasized the meaningful integration of knowledge acquired from various disciplines through a scientific method.

This in turn demanded devising new concepts which could perform the much desired function of meaningful integration and generating reliable knowledge. One of the main concepts developed in this regard is the 'system'. However, there is no unanimous definition of the system and it has been defined differently by various scholars and also the approach has been applied to various disciplines. The basic assumption in most cases has been that certain features of relationships are common to systems of all kinds.

The systems approach was first applied to international politics by Morton A. Kaplan as a tool for investigating the reality in international relations in his work *System and Process*. He sought to explain how the forces of international system affect the behaviour of states. The approach takes the international system as a unit of analysis. Depending upon the distribution of power, he said that normative systems would come into being that would orient nations' leadership groups to the reality of that power distribution. For example, when power is distributed among three to five dominant actors, a 'balance of power' system would emerge, e.g., fight rather than forgo an opportunity to increase your power, but negotiate rather than fight, and cease fighting if an essential actor is threatened. Other systems that Kaplan describes

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are: unit veto system, loose bipolar system, tight bipolar system, multi-polar system, hierarchical and universal systems.

In Kaplan's work, a system is defined as a collection of elements related by some pattern of behaviour and actions. Therefore, the approach aims to comprehend international relations as a set of observable patterns between the actors which constitute the elements of the international system. As Kaplan defines, 'A system of action is a set of variables so related, in contradistinction to its environment, that describable behavioural regularities characterize the internal relationships of the variables to each other and the external relationships of the set of individual variables to combinations of external variables.' This is to say that a system having certain regularities in its behaviour that form its internal dynamics, operates in an environment which is distinct from the system.

According to Kaplan, it is not possible to predict individual action in international politics because the interaction among multiplicity of components gives rise to complicated problem making generalized explanations impossible. However, a macro-structural theory of international politics is possible. Such an approach uses the concept of system and seeks to explain behaviour of international systems on the basis of their different alignment patterns.

Equilibrium

Use of this concept makes it possible to describe the state of the system, and to delineate the requirements for its continued existence. Processes contributing to these requirements are functional. The system is by definition in equilibrium. Differences in types of equilibrium help to provide an understanding of differences in different types of systems. He explains two types of equilibriums: locally stable equilibrium and generally stable equilibrium. The former is stable only in favourable environments while the latter can withstand a larger range of environmental disturbances. The regularities observable in its operation provide the limits of the equilibrium. A disturbance in the equilibrium is a sign of the disbanding of the system; in case the previous elements which were the characteristic factors of the system are no longer present, the system cannot be distinguished from its environment.

Kaplan comes up with six major models of international system which are macro-models of the international politics. These are based on five sets of variables. These variables are: the essential rules of the system which state the behaviour necessary to maintain equilibrium in the system, and the transformation rules which state the changes that occur as inputs across the boundary of the system. These changes move the system toward either instability or stability of a new system.

The six models of international system that Kaplan describes are: The balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal actor system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system. Only the first two of these models had actually existed in the history of international relations. The rest are only hypothetical models.

(a) Balance of Power System

The balance of power model roughly corresponds to the 18th and 19th century state system of the West. The basic characteristics of this model as delineated by Kaplan are:

- The nation-states are the only actors in this system (it gives no role to organizational bodies like the League of Nations or Danube Authority).
- The objective that they pursue is optimization of their security for surviving as major nations, and do not strive for hegemony.
- Non-nuclear weaponry exists in the system.
- There should be at least five major actors in the system necessary for equilibrium to prevail.
- Each state is likely to require allies to attain its objective.

The above-mentioned characteristics lead to the following essential rules of the system:

- Actors/states act to increase their capabilities but through negotiations rather than war.
- The actors are responsible to ensure their security even at the risk of war, if necessary; fighting should be stopped rather than eliminating an essential actor.
- Any coalition or a single actor that seeks to obtain a position of predominance should be opposed, national actors should constrain those who seek to subscribe to supranational principles, and; defeated or constrained national actors should be allowed re-entry into the system and all essential actors should be acceptable as role partners.

The balance of power system existed in the 18th and the 19th centuries when it enjoyed the status of having universal applicability. The conditions which can make such a system unstable can be: an actor which does not follow the rules necessary for the stability of the system, an actor who formulates rules at the national level so as to favour the setting up of a supranational organization or aims at supranational hegemony, and failure in the decision-making systems of the national actors. An unstable balance of power system is bound to transform into a different system having a different set of rules altogether. The emergence of totalitarian actors or a world war might lead to such a transformation.

According to Kaplan, the balance of power system is most likely to transform into a loose bipolar system.

(b) Loose Bipolar System

This model contains two blocs, each led by a leading bloc actor. In addition to bloc members, there are nations that are not attached to the blocs as well as universal organizations such as the United Nations. The system has nuclear weaponry which is an essential element of the system. The existence of nuclear weaponry serves as a deterrent to prevent any one bloc from overwhelming the other in the system.

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The essential rules of the system can be listed as follows:

- The blocs strive to increase their relative capabilities.
- The blocs are willing to take some amount of risk to eliminate the rival bloc.
- The blocs tend to take action to prevent the rival blocs from attaining predominance and for this they can engage in a major war.
- The blocs try to subordinate the objectives of the rival bloc to that of the universal actor and that of the universal actor to their own.
- Non-bloc actors tend to support the universal actor as against the bloc rivalry.
- The non-bloc actors also try to mitigate the dangers of war between the rival blocs and try to remain neutral except where issues of serious concern to them or the objectives of the universal actor are involved.
- Blocs are tolerant to the status of non-bloc actors nevertheless they try to expand their membership and include the latter within their sphere of influence.

The existence of non-bloc actors and the supranational actors distinguishes this system from the balance of power system. The supranational actor/universal organization serves as a major support to the interests of non-bloc actors. This system corresponds to the Cold War period wherein the US and the Soviet bloc competed for dominance in the international system. The main political military actors were the NATO and the Warsaw Pact, with the USA and the USSR as their respective leaders. There were non-aligned countries, the geographical territories of which became an arena of competition and conflict for the two blocs. The United Nations was the universal actor whose functioning was most of the times paralyzed by the conflict between the power blocs. However, the existence of non-aligned countries and the United Nations made the power of the two blocs loose.

The tendency in this system towards wars is unlimited. Therefore, it has a considerable degree of inherent instability. The activities of the non-bloc actors or the universal actors are rarely of decisive importance. The loose bipolar system can be transformed into a tight bipolar system, into a hierarchical international system, into a universal international system, or into a unit veto system.

(c) Tight Bipolar System

According to Kaplan, the tight bipolar system is one in which the non-bloc actors disappear and the two blocs are the main decisive actors in the system. For the system to remain stable, the two blocs should be hierarchically organized otherwise the system can again develop the characteristics of a loose bipolar system. The universal actor is either eliminated or loses its role, as it fails to mediate between the two blocs, and there is an absence of the function of supporting the interests of the non-bloc actors because of their disappearance.

(d) Universal International System

This system, according to Kaplan, could develop as a consequence of the extension of functions of the essential actors in the loose bipolar system. In such a system, the

universal actor/supranational organization like the United Nations expand its functions to try to prevent conflict or war among the national actors. Such a role on the part of the supranational organization is really effective in this system. The national actors become members of such a supranational organization yet maintaining their individuality and trying to keep maximum powers with themselves. However, they try to attain their goals in conformity with the international system, that is to say, in comparison to international problems, national problems get a secondary position. For the settlement of international problems, the national actors resort to peaceful ways and methods, such as negotiations and other dispute settlement mechanisms based on discussions. However, there is considerable instability during the period where such a system actually comes into concrete existence.

(e) Hierarchical International System

The fifth model of Kaplan's international system is the hierarchical international system. Under this system, one actor subsumes within its fold practically all the national actors. It means that it practically brings the whole world under its influence. This hierarchical international system can be either directive or non-directive.

A directive system is one which comes into existence through world conquest by a national actor system, for example, the Nazi system. On the other hand, it is non-directive when it is based on democratic principles. In a directive system, there is a probability of great tension whereas in the non-directive system, one has lesser tension.

(f) Unit Veto System

The sixth and the last system in Kaplan's scheme of international systems is the unit veto system. Under this system, the existence of powerful destructive weapons is sufficient enough for a national actor to destroy the enemy actor before getting destroyed itself. Kaplan presents a Hobbesian environment in this system where the interests of all actors are opposed to each other. It is also presumed that the actors are capable of destroying each other. In this system, all actors are at par with each other with the general acceptance of the principle of sovereign equality. The universal actor cannot exist in such a system. Since every actor is powerful enough to destroy the other, it, as a result, acts as a veto against the activities of the others. The required condition for such a system to exist is the possession of lethal weapons by all actors.

The unit veto system can develop from any other international system and can remain stable only when all the actors are ready to resist threats and retaliate in case of an attack failing which the system can undergo profound transformation.

However, Kaplan revisited his six-model scheme of international system of 1959 owing to the changing situation and added four new categories of international systems, which are: very loose bipolar system, the détente system, the unstable bloc system and the incomplete nuclear diffusion system.

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Apart from Kaplan, many others like Charles McClelland, Stanley Hoffman, Kenneth Boulding and Harold Guetzkow have also emphasized the significance of the systems approach. Kaplan is more associated with this theory because he has made a comprehensive attempt at a rigorous, systematic and highly abstract thinking on the subject.

Criticism

Kaplan's theory has been criticized on several grounds. It suffers from serious drawbacks of fact as well as logic. Kaplan's six models are based on two criteria:

- (i) Description of the actual and the possible, the balance of power system and the loose bipolar system match this criterion
- (ii) Criterion of progression, i.e., there is a tendency in them to pass from the first to the rest

The last four models subscribe to this criterion. They reflect Kaplan's attempt to study the possible international systems of the future and consequently to evolve a general theory of international systems.

Kaplan's prediction of a loose bipolar system transforming into a tight bipolar system when the non-bloc members align themselves to either blocs proved to be fallacious and untrue. The non-aligned countries, instead of joining either bloc, struggled hard to maintain their sovereignty, integrity and independence. The important role of these actors in the international system was even recognized by power blocs. In fact, the role of United Nations also did not completely recede into insignificance and on many issues, its role was rather appreciated. Thus, Kaplan's predictions proved to be far from reality.

Kaplan envisaged that the universal actor system will transform into the hierarchical international system in which only one nation will be left as the universal actor. Such a transformation is possible only on the revival of imperialism and colonialism and to entertain the possibility of such a revival would mean misunderstanding the entire process of international politics.

Perhaps it is the unit veto system that makes greater sense in so far as the soundness of Kaplan's systems theory of the future is concerned. The transformation of the unit veto system, which will come into existence when all or nearly all nations are able to acquire nuclear weapons, has clearly been inspired by the totally destructive character of these weapons. In this system, every nation will have at least the deterrent capacity and, therefore, the potentiality to destroy any other. In view of the prevailing drive towards the expansion of the nuclear club, the emergence of such an international system cannot be ruled out.

Besides, any theory of behaviour of states must include the dynamics of value formation. Kaplan does not discuss either the dynamics or the forces which determine the scale of nations' behaviour. The study of international politics in terms of international system, whether partial or total, is the study of state behaviour as

groups. Therefore, no study of an international system can be fruitful unless it takes into account the factors which lead states to behave collectively and the process in which such a collective behaviour crystallizes. There is a need to find out the motivational factors behind the identity of outlook between them. This is where Kaplan's analysis falls short.

His main concern seems to be with developing a taxonomy of the various types of national actors (nations) and also a taxonomy of patterns of choices within the decision-making process of nations. Kaplan devoted attention to the concept of national interest and also intended to resolve the debate between the idealist and realist schools of international politics by pointing out the complexity of the concept of national interest, which according to him, cannot be separated from the concept of national values. But how national interests or national values are formed and how they affect the collective behaviour of states has been ignored.

3.2.2 Communications Theory

Communication has existed throughout the history of human civilization. However, serious attempts to study communication as a science began only in the 20th century as a consequence of advancement in information and communication technology. When First World War ended, the interest in studying communication intensified and by the end of the Second World War it was fully recognized by various disciplines of social sciences. The communication approach focusses on communication as central to the human experience, which involves understanding as to how people behave in creating, exchanging, and interpreting messages. In social sciences, this approach is more often used in psychology, sociology and anthropology.

The communication approach, relatively the latest approach in the scientific analysis of international relations, is related with cybernetics—the science of control and the communication system. This approach believes that if politics is a system, the control of the system depends on communications and the ability of the state is related with its ability to deal with the information. Proponents of the communication approach argue that this theory is of great importance in undertaking a political system because 'no operation of a political system can take place unless parts of the 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 policies.'

Norbert Weiner was the first scholar to use the communication approach to study international relations in the 1940s. He observed that major wartime advances in electronic communication such as, Sonar, Radar and Radar-controlled anti-aircraft weapons, involved transfer of information. He identified that these communication processes in machines were similar to the human, social and institutional processes. In other words, Weiner believed that basic similarities existed among electronic signals, human nerve cells and governmental functions. They are all goal-oriented systems which share and transmit information.

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Later, Karl Deutsch followed Weiner's logic and brought the concept of cybernetics to study international relations. Deutsch, a pioneer of the communication theory in international relations, pointed out that cybernetics was important to politics because it provided an alternative to power, which, according to him, was 'steering'. Modern politics, domestic or international, is not rooted in power as the realist suggests but in 'steering', believes Deutsch. A government's primary function, according to Deutsch, is to steer the nation and not to engage in power, which may be dangerous for the country. John Burton, a leading scholar of international relations applied this theory in his decision-making approach.

The theories propounded by Karl W. Deutsch, a Czechoslovakian, are considered to be most dominant in the communication theory of international relations. His doctoral dissertation on 'Nationalism and Social Communication', submitted to the Harvard University in 1950s was his earliest work on the communication theory. He further advanced his theory and came up with several publications explaining and continuously refining it. Some of the important publications of Deutsch in this regard include, *Arms Control and the Atlantic Alliance: Europe Faces Coming Policy Decisions*, *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control*, *The Analysis of International Relations*, *Nationalism and its Alternatives*, *Politics and Government: How People Decide their Fate and Tides among Nations*, etc. However, Deutsch attained popularity as a pioneering scholar of communication theory from his book *The Nerves of Government*, first published in 1963.

One of the major arguments by Deutsch is that cybernetics, as the study of communication and control, offers a general perspective on all kind of politics. Thus, communications remain at the centre of politics, and forms the 'nerves of government'. A close scrutiny of communications may help us to know how messages flow among decision-makers, and how such messages contribute towards making decisions. Deutsch observes that cybernetics is applicable to any system that possesses adequate organization, communication and control. Since the international political system fulfils these criteria, cybernetics could be a useful tool to analyse the dynamics of international politics. Transmission of messages whether through electronic machines, human interactions or nerve cells, are always significant to any system—electronic, biological or social. Communication flow is also very important in international politics, and a proper study of these communications may bring out the core of international politics.

The main features of the communication theory, as proponents of the theory argues, are discussed as follows:

- (a) The communication analysis seeks to show the political aspects of international communication and the degree to which these flows of communication determine political behaviour.
- (b) From the view point of communication, mass populations are the channels of communication. Propaganda as an instrument constitutes a new form

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of psychological control through which the government of one country tries to influence its own citizens and, policy makers as well as the general public of other countries. Therefore, the cause of war can be explained as the failure of communication and prevention of future war would depend on words. Communication can be considered complementary to the traditional channel of diplomacy.

- (c) The influence of communication and its probable results cannot be studied in isolation. There are diverse influences and their interactions tend to produce complex results. For the purpose of analysis of international behaviour, certain concepts of psychology and social psychology have been taken and the other international empirical method has been given up. In other words, a new behavioural approach has been adopted. This approach according to Dahl is 'an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means of methods, theories and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to canons, conventions and assumptions of the modern empirical science.'
- (d) The communication approach tries to explain world politics by isolating particular variables and establishes a different set of cause-effect relationships. According to Weiner, 'society can only be understood through a study of the messages and communication facilities which belong to it'.

Mechanism of Communication Theory

The term '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 commonly used channels of communication like press, radio, television, Internet, etc., though, they may form a part of the mechanism of the international relations. Instead, this approach seeks scrutiny of 'flow of communication' in the decision-making process.

Communication theory envisages certain concepts pertaining to operating structures viz. flow, processes and outcomes. As regards the operating structure, every system has a '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. In other words, an essential feature of the communication theory is the flow of information. Proponents of this theory believe that the successes and failures of actors (states) in the international system largely depend on flow of information and vice versa. To assess smoothness or hardships in these processes, scholars have identified several mechanisms through which the flow of communication takes place. They have also coined various terms to describe it, viz. information, entropy, load, lag, distortion, gain, lead and feedback. In order to understand this mechanism it would be desirable to describe those terms.

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- **Information:** Information is the backbone of any system. In simple words, information means knowledge. Therefore, in the case of an international system, information refers to the knowledge of events, their causes and consequences. Information is generally transmitted through various channels of communication and can be reproduced, stored, quantified and measured.
- **Entropy:** Entropy refers to the tendency of a closed system to decay. Wiener argues that every organized thing, whether a living being or a machine, is prone to decay. A closed political system is, therefore, prone to entropy and requires a strong flow of communications.
- **Load:** The perception of load refers to the gap between the goals of the international system and the information about its changing environment. Frequent changes in the environment may put stress on the international system which results in load. Ability of the system depends on smoothly bearing such loads. An efficient system can easily manage such loads but an inefficient system finds it difficult to handle them.
- **Lag:** The notion of load is associated with the flow of information. It is the time taken by the decision-makers to respond to the information about load. An efficient political system must respond to the information about load quickly to avoid lag. Simply, efficiency of a system is measured with lower degree of lag. In other words, lower the lag, the more efficient the system is and vice versa.
- **Distortion:** Distortion is related to the accuracy with which information is transmitted in various processes. A system that is not capable of getting information with complete accuracy would be in trouble. Therefore, to avoid distortion of information, a state must have its own reliable channels of information.
- **Gain:** The notion of gain is linked with the reaction of a system to load, and the amount of changes the system makes due to load. If the change is substantial, the gain is more and vice versa. The idea of gain helps to measure the speed and extent of the decision maker's reaction to load. For instance, if political or military measures are taken quickly in response to a sudden attack, it may amount to gain.
- **Lead:** The idea of lead refers to the ability of an organization to assess elements of future stress, anticipate incoming loads, and make necessary adjustments in advance. It provides information about future crises. A system that is more capable of making such predictions is more efficient than one which cannot secure 'lead'.
- **Feedback:** Feedback is one of the most important elements in the study of international relations pertaining to the communication approach. It may help to improve the responses to loads or crises. The quality of feedback that the decision makers receive about their responses may bring out the effectiveness of the system.

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The proponents of the communication theory believe that the causes and consequences of events in international relations can best be described by the study of 'flow of information' with the mechanism developed by them. In fact they claim to have a communication model as an alternative to the traditional power based model of international politics. As John Burton points out that, by focusing on the decision-making processes in the perspective of communication flow, this theory replaced the static concept of 'balance of power' and the traditional notion of politics as a struggle for power. The idea of politics based on power proves the inability of the political system to make adjustments and changes according to the needs of time. Communication theory, according to Burton also helps in policy planning and policy analysis.

Criticisms

The communication theory opens up a new dimension in the study of international relations by focussing on the flow of information. There is no doubt that 'flow of information' is a critical area to study the causes and consequences of the various events. However, we cannot explain all happenings of the world politics with this model. This would be because of the complexity of the system, as international politics consists of more than 200 entities as a state with numerous non-state actors.

Davis Bobrow, for instance, argues that not all issues in international relations could fit into the cybernetics model as proposed by the scholars of the communication theory. It would be cumbersome to examine all events and issue international relations in terms of the mechanism of cybernetics such as load, lag, lead, entropy and so on. Moreover, steering does not cover every aspect of government activities and sometimes the notion of 'power' helps to analyse a state's function, especially when the state is dealing with national interests or security. Despite such shortcomings, we must accept that this theory takes international politics away from the traditional approaches of international relations and offers a new dimension of analysis, especially by developing analytical tools with the use of quantitative data which may help us to study the discipline in more scientific manner.

3.2.3 Decision-Making Theory

The decision-making approach belongs to a subfield of international relations which is known as foreign policy analysis (FPA) and balance of power system referred to as foreign policy decision-making (FPDM). Focusing on human decisional behaviour, it is one of the most ambitious subfields of international relations. It draws from many other social science disciplines like political science (power), sociology (bureaucracy and authority), public administration (planning, implementation, and agency), and psychology (motives, personality types, group dynamics, perception and cognition). This subfield is formed by the works of European experts like Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. However, it has been given much rigour by the Americans who pressed for the need for the scientific study of decision-making and policy implementation. Particularly after Second World War, rational

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decision-making and control of foreign policy behaviour increasingly came to be viewed as essential to national security in the United States. Thus, this subfield gained footing and enthusiastic government sponsorship and development in the field of communication and automated information processing led to the development of many approaches to foreign policy analysis which also sought to bring together the academia and the policy-making communities. The decision-making approach is one of these approaches.

The first major attempt in developing the decision-making approach was made by Richard Snyder and his colleagues H. W. Bruck and Burton Sapin. They selected the decision-making approach for the study of processes of policy formulation, i.e., the manner in which policies are made. How and why national actors behave the way they do in international relations was the main question addressed by Snyder and others. In their attempt they borrowed abstract concepts from sociologists like Talcott Parsons, Edward Shills, and Martin Levy. The objective of Snyder was to evolve a conceptual framework which identified categories on which data for studying foreign policy decisions could be made.

The decision-making approach has two fundamental purposes. One is the identification of 'crucial structures' in the political realm where changes take place, where decisions are made and where actions are initiated and carried out, while the other is a systematic analysis of the decision-making behaviour which leads to action. Thus, the decision-making approach focuses on the inquiry on actors who are called decision-makers and on the state which is defined as the decision unit.

This approach emphasizes that the behaviour of decision-makers should be described and explained in terms of action analysis which means that decision-makers should be treated as 'actors in a situation'. It also focuses on the importance of the perception of the situation by the actors as a basis of decision-making. It also suggests that decision-makers are influenced in the first instance by their own definition of the situation.

The objective is also to develop a framework that could help in the reconstruction of the situation as defined by the decision-makers. Thus, the facts and the data for our study should be selected on the basis of what explains the behaviour of decision-makers. The approach proceeds with the assumptions that the key to the policymaker's action lies in the way in which decision-makers as actors define their situation and that their image of the situation is built around the projected action as well as the reasons for the action.

In other words, the setting in which foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision-maker. The setting is conceived as consisting of internal and external parts. The elements that form the internal setting include the personalities, roles, organizations in the decisional unit, the governmental structures within which the decision-makers function, the physical and technological conditions,

the basic values and goals, and the various types of influences operating in the society. The external setting on the other hand includes all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system existing at a given time.

What is Decision-Making?

Decision-making means making a conscious choice of a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences. In international relations, decisions are made in foreign policy formulations, to address the socio-economic and defence related requirements of the states. However, decision-making is different from 'policy-making' and 'problem solving' in the sense that it refers to choices that require conscious action and are subject to policy-making where a multiplicity of intersecting decisions exist. On the other hand, policy-making refers to the sum total of decisions taken by the decision-makers in any set-up. Problem solving is a response, involving a choice among alternatives, to an emergent problem whereas decision-making involves a search for both problems and alternatives.

The decision-making approach emphasizes the significance of human decision-makers in international relations, i.e., those involved in the formulation of foreign policy. According to this approach, explanatory variables from the micro to the macro level, are important only to the extent they impact the decision-making process. Therefore, it engages itself with all three of Kenneth Waltz's levels of analysis, i.e., the individual, the state and the international system. It establishes the importance of the concept of decision as having universal applicability. It rests on the assumptions of rationality, control and predictability. The field of study comprises of issues such as investigating the role of personality variables, organizational process, bureaucratic politics, domestic politics, and group dynamics that shape or influence the foreign policy decision-making. This approach was propounded by Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck and Burton Sapin in 1954, in their work *Foreign Policy Decision-Making: An Approach to the Study of International Politics*. This was the first systematic attempt to conceptualize the role of decision-making in foreign policy formulation and the processes of international politics. They put forward a convincing argument for shifting the focus of international relations from the nation state to the persons who are engaged in the activity of making actual decisions for the state. Snyder, Bruck and Sapin borrowed concepts from sociologists like Talcott, Parsons and Edward Shils. They aimed to devise a conceptual scheme to guide scientific research on foreign policy decision-making based on several variables.

This approach rests on the following assumptions:

- There should be focus on the 'decisional unit', which is pursuing a specific objective.
- Decision-making is a planned action of the decision-makers who 'selectively perceive and evaluate' both internal and external settings.
- Factors like uncertainty, time constraints, and competing objectives and motives act as limitations on decision-making.

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Later contributors to the theory include Anthony Downs, William Riker, James Robinson and Herbert Simon whose works enriched the approach in the late 1950s and 1960s.

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Major Premises of the Approach

International politics is mainly concerned with actions-reactions-interactions among political entities called national states. This chain implies that understanding international politics requires analysis of the process. This process is planned and not random, and is aimed at achieving certain objectives. Since action is planned keeping certain goals in mind, reactions which are responses to actions, take similar forms. This makes interactions follow a certain pattern: ‘recognizable repetitions of actions and reactions’.

For the decision-making theory, the level of analysis is the state which it considers to be ‘actor in a situation’. Hence, developing an understanding successfully about one state would generate an understanding of all states, no matter how different they might be in many respects. It seeks to provide an analytical scheme for understanding the behaviour of all states or any particular state. However, Brian Ripley brings out the following significant differences between neo-realism and foreign policy decision-making (FPDM) through Table 3.1 given below:

Table 3.1 Differences between Neo-realism and Foreign Policy Decision-making

NEO-REALISM	FPDM
States are the primary actors in world politics. Non-state actors are acknowledged, but their role is minimal.	Foreign policy elites acting on behalf of states and non-state institutions are the primary actors in world politics.
States act on the basis of a rational calculation of self-interest.	Foreign policy elites act on the basis of their ‘definition of the situation’.
Foreign policy is best understood as the attempt to pursue security in an inherently conflicting world.	Foreign policy is best understood as the unending task of sequential problem-solving by goal-directed elites operating within organizational and cognitive constraints.
Power (or self-interest) is the primary currency of international relations.	Information is the primary currency of international relations.
The structure of the global system is the primary determinant of a state's behaviour.	The global system is merely an arena for the pursuit of projects by purposive elites.
Policy prescriptions involve adaptation to the dictates of rationality (e.g., recognize the limits of collective action).	Policy prescriptions involve efforts to compensate for individual misperception and organizational pathologies (e.g., recognize the tendency to stereotype enemies).

For analytical purposes, the theory comes up with a typology of states based on basic political organization, range of decision-making systems, their strengths and weaknesses, and types of foreign policies employed. This provides a criterion for comparisons among units, i.e., the state.

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Also, the 'world' is how the decision-makers view and define situations. When it comes to the role of supranational forces and organizations, like say the United Nations, this approach treats them as 'conditioning factors'. Therefore, according to this approach, the defining of a situation by the actor is a subjective activity. Further, the definition of the situation is built around the projected action and the reasons for the action.

The decision-making approach, as the name suggests, gives the central place to the analysis of the behaviour of the decision-makers. It seeks to understand the behaviour of the decision-makers in the following terms:

- (i) **Perception:** This means their discrimination and relating of objects, conditions and other actors, i.e., perception in a relational context.
- (ii) **Choice:** This means attaching significance to particular courses of action according to some criteria of estimation.
- (iii) **Expectation:** This means putting in place certain standards of acceptability.

Through an analysis based on these terms the approach seeks to give answers to questions such as: What action did the decision-makers think was relevant in a given situation? How did they arrive at such an estimation? What according to them were important factors and how were they related? How did they establish such a connection? What specific or general goals did they select?

There are various types of the decision-making theory. First is those which focus on the environment factor, Harold and Margaret Sprout are among those who follow this line. They define the term environment as a milieu which has a psychological as well as an operational aspect, i.e., those properties of the milieu which set limits on what can be achieved by the decision-makers, irrespective of whether or not decision-makers are able to perceive those limits. Harold and Margaret Sprout are interested not so much in how and why a decision is made as in the relationship between the environment as decision-makers see it and the environment in which is out of bounds of the decision-maker's perception and estimate. Thus, the Sprouts emphasize on post-decisional results or on a comparison of the judgments of decision-makers with those of outsiders. They adopt decision-making as an analytical tool but only in the context of environment defined by them. Their concern is not to justify a particular foreign policy action in the light of the decision-makers' perception of the environment but to see how far and between actions could be taken.

The second type of the decision-making theories are of personality factor, adopted by Alexander and Juliette George. They emphasize on the personality factor of the decision-maker. The Georges in their study have analysed Woodrow Wilson's career and personality in terms of their impact on his political actions and decisions. The conclusion of the study is that Wilson's ambition for power obscured his perception of the world situation and consequently led him to adopt self-defeating policies. The Georges characterize their techniques as a 'developmental biography'

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in which the factor of situation and personality are studied in a chronological and cross-sectional order. This technique is based upon the conviction that a proper study of foreign policy decision required an analysis of the various dimensions of the personality of the decision-maker.

While there are some observers like Dean Rusk who deny any significance to the personality factor, its importance cannot be ignored altogether. Scholars like Harold Lasswell, Gabriel Almond, Margaret Herman and Lester Milbrath have recognized the due importance of this factor. After all it has made a difference whether a decision was taken by Henry Truman or John Kennedy or by Joseph Stalin or Nikita Khrushchev.

The study of personality factors indeed helps us in building a partial theory of reaction of particular decision-makers to different situations. A study of personality factors can be helpful in explaining things at least so long as the same decision-makers continue to control the foreign policy in their nations.

Another type of decision-making is related to a study of those actors who actually participate in the formation of foreign policy. But this branch has two offshoots: one is that which is followed by writers like Bernard Cohen who believes that a systematic analysis of foreign policy should be made in accordance with the interaction between official and non-official actors who participate in the formulation of foreign policy. This postulates five important elements in the process of framing foreign policy: general climate of public opinion, political interest groups, the media of mass communication, specific agents in the executive branch and specific committees of the legislature.

He believes that these five elements belong at the centre of any foreign policy decision-making. Somewhat similar to Cohen's approach is the approach followed by Roger Hilsman. He insisted on a conceptual scheme of interaction between the executive and legislative branches of the government. This scheme centres on a model of consensus and conflict. He believes that when a foreign policy is formulated, it goes through a process of conflict between the objects of the executive and those of the legislature. James Robinson is also concerned with the interrelationship of the executive and the legislature in foreign policy. The criterion which he employs in his study of foreign policy is the satisfaction of the members of the legislature and the satisfactory flow of information between the executive and the legislature in the US. Robinson concluded that the organization and internal process of the legislature determine the actual nature of the framework of a foreign policy.

Besides, the differences on the question as to what should be the focus of inquiry there are also differences on the question as to what is meant by 'decision' and 'decision-making'. Although some current definitions classify decisions as a sub-category of actions, decision and actions are considered different in the common usage.

The most significant contribution to the theory of decision-making has been made by John Burton. The following are the details of his theory of decision-making.

John Burton's Theory of Decision-making

John Burton has made the most notable contribution to the theory of decision-making. According to him, decision-making can only be described as a process. He begins with George Modelski's definition of power as 'community's present means to obtain the future desirable behaviour of other states'. Modelski believes that both at the government and at a community level, power becomes important only insofar as it serves as a means of preventing change, or of enforcing adjustments, or in giving effects of some kind of decisions.

The attitude of decision-makers towards change is determined by the ideology of the country, the manner in which change is received, the past memory of the community as well as experience, the influence of leadership and the level of knowledge, and the general international situation. Since all these factors play an important role in deciding the nature of our attitude to the thrust of change, decision-making is bound to be essentially a process in which the policy-makers always continue to deal with these factors. Burton argues that the importance of these factors is so great that not only the decision-making but also the decision-makers are nothing else but a process. For Burton, there are three factors which determine the decisions.

The first factor is perception of the environment. It is necessary that the decision-maker perceives the input and output factors correctly, because their misperception may lead to wrong decisions. Avoidance of misperception and ensuring of a correct perception are necessary for a fruitful analysis of decision-makers, a clear understanding and knowledge through analysis of all these and various other concepts are the responsibility of those interested in decision-making analysis.

If the object of the decision-making approach is to analyse foreign policy, the analysis can be useful only if the decisions examined relate to both the individual and groups. An essential part of this analysis would be to explain the extent to which the decisions of individuals influence the decisions of groups. In making that analysis the Snyder Bruck Sapin model seems to be most helpful.

For them, the focus on the official actors is important for the study of foreign policy. This model conceives of state action as resulting from the way in which an identifiable official decision is made and why a particular decision is made in a very complex organizational setting and, therefore, the way to analyse the reasons for the decision is to study them in the context of those official actors who can be clearly identified.

It should be apparent that this approach is different from that of both Cohen and Hilsman because Snyder and his collaborators regard actors as only those who are clearly identifiable as members of the decision-making unit and are responsible for a particular decision.

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The second important factor in decision-making analysis is what Burton has called expectations, which refers to the future behaviour. Each state has some expectations from the future. But since judgments about the future behaviour of others cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty, expectations are likely to lead to even greater difficulties than misperception. Expectations in international relations are normally conservative which are derived from the traditional views on the behaviour of states.

The third factor is that of 'overloading of information' which creates problems of coordination. The result is that the decision-maker often finds himself unable to examine all the available information and to decide priorities.

The basic premise of the decision-making approach is that international politics should be taken as the interaction of foreign policies and for understanding this interaction the only useful approach can be to study it in the context of foreign policy decisions.

Criticism

There are certain drawbacks of the decision-making approach. The interdisciplinary ambition of the approach leaves it vulnerable to the risk of running into confusion among a vast array of concepts drawn from several other disciplines. This also means missing linkages and insights useful to the discipline of international relations. As McCloskey argues, the approach is a taxonomy not a theory and because all the factors related to the decision-making process are treated as variables, analysts could neither draw linkages between factors nor could they infer the conditions under which specific variables would be most useful. In short, it can be said that the approach does not successfully suggest as to which of the elements are really relevant.

Second, with its emphasis on value free analyses, it merely seeks to analyse various decisions in the arena of foreign affairs, which is why when a particular decision is taken by the decision-makers it remains silent on the question of rightness or wrongness of the decision.

Third, this approach is based upon the principle of indetermination and fails to suggest as to which of the elements are really relevant.

Fourth, this approach proceeds with a value-free concept in as much as it only tries to analyse the various decisions taken in the realm of foreign affairs without taking care of questions as to which decisions are right and which are wrong. The whole approach supports the view that actions in international relations can be defined as a set of decisions made by recognizable units, but it has certain definite faults.

It implies that politics is normally made of highly conscious moves and choices which can be analysed in terms of definite categories, while the fact is that the developments in international relations do not take place in this fashion nor can the actions in international affairs be completely isolated in time.

Snyder explains that the decision-making approach aims at the recreation of a world of decision-makers and how they view it rather than at the recreation of the situation in any objective sense. But the nature of international relations is determined also by what people in general want and what their values and aspirations are.

Besides, the decision-making approach leaves out everything that is not mere addition of a separate decision made by various units. There are many patterns of power politics and rules of international behaviour such as balance of power or international law or the values of humanism which are in a way determined by the will of statesmen. But the decision-making theory does not supply any criterion either to explain the patterns of power politics or to prescribe the rules of international behaviour. Instead it directly takes up the problem of relationship between motives and actions.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What was the emphasis of the behaviourists?
2. Name the six models of international system as described by Kaplan.
3. What is the main focus of the communication approach?
4. Define decision-making.

3.3 MARXIST THEORIES

Apart from the liberal and realist schools of thoughts, many Marxist theorists have made attempts to explain the nature of international politics. Based on the Marxist theory, they look at the relations amongst the states as unequal due to the economic disparity between them. A major focus of Marxist scholars has been the manner in which the capitalist system based countries are trying to shape international relations as per their own economic benefits. There are two major streams of Marxist thought in the international relations: Dependency theory and Wallerstein's World System theory.

3.3.1 Dependency Theory

Dependency theories became quite popular during the 1970s and 1980s. Unlike the realist and liberal theories which are largely America and Europe-centred, dependency theories largely came from the Latin American scholars. The dependency theories provided a strong critical stream to the largely dominating liberal or realist paradigms in the discipline. Table 3.2 shows the contributions of dependency theories.

Contributions of Dependency Theories

The theories of dependency reveal the contrasting forms of dominance and dependence among the nations of the capitalist world. Capitalism can be of a progressive or regressive force. According to Dos Santos, the Brazilian social scientist:

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By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is cautioned by the development and expansion of an economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development. (Dos Santos 1970: 231).

In the analysis of development and underdevelopment, the dependency theory focuses on the problem of foreign penetration into the political economies of the Third World. According to Osvaldo Sunkel:

Foreign factors are seen not as external but as intrinsic to the system, with manifold and sometimes hidden or subtle political, financial, economic, technical and cultural effects inside the underdeveloped country....Thus the concept of 'dependencia' links the post-war evolution of capitalism internationally to the discriminatory nature of the local process of development, as we know it. Access to the means and benefits of development is selective; rather than spreading them, the process tends to ensure a self-reinforcing accumulation of privilege for special groups for special groups as well as the continued existence of a marginal class.' (Sunkel 1972: 510)

Despite these definitions of dependency, there is no consensus on the theory, i.e., what brings dependency amongst the states. There are various theories of dependency given by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Claire Savit Bacha, Philip J. O'Brien, and Ronald H. Chilcote. These theories are briefly explained in the Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Contribution of Dependency Theories

Cardoso	Bacha	O'Brien	Chilcote
Autonomous national development	Centre-peripheral dependency (Vasconi)	ECLA structuralist (Sunkel and Furtado)	Development of underdevelopment (Frank, Rodney)
Institutional monopoly capitalism (Baran and Sweezy)	Dependency and imperialism (Lenin)	Marxist dependency (Marini, Das Santos, Frank)	New Dependency (Dos Santos)
Structural dependency and development capitalism (Cardoso)	Capitalist development of underdevelopment (Frank)	Marxist structuralist synthesis (Cardoso and Ianni)	Dependency and development (Cardoso)
	New dependency (Dos Santos)		Dependency and imperialism (Baran and Sweezy, and Quijano)
	Internal dependency (Cardoso and Faletto)		

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According to Cardoso, three tendencies can be identified in dependency theories. First was the notion of autonomous national development. This became very popular in Brazil in response to the prevailing belief that development would occur through the growing volume of export of various goods or through foreign investment. Within this, there were three broad alternatives: dependency, autonomy and revolution.

According to him, in order to eliminate dependency, autonomy and revolution can be very useful strategies. The second tendency is an analysis of international capitalism in a monopolistic manner. This aspect was later highlighted by Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff. However, finally there is a dependency literature which focuses on the structural aspect of it. Cardoso himself claimed to be a part of this stream. This stream examined the structural process of dependency in terms of class relations.

Bacha on the other hand identified five concepts of dependency. The first was to distinguish development from underdevelopment by analysing centre and periphery as interdependent parts of a worldwide capitalist system. The second conception dates to Lenin's works on imperialism. It is in this conception that dependentistas find the underpinnings of their theory. A third wave was of scholars like Andre Gunder Frank who analysed the metropolis-satellite structure and the internal contradictions of the capitalist system. A fourth perspective came from Dos Santos who developed what is called *new dependency*. This was also known as technical industrial dependence. In contrast to the colonial dependency based on trade export and financial-industrial dependency, and characterized by the domination of big capital in the hegemonic centres at the end of the nineteenth century, the new dependency is a new phenomenon, based on multinational corporations, which after the Second World War invested in industries geared to the internal markets of the underdeveloped countries.

Structuralist Approaches to Dependency

Since colonial times, Latin America has been dependent on the exports of raw materials and agricultural commodities in its pursuit of development. But this strategy faced a serious setback after the decline in exports during the depression of the 1930s. Consequently, these countries decided to adopt an inward development strategy. Under this strategy, planning and state control were given dominant positions. The main actors in this exercise were petty bourgeoisie and industrial bourgeoisie. This approach was known as ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) approach. This approach connected the underdevelopment of Latin America with the international economic systems. Osvaldo Sunkel and Celso Furtado elaborated upon the ECLA approach. He examined the inequalities in Brazil throughout historical periods tracing the shifts of major economic activity and production from the north-east to the centre-south region where the capital city is established.

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Dependent Capitalist Development

Fernando Henrique Cardoso contended with the idea that capitalism promotes underdevelopment. To the contrary, he argued that capitalist development can occur in dependent situations. He believed that dependent capitalist development has become a new form of monopolistic expansion in the Third World. This development benefits all classes associated with international capital, including the local agrarian, commercial, financial and industrial bourgeoisie and even the working class involved in the international sector.

Monopoly Capitalism

This theory was developed by Lenin in his theory of imperialism. He said in his theory that in the monopoly stage of capitalism the bank capital was combined with the capital of monopoly industrialists. Lenin called this as a merger of finance capital under a financial oligarchy. Today, such a merger would be represented by the multinational corporations.

Baran and Sweezy also developed this theme further. They credited Lenin with advancing the Marxist theory from an analysis of capitalism based on an autonomous assumption of a competitive economy, generality of small firms, to the promotion that imperialism constitutes a monopoly stage of capitalism composed of large scale industries. They examined US in the light of this approach. But their work is also a foundation stone for understanding the external impact of monopoly capitalism of the centre which exerts upon the peripheral nations of the world.

Approaches to Dependency Theory

There are various types of approaches for the theories of dependency. They are broadly divided into two categories: non-Marxist and Marxist approaches. Marxists seek to influence radical bourgeois reformers and have frequently utilized the bourgeois social science concept. Marxists who have opposed such an approach have associated that dependentistas were Marxists because of a common opposition to foreign penetration.

Development, Structuralist, Nationalist, Autonomous Development

The establishment of international financial institutions helped ensure the hegemony of dominant nations over dependent ones, and the establishment of aid programmes. The United States was to serve as benefactor to rid the backward world of underdevelopment and to diffuse civilization everywhere.

Since colonial times, Latin America has been dependent on exports of raw materials and agricultural commodities in its pursuit of development, but this strategy of outward development was undermined by a decline in export earnings during the depression of the 1930s. Under the ECLA (Economic Council of Latin America), strategy turned towards inward development. The new strategy was premised on the achievement of national autonomy through state control and planning of the

political economy under the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and the industrial bourgeoisie. Under the modernizing state, the bourgeoisie would become progressive and a supporter of national interests as capitalist development diffused itself into rural areas and as economic and political policies restricted the influence of foreign interests.

The ECLA approach was based on anti-imperialist views in that it linked Latin American underdevelopment to the international economic system. Its preference for autonomous capitalist development was echoed by the democratic leftist of social democratic parties, for example, Haya de la Torre of Peru, Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela and Arturo Frondizi of Argentina.

Oswaldo Sunkel and Celso Furtado elaborated upon the ECLA position. Furtado examined the inequalities in Brazil throughout historical periods tracing the shift of major economic activity and production from the north-east to the centre-south region where Sao Paulo is situated. Sunkel agreed that this transformation of the existing structure was necessary for autonomous growth; he believed that participation of the masses, including the marginal population was also essential.

Internal Colonialism

Sunkel alluded to polarization within countries, reminiscent of the theory of internal colonialism proposed by the Mexican sociologist Pablo Gonzalez Casanova (1970). The same condition of traditional colonialism, he argued are found internally in nations today. These conditions include monopoly and dependence (the metropolis dominates isolated communities), creating a deformation of the native economy and decapitalization, relations of production and social control and culture and living standards (subsistence economies, poverty, backward techniques, low productivity, lack of services). These are the conditions of marginal people who suffer from low levels of education, unemployment, underemployment and lack of nourishment. Such people experience a sense of resignation and fatalism similar to that of colonized people.

Poles of Development

A derivation of internal colonialism is the theory of poles of development first given by the French economist Francois Perroux (1968) and elaborated by the Brazilian geographer Manuel Correia de Andrade (1967). Andrade was concerned especially with unequal development, which he believed was evident between nations as well as between regions within a single country. The experience in capitalist nations in areas of natural resources and in socialist nations of planned industrial centres served as the basis for a poles-of-development theory.

This theory believes that underdeveloped economies are characterized by a lack of infrastructure in transportation and communication by a dual economy, with advanced areas existing alongside subsistence ones, and by dependence upon external decisions that pertain to the production of products.

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Sub-Imperialism

This theory was propounded by Ruy Mauro Marini in the context of Brazilian capitalist development. He characterized Brazilian development as super-exploitative, with a rapid accumulation of capital benefiting the owners of the means of production and an absolute poverty accruing to the masses. With the diminution of the internal consumer market and a related decline in surplus, the Brazilian economy reached an impasse in 1964. At the time the military regime initiated its sub-imperialist schemes on two fronts: first, to further exploit mass consumption and second, to penetrate foreign markets.

New Dependency

Theotonio dos Santos took exception to Frank's emphasis on surplus extraction as the principle cause of underdevelopment. The process under consideration, rather than being one of satellization as Frank believes, is a case of the formation of a certain type of internal structure conditioned by internal relationships of dependence (P O'Brien 1975:71).

Dos Santos outlined several types of dependencies. Colonial dependency characterized the relationship between Europeans and the colonies by which a monopoly of trade complemented a monopoly of land, mines, and manpower in the colonized countries. Financial industrial dependency consolidated itself at the end of the nineteenth century with, on the one hand, a domination of capital by the hegemonic centres and, on the other the investment of capital in the peripheral colonies for raw material and agricultural products, which in turn would be consumed by the centres.

The new dependency which emerged after the Second World War was based on investments by multinational corporations. The theory of the new dependency is elaborated in Dos Santos's writings. The new dependency theory understands industrial development to be dependent on exports, which generate foreign currency to buy imported capital goods. Exports are usually tied to the traditional sectors of an economy, which are controlled by the landed bourgeoisie and which in turn, are tied to the foreign capital.

The theory of new dependency attempts to demonstrate that the relationship of dependent countries to dominant countries cannot be altered without a change in internal structure and external relations. Further the structure of dependency deepens, leads dependent countries to underdevelopment, and aggravates the problems of the people as those countries conform to international and internal structure strongly influenced by the role of multinational corporations as well as by the international commodity and capital markets.

3.3.2 World Systems Theory

A major breakthrough in the Marxist analysis of international relations was the world systems theory propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein. Wallerstein argues that history is marked by the emergence or collapse of various types of world systems. These world systems begin, achieve a middle phase and also collapse gradually. The modern

world system is an outcome of an expansion of capitalism. Wallerstein calls it a 'system of production for sale in a market for profit and appropriation of this profit on the basis of individual or collective ownership.' Even this system is bound to collapse one day.

What is a World System?

According to Wallerstein,

A world system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimization, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage. It has the characteristic of an organism, in that it has a life span over which its characteristic change in some respect and remain stable in others. Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamic of development are largely internal (Wallerstein 2003: 347).

When he first defined 'world system', he called it a 'multicultural territorial division of labour' wherein the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is indispensable in the daily lives of people. This division of labour refers to the forces and relations of production of the world economy as a whole, which results in the continuation of two interdependent territories—core and periphery.

In the dependency theory, along with the notion of core and periphery, Wallerstein also added a new element called semi-periphery. These are the geographical explanations of the modern state system. According to Wallerstein, the semi-periphery zone has an intrinsic role within the world system displaying certain features of core and other characteristics of periphery. Unlike the periphery in the dependency literature which is highly underdeveloped in terms of industrial development, the semi-periphery has strong industrial base like core. It is because of this nature that semi-periphery also plays a crucial role in social and economic development of the modern world system. More specifically, semi-periphery provides a source of labour that counter-attacks any upward pressure on wages in the core and also provides a new home for those industries that can no longer function profitably in the core. The semi-periphery also plays very important role in stabilizing the political arrangement of the world system.

The present world system is a power hierarchy between the core and periphery. Wealthy and powerful societies represent the core. The peripheral part is represented by poor societies. The core region dominates and exploits the weak and poor peripheral societies. Technology is a crucial factor in the positioning of a region in the core and periphery. The relationship between these three zones is exploitative in nature. Advanced and developed countries are the core and the less developed are in the periphery.

The gap in the strength of multiple states within the system is critical for maintaining the system as a whole, since powerful states strengthen and augment the differential flow of surplus to the core zones. Wallerstein described this as 'the unequal exchange of the systemic transfer of surplus from semi-proletarian sectors

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in the periphery to the high technology, industrialized core'. This results in a process of capital growth at a global scale and inevitably leads to the appropriation and transformation of peripheral surplus.

According to Wallerstein, nation-states are the changeable elements within the system. States are used by class forces to follow their interest in the case of core states. Imperialism is the authority of strong core states over weak peripheral regions. Hegemony is the existence of one core state provisionally outdoing the rest. Hegemonic powers uphold some balance and implement free trade so long as it is to their advantage.

Finally there is a global class struggle. Wealth is drained away from the periphery to the centre. Together the core, semi-periphery, and periphery make up the geographic dimension of the world economy. This is illustrated in Figure 3.1. In order to explain their interaction, Wallerstein has discussed temporal dimensions. These are cyclical rhythms, secular trends, contradictions and crisis. It is these, when combined with the spatial dimensions, which determine the nature of the world system.

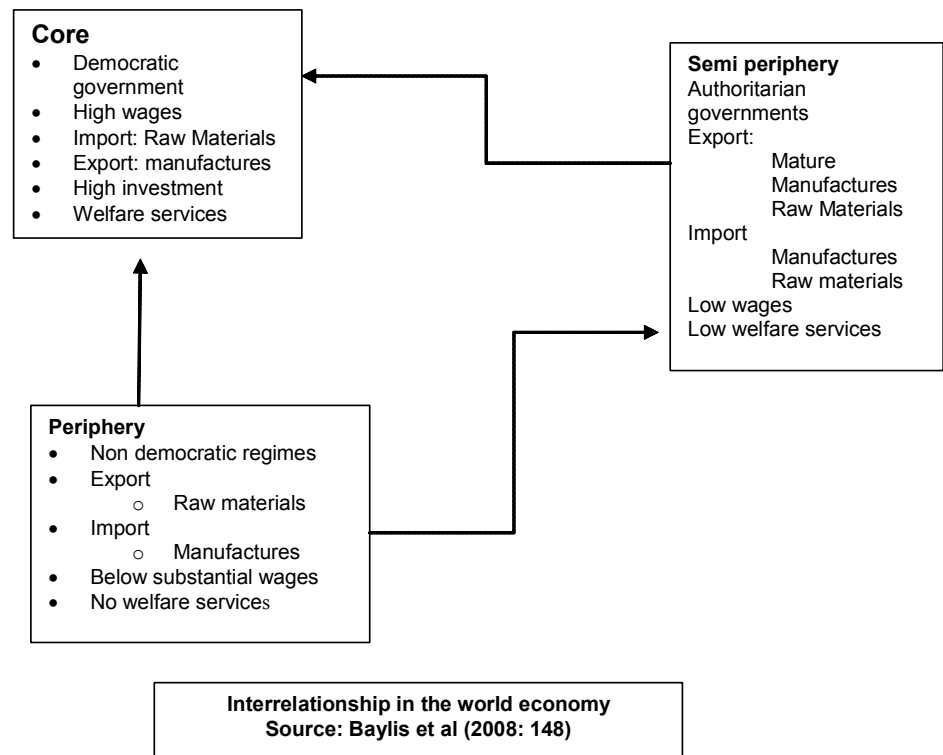


Figure 3.1 Wallerstein's World System Theory

In the world system, Wallerstein reserves the term 'crisis' to refer to a specific type of temporal occurrence. Crisis constitutes a unique set of circumstances that can only be manifested once in the lifetime of a world-system. It occurs when the contradictions, secular trends, and cyclical rhythms work in such a way to mean that the system cannot continue to reproduce itself. Wallerstein argues that the end of the Cold War, rather than marking a triumph for liberalism, indicates its imminent

demise. This has sparked a crisis in the current world-system that will involve its demise and replacement by another system. Much of Wallerstein's recent works has been an attempt to develop a political programme to promote a new world system that is more equitable and just than the current one.

3.3.3 Critical Theory

The Marxist theory of international relations is a political and social theory that argues that social change can be brought about by the struggle of the economic class. According to the Marxist theory, there are two main categories into which classes can be divided: economic and political. The economic class is a class in itself and everyone belongs to the economic class. The economic class depends on one's position in the society and such positions are difficult to pinpoint in the society. Political class, on the other hand, is a class for itself and is not universally ascribed to everyone. A political class is a function of individuals from an economic class who unite for a political purpose. The Marxist theories believe that it is the economic classes and not the political classes that play an imperative role in defining and maintaining international relations. However, the theories also claim that political classes dominate the economic classes who struggle to bring about changes in the world. The theories also suggest that during the series of these class struggles, one social class oppresses the other. Thus, class struggle is the impetus for social change in the world.

The Marxist theory also states that in the class struggle eventually an oppressed class overthrows the oppressor classes and thus a new social structure arises with a new oppressor class and a new oppressed class. The theories also suggest that class struggle and oppression does not take place within a state only but also takes place at an international level.

According to the Marxist theories of international relations, the world is divided based on economic status and not political motivations. These theories also suggest that it was the wealthy capitalists who created the state system to ensure that their wealth could continue to grow. On the basis of this basic premise of the Marxist theories, two other theories of international relations were developed which also form a part of the Marxist theories.

The Marxist theories of international relations state that the main reason for instability in the international system is the conflict between classes. The theories state that materialism is what drives the states to achieve their goals and get into conflict with other states. At the international front, the theory suggests that the states struggle to satisfy their material needs and resist class domination and exploitation. The theories also state that injustice and inequality are an integral part of international relations. The theory does not pay much attention to military power and its importance rather it implies that capitalist production leads to unjust political and state relations at the international front.

Therefore, according to the Marxist theories of international relations, global governance takes place when countries or nations that are politically and economically

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strong put pressure on the less developed and peripheral economies. Also, hegemony is maintained through the cooperation between the core nations or the powerful elites who dominate the core regions.

The main criticism of the Marxist theories comes from the fact that they consider class conflict as the most important aspect of the human nature and try and understand the behaviour of the states at the international level by focusing on this class conflict.

The Marxist theories have contributed to the study of international relations in a significant manner. Marxist theory is the only mainstream theory that puts emphasis on emancipation as well as equality. Equality and emancipation of nations in international relations is given a lot of importance when it comes to the Marxist theory. The Marxist theory also provides a framework to understand the unfairness of the world. It tries to explain why some nations are considered to be core nations while others are treated to be peripheral nations. This theory is also considered significant as it focuses on the issues of development—the issue of inequality, economic dependency, exploitation and unfairness.

Despite the criticism that Marxist theory has received, it is considered very important to study international relations and is the basis of their foundation. The Marxist theory brings forth the problem of dominance of powerful nations and the reasons why the poor nations are unable to progress and become wealthy economically.

Example: Marxist theories in practice: Mexico and the Drug Wars: Many of Mexico's foreign policy issues involve the United States. The US is Mexico's biggest trading partner; Mexican workers in the US send back a lot of money to their families still in Mexico; and US drug policy has helped lead the Mexican government into an on-going war with drug lords. That in itself raises a question: Why does Mexico persist in fighting the drug war when drug consumption is a much bigger problem for the United States than it is for Mexico?

The Marxist theory would suggest that the capitalist nature of Mexico's economy virtually ensures an unequal distribution of wealth, leading the poor to seek other means of empowerment, and the rich to seek to maintain the system that helped them become rich in the first place.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. How do the Marxist theorists view the relations between the states?
6. What is the belief of the poles-of-development theory?
7. What is a world system according to Wallerstein?
8. When does global governance take place according to the Marxist theories of international relations?

3.4 CONSTRUCTIVISM

Constructivism became one of the leading schools in international relations in the 1980s and it arose as a critical reaction to the mainstream international relations theory. According to constructivism, it is ideas that define and transform the organization of world politics as they shape the identities of the people; which in turn define the identities and interests of the state. They thereby determine the legitimate action of how the international structure of politics is formed. This is because the constructivist argues that individuals are able to exercise considerable influence in shaping events in world politics as the international system is socially constructed.

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3.4.1 Tenets of Constructivism

Constructivism is a social theory which is broadly concerned with the conceptualizing of the agents and structure such as state as an agent and the international politics as a structure. The main tenets of this approach is that there are no natural laws of society, economics or politics as the social world is a world of human consciousness, of thoughts and beliefs, of ideas and concepts, of languages and discourses, groups of human beings such as states and nations.

As an approach to international relations, constructivism emphasizes on ideas as a defining factor of the international structure that shapes the identities and interests as well as the foreign policies of state. The international systems consist of territories and populations which constitute the nation state. There consists both the physical as well as the intellect element which guides the conception of state security as well as the alliances that they forge. For identities of the nations as well as concept of nationalism are social constructions of time and place. These are ideas that are shaped not only by the interactions of state as an actor in the international system but also the non-state actor such as non-governmental organizations.

That is why conflict is not understood as a collision between forces or entities but rather a disagreement or dispute or misunderstanding or lack of communication or some other intellectual discord between conscious agents. It is a conflict of minds and wills of the parties involved. Therefore, for a proper understanding, it is necessary to enquire into the discourse at play.

There are many different types of constructivism that draws insights from the writings of James March, John Meyer, and organizational theory and others from Michael Foucault and discourse analysis. Besides, the writings from scholars such as Alexander Wendt, Peter Katzenstein and Friedrich Kratochwil take up the tenets of the constructivist school of thought. Although, these are diverse writings but there is a common thread of argument in these different writings which can be characterized as follows:

- The international system is governed by the ideational force which is socially constructed such as knowledge, symbols, language and rules.

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- The constructivists seek to demonstrate that the key aspects of international politics have been socially constructed, which has been a result of social integration.
- The actors in the international system are both state as well as non-state actors that have their own identities as well as interests.
- The actors in the international system are produced and created by their cultural environment and social facts.
- Social facts are not objective reality but rather they are historically produced and culturally bound knowledge that enables individuals to construct and give meaning to reality.
- They challenge many of the key assumptions of realism which stresses the dynamics of international relations determined by social practices.
- The changing social practices can lead to fundamental changes of international structure.

3.4.2 Constructivism and Global Change

The constructivist recognizes that the world is socially constructed and therefore they can investigate global change and transformation. Global change occurs as a consequence of internationalization and institutionalization of norms. The institutionalization of norms and its internationalization are the two features that provide the alternate method of conceptualizing power.

One of the norms which have brought a change in the global politics is in the conception of power. Power had always been conceptualized by the international realist theorist as the ability of one state to compel the other state to do what it would otherwise tend not to do. The constructivist has introduced the concept of legitimacy such as in the principle that guides their state's policy such as the concept of human rights, where the international communities reprimand those countries who violate the human rights norms; and the other is on the construction of identities of the state. For example, the American identity shapes the national interests and then the structure of the international system informs its strategies for pursuing those interests.

The concept of legitimacy has gained currency in the political actions of the state and been exemplified with the growing acceptance of humanitarian intervention—the other states intervening when the state's fail to protect the rights of their own citizens. For example, the humanitarian organizations stepping to intervene in the internal affairs of Rwanda, when there was genocide taking place.

The constructivist argues that institutionalizing of norms has led to conformity in the political behaviour of states. The growing legitimacy of democracy has led many states to adopt a democratic form of governance and elections solely for its symbolic reasons. That is why many states act as a democracy despite the presence of authoritarian and illiberal practices.

One of the global changes that the constructivist notes is that of the process of socialization, by which states and their societies take on the identities and interests

of the dominant peer group in the international society. One of the consequences of the socialization that the states have led is the sense of an 'international community'.

The International Society of States began as a European society and has expanded outward, likewise the internationalization of this society and its norms shaped the identities and practices of the foreign policies of the other new states. It is because of the growing concept of the international society that there is homogeneity in world politics.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. Fill in the blanks with appropriate terms.

- (i) Constructivism became one of the leading schools in international relations in the _____.
- (ii) Global change occurs as a consequence of internationalization and _____ of norms.
- (iii) One of the global changes that the constructivist notes is that of the process of _____.

3.5 SUMMARY

- In the 1960s and 70s, scholars began arguing that politics cannot be studied factually without reference to values. Behavioural approach is informed by socio-anthropological and psychological perspectives. It focuses on understanding the reasons behind the action behaviour of states and other international actors.
- The systems approach is a product of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences. The revolution reflected the quest among the social scientists to arrive at a general body of meaningful knowledge through scientific analysis and interdisciplinary approach, i.e., bringing together relevant concepts from various disciplines of social sciences.
- Behaviourists emphasized the meaningful integration of knowledge acquired from various disciplines through a scientific method.
- The systems approach was first applied to international politics by Morton A. Kaplan as a tool for investigating the reality in international relations in his work *System and Process*.
- The six models of international system that Kaplan describes are: The balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal actor system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system.
- The study of international politics in terms of international system, whether partial or total, is the study of state behaviour as groups. Therefore, no study of an international system can be fruitful unless it takes into account the

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- factors which lead states to behave collectively and the process in which such a collective behaviour crystallizes.
- Communication has existed throughout the history of human civilization. However, serious attempts to study communication as a science began only in the 20th century as a consequence of advancement in information and communication technology.
 - The communication approach focusses on communication as central to the human experience, which involves understanding as to how people behave in creating, exchanging, and interpreting messages.
 - The proponents of the communication theory believe that the causes and consequences of events in international relations can best be described by the study of 'flow of information' with the mechanism developed by them.
 - The decision-making approach belongs to a subfield of international relations which is known as foreign policy analysis (FPA) and balance of power system referred to as foreign policy decision-making (FPDM).
 - The decision-making approach has two fundamental purposes. One is the identification of 'crucial structures' in the political realm where changes take place, where decisions are made and where actions are initiated and carried out, while the other is a systematic analysis of the decision-making behaviour which leads to action.
 - Decision-making means making a conscious choice of a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences.
 - John Burton has made the most notable contribution to the theory of decision-making. According to him decision-making can only be described as a process.
 - Apart from the liberal and realist schools of thoughts, many Marxist theorists have made attempts to explain the nature of international politics. Based on the Marxist theory, they look at the relations amongst the states as unequal due to the economic disparity between them.
 - Dependency theories became quite popular during the 1970s and 1980s. Unlike the realist and liberal theories which are largely America and Europe-centred, dependency theories largely came from the Latin American scholars.
 - There are various types of approaches for the theories of dependency. They are broadly divided into two categories: non-Marxist and Marxist approaches.
 - Poles-of-development theory believes that underdeveloped economies are characterized by a lack of infrastructure in transportation and communication by a dual economy, with advanced areas existing alongside subsistence ones, and by dependence upon external decisions that pertain to the production of products.
 - A major breakthrough in the Marxist analysis of international relations was the world systems theory propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein.

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- In the dependency theory, along with the notion of core and periphery, Wallerstein also added a new element called semi-periphery. These are the geographical explanations of the modern state system. According to Wallerstein, the semi-periphery zone has an intrinsic role within the world system displaying certain features of core and other characteristics of periphery.
- The Marxist theory of international relations is a political and social theory that argues that social change can be brought about by the struggle of the economic class. According to the Marxist theory, there are two main categories into which classes can be divided: economic and political.
- Constructivism became one of the leading schools in international relations in the 1980s and it arose as a critical reaction to the mainstream international relations theory. According to constructivism, it is ideas that define and transform the organization of world politics as they shape the identities of the people; which in turn define the identities and interests of the state.
- Constructivism is a social theory which is broadly concerned with the conceptualizing of the agents and structure such as state as an agent and the international politics as a structure. The main tenets of this approach is that there are no natural laws of society, economics or politics as the social world is a world of human consciousness, of thoughts and beliefs, of ideas and concepts, of languages and discourses, groups of human beings such as states and nations.
- The constructivist recognizes that the world is socially constructed and therefore they can investigate global change and transformation.
- The International Society of States began as a European society and has expanded outward likewise the internationalization of this society and its norms shaped the identities and practices of the foreign policies of the other new states. It is because of the growing concept of the international society that there is homogeneity in world politics.

3.6 KEY TERMS

- **System:** It is defined as a collection of elements related by some pattern of behaviour and actions.
- **Entropy:** It refers to the tendency of a closed system to decay.
- **Load:** The perception of load refers to the gap between the goals of the international system and the information about its changing environment.
- **Decision-making:** It means making a conscious choice of a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences.
- **Constructivism:** It is a school of thought in which ideas that define and transform the organization of world politics (as they shape the identities of the people) is studied.

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3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Behaviourists emphasized the meaningful integration of knowledge acquired from various disciplines through a scientific method.
2. The six models of international system that Kaplan describes are: The balance of power system, the loose bipolar system, the tight bipolar system, the universal actor system, the hierarchical international system and the unit veto system.
3. The communication approach focusses on communication as central to the human experience, which involves understanding as to how people behave in creating, exchanging, and interpreting messages.
4. Decision-making means making a conscious choice of a particular form of behaviour and determining a course of action which has important consequences.
5. Based on the Marxist theory, they look at the relations amongst the states as unequal due to the economic disparity between them. A major focus of Marxist scholars has been the manner in which the capitalist system based countries are trying to shape international relations as per their own economic benefits.
6. Poles-of-development theory believes that underdeveloped economies are characterized by a lack of infrastructure in transportation and communication by a dual economy, with advanced areas existing alongside subsistence ones, and by dependence upon external decisions that pertain to the production of products.
7. A world system according to Wallerstein is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimization, and coherence.
8. According to the Marxist theories of international relations, global governance takes place when countries or nations that are politically and economically strong put pressure on the less developed and peripheral economies.
9. (i) 1980s
(ii) institutionalization
(iii) socialization

3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the behavioural approach to international relations?
2. Who applied the term systems approach to international politics?
3. Write a short note on unit veto system model of international system.
4. List the main features of the communication theory.
5. State the reasons for the criticism of the communication approach to international relations.

6. 'The decision-making approach has two fundamental purposes.' What are they?
7. What are the major premises of the decision-making approach?
8. What are the structural approaches to dependency?
9. What is monopoly capitalism?
10. How does the semi-periphery play a crucial role in social and economic development of the modern world system?
11. Write a short note on the critical theory under the Marxist theory of international relations.
12. What are the tenets of constructivism?

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Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the systems approach as a product of the behavioural revolution in the social sciences.
2. Describe the drawbacks of Kaplan's theory of systems approach.
3. Assess the communication approach to international relations.
4. Describe the mechanisms involved in communication theory.
5. Evaluate the decision-making theory to international relations.
6. Assess the theory of decision-making with special reference to John Burton's theory.
7. What are dependency theories? How do they help in understanding international politics?
8. What is sub-imperialism? Discuss the salient features of new dependency theories.
9. Discuss the world systems theory and its application in international politics.
10. 'Constructivism became one of the leading schools in international relations in the 1980s.' Discuss.

3.9 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 4 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES-IV

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- 4.4 Post-Colonial Theory
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4.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit will deal with various theories used to study international relations, such as feminist theory, post-structuralism, post-colonialism, globalization and peace studies.

The feminist approach to international relations is a phenomenon of the post-Cold War period. In the 1980s, feminist scholars began research in various academic disciplines, from literature to psychology to history. In recent years, this has made inroads in international relations. Feminists argue that the boundaries of state have historically excluded women from domestic and international political life, and have treated international relations as the exclusive preserve of men, where masculinity thrives through domination 'over' women.

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The uniqueness of the post-structuralist theory lies in its 'lack of theory' and in its difference from the traditional problem-solving technique. By providing an ontology and epistemology that discards the positivist realm, the scholars of post-structuralism have provided international relations with the apparatuses to deconstruct its 'truths'.

The 'post' in postcolonial theory does not signify the period or era 'after' colonialism came to an end, but rather signifies the entire historical period after the beginnings of colonialism. International relations emerges in the post-war presumably 'anti-imperial' order in which European empires were unraveling to leave an international community of states. The process of decolonization was largely influenced by the developments in the international situation. These events strengthened the freedom struggles in the colonies, as the colonial powers were weakened.

Globalization has led to the displacement of many people and has increased the process of migration. It has also made communication easier through the Internet as well as increased the means to violence through the use of the Internet, such as making of atom bombs. This makes it important to introduce the concept of peace. Peace means different things to different people. Violence is quite widespread in the contemporary world. All societies and communities however have elements of violence as well as peace in their cultures. Efforts are also being made to encourage human beings and societies to make the shift from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. Education for peace is a step in this direction.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the feminist approaches to international relations
- Describe post-structuralism and post-colonialism with regard to international relations
- Evaluate the theories of globalization to study international relations
- Assess the features of peace studies

4.2 FEMINIST THEORY

Until recently, international relations was considered out of the scope of feminist scholarship. In the post-Cold War era, there has been rapid growth in feminist literature. Some of the prominent feminist scholars include Joshua S. Goldstein (*War and Gender*, 2001), Peterson Spike and Anne Sisson Runyan (*Global Gender Issues*, 1999), Ann Tickner (*Gendering World Politics*, 2001) and Jill Stearns (*Gender and International Relations*, 1998).

Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged as compared to men and are subordinated to men because

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of a system of patriarchy. 'Patriarchy' is a system of social structures and practices through which men dominate and exploit women. It should be clear that it is a social, not biological characteristic. For feminism, the point of reference is the question of gender and not of sex. Feminism analyses equations of masculinity and femininity. It has nothing to do with the biological male-female differences. 'Masculinity' is associated with autonomy, sovereignty and the capacity for reason and objectivity, whereas femininity is associated with the absence of these characteristics. These are called gender identities. Under gender construction, military services are viewed as the natural domain of masculinity.

Feminism, as mentioned above, is not a concern of biological characteristics. It is the social systems that are at the root of gender inequality. Second, every individual man is not necessarily in a position of domination, and every woman is not in a position of subordination. The feminist movement involves struggle for political and legal rights and equal opportunities for women.

4.2.1 Feminism in International Relations

In order to be able to appreciate the feminist approach, one has to be familiar with the nature of international studies as they evolved during the 20th century. Those studies concentrated on the causes of war and conflict, the development of international law and diplomacy, and the global expansion of trade and commerce. These studies made no reference to people as such.

Feminists argue that the boundaries of state have historically excluded women from domestic and international political life, and have treated international relations as the exclusive preserve of men, where masculinity thrives through domination 'over' women. According to feminists, the phenomenon of family subordination and male domination has always remained unchanged, whether from the absolute to the modern state, or from feudalism to capitalism, or from nature-state to global governance.

You have studied about realism and neo-realism which emphasize power in terms of national interest. You have read about these theories in unit 1. The idea is that all politics is struggle for power. Some feminists argue that the core assumptions of realism—power, sovereignty and anarchy reflect the ways in which males tend to interact and to see the world. In this view of feminists, realism simply assumes male participant when discussing foreign policy decision-making, state sovereignty or the use of military force. Feminist scholars like Rosemary Grant argue that the realist theory endorses patriarchy, because, for it, patriarchy is necessary for maintaining social order and the state. It is for this reason that women are excluded from many prevailing definitions of the state. The international relations theory favours men and excludes women because it is 'man' who is identified with the state. Feminist writers find fault with this approach. Further, it is argued that international relations have exclusively focused on conflict and anarchy, as also on fear and competition, precisely because women's lives and experiences have not been properly researched.

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Feminism is an outgrowth of the belief that since attributes like humility, peace, tenderness, compassion and forgiveness are associated with women who have been traditionally ignored, the study of IR has always remained focused on strife and anarchy. Thus, elements of emancipatory politics, namely, global peace and justice, are entirely missing in it. This shortcoming will have to be overcome and peace and justice will have to be emphasized in the theory of IR.

4.2.2 Three Strands of Feminism

While all feminist scholars agree on the basic postulate that gender is important, there is no single feminist approach to international relations. There are several such approaches or 'strands' of the theory of IR. They are generally interwoven, yet they often run in different directions. 'On some core issues,' says Goldstein, 'the different strands of feminism have conflicting views, creating interesting debates within feminism.' We will briefly refer to the three strands as highlighted by Goldstein.

1. Difference Feminism

This strand of feminism tries to value the unique contribution of women as women. These feminists do not think that women do all things as well as men do. The opposite is also true in certain other activities. Thus, because of their greater experience with nurturing and human relations, women are seen as potentially more effective than men in resolving conflicts and in group decision-making. Some of these feminists believe that it is not just social construction, but there is also core biological essence to being male or female. This view is sometimes called **essentialism**. However, majority of them think that the difference in women is determined more culturally than biologically. In any case, all difference feminists find fault with traditional perspective on international relations.

2. Liberal Feminism

The arguments of difference feminists are rejected by liberal feminists as being based on stereotyped gender roles. They see 'essential distinctions' in the abilities of men and women as trivial or non-existent. For liberals, 'men and women are equal'. They condemn the exclusion of women from positions of power, but 'do not' believe that including women would change the nature of the international system. Liberal feminists would rather like the inclusion of women more often as subjects of study such as the study of women as political leaders, as women soldiers and other women operating outside the traditional role. (Traditionally, women's role was as school teachers, doctors and nurses). Hence, for liberal feminists, the study of women's role is more significant than their inclusion in the position of power.

Liberal feminists are doubtful about different feminists' views regarding realism. The liberals believe that when women are allowed to participate in international relations, 'they play the game the same way as men do, with similar results. They think that women can practice realism, based on autonomy, sovereignty, anarchy...and all the rest, just as well as men can.' They, therefore, reject the critique of realism as masculine. Liberal feminism focuses on the integration of

women into the overwhelmingly male preserves of military service and foreign policy making.

3. Post-modern Feminism

Post-modern feminists have tried to deconstruct the language of realism, especially as it reflects influences of gender and sex. For example, the first atom bombs were male. They were named as 'Fat Man' and 'Little Boy'. The coded telegram sent to US authorities about the hydrogen bomb simply said, 'It is a boy'. But the aircraft that dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima was called 'Enola Gay', a female gender. It was named after the pilot's mother. These efforts find sex and gender throughout the sub-text of realism.

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4.2.3 Women, Power and State

Power is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others; to get others to do what they would otherwise not have done, and to ensure that they do not do what they would normally do. Power is the central theme of realism. The state as an institution is the symbol of power, and the struggle for power is the essence of politics. Feminist scholars are of the view that power relations are organized on the basis of gender. The concept of power is given a masculine trait. Those who are unable to exercise power in a war or conflict are often termed as 'impotent', which is associated with femininity. In South Asian countries it is quite common to ask those who fail to use power, or refuse to participate in conflict, to wear bangles. Thus, power is masculine, and its absence is treated as feminine.

The state ensures the organization of power relations on the basis of gender. The states (exceptions apart) have formalized gender power relations by retaining male domination at the top level. Even where a woman (like Indira Gandhi or Margaret Thatcher) is chief executive, gender differentiation is evident as men dominate the state structure in its executive, police and the armed forces. Despite the fact that the state has substantial amount of autonomy, it is structural in a patriarchal way. Its actions are often in men's interest, though substantial changes are rapidly taking place in regard to protection of women and their human rights. The United Nations is taking concrete steps to promote women's interest, and several countries, including India, have set up commissions for women that seek to promote the cause of women in a male-dominated state.

4.2.4 Gender in War and Peace

A reference was made in an earlier section to men and women in war in the context of post-modern feminism. In the present section, a discussion will be attempted with reference to war and peace in the context of feminists in general.

Feminists view war as a gendering activity. Realism has been equated with masculinity. Besides its emphasis on autonomy, sovereignty and anarchy, realism lays stress on military force as a tool of power. Here too, many feminists see a hidden assumption of masculinity. They consider war as a male occupation. In their view, men are the more war-loving gender and women are more peaceful. A possible

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link between the male sex hormone and war, according to biologists, is the aggressive behaviour in male animals. Even some feminists who consider gender differences as strictly cultural, and not biological at all, view war as a masculine construction. It is argued by some that war is in the nature of men (to fill the gap) because of their inability to give birth. Thus, according to Nancy Hartsock, 'war provides a meaning to life and gives men an opportunity through heroism... opportunities that women potentially get through child birth'. By contrast, women are portrayed as more peaceful than men—whether because of biology, culture, or both. Some feminists emphasize women's unique abilities and contributions as peace makers. They stress women's role as mothers or potential mothers. Because of such caring roles, women are presumed to be more likely than men to oppose war and more likely to find alternatives to violence in resolving conflicts.

Men and women suffer war but as unequals. Military training and casualties in wars have been men. Women too are victims (or casualties) of war, but in a different way. In the post-Second World War period, wars are being increasingly carried out in civilian areas, and up to 75 per cent of the casualties are civilians, which include a large number of women and children. Women are victims of war in several other ways. The loss of family members, which include husbands, brothers and children, has long-term psychological impact on women. The loss is not purely psychological. It is economic for women who have to look after the family. The loss of male member(s) of the family is more irreparable when women are illiterate and unemployed. For women, destruction follows quickly after war. Yet, their role in the war efforts, 'to give their sons or husbands to the nation' remains a gendered role.

Wartime sexual violence against women has been a common phenomenon in all wars, inter-community conflicts, as well as ethnic and sectarian conflicts. It is used against innocent women of the enemy in war, or of the other community, or ethnic group in civil strife. Crimes against women are the worst aspects of war or civil conflicts. But critics argue that biologically and anthropologically there is no firm evidence connecting women's care-giving functions (pregnancy, childbirth and nursing) with any kind of behaviour such as reconciliation or non-violence. The role of women varies from one society to another. Although they seldom take part in actual fighting, women sometimes provide logistical support to male warriors and sometimes help to drive men into a war frenzy by dancing, singing patriotic songs and other such activities supportive of war. In some other situations and cultures, women discourage men from war or play a special role as mediators in bringing war to an end.

Commenting on the views of feminists, Professor Mahendra Kumar wrote, 'Women are also providers of a whole range of supportive services for militarization and they are also a kind of reserve armies in home industries. They are soldiers, peace activists and revolutionary actors in national liberation struggles and civil wars.' He added, 'Women are now increasingly finding themselves in combat roles and as managers of peacekeeping operations. They also suffer as refugees in large numbers.'

This was so evident after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Bosnian conflict and the US attack on Iraq.

It has been reported by independent bodies such as the United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR) that 70 to 80 per cent of the world's refugees are women and children. In such situations, women are the only caretakers of children. They support the family (often extended family), play a central economic role, and take care of traumatized children and families.

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4.2.5 Women and Development in International Relations

One of the major concerns of feminist scholars is that the scholars of international relations (IR) should devote greater attention to women's role in development. Feminism questions the wisdom behind the gender-blind multilateral agencies like the World Bank, which take men as agents and distributors of development, but have failed to take into consideration the basic needs of developing countries. Besides, according to the feminist perspective, globalization has intensified social and economic division (polarization) of the society. This has resulted in increased level of inequality between men and women. The two most important manifestations of this polarization are poverty and gendered international division of labour. Moreover, national and international economic policies have increasingly been governed by global imperatives of export earnings, financial matters and comparative labour costs. But, states have failed to deliver social welfare services or keep their commitments to provide meaningful employment.

Feminists are of the view that women have received the benefits of empowerment generated by structural changes. Therefore, feminist scholars are concerned with the analysis of the subtle forms of empowerment of women. Women's empowerment is seen particularly with reference to the fact that women now occupy high positions, such as foreign ministers, ambassadors and heads of large number of organizations. They have served as prime ministers, for example, Indira Gandhi (India), Margaret Thatcher (UK), Srimavo Bandaranaike (Sri Lanka), and Golda Meir (Israel). Vijaylakshmi Pandit was the first woman president of the UN General Assembly. In 2006, the General Assembly elected a fourth woman as its president—Sheikha Haya of Bahrain. The British House of Commons had Betty Boothroyd as its first woman speaker and the US House of Representatives chose Nancy Pelosi as its first woman Speaker (2007). All this indicates a breakdown of male domination of high political positions and of major offices in international affairs. This has necessitated a study of the role of women in policy-making and policy implementation. It is believed that women are likely to oppose the use of force in international relations and will be more supportive of humanitarian intervention.

The primary concern of feminism is to emphasize that women should be recognized as fundamental players in economic and political processes. It is only then that they will share an equal role in social decision making. By redressing the neglect of women and gender injustice, the feminist scholars of international relations

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will improve the understanding of global politics and put women's voices, concerns and contributions on the global agenda.

A concern of scholars advocating the cause of women is that the entire field of international relations has been gender biased. Thus, the notions of power, sovereignty, autonomy, anarchy, security, the state and international system suffer from gender bias because they are all identified with men's experiences and on the exclusion of women and feminine attributes. So much so that even theories like realism and neo-realism, which claim to explain the world reality as it is, do in fact justify the reality as shaped by the males. These theories are also responsible for the global hierarchies engendered by gender bias. Based on the contentions of various feminist scholars, several postulates follow.

- The actual practice of international politics has suffered from a serious neglect of the feminist perspective.
- Mainstream visions which feminists regard as 'male stream' vision distort our knowledge of both the existing relations and the ongoing transformation of international relations.
- These 'male stream' perspectives define power as 'power over others', autonomy as reactive rather than as 'relational', international politics as the absence of women and negation of domestic politics and the objectivity as the lack of feminized subjectivity.
- Lastly, feminists argue that the male-dominated perspectives render women invisible because they fail to see the political significance of fundamentally gendered divisions of institutions by the state system.

In so far as feminist approach condemns the neglect of the contribution of women, it can, at best, be regarded as an emotional upsurge providing inspiration to the feminist critique of the global socio-political system. It is argued that feminism can be viewed only as a movement, but not a theory.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What does feminism explain?
2. Name the three strands of feminism as identified by Goldstein.
3. Why are feminist scholars concerned with the analysis of the subtle forms of empowerment of women?

4.3 STRUCTURALISM AND POST-STRUCTURALISM

International relations have been significantly dominated by the implications that are attached to the ideas of anarchy, war, peace and sovereignty. The leading theories within the positivist tradition have enforced certain structures and agencies upon the IR sphere, leaving no space for the analysis of the 'untold' realities (Belsey, 2002: 15).

Michel Foucault, one of the most eminent poststructuralist scholars has reformed the field by probing into the unquestioned facts deriving from uncontested field. To understand the importance of post-structuralism in international relations, we will first discuss the notion of structuralism and post-structuralism.

4.3.1 Structuralism

Structuralism is a method of enquiry, which takes as its object of investigation a system, i.e., the reciprocal relation among a set of facts, rather than particular facts considered in isolation. It considers totality, self-regulation and transformation. The structuralists, in general, are concerned to know the human world, to uncover it through detailed observational analysis and to map it out under extended explicatory grids. However, it should be added here that their position is still mainly like that of the traditional position of objectivity and their aim is to explore the traditional scientific goal of seeking truth.

Origin of Structuralism

Structuralism is an intellectual movement that developed in France in the 1950s and 1960s. In this, human culture is analysed semiotically. Being an intellectual movement, structuralism emerged to take existentialism's pedestal in 1960s France. Structuralism articulates that a certain domain of culture may be comprehended through a structure—based on language—which is different both from the organizations of reality and those of ideas or the imagination—the 'third order'. Due to its rigidity and ahistoricism, structuralism was criticized in the 1970s. Nonetheless, various proponents of structuralism, such as Jacques Lacan, continue to show an influence on continental philosophy and several basic assumptions of some of structuralism's critics (who have been linked with 'post-structuralism') are a continuation of structuralism. French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his works, first coined the term 'structuralism'. Due to this idea, the 'structuralist movement' spurred the research work of thinkers such as Louis Althusser, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan and the structural Marxism of Nicos Poulantzas in France. However, many members of this movement did not attach themselves with any such movement. Structuralism and semiotics are closely related.

Background/Emergence of Structuralism

Structuralism rejected the idea of human freedom and choice and instead focused on the manner in which various structures determine human behaviour. The most important earliest work on this subject was Claude Lévi-Strauss's volume *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. In this work, he analysed kinship systems from a structural viewpoint and showed how apparently diverse social organizations were in fact varied permutations of some fundamental kinship structures. In the late 1950s, he published *Structural Anthropology*. It was a collection of essays highlighting his programme for structuralism. By the early 1960s, structuralism developed as a significant movement and a few thought that it provided a single unified approach to human life that would include all disciplines. Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida

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chalked out a programme on how structuralism was applicable to literature. Blending Freud, De Saussure and the French (post)-structuralist Jacques Lacan used structuralism in studying psychoanalysis; in a diverse way, Jean Piaget used the concepts of structuralism to the study of psychology. However, Piaget, who is better identified as a constructivist, thinks structuralism as ‘a method and not a doctrine’ as for him, ‘there exists no structure without a construction, abstract or genetic’. Michel Foucault’s book *The Order of Things* analysed the history of science to examine how structures of epistemology, or episteme, shaped the manner in which people thought of knowledge and knowing (though Foucault would later totally deny affiliation with the structuralist movement). Similarly, Thomas Kuhn, the American historian of science, in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, addressed the structural formations of science.

French theorist Louis Althusser blended the theory of Marx and structuralism. He is famous for introducing his own style of structural social analysis that gave rise to ‘structural Marxism’. Several authors in France and other nations have since extended structural analysis to almost every discipline. Due to its popularity, the definition of ‘structuralism’ also changed from time to time.

Objectives of Structuralism

Many years later Jean Piaget, influenced by Kant, took a structuralist view of development (most explicitly in his later work). He saw cognition and behaviour arising by means of functions (organization and adaptation) and structural relations. Like Kant, Piaget saw the structure of the individual human mind as the source of our perception and rationality; but unlike Kant, he sought a biological explanation: a universal tendency in each organism toward self-regulation or equilibration, as it continuously encounters and adapts to its environment. Piaget argued that human beings are not born with categories or structures of thought; rather, they construct them through a long process of development, which includes maturation plus interaction with the world. Thus, he rejected innatist views, including Kant’s *a priori* categories. Unlike Kant, Piaget maintained that the structures, which are imposed by children, are very different from those imposed by adults.



Fig. 4.1 Jean Piaget

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Structuralists will stress to find the elements common in variations of a language forming a general structure of Bengali or Hindi or so on. Going against empiricism and positivism, structuralism wants to hold the focus on relations between the units or elements invisible to human observation. Empiricism is one of the several competing views that predominate in the study of human knowledge, known as epistemology. Basically started as structural linguistics by Ferdinand de Saussure (and also by Émile Durkheim, in sociological analysis), structuralism has been used by Levi Strauss in anthropology, Roland Barthes in the field of semiotics, some eminent critics in the fields of art and literature and even by persons claiming Marxist persuasion like Louis Althusser.

When structural analysis is applied to the study of literature, the structure of a poem or a story or a novel, the relations of various elements in the structure become the question of the study. It is not the concern of the structuralist to study the normative or value-based aspect in the structure. The understanding of the deterministic structure-based fixed-meaning is the subject of enquiry. Althusser rejected the humanist and Hegelian themes in Marxism, paying little or no attention to historical changes. Some people claiming themselves Marxists went to an extreme point of structuralism by concluding that ‘there is no real objective “history”’; the notion that there is a real history is the product of empiricism’. Althusser brought in the concept of theoretical practice and insisted that reality is irreducibly complex and manifold, subject to multiple causation. He coined the word over-determination for such multiple causative factors. The causality is also structural. The Althusserian system, with all its apparent emphasis on materialist science, downplays the role of human beings as authors of historical development reducing them to the status of supports or effects of structures and relations of the social formation. It shows its idealism by cloistering knowledge within a wholly circular, self-validating conceptual realism, detached from direct access to what is given as reality. The web of over-determination ultimately leads to a labyrinthine lane in the realm of praxis.

Structuralism was also a reaction especially against the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre. In his early work, Sartre focused on the individual, particularly individual freedom, adhering to the view that what people do is determined by them and not by social laws or larger social structures. However, in his later life, Sartre came closer to Marxian theory with his stress on ‘free individual’ ‘situated in a massive and oppressive social structure, which limits and alienates his activities.’

Saussure, the father of structural linguistics (1857–1913) stood against positive physical facts as actual evidence and argued that physical facts are not sufficient to account for language as language, the language of social groups, as signifying and bearing information. Saussure, the founder of structural linguistics and ultimately structuralism in various fields, differentiated between *langue* and *parole*, the former being the formal, grammatical system of language whose relationships of phonic elements are determined, he believed, by determinate laws. *Parole* is actual speech. *Langue* can be viewed as a system of signs—a structure—and the meaning of each sign is produced by the relationship among signs within the system.

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Fig. 4.2 Ferdinand de Saussure, the Founder of Structural Linguistics

What was important in Saussure's view was a system of signs, a structure, and the meaning of each sign, which is produced by the relationship among signs within the system. Here comes the importance of relations of difference, including binary oppositions, as the meaning of the word 'dark' comes not from some intrinsic properties of the world, but from the word's binary opposition to the word 'light'. When this view is applied to the social world, the meanings, the mind and ultimately the social world itself are shaped by the structure of language. Thus, structural linguistics does not focus on the existential world of people shaping their surroundings; instead, all aspects of the social world are shaped by the structure of language. The Saussurean notion of sign systems were further taken to the field of semiotic, encompassing not only language but also other sign and symbol systems like body language, literary texts and all sorts of communication. It is evident that Saussure, who became the inspirational source for post-modernism, did not reject the societal aspect and stressed that the role of the signifier, as word, is to impart meaning to the signified, a thing or living being, etc.

In the structuralist linguistic system, the relation between the signifier and the signified, expressed by language, is not historical but depends on every moment of utterance. Saussure referred to the concept of dichotomy in understanding a single colour. To understand black the contrasting colour of yellow or to understand dog, the difference is made with some other animals. Thus, the words should be placed considering the differences of the signifiers maintaining proximity. Similarly, there is the dichotomous inter-relationship between colour and sound, colour and sound with form and so on. Such a network of relations, Saussure thought, makes a structure. And to comprehend any structure such binary is considered. He asserted, 'in the linguistic system, there are only differences'.

With all these Saussurean concepts of structure, structuralism was born. In the Durkheimian line, with the advent of Levi Strauss in the 1960s, the analogy between the unity of society and the unity of the thinking of an individual mind is superseded. The members of a tribe are considered to be bonded together by a

perpetual weave and shuttle of back-and-forth transactions. In Levi Strauss' explanation, the unity is no longer linked to centralization. He views kinship exchange as a system of communication and dismisses the biological unit in favour of a larger exchange unit. Thus, in the view of Strauss, marriage binds together not just a man and a woman, but a man who gives a woman and another man who receives her. Here too, culture predominates over nature. The same structuralist view is found in the writings of Louis Dumont who, in his huge work on the Indian caste system, promises to bring forth the ultimate economic basis, but shuns it altogether in favour of the predominating role of Brahminical ideology as a central core of this evil system. This cultural aspect over economics was stretched out further in the post-modernist frame.

Roman Jakobson, the one-time leader of Russian formalism, made a fusion of formalism and structuralism. Formalism pronounced relative detachment from theory emphasizing 'scientificity of literature'. Formalists stated that 'there is a difference between theory and conviction' and 'the vitality of science is not measured by its establishing truths but by its overcoming errors'. They also simultaneously stressed that new forms build up new contents. So formalism in reality is a form-based scheme. There was criticism that formalists were heading towards fixing various contents in various forms, virtually rejecting the literary content. This form-based literature gave birth to a formalistic mechanical method. Jan Mukarovsky kept his faith in formalism up to 1930 and then discovered its limitation. He accepted structural analysis without the rejection of history. Mukarovsky distanced himself from other structuralists emphasizing social consciousness. Jakobson who introduced the word structuralism in the field of linguistics way back in 1929 declared, 'I do not believe in things, I believe only in their relationships'. Jakobson, who is often referred to by post-modernists, however, believed that the development of language is teleological because it follows its rules. He, in his later life, criticized Saussurean concepts of langue/parole or synchrony/diachrony and emphasized the semiotic character of language and its relation with various semiotic fields. But he stuck to the ultimate structural relation between the signifier and the signified. But post-structuralists went beyond all this by simply removing this deterministic relation altogether.

'The problem of structural linguistics is,' in the words of Richard Hartland, 'that, once they have started explaining language hermetically, they find no reason to stop.' There is no clearly visible limit where their kind of explanation cuts off. So an original methodological decision to exclude the outside world gradually turns into a general philosophical principle of unlimited scope.

Reactions to Structuralism

Today, structuralism is less popular than approaches such as post-structuralism and deconstruction. There are many reasons for this. Structuralism has often been criticized for being historical and favouring deterministic structural forces over the ability of people to act. As the political turbulence of the 1960s and 1970s (and

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particularly the student uprisings of May 1968) began affecting academia, issues of power and political struggle moved to the centre of people's attention. The ethnologist Robert Jaulin defined another ethnological method, which clearly pitted itself against structuralism.

In the 1980s, deconstruction and its emphasis on the fundamental ambiguity of language—rather than its crystalline logical structure—became popular. By the end of the century, structuralism was seen as an historically important school of thought, but the movements that it spawned, rather than structuralism itself, commanded attention.

Some thinkers and researchers have totally criticized structuralism and have dismissed it *in toto*. According to anthropologist Adam Kuper, 'Structuralism' emerged in something of the momentum of a millennial movement and a few of its adherents thought that they formed a hidden society of the visibly OK persons in a world of the blinds. Conversion was rejected to be a matter of accepting a new paradigm; rather, it was particularly a question of salvation.

Strengths of structuralism: Structuralism has the following strengths:

- Structuralism is important because it is the first major school of thought in psychology.
- Structuralism also influenced experimental psychology.

Criticisms of structuralism: Structuralism has been criticized on the following grounds:

- By today's scientific standards, the experimental methods used to study the structures of the mind were too subjective—the use of introspection led to a lack of reliability in results.
- Other critics argue that structuralism was too concerned with internal behaviour, which is not directly observable and cannot be accurately measured.

4.3.2 Post-Structuralism

The movements of post-structuralism and post-modernism are closely related to each other. Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes were the two major exponents of the early post-structuralist movement. Derrida, in a 1966 lecture 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Science', submitted a thesis on an apparent rupture in intellectual life. He explained this event as a 'de-centering' of the previous intellectual cosmos. Rather than describing it as progress or divergence from an identified centre, Derrida interpreted this 'event' as a type of 'play'. In a 1976 lecture series, Foucault briefly summarized the general impetus of the post-structuralist movement.

Exponents of Post-Structuralism

The concept of post-structuralism was developed in France during the 1960s as an antinomian movement that criticized structuralism. Some of the famous exponents of post-structuralism were—Kathy Acker, Jean Baudrillard, Judith Butler, Philippe

Lacoue-Labarthe, Jean-François Lyotard, Jean-Luc Nancy, Avital Ronell, Bernard Stiegler, Gianni Vattimo, Gilles Deleuze, Umberto Eco, John Fiske (media studies), Félix Guattari, René Girard, Luce Irigaray and Sarah Kofman.

Just like structuralism, anti-humanism, which is supposed as a rejection of the enlightenment subject, is one of the central principles. In France, the period of the 1960s was marked by political upheaval, because students and workers both rebelled against the state in May 1968, due to which the then French Government neared its fall. Thus, the interest in alternative radical philosophies that included feminism, Western Marxism, anarchism, nihilism and phenomenology increased. These disparate perspectives were all linked by being critical of dominant Western philosophy and culture. Michel Foucault later labeled them as ‘subjugated knowledges’. By exposing the underlying assumptions of many Western norms, post-structuralism provided a means of justifying these criticisms.

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What Post-Structuralism is all about?

- Post-structuralism is grounded in the concept of over determination, even when the concept does not appear explicitly in textual presentations.
- Over determination as an epistemology implies the absence of a break between discourse and the objects of discourse.
- It implies that the theory is not separate from reality nor is reality separate from the theory.

Post-structuralist philosophers like Derrida and Foucault made no efforts to form a self-conscious group, but each responded to the customs of phenomenology and structuralism. Phenomenology is often linked with two German philosophers Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. It rejected earlier systems of knowledge and attempted to analyse life ‘just as it appears’ (as phenomena). Both movements rejected the concept that knowledge could be based on the human knower, and sought what they considered a more secure foundation for knowledge.

Basic Assumptions of Post-Structuralism

The following are the basic assumptions of post-structuralism:

- Post-structuralists hold that the concept of ‘self’ as a separate, singular and coherent entity is a fictional construct. Instead, an individual consists of tensions between conflicting knowledge claims (e.g., gender, race, class, profession, etc.).
- Thus, to properly study a text, a reader must understand how the work is related to his or her own personal idea of self. This self-perception plays a determining role in one’s understanding of meaning.
- While various thinkers’ views on the self (or the subject) vary, it is regularly articulated to be constituted by discourse(s).
- Lacan’s account includes a psychoanalytic dimension, while Derrida emphasizes the effects of power on the self. This is thought to be an element of post-modernist theory.

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- The author's intended meaning, such as it is (for the author's identity, as a stable 'self' with a single, discernible 'intent' is also a fictional construct), is secondary to the meaning that the reader perceives.
- Post-structuralism rejects the idea of a literary text having a single purpose, a single meaning or one singular existence. Instead, every individual reader develops a new and individual purpose, meaning and existence for a given text.
- To step outside of literary theory, this position is generalizable to any situation where a subject perceives a sign. Meaning (or the signified, in Saussure's scheme, which is as heavily presumed upon in post-structuralism as in structuralism) is constructed by an individual from a signifier.
- Thus, the signified is said to 'slide' under the signifier, and explains the talk about the 'primacy of the signifier'.
- A post-structuralist critic must be able to employ a variety of perspectives to generate a multifaceted interpretation of a text, even if these interpretations contradict with each other.
- It is especially important to analyse how the meanings of a text shift in relation to specific variables, generally involving the identity of the reader.

Objectives of Post-Structuralism

Post-structuralism recognizes the power of discourse to shape reality (both perceptions of reality and the concrete reality that is perceived). Discourse (theory) can produce sight of fictive objects, such as race (as in white race), or deny sight of real social relationships/objects, such as class (as in feudal class relationships). In other words, at any given moment and theoretical understanding, you experience only limited aspects of the world and some of what you experience is based on falsehoods embedded in some of the discourses you have learned (falsehoods in the sense of not existing separately from the theoretical constructs, not even satisfying the coherence of defined objects within that discourse, as subject to investigation on the basis of the internal rules of coherence and fact of the discourse (e.g. the genetic notion of race fails upon inspection of the correlation between those physical features ascribed to races and the genetic make-up of those so grouped).

Deconstruction

French philosopher Jacques Derrida introduced the concept of deconstruction in 1967. A major theory associated with structuralism was binary opposition. Derrida began speaking and writing publicly at a time when the French intellectual scene was experiencing an increasing rift between what could broadly be called 'phenomenological' and 'structural' approaches to understanding individual and collective life.



Fig. 4.3 French Philosopher Jacques Derrida

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Paul de Man was a member of the Yale School and a prominent practitioner of deconstruction as he understood it. His definition of deconstruction is that, 'It is possible, within text, to frame a question or undo assertions made in the text, by means of elements which are in the text, which frequently would be precisely structures that play off the rhetorical against grammatical elements.'

Richard Rorty was a prominent interpreter of Derrida's philosophy. His definition of deconstruction is that, 'the term "deconstruction" refers in the first instance to the way in which the "accidental" features of a text can be seen as betraying, subverting and its purportedly "essential" message'.

Between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, many thinkers were influenced by deconstruction, including Paul de Man, Geoffrey Hartman and J. Hillis Miller. This group came to be known as the Yale school and was especially influential in literary criticism. Several of these theorists were subsequently affiliated with the University of California, Irvine Miller has described deconstruction this way: 'Deconstruction is not a dismantling of the structure of a text, but a demonstration that it has already dismantled itself. Its apparently-solid ground is no rock, but thin air.' Luc Nancy argues in his 1982 book *The Inoperative Community* for an understanding of community and society that is undeconstructable because it is prior to conceptualization. Nancy's work is an important development of deconstruction because it takes the challenge of deconstruction seriously and attempts to develop an understanding of political terms that is undeconstructable and, therefore, suitable for a philosophy after Derrida.

Critchley argues in his 1992 book *The Ethics of Deconstruction* that Derrida's deconstruction is an intrinsically ethical practice. Critchley argues that deconstruction involves an openness to the other that makes it ethical in the Levinasian understanding of the term. Richard Beardsworth, developing on Critchley's *Ethics of*

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Deconstruction, argues in his 1996 *Derrida and the Political* that deconstruction is an intrinsically political practice. He further argues that the future of deconstruction faces a choice (perhaps an undecidable choice) between a theological approach and a technological approach represented first of all by the work of Bernard Stiegler.

This theory proposed that there are some specific theoretical and conceptual opposites, often arranged in a hierarchy, which human logic has given to text. These binary pairs could include enlightenment/romantic, male/female, speech/writing, signifier/signified, rational/emotional, symbolic/imaginary etc.

Post-structuralism declines the notion of the essential quality of the dominant relation in the hierarchy, choosing rather to expose these relations and the dependency of the dominant term on its apparently subservient counterpart. The only way to actually understand these meanings is to deconstruct the assumptions and knowledge systems, which produce the illusion of singular meaning. This act of deconstruction illuminates how male can become female, how speech can become writing and how rational can become emotional.

4.3.3 Post-Structuralism and International Relations

Post-structuralism has been criticized by many scholars due to its lack of a theoretical approach to the representational uncertainties. Merquior in one of his criticisms on the structuralist and post-structuralist theories claims that ‘Foucault and Derrida have not just transmuted the disillusionment of the structuralist world-view into nihilism—they have also directed nihilism against truth’ (1986: 238). However, the uniqueness of the post-structuralist theory lies in its ‘lack of theory’ and in its difference from the traditional problem-solving technique. By providing an ontology and epistemology that discards the positivist realm, the scholars of post-structuralism have provided international relations with the apparatuses to deconstruct its ‘truths’. Therefore, post-structuralism becomes ‘dynamic, political and ethical’ (Sikka, 2008: 239) and hence fundamental to the field of international relations. In Der Deriam’s words:

International relations require an intertextual approach, in the sense of a critical inquiry into an area of thought where there is no final arbiter of truth, where meaning is derived from an interrelationship of texts, and power is implicated by the problem of language and other signifying practices (1989: 6).

The difference between a traditionalist theory and post-structuralism is that while a traditional theory might study the possible solutions for the Hindu-Muslim conflict, a post-structural theory would go beyond the normal study of positivism and comprehend the appropriate relations of power and knowledge. It is the criticisms based on the post-structuralist theory that account for its novelty. Indeed, no other approach offers such ‘engaged, rigorous, criticism-conscious exploration of events and activities’ (Ashley, 1996: 246), which ultimately makes post-structuralism central to the study of international relations.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. Name the theorist who blended the theory of Marx and structuralism.
5. Fill in the blanks with appropriate terms.
 - (i) Two key figures in the early post-structuralist movement were _____.
 - (ii) The movement of post-structuralists emerged in _____.
 - (iii) The term 'subjugated knowledge' was used in the respective writings of _____.

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4.4 POST-COLONIAL THEORY

The 'post' in postcolonial theory does not signify the period or era 'after' colonialism came to an end, but rather signifies the entire historical period after the beginnings of colonialism.

End of Colonialism

When the United Nations was established in 1945, the organization had 51 countries as its members. By 1995, when the United Nations celebrated its 50 years of existence, the membership had gone up to 185 countries. The emergence of a large number of states that became UN members was mainly on account of the end of colonialism. With the termination of European imperialism, commencing soon after the Second World War, several new sovereign states came into existence in all parts of the world. The end of subjugation of most of the countries of Asia and Africa heralded a new era. The process of this change came to be described as decolonization. Most Asian countries had become independent by the end of the 1940s. While the American colony of Philippines had achieved independence in 1946, the process of decolonization was accelerated only with India's independence in August 1947. At the end of the 1940s, there were only four independent countries in Africa—Egypt, South Africa, Ethiopia and Liberia. By 1995 when decolonization had been mostly completed, this figure had risen to 55. The last of the colonies, Namibia, achieved independence from South Africa in 1990.

Decolonization, or the disintegration of the Western colonial empire, had two broad components. *First*, a demand by the subject peoples of the colonies for independence, supported by their freedom struggles. *Second*, the inability or unwillingness of the colonial powers to retain their hold over the colonies. Decolonization was largely the result of the struggle of the peoples of colonies; but the changes in the international climate, after the Second World War accelerated the liquidation of the colonial system by weakening the colonial Powers.

One of the biggest changes that can occur in a politically divided world is multiplication of sovereign states. This had happened, on a much smaller scale, after the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires in 1918. A generation later, it

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happened worldwide upon the dissolution of European imperialism. Most of the process was completed in about 25 years' time, though some countries, like Namibia, had to struggle for some more time. The period of decolonization was dominated by the Cold War. Therefore, the new states were bound to be influenced by the prevailing international environment. As the world was divided into two power blocs, the new states were expected to join either of the two. But, led by Jawaharlal Nehru, most of the newly independent countries chose to follow independent foreign policies without joining either the American Bloc or the Soviet Bloc. The non-aligned countries, which refused to be in either of the two blocs came to be treated as the Third World. Thus, the process of decolonization directly influenced the emergence of the Third World.

4.4.1 Process of Decolonization

Decolonization has been described as a revolution in international politics. This 'revolution' had many different causes. Based on the model developed by Ronald Robinson and Roger Louis, all the causes have been placed by Geir Lundestad in three different levels—international, national level (colonial powers) and the local level (the colonies). All of these contributed to the process of decolonization.

Changes at the International Level

At the end of the Second World War, there had occurred a sharp decline in the influence of traditional colonial powers. Shift of power had taken place from Britain, France, the Netherlands and other smaller colonial nations. The two superpowers that mattered were, generally speaking, anti-colonial in their approach. Notwithstanding the American acquisition of certain colonies in the past, the US was opposed to the continuation of colonial system. Most important, the US colony was the Philippines, which was acquired after the US–Spanish War in 1898. President Franklin Roosevelt was clearly anti-colonial. He had promised independence to the Philippines as early as 1935, but when the war began in 1939 the Americans did not initiate any step towards independence of their colony. But, the US belief in the principle of self-determination was in conflict with continuation of the colonial system as a whole. As the US had once torn itself loose from the British Empire, the other colonies were also sure to get their independence. Despite the charge of imperialism against the US by the Soviet Bloc, the Americans regarded it their duty to hasten the process of decolonization.

In regard to the Philippines, the US proceeded even faster than some of the leaders of the colony itself. In 1946, the Philippines became independent. Thus, the US was the first country, after the Second World War, to divest itself of a non-white colony. This example had certain liberating effects. The US administration exerted pressure on European imperial powers to hasten the process of decolonization. Roosevelt had been pressing the British government even during the war to initiate reforms leading to independence of India. The United States was particularly keen to put direct pressure on those colonial powers which were relatively weak. Still, the

Americans waited till 1948–49 to exert pressure on the Netherlands in regard to the independence of Dutch colony of Indonesia.

The policy of the Soviet Union was also clearly anti-colonial. Moscow insisted that all colonies were to be granted independence. However, the Asian Republics of the Soviet Union did not expect to get freedom from the Soviet control. In any case these Republics were not colonies in the traditional sense of the term. Marx had proclaimed imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism. Therefore, ideologically, the Soviet Union was committed to encouraging the process of decolonization by lending its support to freedom struggles. However, shortly after the Second World War, the Soviet Union began to consider many of the leaders of freedom struggles as ‘Western lackeys’. Many of the Indian freedom fighters were also put in this category. This attitude often caused conflict between the local communists and other leaders of freedom struggles. The Soviet support was more pronounced in cases where in a certain colony, the freedom struggle was guided by the communists or other leftists. But, she showed less enthusiasm in cases where communist influence was not significant. This attitude had its direct impact on the policies of the colonial powers. Many of the colonial countries initiated reforms and other steps to ensure that freedom struggles in their colonies did not fall under the control of communists. Thus, says Lundestad, ‘the Soviet Union influenced the actions of the colonial powers both through its policies and by its mere existence.’ If in a colony the freedom movement became ‘communist’, the colonial power slowed the process of decolonization. This is what happened in regard to French attitude towards Indo-China, which had come under communist influence.

The League of Nations had encouraged the independence of mandated territories. Iraq was actually granted independence by Britain in 1932. Similarly, the role of the UN was praiseworthy in promoting the cause of independence of colonies and the trust territories.

Changes within the Colonial Powers

Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands were the main European colonial powers. The British Empire was the largest, where it was said that the sun never set. After 1945, major changes took place in the capability and willingness of the colonial powers to retain their colonies. Even though powers like Britain and France had emerged victorious after the Second World War, their capacity to rule foreign lands was adversely affected. It was influenced by their weakened international position, by economic problems, and by many other considerations. They did not lose most of their resources, yet their will was affected by strong public opinion against colonialism. Use of force to retain colonies was no more thought to be desirable. Without the use of force colonies could not be retained for long even if a section of local population continued to lend its support to the rulers.

The British Empire

One theory of decolonization was that the ‘logical process of dismantling the colonial empires’ was responsible for the success of freedom struggles. The argument is

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that the process had begun in 1776 with the declaration of independence by 13 colonies in America. American independence was followed by that of the white dominions of the British Empire, namely, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The Union of South Africa was described as a white dominion because it was ruled by a white minority. The Spanish Empire had collapsed after the Napoleonic Wars.

India was regarded as the 'next rung on the ladder of history'. With the independence of India in 1947, according to Lundestad 'the floodgates were opened for the non-white colonies'. Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma were given independence soon after India was partitioned and set free. The wave of independence then swept over Africa. The process begun by Britain had to be completed by France, the Netherlands, Belgium and finally, Portugal.

The theory of 'logical process' was not wholly true. It tried to make decolonization appear a much simpler process than it actually was. One colonial power did influence the policies of others, but there were still substantial difference between them. For example, the reforms that the British introduced in India were not followed by other colonial powers in their colonies. Besides, it is doubtful whether Britain introduced reforms with a view to giving freedom. Perhaps their motive was to lay a better foundation for retaining more effective control over the colonies.

Before and during the Second World War, most of the leaders of colonial powers did not visualize the pace of decolonization as it actually occurred. Prime Minister Winston Churchill had declared in 1942 that he had not become His Majesty's Prime Minister to preside over the liquidation of British Empire. Yet within five years, India was free due to international pressure, weakening of British capability and change of leadership. Even the Labour Party deputy leader Herbert Morrison had said that independence for African colonies of Britain would be 'Like giving a child of ten a latch key, a bank account, and a shot gun'. In France and Portugal, there was a hope of an unending union between the mother country and its colonies well after the end of the Second World War.

Labour Prime Minister Attlee had declared his government's intention to grant independence to India by June 1948. But, events moved so fast that India was partitioned and given independence in August 1947. Even at that time British colonial administrators did not visualize the end of colonialism in Africa in the near future. It was expected to take several decades for the success of decolonization in Africa. In 1945, not even one political party in any African colony had complete independence as its objective. Nevertheless, in Western Africa, Gold Coast, under the name of Ghana, became independent in 1958. Nigeria followed suit in 1960.

There were many differences between West and East Africa. In East African colonies like Kenya and Tanganyika (now called Tanzania), the white minority was much larger, and the level of development was not as advanced as in West Africa. The number of foreign settlers was increasing. In 1959, the British Colonial Secretary Body had said that he was 'unable to envisage a time when it will be possible for any

British government to surrender the ultimate responsibilities for the destinies and well-being of Kenya'. The Conservative government of Britain wanted to erect federations partially controlled by Whites in East and Central Africa. Forces of freedom movement moved rapidly and Tanganyika became free in 1961 (she adopted the name Tanzania in 1964). This was followed by Uganda's independence in 1962 and Kenya's in 1963. Malawi and Zambia became independent in 1964. At that time, Southern Rhodesia was the only remaining British colony. In 1965, the White minority government led by Ian Smith declared the country independent. This was apparently done to avoid power going into the hands of the Black majority. The Western countries had to apply strong political and economic pressure on the minority government as the nationalist movement grew stronger. Finally, Southern Rhodesia attained complete independence, under the name Zimbabwe in 1979–80. Namibia, the former German colony in South-Western Africa, had been made a mandated territory under the Union of South Africa in 1919. The racist government of South Africa, pursuing the policy of apartheid, refused to grant independence despite strong public opinion and repeated UN resolutions. Namibians waged a bitter struggle for their independence. Finally, with the independence of Namibia in 1990, the process of decolonization was completed. South Africa itself was subjected to economic sanctions by most of the countries. This had become essential to compel South Africa to give up the policy of apartheid. By 1985, there was strong pressure on the regime both locally and internationally. It was only in 1993 that the first majority government under Nelson Mandela's presidency was established and the last signs of colonialism and racial discrimination were removed.

French Colonies

French colonial policies were quite different from those of Britain. The British Parliament had introduced several reforms in colonies like India with a view to introducing self-rule at the lower levels so as to prepare them for greater share in governance. France on the other hand, worked for gradual assimilation of local population within French culture. French model was based on Paris as its centre. The Union to be controlled from Paris would have representation of local peoples in the National Assembly. In order to achieve assimilation of colonial subjects in the French Union, France was prepared to use force much harsher than the British did. In 1946 several thousand Vietnamese died when the French bombarded Haiphong to drive the Vietminh forces out of the city. In 1947, more than 80,000 people were killed in Madagascar in an attempt to crush a nationalist uprising. France did not think that the British decolonization would have much impact on her colonies. France was sure that it could sustain its colonial rule even if Britain gave up.

It was realized by France in 1944 that after the Second World War, her colonies would demand concessions, if not freedom. Thus, in 1944 at the Brazzaville Conference, where French officials from colonies were present, the future policy of France was announced. It was declared that: 'Any idea of autonomy, and possibility of evolution outside the French bloc, as well as the eventual, even far off, constitution

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of self-government in the colonies, must be set aside.' In the colonies also, leadership had pursued a policy of emphasizing greater voice in Paris, rather than independence.

The most important colony of France was Indo-China in Asia. This territory had been victim of Japanese fury at a time when France herself was under German occupation. After the War, freedom struggle in Indo-China became so intense that France could not muster capacity to retain its hold. After a bitter struggle, France had to accept her retreat at the Geneva Conference in 1954 where she suffered political as well as military defeat. Developments in Indo-China made France determined to hold on to her African colonies. The example of British decolonization could not be ignored. After a strong, though moderate, nationalist movement, two of the North African French colonies, Tunisia and Morocco achieved independence in 1956. Despite various differences between colonies north and south of Sahara, concessions had to be made in the Trust Territory of Togo.

France hoped even in 1956 that she would be able to retain her remaining colonies in Africa. Reforms were introduced, colonies were given better representation in the French Parliament and local assemblies were given more powers. The policy of assimilation was now given up.

France faced maximum problems in Algeria where about 10 per cent of population was French. But, these people owned the best land and all important sectors of economy. The attempts at assimilation of Arabs of Algeria had failed. The nationalist movement initiated in 1954 gained lot of strength when French participation in the invasion of Suez in 1956 misfired. Like the failure of Suez expedition, French policy in Algeria was bound to fail. After Charles de Gaulle became French President in 1958, it was decided to transform the French Union into the 'French Community', or *Communaute*. Colonies were given choice between independence and close cooperation in the community with local autonomy. Only Guinea opted for independence at that time. The new *Communaute* was to have joint foreign and defence policies and a common economic policy. The policy-making body would include presidents of member countries. But, French remained the official language, French anthem 'Marseillaise' the national anthem and the French tricolour the common flag. But, within two years, the colonies began the process of independence. The example of Guinea's independence and of British decolonization prompted the French West African colonies to achieve independence. However, a bloody war was waged in Algeria, which resulted in heavy losses. Finally, President de Gaulle had to concede independence to Algeria in 1962. French decolonization involved far more violence and bloodshed than the British.

Belgian and Portuguese Colonies

The process of decolonization, once started, could not be checked. Still, Belgium and Portugal believed for long that they could retain their colonies despite the collapse of the British and French empires. Belgian policy in Congo (Africa), has often been described as 'paternalistic'. Belgians were far more conscientious than other colonialists. They believed in improving the living standard of people in their colonies.

Therefore, they expected that they would be able to put off the political demands, if ever they arose. The Belgians proclaimed with pride that in 1955, 10 per cent of the population of the Congo attended schools, whereas only 7 per cent in Ghana and 6 per cent in India went to schools. However, there were only 16 Congolese with University education, in 1960. As late as 1958 no preparations were made for the independence of Congo. But, a revolt broke out in 1959 and Belgian Government decided in haste to grant independence. Belgium was keen to have best of relations with an independent Congo. The colony became free in 1960. The new state had many tribes and languages and a strife began after independence, which lasted nearly five years. Finally, order was restored by General Mobutu.

Portugal, under the dictatorship of Salazar, was even less affected by the ongoing decolonization. Portugal tried to pursue the policy of assimilation on the pattern of the French. Portuguese colonies were 'integrated parts of the mother country'. The colonial people would be allowed to participate in the politics of the Empire. The Portuguese believed that decolonization could mean the collapse of the Salazar regime. But, as the independence movements developed, it became impossible to retain either the Empire or the dictatorial regime. Colonial policy was responsible for the fall of the regime in 1974. Even after the collapse of Salazar regime, some of the leaders spoke of the decolonization taking a generation. But, liberation movements gained momentum as radical elements in Portugal built up pressure for decolonization. Guinea-Bissau became independent in 1974 itself. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975. Thus, the fall of Salazar hastened decolonization in the Portuguese Empire.

Changes at Local Level: Freedom Movements in the Colonies

Independence of the colonies was not determined just by the decisions of the colonial powers whose policies and attitudes were different from each other's. It was often seized by the colonies themselves. Freedom movements in different colonies did not follow any uniform pattern. Their nature often differed sharply and the time taken by a movement to be successful depended on many factors such as the determination of local leadership, support of the people and attitude of the concerned colonial power. In many colonies, protest against colonial rule had existed right from the time of the arrival of colonial rulers and occupation of the colony. In other colonies, like Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, etc., these movements began after many of the Asian colonies had already become independent.

Anti-imperialist movements have been divided into two types: (i) The *national independence movements*, and (ii) the *national liberation movements*. In most colonies, the freedom struggle was of the first type, namely, the national independence movement. These movements were aimed at replacing the foreign governments by national governments and building a strong state after gaining independence. The independence movements were not immediately concerned with the restructuring of colonial societies. Leftist scholars call these movements bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements for political change. The other type of movement was

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known as *national liberation movement*. These movements developed rather late and were led and supported by believers of leftist ideas of class-conflict. Their aim was ending of alien rule and radical restructuring of socio-economic system. Both types of movements had common objective of ending foreign colonial rule. But, whereas 'independence movements' were essentially political and were guided by patriotic leaders who aimed at *Swaraj* or self-rule, the liberation movements, on the other hand, were guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their aim was social revolution along with political independence. Thus, while in India we had national 'independence movement', there were 'liberation movements' in Indo-China, Angola, Cuba, etc. To conclude, liberal democracies were set up in the countries which got freedom through independence movements, but socialist states were established after the success of liberation movements.

Three Stages of Freedom Struggles

Geoffrey Barraclough has divided the struggle for independence into three stages. Here no distinction is made between 'independence movements' and 'liberation movements'. Barraclough mentions three schematized stages of development. The *first stage* was dominated by, what he calls, *proto-nationalism*. During this stage colonial rule was accepted by local people, but the social groups and political movements demanded *reforms* within the system. In India, the Congress was established in 1885, but for the next 20 years, it remained a forum for quality debates. The leadership believed in the superiority of British civilization and Englishmen's sense of justice. The early demands of the Congress included limited local reforms and job opportunities for educated Indians. In Indonesia, the first stage began only in 1911 with the beginning of religious-nationalist movement called Sarekat Islam. Similar movements began in Tunisia, Nigeria, etc., around 1920.

The *second stage* is identified as *the rise of new leadership*. Nationalism began to gain ground among the middle class. During this stage the demands made on colonial powers were substantially expanded, and independence was considered, at any rate, as a future goal. In India, this stage lasted till about the time of non-cooperation movement. The social base of the Congress had expanded, yet the struggle was far from being a mass movement. Complete independence was demanded only in 1930. Till then, the aim was dominion status. In Indonesia, Sarekat Islam committed itself to independence as early as 1917. In Tunisia and Nigeria, such turning points were reached only in 1934 and 1944, respectively.

The *third stage* was a nationalist movement with a mass following or a *mass movement*. National movements became so strong by this time that the colonial rulers had to use force to maintain themselves in power. In India, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement reached the common man even in remote villages. The Congress movement for *Purna Swaraj* was a mass struggle for independence. The British had to use force and often sent leaders and their followers to jail. In Indonesia, a comparable movement could be launched by Sukarno only during the Second World War. In Nigeria, the third stage was reached only in 1951.

The three stages were not equally distinct everywhere. The process extended to the longest period of time in the British colonies. In many of the French colonies (e.g., south of Sahara) it took just 10 to 20 years. In the Belgian Congo, there were hardly any demands for independence till 1955. Many local leaders then visualized a period of 60 years or longer for independence. Still, the Congo was free in 1960.

Influence of International Situation

The process of decolonization was largely influenced by the developments in the international situation. These events strengthened the freedom struggles in the colonies, as the colonial powers were weakened. The Second World War itself was the most important single factor that facilitated the process of decolonization. Just as the myth of Russian power was exploded by her defeat by Japan in 1905, so also the power of European colonial nations was shaken by the Japanese invasion and occupation of many of the European colonies in Asia during the Second World War. Almost all the colonies in Asia up to the Burma-India border were occupied by the Japanese. This weakened the colonial powers and gave a bold encouragement to freedom struggles in Asia. Japan herself promoted nationalism in many areas, partly to gather support for herself against the allies. National leaders were encouraged in their struggles, national languages were promoted in Burma and Indonesia and national armies, such as INA, were established and supported. The Japanese even 'proclaimed' independence of Burma and Philippines in 1943 and of Indo-China in 1945. These 'proclamations' had no meaning, particularly after Japan herself was defeated. Many leaders had cooperated with Japan in the hope of gaining independence from colonial masters. These included Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose (India), Sukarno (Indonesia), Aung San (Burma) and Roxas (Philippines). Of course there were many conflicts between the freedom movements and the Japanese interests.

But in the areas which Japan could not occupy, freedom struggles were carried on vigorously by national movements themselves. This was true of India where 'Quit India' Movement was indicative of the people's determination. Britain had to face an uphill task in suppressing the movement.

A vacuum was suddenly created in several Asian colonies in August-September 1945. Japan was defeated so suddenly that the colonial powers could not return in time to recapture power in their colonies. This was particularly true of France (in Indo-China) and the Netherlands (in Indonesia). Consequently, these colonies seized independence. France and the Netherlands never managed to re-establish their control as they had before the war. Britain could not stay much longer in India, Ceylon and Burma. The freedom of Asia had its direct impact on African national movements. As D. A. Low stressed, 'it is not fanciful to assert that many of the critical battles for British colonial Africa were fought, not on the banks of the Volta, the Niger, or the Zambezi, but on the Ganges.' Why not? After all about 80 per cent of population of British colonial Empire lived in India when the process of decolonization began.

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The Second World War contributed to the process of decolonization in another respect also. The economic and military might of the colonial powers had been considerably damaged. The Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) were defeated and their potential destroyed. Even the victors like Britain and France lost much of their influence and power. International system had become bi-polar as the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as two super powers. Both of them were known to be anti-colonial although their position in this respect was not unimpeachable. Even then, their known anti-colonial approach helped in decolonization.

The United Nations was founded in 1945 on the principle of sovereign equality and self-determination of nations. The UN played important role in the 'collective delegitimization of colonialism'. The role that the new members of the UN played in the demise of colonialism was crucial. Countries like India and Indonesia who had achieved independence soon after the end of the Second World War were committed to ending the colonialism. They created world public opinion against the system. On their initiative, a declaration on granting of independence of colonial 'Territories and Peoples' was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in 1960. It proclaimed that the subjugation of any people to foreign domination was a denial of basic human rights and contrary to the UN Charter. Thus, all subjected peoples had a right to immediate and total independence.

The newly independent countries, led by India, gave full support to decolonization even outside the United Nations. Asian Relations Conference convened on the initiative of Nehru, for example, strengthened the cause of Indonesia's independence. Later, the struggle of the Vietnamese people in the 1950s against French colonialism was supported by newly independent Asian countries. Thus, various factors in the post-Second World War situation helped the process of decolonization.

Phased Liquidation of Colonialism

The colonial system was liquidated in phases and stages. It took nearly 45 years for the entire process to be completed, though most of the decolonization was achieved in only about 20 years. The process began in Asia and then moved on to Africa. In 1946, the Philippines became a sovereign state, and Jordan and Syria ceased to be British and French mandates, respectively. India gained independence, and Pakistan was created in 1947. Ceylon and Burma achieved their freedom in 1948, and next year, independence and sovereignty of Indonesia were recognized by the Netherlands. Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia (former Indo-China) were recognized sovereign states in 1949, but they remained within the French Union until France finally lost power in 1954. The first phase ended when Libya was freed from British and French control in 1951. Libya had been under Anglo-French military control since its conquest from Italy during the Second World War. European powers were, however, not yet convinced that imperialism was morally objectionable. Many of them believed that they could still satisfy the colonies by granting them concessions and reforms.

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The second phase of decolonization commenced in mid-1950s, when Morocco and Tunisia denounced their relationship with France and left the French Union. Britain pulled out of Egyptian Sudan, and Malaya became independent in 1957. But, all these states had retained some degree of autonomy even when they were under France or Britain. The independence of Gold Coast (now called Ghana) in 1957 was a crucial event. The freedom struggle of Gold Coast, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, was a short affair but its victory proved that the colonial powers' will to rule was cracking. When the French Community was established in 1958 it was expected that most of French colonies in Africa would be assimilated in the community. At that time only Guinea had opted for complete independence, out of the community. But, within two years most of the French colonies were free. Ivory Coast, Dakeney, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Togo and Cameroon all became independent. Also in 1960, Britain left Nigeria, an independent Somalia was created with the fusion of British and Italian Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo became a sovereign state. In 1961, British rule ended in Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Kuwait. Next year, Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda achieved independence from Britain. In 1962 itself, France ended her long war in Algeria and gave her full freedom. In 1963, British rule ended in Zanzibar and Kenya. During this phase, most of Africa was decolonized. Portugal and Spain were still not convinced of imminent decolonization of their Empires. Portugal was still talking of suppressing 'rebel movements'. Her colonies of Goa, Diu, Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli in India had earlier been freed by Indian armed forces. Portugal was hoping, in 1960s, of assimilation of her colonies in the 'mother country'. But, after the fall of the Salazar regime, her African Empire collapsed in no time. In 1974, Guinea-Bissau became independent. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975.

Most of the colonial possessions of European powers in Pacific Ocean area also achieved independence in quick succession. The only large colony that failed to gain independence till late 1980s was Namibia in South-West Africa. The colony was a German possession till the First World War. In 1919, Namibia was made a mandated territory under the control of South Africa, and in 1945 it was to get the status of a Trust Territory, but South Africa refused. Just as South Africa adamantly refused to give up the hated policy of apartheid, she refused to grant independence to Namibia. All the Third World countries, Member Nations of the Commonwealth and the United Nations itself failed to secure independence of Namibia. It was only in 1990 (about 45 years after the process had begun in Asia) that South Africa granted independence to Namibia. The last phase of decolonization was thus completed.

The two known anti-colonial superpowers had encouraged decolonization in all possible ways. However, the US was still in control of Puerto Rico, Guam and Virgin Islands. The former Soviet Union did not give up her hold over the Asian Republics and Baltic nations till the communist superpower collapsed and disintegrated in 1991.

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4.4.2 Third World

The most outstanding contribution of decolonization was the emergence of the Third World, and its increasing role in international relations. Decolonization had basically changed the complexion of international system. Morton Kaplan, the exponent of the Systems Theory in International Politics, used the term ‘loose bipolar system’ for the post-Second World War cold war situation. The world was divided into two power blocs—one led by the United States and the other by the former Soviet Union. But, several newly independent countries of Asia and Africa decided to keep away from both the blocs. Their approach of non-alignment placed them in a distinct category. The First World consisted of Western liberal democracies, or the capitalist countries, and was under the control of the United States. The First World was also called the Democratic Bloc, or American Bloc, or Capitalist Bloc. The Second World was made up of East European socialist countries that were in the Soviet Bloc. It was also known as the Socialist Bloc, Eastern Bloc, or the Totalitarian Bloc. The new countries which were keen on their political independence and economic development came to be known as Third World, non-aligned, developing countries.

The term ‘Third World’ was coined and used by French demographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952. The term had apolitical connotation and was used for a distinct political grouping comprising newly emergent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of the new nations were geographically not very close to either of the two blocs. They were firmly committed to keeping a distance from both the superpowers while maintaining friendship with all and seeking cooperation from both of them. The ideology of independence was strong. Lundestad says that independence meant revolt against a Western power, which made the alliance with Western Bloc difficult. ‘... yet very few of the new nations carried the anti-Western sentiment so far as to tie themselves to the East bloc.’ This opinion is only partially correct because the desire of independence was so strong that even leaders like Nehru, who were greatly impressed by Western tradition of liberty and democracy, believed that alignment with either bloc would be detrimental to the interests of their countries. Peter Calvocoressi pays compliments to the role of Nehru in the emergence of Third World, and says; ‘The decision of the newly emerging states of Asia and Africa, with few exceptions, to throw in their lot with neither super-power was much influenced by one man, Jawaharlal Nehru.’ India’s first Prime Minister was a world figure. Calvocoressi adds:

He was a pragmatic and eclectic patrician who had imbibed Western liberal and democratic values and was also attracted by the USSR’s record in auto-industrialization. He was repelled by Stalin’s tyranny and police rule, but also by the stupidities of McCarthyism in the United States.

The role of such a leader in the emergence of Third World as a political grouping was immense and lasting. Nehru had realized that bloc politics would be dangerous for newly independent countries. So, he never advocated the formation of the third bloc. Thus, the concept of Third World was different from a ‘third bloc’.

It was a group of countries who had come out of colonialism and who wanted to be on their own, with independent foreign policy and aimed at economic development.

The question of cooperation with other liberated nations was highly relevant, yet there was no question of a third bloc. In fact, the search for solidarity had preceded independence among both Asians and Africans. The first such attempt was made when representatives of 28 countries met in New Delhi in March 1947 on the initiative of Nehru. By that time India itself had not achieved independence. The meeting known as the Asian Relations Conference had representatives of only 8 sovereign countries. It was a Conference of Asians to discuss Asian problems. The tone of discussions was not markedly anti-colonial, though decolonization was in the background of the Conference. India became free in August 1947. The next Asian Conference met in New Delhi in January 1949. The Soviet Asian Republics, which had attended the 1947 Conference, were not invited. Turkey refused the invitation. The rest of Asia was fully represented. Australia and New Zealand sent observers. The immediate reason for convening this conference was the threat to the Indonesian liberation movement by the Dutch. Some expressed the opinion that even the United Nations was encouraging re-imposition of white colonial rule. In December 1948, the Netherlands authorities had resorted to their second police action and imprisoned a number of Indonesian leaders. The Conference demanded their release, immediate establishment of an interim government and independence of Indonesia by 1950. The Conference had clear anti-colonial tone, but it was divided between friends of the West and the non-aligned. Hence Asian solidarity was proving difficult.

The Afro-Asian Conference, held at Bandung in April 1955 was a landmark in the emergence of the Third World as a distinct entity. The convening of such a conference was suggested by Ceylon. The idea was taken up by Nehru and Indonesian President Sukarno. It was described as a 'grand assembly to stimulate cooperation among Asians and put Asia on the map'. The immediate provocation was conclusion of a treaty between Taiwan and the United States, and creation of SEATO and Baghdad Pact—military alliance, on the pattern of NATO, under the leadership of the United States. The idea of holding this Conference was welcomed by USSR and China. But, Thailand and Philippines were not very enthusiastic about attending it. Israel was not invited because Arab countries were opposed to the Jewish state; six of the 29 participants were African states. They were Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana and Liberia.

Paul Johnson uses the term *Bandung Generation* for the sponsors of the Third World. The concept, according to him, was based upon 'Verbal prestidigitation'. He wrote:

There was the first world of the West with its rapacious capitalism; the second world of totalitarian socialism; both with their hideous arsenals of mass destruction. Why should there not come into existence a third world, arising like a phoenix from the ashes of empire, free, pacific, non-aligned, industrious, purged of capitalist and Stalinist vice, radiant with public virtue, today saving itself by its exertions, tomorrow the World by its example?

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Just as a proletariat state was conceived to be the repository of moral excellence in the 19th century, so also now the very fact of a colonial past, and a non-white skin, were seen as 'title deeds to international esteem'. Johnson, thus, suggests that newly independent Afro-Asian countries considered themselves to be oppressed and, therefore, they came together as a group to struggle for their rightful place in the world. He concludes: 'An ex-colonial state was righteous by definition. A gathering of such states would be a senate of wisdom.' The sarcasm in this statement reflects the thinking of a white historian in regard to the emergence of the Third World. President Sukarno had said in his opening speech:

This is the first inter-continental Conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind.' He added; 'Sisters and brothers! How terrifically dynamic is our time ... Nations and states have awoken from a sleep of centuries.

The Bandung leadership hoped for Afro-Asian contribution for world peace. Sukarno said, 'All great religions are one in their message of tolerance... We, the peoples of Asia and Africa ... far more than half the human population of the World, we can mobilize what I have called the *Moral Violence of Nations* in favour of peace.' Richard Wright, a Black American writer, was so overwhelmed by the emerging Third World and the outcome of the Bandung Conference that he wrote: 'This is the human race speaking.'

The concept of the Third World was essentially political. As Calvocoressi wrote: 'It was a Third World because it rejected the notions of a world divided into two, a world in which only the United States and the USSR counted and everybody else had to declare for the one or the other.' Thus, the Third World emerged as an answer to the Cold War politics. Non-alignment was the essential policy at the back of the concept of third world. With the passage of time, Third World began to acquire an economic dimension. The Third World countries were underdeveloped and suffered from economic and social problems such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy and ethnic conflict. Economic development is their primary concern. That is why, the Third World is also described as the 'developing world'. The Third World emerged not merely as a community of countries distinct from the West and the East. In fact, their economic condition is more important for their identification. They are developing countries of the South as against developed countries of the North. They are seeking economic development and rapid industrialization. Most of the Third World countries refused to be tied down to any dogma. They seek help from wherever they get it provided strings are not attached to the aid.

The 'Third World' is not a homogeneous group. It includes people from three continents. They belong to different cultural backgrounds and are part of different political systems. Some of the Third World countries are committed to various brands of socialism, some firmly believe in capitalist order; some are liberal democracies, some are people's democracies, and some are under military rulers. Even their level of development is not uniform. There are countries that are way ahead of others.

South Korea and Taiwan are moving fast in the direction of industrialization within the capitalist system. India is certainly more developed as compared to Nepal or Somalia. Countries like Nigeria, Egypt and Argentina possess significant economic potential, whereas Bangladesh, Haiti and Chad suffer from acute economic hardships. There are numerous religious and ethnic conflicts in many of the developing countries. Some of them, before 1990, were closely aligned with the former Soviet Union (Vietnam, Afghanistan, North Korea), while others were close to the United States (Pakistan, Thailand, etc.). Officially, all of them called themselves non-aligned. Third World, we have said, is not a bloc. Its member countries are against the politics of power blocs. As James Rosenau said, the Third World is not one actor in the international system, in the sense that these nations are not united under one single power. The Third World is an actor in the sense that the developing countries have common problems and common aspirations. The Third World countries cooperate with each other for the solution of their problems and achievement of their goals.

The growing solidarity of the Third World countries was clearly reflected in, and after, the Bandung Conference. This is despite numerous differences mentioned above.

In the post-Bandung years the importance and solidarity of Third World was reflected in various international fora, including the United Nations. The Third World countries generally expressed similar views, in the UN on issues like anti-imperialism, anti-racialism, the threats of war, aggression and intervention. They have consistently supported the principles of peaceful co-existence, self-determination, disarmament and world peace. They have always opposed foreign military bases and argued in favour of peaceful settlement of international disputes. In the United Nations, the Third World countries often confer among themselves so that expression of contradictory views may be avoided, and, as far as possible, a common approach may be adopted.

4.4.3 Neo-Colonialism

A brief reference to neo-colonialism, at this stage, appears to be desirable. It is a modified version of colonialism for the continued exploitation of politically independent countries. It is old colonialism in the new guise—it is a new *avatar* of the old evil. It is a threat to vital interests of newly independent countries of Asia and Africa. Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, defined neo-colonialism thus:

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of national sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.

The outside powers are generally the erstwhile colonial states of Europe. The process of decolonization had not yet been completed when some of the former colonial powers (and other developed imperial powers) adopted the new techniques of keeping new decolonized countries under their domination. The objective of the

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Western developed countries to continue economic exploitation of the former colonies even after granting them independence was to draw maximum economic advantage and political obedience. Rajni Palm Datt had said that, 'The essential objective of neo-colonialism is to maintain the flow of imperialist profits from former colonial territories after the concession of political independence.'

There are various tools of neo-colonialism. The imperial powers may even resort to military intervention in extreme cases. But, as Nkrumah said, generally, 'neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial state may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperialist Power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere.' Besides, power may be exercised by monetary control over foreign exchange through the imposition of a banking system commanded by the imperial powers. The neo-colonialism defines the changed relationship between the former colonial powers and the Third World. Neo-colonialism was devised by them to retain their control and to exercise political power over the Third World countries.

Multinational Corporations

Many of the tools or instruments of neo-colonialism are economic in nature and are aimed at economic exploitation. Multinational corporations (MNCs) are well-known agents of neo-colonialism. They are giant corporations incorporated in one of the highly developed capitalist country. They operate across their national frontiers through subsidiary firms, and exercise control over several markets. They possess large capital and superior technology. Thus, they acquire monopolistic control over the markets in which they operate. MNCs enter Third World countries with the consent of the government of the host country and offer better quality products to earn maximum profit. In India, there were a limited number of multinational corporations before economic liberalization was initiated in 1991. After that, their number has multiplied and their presence is being felt in all areas of economic activity.

MNCs have been defined by Raymond Vernon as a 'cluster of corporations of diverse nationality joined together by ties of common management strategy.' According to Mennis and Sauvant, MNCs are 'Companies that control production facilities in two or more countries.' As mentioned above, these giant companies are mostly incorporated in one of the Western countries, but they spread out in search of maximum profits. Among the largest multinational companies are the Exxon, Shell International, General Motors, Ford, Gulf Oil, Unilever and Hitachi. They operate world-wide and are often used as tools of neo-colonialism in Third World countries. Exxon's tanker fleet, in the mid-1980s, was estimated at six million tonnes, and was half the size of that of the Soviet Union. Exxon's total employees based outside the United States were three times as many as the employees of American State Department. General Motors, annual sale exceeded the gross national products of Indonesia, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia. It was estimated that at the beginning of 1990s, three hundred large multinationals were in control of 80 per cent of the world's manufacturing assets.

According to Barnet and Muller, the MNCs employ management and knowhow from the industrialized countries, especially the United States. They then locate plants in cheap-labour areas, where wages are low and working hours, long. Gradually, they have begun employing managers and other professionals locally also if they are highly qualified and willing to accept moderate salaries. MNCs secure most of their finance capital in the host countries. Once established in developing countries, these corporations appear to create new jobs and stimulate the economy. But, on the negative side, they begin to buy up or drive out through uneven competition smaller local business establishments and producers. In India, for example, since liberalization began in 1991, some of the MNCs have started driving out manufacturers or buying up their products in such areas as soft drinks, ice creams and even snacks (such as potato chips and *namkeen bhujiya*). In the long run, the net effect of the MNC invasion is to increase local unemployment and to impoverish the unemployed masses.

Multinationals often carry out massive and seductive advertising campaigns and, thereby influence the tastes and styles of Third World inhabitants. They seek to turn luxuries into necessities. This is currently happening in India. For example, instead of traditional washermen, washing machines are becoming a necessity. At the same time socially vital issues such as nutrition, clean air and public health are neglected. Since the main purpose of MNCs is profit maximization, they tend to ignore such vital issues as environmental pollution and living standards of the working class.

Those who support MNCs argue that they are powerful agents of World modernization. They create new jobs, introduce new technology and offer high quality products. It is said that by spreading and intermingling their facilities and products globally, the MNCs will render the international wars obsolete and make for world peace. This argument is carried too far because even if MNCs are good in certain areas like modernization, they neither help the poor masses nor easily agree to transfer their technology. World peace through MNCs appears to be too idealistic a dream.

The adverse impact of MNCs is far more than their advantages. We agree with the conclusion of Barnet and Muller that these giant corporations are 'the most powerful human organizations yet devised for... colonizing ... the future.' Rather than being agents of world peace and progress, 'present and projected strategies of global corporations offer little hope for solving the problems of mass starvation, mass unemployment and gross inequality.' In fact, the multinationals have been rightly compared to 'absentee landlords' who are concerned only with increasing their profits. They even involve themselves sometimes in internal political affairs of host country. Thus, multinational corporations have become one of the most important instruments of neo-colonialism.

Loan and Assistance

The economic conditions of most of the Third World countries are so bad that they are forced to take loans and seek assistance from the developed countries and the

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IMF and World Bank. Loan is generally given on high rate of interest and is mostly used for non-productive sector. Consequently, developing countries are left with no alternative but to seek fresh loan from other countries to pay back the earlier loan or at least pay interest on those loans. They often get into the debt trap. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund are largely financed by the US and other Western countries. Therefore, when developing countries seek economic assistance or loan from these institutions they impose those conditions that suit the capitalist countries, and the Third World countries are forced to obey the Western countries in the management of the economy. When the Indian economy had reached a serious crisis stage in mid-1991, India was asked to devalue the rupee twice within one week. India also had to accept several other conditions including liberalization of her economy. The countries whose economies are destabilized have to sign agreements with the IMF and obey its directions for stabilization of their economies. Devaluation, reduction of budget defect, restrictions on domestic credit and cuts in subsidies are some of the measures that needy Third World countries have to take. Their economies are thus controlled by Western countries, international agencies and the MNCs.

Political Interference

This is another device of neo-colonialism. Third World countries are often faced with internal political crises, including instability of elected governments. These crises are sometimes generated by the secret agencies of developed countries such as the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Democratically elected governments are managed to be overthrown if they do not obey the colonial powers. Huge sums of money are spent for political destabilization. Invisible foreign hand often operates to install puppet regimes and pull down the uncomfortable governments. In some cases even national elections are manipulated to serve the interests of colonial powers. Thus, politically independent countries are often directed even in political structure and decision-making by the erstwhile colonial powers.

Military Intervention

When economic measures and political interferences do not serve the desired purpose, colonial powers do not hesitate to resort to military intervention in the Third World countries. Traditional military conquest, aggressions and wars are now avoided. But, measures short of war are often taken to ensure obedience by the Third World countries. Military assistance is offered and even provided to Third World countries on the terms and conditions that serve the Western powers. Threats of military action, stoppage of assistance, discontinuation of economic or military supplies are some of the measures short of actual military intervention. The US has been pressurizing India for over a decade and a half to sign the non-proliferation treaty, NPT. Late in 1995, Americans announced that India was going to test a nuclear bomb. Although India categorically stated that manufacture of nuclear weapons is not on its agenda, yet Americans threatened to apply sanctions if India conducted a test. Such threats are tactics of continuing with oppression of Third World countries. When even these measures fail to achieve desired results, direct military intervention is also resorted. Excuses for intervention are always found.

These are only some of the instruments of exploitation of the Third World countries by the former imperialists. Neo-colonialism is denial of true economic freedom and political independence. Unless the Third World countries unite and resist the colonial interference, true and lasting world peace will only remain a dream.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

6. What happened with the end of colonialism?
7. Name the main European colonial powers.
8. How has Raymond Vernon defined an MNC?

4.5 THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is the buzzword of today's world, be it the field of politics, economy, society or personal development.

Defining Globalization

Globalization is a complex process affecting our daily lives in many ways. Movement of goods, people, ideas and culture has become very easy through improvement in technology and means of communication. Many people in our cities work in multinational corporations. We buy foreign goods, watch foreign movies and can visit any place easily. These are few manifestations of the globalization process. First, we try to find a working definition of globalization. Defining globalization remains one of the most challenging tasks for modern scholars. The challenge mainly arises due to widest spectrum of disciplines and discourse that the phenomenon of globalization tends to cover; most of the definitions are limited to one or other disciplinary area covering some aspects of this process and leaving out some. Any study of globalization must understand beforehand that the process of globalization pervades into almost every sphere of human activity and touches every aspect of human experience (for example; social, cultural, political, spiritual, technological, etc). Thus, an all-encompassing definition of globalization becomes difficult. The following are some of the definitions of globalization:

- 'Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happening are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Anthony Giddens).
- 'Globalization may be considered as a process (or a set of processes) that embodies a change in the spatial organization of social relations and transformations—assessed in names of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact—generating interregional and transcontinental flows and networks of activity interaction, and the exercise of power' (David Held).
- 'Globalization describes a trend of increasing transnational flow and increasingly thick networks of interdependent (people)' (Robert. O. Keohane).

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- ‘Globalization is the growing integration of economies and societies around the world’ (The World Bank).
- ‘The term globalization has been widely used to describe the increasing internationalization of financial markets and of markets for goods and services. Globalization refers above all to a dynamic and multidimensional process of economic integration whereby national resources become more and more internationally mobile while national economies become increasingly interdependent’ (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD]).
- ‘Globalization is a process along four dimensions—economic globalization, formation of world opinion, democratization and political globalization. This was rounded off with the assertion that changes along one of the dimensions (such as economic globalization) elicited changes among the other dimensions’ (George Modelski).
- ‘Globalization is the inexorable integration of markets, nation states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before—in a way that is enabling individual’s corporations, nation states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system. It means the spread of free market capitalism to virtually every country in the world’ (Thomas Friedman).

On the basis of the aforementioned definitions, the important elements of globalization are as follows:

- Globalization is multidimensional or multifaceted.
- It is just not a single set of phenomenon or process, but a complex web of phenomenon or processes.
- It is marked by communication, interdependence, integration, connection and mobility.
- Globalization is primarily a descriptive rather than a prescriptive term.
- Nation states are no longer the only actor in international relations and many other actors (NGOs, supra-national actors, sub-national actors, trans-national corporations, etc.).
- The boundaries of states are becoming porous and permeable leading to increasing movement of people, goods, ideas, services and information.

The term globalization itself is used in many senses. Both in popular culture and academic literature, this term is described in various ways; for example, it is a process, a condition, a system, a force and an age. However, with the development of globalization studies in last two decades, many scholars agree that this term should be primarily understood as a process, because it comprehends the dynamic changes in various spheres in society and these changes in it are a matter of study. The final result of globalization leads to the creation of a global world or a globalized world.

4.5.1 Patterns of Contemporary Globalization

Global village is a 'popular image used to describe the growth of awareness that all people share a common fate, stemming from a micro perspective that views the world as an integrated and interdependent whole.' This image of world emphasizes that there is a development of global community, which is not only linked via economic interest, but also shares common issues and common concerns. This idea of global village is possible with rapid and unrestrained communication at every level and in each sphere, thereby increasing human and non-human interaction in real time. Let us discuss some of the major components of contemporary process of globalization.

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Social and Cultural Globalization

The significant factors that symbolize and also drive globalization in social and cultural domains are telecommunication revolution, personal computers, internet, world media, global migration, global infections and health, global diffusion of popular culture and global NGOs, etc.

The growing speed and flow of communication marks the death of distance and leads to greater and deeper interaction between people societies and nations. The cellular phones have brought revolutions in the way people connect to each other. Instantaneously, one is able to talk and listen to people of distant places. Today, the number of cellular phone users are growing at a very fast speed and the cellular network has penetrated into the remotest corners of the earth. Today, the total number of mobile phone users have reached nearly 500 million. Thus, it links every corner of the earth in various networks of communication.

Personal computers and the Internet have changed the human society in many ways. The spread of personal computer have aided every other means of globalization by simplifying and accelerating the pace of human activities. However, the advent of Internet has become 'the symbol' of globalization. The Internet, spearheaded by World Wide Web (WWW), has brought the entire world at your desktop/laptops. Now you can connect with the world anytime and anywhere through cyberspace. The cyberspace proved communication in real time and is beyond the shackles of state boundaries. The cyberspace makes possible online communities, online business and almost every other human experience online. Hence, the Internet links people from around the globe creating a global community.

At the same time, the traditional electronic media have become global through satellites. The satellite television reaches every corner of the earth, intruding the domains of inaccessible areas, and is spreading news and views on a global scale. It has been pointed out by many scholars that the reach of media promotes Western culture as global media is mainly concentrated in and controlled by the West. At the same time, the fact remains that the global media is playing an increasingly important role in opinion formation and agenda setting about pertinent global events and issues.

There are around 214 million migrants (international) in the world today. A migrant is a person who leaves his habitat (region or country) and moves and settles

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in another habitat for different purposes. Recently, it was estimated that by 2050, there would be 405 million migrants in the world. In the past ten years, the total number of migrants have reached more than 3 per cent of total population of the world. This phenomenal number of migration has been made possible by easy and cheap communication and driven by search for a better life, both in economic and political terms. The international migration raises important issues for both emigrant and immigrant country. Kegley and Wittkopf are of the view that global migration raises a host of 'moral issues such as ethnic balance inside host countries, the meaning of citizenship, sovereignty, the distribution of income, labour supply, xenophobia, the impact of multiculturalism, protection of basic human rights and prevention of exploitation, and the potential for large flows of migrants and refugees to undermine democratic governance and state stability.' Incidentally, the movement of people also leads to the spread of infection and diseases. Therefore, globalization is making health issues a common concern for humanity. The outbreak of bird flu and swine flu affect several parts of the world at the same time and it is difficult to contain them. Therefore, their containment calls for global cooperation.

With cultural globalization, it is observed that world is witnessing the emergence of a single culture or in critic's words, acceptance of the Western culture as the global culture. McDonald's and Hollywood are the two biggest symbols of global culture and are the drivers of the globalization of culture; however, at the same time, this Western influence in different traditional societies is producing a backlash in the form of the reassertion of national, regional, local and ethnic identities.

Economic Globalization

In any discussion about globalization, economic integration of the world is recognized as the driver of globalization. Incidentally, the globalization of trade, finance and production has become a pioneer and a symbol of globalization. Gradually, most of the world economies are adopting neo-liberal policies and opening their borders for the free movement of goods and services. The most dramatic increase can be observed in cross-border capital flows. Since Second World War, the financial flows have risen phenomenally and now exceed merchandise trade by more than 40 times. Even the daily turnover of the foreign exchange market is rising at an astonishing pace. The free flow of capital is leading to an integrated world financial market. Eventually, this also reduces the control of national central bank over the management of capital flows. Naturally, the movement of capital is towards less restrictive economic regimes. Kegley and Wittkopf cite three important reasons for financial globalization, which are as follows:

- First, the oil crisis of 1973–74 and the subsequent OPEC decade unleashed a rapid increase in global financial flows and stimulated new patterns of global investments and new financial management procedures.
- Second, beginning in the 1970s and accelerating in the 1980s, the basic philosophy governing financial and capital movements began to accept the

values of 'deregulating' markets in adherence with commercial liberalisms' tenet that market operates best when free of government interference.

- Third, the computerization of finance.

In recent times, there has been a progressive reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers world over. The World Trade Organization (WTO)-led regime of free market is transforming the world into a borderless market. The trade volumes have climbed phenomenally. 'Over the past millennium, world population rose 22-folds, per capita income increased 13-folds and the world Gross Domestic Product (GDP) nearly 300-fold. This contrasts sharply with the preceding millennium, when world population grew by only a sixth, and there was no advance in per capita income.'

In 2007, the total world GDP (PPP) was \$65 trillion, total world export was \$13.87 trillion and the import was \$13.81 trillion. Apart from traditional big economies of West, new Asian economies (India, China and Southeast Asia) have emerged as major economic players in the world economy. Their emergence is a critical factor in the growth of world GDP and trade.

Apart from the globalization of trade and finance, the productions have also become global. Many big national industries, corporations and firms have become multinational and transnational corporations. Their production system is highly diffused in whole world. The production decentralization is happening both due to market needs and labour costs. The production units of these MNCs and TNCs (for example, Ford, Siemens, Reebok, General Motors, Phillips, etc.) are spread all over the world. These MNCs are also achieving this with strategic corporate alliance, i.e., MNCs cooperating with foreign companies in the similar industries.

Other Dimensions of Globalization

Environmental problems are no longer limited to states and regions; these have become global in nature. The whole world is affected by global warming, ozone depletion, rising population, depletion of resources, etc. When the problem is global, the response should also be global. This way a shared sense of identity about ecology is created, and all agree that we all share this earth commonly. At the same time, there is an 'expansion of transnational and global law from trade to human rights alongside the formation of new legal institutions for example the International Criminal Court indicates the emerging global legal order.'

4.5.2 Perception of Sceptics and Critics

Before moving further to critics, the issue raised by sceptics that globalization is not a new phenomenon must be addressed. Generally, it is accepted by both general populace and academics that globalization is a new phenomenon fuelled by new technologies and increasing mobility. But sceptics say that today, the world is more regionalized and less globalized compared to the 19th century (Hirst, Thompson and Gilpin). They try to prove it by trade interdependence of pre-World War II era. The sceptical view of globalization is well summarized by Anthony McGrew (Baylis and Smith *Globalization of world Politics*) in the following words:

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By comparison with the period 1870 to 1914, the world is much less globalized economically, politically and culturally. Rather than globalization, the contemporary world is marked by intensifying regionalization and internationalization. The vast bulk of international economic and political activity is concentrated within the group of OECD states. By comparison with the heyday of European global empires, the majority of the world population and countries in the south are now much less integrated into the global system.

Therefore, some scholars try to prove that the phenomenon that we know as globalization are not new and the accepted root of globalization, i.e., economic integration is less intensive than pre-World War I period. But with a close observation, you can find out that the sceptics are focusing on only one aspect of globalization, i.e., economic integration. In the past, the international integration was mainly driven by economic interaction but many other elements of contemporary processes of globalization were missing. Today, the process of globalization pervades into every domain of human experience and touches the daily lives of common populace. However, at the same time, it must also be acknowledged that the contemporary process of globalization is neither a break from the past nor a sudden burst of activities. Today's globalization is based on modern technologies and these technologies are themselves a result of years of scientific discovery. Any new technological breakthrough stands up on the shoulders of many scientific scholars and theories of the past. Thus, the ideas and ideologies fuelling the process of globalization both directly and indirectly go beyond these five decades or so.

According to Prof. R. Narayanan, the critics of globalization have the following three major concerns:

- (i) Compromise of national economic interest
- (ii) Curtailment of nation-state sovereignty
- (iii) Erosion of national identity

The unhindered flow of financial capital is ridden with problems such as the Southeast Asian financial crisis, Argentinean crisis and Mexican crisis. There is almost no effective control by central banks on financial flows and financial capital moves according to the rules of market. In any time of financial woes, when the capital starts flying away from a state, there is no mechanism to stop it, and consequently it leads to deeper crisis. Apart from this, the unregulated market based on neo-liberal principles produces an unequal world internationally and unequal society domestically. There is a growing debate about the effects of globalization on sovereignty. Critics argue that with globalization, there is a gradual erosion of national sovereignty. Essentially, the on-going process of globalization tends to undermine the three core elements of the Westphalian system, i.e., territoriality, sovereignty and autonomy. With these developments, the world politics is becoming less state centric. States are losing their autonomy to decide on many matters within their own territory. The emergence of supra-national actors and international NGOs has 'eroded' the sovereignty of nation states. The newly emerging international regimes and supra-

national institutions are making rules and regulations, which are binding upon nation states. There is an added problem relating to democracy and accountability with this phenomenon of international regimes and institutions dictating terms within the territory of nation states. Democracy essentially means that people themselves directly or indirectly decide about their governance matters. However, today many matters are decided by international institutions, which are not directly accountable to people. This eventually leads to a larger threat to democratic values and processes. Critics argue that globalization also leads to the erosion of national identity. According to them, 'two ways in which globalization is claimed to generate pressures on national identity are the increased mobility of populations across the world and advances in global communication networks.' Due to these reasons, individuals get uprooted and alienated from their own societies and cultures either physically or virtually and lose their identity. They just become an 'unencumbered self' devoid of any attachment to culture and society.

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4.5.3 Emerging Scenario

There are many definitions of globalization. Generally, it is accepted that globalization is a multifaceted phenomenon having an impact on every domain of human activity and experience although critics argue that the impact of globalization is limited to north and most of the underdeveloped countries are not touched by it, or this process is just another name for neo-colonialism. On the other hand, in the view of sceptics, there is nothing new about globalization, and this is internationalism or regionalism, not globalization. However, it has been observed that the modern globalization is fuelled by technological innovation and has led to unprecedented increase in mobility of goods, services, people and ideas. The process of globalization has many ramifications too. The traditional identities are reasserting themselves against the forces of globalization. In brief, the process of globalization is still unfolding and it is difficult to predict its outcome. Whether it will lead to a globalized society or a fragmented one is the question of the hour.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

9. List the important elements of globalization.
10. What are the significant factors that symbolize and drive globalization in social and cultural domains?
11. What has eroded the sovereignty of nation states?

4.6 PEACE STUDIES

Peace means different things to different people. There is disagreement about the ways and means in which it can be attained. However, there is no disagreement about the fact that it is desirable for the overall benefit of the various sections of

society. Since there is no unanimity about the connotations of peace, the approaches, perspectives and theories of peace also vary from culture to culture and society to society.

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4.6.1 Different Perspectives on Peace

Peace is mostly conceived as the absence of war or at the most the absence of overt violence. Most efforts to secure peace were thus focused on preventing the outbreak of wars or trying to get a ceasefire in place so as to stop the war as soon as possible. But religious and philosophical traditions have elaborated on peace at length. Most of these are focused on equality, harmony and non-violence. These religious and philosophical ideas continue to shape the ideas about peace. However, in contemporary times peace is not seen as just an idea, 'it is a goal that can be obtained by conscious efforts to build a harmonious social order'.¹

Indian Perspective

Mahabharata and Gita

The Mahabharata, a Hindu epic, describes a civil war that took place between cousins belonging to a royal family—the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Arjuna, one of the Pandava warriors, refuses to fight his own family members and relatives who belong to the opposing camp as it would entail killings among brothers. However, Krishna manages to convince him to fight by telling him that it is his duty to do so.

The most important part of the Mahabharata is the *Bhagavad Gita* popularly known as the *Gita*. The *Gita* explains human beings how to lead a happy and peaceful life in a world that is full of dualities and dilemmas. Its central teaching is that human beings can attain happiness and peace by performing one's duty. One should perform one's duty efficiently irrespective of the outcome and without being attached to the result. *Ahimsa* should be the norm but if duty requires violence as in the case of Arjuna, then it is unavoidable. The *Gita* inspired Gandhi for it de-emphasized the 'individual self in the pursuit of higher goals.'²

Jainism

In Jainism, peace is not just an idea, it is practically possible to attain and establish peace. For this one needs to be moral. The trinity of values that are stressed in Jainism are *maitri* (friendliness), *kshama* (forgiveness) and *abhaya* (fearlessness). Establishing universal friendliness was the main concern of Mahavira, the last of the twenty-four *tirthankaras* of Jainism. This would require purification; the more one purifies oneself the more good one can do to others. *Ahimsa* or non-violence and *anekanta* are the two basic tenets of Jainism. Non-violence is a way of life and includes harmlessness, tolerance and non-hatred towards others. *Anekanta* means that there are many shades of the truth or reality; there is no one truth. *Ahimsa* and *anekanta* put together are principles of peaceful coexistence.

Buddhism

Buddhism believes in the interconnectedness of all things. It lays emphasis on non-violence and compassion and thus is anti-war. The Four Noble Truths as enunciated by Gautama Buddha are central to the Buddhist thought:

- Life is about suffering or *dukkha* which includes mental and physical suffering such as anxiety, fear, frustration, sadness, injury, old age and death. Human beings want to hold on to things but nothing is permanent in this imperfect and constantly changing world. As a result we are all dissatisfied.
- The origin of suffering is attachment or ‘craving’ and ‘clinging’. Human beings not only crave for desire, fame, wealth etc. but are also ignorant about this craving. We are ignorant about the transient nature of all things around us.
- Suffering can be ended through *nirodha* or dispassion. Through *nirodha* all attachments can be extinguished. The ultimate level of dispassion is *Nirvana* wherein people become free from all worries.
- The Eight-fold Path, a gradual middle way of self-improvement, can end suffering by ending the cycle of rebirth.

The fourteenth Dalai Lama, a Tibetan Buddhist monk and the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, emphasizes that peace can be attained through compassion and love. This compassion and love is based on selflessness and not selfishness. Promotion of humanitarian values is essential to secure happiness and world peace. This can be done by developing universal responsibility where all human beings show concern and compassion for one and all, irrespective of any discrimination. The basis of universal responsibility is interconnectedness and the fact that all beings have the same desires; all want happiness rather than suffering.

Ashoka’s Dhamma

After the battle of Kalinga where the Kalingans lost, Ashoka gave up military campaigns being moved by the pain, destruction and violence caused by the war. He converted to Buddhism and dedicated the latter part of his life to non-violence. He enunciated the ideology of the *Dhamma* which was inspired by Buddhism. In order to propagate the *Dhamma*, Ashoka issued proclamations which were engraved on rocks and pillars in different parts of the Indian subcontinent. These were addressed to the public at large and explained his ideas on the *Dhamma*. Ashoka’s *Dhamma*, in the words of Romila Thapar (an Indian historian) ‘aimed at creating an attitude of mind among his subjects in which social behaviour had the highest relevance.’³

In the fourth major rock edict, Ashoka proclaimed his interest in *Dhamma*—abstention from killing and non-injury to living beings so as to foster goodwill rather than the militarist spirit. *Dhamma* focused on tolerance, non-violence, respect for people in authority, kindness towards the weak and inferior, and other such values that are favourable to human dignity. Tolerance referred to two things: ‘toleration of people themselves and also of their beliefs and ideas’.⁴ Non-violence was fundamental to the *Dhamma*. It ‘implied both a renunciation of war and conquest by violence and

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a restraint on the killing of animals'.⁵ Ashoka however realized that complete or absolute non-violence was not practical as in some situations violence may be unavoidable. The thirteenth edict was left out of the texts engraved on the rocks in Kalinga because Ashoka believed that it would remind the people of his attack and the consequent violence and stir their emotions.

Sufism and the Bhakti Movement

The Sufis were non-conformist in their belief and emphasized on equality in society. They stressed on rational thinking and pursuing knowledge by employing empirical observation.

Islam and particularly the teachings of the Sufis had been a major source of influence on the Bhakti movement, though the devotional Bhakti cults were a pre-Islam phenomenon. The leaders of the Bhakti movement were critical of institutionalized religion, rituals and the caste system and were opposed to violence. They treated women equally and encouraged them to join the movement.

The two Bhakti leaders who contributed the most through their teachings were Kabir and Nanak. 'Kabir either denied the Hindu and Muslim ideas of God or else equated them by stating that they were identical...Nanak went a step further and described God without reference to either Hindu or Muslim conception'.⁶ Both emphasized on living simply and leading a normal balanced life; they were critical of extreme ways and methods of living. Kabir and Nanak both wanted to reorganize the society on egalitarian patterns.

Sufi and Bhakti conceptions of peace were liberal traditions opposed to orthodoxy. Both believed in union with God and 'love' was to be their basis of relationship with God. Both Sufi and Bhakti traditions were instrumental in producing a culture of inclusiveness and co-existence within the Indian subcontinent.

Sikhism

Sikhism stresses on a prescribed code of conduct. Its teachings are based on the *Guru Granth Sahib* and the ten Gurus. Sikhism believes in human liberty, equality and fraternity. It emphasizes on universal brotherhood and universal peace and prosperity. It is committed to providing selfless service to entire humanity. Sikhism attaches importance to an optimistic and happy life. It focuses more on *sukh* (happiness) rather than *shanti* (peace). It believes that happiness is an active state where justice based on truth is present. On the other hand, peace is seen as the absence of conflict and therefore a passive state. Besides, force and oppression may be employed to achieve peace. Sikhism does not believe in total pacifism. Sometimes military action may have to be undertaken so as to promote justice. Guru Gobind Singh was in favour of military action but only if it was necessary. Moreover it had to be taken up only as the last resort.

Akbar and the Concept of Sulh-i-kul

Akbar had discussions and debates on religious issues with the representatives of various religions wherein he tried to understand things from the perspective of different

religions. These debates ‘convinced Akbar that all religions had elements of truth, and that all of them led to the same Supreme Reality’.⁷ This belief led to the evolution of *Sulh-i-kul* (Absolute Peace) which referred to peace between all religions. *Sulh-i-kul* was an attempt by Akbar to reconcile the differences between different religions and their factions, which were a source of conflict between them. Moreover, from the administrative point of view, these conflicts prevented the Mughal state from taking a neutral stance towards the various communities. Thus, it was concluded that ‘all religions were to be tolerated, but did not need to be followed’.⁸

Gandhi’s Non-violent Approach to Peace

Gandhian non-violence is based on religious principles and sources drawn from Hindu, Buddhist and Jain scriptures and traditions. Gandhi was also influenced by the Sermon on the Mount, Henry David Thoreau’s idea of civil disobedience, and Leo Tolstoy’s perspectives on non-violence. The concept of *ahimsa* is based on the principle of unity of all life. In the Gandhian paradigm, non-violence or *ahimsa* is a strategy or a political technique as well as a way of life and a comprehensive programme of existence which included proper conduct, proper food, proper dress, vegetarianism, celibacy, sanitation, etc.

Apart from *ahimsa*, *satyagraha* is the other key concept in the Gandhian thought. The term *satyagraha* is a combination of the concepts of ‘truth’ (*satya*) and ‘firm’ (*agraha*) and literally means, ‘standing firm for truth’ or ‘holding on to truth’. Gandhi referred to it as ‘truth-force or soul-force’. These two concepts together are the active instruments of non-violent social change which would help build up a non-violent social order.

The principle of *tapasya* or the ‘willingness to suffer’ is a core idea in the Gandhian conception of non-violence. The *satyagrahi* must be willing to endure self-suffering for a just cause and do so without inflicting violence in return. By enduring self-suffering and subjecting one’s body to the process of self-purification, the *satyagrahi* can touch the conscience of the adversary and inspire a sense of justice in them. The adversary can thus be converted to see the truth.

Satyagraha is a weapon of the strong and cowards cannot practice it. Writing to this effect in *Young India* on 28 May 1924, Gandhi said: ‘My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice...Non-violence is the summit of bravery.’

Gandhian *satyagraha* is thus based on the principles of non-violence, truth, justice and self-suffering. It is a weapon of the strong and there is no place for cowardice in it. Gandhi not only developed the major tenets of *satyagraha* but also practised them in his lifetime in South Africa and in India. The influence of Gandhi and his thoughts is visible in the lives and actions of several individuals such as Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela who struggled against injustice and exploitation, as well as on movements against oppression and violence such as that

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of Aung San Suu Kyi and her party National League for democracy's struggle against the military junta of Myanmar.

Non-Indian Perspective

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Concept of Peace in Judaism: The Hebrew word 'shalom' means 'peace', in simple terms. But peace here is not just absence of violence it is rather 'complete peace', which connotes contentment, wholeness, well-being and harmony. The peace strand does not occupy a prominent place in the Old Testament. But the Jewish prophet Isaiah and later Hebrew prophets were strong supporters of peace. According to Isaiah, war did not lead to success but it was rather 'a punishment to be inflicted on those who had failed God'.⁹

Concept of Peace in Christianity: Peace, love and non-violence are the basic foundations of Christianity. The Old Testament stated that 'swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks'.¹⁰ Besides, community of love was very much emphasized in early Christian social utopia. According to the New Testament, Jesus declared, 'My peace I give unto you'. The New Testament instructs believers to love even their enemy and tells them to return evil with good.

Christianity's major contribution to peace is the doctrine of pacifism. Pacifism simply means opposition to war and violence and commitment to peace. The term has a Latin origin and literally connotes 'peace-making'. It has been referred to in the Sermon on the Mount wherein Jesus espouses renunciation of arms and says that 'peacemakers' are blessed. The following extract from the Sermon on the Mount enunciates pacifism:

You have heard that they were told, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'. But I tell you not to resist injury, but if anyone strikes you on your right cheek, turn the other to him too... You have heard that they were told, 'You must love your neighbour and hate your enemy'. But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for your persecutors.

(Matthew 5:38-46)

The early Christian church largely promoted pacifism. Absolute pacifism was revived in the Middle Ages by groups like the Anabaptists. In contemporary times, small sects and 'peace churches' like the Society of Friends (popularly known as Quakers), the Mennonites and the Church of the Brethren adhere to these pacifist traditions. Pacifists not just oppose military policies but also resist conscription for wars as well as refuse to pay the proportion of tax that goes towards military spending. John Howard Yoder, a Mennonite theologian, insists that Christians should not indulge in violence against others especially of the kind which would involve taking another life. A.J. Muste, a pacifist, vociferously appealed people not to comply with military draft or conscription, terming it as 'holy obedience'.

Concept of Peace in Islam: The term 'Islam' is derived from the Arabic word 'salam' which simply means 'peace'. However, in holistic terms it means submission to God's will and abiding by His law. Peace and peace-making are viewed as Godly

acts in Islam. Peace needs to be established at all levels—the personal, social, national and international levels. It must be based on justice, which refers to equal protection, fair treatment and enjoyment of rights by all human beings.

Chinese Concept of Peace: Lao-tzu was a Chinese philosopher in the sixth century BC. He was the author of *Tao Te Ching*. *Tao* means ‘the way’ or ‘the path’, *Te* refers to ‘strength’ or ‘virtue’, and *Ching* means ‘scripture’ or ‘laws’. *Tao Te Ching* can thus be referred to as ‘Book of the Way’ or ‘The Way and its Power’ or ‘The Law of Virtue and its Way’. This classic scripture deals with the art of living. Lao-tzu laid the foundation of Taoism which is mainly based on and influenced by the natural world. He used peaceful images from nature to convey his ideas—‘water’ is soft but manages to cut over even rocks. Again ‘wind’ too is soft and supple yet leaves its mark on a hard substance like iron.

Lao-tzu’s main concern was that individuals were not willing to follow the path or way of natural goodness. Individuals and their activities such as usage of military force were a blot on the natural world which was perfect otherwise. They thus needed to return to nature. If people wanted to achieve peace and tranquillity, they were advised to do nothing (*wu-wei*). Here Lao-tzu did not mean ‘nothing’ in the literal sense—he in fact meant that people needed to follow the natural forces and shape their activities in accordance with them—not fight against the natural order. This would help in harnessing the powers of the universe.

K’ung Fu-tzu’s (popularly known as Confucius) thoughts, teachings and philosophy, referred to as Confucianism, have had a major imprint on Chinese society. His teachings and ideas were compiled in the *Analects*. For Confucius, ‘the attainment of peace was the ultimate human goal and that peace came from social harmony and equilibrium’.¹¹ His philosophy is based on ‘jen’ which means empathy or ‘loving others’. Empathy could be applied by using the Golden Rule: ‘What you do not wish for yourself, do not do to others’. Apart from empathy, Confucius also emphasized on self-discipline. His main aim was to revive the traditional values and virtues of benevolence and ritual propriety in Chinese society. Loyalty to the family and respect of the elders was very important for Confucius. The family could in fact become the basis for an ideal government.

Both Taoism and Confucianism were distinct responses to prevailing social, political and philosophical conditions in China during the times of Lao-tzu and Confucius. However, there were basic differences in their core beliefs. Confucianism was mainly concerned with social relations, human society and human conduct while Taoism was more individualistic in character and drew inspiration from nature.

Mo-tzu was another renowned ancient Chinese philosopher. He was against war and an advocate of love. He said, ‘Those who love others will also be loved in return. Do good to others and others will do good to you. Hate people and be hated by them. Hurt them and they will hurt you. What is hard about that?’¹² Love for Mo-tzu was a ‘universal human virtue and the highest earthy goal, yet one that is within the grasp of each of us’.¹³ He thus propounded ‘universal love’ or ‘impartial caring’.

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For Mo-tzu 'universal love' was not an ideal but rather something very practical. In 'universal love' what mattered was the 'will' or 'intention' to love as in reality it will not be practically possible to benefit everyone. When people care for everybody equally and love each other, it is beneficial to one and all.

Compared to Confucius, Mo-tzu did not lay emphasis on conforming to rituals but rather propounded self-reflection. Self-knowledge comes from reflecting on one's successes and failures in life. For this people should lead a life of self-restraint.

4.6.2 Theories of Peace

Perpetual Peace: Immanuel Kant was a German philosopher who wrote the book *Perpetual Peace* published in 1795. Kant strongly argued for a world government. He saw the state as the main culprit in causing wars and the reason for this was anarchy or 'lawlessness'. But Kant also believed in the potential for human being to be rational. Cultural progress would make people use reason which in turn will make them act morally. Kant laid out three definitive articles for the realization of perpetual peace:

- 'The civil constitution of each state shall be republican'.
- 'The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states'.
- 'The rights of men, as citizens of the world, shall be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality'.

The republican constitution is based on democracy: freedom of men, equality of citizens and single common legislation for all subjects. Due to lack of laws, states injure one another by going to war. The solution is to form a federation of free states and develop a framework of international rules by which relations between states will be governed. Here each state will submit itself to certain conditions but the right of each state will be guaranteed. The third and last article referred to the citizens of a country having the right to visit another country. Such people were not to be treated in a hostile manner. Thus, Kant believed that peace could be achieved by clearly laying out the rights of sovereign states and preventing one state from interfering into the matters of another. Kant's ideas of perpetual peace had a major influence on democratic peace theory. However, the two are not one and the same.

Democratic Peace Theory: The core of democratic peace theory is the idea that democratic states do not go to war against each other or rarely indulge in this act. However, the opposite of this is also true. Democratic states are likely to go to war against non-democracies. Thus, the key idea here is that democracies are favourable to peace. However, David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel argue that 'the evidence is overwhelming that democracies are no more peaceful than other forms of government, although they are unlikely to go to war against each other'.¹⁴

Conservative Theory of Peace: Though conservatives look favourably at war, they too have advocated perspectives on prevention of war and peace. Plato was of the view that war was unavoidable. So if city-states (of Athens) wanted to survive in the violent world, they needed to organize themselves hierarchically. Hobbes

opined that those who wanted to avoid the war, where everyone was against everyone else ('the state of nature'), needed to impose on themselves an autocratic authority (*Leviathan*).

Western conservative traditions are also in favour of exercising strong controls, in the form of laws and their strict implementation, over individual conduct so as to ensure peace. According to conservatives, war occurs because of two reasons: social order is unstable and aggression is inherent in human beings. If power is secured and exercised properly, there would be no wars except sometimes in situations when the 'international state system' needs to be adjusted. The concept of 'balance of power' and 'realpolitik' are contributions of the conservative theory of peace.

Edmund Burke was one of the prominent conservative thinkers. He emphasized on the importance of 'traditions'; the traditions that have been inherited from the past need to be respected. Thus, it was critical to preserve the existing institutional order. Basically, the conservatives were suspicious of democracy, did not have faith in the rationality of individuals and were in favour of social hierarchies.

Liberal Theory of Peace: The liberals believed in political and legal equality. Liberal thinkers like Adam Smith favoured free-market economy. Montesquieu advocated peace from an economic perspective. He was of the view that international trade and commerce would promote peace. In the 19th century, liberal reformers 'proposed institutionalized mechanisms that are necessary for the conquest of organized violence, namely inter-state war'.¹⁵ Liberals are thus opposed to war. With globalization, the liberal thought that more trade and interdependence of economies would lead to not just economic prosperity but also peace, has gained currency. However, anti-globalization campaigners do not agree with this.

Leftist Views on Peace: The leftist thinkers claim 'a strong association with world peace'.¹⁶ Mao Tse-tung, a leftist opined that they did not favour war and advocated its abolition. However, war could be abolished only through war. Thus, organized violence or war is essential for ending social oppression and class violence. Marx, Lenin, and Mao, all are in favour of using revolutionary violence so as to achieve the social goals of emancipation of workers, establishment of socialism etc.

Socialists are of the opinion that peace is possible only in a classless society. The main reason for violence is economic inequality and social injustice perpetuated by authoritarian political regimes. Only a handful of people (capitalists) control economic resources and exercise power; these people exploit the majority. The world can get liberated from this exploitation by building solidarities among human beings, irrespective of their nationality.

Feminist Theory of Peace: The main focus of feminist theories is on achieving gender equality. Feminists recognize that there are multiple realities. Their key propositions are based on values. The feminists believe that in comparison to men, women are uniquely affected by war and violent conflict as their bodies become the marker for expression of revenge and hatred. On the other hand, due to their nurturing

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roles, they are seen as natural peacemakers and peace-builders. Besides, the nurturing role also makes them see alternative ways of dealing with problems.

There is violence and domination in the society because it is organized in a hierarchical manner and masculine values are given more preference here. Peace can be achieved by removing violence in the public as well as the private spheres. Feminists are thus against war, militarism and other forms of organized state violence and in favour of disarmament.

Feminists also oppose other forms of oppression and violence such as racism, ethnocentrism, social and economic inequality, authoritarianism, ecological destruction, etc. The alternatives to these forms of violence must be based on equality—equal relations between men and women, equality among races and ethnicities, social justice, economic equity, democracy, and equal distribution of resources. Feminists stress that no socio-economic initiative can be successful without the participation of women.

According to the feminist view, the state-centric or national security paradigm gives more preference to the ‘defence of sovereignty’ and the protection of the borders of a state. The national security perspective is a manifestation of patriarchal norms. On the other hand, feminist notions of security tend to be inclusive rather than exclusive; all people irrespective of their nationality, race, religion and gender would be included. Secondly, as opposed to the national security perspective, feminists propose a human security paradigm where the focus is on the protection of life and enhancement of the quality of life.¹⁷ This can be done by fulfilling basic human needs and ensuring safety in both private and social relationships.

4.6.3 Approaches to Peace

Positive and Negative Peace: Peace is also viewed as positive and negative. Negative peace means the absence of organized state or military violence or war. This is the realist theory or realpolitik perspective of peace. Raymond Aron views peace as a state where rivalry and opposition between the political units has been ‘more or less’ suspended. This is symptomatic of negative peace. The alternative to negative peace is positive peace. Positive peace was propounded by peace researchers like Johan Galtung. Positive peace ‘refers to a social condition in which exploitation is minimized or eliminated, and in which there is neither overt violence nor the more subtle phenomenon of underlying structural violence’.¹⁸ Thus, positive peace is not just about the absence of war but rather the absence of overt as well as structural violence. Structural violence denies people their rights and their ability to satisfy basic human needs, e.g., economic well-being, cultural identity, socio-political rights and freedoms. This kind of violence is very widespread and visible but remains unrecognized.

Peace-making and peacekeeping activities fall within the domain of negative peace while peace-building activities are indicative of positive peace. Negative peace believes in maintaining the status quo while positive peace stresses on the creation of new structures that are based on equity and equality and that does not discriminate

between communities, groups and individuals. Positive peace can assume the form of justice, cooperation, harmony, equity, etc.

There is disagreement about the means for achieving peace. Some thinkers justify the usage of violence to achieve peace. In 1787, Thomas Jefferson wrote that ‘the three of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants’. But others do not agree with it. Quincy Wright says that violence as a means to attain the end of peace cannot be justified under any circumstances.

The Just Peace Perspective: The conflict transformation school of thought emphasizes on just peace, which is the final goal of conflict transformation and peace-building. Just peace includes the containment and reduction of not just overt conflict and overt violence but also the transformation, if not elimination, of structural conflict and structural violence. The concept of just peace contends that when justice is pursued violently it further adds to injustice. Thus peace without justice will not be sustainable. When working towards just peace, restorative justice should be preferred over retributive justice.

Social Justice and Peace: There is a general agreement that ‘just society’ is desirable but there is no consensus about what constitutes ‘just society’. Capitalist countries tend to give more importance to economic freedom and civil and political rights while socialist countries stress more on economic and social security. Social injustices cause war and lead to structural violence. At the international level, developed countries of the world enjoy power, wealth, status, affluence, access to resources, etc. They would like the present state of affairs to continue. On the other hand, majority of the people residing in developing and underdeveloped countries have to struggle hard for even two square meals a day. For the latter, there is no social justice and they would like major social and structural changes. Establishing social justice need not necessarily mean the end of wars but social and economic development would definitely lead to less structural violence.

Human Rights and Peace: David P. Barash says, ‘Human rights and peace are inextricably connected’.¹⁹ He specifically describes four such connections:

- Peace is denied when human rights are denied. When fundamental human rights are violated even without an armed conflict, there can be no peace.
- The way in which a state treats its own population is reflected in its treatment of other nations as well.
- When human rights are denied in a country, it ‘can provoke breaches of the peace, if other states become involved’.²⁰ This is popularly referred to as humanitarian intervention and is a legally sanctioned part of international law. However, it is also true that in the name of humanitarian intervention, states have often violated human rights of the citizens of the country where they intervened.
- Violation of the right to self-determination, a widely recognized human right, has often led to violent conflict and war. Thus, it is quite likely that the pursuit of human rights can lead more to violence than to peace.

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Barash concludes that 'the connection between human rights and peace is complex and multi-faceted'.²¹

In spite of the complex connection between human rights and peace, it cannot be denied that respect for human rights can contribute to positive peace. They can also 'enhance positive conditions for human development'.²² Civil and political rights provide protection to individuals against the state. Economic and cultural rights can be enjoyed only when there is social justice. Besides, human rights are also essential for the satisfaction of basic human needs.

Human rights and human development are interdependent. Civil and political rights cannot be separated from socio-cultural and economic rights. On the other hand, development 'must be based on human rights principles of non-discrimination, equity, social justice, self-sufficiency and solidarity'.²³ An authoritarian regime may deny equity and equal opportunities by discriminating against certain communities and groups; this will hamper their process of development. If structural violence is not attended to, the marginalized sections of the society would continue to suffer. These conflicts when left unaddressed could lead to a violent conflict.

Ecology and Peace: Industrialization has degraded the environment and threatened the quality of life in several parts of the planet. The adverse effects of environmental degradation are now being felt all over the world. The ecosystem that supports life on earth is in danger due to 'global warming, ozone depletion, deforestation, distortion of bio-diversity with the elimination of species, exploitative use of land, pollution of the sea and shortage of water'.²⁴ Common resources such as water and air have been polluted for narrow selfish ends guided by greed. Increasing population is further adding to the problem. The earth cannot support unsustainable economic growth as its limited resources are getting depleted at a fast pace. Due to rapid population growth, the earth is unable to renew its resources. Moreover, the degrading environmental conditions are likely to increase poverty and inequality, which in turn can provoke violent conflict.

Since the environment is an interrelated system, the ill-effects of problems in one part of the world reverberate in other parts. Environmental degradation is no longer a national security issue; these concerns need to be looked at as a common security threat where the cooperation of one and all would be needed for the betterment of the situation.

Economy and Peace: There can be no peace in the world when there is a huge gap between the rich and the poor. Globalization is believed to have widened this gap. Poverty need not necessarily lead to war directly but it is not amenable to peace either. The causes for poverty may vary from country to country and even within the various regions of a country—some may lack resources, some may be poor because of government policies and the ideologies professed by their governments, some may be facing the ill-effects of environmental degradation, some may be debt ridden and yet some others may be having huge populations.

Peace in this scenario would essentially mean a betterment of the social and economic situation of the poor. This would require socio-economic development and other measures. However, the rich (both countries and people) prefer the status quo and are not interested in the redistribution of resources and wealth.

Holistic Conceptions of Peace: In contemporary times, there is an increasing emphasis on holistic conceptions of peace—peace between different levels is interlinked—individual peace or inner peace is directly related to peace in the wider environment in which the individual inhabits. Holistic perspectives are focused on the direct connections between humans and their ‘bioenvironmental systems’. These holistic views are mostly in harmony with those expressed in religious notions of peace.

General systems theory and their proponents such as biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy also argue that self-organizing systems are essentially connected to larger systems of the universe; the creation and sustenance of the former is largely determined by the interplay of dynamics in the latter. This is evident in the human greed to control the environment which has led to ecological destruction, threatening life support systems. These human activities end up providing material and physical security and comfort to only few at the cost of others. The human ‘self’ is not separate from other species and the natural world to which they have caused irreparable damage. Thus, holistic notions of peace are based on ideas that link ‘the ideal of the human spirit to the harmony between different components of the earth system and even universe’.²⁵

4.6.4 Peace Culture

In a violent culture, the use of violence as an instrument or a tool is legitimized, e.g. there are cultures where war is seen as aesthetically beautiful, even sacred (Holy War); cultures where some kinds of killings are right and just. The world has already witnessed two World Wars and numerous other small and big violent wars resulting in huge losses of life and property and insurmountable misery. Besides, we are witness to different kinds of conflicts at various levels—inter-state, intra-state, ideological, ethnic and communal, factional, conflicts over resources etc.; interpersonal, organizational, community, social, national and international level. Societies, nations and countries thus seem to be embroiled in a ‘culture of violence’ where there is no respect for the sanctity of life and violence is all pervasive. However, if war culture is a reality of the human race, peace culture too is a fact of human life.

According to Elise Boulding, peace culture ‘can be defined as a mosaic of identities, attitudes, values, beliefs, and patterns that leads people to live nurturally with one another and the earth itself without the aid of structured power differentials, to deal creatively with their differences, and to share their resources’.²⁶ Conflicts are present in peace cultures but they are dealt with creatively. This ability to deal with differences is at the heart of peace culture. In peace culture, there is ‘creative balance among bonding, community closeness, and the need for separate spaces’.²⁷

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The term ‘peace’ in peace culture refers to ‘positive relation between parties, of union, togetherness’.²⁸ Societies and cultures develop their own patterns of balancing between peace and violence, between needs for bonding and separate spaces or autonomy.

Peace and violent conflict/war need to be seen as a continuum wherein on one end of the spectrum are different forms of war while on the other end there are cooperation and integration and problem-solving activities like negotiation and mediation. We thus have alternative choices. As human beings, we make the decision of whether to go for violent activities or to side with peace activities, based on various factors and circumstances.

Religious traditions usually comprise of two ‘contrasting themes—holy war culture and holy peace culture’.²⁹ The holy war culture is based on patriarchal notions and exercises force and domination over the weak and the marginalized at various levels—the family, the community, the national and the international. On the other hand, in holy peace cultures, ‘love’ primarily guides all actions; it treats all persons equally. Holy peace cultures based on non-violence are present in some religious traditions such as the Anabaptists in Christianity. All religions contribute to the building of a peace culture in some way or the other.

It may seem as if a culture of violence is all pervasive but it is not inherent in human beings; human beings can accommodate both culture of war as well as culture of peace. Peace as well as violent and aggressive elements are generally present in all cultures. However, some cultures may have more of the former and less of the latter as in some of the faith-based communities. The peace elements of a culture may not be very visible but that does not mean that it does not have any; we may just not be looking for it in the right place. These peace resources which are found in all societies need to be harnessed to shift the balance from violence towards peace. Such resources include but are not limited to ‘utopian longing for peace, both secular and faith-based peace movements, environmental and alternative-development movements, and women’s culture’.³⁰

There is a vision and longing for peace in communities and societies; idealistic notions of ‘heaven’ and ‘paradise’ are part of this belief. Holy peace teachings have led to the emergence of faith-based peace movements which aim to train people in non-violence, actively protest against militarism and collaborate with other communities on peace issues. Secular peace movements have also become very visible in contemporary times. International and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have tried to bring together people from all walks of life and of different nationalities on common platforms. They raise issues that touch human lives—social, economic, political and cultural. These organizations work on various issues of peace (may be not directly always) and contribute to the building of a peace culture, e.g., on disarmament, development, human rights and non-violence.

The environmental movement is also contributing to the building of peace culture. This was evident in the Earth Charter initiative, Kyoto Protocol etc. Grassroots

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organizations and local self-help groups have tried to creatively resolve local social, economic and environmental issues as evidenced by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and the Chipko Movement in India to name a few. Women's organizations are increasingly visible all over the globe. They are not just raising daily bread and butter issues but are also contributing to the cause of peace. Women's movements are also focusing on the various kinds of violence inflicted on women, both in the private realm as well as in the public space and how violence affects women differently. Youth and children too are seen to be actively contributing to the peace movement. Organizations like Voice of Children and Rescue Mission: Planet Earth are also devoted to this cause. All these movements are trying, in their own small ways, to break the shackles of a global system based on domination, militarism and power.

The family is a source of peace culture as well as of violence. Women's culture of nurturing flourishes in the family. They bear and rear children and take care of the needs of the rest of the family. This nurturing culture plays a critical part in the development of peace behaviour. Besides, communities have developed their own ways and means of resolving conflicts. These are passed on from generation to generation through families and are also interwoven into stories, folklores, songs, symbols, etc.

The Anabaptist culture which is prevalent in the religious communities of Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren pay special attention to raising children so that they grow up into peaceful non-violent adults. They are trained in non-violent ways of responding to conflict. These cultures also make active contribution to peace-building such as the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), which works globally on peace and justice issues.

The concept of 'zones of peace' has always been existent in human history. Temples and holy sites have been seen as safe places. The Hebrew Bible declared that farmlands and orchards and the women who tend them will be protected in war times. This concept of safety has been carried forward in modern times as well. Cities and towns or specific places within them are declared as safe zones. Also there are presently a small number of countries who have no military forces, viz., Costa Rica. Besides, there are nuclear-weapon-free zones which have been established by treaties facilitated by the United Nations, e.g., the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, popularly known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco, signed in 1967.

The culture of violence and war poses major obstacles to a culture of peace. The culture of violence can be seen not just in overt forms of violence but it is visible in the functioning of institutions as well (structural violence), for they deprive certain rights and the ability to satisfy basic human needs to some groups. Besides, it is also noticeable in the media, in our behaviours, attitudes and relations. However, as seen above, sustained efforts are being made to shift from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. The resources that will facilitate this shift are present in almost all cultures, we just need to dig them out and start making use of them in our daily lives.

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A culture of peace needs to be based or built on three elements – equality, equity and mutual respect.³¹ Structures based on inequality and inequities are likely to lead to conflict and violence, sooner or later. Thus, structures should first and foremost aim at fulfilling basic human needs which will ensure dignity to human lives. This needs to be done at the local and national level. At the global level, trade and other relations between states need to be based on equal exchange. This will take care of equity issues. The peace elements of one's own culture as well as that of other cultures need to be respected and celebrated.

UNESCO's Culture of Peace Initiative

The concept of 'culture of peace' was formulated at the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men, held in Cote d'Ivoire in 1989. The International Congress recommended that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 'help construct a new vision of peace by developing a peace culture based on the universal values of respect for life, liberty, justice, solidarity, tolerance, human rights and equality between men and women'. The context in which the International Congress took place and came up with such a far reaching recommendation is also significant—the Berlin Wall had just fallen and the Cold War had come to an end.

In 1994, the first International Forum on the Culture of Peace was held in San Salvador, the capital city of El Salvador. In 1998, the United Nations General Assembly (resolution A/52/13) defined Culture of Peace as consisting of values, attitudes and behaviours that reject violence and endeavour to prevent conflicts by addressing their root causes with a view to solving problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations. So simply speaking, 'a culture of peace is a culture that promotes peace'.³²

In 1999, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. It came up with eight action areas that are linked to culture of peace and non-violence:

- *Fostering a culture of peace through education* by promoting education for all, focusing especially on girls, revising curricula to promote the qualitative values, attitudes and behaviour inherent in a culture of peace, training for conflict prevention and resolution, dialogue, consensus-building and active non-violence.
- *Promoting sustainable economic and social development* by targeting the eradication of poverty; focusing on the special needs of children and women; working towards environmental sustainability; fostering national and international co-operation to reduce economic and social inequalities.
- *Promoting respect for all human rights* by distributing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights at all levels and fully implementing international instruments on human rights.
- *Ensuring equality between women and men* by integrating perspective and promoting equality in economic, social and political decision-making; eliminating

all forms of discrimination and violence against women; supporting and aiding women in crisis situations resulting from war and all other forms of violence.

- *Fostering democratic participation* by educating responsible citizens; reinforcing actions to promote democratic principles and practices; establishing and strengthening national institutions and processes that promote and sustain democracy.
- *Advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity* by promoting a dialogue among civilizations; actions in favour of vulnerable groups, migrants, refugees and displaced persons, indigenous people and traditional groups; respect for difference and cultural diversity.
- *Supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge* by means of such actions as support for independent media in the promotion of a culture of peace; effective use of media and mass communications; measures to address the issue of violence in the media; knowledge and information sharing through new technologies.
- *Promoting international peace and security* through action such as the promotion of general and complete disarmament; greater involvement of women in prevention and resolution of conflicts and in promoting a culture of peace in post-conflict situations; initiatives in conflict situations; encouraging confidence-building measures and efforts for negotiating peaceful settlements.

The term ‘culture of peace’ was inspired by an educational initiative in Peru and the Seville Statement on Violence, both of which were developments in the year 1986. The Peru initiative was referred to as *Cultura de paz*. The Seville Statement on Violence was written for the United Nations sponsored International Year of Peace. It involved a team of international specialists who proved that peace is in fact possible because ‘war is not a biological necessity’.³³ The need for such a statement arose as there was and there is a widespread notion that human beings are inherently conflictual, that we are genetically programmed for violence. But the Seville Statement based on scientific research and evidence proved otherwise. It made the following conclusions:

- It is scientifically incorrect to say that we have inherited a tendency to make war from our animal ancestors.

Scientists conducted studies on animal behaviour including animal aggression. Prof. John Paul Scott reviewed these studies at Seville and concluded that warfare is unique to human beings.

- It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behaviour is genetically programmed into our human nature.

The role of genes is to provide a developmental potential but that can be realized only in combination with the ecological and social environment. Genes neither produce individuals inclined towards violence nor do they determine the opposite. Human beings have the capacity for violence and selfishness but they also have the capacity for non-violent action and cooperation as well.

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- It is scientifically incorrect to say that in the course of human evolution there has been a selection for aggressive behaviour more than for other kinds of behaviour.

Among species, status within the group is attained by cooperating and fulfilling socially relevant functions. The Seville Statement therefore argued that violence is neither in the human evolutionary legacy nor in their genes. Experts who claim that humans are violent and selfish by nature tend to overemphasize the importance of aggression and under-emphasize the importance of cooperation.

- It is scientifically incorrect to say that humans have a ‘violent brain’.

The neurophysiology of human beings does not compel them to react violently. Human acts are shaped by how they have been conditioned and socialized. Culture and cultural factors play a role in this.

- It is scientifically incorrect to say that war is caused by ‘instinct’ or any single motivation.

Cognitive factors are more important in modern warfare than emotional and motivational factors, sometimes referred to as ‘instincts’. Modern war involves the use of personal characteristics such as obedience, social skills such as language and rational considerations such as cost-calculation, planning and information processing. Thus, war is not solely based on instincts.

The Seville Statement was endorsed by a wide range of scientific and professional organizations around the world and was based on the latest scientific evidence. It was adopted by the UNESCO in 1989. The Statement argued that there is nothing in our biology which is an insurmountable obstacle to the abolition of war and other institutional violence. It concluded that war is neither in our genes nor is it inherent in human nature; it is actually a ‘social invention’. Therefore, there is nothing that prevents human beings from creating peace; if they can create war, they can also create peace. It is thus possible to replace the ‘culture of violence’ with a ‘culture of peace’.

The year 2000 was designated as the International Year for the Culture of Peace. A global movement representing an alliance of actors working towards a culture of peace emerged during this year. 2001–2010 was designated by the General Assembly as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World with the aim of creating a world free of violence for the future generations.

The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations states, ‘We the people of United Nations (are) determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind’. If we are to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, we need to build a culture of peace. Fostering a culture of peace is needed today much more than ever as conflicts are no longer being fought on battlefields but within and between societies and communities.

4.6.5 Peace Education

Having looked at the culture of peace, the question now arises, how do we build it? A probable answer to this question is found in the Preamble of the UNESCO constitution which says: ‘Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed’. The UNESCO Culture of Peace elucidates on the mechanism or means through which peace can be constructed in the minds of human beings: ‘For peace and non-violence to prevail, we need to foster a culture of peace through education by revising the educational curricula to promote qualitative values, attitudes and behaviours of a culture of peace, including peaceful conflict resolution, dialogue, consensus building and active non-violence’.³⁴

Fostering a culture of peace through education is the first of the eight action areas laid out by the 1999 United Nations Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace (resolution A/53/243). This action area highlights the crucial role that institutions of formal education, i.e., the school, can play in fostering a culture of peace. However, education in culture of peace is not only about formal education; it includes non-formal education as well. Non-formal education is education that takes place outside the classroom and the school. Education—both formal and non-formal—needs to focus on building a culture of peace and non-violence. Education must empower children to become active participants in their future. The UNESCO stresses that the ‘culture of peace through education’ is the base upon which the other seven action areas can be built.

Outlining the composition of education, Daniel Webster said, ‘Knowledge does not comprise all which is contained in the large term of education. The feelings are to be disciplined, the passions are to be restrained; true and worthy motives are to be inspired; a profound religious feeling is to be instilled, and pure morality inculcated under all circumstances. All this is comprised in education’.³⁵ Gandhi viewed education as that which is relevant and meaningful to the lives of human beings. He felt that education should ‘make of us men’ and ‘enable us to do our duty’. For Gandhi, education was not confined to the 3Rs as these were not practically relevant in day to day lives of human beings. The real aim of education was to build characters. Much of the education today assumes that violence and injustice are a fact of life. Many even glorify wars leaving people with the assumption that we do not have choices. But real education aims to help people to see that we do have choices.

Education can positively contribute to building a culture of peace. Education includes not just higher education but also education at the primary and secondary level. In fact, it is better to start early as far as constructing the defences of peace in the minds of men are concerned. ‘Peace Studies’ or ‘Peace and Conflict Studies’ has been established as an independent discipline worldwide and universities run specialized courses on them. These courses concentrate on the analysis of conflicts at different levels and also focus on how peace can be built.

Peace education concentrates on changing attitudes and behaviour so as to achieve cooperation and encourage non-violent problem-solving. It makes people

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aware of their biases, prejudices and stereotypes. Education has a normative component and most definitions of peace education also touch on the normative aspect. Peace education can take place in formal as well as non-formal relaxed settings (outside the classroom). Efforts to introduce peace education in the school curriculum have been undertaken in several parts of the world.

Johan Galtung compares peace to health and proclaims that just wanting health is not enough; one would need knowledge and skills as well. The same is the case with peace. 'Peace education should fill the gap between wanting and acting'.³⁶ However, the field of peace education is not free from controversies for there is disagreement with regard to how to obtain peace and what would be its ultimate goal. It is thus a 'contested concept'. Galtung opines that peace education can provide medium and long-term perspectives. In the medium term, it can prepare the foundation wherein the seeds for peace would be planted. In the long term, it can prevent violent conflicts from taking place as people would have gained the capacity and the skills to deal with conflicts non-violently and creatively.

Birgit Brock-Utne defines peace education as 'the social process through which peace...is achieved...includes the practising of equality of rights and equal power-sharing for every member of a given community...further includes the learning of skills of non-violent conflict resolution...also includes respect for human rights'.³⁷ However, according to her it is very difficult to treat peace education 'in a scholarly manner because the term is open to so many different political interpretations. For political reasons—to reach consensus on a definition of peace education to be used in the international community or in the official school curriculum guidelines—the term is intentionally made to be open to various interpretations and to accommodate various viewpoints'.³⁸

Since the field is too wide open it is 'unwieldy' as well. That is why there have been attempts to divide it into smaller manageable areas or 'subfields' like development education, human rights education, disarmament education, etc. Brock-Utne sees peace education as 'the generic umbrella' for these other related areas. However, there are debates on whether peace education is a broader concept that also includes human rights education or whether human rights education is the 'approach' through which peace education should be looked at. There are diverse views on this debate.

Betty Reardon, an American peace education expert is of the view that what would specifically go into peace education is neither clearly laid out nor is it defined in terms of what it would be limited to. In her research, she found out that peace education in the United States focused on nine areas all of which were either focused on cognitive aspects or on building attitudes or behaviour: conflict resolution, cooperation, global environment, human rights, multicultural understanding, non-violence, social justice, global environment and world resources. For Reardon, the objective of peace education is to 'promote the development of authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the

present human condition by changing social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it.’³⁹

Its core is the ‘control, reduction and elimination’ of violence.

Birgit Brock-Utne distinguishes between education about peace and education for peace. Education about peace is a formal approach to peace education while education for peace is a broader approach. There is also a difference in the way the two see ‘education’—the former sees education as the ‘limited, formal learning of matter, acquisition of knowledge’ while the latter is about ‘informal learning of attitudes, values and behaviour.’ Depending on one’s requirements, education for peace programmes can be either narrow or wide. When it is broad, it has the long-term aim of promoting positive peace; when narrow, it focuses on addressing or preventing a specific conflict. However, there is no dichotomy between the narrow and the wider component; in practice they are closely inter-linked. Besides, both have a normative approach. Education for peace can be undertaken in societies which are facing violent conflicts as well as in societies where there is a likelihood of violent conflict breaking out. Both adults and children can be a part of education for peace.

The goal of education for peace is the development of ‘the critical and analytical mind’ and ‘cooperative way of working’. However, this is easier said than done in the settings of a formal school system, for structurally it is geared towards and promotes competition, achievements of the individual and getting grades.

Pedagogy is a very critical aspect of peace education. Paulo Freire’s work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, written in 1968, lays out the framework in this regard. According to Freire, the modern education system is a hierarchical setup which treats students like empty vessels, where teachers need to deposit knowledge. He terms this as the ‘banking’ approach to education. This process ends up dehumanizing both the teacher and the students. Here the teacher is the ‘subject’ and the students are mere ‘objects’ and knowledge is devoid of reality. Freire contends that students need to be seen as co-creator of knowledge and the aim of education should be *conscientization*, where education is a medium of consciously shaping individuals and the society. This is to be done through dialogue or the dialogical method.

Education for Peace in India

In India, peace education programmes have traditionally been concerned with promoting certain core values. Different commissions and committees recommended the incorporation of value education at all levels. Consequently, the National Curriculum Frameworks of 1975, 1988 and 2000 adopted a value-oriented approach to integrate peace concerns in education. A major shift in this approach was witnessed in the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) of 2005 which felt that value education gets subsumed in peace education. Moreover, peace education and value education are not identical in nature and content. Peace education can help better understand values and also help in their internalisation. Without such

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a framework, values do not get integrated with the learning process. Peace education can thus provide the context for value education and also facilitate its operationalization. Moreover, there is a growing realisation in the world today that children should be educated in the art of peaceful living in the wake of alarming increase in violence in school life. Gandhi too had said: 'If we are to teach real peace in the world we shall have to begin with children.' As a result, the need for integrating peace concepts, attitudes, values and behavioural skills into the school curriculum was felt. Thus, out of the twenty-one focus groups constituted in the context of NCF 2005, Education for Peace emerged as one of the thrust areas.

National Curriculum Framework of 2005 went beyond peace education to emphasize on 'education for peace'.⁴⁰ Education for Peace is a wider concept and peace education is one part of it. In the former, peace is the vision through which the process of education is shaped. Here the whole educational process is geared towards the creation of a better world and the promotion of a culture of peace. Education for Peace is education for life; it is not about training for a career or a livelihood. In Education for Peace, learning has to be a meaningful and joyful experience and not a cumbersome and burdensome process.

Education for Peace aims to train children to become responsible adults so that they can live harmoniously with others as well as the environment. This would entail orienting children towards peace, endowing them with non-violent attitudes, behaviour and values. It also consists of developing attitudes of self-respect, tolerance, empathy, justice and fairness. Besides, human rights education, environmental education, conflict resolution education, development education, cooperation, social responsibility, democracy and respect for cultural diversity will be a part of Education for Peace. In the Indian context, Education for Peace could also include inculcation of the idea and goal of social justice, propagation of a secular and democratic culture, and promotion of national integration, eventually making these a part and parcel of the lives of its citizens. It is pertinent to emphasize here that in several settings peace education and Education for Peace are used interchangeably and they mean one and the same thing.

Peace when taught in a formal setting like schools need not be confined solely to one subject such as conflict resolution or conflict management or be taught just as a part of social science and humanities like history or political science or civics. It can be and should be in-built and integrated into different subjects. Education for Peace thus is not envisaged as a separate subject that would further augment curriculum load but a perspective from which all subjects are to be taught.

The present state of educational affairs in the schools of India is far from satisfactory. It promotes competition and rote learning and is based on hierarchical transfer of knowledge. The child does not experience any joy in learning; education thus becomes a burden. Besides, it hardly pays attention to nurturing the child into a holistic being. Teachers are poorly trained. They pass their prejudices and biases on

to the students. As a result we see several forms of violence in schools today—bullying, beating, ragging, killing (students committing violence on others); students committing suicides (violence on self), corporal punishment (violence committed on students by others such as teachers), etc. Schools which are meant to be nurseries of peace end up becoming a transmission point for violence. Thus, a total paradigm shift is required in the transaction of education—it should focus on learning and not be confined to literal training.

Given the dismal scenario, implementation of Education for Peace would require engaging with various issues and concerns and addressing them constructively such as training of teachers, textbook writing, reducing the curriculum load, coming up with evaluation methods that promote cooperation rather than competition, involving the parents and the community at large in teaching-learning processes, etc.

The role of the teacher assumes significance in contextualizing Education for Peace in schools. Teachers are role models for young impressionable minds. They not only facilitate the teaching-learning process but also influence the psychological, emotional and spiritual growth of the children by creating an enabling environment. This requires proper training in the content and pedagogy of Education for Peace. The NCF 2005 too emphasized on proper training and development of skills among teachers so that they could contribute to building a culture of peace among their students and the school and community at large.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

12. Name the trinity of values that are stressed on in Jainism.
13. What does the term 'shalom' refer to in Hebrew?
14. What according to sociologists is the main reason for violence?
15. What is the present state of educational affairs in the schools of India?

4.7 SUMMARY

- The feminist approach to international relations is a phenomenon of the post-Cold War period. In the 1980s, feminist scholars began research in various academic disciplines, from literature to psychology to history.
- Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged as compared to men and are subordinated to men because of a system of patriarchy. 'Patriarchy' is a system of social structures and practices through which men dominate and exploit women.
- Feminists argue that the boundaries of state have historically excluded women from domestic and international political life, and have treated international relations as the exclusive preserve of men, where masculinity thrives through domination 'over' women.

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- The three strands of feminism as identified by Goldstein are difference feminism, liberal feminism and postmodern feminism.
- The arguments of difference feminists are rejected by liberal feminists as being based on stereotyped gender roles. They see ‘essential distinctions’ in the abilities of men and women as trivial or non-existent. For liberals, ‘men and women are equal’.
- Power is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others; to get others to do what they would otherwise not have done, and to ensure that they do not do what they would normally do. Power is the central theme of realism.
- Structuralism is an intellectual movement that developed in France in the 1950s and 1960s.
- Structuralism argues that a specific domain of culture may be understood by means of a structure—modelled on language—that is distinct both from the organizations of reality and those of ideas or the imagination.
- French theorist Louis Althusser introduced his own brand of structural social analysis, which came to be known as ‘structural Marxism’.
- Structural linguistics does not focus on the existential world of people shaping their surroundings; instead, all aspects of the social world are shaped by the structure of language.
- The movement of post-structuralism is closely related to postmodernism.
- Post-structuralist philosophers like Derrida and Foucault did not form a self-conscious group, but each responded to the traditions of phenomenology and structuralism.
- French philosopher Jacques Derrida introduced the concept of deconstruction in 1967.
- Critchley argues in his 1992 book, *The Ethics of Deconstruction*, that Derrida’s deconstruction is an intrinsically ethical practice.
- The uniqueness of the post-structuralist theory lies in its ‘lack of theory’ and in its difference from the traditional problem-solving technique. By providing an ontology and epistemology that discards the positivist realm, the scholars of post-structuralism have provided international relations with the apparatuses to deconstruct its ‘truths’.
- The ‘post’ in postcolonial theory does not signify the period or era ‘after’ colonialism came to an end, but rather signifies the entire historical period after the beginnings of colonialism.
- One of the biggest changes that can occur in a politically divided world is multiplication of sovereign states.
- Decolonization has been described as a revolution in international politics. This ‘revolution’ had many different causes. Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands were the main European colonial powers. The British Empire was the largest, where it was said that the sun never set.

- The process of decolonization, once started, could not be checked. Still, Belgium and Portugal believed for long that they could retain their colonies despite the collapse of the British and French empires.
- The process of decolonization was largely influenced by the developments in the international situation. These events strengthened the freedom struggles in the colonies, as the colonial powers were weakened.
- The colonial system was liquidated in phases and stages. It took nearly 45 years for the entire process to be completed, though most of the decolonization was achieved in only about 20 years.
- The most outstanding contribution of decolonization was the emergence of the Third World, and its increasing role in international relations. Decolonization had basically changed the complexion of international system.
- Neo-colonialism is a modified version of colonialism for the continued exploitation of politically independent countries. It is old colonialism in the new guise—it is a new avatar of the old evil.
- Many of the tools or instruments of neo-colonialism are economic in nature and are aimed at economic exploitation. Multinational corporations (MNCs) are well-known agents of neo-colonialism.
- Globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.
- The significant factors that symbolize and also drive globalization in social and cultural domains are telecommunication revolution, personal computers, internet, world media, global migration, global infections and health, global diffusion of popular culture and global NGOs.
- In any discussion about globalization, economic integration of the world is recognized as the driver of globalization. Incidentally, the globalization of trade, finance and production has become a pioneer and a symbol of globalization.
- Peace is mostly conceived as the absence of war or at the most the absence of overt violence. Most efforts to secure peace were thus focused on preventing the outbreak of wars or trying to get a ceasefire in place so as to stop the war as soon as possible.
- The Hebrew word 'shalom' means 'peace', in simple terms. But peace here is not just absence of violence it is rather 'complete peace', which connotes contentment, wholeness, well-being and harmony.
- The leftist thinkers claim 'a strong association with world peace'. Mao Tse-tung, a leftist opined that they did not favour war and advocated its abolition.
- There can be no peace in the world when there is a huge gap between the rich and the poor. Globalization is believed to have widened this gap.
- A culture of peace needs to be based or built on three elements—equality, equity and mutual respect.

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- Fostering a culture of peace through education is the first of the eight action areas laid out by the 1999 United Nations Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace [resolution A/53/243].
- Peace education concentrates on changing attitudes and behaviour so as to achieve cooperation and encourage nonviolent problem-solving.
- In India, peace education programmes have traditionally been concerned with promoting certain core values.

4.8 KEY TERMS

- **Patriarchy:** It is a system of social structures and practices through which men dominate and exploit women.
- **Power:** It is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others; to get others to do what they would otherwise not have done, and to ensure that they do not do what they would normally do.
- **Domain:** They are names used in structuralism, post-structuralism and deconstruction to explain the ideas and examine various networking contexts and application-specific naming and addressing purposes.
- **Unified approach:** It is a single approach to human life that would embrace all disciplines.
- **Empiricism:** It is one of the several competing views that predominate in the study of human knowledge, known as epistemology.
- **Deconstruction:** It is a theory that states that it is impossible for a text to have one fixed meaning, and emphasizes the role of the reader in the production of meaning.
- **Structuralism:** It is a theory that considers any text as a structure whose various parts only have meaning when they are considered in relation to each other.
- **Neo-colonialism:** It is a modified version of colonialism for the continued exploitation of politically independent countries; it is old colonialism in the new guise—it is a new avatar of the old evil.
- **Globalization:** It can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happening are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.
- ***Sulh-i-kul*:** It was an attempt made by Akbar to reconcile the differences between different religions and their factions, which were a source of conflict between them.
- **Pacifism:** It refers to opposition to war and violence and commitment to peace.
- **Democratic peace theory:** It is the idea that democratic states do not go to war against each other or rarely indulge in this act.

- **Negative peace:** It is the absence of organized state or military violence or war.
- **Violent culture:** It is the use of violence as an instrument or a tool is legitimized.
- **Peace education:** It concentrates on changing attitudes and behaviour so as to achieve cooperation and encourage non-violent problem-solving.

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4.9 ANSWERS TO ‘CHECK YOUR PROGRESS’

1. Feminism is the advocacy of the rights of women. It explains that women have been disadvantaged as compared to men and are subordinated to men because of a system of patriarchy.
2. The three strands of feminism as identified by Goldstein are difference feminism, liberal feminism and postmodern feminism.
3. Feminists are of the view that women have received the benefits of empowerment generated by structural changes. Therefore, feminist scholars are concerned with the analysis of the subtle forms of empowerment of women.
4. French theorist Louis Althusser blended the theory of Marx and structuralism. He is famous for introducing his own style of structural social analysis that gave rise to ‘structural Marxism’.
5. (i) Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes
(ii) France
(iii) Michel Foucault
6. The emergence of a large number of states that became UN members was mainly on account of the end of colonialism. With the termination of European imperialism, commencing soon after the Second World War, several new sovereign states came into existence in all parts of the world.
7. Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands were the main European colonial powers. The British Empire was the largest, where it was said that the sun never set.
8. MNCs have been defined by Raymond Vernon as a ‘cluster of corporations of diverse nationality joined together by ties of common management strategy.’
9. The important elements of globalization are as follows:
 - Globalization is multidimensional or multifaceted.
 - It is just not a single set of phenomenon or process, but a complex web of phenomenon or processes.
 - It is marked by communication, interdependence, integration, connection and mobility.
10. The significant factors that symbolize and also drive globalization in social and cultural domains are telecommunication revolution, personal computers,

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- internet, world media, global migration, global infections and health, global diffusion of popular culture and global NGOs.
11. The emergence of supra-national actors and international NGOs has 'eroded' the sovereignty of nation states.
 12. The trinity of values that are stressed in Jainism are *maitri* (friendliness), *kshama* (forgiveness) and *abhaya* (fearlessness).
 13. The Hebrew word 'shalom' means 'peace', in simple terms. But peace here is not just absence of violence it is rather 'complete peace', which connotes contentment, wholeness, well-being and harmony.
 14. Socialists are of the opinion that peace is possible only in a classless society. The main reason for violence is economic inequality and social injustice perpetuated by authoritarian political regimes. Only a handful of people (capitalists) control economic resources and exercise power; these people exploit the majority.
 15. The present state of educational affairs in the schools of India is far from satisfactory. It promotes competition and rote learning and is based on hierarchical transfer of knowledge. The child does not experience any joy in learning; education thus becomes a burden.

4.10 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. What is the feminist approach to international relations?
2. What is essentialism?
3. Distinguish between difference feminism and liberal feminism.
4. What is structuralism?
5. What are the objectives of post-structuralism?
6. How does post-structuralism help in the study of international relations?
7. 'Decolonization, or the disintegration of the Western colonial empire, had two broad components.' What are they?
8. What are the three stages of freedom struggles as divided by Geoffrey Barraclough?
9. What is neo-colonialism?
10. What is the perception of sceptics and critics regarding globalization?
11. What are the Indian approaches to peace?
12. How do major religions of the world conceptualize peace?
13. Define the democratic theory of peace and differentiate it with the conservative and liberal viewpoint on peace.
14. State how human rights, ecological and economic well-being and social justice are the essential ingredients of peace.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the feminist approach to international relations.
2. What are the different strands of feminism in international relations?
3. Critically discuss the objectives of structuralism.
4. Discuss the major factors that led to the emergence of structuralism.
5. What is deconstruction? Explain the various features of deconstruction.
6. Describe the different levels of changes that were brought about by decolonization.
7. 'The process of decolonization was largely influenced by the developments in the international situation.' Evaluate.
8. Discuss the tools or instruments of neo-colonialism.
9. Assess the patterns of contemporary globalization.
10. What is a peace culture? Distinguish between holy war culture and holy peace culture?
11. Peace resources are found in all cultures. Do you agree? Substantiate with examples.
12. Write a detailed note on the UNESCO's Culture of Peace Initiative.
13. What were the major conclusions of the Seville Statement on Violence?
14. Distinguish between 'Peace Education' and 'Education for Peace'. Discuss the shift from value education to Education for Peace at the school level in India.

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