



BLOCK 3

**DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

Pignou
THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

BLOCK 3 DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Block 3 titled as ‘Developments in International Relations’ has four units. **Unit 8** presents to you a quick overview of the Cold War period; its phases and eventual end in 1991. **Unit 9** is about the impact of the end of Cold War on International Relations? The power hierarchy of the Cold War era has changed. During the period of Cold War, there were two superpowers, several great powers, a few regional powers and mostly developing countries with limited capability. Post-Cold War international system has varieties of powers. The US is still called the ‘sole’ superpower; Russia is a ‘resurgent’ power, China is the ‘rising power’; and India and others are described as ‘emerging’ powers. The post-Cold War era also saw a steady growth in the number and strength of non-state actors taking frontline positions in defining the relations between the states. This period saw a steady growth of terrorism which was earlier confined to a single state or region. This growth of terrorism, particularly Islamist terrorism challenged and narrowed down the idea of nation–state. On the positive side, an international civil society also emerged and was found to be active. Human rights groups, environmental groups and those advocating other causes emerged providing alternative ideas on development, rights, environment, etc. **Unit 10** discusses the emerging powers in IR. The countries which are in the process of increasing their economic, military and political powers comparatively more than other states began to be described as ‘emerging powers.’ A highly industrialized economy such as South Korea is not an emerging power, nor an extremely wealthy Saudi Arabia. Then, who is an emerging power? ‘Emerging powers’ are those countries which, have substantial land mass, large educated and skilled population, vast and diversified natural resources, substantial manufacturing base, self-sustainability in agriculture, political stability, and sustainable policy making process and ability to undertake responsibility in international affairs. **Unit 11** discusses the concept of globalization arguing that it has no single definition and is a multifaceted phenomenon. However, it is observed that economic globalization has not benefitted all the people in all the countries; which was its promise. There is also a realization that globalization works to strengthen the capitalist economic model; and serves primarily the interests of the rich and powerful global corporate companies and banks. The reaction against globalization and its injustices have given rise to anti-globalization movements and formulation of alternative models of development.

UNIT 8 ORIGINS AND PHASES OF THE COLD WAR*

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Meaning of the Cold War
- 8.3 Origins of the Cold War
- 8.4 Phases of the Cold War
 - 8.4.1 Beginning and Rising Hostilities
 - 8.4.2 Détente
 - 8.4.3 Rebirth and End
- 8.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.6 References
- 8.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 OBJECTIVES

In this Unit, you will study about the origins of the Cold War which is one of the most important developments in the 20th century international politics. After going through this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of the Cold War
- Know the origins of the Cold War and
- Identify the phases and landmarks of the Cold War

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The Cold War was more than a rivalry between two superpowers. The period of this war, that is the years between 1945 and 1990, also contained a history of international politics of a different kind. The Cold War period saw the evolution of a world order where diplomacy and negotiation in their various forms were established. It added a very different dimension to military build-up – arms race, military blocs, proxy wars etc. The simultaneity of the existence of the United Nations is perhaps a very important dimension to the evolution of the Cold War as the world did not witness another world war. It is said that today's contemporary world is poles apart and very dynamic from what it was before 1945. How this dynamism did come to our world? To appreciate that dynamism, this Unit brings to you a brief summary of the significant events that unfolded in different phases between 1945 and 1990.

* Dr. Ujjwal Rabidas, Dept. of International Studies and History, School of Law, Christ (Deemed to be University), Bengaluru

8.2 MEANING OF THE COLD WAR

Isn't it perplexing to say that a certain war was described as 'Cold'? War is always 'hot' fought with weapons by armies to gain some designated strategic goals. But it being 'Cold' is something that calls for some thinking and explanation. What we know is that the Cold War continued for more than four decades between 1945 and 1990. The War touched the entire world, actually divided several countries and also prompted them to join hands with others to form political and military blocs. A feature of Cold War was thus bloc politics – two blocs, led by the two super powers viz. United States of America and the erstwhile Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union). In the process, tens of millions of people suffered in very different ways, including violent death, persecution and disappearance. Economic development was disrupted and in cases denied resulting in the misery and hunger for millions of poor people in different parts of the world. Millions suffered and hundreds of thousands were killed in 'communist' and 'anti-communist' rebellions, uprisings, repression, civil wars and interventions throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean besides East Europe, Balkans and other parts of the world. Despite having these sufferings on record, interestingly, we continue to call this 45-year war as the Cold War! And interestingly, not once American and Soviet armies fought face to face in a battlefield. All this definitely calls for little thinking on the dimensions of its meaning. When one refers to this war as the Cold War, the aim is to convey that it was fought under an ideological cover. The war saw intense competition between two mutually hostile political ideologies and worldviews. These were 'capitalism' and 'socialism'. Both these terms have wide ranging expressions of two different variants of socio-economic, political and cultural organisations. In plain terms, therefore, capitalism stood up for liberal democracy and free market economy whereas socialism sought to champion state ownership, workers rights and egalitarian system. The United States provided leadership to the capitalist world and the Soviet Union.

This intense ideological competitiveness gave rise to bloc rivalry. Bloc rivalry was a signpost of the 45-year Cold War. When the Soviets, for example, initiated the Molotov Plan in 1947 for its Eastern European allies to aid them and rebuild their ailing economies, the Americans responded with the multi-billion dollar Marshall Plan (or, the European Recovery Programme) in 1948 for the post-World War II sick economies of the Western Europe. The Marshall Plan was in force only for four years, the Molotov Plan remained till the last breath of the USSR with a new name since 1949 known as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistant (COMECON). Similarly, when the American side of the war founded an intergovernmental military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949, the Soviet side had rivaled them with signing the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Pact) in 1955. These ideological underpinnings and bloc rivalry impressed the observers of the war to qualify it as 'Cold' as it did not involve direct military confrontations between the warring camps. This has led many to characterize the Cold War as 'non-military' conflict. More nuanced meanings, however, of the Cold War sits between its ideological cover and the so-called non-military conflict. Some described Cold War a collection of 'low-intensity' conflicts. Of course, the two sides fought several 'proxy' wars in Africa, Asia and Latin America – which was yet another feature of the Cold War.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What do you understand by Cold War?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8.3 ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

There are two main explanations for the origin of the Cold War. These two can simply be termed as (i) geopolitical and (ii) ideological.

A) Geopolitical Explanation: Some historians trace the origins of the Cold War to the Soviet socialist revolution of 1917 and the European military intervention in Russia in 1918 to scuttle the first socialist state in the world. Other scholars see the origins of the Cold War to the military pacts and their violations between the European great powers immediately prior to and in the course of the Second World War. But the Cold War is widely believed to have begun in 1945; this was the time when the Soviets and the Americans had started seeing themselves as two most powerful nations in the West. This perception was at the core that also nurtured the expansionist aspirations that were believed as incompatible among the Soviets and the Americans in terms of their own power and capability. The view that understands the Cold War from the angle of power, capability, expansionist aspirations etc is called the ‘geopolitical explanation’ to the origin of the Cold War. This is also a post-World War II view to the origin of the Cold War. It assumes that at the end of the war in 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union were the only two superpowers along with important powers like the United Kingdom and France – which had militarily weakened. It is said that though the Americans and the Soviets had allied in the World War II to defeat the Axis Powers, there was lack of trust between the two. Moreover, both were aspiring to achieve dominance in Europe and their aspirations were matched by their power and capability.

B) Ideological Explanation: The ‘geopolitical explanation’, however, does not tell the reasons for the lack of trust between the United States and the Soviet Union. This gap is filled by the ‘ideological explanation’ that goes back to the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The Bolshevik Revolution was inspired by communism – the ideology espoused by the 19th century philosopher, Karl Marx. Success of a workers’ revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Vladimir Lenin was looked at with suspicion and hostility by the capitalist classes in Europe and the US. Foremost, the success of the socialist revolution sent a powerful and historically important message to the workers, peasantry and all other

exploited classes and subjugated and colonized people. The message was: it is possible to overthrow capitalism and its attendant colonialism and imperialism and liberate the exploited and oppressed classes and people. Soviet revolution greatly inspired people in the colonies including in India; many began talking of liberating their nations from the colonial rule and establish an egalitarian socialist order. Likewise, Soviet revolution galvanized the workers in Europe especially in Germany, Britain, France and Italy where the communist and socialist parties became politically active and radical in anticipation of a workers revolution. Communist and socialist parties were formed in the 1920s in several Latin America countries, and in the European colonies in Asia and Africa; for instance, Communist Party of India was formed in 1925 to organize the peasantry and the working class. The imperial powers of Europe and the US looked at this with great hostility. Secondly, the Soviet Revolution offered a different paradigm of looking at international system and building a new international system that would be based on the solidarity and cooperation among liberated peoples of the world. Russia was part of the Allied forces during the First World War but withdrew from the War after the Revolution and abandoned all secret military pacts and understandings for territorial expansion which it had signed with Britain and other European powers. Promoting new norms of IR was not acceptable to great powers which were used to war, military alliances, spheres of influence and overseas colonies. As Soviet Union withdrew from the First World War, European imperial powers requested the US to military intervene in Russia. Russian revolution had aroused great enthusiasm and hope among colonial people. This was dangerous and unacceptable for colonial masters. American expeditionary forces and those of other Allied countries thus intervened in Soviet Union in 1918; the intervention lasted several years. An ideological justification was given for this Allied military intervention. It was said that the Bolshevik Revolution was antagonistic to the “values of freedom” that the Americans claimed their own and that the Russian Revolution was a danger to freedom and democracy everywhere. Socialism was dubbed as totalitarianism which negated democracy and human rights.

The ideological antagonism and political hostility remained with the post-1945 superpowers and contributed to widen the lack of trust between the two. The 1946 ‘iron curtain’ speech of former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Americans dropping the atom bomb on Japan increased the ideological rivalry between the two superpowers. The origin of the Cold War was pre-1945 in the ideological sense and thus its vestiges are thought to remain in the post-1990 world. Speaking in the US, and joined in by the American President Harry Truman, Churchill declared: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent.” Churchill’s ‘iron curtain’ speech is considered one of the opening shots in the Cold War. Churchill also spoke of “communist fifth columns” that, he said, were operating throughout western and southern Europe. He talked of the threat of communism to the European colonies in Asia and Africa which were fighting for their freedom and emancipation. Finally, Churchill asked the US to lead the free world against the threat posed by communism to the world. The die was cast. US, led the West, determined for half a century to ‘contain’ and ‘roll-back’ communism from the entire world; and this determination became the essence of Cold War-related interventions and wars.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the ideological explanation for the origin of the Cold War?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

8.4 PHASES OF THE COLD WAR

It is difficult to neatly identify the phases of the Cold War, though the war had rising and falling tides of conflict. Yet a period of relaxation of the tensions between the warring blocs is generally perceived and that allows seeing the Cold War having phases with rising or declining tensions until it ends in the late 1980s. We can study the Cold War in the following three phases.

8.4.1 Beginning and Rising Hostilities

The conferences that were held in Crimea’s Yalta and in German city of Potsdam in 1945 could not provide an effective framework to deal with the post-war situations that had developed in Germany and in Eastern European states that were occupied by German forces. Germany was divided into four occupation zones each under control of Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States. These four powers were main participants in the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. The United States, on the other hand, had detonated a nuclear device without the knowledge of its war allies, particularly the Soviet Union, and had dropped two of them on Japan in 1945. It was an unprecedented display of the American power that led to its recognition as a “superpower” and decreased its trustworthiness in the eyes of the Soviets. Meanwhile, the US economy was expanding very fast and had overtaken the combined economic strength of all the war-affected European states. The rate of industrialisation of the post-1917 Soviet economy too was impressive. The weight of the American and Soviet military and economic strengths were now being decisively felt in the Western and East European countries respectively. Each of the superpowers eventually provided leadership to the blocs that emerged on geopolitical and ideological grounds. The United Nations Security Council (1945) further provided a world-stage to these powers to take on each other and play the card of the Cold War.

The American President Harry Truman enunciated the so-called “Truman Doctrine” in 1947. It was an American strategy to ‘contain communism’. It denounced the communist system as oppressive and warned against its possible subversive campaigns. Truman’s words were signaling the American intention to resist the spread of communist system anywhere in the world and that was exactly what happened in the following years and decades.

Truman Doctrine

In 1947, President Harry S. Truman unveiled his foreign policy in a joint address to the US Congress. He announced that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations facing external or internal communist threats. In a first, Truman administration provided US \$400 million worth of aid and send American civilian and military personnel and equipment to support the governments of Greece and Turkey which were then facing large scale communist insurgency. Truman administration held Soviet Union responsible for the insurgency and was of the view that the entire Middle East has become vulnerable to communist influence because of the Soviet machinations. This could not be allowed in light of the region's immense strategic importance to US national security. Truman stated that the United States was compelled to assist "free peoples" in their struggles against "totalitarian regimes". He said that the spread of communist authoritarianism would "undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States." In the words of the Truman Doctrine, it became "the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Truman did not touch upon the freedom struggles going on in various colonies in Africa, Asia and other parts of the world.

Truman argued that the United States could no longer stand by and allow the forcible expansion of Soviet "totalitarianism" into free, independent nations because American national security now depended upon more than just the physical security of American territory. The foreign policy announcement thus marked a major break from the past. It allowed US to undertake massive international military and economic commitments during peacetime. The Truman Doctrine committed the United States to actively offer assistance to preserve the political integrity of democratic nations when such an offer was deemed to be in the best interest of the United States. Truman Doctrine thus set the stage for US interventions – direct and indirect, covert and overt, economic and military – in the internal affairs of even faraway countries. It involved regime change, political destabilization and influencing the electoral outcomes and economic development strategies of the Third World countries, ostensibly to protect and promote 'freedom' and 'democracy'. In the end, US ended up supporting many anti-communist dictators and authoritarian rulers in the Third World, who crushed democracy and denied freedom to their people. Truman Doctrine was a major reorientation in American foreign policy whereby US set itself up as the global policeman in the name of defence of democracy and freedom. Key components of his foreign policy were building up military alliances, bilateral military defence treaties, establishment of military bases and facilities in other countries, economic and technical aid and assistance to allies – democratic and dictatorial both.

When the Soviet Union's Molotov Plan came into light in 1947, the United States rivalled it with the Marshall Plan in 1948. Marshall Plan was a product of the Truman Doctrine. As stated before, Soviet's Molotov Plan had aimed at its Eastern European allies. Their economies were ailing and thus required reconstruction. America's multi-billion Marshall Plan, on the other side, had a similar scheme for the post-war sick economies of the West European states. But ultimately, both these plans were the superpower strategies to contain each other and influence

their own areas of ascendancy. These fish trap-like plans had left no trace of ambiguity of the breakout of geopolitical and ideological bloc rivalry that later on came to be known as the Cold War. When the Soviet Union acquired nuclear capability in 1949, America had invited its European allies the same year and founded an intergovernmental military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The birth of NATO invited similar military response from the other bloc. The Soviet response was signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance (the Warsaw Pact) in 1955 with its East European allies. Meanwhile, the Chinese communist revolution was complete in 1949, and a violent civil war had started in Korea around 1950. By this time, Korea was already divided into two separate zones (North and South) because the Japanese soldiers had surrendered to the Soviets in the North and to the Americans in the South during the Second World War. These developments had brought the bloc rivalry to Asia with high intensity of conflict and human suffering. The worst was yet to come with what is popularly known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. Cuba had seen a successful revolution in 1959. Among the things that followed the revolution were i) huge loss to the American private investors whose money was oiling the Cuban sugar industry; ii) America's failed invasion at Bay of Pigs, Cuba; iii) Fidel Castro declaring the Cuban Revolution as socialist and Cuba as a Soviet ally to secure Soviet military support against the United States; and iv) reversal of Cuban sugar exports from the American market to the Soviet market. These developments provided great opportunity for the Soviet Union to increase its strategic weight against the United States and thus installed nuclear missiles in Cuba for the latter's security. This Caribbean island, Cuba, is located barely 90 miles from the United States. The then American President Kennedy said that he would take whatever steps were necessary to protect American security and he ordered blockade of Cuba and demanded removal of the nuclear missiles. The two superpowers and the world had moved close to a nuclear war.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) Discuss the Truman Doctrine.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

8.4.2 Détente

Diplomatic conscience, however, prevailed over the Cuban Missile Crisis and the crisis had ended with removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and America promising not to invade the island nation. This peaceful end of the Cuban Missile Crisis probably made the world to realise the potential cost of bipolar military hostilities, and thus began a phase in the Cold War known as "détente". According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, détente refers to the periods of reduced tension in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and was

closely associated with the process of arms control. The main period of détente ran from the Partial Treat Ban Treaty (PTBT) in 1963 to the late 1970s. The Cuban Crisis hastened the PTBT agreement that was being negotiated since 1955. It was signed by Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union and agreed to limit the nuclear armaments to a bare minimum. PTBT had banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, on the ground and under water. It, however, did not ban the underground testing. Talks to ban the underground testing could succeed only in 1996 under the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). But these powers had agreed to ban nuclear testing in the space in 1967 and also the entire Latin American region was declared nuclear weapons free zone under the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union again signed a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968 and promised not to transfer such weapons to others.

Other developments that had helped relax the Cold War hostility were (i) establishment of a hotline link between the leaders of Washington and Moscow; (ii) the two German states viz. Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) were recognised by the superpowers and each was given membership of the United Nations; (iii) West Germany i.e. the FRG normalized relations with East European states and the Soviet Union; (iv) America and the Soviet Union signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) agreement in 1972; and (v) the famous Helsinki Summit was held in 1975; and it was regarded as having buried the Cold War and symbolized the culmination of détente in Europe. A brief description of the Helsinki summit and its various declarations helped the spirit of détente that characterized the decade of 1970s for a shortwhile.

Helsinki Accords: The Helsinki declaration was an act to revive the sagging spirit of detente between the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies. In 1975, the United States, Soviet Union, all members of NATO and the Warsaw pact signed the Helsinki Final Act during the meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), held in Helsinki, Finland. Détente, literally a lessening of tension between the two super powers, was the policy fashioned out by US President Richard Nixon and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. As noted, there were significant gains under détente as several confidence building measures (CBMs) and arms reduction agreements were signed by the two Cold War adversaries. Important among other developments was the Nixon's historic visit to Moscow also. By mid-1975, the spirit of détente was apparently low. Nixon had resigned as America's president and US had withdrawn from Vietnam resulting in the victory of the communist North over South Vietnam. Progress on arms reduction talks with the Soviets had come to a standstill. In July 1975, the Soviet Union and the United States attempted to reinvigorate the policy of detente by calling the CSCE in Helsinki. On August 1, the attendees signed the Helsinki Final Act. The act established the CSCE as an ongoing consultative organization, and set out a number of issues for future discussion. These included economic and trade issues, arms reduction, and the protection of human rights. The Helsinki Accords are a series of formal but non-binding agreements that were signed in August 1975. The Helsinki Accords dealt with three main issues of cooperation, security and human rights. Under the Helsinki Accords the nations of the East and West agreed to forge cultural links aimed at bringing the USA and the USSR closer together. It was agreed that the parties would recognize the borders of Eastern Europe that were established at the end of Second World War and in return the USSR promised to uphold basic

human rights that included allowing people in the Eastern Bloc the right to move across borders. In brief, Helsinki Accords were an attempt to improve diplomatic and political relations between the two antagonistic blocs. The participating states reaffirmed their commitment to peace, security and justice and the continuing development of friendly relations and co-operation.

The 35 countries who signed the Helsinki Agreement agreed to the following principles: (i) sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; (ii) refraining from the threat or use of force; (iii) inviolability of frontiers; (iv) territorial integrity of states; (v) peaceful settlement of disputes; (vi) non-intervention in internal affairs; (vii) respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; (viii) equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (ix) cooperation among states; (x) and fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law. Helsinki Accords was viewed as a significant step towards reducing Cold War tensions. But the Helsinki spirit was weak and the revival of détente proved short lived. US President Gerald Ford criticized Soviet Union for its domestic human rights violations and crushing of dissidence. Soviets called the American criticism as interference in its domestic affairs. US President Jimmy Carter had made human rights the cornerstone of his foreign policy and attacked the Soviet Union for curbing the dissidents; this further added to the erosion of détente and the Helsinki spirit. The famous Soviet dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn denounced the Accords as “the betrayal of Eastern Europe”. By mid-1978, the CSCE had ceased to function in any important sense. US President Ronald Reagan (1980-88) considered détente and Helsinki as appeasement and decided to confront the Soviet Union directly. Reagan ‘revived’ the Cold War and engaged the Soviet Union in Afghanistan by training and arming the Afghan and foreign fighters – the *Mujahideen*. Reagan described Helsinki Accords as having given “the American seal of approval for the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe.” Détente came to an end and the Helsinki spirit died with the revival of Cold War by Reagan administration. CSCE was revived by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev only in the 1980s, and served as a foundation for his policy of closer and friendlier relations with the United States.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- Note:** i) Use the space below for your answer.
 ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What do you understand by detente?

.....

8.4.3 Rebirth and End

Détente was in effect for around one and a half decades. Many had thus believed that the Cold War had ceased to exist. But that belief was defied when a communist regime came to power in Afghanistan and the country soon plunged into civil

war with deep involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union rivaling each other in the land of this South Asian nation. Afghanistan had a monarchy which was abolished by Mohammed Daud Khan in 1973 and he himself became the President of the newly founded Republic. Daud saw a possible threat from its neighbour Pakistan. Pakistan was continuously receiving military assistance from the United States, and therefore Afghanistan sought weapons from the Soviet Union to balance Pakistan. The Soviet weapons did arrive in Afghanistan and it was interpreted as strengthening Daud's hand and also the Afghan communists who had helped Daud ascending the presidential office in Kabul. The situation soon went out of control when Daud was ousted in 1978 and his supporters were sent in exile. Riots broke out in Afghanistan with worsening economic condition. Meanwhile, the American ambassador was killed in a riot-like situation. The following year, Hafizullah Amin became President of Afghanistan who, though a veteran Communist, was not liked by the Soviets. Thus, over 90,000 Soviets troops entered Afghanistan in 1979 as they had thought that this country may swing to the American side under Amin. With Soviet support, Babrak Karmal was made President after Amin's execution. This new regime in Afghanistan was opposed by a section of Afghan population who had seen onslaught on their religious rights as the government was encouraging secular practices in daily life. This was termed as "anti-Islamic" and promotion of "Western culture" in Afghanistan.

These developments in Afghanistan was termed by the United States as deliberate acts of the Soviet Union to promote communist ideology, and that led to re-emergence or revival of the Cold War in a significant way. The United States responded to these developments with its proxies in Afghanistan - the *mujahideen* groups who launched a war on the communist regime of Babrak Karmal and the Soviet troops there. Soviet Union suffered heavy military losses at the hands of the US-armed *mujahideen* groups. Besides, by late 1980s, Soviet Union had begun unraveling under the pressure of *perestroika* and *glasnost* reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev. Soviet troops began withdrawing from Afghanistan in mid 1988 and finally left the country on 15 February 1989 without victory under the framework worked out between US, USSR, and the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The other developments that were seen adding to the rebirth of the Cold War were: i) imposition of martial law in Poland by the Soviets in 1981 to quell "pro-democracy protests" and its American opposition; ii) the Soviet Union shooting down a South Korean "spy" airliner in 1983 and thus breaking off the Soviet-American arms talks; and iii) American invasion of Grenada, a Caribbean country, in 1983 among others.

This geopolitical and ideological battle, however, was ended by the late 1980s. Once the Soviets had pulled out troops from Afghanistan, the bipolar tension reduced. The Americans and the Soviets agreed to dismantle a whole category of nuclear weapons in 1987. They reached an agreement to that effect. It was called the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. News of positive developments in favour of easing the tensions started coming from Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola etc. while Germany was united. But it was widely believed that the policies pursued by the Soviet leadership of that time were primarily responsible for the end of the Cold War. The essence of those policies pursued by the Soviet Union was understood by the two highlighted terms of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. The meaning of *perestroika* was understood as economic "restructuring" in the sense of removing economic bottlenecks, inefficiency and

raising production and productivity. *Glasnost* (opening) called for some minimal political liberalization in the Soviet political system. It called for openness in public policy-making and scrutiny. But the fact of the matter was that both the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* could not help the Soviets much, and the Soviet Union had ceased to exist in 1991.

End of Cold War: When Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, relations between Soviet Union and US began to improve. Gorbachev initiated *glasnost* and *perestroika* to provide some small political ‘opening’ (*glasnost*) at home and to bolster the faltering economy (*perestroika*). Cold War began winding down. At a summit in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, Gorbachev proposed Reagan a 50 per cent reduction in the nuclear arsenals of each side. Nothing came out of it; as Reagan was interested in building his ‘star war’ programme. However, on December 8, 1987, the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed in Washington, eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons. The INF Treaty was the first arms control pact to require an actual reduction in nuclear arsenals rather than merely restricting their proliferation. As the decade came to an end, much of the Eastern Bloc began to fall apart. Country after country walked back on communism; and the Soviet Union did nothing in response. The so-called ‘iron curtain’ was finally crumbling. On November 10, 1989, German people divided for decades physically tore down the Berlin Wall – one of the most famous symbols of the Cold War. Before the 1989 would end, leaders of every Eastern European nation except Bulgaria had been ousted by popular uprisings. By late 1991, Soviet Union itself dissolved into its component republics under a mix of factors – economic pressure, war in Afghanistan and breaking away of its East European allies. In a sense, Soviet socialist experiment crumbled under its own weight. It was the defeat of socialism at the political, if not the ideological level, but did it mark the triumph of capitalism and liberal democracy?

US emerged as the sole super power and took great credit for ending the Cold War. Triumphalism prevailed in US – a sense in American destiny and its infallibility. Francis Fukuyama declared the end of Cold War as the ‘end of history’. Human societies will no further evolve in economic and political terms. Free market capitalism and liberal democracy were seen as the final forms of economic and political systems to live in. Bipolarity ended and the US became the sole superpower in the international relations.

8.5 LET US SUM UP

War is a violent incident. Yet the Cold War, fought between the blocs led by the United States and the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1990 was called the Cold War because of its dimensions that included ideological cover, bloc rivalry, non-military confrontation, arms race, space race etc. The two sides fought many ‘proxy’ wars in different parts of the world through their allied regimes and political groups. Calling the Cold War a collection of “low-intensity” conflicts seems to come closer to its real nature. Prevalence of those conflicts and their origin over a period of time are best explained from geopolitical and ideological viewpoints. There are three main identifiable phases of the Cold War. The period from 1945 to 1962 saw its beginning and then increasing hostilities. Thereafter, the Cuban Missile Crisis brought relaxation in the bipolar tensions. This relaxation was called *détente* and lasted from 1962 to mid-1970s. Defying the belief that the Cold War had ended, it was reawakened in late 1970s when the Soviet troops

entered Afghanistan in support of a communist regime and the Americans had responded to it in a manner proverbial to the pre-détente rivalry. Reagan revived arms race as he sought to spend on Strategic Defence Initiative – the so-called ‘star war’ programme. The Cold War, however, ended in 1989 when the Soviets had pulled out their troops from Afghanistan and positive news started coming also from other parts of the world. The Soviet Union’s policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* were believed to be in the centre of changes in late 1980s. In no time the Soviet Union had disintegrated and the Cold War was declared dead.

8.6 REFERENCES

Baylis, John et al. (eds.). (2015). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. New Delhi, OUP.

Davis, Simon and Joseph Smith. (2015). *The A to Z of the Cold War*. New York: Scarecrow.

Friedman, Norman. (2007). *The Fifty-Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*. New York: U.S. Naval Institute Press.

Gaddis, John Lewis. (1997). *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gaddis, John Lewis. (2005). *The Cold War: A New History*. New Delhi: Penguin Press.

Halliday, Fred.(2001). *Cold War. The Oxford Companion to the Politics of the World*.Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Immerman, Richard H. and Petra Goedde. (eds.) (2013). *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*. Oxford: OUP.

LaFeber, Walter (1993). *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1992*.McGraw-Hill.

Leffler, Melvyn P. and Odd Arne Westad. (eds.) (2016). *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (3 vol.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McMahon, Robert. (2003). *The Cold War: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Service, Robert. (2018). *The End of the Cold War: 1985–1991*. London: Macmillan.

Sorensen, G. and Robert H. Jackson.(2016). *Introduction to International Relations*. New Delhi, OUP.

Tucker, Spencer. (ed.) (2008). *Encyclopedia of the Cold War: A Political, Social, and Military History* (5 vol.), California: ABC CLIO Corporate.

Walker, Martin. (1995). *The Cold War: A History*, British perspective. New York: Henry Holt.

Westad, Odd Arne. (2017). *The Cold War: A World History*. New York: Basic Books.

8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Cold War was not a war in real sense
 - It was fought under an ideological cover
 - The United States provided leadership to the capitalist world and the Soviet Union represented the socialist political cause

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Ideological reason of origin of Cold War goes back to the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917
 - The Bolshevik Revolution was inspired by communism
 - Success of a workers' revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Vladimir Lenin was looked at with suspicion and hostility by the capitalist classes in Europe and the US

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - In 1947, US President Harry S. Truman announced that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations facing external or internal communist threats
 - US set itself up as the global policeman in the name of defence of democracy and freedom
 - Key components were building up military alliances, bilateral military defence treaties, establishment of military bases and facilities in other countries, economic and technical aid and assistance to allies – democratic and dictatorial both

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- 1) Your answer should highlight following points
 - Peaceful end of the Cuban Missile Crisis probably made the world to realise the potential cost of bipolar military hostilities
 - New phase in the Cold War was used, known as détente
 - Refers to the period of reduced tension in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and was closely associated with the process of arms control
 - The main period of détente ran from the Partial Treat Ban Treaty (PTBT) in 1963 to the late 1970s

UNIT 9 END OF THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 End of Cold War and International Relations in the Post-Cold War Era
 - 9.2.1 Dissolution of USSR
 - 9.2.2 Fall of Berlin Wall and Unification of Germany
 - 9.2.3 Deepening of Economic Interdependence
- 9.3 Characteristics of Post-Cold War Era
- 9.4 Important Issues in the Post-Cold War International Relations
 - 9.4.1 Ethnicity and Conflict
 - 9.4.2 Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism
 - 9.4.3 Hegemonic Attitude of United States
 - 9.4.4 Sustainable Development
 - 9.4.5 Migration and Human Rights Issues
- 9.5 New Perspectives on International Cooperation
 - 9.5.1 Multilateralism
 - 9.5.2 Revitalised Approach towards International Organisations
 - 9.5.3 Commercial Considerations in Drivers Seat
- 9.6 Let Us Sum mp
- 9.7 References
- 9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit would enable you to read the post-Cold War developments at the international level. After reading this unit, you should be able to know:

- The major events that led to the end of Cold War
- Characteristics of Post Cold War era
- Important issues in the post-Cold War international relations and
- New perspectives on international cooperation

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of Cold War resulted in several changes in the International Relations. The concept of bipolar system, which brought the world to fall under the influence of two powerful blocs, was the first victim. It also followed by weakening of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the beginning of the end of Cold War. Soon after that USSR was dismantled in 1991,

* Dr. Om Prasad Gadde, Dept. of Political Science, School of Social Sciences & Humanities, Sikkim University

marking a new era in the history of international relations. The collapse of the USSR led to the death of Warsaw Pact. Many countries took birth in the Baltic, Eastern Europe and Central Asian regions either through civil war or peaceful means. All these events resulted in emergence of the US as the sole super power; and the world became a unipolar system for a while in the 1990s. The international relations in the post-Cold War period have taken a new shape, order and spirit. New actors have emerged, new priorities are identified and new world order has begun. Multiple changes have happened at economic and political fronts at multiple levels – from global to local. Trade and economic issues gained prominence in international relations. The post-Cold War period witnessed the birth of a new economic order and international relations were revitalised into international economic relations. In 1995 World Trade Organisation (WTO) was formed to provide institutional support to these economic relations. The purpose of the WTO was to promote a rule-based free trade system. Trade and commerce took the front seat in forging the relations between nations. The concepts of economic development, regional cooperation, trade corridors were prioritised and new alliances based on these concepts were formed. Some other issues also gained prominence. The ideas of sustainable development, environmental protection, protection of human rights, addressing the issues related to intra- and inter-regional migration became global objectives. At the same time new actors like terrorist organizations, multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations, global social movements, alliances, freedom movements emerged as important players in international relations. In the contemporary times, a New Cold War is emerging between the US and China over issues of trade and security. At the same time, the Coronavirus pandemic has exposed fissures in the international politics and human security issues like health would now be given top priority by governments around the world.

9.2 END OF COLD WAR AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

The international developments in the post-Cold War era can be understood broadly by taking a close look at the events that led to the end of the Cold War.

9.2.1 Dissolution of USSR

The events that led to the dissolution of USSR were at two levels – domestic and external. By 1980s, because of the policies followed during the earlier decades, the USSR faced economic stagnation. There was severe shortfall in supplies vis-a-vis demand in consumer goods and agricultural production. State could not supply adequately to the growing demand from various sectors. Mikhail Gorbachev became Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1985. Soon thereafter he initiated a ‘new thinking’ which realised that economic power had supplanted military power as the most important aspect of security. He repudiated ‘Brezhnev doctrine’ of assertion of the Soviet Union’s right to intervene to protect Socialist governments wherever they might be threatened. Both these policies of the past had resulted in greater economic costs. Cold War perception and policies of Soviet Union had emphasised more on high military spending so as to be at par with United States and its Western allies. About 40 to 50 per cent of its GDP was spent on defence of the nation and its allies. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan resulted in a bad experience; it was

costly and demoralizing. Gorbachev's policies were to rethink on the Afghan imbroglio. He initiated 'restructuring' of the economy; the process was called *Perestroika*. Policy of *Perestroika* re-examined the spending on military and other security agencies; and age-old system of material and military support and subsidies to Soviet allies. The 'restructuring' of economy however needed technological flow and credits from the West in order to overcome the structural weaknesses and backwardness. Attracting Western capital and technology did not prove easy. The structural economic weaknesses and loopholes in the overall policy framework, amidst communist paradigm, resulted in its failure, which Gorbachev attributed to the bureaucratic rigidities. He called for an open discussion or *Glasnost* ('opening'). *Glasnost* was meant to give some political 'opening' to the Soviet citizens – freedom of expression including right to criticize and form political associations. This resulted in the birth of autonomous organisations in the Soviet society, which started denouncing the military and economic failures of the Union and even Communist rule itself. By 1989 *Glasnost* spread across the Eastern Europe and Central Asian regions, with widespread demonstrations calling for more freedom. The Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared independence. Gorbachev refused to provide military support to the communist governments in these countries to control these agitations. Democratic and freedom aspirations among the constituent socialist republics of the Soviet Union itself finally resulted in dissolution of the USSR in 1991.

9.2.2 Fall of Berlin Wall and Unification of Germany

Another significant event that marked end of the Cold war was the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, which had divided the East and the West Germany physically and ideologically since 1961. The West Germany, also known as Federal Republic of Germany, was part of the Western alliance system, while East Germany (German Democratic Republic) was a member of the Soviet bloc. The division of Germany into these two parts was on the lines of ideology, which represented the Cold War between Capitalist and Communist blocs. The impact of *Glasnost* soon spread across Eastern Europe, Baltic region and more especially to Eastern Germany. In a speech at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin on 12 June 1987, US President Ronald Reagan called Gorbachev, to "tear down the Wall". Several political and economic structural changes occurred in the aftermath. Communist parties were defeated in the elections in Poland in 1989; and political and economic reforms took place in Hungary which opened its borders with neighbouring Austria. These developments became catalysts for the changes in East Germany. The growing civilian unrest in East Germany pressurised the government to loosen some of its regulations on people on travel to West Germany. The events which followed later allowed thousands of Germans on both sides of the wall to gather together to dismantle the Berlin Wall; and the unification of Germany followed. Within the weeks of fall of the Wall, there was a peaceful transition to democratic government in Czechoslovakia; and a violent change of régime in Romania and Bulgaria. The fall of USSR in 1991 resulted in formation of about 15 independent countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. The bitter ethnic conflicts dissolved former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into independent countries like Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. Post-Cold War period also witnessed emergence of several other countries in other parts of the

world, though under different circumstances. In 1990 Namibia became independent of South Africa. Previously, Namibia was known as South West Africa when it was a German territory. The year 1990 also saw the unification of North and South Yemens into Republic of Yemen. In 1993, Czechoslovakia was dissolved to become the Czech Republic and Slovakia as independent nations. Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia after a 30 year war. In 2002 East Timor became independent from Indonesia. Kosovo unilaterally declared independence from Serbia in 2008; and in 2011 South Sudan peacefully seceded from Sudan following a referendum.

The arrival of these new states onto the world map created some sort of political and economic interest and speculation among the countries and regions. With their inclusion, the membership of the UN increased. These new nations brought new issues for discussion and resolution to the UN agenda. Breakup of the Socialist bloc and birth of so many new nations led to increased demand for aid and investments from multilateral financial institutions importantly the IMF and the World Bank. Geopolitical implications proved for far-reaching importance. The resource-rich Central Asian region emerged as an important strategic region, in a multipolar world context, in terms of global military and energy security. Experts on geopolitics began talking of the 'new great game'. Because of its geo-strategic location at the crossroad of Russia, China, West Asia and Europe, and its hydrocarbon and other mineral resources, Central Asian region saw the birth of an intense rivalry for influence among important global and regional powers, namely, the United States, Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, India and Pakistan. This is often referred to as the "New Great Game". Lack of an outlet to the sea makes these states vulnerable to pressure from their neighbours, especially Russia, through which most of the existing trade and transit routes and oil pipelines pass. Search for alternate transit routes to minimise their dependence on Russia induces them to look towards their other neighbours. And the desire to reduce the influence of these neighbours, apart from the need of an economic and technological assistance, persuades these states to welcome the US and other Western powers. Technology is impacting Central Asian geopolitics. The Central Asian region is at the heart of China's 'Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) – a mammoth project to build infrastructure linking China with Europe. This 'new great game' is the revival of the 'old great game' played out between Czarist Russia imperial Britain. In 1904, British geopolitical scholar Halford John Mackinder had proposed his 'Heartland' theory, arguing that whosoever controls the 'heartland' viz. Eurasian landmass has the potential to "command the world".

The dissolution of USSR and collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe also marked an uprising in democratic political environment across the world especially in the newly formed states. The ideals like democracy and freedom were emphasised in every aspect of life. Similarly in non-democratic regimes, aspirations of democratic political governance were steadily increasing. Most of the newly formed countries were under-developed and needed economic transformations mostly determined by the Western idea of economic development which were greatly influenced by the principles of free market capitalism. Thus liberal democracy and free market economy became the accepted political and economic systems. Thus the basic characteristic of post-Cold War international system was the spread of free market capitalism and democracy with emphasis on elections, human rights etc.

9.2.3 Deepening of Economic Interdependence

The end of the Cold War, in addition to the collapse of the ideology of socialism and socialist bloc, coincided with the acceleration of the process of economic globalization. Globalization is a major process in the form of rapid growth in international economic and trade relations and deepening of interdependence on one hand and great technological milestones in Information and Communication technologies on the other hand. These developments resulted in emergence of a new concept called ‘global village’ as the interconnectivity in terms of manufacturing and trade as well as communication created new forms of web-based connectivities. Since this process of interconnectivity was global in nature, and the spread across the streams of social, cultural, economic, technological and political, the process also came to be known as globalisation. Globalisation has led to the rise of new actors in the International relations. These new actors are often non-state actors such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Multinational Corporations (MNCs) etc. These actors have acquired important role in determining the relations between nation states. They are transnational in nature inspired by free enterprise and free trade and less accountable.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

ii) See the end of the Unit for tips for your answer.

- 1) ‘Glasnost and Perestroika policies of Gorbachev shaped a new world order’. Elucidate.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF POST COLD WAR ERA

There are certain prominent characteristics of the post-Cold War international system. Though the Cold War period had created a bipolar world order where the actions of the states were predictable and the actors in the international system were supportive of the state actions. The Cold War period that way brought status quo and stability to the international system. The fall of communism created a vacuum and left the world unipolar with US as the sole super power and leader of the free capitalism and liberal democracy. The Cold War world order was divided based on the ideologies of capitalism and communism. The end of Cold War brought an end to this ideological division. Hence the first characteristic of post Cold War era is the dominance of free market capitalism. It is since then seen as a major tool, approach and an important means to achieve economic development. Majority of the countries who adopted communism or socialism to achieve economic development have turned around to embrace capitalist ideology.

End of the Cold War is also seen as heralding of individual freedom and democracy. These freedoms range from economic, social, cultural and political. All these freedoms are to be supported by rights. Both the freedoms and rights are to be supported by political institutions which are basically democratic. The second characteristic of post Cold War era was the outbreak of the 'third wave' of democratization, as Samuel Huntington put it. Liberal democracy in the minimal meaning of electoral contest spread to South East Asia, North Asia, South Asia, Africa and Latin America. East European countries underwent varieties of 'colour' revolutions – 'pink', 'blue' etc. Some years later in 2010, 'Arab spring' bloomed in West Asian region. Elections were held, in many countries for the first time; democratic governments came to power and completed their term without facing a military coup, new constitutions were written; judiciary became independent and rule of law prevailed, right to vote was expanded in most countries and covered women, indigenous, and marginalised and excluded sections of the society; and democratic institutions were established which worked.

The third characteristic of post-Cold War era is the rapid growth in international trade. Formation of the WTO marked the rise of a rule-based multilateral trade order. The increased international trade allowed the countries to become interdependent and to forge economic relations. This swift turn from traditional relations which focused on interactions between governments has allowed economic relations between private players. Global corporate and banking interests emerged as extremely powerful economic players. Foreign economic relations have become dominant over other traditional issues like defence and border security etc. Increased international trade has softened the rigid boundaries between the states and allowed free flow of goods, capital, human resources forging new linkages between the states.

The fourth important characteristic of post-Cold War era is the rise of new actors who are mostly non-state actors. These non-state actors do not have any nationality, state identity and are not controlled by the state. International non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and Greenpeace emerged championing specific issues like protection of human rights and environment. The emergence of these non-state actors created several multiple linkages between the states and non-state actors.

These linkages supported 'cobweb paradigm' to understand international relations. The idea of international relations looking a cobweb emphasizes transnational relations supported by various civil society organisations, multinational corporations which create new forms of international society and which are not bound by Realist idea of national interest and sovereign state. The interactions between the non-state actors prioritise the individual and community interests pertaining to the actors rather than national interest. The state here would not act independently rather plays a supportive role. The result of this multiple interactions at multiple levels slowly but steadily replaces the word 'international relations' with 'world relations' in understanding the phenomenon and outcomes.

The fifth characteristic of post-Cold War era is the new focus – spread from world-centric to region-centric interests. These interests ranged from environmental issues to issues of human migration. These interests are common in nature and have major impact on human civilisation itself. Identifying, understanding and collective efforts to address the issues have become priority

areas in state actions. These issues, for instance the COVID-19 pandemic call for lots of concerted action at regional and global level; and even demand setting up of regional mechanisms to fight these new types of non-traditional security threats. State interests are submerged in common interests and states have become part of collective actions at regional and global levels. Thus the states started policy making according to this collective action and states started seeing their national interest as part of collective interest. Identifying, understanding and coordinating states to achieve common goals required pro-active organisations, which are universal and aloof from interest of a single state. Thus the sixth important characteristic of post-Cold War era is importance of international organisations like the United Nations, WTO etc. The rise and growth of these international organisations in the post-Cold War era is phenomenal and their importance has grown rapidly. These international organisations deal with single to multiple issues and in their reach range from global to regional. Thus the importance of regional organisations and regional cooperation initiatives on multiple issues has grown. These initiatives are focused on issues ranging from easing trade to security to environment to migration at regional level.

All these characteristics have changed the discourse of international relations in the post-Cold War era. The end of Cold War has added uncertainty and a degree of unpredictability, along with the transformative structural changes, to international relations. The period is also marked by a more dynamic and intense nature of relations between the states. New types of negotiations and meetings have evolved such as G-20 and BRICS where leaders meet and discuss issues of global and regional importance. The emergence of more actors at the interactions between the states started influencing the actions of the state. The concepts of 'sovereignty', 'national interest', 'hard borders' etc have become vulnerable and weak. This led many scholars to question the concept of 'Westphalian' nation-state.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the important characteristics of post-Cold War international system.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

9.4 IMPORTANT ISSUES IN THE POST COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

9.4.1 Ethnicity and Conflict

Dissolution of the USSR resulted in a steady rise in ethnicity-based conflicts and violence in the newly independent countries. An ethnic war in former Yugoslavia inflicted a heavy toll on human life and split the country in several independent

states. Number of secessionist movements based on ethnicity in the former Soviet bloc especially in Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia indulged in such wars. Other countries and regions like Sri Lanka, South Sudan, East Timor, Catalonia also witnessed a steady rise in violent ethnic conflicts. African countries like Angola, Cyprus, Somalia, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Algeria, Nigeria and others were caught in ethnic, sectarian and tribal conflicts and wars. These wars have created large human tragedies with violence, genocide, and crimes against humanity committed on large scale. Restoration of peace and establishment of stable democratic governments remain a challenge.

Ethnicity, religion and culture became predominant in uniting the people and the concept of a secular multiethnic nation-state came under heavy criticism. In states where multiple ethnicities existed, these states became vulnerable to the conflict along the lines of ethnicity, religion, language, tribe and cultures. In 1992, Samuel P Huntington, an American political scientist proposed 'The Clash of Civilizations' thesis which predicted that conflicts along civilizational lines will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. He argued that future wars would be fought not between countries, but between cultures. The rise of identity politics has become a major issue in international relations in the post-Cold War period. As most of them are intra-state in nature, it is felt that internal ethnic and other conflicts should be brought under the purview of international law and organizations. The argument is that the international community cannot sit idle while killing of human beings go on in the name of ethnicity, religion or tribe. States cannot excuse themselves by saying these are internal matters of a sovereign state. Liberal internationalism demands that international community must step in to prevent, if necessary by using force, genocides, ethnic cleansings and crimes against humanity. Thus, there began a collection of norms, broadly described as 'humanitarian international law'. The concept of 'humanitarian intervention' and the principle of 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) became international norms. The idea of 'human security', which essentially means 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want', emerged to protect individuals and communities from persecution and violence. Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and several other countries and regions saw 'humanitarian interventions' in the aftermath of Cold War. The UN upgraded its mechanisms and in 2006, UN Human Rights Council was established which replaced the UN Human Rights Commission. Some analysts hold the view that the global agencies like UN need special mandate to intervene in these intra-state conflicts. So far the UN humanitarian interventions and the UN peacekeeping and peace enforcement missions have had a mixed record. Though, the UN could establish peace among the conflicting interests and groups in some cases but it happened only after a lot of human suffering and killing.

9.4.2 Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism

The defeat of USSR in its Afghanistan campaign led the Soviets to retreat from the country. The geostrategic policies adopted by the USA and USSR in the region gave birth to a new threat to peace in the form of rise of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. Various *Mujahedeen* groups which were primarily based along ethnic and sectarian lines started conflicting with each other to secure the power in the country. This process of grabbing the power also witnessed the birth of Taliban, another fierce Islamic fundamentalist group. The birth of Taliban started a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan. In the war against Soviet occupation, many foreign fighters were brought to Afghanistan. One such group

was Al-Qaeda headed by the Saudi-born Osama bin Laden. Al-Qaeda had its foreign fighters who were trained and armed by the US. They fought against Soviet army in Afghanistan. Once the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, many of these militant and terrorist groups began looking beyond to spread their ideology and influence. It was Al-Qaeda which carried out the terrorist bombings in US on September 2001 – known as 9/11 terrorist incidents. Although there are several Islamic outfits like Hezbollah in Lebanon, Palestine Liberation Army in Palestine, their cause was political in nature, i.e. securing independence and sovereignty for the regions they are based in. The US intervention in Afghanistan after 9/11 attacks and the declaration by President George Bush of ‘war on terrorism’ led to US interventions and regime change. The ‘war on terrorism’ and US and NATO intervention in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria also witnessed the birth of several organisations like Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The ‘war on terrorism’ has changed the entire discourse of international relations.

9.4.3 Hegemonic Attitude of the United States

The Cold War period provided some amount of predictability and certainty in international relations. The fall of communist bloc allowed the USA and its allies to play a dominant role in world politics. The end of Cold War certainly expanded the US role from being the chief protagonist of capitalism to other areas such as global security, peacekeeping and peacemaking and peace enforcement, ‘war on terrorism’, and further to areas such as regime change, democracy promotion, human rights etc. In the name of protecting the democratic regimes and international security, the post-Cold War era saw US intervention in several countries. The Gulf war of 1991, US-led NATO intervention in Afghanistan in the post 9/11 period, invasion of Iraq without UN sanction, interventions in Libya and Syria are the examples of US and its allies aggressive policies.

9.4.4 Sustainable Development

The Cold War period witnessed massive rise in industrial activities, advancements in military technologies, nuclear programmes, production of weapons of mass destruction etc. The Cold War competition had no scope for the concept of an industrial order that would be environmentally sustainable. The military budgets of the countries at best included some spending on measures to reduce pollution and emissions in industrial activities. The environmental protection movements were also focused more on approaches which promoted ‘pollution control strategies’ rather than adopting strategies which would change the production process by incorporating environmentally-sustainable and -friendly technologies. The end of Cold War immediately impacted the international relations in the field of environmental protection. Global environmental concerns have become common agenda in the international platforms. Unlike the Cold War era politics, which would prevent countries to come together to fight for common cause because of various reasons, the post-Cold War era could successfully identify these common concerns. From the Rio summit of 1992, Kyoto Protocol and to the Paris climate agreements in 2015, international community has come a long way to undertake commitments to reduce emission of ‘greenhouse gases’ and adapt technologies to mitigate climate change. Mid 1990s witnessed a substantial progress in bringing the countries together on a single platform to discuss the environmental issues. In 1995 first United Nations Framework Convention on

Climate Change (UNFCCC) was held in Berlin. This conference would also be known as Conference of the Parties (COP) which expressed its concerns about the adequacy of countries' abilities and agreed on "Activities Implemented Jointly". This was the first joint measure in international climate action, which has been a continuous process ever since. The idea of sustainable development took shape and became embedded as an important goal in the economic development strategies of developing and developed countries. Although there are substantial issues that still need to be sorted out between the developed and developing countries, the end of Cold War has hastened the process of forging understanding and cooperation among countries.

9.4.5 Migration and Human Rights Issues

The dissolution of USSR resulted in bitter ethnic conflicts in former socialist states like Yugoslavia which further split into several independent states. Ethnic cleansing was the common phenomenon in these conflicts. Severe human rights violations led to forced displacement, ethnic cleansing, and the problem of refugees and economic migrants. The United Nations established The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) to prosecute perpetrators of serious crimes committed during the Yugoslav wars. The Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals (MICT) was the successor to ICTY. Both these tribunals were successful in convicting the war criminals. The international events like war on terrorism, 'failed' states and 'rogue' states, regime change, economic failures of states have produced huge numbers of intra-state and inter-state migrations in the post Cold War period. Countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, etc have produced large number of migrants due to conflicts. Addressing the concerns of refugees, displaced persons and those fleeing state violence and seeking protection of their lives and human rights have become main international issues.

9.5 NEW PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

9.5.1 Multilateralism

One of the most important developments that happened and which has deeply influenced international relations at the end of the Cold War is the expansion of multilateralism. It refers to alliance of multiple countries and their agreement to work together to achieve common goals or to address common issues. Multilateralism allows countries to take membership or to form an alliance at equal footing without any discrimination in any form. In that sense, it is opposite to unilateralism. Though the institutions like United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) were the core form of multilateralism during Cold War era and did play a vital role in diffusing the Cold War tensions, the real essence of multilateralism could be seen in the post-Cold War era. Formal establishment of WTO to institutionalise international trade relations, conclusion of many free trade agreements, such as NAFTA, which saw free flow of goods, services, human resources between the member countries, formation of new groupings and mechanisms like the BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, creation of other economic initiatives and trade corridors, and infrastructural developments

and connectivity like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) are the examples of growth in multilateralism at trade, political and security levels. These developments have significantly affected international relations after the Cold War and changed the discourse on polarity in general and facilitated the rise of a multipolar world. Bipolarity of the Cold War had ensured stability and smooth functioning of the international system. Bipolarity led many times to modification of international sets of standards and order by the agreements between the two super powers. Cold war era was the finest example of how international order could be modified by agreements between USA and USSR. Bipolarity had created a scenario where powerful state could influence the behaviour of comparatively weaker states. Unipolarity on the other hand explains how the most powerful state could influence the behaviour of other states (with or without their approval). The actions of this powerful state may not be fitting into existing international norms or rules. For example the US intervention in Iraq in 2003 was an act of unipolarity and a unilateral action by the sole surviving super power. Multilateralism and multipolarity have created more fluidity in international relations. Even small states are engaged in forging trade and other agreements with big powers and so often on specific issues. Miles Kahler defines multilateralism as 'International Governance by many'. The growth of multilateralism and multipolarity also increased the importance of international organisations in the international relations.

9.5.2 Revitalised Approach towards International Organisations

There were considerable numbers of international organisations during the Cold War period. Organizations like the UN, World Bank, IMF, etc. were, in a sense, victim of the Cold War as their functioning was influenced by the interests and perceptions of the two super powers who tried to use them to advance their own ideological and strategic objectives. They were seen as proponents of the ideologies of their Cold War allies and were used as tools to influence the foreign and domestic policies of developing countries. For instance, IMF worked in close harmony with the US interests and goals. Understanding the role of these organisations were to understand their nature and growth in international relations. The end of Cold War has changed the perspective of how nations would understand the working, nature and role of these organisations. The focus is more on the levels and patterns of interactions between the actors including state and the non-state international organisations. The emergence of new international regimes, structures, rules of behaviour etc have become more important than looking at them from the ideological prisms.

9.5.3 Commercial Considerations in Drivers Seat

The irreversible globalisation has made the world into a small society where interactions between the countries are more based on commercial interests. Production, movement and marketing, and consumption of goods and services have become deeply integrated. Investment decisions, flow of capital and technology across borders and regions and movement of corporate managerial elite today integrates the world in an unprecedented manner. In the process commerce have become main and important tool in shaping and reshaping the relations between the nations. Commerce has become more important than ever before and foreign policies are driven by the commercial interests. End of Cold War has opened space to countries to use economics language in place of language

of security. The post WTO world order has been shaped by the idea of ‘market’ and reaching the market has become more important than rigid borders and border conflicts. Export promotion has become crucial for national economic growths; therefore every country seeks access to the market of other countries. The rapid growth of economic interests has reduced prospects of war. In the process protecting the market, protecting trade routes, building new infrastructure connectivity have become basic objectives behind countries actions and measures. These actions and measures have been emerging as the new sources of competition and conflict between the countries. The South China dispute, growing militarization in Indian Ocean, soft loans to African countries etc are the examples of such competition and conflict between the countries.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

- 1) ‘Multilateralism and International Organisations have created conditions for transformation of the world from Unipolarity to Multipolarity’. Explain.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

9.6 LET US SUM UP

The discussion above has given the picture of international relations after the end of the Cold War. The Unit has also explained how the post Cold War period has facilitated greater interactions between the countries; the outcomes of these interactions; important actors and their role in shaping the relations between the countries. The discussion also explored the important issues that the new world order is facing and the transformation of the world from bipolar to unipolar to multipolar international system. End of Cold War saw the acceleration in the process of globalization. With China’s rise, a New Cold War, also called Cold War 2.0 is shaping up between the US and China. Apart from trade and security issues, ideology is also a part of this friction as democracy and authoritarianism are pitted against each other. There are likely to be some changes in the international order after the Corona pandemic which would impact the foreign policy of many countries in coming years.

9.7 REFERENCES

Bilol Buzurukov and Byeong Wan Lee (2016). *A Comparative Analysis of Forced Migration: Cold War Versus Post-Cold War Eras*. Economics Discussion Papers, No 2016-23, Kiel Institute for the World Economy. [http:// www.economics-ejournal.org/economics/discussionpapers/2016-23](http://www.economics-ejournal.org/economics/discussionpapers/2016-23).

Gaddis, John Lewis. (1992). International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War. *International Security*, 17(3), pp. 5–58.

Goldmann, Kjell; Ulf Hannerz and Charles Westin. (2000). *Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post Cold-War Era*. Routledge, London.

Harrison, Ewan. (2004). *The Post-Cold War International System: Strategies, Institutions and Reflexivity*. Routledge, New York.

Ikenbery, John; Michel Mastanduno and William C Wohlforth (eds). (2011). *International Relations Theory and Consequence of Unipolarity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

J. Ruggie, ed. (1993). *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*, New York, Columbia University Press.

Johari, J C. (2014). *International Relations and Politics - Theoretical Perspectives in the Post - Cold War Era*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.

Keersmaecker, Goedele De. (2018). *Polarity, Balance of Power and International Relations Theory: Post-Cold War and the 19th Century Compared*, Springer International Publishing.

Krasner, S. (ed.). (1983). *International Regimes*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Lebow, Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen (eds). (1995). *International Relations Theory and the End of Cold War*, Columbia University Press, Columbia.

Lundestad, Geir. (ed) (2013). *International Relations Since the End of the Cold War: New and Old Dimensions*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979). *Theory of International Relations*, Waveland Press, Long Grove.

Watson, Dale C. (2007). *Geopolitics and Great Powers in the 21st Century: Multipolarity and the Revolution in the Strategic Perspective*, Routledge, New York.

9.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following points
 - Gorbachev initiated Perestroika and Glasnost
 - Policy of *Perestroika* re-examined the spending on military and other security agencies; and age-old system of material and military support and subsidies to Soviet allies
 - Glasnost was to give some political ‘opening’ to the Soviet citizens – freedom of expression including right to criticize and form political associations
 - By 1989 Glasnost spread across the Eastern Europe and Central Asian regions

- Democratic and freedom aspirations among the constituent socialist republics of the Soviet Union itself finally resulted in dissolution of USSR in 1991

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following points
 - Dominance of capitalism
 - Growth of democratic institutions
 - Growth of international trade
 - Rise of new actors
 - Regionalism and
 - Importance to international organizations

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following points
 - Multilateralism allows countries to take membership or to form an alliance at equal footing without any discrimination
 - It is against unilateralism
 - Multilateralism and multipolarity have created more fluidity in international relations
 - Even small states are engaged in forging trade and other agreements with big powers and so often on specific issues

UNIT 10 EMERGING CENTRES OF POWER*

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Concept of Power in International Relations
 - 10.2.1 Types of Power: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Power
 - 10.2.2 Global, Regional and Sub-regional Powers
- 10.3 Polarity in International System
 - 10.3.1 Unipolar System
 - 10.3.2 Bipolar System
 - 10.3.3 Multipolar System
- 10.4 Post-Cold War Period and the Emergence of New Centres of Power
 - 10.4.1 China
 - 10.4.2 Russia
 - 10.4.3 India
 - 10.4.4 BRICS
 - 10.4.5 European Union
- 10.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.6 References
- 10.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit would enable you to understand:

- Various definitions and discourses on the concept of Power in International Relations
- Types and levels of Power and the concept of Polarity in International system and
- Characteristics of emerging centres of Power

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Power in International Relations (IR) is related to the power of a state in terms of influencing the actions and policies of other states. A state's ability to influence can be drawn from its socio-cultural, political, economic and military capabilities. A powerful state can influence, control the political environment, events, issues and interactions between the states at international level. A powerful state can also resist, dominate, maintain status quo of any kind of consequences, complications, implications for itself which may be the result of the interactions between other states. Realists argue that the primary objective of a state in international relations is to acquire that power, one, to influence the actions of other states according to its wish; two, to resist any negative implications of

* Dr. Om Prasad Gadde, Dept. of Political Science, School of Social Sciences & Humanities, Sikkim University

these interactions for itself; and finally, to successfully project its own power and influence far and wide beyond its geographic region. Likewise, a regional power is one who can make a difference to regional peace and stability on the basis of its similar power capabilities. Based on the ability of states to influence the actions and policies of other states, and the spheres of influence, powerful states can be categorised into global powers, regional powers and sub-regional powers. The nature of influence can be classified into 'hard' and 'soft' powers. If the power is distributed among many states in international system it can be called a multipolar system; and if there are only two states which can influence, it is regarded as bipolar system. If there is only one hegemonic power which dominates over the world, then it is a unipolar world.

10.2 CONCEPT OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Hans J Morgenthau (1948), a well-known Realist whom you have studied in earlier Units, defines international politics as 'struggle for power'; and that countries are engaged in relations with each other for securing power. This aspiration for power is the driving force behind countries' willingness to have relations with other countries and to participate in international affairs. Since all the countries are engaged with each other with the same motive, power politics and struggle for power is an inevitable phenomenon. Neorealists, like Kenneth Waltz (1979) whom again you have studied earlier, argue that the bipolar system is the most stable world order as the power is divided between two hegemons with their satellites. The bipolar structure determines the foreign policies of individual states; and thus the global politics. Here the individual national interests are integral to the interests of power blocs. Waltz had found the Cold War bipolarity as a source of stability and predictability in international system. Robert Gilpin in his seminal work *War and Change in International Politics* opines that states enter into relations and create structures to advance their interests. As the interests of states change over time, states seek to change the system to get a more favourable distribution of benefits. The ability of the states to change the international system depends on the military, economic, and technological capabilities of states and the changes in the interests of the states are according to the change in domestic preferences – which, in turn, are due to changes in domestic politics.

John Mearsheimer, known as 'offensive' Neorealist, insists on the ability of the hegemonic power to dominate other countries in the region. He argues that a hegemonic power always works to strengthen its own power and weaken the powers of its rivals with the fear that if it does not do so, it can lose its domination over the region. American Political Scientist Robert Dahl in his work *The Concept of Power* (1957), had proposed a formal definition of power. He defines power: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." Here, A refers to the influencer and B refers upon whom the influence is being exercised. A's ability to exercise power is relative and not absolute and eternal. Robert Dahl's argument on power goes with the relational concept and declares that power is a causal and multidimensional concept. Power can be derived from many and varied sources; and, it is without any permanency.

The relationship between power and interdependence among independent states had been analysed by Joseph Keohane and Robert Nye in their 1977 work titled

Power and Interdependence, in which they argue the relationship between the two are asymmetrical in the sense that the interdependence itself is a power resource. They say the asymmetries in interdependence are most likely to provide sources of influence for actors in their dealings with one another.

10.2.1 Types of Power: 'Hard' and 'Soft' Power

Power in International Relations can be classified into various types. These types indicate the nature and ability of states to influence the policies and actions of other states. Though all states possess certain amount of power, only few states possess the ability to influence the conduct of other states.

There are basically two types of power, 'hard' and 'soft' which are used by the great power to influence the behaviour of other states. What is 'hard' power and what is 'soft' power? Let us discuss and analyze.

'Hard' power: 'Hard' power is the capability to influence the behaviour and actions of other states with the use, or threat of use, of military and economic means. The exercise of 'hard' power is aggressive and coercive and is often used to forcefully mend the policies of other states according to the interests of the 'hard' power. The results of exercise of 'hard' power are often immediate; or can be seen in a very short time. A state's emergence as a 'hard' power requires economic development coupled with military might. It requires huge investments in infrastructure, manufacturing, military, technological and innovation sectors and a steady GDP growth rate. A 'hard' power effectively uses advances in these sectors for its own national interest. The use of 'hard' power goes along with risks both at economy and military fronts and a state which aspires to be a 'hard' power has to bear these risks. The premier example of a 'hard' power is United States of America. Its intervention in Iraq in 1991 and 2003 and its 'global war on terrorism' (GWOT) can be cited as illustrations of 'hard' power capability. 'Hard' power goes along with risks to the economy and the military; America is engaged in its longest war in Afghanistan without a definite military or political victory. Some countries like Japan and Germany can be called as economic powers but not 'hard' powers because they lack the military ability and outreach to influence other states like the United States.

'Soft' power: What does 'soft' power mean? In contrast with 'hard' power which is heavily relied on coercive methods, 'soft' power can influence other states with the use of culture, movies, values, ethics, social, ethnic, linguistic, historical and human relations. 'Soft' power can also use lobbying as a tool to influence foreign policies of other states. Diaspora can play an important role in this kind of influence. The 'soft' power concept was proposed by Joseph Nye who argued that a country can achieve its interests by influencing the policies of other countries through 'soft' tools like culture. Thus the 'soft' power depends on its abilities to gain results through 'soft' tools and not 'hard' tools. Though the 'soft' power influence may not be as immediate and effective as 'hard' power, it can nevertheless play an important role in shaping the public opinion and developing a positive environment among the interacting states. The example of a 'soft' power is India which has the ability to influence the policies, perceptions, perspectives of other states through its historical and cultural background and a wide diaspora. UN International Yoga Day, Bollywood, Indian philosophy and diversity are deemed its 'soft' power. Football, Amazon rainforest etc. are the 'soft' powers of Brazil. Canada is a 'good' international citizen; a trustworthy

‘mediator’ and a useful ‘go-between’ are its ‘soft’ power assets. US has immense ‘soft’ power – Hollywood, fashion, premier educational institutions and universities, knowledge production and its research and development (R&D) in the field of natural and human sciences etc.

10.2.2 Global, Regional and Sub-regional Powers

Based on a state’s capability to influence other states, a power can be categorised as global, regional or sub-regional power.

Global Power: A global power exerts its influence at a global level; and is also called by others as global power. A more commonly used expression is the ‘great’ power for these global powers. A great power possesses both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ powers to influence other states in their domestic as well as foreign policy decisions. Paul Kennedy (1987) argues that historically power of a ‘great’ power cannot be compared on a single parameter. It depends on the political environment of that period; and, further, the power can be measured in terms of the power of other states. The characteristics of a ‘great’ power include the resources availability, economic strength and military ability for a sustained campaign. Kenneth Waltz opines that it is through mutual understanding that states decide on who are the ‘great’ powers of a period (Waltz 1979, 131). Martin Wight in his book *Power Politics* published in 1978, argues that a ‘great’ power is the one with the ability to create, define and monopolise the international conflict. Though Wight used the word ‘dominant power’ instead of ‘great’ power, his ‘dominant’ power does not deny the existence of other powers in the international system.

Kenneth Waltz identified five essential requirements to be a ‘great’ power. These essential requirements are: state’s population and territory; availability of resources and resource mobilisation; economic output and power; political stability; and military strength and outreach. These five essential requirements which are necessary for a state to be identified as a ‘great’ power are to be mixed together and should be available at any point of time. Absence of any of these can make a state a power but not a great power. For instance absence of resources makes a power dependent for the same on other states. Absence of military strength can make a state only an economic power. Absence of economic power and mere presence of military power can make a state only a military power and not a great power. Apart from these essential requirements, other tenets of a great power include socio-cultural influence over the majority of the states of the world, ability to innovate, adopt advancements in science and technology, etc.

Regional Power: A regional power will have all the characteristics of a great power, but confined to a particular region. It plays a very dominant role in determining the issues of the region, guiding the economic activities of states, playing a vital role in the intra-regional trade and security etc. It would have a major share in regional production, population, skilled workforce, technological advancements and investments. A regional power would also have a significant influence on the cultural aspects of other states and will have all the ‘soft’ power qualities. Thus the basic characteristics of a regional power includes: economic indicators such as the major share in regional GDP, per capita income, per capita production, per capita expenditure and regional trade. Military indicators include modern and well-equipped armed forces which can reach out to major parts of the region, ability to conduct wars, influence the internal security of neighbouring countries in the region, and majority share in the military expenditure. Political

indicators are like the ability to influence the internal political environment of other states, a stable domestic political environment, ability to lead and guide in the regional policy matters, and ability to determine the inter-regional networks, connectivities, contacts etc. A regional power can also play role of a cultural hegemon in the sense that its own culture, media, social relations, outlook, music and movies can play a dominant role in socio-cultural aspects of other states in the region. In this sense its own diaspora plays a crucial role at socio-cultural levels and also as a pressure group at political level. Analysts often describe India and Brazil as examples of dominant regional powers.

Sub-regional Power: A sub-regional power can exercise its influence over its neighbouring countries and at a relatively smaller regional level. It would have its say in determining the sub-regional issues, can guide its neighbours in their foreign policy options, dominates the trade and investments, posses much larger military strength and enjoys relatively better political environment. A sub-regional power aspires to be a major player at regional level and seeks to become a regional player. The examples of sub-regions are Middle East, South Asia, East Asia, Central Asia, East Africa, West Africa, South America, Central America and the Caribbean region, etc.

The powers at the various levels work towards sustaining their position and as well as to improve their position. For example, a great power would work to sustain its position at global level, for which it adopts various strategies ranging from providing assistance to imposing sanctions in order to make the countries at global level to fall in line with its approaches and interests. Similarly the regional power aspires to be a global power and a sub-regional power seeks to achieve the position of a regional power. The position of these powers at various levels depends on the political and other environments of that particular period. A power of a particular time may not be enjoying the same position at later periods of time; and thus there can be no permanent power hierarchy in international system.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

- 1) Discuss characteristics of various ‘types’ and ‘levels’ of powers in the international system.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

10.3 POLARITY IN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Based on the ability of states to influence the affairs of other states at various levels and the distribution of power, an international system can be defined in terms of polarity. It means polarisation of power. Polarity examines whether or

how the power is distributed in one or more countries at global levels. There are three types of international system - Unipolar, Bipolar and Multipolar.

10.3.1 Unipolar System

A Unipolar system is defined in terms of a single state having highest economic, military, cultural and political influence all over the world. It goes against the theory of balance of power as there will be no other power to balance the system. Unipolarity is hegemonic. The global hegemon enjoys absolute domination in guiding the international policies and providing direction to international politics. Moneteiro in his work titled, *Unrest Assured: Why Unipolarity is not Peaceful* provides three characteristics of a Unipolar system. This system is marked by existence of several individual states with mutual relations among them. These mutual relations are inter-state/ inter-national relations. Secondly, since there is no superior authority to supervise these relations; the system is marked by anarchical situation and situation constrains the Unipolar system as the states will not readily accept the domination and dictation of the Unipolar state. Thirdly, the balance of power will be absent in a Unipolar system as there exists no similar or equal power.

10.3.2 Bipolar System

Bipolar system indicates the distribution of power between two states or blocs in international system. These two states or blocs can influence the global affairs, issues and relations. Majority of the states express their solidarity or align with the interests of a single power or a bloc; and thus bipolarity divides the states internationally. Cold War era international system which was dominated by USA and Soviet Union is the best example of Bipolar world order. There are three basic characteristics of a Bipolar system: First, it represents the international system in which majority of the states are either allies or express their tactical support with any of the two powers. Secondly it reflects a competitive environment in which two powers compete with each other in all the spheres ranging from economy to military, technological advancements to extending support to other states, and from influencing international issues to controlling conflicts and conflicting conditions. Thirdly, it represents zero sum game in which if one wins, other power loses.

10.2.3 Multipolar System

A Multipolar system in international relations reflects the existence of multiple powers as poles of power. It indicates that the power is not concentrated in a single hand but distributed among many players. Not all power poles are of the same size, strength and resourcefulness. Some power poles are durable others may prove short-lived. Nevertheless, the powers at the core of the pole are players which exercise considerable amount of influence on other smaller or weaker states. Emergence of a Multipolar system depends on many factors. First the economic developments, technological advancements, political influences, military outreach in many countries can create multiple power centres. Second, the weakening of a bipolar system disturbs the international status quo and the balance of power leaving a power vacuum. This vacuum encourages other states to step in and fill up the gap, focusing on rapid growth in many spheres. Third, the efforts by the states to fill up the vacuum lead to competition

in all the areas. The existence of Multipolar world order does not mean the absence of a single hegemon but it means competition among other states to match up or to step into the shoes of a competing hegemon. The post-Cold War period marks the emergence of Multipolar system. US is the global hegemon, unmatched and unchallenged in military and technological terms, but other power poles have emerged with strong economies, political stability, technological and military capability and with considerable 'soft' power appeal of their own.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the concept of polarity in international system.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

10.4 POST-COLD WAR PERIOD AND EMERGENCE OF NEW CENTRES OF POWER

The first decade of post-Cold War period witnessed the world adjusting to the changing world order. The period also marked remarkable US domination on one hand and a steady growth in the number and strength of non-state actors taking frontline positions in defining the relations between the states. This period saw a steady growth of terrorism which was earlier confined to a single state or region. This growth of terrorism particularly Islamist terrorism challenged and narrowed down the idea of nation–state. Terrorism, money laundering, arms trafficking and similar other challenges were not confined to particular states or regions; they were global with established global networks. This growth of global terror networks required cooperation between the states across the boundaries, regions and ideological barriers. In the Cold War period, the international system was largely divided based on the ideology and the dominant factor for the relationship between the states was the ideology. This was the main victim in the post-Cold War period. Though capitalist ideology became the guiding principle for globalisation, it no longer was the reason for conflict between the states. Another important development of post-Cold War period is the phenomenal growth of globalisation and linkages of global networks. Globalisation is relatively a new idea for many developing and developed countries. It demanded unprecedented interdependence between the states. The interdependence in terms of securing resources, production process and market forces created a network – a chain which could not be broken. In other words states needed each other; they need to cooperate with each other.

Growing economic and technological interdependence led to the redistribution of power. Since no state no longer controlled all the resources and enjoyed absolute economic might, the distribution of power became dynamic, random and vague. The basic characteristic of this system is not polarisation of power

but distribution and diffusion of power. The countries which are in the process of increasing their economic, military and political powers comparatively than other states began to be described as ‘emerging powers’. ‘Emerging powers’ are those countries which should have substantial land mass with vast natural resources and population. Since modern idea of economic development needs the countries with huge manufacturing base, self-sustainability in agricultural production, political stability and sustainable policy making process, states with these qualities were categorised as ‘emerging powers’. Robert J. Guttman in his book titled, *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower* published in 2001 writes that in the 21st century, a super power requires not only economic and military power but also strong market, young, highly educated workers and high technology with a global vision. Emerging powers also need to adjust themselves to the changing global dynamics in economic, political and strategic spheres and also should be in a position to take up leadership position.

Based on the above discussion and description, one finds that the post-Cold War period has witnessed the emergence of new centres of power. These centres range from nation-states to association of states to non-state actors. However there is no conceptual clarity about the category called the ‘emerging power’. Taking into account parameters like economic development, military capability, political stability and cultural strength, BRICS countries of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa are generally described as ‘emerging’ powers or ‘emerging’ economies. Others such as Mexico, Indonesia etc. are not far behind being similarly described. European Union as a single economic community is an emerging centre of power; it is a member of G-20 and also finds representation at various other multilateral platforms. Others, such as Japan, Germany, France, UK remain as great powers in their own domain. US continued to be described as the sole superpower or global hegemon.

10.4.1 China

China is world’s most populous country with an estimated population of about 1.4 billion and with an area of about 9,600,000 square kilometres; it is one of the world’s biggest countries. According to World Economic Outlook published by International Monetary Fund, it’s GDP is about 14 thousand billion US dollars which is about 16 percent of world’s GDP. China adopted centrally planned and closed economy along Marxist-Leninist-Maoist philosophy. During the rule of various leaders like Deng Xiaoping’s since the 1980s, reforms were introduced which slowly and steadily transformed China’s economy. Soon after, it became an investment hub for manufacturing and infrastructure sectors. The manufacturing sector grew phenomenally; so much so that China began to be described as the ‘global factory’ of cheap and affordable manufactures for rest of the world. Its economy is highly export competitive; and share of exports in the GDP is quite high.

China also hosts largest number of armed forces, spends second highest amount on its military defence after the USA; and has emerged as a military power in the Asian region. In order to play a key role in adjacent regions, it is expanding its military presence. The claims on islands in South China Sea, its military base in Djibouti in the horn of Africa, increased naval presence in Indian Ocean are the examples of its effort for military outreach. China has adopted ‘String of Pearls’ strategy in Indian Ocean. By building ports, which bear strategic importance,

China wants to have effective control over the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). 'String of Pearls' extends from Chinese ports to Sudan Port in northern Africa, linking Strait of Mandeb, the Strait of Malacca, Strait of Hormuz and Strait of Lombok. As part of this strategy, it built strategic ports in Pakistan (Gwadar Port), Sri Lanka (Hambantota), container shipping facility at Chittagong in Bangladesh, Marao Atoll in the Maldives, and Somalia. These ports are being developed for commercial, communication and strategic purposes.

Apart from 'String of Pearls' strategy, another important strategic initiative is Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) which aims to develop infrastructure along ancient Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road connecting Asia, Europe and Africa. This initiative has brought many Asian, African countries directly under the influence of China, as the country has initiated huge infrastructure development projects. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one such example. Belt and Road Initiative has also invited many concerns, doubts about China's intentions and also seen as a strategic effort by China to emerge as countering power to the USA.

10.4.2 Russia

After the end of Cold War and collapse of Soviet Union, Russia faced enormous political and economic problems. It is the largest country in the world, spread in about 17 million square kilometres, which accounts about 16 percent of geographical area of the world across Asia and Europe. Russia is rich in natural resources, and hosts about 30% of all the world's natural resources with an estimated value of about 75 trillion US dollars. Russia also owns second largest armed forces in the world and largest nuclear weapons. According to SIPRI, it is the fourth biggest military spenders in the world. It spends about 5.5 percent of its GDP on armed forces. Russia is second biggest arms exporter after the USA. It takes about 22 per cent of share in global arms exports. Russia is 11th largest economy in the world and the second largest oil exporter after Saudi Arabia. It accounts for about 11 per cent of global oil exports. Russia has the reserves of about 175 billion tonnes of coal and produces 5th largest amount of coal in the world. Many neighbouring regions including Europe import huge quantities of natural gas from Russia. Russia has its military presence in many Central Asian Republics like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and former Soviet allies like Armenia, Georgia, Belarus, Moldova. It has direct involvement in Syrian conflict and took over Crimea from Ukraine.

10.4.3 India

India is the second most populated country in the world and also hosts highest number of young population which can also be called as human capital. Census of India 2011 recorded that India has about 30 per cent of working population in its total population, which amounts to about 36 crores. According to IMF estimates, it's GDP is about 2.96 thousand billion US dollars which is approximately 3.36 percent of world's GDP. India adopted liberal economic policies since 1991 and since then it is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. India also receives highest amount of remittances from its overseas working population. In 2018 it received about 68 billion US dollars as remittances. India is a nuclear weapons power. It has the fourth largest strength of armed forces in the world; and according to SIPRI spends about 2.5 percent of its GDP

on armed forces. India is the largest importer of arms in the world. In between 2008 to 2017 the imports increased by 24 per cent. Russia is the largest exporter of arms to India which accounts for about 62 per cent of its total imports followed by USA and Israel. India imports about 12 per cent of total global arms imports.

As an emerging economy, India depends a lot on the safety and security of Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs). A peaceful and rule based freedom of navigation is necessary for its economic growth and security, in particular energy security. In strategic perspective, India is in the process of establishing patrolling, surveillance radar systems in Madagascar, Maldives, Mauritius, a naval base in Seychelles to protect its trade and strategic interests. It has close military relations with Bhutan and Sri Lanka. It also initiated collaborations with Japan for the Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) aimed at forging strategic partnership to connect Asian and African countries with development projects. In 2017 India along with USA, Japan and Australia became part of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue to address its concerns in Indian Ocean. India also launched 'Act East' Policy (erstwhile Look East Policy) to forge strong economic, trade and security relations with neighbouring South East Asian countries. All these initiatives and strengths make India an emerging power in Asia.

10.4.4 BRICS

In 2009 first ever summit meeting of the four fastest growing economies of that time came took place in Yekaterinburg in Russia. The imperative of their coming together was to push for a multipolar world order, reform of the international governance mechanisms and institutions including the UN, IMF and World Bank, and to make globalization a transparent, just and development-oriented process. South Africa joined the BRIC grouping in 2011 making it BRICS - Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. BRICS countries account for about 40 per cent of global population, have a combined contribution of about 23% of the global GDP and GDP in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) terms of around 32%. Fast growing economies, the grouping maintains, despite slowdowns of recent years, high growth rate – on average about 5 per cent.

Economic and financial cooperation among the member countries is the most important activity of BRICS. For this purpose formation of New Development Bank (NDB) or BRICS bank with an objective of financing infrastructure projects and sustainable development in developing countries, and creation of Contingent Reserves Arrangement (CRA) to assist countries during the situations of instability in the balance of payments were initiated. These initiatives are seen as an alternative arrangement to Western dominated World Bank and IMF. Both these institutions are evidence of growing financial multipolarity and diffusion of financial power away from the 'West' to the 'Rest'. BRICS also provides platform for the non-OECD countries to discuss global issues and negotiate actions independent of existing global institutions. However it is not a political alliance or a military pact; hence, BRICS is not a direct challenge to the US hegemony. In a multipolarised world, BRICS can only be seen as another pole.

Individual countries within BRICS like Brazil, Russia, India and China have their own strategic and national interests. There are also differences and disputes among them; for example, India-China border dispute. India and China are competing with each other on many issues in the region. Russia is seen as a direct threat to Western interests. These countries have very different strategic

interests and their national agendas are, most of time, competing with one another. BRICS is also an asymmetrical grouping; China is far bigger an economy than rest of the BRICS combined. The other four BRICS also depend heavily on trade with China and look for investment from China.

10.4.5 European Union

The European Union (EU) is a union of 27 states in Europe. It is an arrangement for internal trade, market, movement of goods, investments and people. There exists an administrative setup, with a European Parliament, Council, Court of Justice, an evolved legal system, democratic functioning and with a separate budget and currency. EU occupies about 15 per cent of global share in trade, and is one of the 3 largest players in international trade. EU is the largest contributor to the humanitarian aid in the world. Its European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) has partnership with multiple states and NGOs in providing humanitarian assistance to the needy. Though EU does not have its own dedicated armed forces and depends on the forces contributed by the member countries. Looking at the ‘soft’ power abilities of EU, many scholars like Reid (2004) and Leonard (2005) describe European Union as an emerging power. In spite of the fact that Britain has exited from EU, it still remains one of the most important trading partners to many developed and developing countries in the world. EU, in the absence of large ‘hard’ power, is counted as an example of ‘soft’ power with enormous cultural and diplomatic weight in the world.

The end of Cold War marked end of bipolar system in International Relations and paved the way for competition among aspiring states to emerge as independent power centres. The phenomenon of globalisation opened gates for transfer of investments, capital, and technology among states; and gave rise to a new strategic outlook which focussed on greater economic and commercial exchanges based on the principles of free trade. Accordingly competition among countries to play a key role and to take a leadership position in regional and global matters to enhance their respective national interests increased. The new opportunities provided by the post-Cold War period gave rise to emergence of new centres of power. ‘Emerging’ powers and ‘emerging’ economies came onto the global and regional stages with leadership claims; European Union became an economic and technological powerhouse, essential for an orderly global economic and trade system. China raced to become the second largest economy with great technological capability in Artificial Intelligence (AI), robotics, internet of things etc. These emerging and rising powers seek power in the traditional meaning of power – which is dominated by the military, economic and political power. The new centres of power also possess ‘soft’ power resources and skills to play a role in international relations. Thus, states like China, Russia, India and groupings like BRICS and EU are significant centres of power of the post-Cold War world.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.
- 1) What do you mean by emerging centres of power?

.....
.....

10.5 LET US SUMUP

The above discussion has provided a conceptual understanding of Power in International Relations; the capabilities and roles expected of a powerful state. The Unit also discussed and described characteristics, types and levels of Power in international system. It also discussed the developments of the post-Cold War power; and the opportunities provided by these developments to the states which aspired to become a power in their own right under the existing system. The Unit has identified, based on the prevailing conditions, few states as emerging centres of power. The states like China, Russia, India and collaborative arrangements like BRICS and EU as emerging centres of power. Of course, as international power dynamics continue to change, some new members could as well be added to the list of emerging power centres.

10.6 REFERENCES

Chellaney, Brahma. (2010). *Asian Juggernaut: The Rise of China, India and Japan*. Noida: Harper Business Publications.

Dahl, Robert. (1957). *The Concept of Power*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill.

Gilpin, Robert. (1981). *War and Change in International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guttman, Robert J. (2011). *Europe in the New Century: Visions of an Emerging Superpower*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kennedy, Paul. (1987). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, New York: Vintage Books.

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

Leonard, Mark. (2005). *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*. London: Fourth Estate.

Margenthau, Hans J & Kenneth W Thomson. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. New York: Mc Graw Hill

Mearsheimer, John. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Moneteiro, Nuno P. Unrest assured: Why Unipolarity is not peaceful, *International Security*. Vol 36 (3). Pp 9-40.

Nye Jr, Joseph. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics*. Cambridge: Perseus Books.

Nye, Joseph. (1990). *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. New York: Basic Books.

Reid, T. R.. (2005). *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy*. London: Penguin Books.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1993). The Emerging Structure of International Politics, in *International Security*. Vol. 18 (2), p. 50.

Waltz, Kenneth. N. (1979). *Theory of international politics*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Wight, Martin. (1978). *Power Politics*. London: Continuum.

10.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Hard and soft power
 - Global, regional and sub-regional powers

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - Polarity examines how the power is distributed in one or more countries at global levels
 - There are three types of international system - Unipolar, Bipolar and Multipolar

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Your answer should highlight the following
 - No conceptual clarity about the category called the 'emerging power'
 - Based on parameters like economy, military, political stability and cultural strength

UNIT 11 GLOBALIZATION*

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Definitions
- 11.3 Characteristics of Globalization
- 11.4 Dimensions of Globalization
 - 11.4.1 Economic
 - 11.4.2 Political
 - 11.4.3 Cultural
 - 11.4.4 Geopolitical
 - 11.4.5 Ecological
- 11.5 Impact on Nation-State and Sovereignty
 - 11.5.1 Feebleness of National Sovereignty
 - 11.5.2 Globalization and North South Divide
- 11.6 Globalization, International Relations and Global Politics
- 11.7 Critical Analysis
- 11.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.9 References
- 11.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to understand globalization as a phenomenon experienced through the ages. Students would get acquainted with the idea of globalization and its significance in International Relations. After reading this unit, you should be able to know:

- The relationship between globalization and international politics
- Origin of globalization and its different dimensions & characteristics
- Location of nation state in the era of globalization
- Critical appraisal of globalization

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization is an age-old phenomenon. Its presence had been witnessed from mercantilism to commercial liberalism. Historically, the rapid transformation in the modes of transportation & communication further increased the pace of globalization. Human civilisation since the beginning remained occupied in the quest of good life. According to Aristotle's notion of existence of state as a necessity for good life as well as an expression of man's instinctive life remains indispensable for the development of his potentialities. Globalization began with people traveling from one region to another or across the globe. Since time

*Dr. Sumit Kumar Pathak, Centre for Political Studies, Central University of South Bihar, Gaya

immemorial, human beings have migrated-settling in new lands, building empires, or searching for work. In the later stages, with the inventions of printing press, railways, telegraph, telephone, radio, satellites, computer networks and World Wide Web added to revolutionise the means of global communication and brought the distinct civilisation closer to each other. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their 'Introduction' to *Governance in a Globalising World* write:

“The oldest form of globalization is environmental: climate change has affected the ebb and flow of human populations for millions of years. Migration is a long-standing global phenomenon. The human species began to leave its place of origins, Africa, about 1.25 million years ago and reached the Americas sometime between 30,000 and 13,000 years ago. One of the most important [forms] of globalization is biological. The first smallpox epidemic is recorded in Egypt in 1350 B.C. It reached China in 49 A.D., Europe after 700, the Americas in 1520, and Australia in 1789. The plague or Black Death originated in Asia, but spread [and] killed a quarter to a third of the population of Europe between 1346 and 1352. When Europeans journeyed to the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they carried pathogens that destroyed up to 95 percent of the indigenous population. “

Although, it is difficult to assign any particular date and year to identify the beginning of the current phase of globalization but in general, in the last decade of twentieth century, the globalization appeared as a buzzword and consolidation of a new world society. It seems that, new inventions in the field of science & technology have made globalization feasible and notion and objective of economic liberalization made it visible and inevitable. Globalization emerged as a neoliberal package which facilitated the proliferation of world forces through the promotion of the free flow of goods, investment/capital, trade/commerce, currency, information/knowledge, ideas, culture, authority and even movements of people. Globalization is seen as ambitious in nature and totalising in character. It is also the byproduct of intertwined nature of politics and economics.

11.2 DEFINITIONS

To be able to explain the phenomenon of globalization in a single definition always remains a contentious task. As a term it is widely associated with the multitude of transformations within all aspects of nations and civilisations. Globalization has been felt as a contested concept and remains the matter of debate throughout the world. But, in spite of all the hurdles and hardships, scholars and institutions have interpreted and defined globalization as per their own ways of understanding it. International Monetary Fund (IMF) describes it as “the **growing economic interdependence** of countries worldwide through the increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows, and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology”.

According to Anthony Giddens “Globalization can be defined as the **intensification of the 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”.

Oxford concise dictionary of politics summarises “Globalization is about the universal process or set of processes which generate a multiplicity of linkages and **interconnections which transcends the states and societies** which makeup the modern world system”.

Martin Griffiths and Terry O’Callaghan described globalization “A term that refers to the acceleration and **intensification of mechanisms, processes and activities that are allegedly promoting global interdependence** and perhaps, ultimately, global political and economic integration. It is, therefore, a revolutionary concept, involving the *deterritorialisation* of social, political, economic and cultural life”.

According to David Held and others “Globalization is a process (or set of processes) that embodies a **transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations** and transactions, generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and power”.

David Harvey’s idea of time-space compression has given a new dimension of emergence of ‘**global village**’. (Harvey 1989). Marx had rightly anticipated about the arrival of globalization with these words that the **working men have no country**. “When the Manifesto asserts that “workers are without a country” and for this reason they “act above any national differences,” it is expressing a principle that has enormous relevance today”.

Ronald Robertson’s definition of globalization runs as follows “Globalization as a concept refers both to the **compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world** as whole...both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole”.

Indeed, thinking and defining globalization is a challenging task and there is no single way and means to define it. Although, in a layman language it can be summarised as an extensive process of interconnectedness and inter-relation in all activities among nation-states irrespective of their time-space context.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) What do you mean by Globalization?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF GLOBALIZATION

In the attempt to understand globalization, in the light of aforementioned discussion, following points bear significance, especially as regards to our study of International Relations.

Developments in International Relations

- It is a deep historical process which includes ancient population movements across the globe for trade and commerce as well as the spread of knowledge and technology.
- It is multi-pronged approach characterized by an increasing complexity and interdependence among the human societies and nation-states.
- It is the process of internationalization through straddling of state borders by removing state regulatory barriers.
- It exhibits the more realist view of International Political Economy (IPE) with the emergence of supra-state regional economic and social configurations or blocs through economic diplomacy of big power as tools that states utilize to ensure their relative gains.
- It is the neoliberal understanding of political economy which has influenced the economic policies of states around the world.
- The development in the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has created a highway of networking which makes nation-state boundaries porous and permeable to the movement of people, goods, services, culture, ideas, capital and information etc.
- It is a shift from human geography to economic geography or a geography of networks to control key assets such as capital, technology, knowledge, labour skills, natural resources and consumer markets.
- The process of globalization has ushered in a new era of cosmopolitanism which comprises the development of multiple loyalties as well as the increase in diverse transnational forms of life, where nation-states are no longer exclusive actors; instead there are other actors such as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's), International Civil Society (ICS's), Transnational Corporations (TNC's) etc.
- Power and authority of states are declining due to technological advancements and economic globalization has undermined the capacity of states to give adequate support to citizens.
- The globalization process has been expansive and extensive and has created a new world order - "a system of global governance that institutionalises cooperation and sufficiently contains conflict such that all nations and their peoples may achieve greater peace and prosperity , improve their stewardship of the earth, and reach minimum standards of human dignity".

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

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

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1) Discuss the characteristics of globalization.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11.4 DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALIZATION

There are different dimensions of globalization. To understand and analyse the role of globalization in the domain of international relations, it is essential to discuss the different dimensions of globalization.

11.4.1 Economic Globalization

The end of Cold-War has witnessed the expansion of market economics, which confined the sphere of nation-states and led to the emergence of transnational connections. The 'End of Ideology' debate caused proliferation of major globalizing forces in the form of 'Triumph of Capitalism'. Capitalism is such an effective form of production that it tends to marketisation based on freedom from control and constraint of any nation-state. Neoliberalism as the economic ideology of globalization reduced state intervention in market and led towards the idea of deregulation, privatisation, free trade and commerce as well as free flow of capital across the globe. The adoption of neoliberal policies accompanied by the expansion of transnational corporations and proliferations of the global networks of production and distribution was the beginning of global economic integration, negotiation and interdependence.

The process of economic globalization took place in two stages. The first stage begins during the Second World War period when in August, 1944 "in the sleepy New England town of Bretten Woods, under the leadership of USA and Great Britain, the major economic powers of the global North reversed their economic policies of the interwar period". The Bretten Woods meeting resulted in a range of measures to stabilize the international financial system by regulating trading relations between and among nation-states through three formal institutions: International Monetary Fund (IMF) to look into the management of fixed exchange rates and administer the international monetary system, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) Known as World Bank to reconstruct the war-torn European countries by offering assistance in the form of loans and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT) to eliminate discriminatory trade practices through fashioning and enforcing multilateral trade agreements. In 1970s the Bretten Woods system failed because Richard Nixon announced that US would no longer exchange dollars for gold.

The second phase begins with the collapse of Soviet Union and end of Cold War which led to the triumph of capitalism. This followed the international highway of networking among global financial markets by the use of new technologies such as electronic transfer of money and commerce. During 1990s a new set of neoliberal policies unleashed on the developing countries referred as "Washington Consensus" which had the broader support of USA, IMF and World Bank. It was devised and codified by John Williamson who favored a minimalist state and an enhanced role for the market. These policies included "fiscal discipline, liberalizing trade, promotion of FDI, deregulation, reduction of public expenditure, tax reforms to broaden the tax base, financial liberalization, competitive exchange rates, privatization and securing property rights". This economic globalization succeeded in establishing the hegemony of international economic institutions across the globe and a significant power differential between the global North and South.

11.4.2 Political Globalization

The political globalization can be explained and understood through two facets. The first facet of political dimensions of globalization tends towards the process of democratization of existing institutions and de-concentration of power. As we know, modern globalization is the byproduct of capitalism and liberalism which advocates for capitalist democracy as an end in itself. This has established a strong link between economic and political forms of liberalization. “Democrats around the world have exhilarated by this widespread democratic process - what could be called the “globalization of democracy” - in terms of the nearly universal diffusion of popular demands for political freedom, representation, participation and accountability”. Technological development has accelerated the speed of this diffusion. Access to Information and communication technology has created the ‘virtual communities’ and without physical and spatial connections they have cooperation and coordination. Today these virtual communities are so strong through the use of new technological apps (e.g WhatsApp, LinkedIn, Facebook etc) that they play a greater role in formation of government in any country and influencing global political agenda. Social media has become the strong tool in opinion formation and social/mass mobilization.

The political community has been converted into global community to understand and feel that they possess the right to say on any issue across the globe. The interconnectedness have made people aware about the various global issues e.g.- Environmental problems - Global Warming, Climate Change, Nuclear Proliferation, Terrorism, Diseases etc., which state alone cannot resolve, this has created a drive for transnational citizenship or global citizenship. Now the modern governance not only includes government action but also encompasses other groups (e.g. - NGO, Global Civil Society, INGO’s etc.) with the authority to participate in decision-making and formulation of policies. Political globalization through the process of diffusion allows citizens to think about their personal self-development through non-interference of state in terms of homogenization of values. The second facet of political globalization is related to nostalgic idea of nation-state, which is being discussed further in globalization and nation-state.

11.4.3 Cultural Globalization

The cultural dimension of globalization tends towards free and fearless interactions among different cultures beyond their spatial moorings. Technological advancement has pushed the social process out of their national and notional territory. The idea of Interdependence, Integration and Information has intensified the process of overcoming of national culture in favour of a new global culture i.e. culture of consumerism. This culture of consumerism is based on the social arrangements beyond any national or territorial limit for the production, consumption, tastes, beliefs, commitments, meanings, values etc. Modern media, social media and other faster mode of communications are the transporters of cultural globalization. This is the era of ‘media imperialism’. This social media is the fast emerging unparalleled-tool to shape public opinion, connect people across domains and cultures as well ensure participation beyond any geographical boundaries. Explosion and expansion in digital space has undermined all other spaces to result into the world to exist in cyberspace. Cyberspace means a platform for interactions, conversations, searching, creating, and sharing the ideas,

information, culture, knowledge without any territorial limit. This new platform has changed the power structure by blurring the national borders. Indeed, the status in society depends on amplification of information and communication rather than money. It is forging new relationships that transcend kinship, creed and country.

The narrative about cultural globalization has taken different courses. Samuel P. Huntington has elucidated, “In the emerging world, the relations between states and groups from different civilisations will not be close and will often be antagonistic” and the principal pattern of world politics will not be shaped by conflict and cooperation rather by power of culture and civilisation. “The global politics began to be reconfigured along cultural lines”.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse prefers the idea of “hybridization; that sees a mixing of cultural elements and cultural mixing erodes nationalism because it relies on border crossing and subverts claims of cultural purity and authenticity because it starts out from the fuzziness of boundaries”. Because of the variations in cultural dimensions a new thesis emerged as the idea of the world wide homogenisation of cultures due to the presence of multi-national corporations known as Mcworld/McDonaldisation. This Macdonaldisation shows the omnipresence of global capitalist culture. No doubt, global societal interconnectedness immediately questioned many of the established discourses (e.g. governments, institutions, firms etc.) associated with the idea of nation-state.

11.4.4 Geopolitical Globalization

Geopolitical dimension of globalization tends towards re-examining the idea of geography or spatial understanding of nation-state in post-Cold War period. “The end of Cold War has allowed the emergence of a new geopolitical order dominated by geo-economic questions and issues, a world where the globalization of economic activity and global flows of trade, investment, commodities and images are re-making states, sovereignty and the geographical structure of the planet”. This shift from geopolitics to geo-economics had escalated the process of deterritorialisation. According to Peter Dicken “Globalization is not a single unified phenomenon, but a syndrome of processes and activities. These processes must be understood as *spatial*, and globalising processes are both reflected in, as well as being influenced by, multiple geographies, rather than a single global geography”. The complete process of globalization is revolving around production, distribution and consumption in which production is the core and financial institution and acts to lubricate it without borders. Edward Lutwalk “foresaw a world where states as territorial entities would continue to compete with each other, though now in geo-economics and not geopolitical conflicts”.

Therefore, the new world has new identity with more geo-economic and geo-cultural faces that is geography of networks. “Geopolitics is not just the calculation of countries trying to expand or protect their territory and define a political sphere of influence; it is also about countries, business and political groups making connections across the globe”. Contemporary geopolitical situation is in fragmentation, because today not a single country is strong enough to establish a global geopolitical order. The onset of information revolution as source of power has removed the idea of iron curtain from the domain of international relation and established the idea of free world. Globalization has transformed the nature of geopolitics which has been termed as “Meta-geography, that has so undermined

the power and sovereignty of states that no one state could attain the position of world leader again, furthermore, others see globalization as a geopolitical “endgame”. With the presence of multiple agents, goals and structures within nation states the idea of geopolitics has become a messy affair. The technological and economic advancements have brought dramatic changes in patterns of power due to which the natural source of power is in the process of decline. Geography has become redundant in this borderless world.

11.4.5 Ecological Globalization

The ecological globalization tends to estimate the impact of globalization on ecology. No doubt the process of globalization has dismantled the ecological-mosaic to turn environmental threats global in nature. global warming, climate change, rise in sea level, melting of glaciers, ozone depletion, tsunami etc - are beyond the control of nation state. It needs a collective/global understanding and efforts. Today, mankind is more susceptible to natural disasters. The human’s ambition to conquer nature through the development of science and technology has put the civilisation in high risk zone. Although contemporary environmental abuses through maximum use of resources for profit, at the place of optimum use for mankind, has breached the nature’s limit. The hyper-competition among nation states to capture resources has culminated into environmental scarcity. Global overconsumption and overpopulation has imbalanced the ecology. And, it shouldn’t come as a surprise if in near future wars are fought due to scarcities of natural resources i.e. water, forests, cropland etc. Globalization has already widened the gap between North and South and poor south has no necessary infrastructure and source of income to adopt the core of “sustainable development” to have become more vulnerable.

With the dawn of twentieth century, acute global environmental problems have erupted which has far-reaching ramifications. Nation-state alone is insufficient to tackle these issues. Non state actors like Greenpeace, different kinds of IGOs & INGOs have taken the corrective measures to meet the challenges of environmentalism. The global ecological concern forced the masses to observe ‘Earth Hour’ annually encouraging individuals and business houses to turn off non-essential electric lights for one hour from 8:30 PM to 9:30 PM every year in the end of March month as a symbol of commitment to save the planet. Today, no crisis can be compartmentalized rather they are interlocked. “Ecology and economy are more interwoven - locally, regionally, nationally and globally into a seamless net of causes and effects”.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer.
 ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.
- 1) Explain the different dimensions of globalization.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11.5 IMPACT ON NATION STATE AND SOVEREIGNTY

Globalization has undermined the position of nation-states by challenging the conventional definitions of power, security and sovereignty. Growing interdependence and economic integration have blurred the borders of nation states and led towards the idea of deterritorialisation. The treaty of Westphalia (1648) had formalised the idea of modern nation state or statehood by identifying it as sovereign entity. The beginning of globalization has been marked as the decline of the state. This

“Westphalian system of autonomous nation-states, organised around spatial logics of domination and development on the basis of geopolitical agendas, is not yet dead, although it does seem to be dying. Yet a Post-Westphalian system of global networks, transnational flows, and informational communities, tied into a fluid logic of influence and interaction set into the code of chronopolitical programs, is also not yet fully formed, even though it does appear to be rapidly developing”.

It has created a situation whereby states are gradually losing control over their socio-economic and political economies. With the onset of globalization, borders have become meaningless and a paradigm shift has been observed into the domain of nation state, particularly in political and economic domain. The tools of globalization-technology, information networks, cross border trade and terrorism, cultural flow, capital flow and knowledge flow has created a world society/state and limited the jurisdictions of nation state. Sovereignty was a legitimizing principle that constitutes state but owing to this paradigm shift it is being contested. The sovereign boundaries of nation states have become permeable. Sovereignty and its exclusive control over territory has lost its significance in context to global market forces controlled by Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and financial institutions. Globalization, through the policies of Structural Adjustment Programmes, forces nation state to focus more on economic growth in place of remaining engaged to promote national identity. The new work culture through outsourcing has made the national economy the captive of international market forces. Is processes of globalization eroding the fundamental basis of international system and state sovereignty? The answer would take different course, but indeed it has put a check on the independent identity of nation state. In this complex interdependent world the hectic affairs for war may seem irrational. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye have argued that world has become more pluralistic in terms of international interactions in which complex interdependence has presented a world with four characteristics: “1) Increasing linkages among states and non-state actors; 2) a new agenda of international issues with no distinction between low and high politics; 3) a recognition of multiple channels for interaction among actors across national boundaries; and 4) the decline of the efficacy of military force as a tool of statecraft”. The era of trade liberalization has demolished the economic walls of nation states and on the debris of national economy the wall of global economy has been erected. Globalization has dismantled the Westphalian structure by diminishing the demarcation between outside and inside borders and made nation states more vulnerable.

11.5.1 Feebleness of National Sovereignty

Exploring the scale between state redundancy and state potency is the core of globalization which has generated a contested ground for the idea of sovereignty. Since the dawn of the process of globalization the possibilities of international conflict and cooperation arose. The existence of international political economy (IPE) questioned the viability of the national economies. According to one definition, “Globalization refers broadly to the process whereby power is located in global social formations and expressed through global networks rather than through territorially based state”. Globalization locates significant activities in a transnational sphere over which national government can exert only a little or no control or beyond the control of state and nationalities. This paradigm shift in national activities and the growth of transnational externalities led the foundation of feebleness of national sovereignty. It is argued that “global capitalism has contributed to:(a) the end of sovereign statehood;(b) a rise of supra territorial constituencies;(c) possibly a, decline in interstate warfare;(d)increased constraints on state provision of social security;(e) a growth of multilateralism; and (f) the impracticability of achieving democratic governance through the state alone”. The most significant part of supra territoriality; communication, organization, financial institutions, trade and commerce, culture and consciousness to ecology transcends the border to result in feebleness of national sovereignty. The global commodities, production, distribution and consumption has enhanced the rate of profitability and established the idea of global market based on trans-border relations. Thus, the pressure has increased on national governments to be subjected by the multilateral treaties and international institutions. The traditionality of international relations has been subjected to the scrutiny of non-state actors/ institutions.

11.5.2 Globalization and North-South Divide

The language of globalization seems to be imperialistic and its vocabularies too are authoritative to have diminished the national identity. The world has been divided into two spheres the ‘North’ (which is technologically and industrially more advanced) and the ‘South’ (which is the poor one and less developed/ underdeveloped countries). As Joseph Stiglitz has observed: “A growing divide between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ has left increasing numbers in the third world in dire poverty, living on less than a dollar a day”. The underdeveloped South wanted to know whether globalization could reduce poverty or not. Instead, the spread of globalization has increased the volume of trade and commerce to grant only the North the benefits of the process. As a result, these poor countries of the South felt trapped in Washington consensus based on fiscal austerity, privatisation and market liberalisation. They were forced to accommodate ever-increasing numbers of people with diverse cultural beliefs and practices which has broken the spine of both social strata and economic structure and also destroyed their national identities. The International Monetary Fund accepted this divide and explained that, “The central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people. Its benefits are unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed”.³¹ This divide extended further with the help of ICT revolution which paved the way for erosion of cultural identity through the process of homogenisation, which affected both North and South. So much so, critics from both sides created an ideological cleavages within North as well as South about the best way to cope with globalization.

11.6 GLOBALIZATION, IR AND GLOBAL POLITICS

The State is the core of the analysis of international relations. The argument of this unit is - how states have lost their control over their economy and polity since the dawn of globalism. The non-state actors (i.e. TNCs, MNCs, Global Financial Institutions etc.) have occupied the hegemonic position over domestic politics, actors, institutions and structures as an irresistible force. After the Second World War and end of Cold War the world leaders were also worried about the security of world's major region or regional peace. Today, the global space is more crowded with number of actors than ever before which has also made the nation state more vulnerable. The term 'international' represents a field of political and economic forces distinct from the 'domestic' while 'relations' represents the location of sovereignty among the different forces that operate in the domestic arena. It is also a condition that how the domestic actors and institutions respond to the pressures of non-state actors. The pre-eminence of states as systems of political and economic regulation of social life is contrasted by a series of corrosive forces.

The end of Cold War was a new inning for states in the international arena which can be described through the complex channels, issues and approaches. Philosophers have started to have a fresh look to the idea of international relations. This fresh look appeared through spec of globalization and is called 'global politics' - which is different from international politics. In simple terms global politics is the study of economic and political pattern of the world which is interlinked with the idea of globalization. "There are four ways-contexts, content, approach and agency by which global politics can be differentiated from the international politics". Contextual differences indicate the two different world order in which global politics has emerged. On the first, the international politics emerged after the world war bipolarity that was characterized by the conflict between the two power blocs. On the other, the global politics emerged during the Post-Cold War period that was characterized being as a multi-polar world order. The second difference between international politics and global politics are top down and bottom up approach. It means that the international politics was a top down phenomenon in which it was imposed from top (major powers). To the contrary, global politics has followed the bottom up approach and the nature of this politics is spontaneous and seems mature with multipolarity. In short, it can be said that international politics was inward-looking and based on (endogenous forces), while the global politics is (exogenous forces) open. The third difference concerned with content in which international politics was only focused on power centric approaches but global politics is multidimensional and multifaceted. Last difference refers to actors who have been playing the main role in the international politics. In the international politics, state was the main actor but in global politics non-state actors have occupied the prime position. The end of Cold-War was a huge achievement of the world community. It means that there are no places for other ideology such as socialism or state led politics, because of omnipresence of market and deconstruction of state in the world politics. As a result the third world countries have been forced to open their markets through adopting the policy of liberalization, privatization and globalization. But at the same time paradigms shift in security studies have forced to understand the emerging notion of human security. There is a need to move

away from nationalist and bloc thinking that permeates our institutions towards a concept of human security. This hints at not only changing our thinking but dismantling the security institutions of the past that sustain current authoritarian regimes and create new institutions that are better adapted to a globalised situations. This idea of human security focuses on the security of individuals rather than the state. This is only feasible with the help of global politics. The socio-environmental problems have continued to worsen every nation in spite of several measures taken to draw the attention towards the idea of global politics. The emergence of human rights, human security, collective security, terrorism, environmental issues, migration, refugees issues, ethnic issues etc have drawn a more coherent picture of the world and no nation state can avoid it and is in a position to fight out alone. The environmental problems related to transnational pollution, ozone holes and global warming are so enormous that they cannot be managed by individual state. This resulted into the analysis of common issues & interests shared/encountered by all nations favored to the idea of global cooperation to meet the emergent needs of the global society. Global politics emerges as a new synthesis based on international cooperation as well as changing nature of conflicts to advocate for devising effective solutions through global institutions to aim for accepting global politics not as a mere choice but a reality.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- Note:** i) Use the space given below for your answer.
ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.
- 1) What do you mean by global politics?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11.7 CRITICAL ANALYSIS

In general, a gloomy picture of globalization has been shown to the world by the guardians of world economic order but is it really so? Debates and critics are in varied contemplation - Is globalization equally beneficial to developing or Third World countries? Or, it is often said and believed, 'Globalization is of the rich people/nation, for the rich people/nation and by the rich people/nation'. The main protagonists of globalization are ascending imperialist countries, the countries whose principal economic institutions are 'world competitive' and thus have nothing to lose and everything to gain from 'free trade' and 'open market'. Globalization has often increased class-based inequalities. Globalization increases some inequalities between the developed North and the economic South. Thus,

is globalization a force for equity or for exploitation? There is loss of faith in the international order and institutions face major blow due the process of globalization, which has undermined the confidence in international institutions.

More recently, U. S. President Mr. Donald Trump has threatened to walk out of the WTO which has put a question mark on the viability of international institutions. The globalization led development is paradoxical in nature to result into discriminatory practices among nations. “First, third world countries have been facing the discriminatory nature of international law. Secondly, the collapse of Washington Consensus and economic crisis in Europe and America highlights the weakness of neoliberal economy. These weaknesses of neoliberal economy raised certain questions in front of policy makers of different countries in the world such as reforms in Britain Woods Institution and the discriminatory nature of those provisions which is mentioned in WTO”. The world economic crisis of 2008-2009 has become a bifurcation point of the current structure of the global world.

On the other hand the process of globalization has undermined the sovereign power of nation state and it has become difficult to identify the actors in the decision making process within the given territorial unit. There is less international migration than it was in the earlier times because barriers to immigration are higher now and there is no opening of border or free flow of work-force/human resource. The impression of global uniformity seems to be deceptive, because global integration has provoked national disintegration. The globalization led development has meant the loss of identity and breaking the nations into smaller ethnic units and these ethnic and cultural passions are fracturing old societies and regions in the name of Westernization. “Technology, communications and market forces are unifying the world while at the same time ethnic, religious and racial tensions are breaking up the world into small tribal fragments. According to Benjamin Barber, Jihad and McWorld are diametrically opposed yet intertwined forces. “Jihad not only revolts against but abets McWorld, while McWorld not only imperils but recreates and reinforces Jihad”.

11.8 LET US SUM UP

The emergence of globalization can be understood as the new relationship between politics and economy to explain world affairs. Globalization has opened the flood gates for debate and discussions about the traditional theories of international relations and questioned the relationship between politics and economics within domestic sphere. The rise of globalization is based on new networks of authority which concerns more for global security. Now, the international relations are being monitored through an analytical approach to world politics that emphasizes the impact of global conditions on foreign policy behavior. The debate about globalization is still on, not only about how to define it but also about its origins, central actors, driving forces, and transformative powers. Globalization seems to be a deeply political phenomenon. It is shaped by complex negotiations and interactions among institutions of transnational capital, nation states, and international institutions. Although, it has succeeded in creation of popular image used to describe the growth of awareness among all people to share a common fate stemming from a macro perspective that views the world as an integrated and interdependent whole.

11.9 REFERENCES

- Featherstone, M. (ed.). (1990). *Global Culture*. London: Sage.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gilpin, R. (1987). *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hirst, P. and G. Thompson. (1996). *Globalization in Question*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Mittleman, J. (ed.) (1996). *Globalization: Critical Reflections*. Boulder, CO: Rienner.
- Ohmae, K. (1995). *The End of the Nation-State: The Rise of Regional Economies*. New York: Free Press.
- Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization*. London: Sage.
- Rosenau, J. (1980). *The Study of Global Interdependence*. New York: Nichols.

11.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

- 1) Highlight following points
 - Definitions given by IMF, David Held, David Harvey etc.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

- 1) Highlight following points
 - Characteristics like- Complex interdependence, blurring the boundaries, role of ICT etc.

Check Your Progress Exercise 3

- 1) Highlight following points
 - Five dimensions: Political, Economic, Cultural, Geopolitical and Ecological

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

- 1) Highlight the following
 - Global politics is study of economic & Political pattern of world interlinked through globalization.