

BLOCK : IV

**KEY DEBATES IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

Unit 1

Civilization, Race And Identity

Unit Structure :

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Objectives
- 1.3 What is Civilization?
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1.1 Introduction

Civilization, race and identity are the three crucial concepts of International Relations (IR). These concepts are not new and can be traced back to the world war period. However, its usages can be seen prominently after the end of the Cold War, where the world has witnessed the rise of multipolar world order in ethnic, religious and cultural ground. Though the 21st century is known as the age of globalization, yet this age is also marked by the consciousness of emerging civilizations on cultural ground. Race has been a core concern in the IR since the genocide of Jewish people in Germany by Hitler. Race is a social phenomenon refers to a group of people who are socially defined on the basis of similar/dissimilar characteristics.

In this unit, our aim is to deal with the concepts of civilization, race and identity and its implications in the new world order. While discussing Civilization in IR, it is crucial to understand Huntington's idea on the clash of civilization. Race and ethnicity are also crucial in understanding the civilizational crisis and in the process the consciousness of one's identity plays a critical role. Therefore, analyzing the interrelationship among three is another endeavour of the study.

1.2 Objectives

Civilization, race and identity are the three core concerned areas of IR in the globalizing world order, where national boundaries are fluid yet bounded. In this unit, our prime objective is to

- Describes the concept of civilization, race and identity
- Explain the meaning of civilization, race and identity in IR
- Understand the core ideas of civilization with particular reference to the “clash of civilizations”
- Analyze the concept of race and identity in shaping IR

1.3 What is Civilization?

Civilization, in general, means the social and cultural development through which a society or place reaches an advanced stage of development. The concept of civilization is used in IR. In IR, civilization can be understood as a process of social identifications which is based on large-scale collectivities as comparison to different other units of smaller social entities. They are large both in time framework and in space which they cover. Yurdusev describes civilization as “large-scale collective identifications” (Yurdusev, 2003). To him, historically, all the civilizations of the world has comprised of certain international systems, accompanied by culture, progress and development. In IR, civilization comes in to prominence in establishing the dominance of one civilization over others. In this context, Huntington’s clash of civilizations thesis is important to understand.

1.3.1 Huntington: The Clash of Civilizations

The end of the Cold War has marked an era where culture started influencing the world politics instead of ideologies. One of the most significantly discussed works that attempts to point out the importance of culture in contemporary global politics has been Samuel P. Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” thesis. This is a theory which postulates that in the post-Cold War world, the conflict among nations will not occur on the ground of economy or ideology but rather on the ground of culture. Though the thesis was written within the context of post-Cold War period, but the concept of civilizational clash started growing attention during 1990s in areas such as former Yugoslavia, Rwanda in terms of ethnic conflicts. However, the thesis and its arguments had its greatest impact after September 11, 2001. This marks the changing nature of the world order where global terrorism was seen as a result of an

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emerging clash between the Islam and the West.

Huntington's core argument was that in the new world order or in the new global politics civilization would work as a primary force than ideology. To Huntington, a civilization means "culture writ large" (Heywood, 2011). In this way, Huntington's concept of civilization is going against the neo-liberal institutional idea of international interdependence and international co-operation. In terms of realism, he believes in the traditional view of realism that stresses upon the power driven states as the key actors of world politics. However, Huntington accepts that the struggle for power took place within civilizational framework and not on the ground of ideology. To Huntington, cultural conflicts happen at two different levels:

- I. Micro level- It occurs at the "fault-lines" between civilizations. Here, "one human tribe" group tend to clash with another tribal group which can be seen as communal wars.

- II. Macro level- At this level, conflict occurs between two large civilizations. Sometimes, it can be seen as clash among powerful states, particularly "core" states. In the 21st century, Huntington warned about likelihood of civilizational conflict between China and the West, and between the West and the Islam. He also accepted the potential of conflict between the West and the "Rest" that can be spearheaded by the anti-Western alliance of China and Islamic states of the world together.

Huntington's account on civilizational conflicts has been criticised on various grounds. Firstly, at micro level, Huntington talks about the clashes among tribal groups having homogenous culture. But in practice, concept of homogenous culture is problematic as civilizations are consisted of "blurred or hybrid cultural identities" (Heywood, 2011). Secondly, Huntington focuses more on "culturalism". He, however, fails to recognize the fact that cultural identities are shaped by both social and political circumstances. For example, the ethnic conflicts of former Yugoslavia in the 1990s were not the product of natural hatreds but rather it could be seen as the consequences of growing national and radical doctrines that had been created by the collapse of communism. Thirdly, critics argue that conflicts between civilizations are more of an expression of perceived political, economic and social injustices rather than of any cultural rivalry.

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Stop to Consider
Culturalism

Culturalism is a belief that every human being are culturally defined creatures. Here, culture works as the universal basis for personal and social identity.

Nevertheless, the idea of a “clash of civilizations” thesis is important in the 21st century global world order to have a understanding about the growing political importance of culture, more specifically considering a de-ideologized world order and a move against the Western global hegemony. Huntington critically explains the capacity of cultural differences in creating political conflict. He recognized that global civilizational conflicts are directly linked with the shifting balance of power among different civilizations and these conflicts can only be managed by political intervention.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you understand by civilization? (20 words)
2. What is the core argument of Huntington’s “clash of civilizations”? Explain briefly with examples. (30+40 words)
3. On what grounds Huntington’s thesis has been criticized? (40 words)

1.3.2 The Clash of Civilizations: Debate

Huntington’s work on the “clash of civilizations” suggests that 21st century will be marked by increasing civilizational conflict and tensions, but this conflict will be cultural in nature than any ideological orientation. It is neither political nor economic. But, the rise of globalizing world order has challenged this thesis. Therefore, there is a need to understand the debate to have a clear understanding on civilizational conflict.

Supporters of civilizational conflict argue that 21st century is the century of culture. Since the end of the Cold War, globalization has minimized the sense of civic belongingness among nations and as a result the concept of “cosmopolitanism” has come in to question. As ideology is believed to be faded in this world order, therefore, it is culture that takes prominence in the world affairs. In this context, people are becoming conscious about their identities. This forces them to think in terms of their religion, ancestry, history, values, customs etc. This form of understanding creates a bond among those nations who shares similar cultural bonds. For example, “Hinduization”, “Islamization”, “Russianization” etc.

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A stronger concern for identity and cultural belonging leads to conflict and tension among different culture. It happens because different cultures follow different rules, values and customs. Moreover, one particular culture sees another culture as the fault culture in understanding the world. Therefore, there is less chance that cross-cultural affinity can be brought about. Together with that, the feeling of “otherness” creates a gap between “us” and “them”; “us” as privileged civilization and “them” as “barbarian” civilization.

There are certain trends which Huntington highlighted drew attention to civilizational tension. It happens, according to him, because of the rise of multipolar world which is marked by “multicivilizational” character. This includes the declining trend of the US hegemony in the world affairs and the rise of China as an emerging giant in the global economy. The resurgence of Islam and their population explosion can be regarded another tension area where there is an inescapable civilizational dimension.

Stop to Consider
Cosmopolitanism

It is the idea that postulates that all human beings are members of a single community. The idea promotes universal moral standards, focuses on establishing global political structures and developing an atmosphere where respect and tolerance for different culture is practised.

Immanuel Kant envisioned a cosmopolitan world where there is no army rule; rather people are being governed within a representative global institution.

Critics of the “clash of civilizations” thesis argue that Huntington’s notion of culture and civilization is complex and fragmented. They argue that the “clash of civilizations” thesis portrayed culture as rigid and “hermetically sealed”. This gave rise to a narrow concept of civilization and seemingly unchanging sets of values, understanding and traditions. The idea of conflict among civilizations is based on homogenous model is problematic. It is because, in practice, civilizations are not homogenous blocks, but they are complex and often open to external influence. For instance, the “Western civilization”, the “Islamic civilization”, as Huntington puts, fails to consider the political, cultural and social divisions within each civilization. Together with that, Huntington also failed in understanding the influence of one civilization in the development of other.

Critics also highlighted the idea that the cultural difference doesn’t really linked with political antagonism. To them, cultural similarity can’t

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guarantee peace and stability as most wars take place within states that belong to the same civilization. In fact, there are also considerable evidences where states from different cultures, religious or ethnic groups have been living together sharing empathy for each other. Finally, when two cultural groups fight with each other then it can be seen as the manifestation of deeper political and social factors.

The “clash of civilizations” thesis, according to critics, ignores the effect of globalization in bringing together the states of the world. It also fails to understand how globalization has already blurred cultural differences in many parts of the world.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly explain the declining trend of the “clash of civilizations” thesis in the global world order.

SAQ :

1. Do you believe that there is an emerging trend of civilizational conflict in the world? Give reasons. (80 words)

1.4 What is Race?

Generally, race is social identification of humans based on shared physical and social qualities. They are viewed different and distinct based on their colour and appearances. The term “race” was used to denote a group of people who speaks the same and common language. Modern science regards race as a social construction where rules to become distinct and different from others are made by the society. While race is determined by physical similarities within groups, yet race doesn’t have any inherent biological meaning.

The concept of race is foundational to racism. Racism is a belief system that sees that human beings can be divided based on the superiority of one race over another. Racism as social construct has developed within various legal, economic and socio-political context. As a social construct, racism has real material and physical effects in the lives of people through institutionalized practices of discrimination.

1.4.1 Racism in International Relations (IR)

Ashley Montagu in his masterpiece “Man’s Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race” (1954) describes racism as “an important subject about

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which clear thinking is generally avoided”. Racism in IR is a large, complex and contentious issue. Racism is the concept that postulates that human groups possess different behavioural traits which can be seen from superior and subordinate behaviour.

Racism is a modern concept which arises during the age of imperialism in the Europe and the subsequent growth of capitalism. South Africa’s “Anti-Apartheid” movement can be understood as an outcome of racial discrimination against the black people.

As a part of “civilizing mission” or the “Christianizing mission” European imperialism succeeded in establishing right of the superior people. This could be seen as the justification given by Europeans to maintain and extend their domination in those lands that comes under European imperialism.

The concept of inequality of races was systematized in the later part of the 19th century. In the US, racism was started as a result of the attempt to justify the enslavement of the black skinned people of Africa. Together with that Jim Crow Law (laws enacted for racial segregation in the Southern US) was designed to reduce the black Americans in higher positions. They believed that black Americans were born only for servitude. Governor of South Carolina J.H. Hammond brought the concept of racism in a critical point through his theory of “mudsill”. According to that theory, “in every society there must be a class to do the menial tasks” (Melle, 2009). It also argued that in every society the lower class people, both politically and socio-economically, was necessary for the progress and development of the upper class. The Civil War took the issue of slavery as an important concern of the war but not racism.

Stop to Consider

Mudsill Theory

Mudsill theory is the idea which argues that there must be a lower class of people for the upper classes people. James Henry Hammond coined the term “Mudsill Theory”. This concept was directly used to advocate the slavery system. It was because, in order to establish grip on the Southern economy, they need African slaves for the development of Southern market. This theory was criticised on the ground that it helped in increasing racial discrimination and it is exploitative in nature.

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Check Your Progress

1. Why is racism so critical to understand in the International relations?
2. Briefly explain the declining trend of the “Clash of Civilisation” thesis in the global world order.
3. What do you understand by race and racism in International Relations?
4. How has racism evolved? What are the various ways through which racism was expanded in the global politics?

1.4.2 Racial Discrimination

While the concept of race and ethnicity are considered to be different, yet these two concepts have a long history of equivalence. Ethnicity is closely interrelated with race as ethnic identities are also distinct identities. In both the concepts the division of human groups based on certain qualities are treated to be essential. Therefore, racism and racial discrimination are used to describe discrimination on the ethnic basis or cultural basis. The United Nation Convention on Racial Discrimination sees no differentiation between ethnic and racial discrimination. The Convention argues that the superiority on the ground of racial differentiation is scientifically false, socially unjust, morally condemnable and a threat to greater human society.

Although many countries around the globe have adopted various legislations in reducing the racial discrimination, yet the first step towards achieving this aim has been taken by the United Nations (UN), namely the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR recognizes the dignity of people as “human being”. Therefore, human beings have equal economic, social, cultural and political rights including education. The Declaration further coded that everyone is entitled to have these rights “without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”. The UN doesn’t define the term “racism”. But, in 1965, the UN International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was enacted. According to this Convention, racial discrimination is a concept that means “any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social,

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cultural or any other field of public life”.

The policy of racial hygiene that was implemented by the Nazi Party is crucial to understand in the context of racial discrimination. This was started as a domestic policy but it had expansionist foreign policy of creating “living space” for the Aryan race. This policy took the form of genocidal war waged by the Imperial German Army in opposition to the Herero and Nama peoples of Southwest Africa. As a result of which in between 1941-1945, the Nazi Germany took initiative to save its own race by systematically slaughtering almost six million Jewish people who lived inside Germany. In the world history, this event is remembered as “holocaust”.

In 1948, a new governance system called “apartheid” was formulated in the South African government. The apartheid system was based on the separate development of the races. This system regarded African black people as inferior in comparison to whites. This system, however, turned out to be discriminatory and inhumane as it treated the black as insignificant people of the world. Throughout the Cold War period, this system was highly condemned by the UN General Assembly, but nothing fruitful happened. In addition, a group of independent Asian and African states met in the place called Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 so as to propose a structure of governance system through which the apartheid regime can be removed and racism could be outlawed.

Racism in international politics is contested not only through diplomatic relations but also through social movements. During the Cold War period, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League took a step to confront and strike against the racial hierarchies and exclusions of the world politics. The Black Power Movement in the United States confronted with the institutional racism in American society. The movement aimed at promoting the dignity and self-empowerment of the Black people. It also tried in bringing the Black people in to the mainstream and re-valued “blackness” as an attribute of beauty and the best of humanity instead of its earlier status of inferiority and ugliness. The Black Power of 1960s’ has its impact on and influences upon various other anti-racial movements including the Dalits in India. As a systematic step against the racial discrimination, another turn was seen in 2016 where one singer performed with a troupe of dancers in American Super Bowl sports event which invoked the image of Black Power.

Discrimination at any place is not justified, being within domestic

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environment or in the international environment. However, equal rights and dignity of every individual should be a considerable matter of world politics.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you mean by racial discrimination in the world politics?
2. Mention two important UN conventions that dealt with reducing the racial discrimination in the International politics?
3. What are the roles of social movements in reducing racial discrimination globally?

1.5 What is Identity?

Identity, in general, refers to a stable and enduring sense of selfhood. David Campbell notes that “identity is an inescapable dimension of being. No body could be without it” (Campbell, 1992). Identity is a concept which refers continuity and sameness in situations. Identity manifests the notion of self. It all about understanding who I am (self-identity), what role do I have in the society (social identity) and how my identity is related with the surrounded people (humane identity). These form the collective identity. The identity question is very critical in the study of global politics, especially after the end of Cold War the sense of identity among civilizations is increasing. Therefore, to understand the identity politics in IR is crucial to have a clear understanding on the world politics.

1.5.1 Identity Politics in International Relations

While the politics of the Cold War era was dominated by the ideological rivalry, yet the aftermath had witnessed the structure of cultural difference. The divide between capitalism and communism was based on the contrasting models of industrial society. The capitalist model supported private property based on competitive markets, whereas communism advocated the model of collective ownership based on central planning. Though capitalism won over communist regime, yet the concept of identity politics started getting importance since 1980s.

Identity politics view the idea of liberal universalism as a source of oppression. It also negates cultural imperialism because it tends to marginalize and demoralize subordinate groups and people. It is because, in the form of liberal universalism the dominant groups such as men,

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whites, wealthy try to establish their own interest at the cost of subordinate groups such as women, blacks, poor etc. However, identity politics has its positive aspect of understanding in bringing liberation and empowerment. It believes that social and cultural empowerment and achievement is possible through a process of cultural self assertion. This self assertion leads to pure or authentic form of identity among people. For example, the black consciousness movement, black nationalism etc against racism. Black Nationalism is one of the crucial identity based movement where they fought for their civil rights.

Approaches to identity in IR

There are three main approaches that views identity from three different perspectives in IR. These approaches can be discussed as follow:

- **Realist view:** the realists have put less emphasis on the issue of identity. Realism is a state centred theory and hence, its prime focus is based on the interests and behaviours of the state. Since states are viewed as focal, unified and cohesive entities, therefore it talks about political allegiance and social belonging. As most states are viewed as nation-states, therefore, identity is developed through the ties of nationality and citizenship. National identity is natural according to the realists' thinkers.
- **Liberal view:** liberals understand identity only in terms of personal traits of an individual. For liberals, identity is universal. The liberals commitment to individualism has its implications on identity. To them, the idea of race, religion, culture, gender, social class are of secondary importance and they are not core human identity.
- **Critical view:** the Marxist theory of IR understands identity in terms of social class. This theory believes that people tend to identify those who share same economic position and that determine their class position in the society in the form of identity. Other forms of identity. Class identities are regarded as provisional identity and they are the manifestations of capitalist oppression. This could be swept away once the classless and the communist society had been established.

Social constructivists have emphasized the interests and actions of the global actors. These interests and actions shape the sense of identity among individual and among nations. To constructivists, identity is fluid and can't be universal.

Check your Progress

1. What do you mean by identity ? Is identity a crucial matter of concern in International Relations ?
2. Which approach do you think fits best in understanding the identity politics in IR?

1.6 Summing Up :

This unit dealt with the 21st century global world order with particular reference to civilization, race and identity. These three are crucial in analyzing and interpreting so as to understand the current world order and how these issues have an impact in maintaining foreign policy of a country. These three concepts are interlinked. The formation of identity is closely interconnected with civilization, because the formation of various identities has the power to create disputes among themselves and this way they try to find out their similar identities. Here, racial identity is inherent. The whites against the black can also be seen as racial discrimination. These clashes among races and identities may lead to civilizational crisis and which Huntington rightly pointed out that the 21st century will be the century of clashes among civilizations. However, globalization has been playing an important role in bringing all the people across the world in a global village through international interdependence, yet clashes are inherent in the global politics.

1.7 References and Suggested Readings

1. Heywood, A. (2011). Global Politics. Palgrave Macmillan.
2. Jackson and Sorensen (2013). Introduction to International Relations. Oxford University Press.
3. Rattansi. (2007). Racism A Very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press.

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Unit 2 :
Globalisation-the Concept

Unit Structure :

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Objectives
- 2.3 Globalisation- concept
- 2.4. Globalisations-Economic dimensions
- 2.5 Globalisations- Political dimensions
- 2.6. Globalisations- Cultural dimensions
- 2.7 Summing up
- 2.8 References and Suggested Readings

2.1 Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic is a grim reminder to the global community that the world is becoming increasingly connected. Like this pandemic, the emergence of several other problems –climate change, global terrorism, financial shocks in stock markets etc. reflects the inability of states to overcome global challenges unilaterally. Indeed a globalised world presents us challenges as well as opportunities. Globalisation is probably the most controversial word in contemporary international relations, for it hard to define and it is a force one can seldom escape. According to the Human Development Report (1999), it represents ‘shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders’. The interconnected of world markets and economies, the spread of information and technology, the synchronization of values and goals for the western world, presence of social media- all reflect ‘contemporary’ globalization. However it has not been a boon for all, as it continues to be resisted from different quarters of the globe. Globalisation is a dynamic process and not a uniform one; a host of factors are influencing the trajectory and its intensity in different parts of the globe.

2.2 Objectives

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

- Know the concept of globalisation,
- Understand the different dimensions of globalisation,

- Identify the factors that are resisting this phenomenon.

2.3 Globalisation-concept

The concept of ‘politics’ has different key dimensions- domestic and global. Several actors are operating at both these levels constantly that are constantly influencing each other. There are a growing number of issues which are truly ‘global’ in character and the ‘risks’ that are bound to have worldwide implications. The Covid-19 pandemic has revealed that the world is truly interconnected and no state can address such problems unilaterally. The increase in global flows- technology, markets and ideas has ‘flattened’ and made the world a ‘borderless’ one, but global challenges continue to test states and greater humanity.

According to Pieterse, partly because of the fluidity of the concept, periodising globalization is always difficult. Mostly prevalent is the Eurocentric view of globalization which begins with the ‘rise of west’ (15th -18th centuries). However such a viewpoint ignores the ‘non-western’ contribution to human civilization and disregards the various aspects of globalization.

MAJOR PERSPECTIVES ON START OF GLOBALIZATION		
Time frame	Dynamics of globalization	Disciplines
Short 1970	Production and transport technologies, form of enterprises, value chains, marketing; cultural flows	Economics, political science, cultural and communication studies
Medium 1800	Modernity	Sociology
1500	World market, modern capitalism	Political Economy
Long 3000 BCE	Growing connectivity; forms of social cooperation	History, anthropology, archaeology
Source: Nederveen Pieterse, Jan (2012) "Periodizing Globalization: Histories of Globalization," New Global Studies: Vol. 6: Iss. 2, Article 1.		

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If growing 'connectivity' across the regions are to be taken into perspective, Pieterse identifies the following phases:

PHASES OF GLOBALIZATION			
Phases	Start time	Central nodes	Dynamics
Eurasian globalization	3000 BCE	Eurasia	Agricultural and urban revolutions, migrations, trade, ancient empires
Afro-Eurasian	1000 BCE	Greco-Roman world, West Asia, East Africa	Commercial revolution
Oriental globalization 1-trade flows are primarily eastward, from the Middle East towards Asia	500 CE	Middle East	Emergence of a world economy, caravan trade
Oriental globalization 2-2, the balance is westward, from Asia towards the Middle East	1100	East and South Asia and multicentric	Productivity, technology, urbanization; Silk Routes
Multicentric	1500	Atlantic expansion	Triangular trade, Americas
Euro-Atlantic	1800	Euro-Atlantic	economy Industrialization, colonial division of labor
20C globalization	1950	US, Europe, Japan: Trilateral globalization	Multinational corporations, (end of) cold war, global value chains
21C globalization	2000	East Asia, BRICS, emerging societies, petro economies	New geography of trade, global rebalancing
However it is clear, that new actors (TNCs, INGOs), increased interconnectedness and institutions of global governance (IMF, WB) have come to play an important role in contemporary globalization.			

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From a theoretical perspective, mainstream theories of international relations interpret the phenomenon of globalization from different 'lenses'. Realists are skeptical of globalization as a process that can promote peace and cooperation. For the realists, globalization has been created by states for promoting their narrow self-interests. In spite of globalization, the dominance of the state will continue for the world will continue to remain an insecure entity. In contrast the liberals are optimistic about the process and results of globalization. A borderless world will create greater opportunities and increase productivity. Globalization is seen a 'positive sum game', where markets will bring benefits to all and promote cooperation as well as peace in the long run. In turn, the 'critical' theorists asks questions about the process of globalization and its ability to promote equality and the ability to achieve social justice. Globalisation is seen as western imperialism; it has led to growing disparities and has diminished voices of marginalized communities.

Stop to Consider : Runway World

'Runaway World': Eminent theorist Anthony Giddens argues in his classic book Runaway world: How globalisation is reshaping our lives (2000) focuses on two important themes of globalization-risk and detraditionalisation. Institutions such as the state and family are no longer able to provide clearly defined norms and rules of behaviour. For Giddens, globalization is a 'unpredictable' and 'destabilizing' process. Most of risks –such as global warming and nuclear disasters are 'manufactured'. Issues of identity of the individual and the state are in a flux; the emergence of new social movements further undermines the legitimacy of the state.

2.4 Globalisation – economic dimension

Industrialization, changes in methods of production global distribution of goods, exchange of services is some of many facets of contemporary globalization. Not only has there been 'intensification' of economic relations between countries, the flow of capital and technology has greatly interlinked national economies; the emergence of new markets and new trading blocs has affected the growth and development of states and individuals in the different ways. Giant transnational companies have emerged with considerable economic and political clout.

The history of present-day economic globalization can be traced back to creation of the economic institutions in Bretton Woods (New Hampshire,

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USA) in July 1944, namely – the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The goal of the Bretton Woods conference was to ‘establish a framework for economic cooperation and development that would lead to a more stable and prosperous global economy.’

Stop to Consider :

IMF: (Headquarter – Washington DC; Estd- 27 December 1945)

The IMF promotes monetary cooperation and provides policy advice and capacity development support to preserve global macroeconomic and financial stability and help countries build and maintain strong economies.

WB: (Headquarter – Washington DC; Estd- July 1944)

The World Bank promotes long-term economic development and poverty reduction by providing technical and financial support to help countries reform certain sectors or implement specific projects—such as building schools and health centers, providing water and electricity, fighting disease, and protecting the environment.

(imf.org)

Along with the IMF and the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1947) was created for enforcing multilateral trade agreements. The GATT was succeeded by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 which further facilitated economic globalisation. For nearly three decades, the world witnessed the ‘golden age of controlled capitalism’. However by the early 1970s, the emergence of new states and the unprecedented energy crises in created major economic turmoil for the US and the global markets. In 1971, the US soon abandoned the ‘gold –based fixed rate system’. ‘Neoliberalism’ as an ideology further legitimized this economic integration of the South and the North. US President Ronald Reagon and British Prime Minister pushed forward neoliberal agenda. The emergence of certain keywords- ‘privatisation, deregulation and liberalization’ became associated with neoliberal globalisations. As the world became more integrated- the impact of financial shocks became more ‘global’. The 1997-98 Asian Financial Crisis highlights the volatility of the international financial system. According to a report of the World Bank (2002):

Globalization also produces winners and losers, both between countries and within them. Between countries, globalization is now mostly

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reducing inequality. About 3 billion people live in "new globalizing" developing countries. During the 1990s this group grew at 5 percent per capita compared to 2 percent for the rich countries. The number of extreme poor (living on less than \$1 per day) in the new globalizers declined by 120 million between 1993 and 1998. However, many poor countries-with about 2 billion people-have been left out of the process of globalization. Many are becoming marginal to the world economy, often with declining incomes and rising poverty.

Furthermore, the emergence of Transnational Companies (TNCs) have transformed the nature and functional of national economies. Not only they hold considerable economic clout but in most of the developing world, they continue to influence the state institutions. Multinational companies are increasingly setting up branches and subsidiaries in many developing countries. Global supply chains, which consist of interconnected economic networks, have been linked to areas where there is abundance of raw materials and cheap labour. This has generated considerable debate as to whether globalization creates a 'race to the bottom'.

2.5 Globalisation-political dimension

The nature, role and functioning of the state has come under increasing scrutiny in the post-Cold War era. State and its institutions are increasingly under pressure to perform from domestic and international forces. The growing impact of global institutions, multilateral agreements, trading blocs is now increasingly felt by countries of 'south'. Mechanisms for global governance, the rise of regional groupings, the presence of international regimes and the increasing call for 'democratisation' has had major repercussion for societies and states of the developing world.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) led to creation of states based on principles of territory and sovereignty. It signaled that all state were equal but with asymmetric powers and the presence of international law was for ensuring 'minimal rules of coexistence'. At the end of the World War-I, in Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points', the principles of self-determination received its clearest expression. There was again strong commitment towards establishment of a global institution which could ensure 'collective security'. Though the League of Nations (1920) did not achieve much success, it prepared the ground for the establishment of The United Nations (1945). The UN and its various agencies steadily increased its sphere of influence and undertook several activities which undermined the inviolability of state

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territoriality and its jurisdiction.

By the 1990s, the forces of globalization had grown stronger; the emergence of a 'new world order' meant that the 'borderless world' has become a close reality. It signaled that global problems, such as those of global terrorism, refugee inflows, climate change, will require transnational cooperation between states. There was a growing realization among states that their ability to determine the course of international as well as domestic action was rather limited. Rather international organizations and regimes were shaping state policies and choices. The emergence of global economic institutions-the IMF, WB, G20; the increasing economic importance of regional blocs -EU and ASEAN, have greatly affected the jurisdiction and the influence of states. The proliferation of international NGOs with worldwide membership and reach, further influences state policies. Global civil society which is composed International NGOs like the ICRC, Green Peace, and Amnesty International, too pressurize state policies.

Stop to Consider :

European Union (Capital-Brussels, Belgium)

Formed in 1993, the European Union (EU) is an economic and political union of 27 states of Europe. With the goal of 'promotion of peace', 'security and justice without internal borders' it seeks to protect certain values-human dignity, freedom, democracy. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012, the EU has been at the forefront of advancing the cause of democracy, reconciliation and respect for human rights. The EU is a single economic market and has a common currency-the Euro.

2.6 Globalisation-cultural dimension

The cultural dimension is one of the most contested facets of globalization. States have proved to be rather limited institution when it comes to regulating interaction of cultures across borders. 'Cultures' is an extensive concept; often it is 'constructed', hybrid and dynamic in character. Finding expression in -language, music, literature and dance form, cultures and identities of communities as well as of individuals is rather contested.

Migration of peoples across countries has been a regular phenomenon of human civilization. However the current phase of globalization, which is marked by intensification of relations and ideas, is having a homogenizing effect on local cultures. Rapid modernization, the introduction of information

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technology, spread of consumerist values has ensured that ‘uniqueness’ of particular cultures is no longer sacred. The spread of English language, coca-colonization and McDonaldisation of the third world, fashion, movies and music have transcended state borders. The advent of social media and increasing individualism has given birth to new values, goals and aspirations of youths and communities.

STOP TO CONSIDER

End of History :

It is philosophical argument put forward by Francis Fukuyama in his book *The end of History and the Last Man* (1992). He argues that the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, marks the ‘end of history’ as there is ‘total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism.’ Furthermore, he argues the triumph of Western Liberal democracy’ and the ‘unbashed victory of economic and political liberalism.’

As a result there is a constant friction between the ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ ideas as well as values which have accompanied the process of globalization. Perhaps more worrying for the global community is the rise of religious fundamentalism and ethnonationalism. While globalization has promoted certain ‘homogenizing’ ideas, it has been resisted from various quarters. Cultures in a particular region are seldom homogenous; the ‘hybridity of cultures’ has become the norm. The forces of globalization have slowly endangered the ‘languages’ of indigenous communities.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Questions:

1. What is globalisation?
2. What is IMF?
3. What are the goals of the EU?
4. What is the Peace of Westphalia (1648)?
5. What are the thrust areas of neoliberal philosophy?

2.7 Summing up

The narrative about ‘globalisation’ is filled with contradictory and rather complex questions -is globalization a good or bad phenomenon? Does globalization give equal opportunities to all- men and women, rich and the poor? Globalisation has come to imply that ‘new actors on the world stage’

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e.g.-WTO, INGOs; ‘new tools’ e.g.- social media and greater use of artificial intelligence (AI); as well as a greater ‘trend towards global governance’ or ‘new rules’ e.g. intellectual property rights and growth of new global multilateral institutions. But it remains a rather fluid concept which has been sharply criticized by many.

It is contested for at least two or three very powerful reasons. One is that globalization is not new; if you think of the spread of European empires across the world during the last five hundred years then most people's experience of global interconnectedness is an experience of colonization and exploitation. So the reasons why parts of the world don't rejoice over increased global interconnectedness are quite understandable.

David Held (2004)

The benefits of globalization continue to grow unevenly and voices of the marginalized communities continue to remain negligible. The industrially powerful ‘North’ countries have immensely benefited from the process of globalization, the developing southern bloc of countries has not got their due benefits. Income inequalities have risen too. According to the World Social Report (2020)- ‘Income inequality among countries has declined in relative terms but is still higher than inequality within most countries. Absolute income differences between countries continue to grow.’ It additionally points out that ‘the average income of people living in the European Union is 11 times higher than that of people in sub-Saharan Africa; the income of people in Northern America is 16 times higher than that of sub-Saharan Africans’.

Furthermore issues of climate change, deforestation and other such non – traditional security challenges have accompanied the process of globalization, thus affecting the marginalized communities even more. According to the report ‘Fulfilling the promise of globalization: advancing sustainable development in an interconnected world’ by the UN Secretary General (2017), three clear ‘megatrends’ are seen in the contemporary globalization, i.e. – ‘shifts in production and labour markets; rapid advances in technology; and climate change’. This report also clearly says that-

While globalization has been credited with contributing to rapid economic growth, it has not universally delivered on its promise to foster equitable growth and sustainable development. As a result, globalization and multilateralism have been challenged by popular discontent in a number of countries over the past years.

Resistance to globalization is growing from those below. In the book ‘Globalisation and its discontents’ by Joseph E. Stiglitz (2002) he highlights-

Today, few-apart from those with vested interests who benefit from keeping out the goods produced by the poor countries-- defend the hypocrisy of pretending to help developing countries by forcing them to open up their markets to the goods of the advanced industrial countries while keeping their own markets protected, policies that make the rich richer and the poor more impoverished—and increasingly angry.

The neoliberal policies pursued by WTO and the IMF have led to anti-globalisation/ trade protests (Battle for Seattle in 1999, Protests in Genoa, 2001, Occupy Wall Street, 2011) in different parts of the world. Social movements, old and new, have emerged to challenge the dominant capitalist development model of economy. Privatization of state resources and deregulation of the economy has greatly affected the lives of millions across the world.

Stop to Consider :

Occupy Wall Street (September 2011)

It was a protest movement which was started in New York and gradually spread as the ‘Occupy Movement’ to numerous cities such as London, Rome and Ottawa. Started by anti-consumerist and pro-environment group Adbusters, it raised issues of social and economic inequality as well as corruption. The Occupy Movement targeted large corporations for their inability to distribute benefits to the needy. Students across the US protested against fee hikes and budget cuts in the education sector. Through the use of social media sites such as ‘Facebook’ and ‘Twitter’, the protestors coordinated protest events and expressed the disdain towards their governments.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Questions:

1. What are the Bretton Woods institutions?
2. When was the League of Nations established?
3. What is ‘End of History’?
4. What are the ‘three megatrends’ of contemporary globalization.
5. What is Adbusters associated with?

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6. Short Questions :

- a) When was the WTO established?
 - b) Who wrote the book-Globalization and its discontents?
 - c) In which year was the 'Occupy Wallstreet'?
 - d) Who wrote-The end of History and the Last Man?
 - e) Which city is the capital of the European Union?
7. Discuss the different 'phases' of globalisation.
 8. Discuss the cultural dimensions of globalisation.
 9. Analyse the factors that shape contemporary globalisation.
 10. Discuss the political dimensions of globalisation.
 11. Analyse the reasons for 'resistance' to globalisation.

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Unit 3 :
Globalisation and its Resistance

Unit Structure :

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Objectives

3.3 Meaning and Nature

3.4 Globalisation; Causes and its Resistance

3.4.1 Causes responsible towards the growth and development of globalization

3.4.2 Impacts of Globalisation: Positive Implications

3.4.3 Impacts of Globalisation: Negative Implications

3.4.4 Globalisation and its Resistance

3.5 Summing Up

3.6 References and Suggested Readings

3.1 Introduction

The post Cold War international relations are characterized by the process of globalisation and liberalization. The term globalisation is a post Cold War and post- Soviet development. It changed the very intellectual comprehension of international politics and economy, apart from the global power-equations and relations among nations. Infact, it has now become one of the most frequently used terms in Politics and Economics; a buzzword of the 21st century. The term 'globalisation' has acquired considerable force during the 1990s and has captured world attention in many spheres like information superhighway, Internet, international trade, telecommunication etc. it is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. The objective of making the world a truly inter-related, inter-dependent, developed global village governs the on-going process of globalisation. It represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity, to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics. Globalisation can be incredibly empowering and incredibly coercive. It is not only homogenizing cultures but also enabling people to share their unique individuality farther and farther.

3.2 Objectives

This unit is designed with a view to understand and have knowledge about one of the burning issues of contemporary times i.e. globalisation. By the end of this unit you will be able to:-

- Understand the concept of globalisation together with its nature.
- Analyze the significant factors towards growth of globalisation.
- Discuss about both the positive and negative implications of globalisation.
- Discuss about globalisation and its resistance.

3.3 Meaning and Nature

Globalisation is the concept of securing real social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world. Globalisation means integrating the economy of a country with the economies of other countries in the process of free flow of trade and capital. It also includes the movement of persons i.e. Brain Drain across borders. In other words Globalisation means integrating our economy with the 'World Economy'. The idea of globalisation is not something new. The process began around 200 BC and 1000 AD. In the words of Edward S. Herman "Globalisation is both an active process of corporate expansion across borders and a structure of cross border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing". Likewise Baylis and Smith define, "Globalisation as the process whereby social relations acquires relatively distance less and borderless qualities."

The concept of globalisation is quite controversial as the term has different meanings for different people. In economic sense, globalisation means extending of economic activities across national boundaries. It means integrating the economy of the country with the world economy. As a result of globalisation international markets are integrated; national economics are thrown open to the market forces of the world and the scope of government's national macroeconomic policies is curtailed. Briefly, free flow of economic transactions across the political boundaries of nations or borderless trade is globalisation. However, broadly globalisation is the expansion and intensification of connections and movements of people, goods, capital, and ideas and cultures-between countries. To some people this process implies the need to replace national institutional with global ones. According to Rubens Ricupera, Secretary General of the UNCTAD, " Globalisation is the

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integration of the world economy as the result of three main forces :

- i) increase in trade in goods and services
- ii) the increase in the investment of transnational companies and the consequent change in nature of production
- iii) international financial and exchange rate transactions.

Globalisation gives or assigns thrust to two areas:- Liberalisation and Privatisation. Liberalization proclaims freedom of trade and investment; creation of free trade area, elimination of government controls on allocation of resources in the domestic economy, removal of restrictions on external trade and payments, expansion of foreign investments, loans and aid and rapid technological progress. Privatization allows private sector and other foreign companies to produce goods and services.

Nature of Globalisation

The nature of globalisation can be Summarised in the following points:

- Integration of domestic economy with global economy as well as opening up of the economy to foreign capital, foreign investment, foreign technology and free competition.
- Globalisation provides free flow of trade relations among all the nations. Each state grants MFN (most favoured nation) status to other states and keeps its business and trade away from excessive and hard regulatory and protective regimes.
- It helps in expansion of multinational corporations (MNCs) and free flow of international capital and other economic transactions across the political boundaries of the nations.
- The scope of the process of globalisation seems to be increasing rather than narrowing over time, taking on cultural, political, social and environmental dimensions in addition to the economic.
- It stands for liberating the import export activity and securing a free flow of goods and services across borders thereby encouraging the process of collaborations among the entrepreneurs with a view to secure rapid modernization, development and technological advancement.
- Several international institutions including the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and UN agencies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) etc plays an

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important role in the process of globalisation.

- Economic activities can be governed both by the domestic market and also the world market. It stands for the process of integrating the domestic economy with world economies. Encouraging fiscal and financial reforms with a view to give strength to free world trade, free enterprise and market forces.

Globalisation in short is characterized by ‘shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. It has swung open the door to opportunities.

3.4 Globalisation; Causes and its Resistance

Globalisation refers to a broader and integrated process of transformation of the world into a global village characterized by free world trade, freedom of access to world markets and increased social, economic, cultural linkages and relations among the people of the world. It is neither a purely economic process nor is related to communications only. It is a broad process of increasing socio-economic, industrial-trade-cultural relations among the people living in all parts of the globe. It refers to the process which is considered essential for transforming the world into an inter-related and inter-dependent global village. It is aimed at securing the benefits of free trade, open access to markets and equal participating in securing sustainable development for all the people. In general sense, the aim of globalisation is to secure socio-economic integration and development of all the people of the world through a free flow of goods, services, information, knowledge and people across all boundaries.

3.4.1 Causes responsible towards the growth and development of globalization

The significant causes and factors towards the growth and development of globalisation are highlighted below:

- Adoption of liberalization policies by different countries in the post-communist era mainly contributed for the growth of globalisation. As a result of these policies restrictions on international economic transactions were removed. With the removal of these constraints, road to globalisation was all clear. The first impact of openness was witnessed in world trade in goods and services and it was followed by foreign direct investment (FDI) and financial sector.
- Technological innovations are a significant factor in this regard. There is

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no doubt that the invention of the telegraph, telephone, microchip in more recent times has revolutionized communication between different parts of the world. The ability of ideas, capital, commodities and people to move more easily from one part of the world to another has been made possible largely by technological advances. Revolution in the spheres of transport and communication has converted the world into a global village. Jet aircrafts, computers, satellites, internet, e-commerce, e-mail and information technology all have served to remove frontiers of time and space. Besides, the cost of transmission and reception of information has fallen considerably.

- Experience of some Asian developing countries also promoted the idea of globalisation. These countries were South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore who by adopting the policies of liberalization and globalisation achieved new heights of economic success. Their economic success story earned for them the name of ‘Asian Tigers’. China also succeeded in achieving high rate of economic growth by resorting to the process of globalisation. These success stories of globalisation inspired other countries to globalize their economies.
- Several international institutions namely the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank together with UN agencies like ILO, the UNDP, and the UNCTAD etc have also created an international environment in which the process of globalisation may flourish. With the formation of the WTO in 1995 this process was accelerated. It is an organisation of 148 countries that is the primary rule-making body of the globalisation process. Since then it has become one of the most powerful international organisations. The United Nations Organisation also plays a key role as a central pillar of the international system in the management of global economic integration.
- Failure of Soviet Socialist Model is another cause towards the growth of globalisation. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, centrally planned and command economies of the Soviet Union and East European countries miserably failed. By 1991, communist system collapsed in these countries due to dismal economic performance, controlled markets and closed door policy. After the failure of Soviet Socialist Model, all these countries also adopted Western model of free market economy, policies of liberalization and globalisation.

3.4.2 Impacts of Globalisation: Positive Implications

- Globalisation has proved to be quite beneficial to the consumers.

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Globalisation promotes competition. Under the pressure of competition human beings will strive to give their best. There is no denying the fact that competition brought the world economic order many benefits in terms of a very efficient economy at a very low cost. Global competition puts an emphasis on consumer concern, delivering the consumer the very best quality and variety of goods. This helps to bring down prices because consumers have a choice and can drive inefficient operators out of business. In short, competition is an attempt to get consumer support that results in continuous global search for what the consumer needs. It leads to an ongoing programme on how to produce and deliver the best product. It aims at maintaining quality control in the competitive market.

- It results in more availability of investable funds in the form of Foreign Direct Investment. Globalisation encourages flow of foreign capital in the form of foreign direct investment, commercial borrowings; collaborations etc. transference of capital from developed to underdeveloped countries will be mutually beneficial. The developed countries have surplus capital. Globalisation helps in flow of surplus capital of developed countries to underdeveloped countries. As a result this transference of resources, developed countries earn profit and in case of underdeveloped countries, investment in productive activities increases.
- It helps in development and strengthening of domestic economies of developing countries. Globalisation has promoted economic equality and reduced poverty. The integration of poor economies with richer ones has provided many opportunities for poor people to improve their lives. Globalisation has helped reduce poverty in a large number in developing countries. It has helped in creating new job opportunities in industries and multinational companies.
- As far as cultural consequences are concerned it would be a mistake to assume that cultural consequences of globalisation are always negative. Actually culture is not a static thing. All cultures accept outside influences all the time. Some external influences are negative because they reduce our choices. But sometimes external influences simply enlarge our choices and sometimes they modify our culture without overwhelming the traditional norms. For instance. The burger is no substitute for a masala dosa and therefore does not pose any real challenge. In the same way blue jeans can go well with a homespun khadi kurta. Here the outcome of outside influences is a new combination that is unique. This clashing

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combination has been exported back to the country. Thus it can be said that globalisation broadens our cultural outlook and promotes cultural homogenization.

- Globalisation helps in socio-economic transformation. It is not only an economic phenomenon. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. It is found that due to globalisation, personnel in management and other superior positions will come to underdeveloped countries with their own life styles which will have good influence on these societies. If those attracted by Euro-American lifestyles also adopt some good features of these societies such as dignity of labour, responsibility for neighbourhood or community welfare, respect for law and other and respect for knowledge and character, there would be positive advantages in terms of social change. If these virtues spread to the rural areas, then the rural people will also be benefited and liberated from wrong and blind beliefs.
- Globalisation encourages entry of multinational corporations. These corporations have unique and empirical capacity to increase production and distribution. Wherever they go they make radical changes in the existing production system of that country, their superior technology, professional, managerial competence and quality are of paramount importance to the country. These corporations bring modern technology with them. They can offer investment on research and development (R&D). As a result process of research is initiated. These corporations apply innovations to underdeveloped countries through their subsidies.

3.4.3 Impacts of Globalisation: Negative Implications

As ‘Every Rose has its Thorn’, in a similar way globalisation also faces certain criticisms and possesses certain loopholes. The following demerits or negative implications of globalisation may be enumerated in support of its criticisms:-

- Globalisation has led to the Diminishing role of the state. State sovereignty is no more absolute and non-state actors are playing significant role in the national politics of states as well as in international politics. In contemporary times, state sovereignty in many developing countries has been severely reduced under the influence of globalisation and of increasing detailed prescriptions from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and other external actors. Under the pressure from the IFIs and the new dispensation of the WTO, liberalization, privatization and structural adjustment policies have been imposed or adopted by many countries in Africa,

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Asia and Latin America, thereby diminishing the economic role of the state in framing its policies or setting its development goals.

- Although globalisation provided new job opportunities for few hundred highly skilled workers it failed to generate sufficient employment opportunities on a large scale. Regarding agriculture too, farmers are to be educated enough to take up modern methods of cultivation practiced in developing countries.
- Globalisation promotes the concentration of wealth in fewer hands and market policy is governed purely by market forces i.e. Income Inequality.
- The immediate impact of globalisation might be to increase the debt burden of the developing countries which are already under heavy debt. The mounting impact will led them in a debt trap from which it may be very difficult for them to recover. It has been argued that debt servicing is imposing a real burden on the economies of many developing countries. Since a large percentage of exports are devoted to debt servicing it is to be assumed that the impact of growth in exports on economic growth has weakened. The debt service ratio does not affect economic development only but it also influences the rate at which economic development takes place. Debt servicing is a heavy burden on the balance of payments of the developing countries
- Globalisation has led to the depletion of natural resources. The increased demand for export shifts the country's natural resources such as land, forests, and minerals into a tradeable sector and away from production for local consumption. Globalisation thus ignores the long term consequences of the depletion of natural resources.
- Globalisation involves not only free flow of goods , services, capital, labour and finance but also ideas, information, drugs, arms and even terrorists across the globe. The networks of transnational terrorists are also operating in the context of globalisation.

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SAQ :

1. Discuss the impacts of globalisation in India? (60 words)

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3.4.4 Globalisation and its Resistance

Resistance to globalisation refers to the gamut of struggles and actions of social groups and individuals in response to the dislocating consequences of neo-liberal reforms and its effects in the spheres of the economy, politics and identity/culture. Losing of its centrality, autonomy and sovereignty by the state in the age of globalisation has become a major theme of debate in the disciplines of Political Science and International Relations. Globalisation today is accompanied by growing inequalities, both within and between countries, and by a threat of exclusion faced by many people. The critics criticize globalisation as the corporate agenda of the big business and the ideology the developed countries to dominate and control the international economic system in a bigger, deeper and more subtle and intensive manner. The political and socio-economic effects of globalisation are exaggerated by both its detractors and supporters. It has been argued in its favour that it would bring almost immediate prosperity and well being. But unfortunately that is not what we have been seeing around us. If we consider what growth, globalisation began to accelerate in last few years, what we have to conclude is that the average growth of the world economy was mediocre. Globalisation is not producing the acceleration of growth worldwide as expected. Globalisation is mutually beneficial when capital, labour, technology and goods flow between equals. In other words when the country is ready to face the world competition on equal terms. Otherwise any attempt by the underdeveloped economies to globalise their economies can rebound adversely on the vast majority of the people, who is in poverty, lack of education and malnutrition.

Economic globalisation has created an intense division of opinion all over the world. Some scholars point out that globalisation is likely to benefit only a small section of the population while impoverishing those who were dependent on government jobs and welfare. According to the critics globalisation has not led to the same degree of increase in the movement of people across the globe. Developed countries have carefully guarded their borders with visa policies to ensure job security to their own citizens.

3.5 Summing Up

The concept of globalisation has proved to be quite controversial as several scholars hold that it has essentially limited the concept of state sovereignty while some other scholars accept it as useful and ideal. However, neither of the two views is fully valid. State sovereignty continues to be intact in its

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internal and external dimensions. The state continues to be sovereign state and its sovereignty continues to be comprehensive, permanent and absolute while its functions have undergone a change. People continue to live and enjoy their lives as citizens of their respective states. Recently the globalisation debate shifted from focusing on whether world economic integration is good or bad to the best ways of managing the globalisation process. While globalisation has the potential to make all people better off, there is no assurance that it will do so or that all changes will be positive.

Stop to Consider :

Points to Remember

- Globalisation signifies integration of the economy of a country with the economies of other countries. It is a process by which earth is considered as a 'global village'.
- Causes of Globalisation- Economic Cultural, Technological.
- Globalization gives rise to a uniform culture or what is called cultural homogenization.

Check Your Progress :

1. What do you mean by globalisation ? Discuss the nature of globalisation.
2. Analyse the causes responsible for the growth of globalisation.
3. Discuss the positive and negative impacts of globalisation.
4. Write a brief note on the globalisation and its resistance.

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Unit 4 :
Emerging World Order

Unit Structure :

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Objectives
- 4.3 Post-Cold War World Order
 - 4.3.1 Different Perspectives to Understand the World
 - Realist Perspective
 - Liberal Perspective
 - Marxist Perspective
- 4.4 US Hegemony and Global Order
 - 4.4.1 The Global War on Terror and Beyond
 - 4.4.2 Does the USA Remain a Global Hegemon?
- 4.5 Rise of Multipolar World Order
 - 4.5.1 Rise of Multipolarity
 - 4.5.2 Implications of Multipolarity
- 4.6 Summing Up
- 4.7 References and Suggested Readings

4.1 Introduction

It was President George W. Bush of the United States of America, who first coined the term “new international order” after the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. But, here, questions come- what a new world order is? What marks that newness? Generally, a world order can be described as an arrangement in which international relations are carried out in an organized way. More specifically, when we say about a new and emerging world order, we talk about new arrangements in the international relations which are not marked by the bipolar world of Cold War politics.

It was the disintegration of former Soviet Union, which formally brought in to an end of the Cold War in the global politics. However, we can't say that global politics stopped there and a new system emerged abruptly. The emerging world order has also been travelling based on the sovereign state system which started with the formation of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. In this context, the new world order covers the significant changes that have

come up in the structure of international relations.

In this unit, our aim is to give a brief overview of the emerging world order with the rise of United States (US) hegemony in the global world order. Together with that, there has been a significant rise of terror activities and for which “global war on terror” was started after the significant 9/11 attack. That event questions the hegemonic tendency of US in the international affair. Moreover, with the rise of new economic blocks around the world and the emergence of China as an emerging power, the concept of a multi-polar world has come up in the global politics. Engaging with these concepts will broaden our knowledge about the emerging international world order.

4.2 Objectives

The disintegration of former Soviet Union marked a change in the international world order of unipolarity and some thinkers opined that it is an era of multi-polarity. Considering the emergence of a new world order in the global politics, this chapter will help you to :

- Explain the concept of emerging world order
- Understand the role of US in this new international order
- Analysis the US hegemonic tendency with respect to the global “war on terror”
- Identify the broad perspective of rise of the multipolar world and its implications

4.3 Post-Cold War World Order

As the concept of new international world order started taking prominence, the ranking of the major actors of global politics have also changed enormously and, therefore, the distribution of power has also continued to change. Moreover, as power dimensions have changed the status of many state actors, there are certain states that had vanished from the world scenario. In fact, there are new states that have emerged in the international world order. For example, Soviet Union disintegrated and there are fifteen new Republics emerged. Yugoslavia has witnessed too many ethnic conflicts which fragmented it in to nearly five states. Apart from physical changes of geographical boundaries, the world has witnessed far reaching changes in the economy of the world. To give an example, the states of the Socialist block have replaced the Communist party rule in favour of western style multi-party democracy.

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prominence. The rapid decline of the Soviet Union led to the disintegration of the bipolar world which was divided into two blocks of power politics. This event provided certain stability to the new world order. While the Cold War fuelled a number of conflicts in the Third World, yet it was aimed at determination of power maximizing behaviour of the US. Therefore, power is crucial in IR according to the realist thinkers.

The Liberal Perspective

After the end of the Cold War, the bipolar nature of the global world order collapsed. At that time, the rise of US as the only power, which followed the liberal order, marked the victory of liberal capitalism. It was believed that the great ideological divide between the socialist regime and the liberalism was responsible for the conflict that the world witnessed. Therefore, the disintegration of Socialist regime marked the “end of history” as enunciated by Francis Fukuyama. According to this view, the history has come to an end considering the victory of liberal world order. Here, there is no competitor to liberal capitalism ideologically. International Relations, in this way, become unified into a single world system. Various factors have promoted the upliftment of liberal ideologies or more particularly the neo-liberal institutionalism with the help of LPG. Structural Adjustment Programme has helped the Third World Countries to receive financial help from the great powers. These processes, hence, has paved the way for heavy industrialization.

The Marxist Perspective

The Marxist perspective of the International Relations is critical about the emergence of this new capitalist world order. The Marxists argue that the liberal capitalist model is based on inequality. Therefore, when inequality continues to rise as a result of power maximizing behaviour of the state without considering the values of the labour, then automatically, the system will collapse. In dealing with the question of the disintegration of Socialist regime, these thinkers opine that it is an opportunity for the emerging states to establish themselves as powerful actors. They believe that the exploitative behaviour of capitalism with rising inequality will be the greater cause for the downfall of capitalism in coming decades.

Stop to Consider

Hegemony

Hegemony is the leadership or domination of one element of a system over others. Gramsci used the term to refer to the ideological leadership of the bourgeoisie over subsidiary classes. In international politics, a hegemon is the leading state within a group of states. Hegemonic status

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is stand on the possession of structural power, particularly the control of economic and military resources, enabling the hegemon to shape the preferences and actions of other states. The hegemon does it by the combination of both consent and force.

Check Your Progress

1. Briefly explain the views of mainstream theories of International Relations in terms of understanding the emerging world order.
2. Write a short note on the Marxist perspective in understanding the new world order.

4.4 US Hegemony and Global Order

Since the end of the Cold War, USA has been referred as “global hegemon” in the world politics. USA since its inception is a political nation defined more by its liberal ideology than culture. The American Revolution of 1776 was dependent upon the political freedom, individual self-sufficiency and constitutional government.

However, during 1970s’ and 1980s’, the world had witnessed the decline of US hegemony considering the emergence of both external and internal challenges. Internally, the Civil Rights Movement, women’s movement had challenged the traditional views on the matter such as race, consumerism, abortion, gender role etc. (Heywood, 2011). Together with that, the external crisis of Vietnam War, Iran hostage Crisis and most crucially the rise of economic competitors such as Japan, Germany and “Asian Tigers” had its impact on USA’s foreign policy. The rise and fall of great powers are not only determined by the armed conflict but also by the economic strength in comparison to other states.

Nevertheless, the USA proved its resilient power both economically and politically. The hand behind this journey was the Reagan Administration. The Reagan administration has helped the USA to strengthen its nationalism by preaching the “frontier ideology”. Frontier ideology of USA administration is based on entrepreneurialism, tax cutting and “roll back” of the welfare state by accepting more assertive and anti-communist foreign policy. The end of the Cold War helped in the rise of economic globalization which opened a place for new global markets and opportunities for capitalist enterprises. Therefore, the US hegemony is seen in its unilateralist tendency of foreign policy dynamics. For example, the USA in the George W. Bush administration refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol on global climate change.

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However, the event of 9/11 significantly altered the hegemonic tendency of USA in to the balance of world order.

Stop to Consider

Unipolarity

It refers to an international system in which there is one preeminent state, or 'pole'. In a unipolar system there is a single great power, with an absence of potential rivals. However, as this implies some form of world government, unipolarity is always relative and not absolute. Unipolarity has been defended on the grounds that the dominant actor is able to act as the 'world's police officer' settling disputes and preventing war and guaranteeing economic and financial stability by setting and maintaining ground rules for economic behaviour.

Bipolarity

Bipolarity refers to an international system which revolves around two major power blocs. The term is commonly associated with the Cold War. For a system to be genuinely bipolar a rough equality must occur between the two pre-eminent powers or power blocs, certainly in terms of their military capacity. Neo-realists have argued that this equilibrium implies that bipolar systems are stable and relatively peaceful, being biased in favour of a balance of power. Liberals, however, have associated bipolarity with tension and insecurity, resulting from their tendency to breed hegemonic ambition and prioritize military power.

Multipolarity

Multipolarity refers to a global system in which there are three power centres or sometimes more than that. In this system, the power is diffused in such a way that no country can solely keep it with oneself. Neorealists argue that multipolarity creates a bias, which can lead instability and an increased possibility of war. Liberals, however, argue that multipolar systems are categorized by an inclination towards multilateralism, as more even distribution of global power promotes harmony, cooperation and integration.

Check Your Progress

1. What do you understand by the concept of hegemony? (30 words)
2. Explain briefly the hegemonic tendency of USA in the context of emerging world order.

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4.4.1 The Global War on Terror and Beyond

September 11, 2001 is regarded as a crucial point in the formation of world

order, where the tremendous attack on USA's Pentagon House took place, comparable to 1945 or 1990. Indeed, some analysts have argued that 9/11 was the point where the actual nature of the post-Cold War era was shown. It could be said as the beginning of a period of unparalleled global contention and instability. In that sense, the beginning of the 'war on terror', rather than the fall down of communism, marked the birth of the 'real' twenty-first century. A variety of theories have been formulated to explain the rise of global or transnational terrorism. One of the most significant of these is Samuel P. Huntington's the 'clash of civilizations'. In that theory he suggests that it is an ingredient of a larger tendency for cultural and specifically religious conflict to presuppose greater eminence in twenty-first century global politics. According to Robert Cooper, the East–West confrontation of the Cold War world order had helped establishing a world which was divided into three main parts: the “premodern” world, the “modern” world and the “postmodern” world. According to Cooper, the “premodern” world denotes the post-colonial states that didn't get any benefit from both the regimes during the Cold War period. For example, Somalia, Afghanistan and Liberia, were seen as “weak states”, “failed states” or ‘rogue states’. In the “modern” world, states are more concerned about their territorial integrity and sovereignty based on the principles of “balance of power”. It signifies that the interests of one state can only be counteracted by the capabilities of another state. While talking about the “postmodern” world order, the author primarily deals with Europe and the European Union (EU). Here, the states have evolved beyond power politics and they rejected war as a means to attain security in the global world order. In fact, as against war, they favour the global governance.

This view of the new world order, however, embodies a range of challenges and new security threats. When the various countries of the world started acquiring the nuclear weapons, the “security dilemma” of the world has increased to a significant point. Here, the instabilities of the premodern world terrorize to spill over into the modern and even the postmodern worlds. Cooper recognized that a kind of “new imperialism” came in to prominence.

The USA, considering the 9/11 event as a threat to the global world order started working against it. More than a global threat, USA was more concerned about their national security. The Bush administration, after the attack started considering those states as terrorist states that sponsored terrorism for its national interest. After 9/11 the USA's approach to the 'war on terror' quickly started to take shape. It started with the US-led military assault on Afghanistan in October 2001 that brought down the

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4.4.2 Does USA Remain as a Global Hegemon?

Debates about the rise and decline of the USA's global hegemony are not a new topic of discussion. After the end of the Cold War, the entire scenery of the world has gone in to a tremendous change. Where some thinkers were talking about the unipolar world, others were making comments on the multipolar world. However, the hegemonic tendency of USA was seen in almost all aspects of the international affairs. But the 9/11 attack proved to be a game changer where the hegemonic tendency of the USA was questioned. The debate around the hegemonic tendency of the USA can be understood as follows:

Yes	No
<p>1. In terms of global military dominance the USA's military strength is huge, with over 700 military bases in 100 countries. Moreover, USA has the power of high technological weaponry and air power.</p>	<p>1. Considering the USA as the advanced power of the world, the role of the hegemonic tendency become redundant. It is because, despite being militarily a strong nation terrorists and insurgency tactics such as 9/11 event threatened the US hegemony at the world level.</p>
<p>2. On the economic front, the USA spends around 40% of world's spending in research and development to ensure high productivity level. They are resilient enough to upgrade its economy in the topmost position.</p>	<p>2. USA has been witnessing a relative economic decline. Though largest economy of the world, yet the emerging economies like China and India have been challenging the economic dominance of the US.</p>
<p>3. The population of the USA is another factor that proves that the USA will continue to become hegemony. The expected population of the US by 2050 is 439 million. Together with that, the emerging population is expected to be highly educated and skilled in areas of research, particularly in science and technology.</p>	<p>3. The USA's "soft power" is also declining. It is because of the widening gap of global inequality, "Americanization", and the US military intervention on Iraq on humanitarian ground has serious impact on its "soft power".</p>
<p>4. In terms of structural power, the USA has been exercising</p>	<p>4. The USA has also lost its diplomatic influence in Latin America.</p>

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particularly China and Russia, it leads us to analyze the enhanced trends to multipolarity in the world affair. It is crucial to understand the rise of multipolar world order which Amitav Acharya (2014) has termed as “multiplex” world. Together with that, the opportunities and challenges faced by India in this emerging multipolar world order are important to analyze.

4.5.1 Rise of Multipolarity

The current world order is created by a number of multipolar trends. The rise of emerging powers is significant development in this world order. Apart from the USA, China has been emerged as a great rival power against the USA. The basis of China’s emerging power status can be measured through its rapid economic development. The rapid economic development of China can be traced back to the market reforms of mid 1970s’ under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. This rise of economy has reached at a stage where in 2009 China became the largest exporter globally. Moreover, in 2010, it became the second largest economy of the world overtaking Japan (Heywood, 2011). By the end of 2010, Chinese economy became 90 times larger as it was before in 1978. The main reason behind giant development of China is its population. China has the highest population of the world and it is the place of cheap labour market. Thus, it has become the manufacturing hub of global economy in the 21st century. Together with that China has also growing its military capacity in terms of arms expenditure. The increasing influence of China is evident in World Trade Organization (WTO) and G 20 Countries over some global issues such as climate change. In terms of “soft power”, China has been influencing the Asian countries in terms of cultural links. The rise of China can be seen as a great shift in the global balance of power.

However, there are certain barriers of China’s growing economy. In 1979, due to increasing population China introduced the one child policy. It means that in 2022, China has the most ageing population in the world which can put its economy at heavy risk. Moreover, China’s political and economic contradiction has been creating tensions within the nation. Politically, China has been governed by one party rule system by the Chinese Communist Party encouraged by the idea of Stalinism. Economically, it has been following the global market capitalism system. It, in a way, means that two contradicting ideologies have been functional in China. Though the communist regime has the ability to do away with the “audacious infrastructure programmes”, yet, it may fail in coping

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with the liberalizing tendency created by the market system or capitalism.

Russia's re-emergence as a major power is another development in the rise of multipolar world. Since the decline and fall of former USSR in 1990s', Russia has emerged as a growing market economy through transition and with the "shock therapy". This has led by the expansion of oil and gas productivity. Also, the landmass of Russia is greater in comparison to other countries of the world. Although, Russian landmass is highly unexplored, yet, Russia has managed to emerge as global energy super power as a result of globalizing world order. The growing energy power of Russia has resulted in influencing over the Eastern European Countries in controlling the price and flow of resources in terms of oil and gas. Even in the globalizing world order, Russia's economic confidence has also strengthened its nationalism. The country is focusing more on enhancing its military strength and assertiveness against the US military power. The US military power and its influence in NATO have posing threat to the Russian nationalism in terms of protecting its territory. In fact, Russia's military expenditure lags behind NATO's expenditure. For example, the Russia- Ukraine war can be seen as a weapon of expansionist policy of NATO in controlling the countries of the world.

Stop to Consider

Shock therapy

According to the International Monetary Fund, shock therapy involves three different radical and contradictory structural policies:

1. Liberalization
2. Financial stabilization
3. Privatization

In the rise of this multipolar world order, there are various factors directly involved in the process. Three broader developments that have helped in the pluralisation of global power can be explained as follows:

- Globalization helps in increased integration and cooperation among nations. This integration has witnessed less military conflicts among nations for the pursuit of national self-interest, as national self-interest is embedded in interconnectedness and interdependence among nations.
- The emergence of global governance is another development that involves in dealing with the questions of global concern such as climate change, global warming, migration, diseases, narcotics etc.

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These problems are transnational and can only be solved through transnational cooperation. This is possible only through global governance with efficient, accountable and transparent decisions.

- The rise of non-state actors such as transnational corporations (TNCs'), multinational corporations (MNCs') and non-governmental organizations (NGOs') have its impact on the rise of multipolar world. These organizations have merged the world economy in such a chain that everything gets connected through privatization with enhanced production and profit. Together with that, the rise of global civil society has helped in bringing the cosmopolitanism in to existence through empowering the marginalized groups and movements.

India, in this multipolar world order, has been increasing its weight. It is not a global power, but it has been a rising power or a middle power (Sridharan, 2017). Within the South Asian region, India is a regional power considering its size, area, population, military capability as well as gross domestic products (GDP). Globally, India is a middle power with a mindset of growing material and infrastructural capabilities, economic development as well as consolidated democracy.

4.5.2 Implications of Multipolarity

The end of Cold War marked both opportunities and challenges for India in its foreign policy dynamics. Opportunities are varied as it opens up India's diplomatic, economic and political ties with the global powers. Some of the opportunities can be explained as below:

- In the context of emerging multipolar world order, India has been strengthening its economic diplomacy by attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in to the country and increasing participation in regional and multilateral forums. This can be seen in introducing some flagship programmes such as Digital India, Skill India, Make in India, Startup India etc. FDI inflow of India in 2017-2018 is US \$ 61.9 billion (Kukreja, 2020).
- The new world order has created an opportunity for India in managing the great powers with pragmatism. In this case, India's engagement with the USA has proven to be successful. The Indo-US Civil Nuclear Deal (2005) is the result of convergence of pragmatic relationship between India and the USA.
- Considering China's rise and its influence across the world, India

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has been responding to counter China's strategy against India. In the recent years, China's effort to establish closer political and economic relations among the nations of the South Asia aimed at encircling India strategically. For example, Sino-Pakistan nexus, introduction of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) etc. Despite problems, India has been keen in maintaining economic partnership with China.

- India is situated in one of the one of the problematic neighbourhood of the world. Considering that, India has started taking new initiatives in the neighbourhood. As part of that, in order to enhance the level of connectivity, such as transportation, electricity, power grids Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) have started working on its improved relationship among themselves.
- Within this multipolar world order, India is taking steps in integrating the subcontinent. As South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) remains largely non-functional because of hostility created by Pakistan, India has been moving to build relationship with transregional institutions. For example, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) has created to connect the eastern subcontinent with parts of Southeast Asia for transregional cooperation (Kukreja, 2015).
- In the post- Cold War world order, the Asia- Pacific region gains prominence as the centre of economic and strategic concerns. In this context, India's "look east" cum "act east" policy is an attempt to increase India's footprint in East Asia. This policy not only aims at improving partnership or cooperation with the countries of South East Asia but also aims at addressing the China's growing influence in the region. Japan, a growing economy of the world, is ready to help India to become an economic power.
- India's engagement with the Central Asia can be termed as another opportunity that the multipolar world order has created. This region is crucial for the need of energy, trade and security. For example, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has been providing opportunities to India to work with the Central Asian Republics and Russia to enhance its own strategic interest in the region.

Apart from these, India has been engaging with the African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa etc. to enhance its maritime security. Despite opportunities, India has also faced certain challenges

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from the multipolar world. Among them are terrorism, nuclear threat, climate change and India's engagement with the neighbouring countries. Challenges are such that despite being a regional power, India doesn't have the capacity to change the policies of its neighbours. India's geostrategic and geographic location put some pressure on its foreign policy. As these constraints are evident, therefore, India is needed to make a progressive step towards enhancing its diplomatic relationship with the countries of the world that are strategically crucial for India. Together with that, there is a need to develop India's "economic weight and military reach" (Sridharan, 2015).

Check your Progress

Question 1: What are the opportunities India has acquired in the multipolar world order?

4.6 Summing Up

The emerging world order is made up of multipolarity. The mainstream theories of IR have given their views about the emergence of the multipolar world. The Marxist perspective is also crucial in understanding the emerging world order. The US hegemony and its subsequent development in terms of rise of global economic powers have questioned the hegemonic tendency of a unipolar world. India's role and opportunities in this world order is crucial to understand its foreign policy dynamics. Overall, this unit tries to capture the events of global politics from the emerging world perspective.

4.7 References and Suggested Readings

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Unit 5 :
Liberal Democracy and Democratic Peace

Unit Structure:

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Objectives
- 5.3 What is Liberal Democracy?
- 5.4 Main features of Liberal and Democracy
- 5.5 Origin and Historical arguments on Liberal Democracy
- 5.6 Capitalism and Liberal Democracy
- 5.7 Challenges to Liberal Democracy
- 5.8 Democratic Peace Theory
- 5.9 Origin of Democratic Peace
- 5.10 Main Arguments
- 5.11 Criticism
- 5.12 Summing Up
- 5.13 References and Suggested Readings

5.1 Introduction:

Liberal democracy is a form of government where the elected representatives exercise power of decision-making but is subject to the rule of law, and generally moderated by a constitution that puts emphasis on the protection of the rights and liberties of individuals. It also places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities. Constitutions of liberal democracies protect individual rights and liberties, which generally include the following: rights to speak, privacy, property and equality before the law, and freedoms of speech, assembly and religion. In liberal democracies these rights are constitutionally guaranteed, or are otherwise created by statutory law or case law, which may in turn empower various civil institutions to administer or enforce these rights.

Liberal democracies value tolerance and pluralism as differing social and political views are permitted to co-exist and compete for political power through elections. Therefore, elections are integral part of liberal democracy. Elections are held regularly in a liberal democracy where groups with differing political views have the opportunity to achieve political power. In this unit, we will try to interpret democratic liberalism, its characteristic and relevance and various approaches to study it. This

unit will also attempt to highlight the important features of the liberal democracy, summarize major analytical framework in the field and identify several current global debates. A careful study of this unit will provide the students a better base for understanding and analyzing the correlation between liberal democracy and capitalism, issues and problems that liberal democracy currently facing. In addition, special focus will be given on Democratic Peace Theory and its relevance today.

5.2 Objectives:

The liberal democracies have both well-established and accessible procedures for protecting the liberties of individual citizens. The liberal democracy values liberty, equality and fraternity as its building blocks. It may take the form of a constitutional republic or a constitutional monarchy. Some of the important features of liberal democracy are – universal adult suffrage, individual freedom and liberty, gender equitable regime, strong civil society and free and fair elections. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the idea of liberal democracy
- explore the correlation between liberal democracy and capitalism
- explicate the changing nature of liberal democracy
- understand the basic principles of democratic peace.

5.3 What is liberal democracy?

Less than a quarter-century ago, democracy appeared to be confirmed, with a few exceptions, to North America and Western Europe. These countries were characterized by industrial economies, sizable middle classes, and high literacy rates—factors that many political scientists regarded as prerequisites for successful democracy. Free and fair elections, rule of law and protection of individual liberties also made these countries strong and stable. Shortly, these countries are described as “liberal democracies.” Before 1990’s, majority of the countries were neither liberal nor democratic. They were ruled by a various forms of dictatorships—military, single-party, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist—that rejected free, multiparty elections. However, by the early 1990s, this situation had changed dramatically, as a surprising number of autocratic regimes around the world fell from power. They were generally succeeded by regimes that at least aspired to be democratic, giving rise to the phenomenon that Samuel P. Huntington termed the “third wave” of democratization. Samuel P. Huntington in his award

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winning book “The Third Wave Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century,” published in 1991, talked about the “third wave” of democratization during the period 1970s through the mid 2000. During 1974 to 1991, liberal democracy became the default form of government in many of these newly democratic countries.

However, many of these new aspiring democracies faced challenges and turned to authoritarianism. Although many of them held unambiguously free and fair elections; however, failed in providing the protection of individual liberties and adherence to the rule of law commonly found in the long-established democracies. Elections were conducted regularly but as Prof Huntington argued that the introduction of elections in non- Western societies may often lead to victory of anti-liberal parties. So these democracies turned into “electoral” democracies rather than “liberal democracies.”

Stop to Consider : Some Important Points

- Liberal democracies usually exercise universal suffrage, granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender or property ownership.
- However, especially historically, some countries regarded as liberal democracies have had a more limited franchise. There may also be qualifications like a registration procedure to be allowed to vote.
- The decisions taken through elections are taken not by all of the citizens, but rather by those who choose to participate by voting.
- In a liberal democracy, the elections should be free and fair.
- The political process should be competitive. Political pluralism is usually defined as the presence of multiple and distinct political parties representing different ideologies and principles.

A constitution in a liberal democracy defines the democratic nature of the state. The main purpose of a constitution is often seen as a limit on the authority of the government. The American political tradition emphasise the separation of powers, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between the three branches of government. Many European democracies are more likely to emphasise the importance of the principle of rule of law. Governmental authority is legitimately exercised only in accordance with written, publicly disclosed laws adopted and enforced in accordance with established procedure. Many democracies use federalism as a tool to prevent misuse and increase public input by dividing governing

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powers between municipal, provincial and national governments. So, limited exercise of power through constitution and accountability are the key elements of democracy. In other words, individualism, popular sovereignty and limited government are the foundation of liberal democracy.

5.4 Main features of Liberal Democracy:

There are two significant components in liberal democracy -- the liberal component which talks about limits on political power and the democratic component which deals with people's rule, participation and representative institutions. Liberalism aims to free the people and democracy stands for "empowering people." It also means safeguarding people from tyranny and arbitrariness. This is achieved through ensuring political representation to people. Political parties are important mediums to provide this representation to people in a democratic country. There are different forms of representation, which can be direct, indirect, proportional etc. Each society, depending on the nature and composition of its population, will have different types of party systems. Generally, a more homogeneous society tends to have two party-systems and a heterogeneous or multi-ethnic society tends to have a multi-party system.

Liberalism and democracy can't have one without the other. Currently, the election of legislative representatives and other public officials is the chief mechanism by which the people exercise their rule. Today, democracy implies virtually universal suffrage and eligibility to run for office. Elections are regarded as embodying the majoritarian and popular aspect of contemporary liberal democracy. However, the term "liberal" in "liberal democracy" does not imply that the government of such a democracy must follow the political ideology of liberalism. It is merely a reference to the fact that the initial framework for modern liberal democracy was created during the Age of Enlightenment by philosophers advocating liberty. They emphasized the right of the individual to have immunity from the unchecked exercise of authority. At present, there are numerous different political ideologies that support liberal democracy, which include conservatism, Christian democracy, social democracy and some forms of socialism.

The word "liberal" in the phrase liberal democracy refers not to the matter of who rules but to matter of how that rule is exercised. It basically implies that government is limited in its powers and its modes of acting. It is limited first by the rule of law, and especially by a fundamental law or constitution but ultimately limited by the rights of the individual. The use of "human rights"

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previously known as natural or inalienable rights mainly originated in liberalism. The primacy of individual means that the protection of the private sphere along with the plurality and diversity of the ends that people seek in their pursuit of happiness, is a key element of liberal political order.

Values such as liberty, equality and fraternity are considered as the key values of a liberal democratic society. On the other hand, liberal democracy is also inseparable from free market and property rights. Karl Marx targets the liberal democracy as it violates the concept of economic equality. The class divide which is an inherent feature of capitalism has to be overcome by abolishing private property. Socialist democracy is contradictory to liberal democracy as it aimed at overthrowing capitalism, which actually gets strength from liberal democracy. According to many critics, liberal democracy creates class division in the society. Elite theorist like Gaetano Mosca, Wilfredo Pareto and Robert Michel criticized the liberal democracy who pointed out that in any given society it the few elites who tend to rule rather than the people at large.

Tolerance is another important attribute of liberal democracy. In a liberal democracy, concepts like pluralism and diversity of views must be respected. To maintain that people should be free as long as their freedom does not restrict that of others would too severely limit the scope of pluralism, due to the pervasiveness of conflicts. It is sometimes held that a liberal society should be tolerant of all pursuits that do not undermine liberal tolerance itself. But in addition to being subject to contested interpretation and abuse, this does not easily work to rule out things like religious intolerance that, unlike limitations on freedom of political expression or association, do not always have direct political consequences. It also does not easily rule out practices oppressive to the members of a minority population that is sufficiently isolated that general tolerance in its larger society is not threatened. Arguing that tolerance is inviolate in the private realm but not the public space shifts the problem to identifying the boundary between the private and the public domains, or, alternatively, of determining when private-realm behavior merits exceptional state interference.

5.5 Origin and Historical Argument on Liberal Democracy:

The origin of liberal democracy could be traced back to the Europe in the 18th century, also known as the Age of Enlightenment. At the time, the vast majority of European states were monarchies, with political power held either by the monarch or the aristocracy. The possibility of democracy had

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not been seriously considered by political theory since classical antiquity, and the widely held belief was that democracies would be inherently unstable and chaotic in their policies due to the changing nature of the people. It was further believed that democracy was contrary to human nature, as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent and in need of a strong leader to restrain their destructive impulses. Many European monarchs held that their power had been ordained by God, and that questioning their right to rule was tantamount to blasphemy.

These conventional views were challenged at first by a relatively small group of Enlightenment intellectuals, who believed that human affairs should be guided by reason and principles of liberty and equality. They argued that all people are created equal, and therefore political authority cannot be justified on the basis of "noble blood", a supposed privileged connection to God, or any other characteristic that is alleged to make one person superior to others. They further argued that governments exist to serve the people, not vice versa, and that laws should apply to those who govern as well as to the governed.

By the end of the 18th century, these ideas inspired two significant revolutions - the American Revolution and the French Revolution, which gave birth to the ideology of liberalism and instituted forms of government that attempted to apply the principles of the Enlightenment philosophers into practice. However, none of these forms of government was precisely what we would call a liberal democracy we know today. Although the French attempt turned out to be temporary, but they were the early form from which liberal democracy later grew. Since the supporters of these forms of government were known as liberals, the governments themselves came to be known as liberal democracies.

When the first prototypical liberal democracies were founded, the liberals themselves were viewed as an extreme and rather dangerous fringe group that threatened international peace and stability. However, liberal democratic ideals soon became widespread among the general population, and, over the 19th century, traditional monarchy was forced on a continuous defensive and withdrawal. Reforms and revolutions helped move most European countries towards liberal democracy. Liberalism ceased being a fringe opinion and joined the political mainstream. At the same time, a number of non-liberal ideologies developed that took the concept of liberal democracy and made it their own. The political spectrum changed; traditional monarchy became more and more a fringe view and liberal democracy became more and more popular. By the end of the 19th century, liberal democracy was

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no longer only a "liberal" idea, but an idea supported by many different ideologies. After World War I and especially after World War II, "liberal democracy" achieved a dominant position among theories of government and is now endorsed by the vast majority of the political spectrum.

John Stuart Mill, in his essays, *On Liberty* and *Considerations on Representative Government*, for the first time, gave the systematic explanation and defence of liberal democracy. J.S. Mill, as a pro-democrat advocate, welcomed the progress in equality; yet in a review of *Democracy in America* he still enthusiastically recommended the work to his fellow British scholars. In particular Mill agreed with Tocqueville's claims that majority, mass culture stifles free and informed thought and that an omnipotent majority could oppress a minority. Taken together, Mill's essays may in large part be read as a sustained effort to confront this problem by the straight forward method of combining democracy and liberalism.

In previous eras, Mill observed, tyranny was something experienced by the majority of a nation's people at the hands of a minority so there was no danger of the majority 'tyrannizing over itself.' However, with the emergence of large democratic nations particularly like the United States, a need was created for the people 'to limit their power over themselves'. The aim of *On Liberty*, then, was to identify the principles in accord with which the people should secure this limitation. Most of the essay is explained to explication and defence of Mill's claim that 'the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. In giving his principle content, Mill defended the most important liberties to protect, namely the freedoms of conscience, thought and feeling, holding and expressing opinions, pursuing one's life plans, and combining with others for any purpose. Because these civil liberties typically and directly affect only those who enjoy them, people should be exempted from the interference, paternalistic or otherwise, by others and especially by the state, including the democratic state.

Mill also devoted little space to working out the details of how the liberties are to be safeguarded, but it was clear that in general he thought there should be areas of citizens' lives free of state regulation and legal limits on what even a democratically mandated government can legislate. That is, he favoured preservation of a distinction between private and public realms and the rule of law. In Mill's opinion, regarding democracy, direct citizen participation in the affairs of government is to be encouraged primarily for its functions of engendering confidence in people about their ability to govern themselves and of developing intellectual talents and communal, moral values.

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However, since direct participation is impossible in a large society, Mill thought that ‘the ideal type of a perfect government must be a representative democracy.

Another important political thinker, Sartori identifies liberalism primarily with the protection of individual freedoms and democracy with equality, which he thinks includes not just political equality but grows out of and promotes a measure of social and economic equality as well. In the nineteenth century, the liberal element prevailed over the democratic, while in the twentieth ‘the pendulum has swung and today it is the democratic component that prevails over the liberal.’ Sartori also tried to define the relationship between liberal and democratic dimensions. He expressed the view shared by all liberal-democratic theorists that the former ought to contain the power of democratically elected governments over individuals by putting restrictions on state actions and by limiting the scope of permissible state action. This relation is visible clearly in the case of “political liberties” such as the right to vote, run for office, or form political parties, which makes ongoing democracy more secure. In addition, Mill describes one way that democracy strengthens civil liberties as well as political ones. At the same time, liberalism strengthens democracy. By restricting the domain of proper government activity to the public realm, bureaucracy is kept in check, which not only protects people from its interference with their freedoms, but also enables the citizenry at large to develop skills important for self-government.

Stop to consider : Important Points to Remember

- Virtually all liberal-democratic theorists can agree in their endorsement of representative democracy where representatives are chosen in accord with formal procedures combined with state protection of political and civil liberties and a private sphere free of state interference.
- Pluralism and political individualism provide core points of orientation for these theorists as well as being regarded important values in popular political culture for sustaining liberal democracy.
- Within this shared core, liberal-democratic theorists may be sorted according to stands on various positions: developmentalist/ protectionist; containment of democracy by liberalism/interactive support of liberalism and democracy; ‘autonomist’/‘determinist;’ positive liberty advocacy/ negative liberty advocacy; political liberalism/comprehensive liberalism; foundationalism/anti-foundationalism.

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- They likely to differ in their locations on some ranges where one may be more or less accommodating to: informal political participation; flexibility in the political interpretation of basic principles; group rights and group character formation; state neutrality regarding concepts of a good society or life; national diversity; and egalitarian economic policies.

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5.6: Liberal Democracy and Capitalism

Liberal democracy and capitalism have proved to be the most popular political and economic systems despite intermittent challenges. Fundamentally, democracy celebrates the common good and capitalism advocates the personal good. Capitalism follows the logic of unequal property rights whereas democracy aims at giving equal civic and political rights. Democratic politics is embedded in consent and compromise and Capitalism is all about hierarchical decision making.

Today, democracy today is celebrated as one of the most successful political systems in the contemporary era. Its simple meaning implies a form of government in which decision-making is by the people, for the people and of the people. Generally, the historical roots of democracy are traced to the ancient Greek cities of Athens and Sparta where direct participation of people in city assembly was encouraged. In recent years, the idea that democracy is essentially a system which originated in the West and popularized by North America and Europe.

However, it must be noted that the adjective “liberal” before the word democracy denotes a specific meaning and definition of individual freedom, the role of the state and role of the market. The liberal understanding of democracy has been in favour of greater individual rights and lesser interference of the state. The term liberal may denote two diametrically opposing meanings, for instance, it can simply mean the absence of restraints i.e. negative liberty or it can mean individual's capability to engage in the process of governance and decision making. Thus, there are different versions of democracy depending on the meaning and definition adopted for the idea of liberty/personal freedom and role of the state.

According to Karl Marx, capitalism thrived because proletariat class is repressed and kept misinformed. His notion of collapse of the capitalist system under the weight of its inner contradictions no longer holds as

capitalism has survived these challenges by adapting and accommodating itself within the liberal democratic setting. There are various assumptions, theories, and approaches to look at the interrelationship between capitalism and democracy. For example, greater democratisation results in greater redistribution since the median voter belong to the lower income group. However, they do not provide much leverage on explaining the observed variance in redistributive politics in different countries. The other main approach to the study of capitalism and democracy focuses on the role of political power, especially the organizational and political strength of labour.

The birth of liberal democracy in the shadow of modernity and growing industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century later became a global phenomenon and was taken as historically established and socially given. The growth of liberal democracy and capitalism globally today is being revisited and questioned for the world is trapped in unimaginable problems and issues. The unprecedented technological and material progress is an outcome of the capitalist system but it also has created an unimaginable gulf between the haves and have nots, climate change, growing tensions among communities on account of pressing economic conditions, rising terrorism, increasing unemployment and most importantly growth of the self-interested and atomistic individual. On the other hand, it is also necessary to mull over the fact that this very liberal democratic space has allowed alternative politics to come to the forefront.

All over the world, we could witness a rise in mobilisation of masses against inequality, racial/ethnic discrimination, gender-based oppression etc. This is a ray of hope that democracy still can offer a thriving space for alternative politics as well economics. Currently, there are three possible alternatives to rescue the world from liberal democracies being hijacked by market capitalism. They are democratic socialism, democratic liberalism, and social capitalism. These alternatives can offer effective solutions to an impending problem that is at the root of all other interrelated problems, that is, inequality.

The liberal democratic and capitalist world system need to revisit the proposition that market functions best when they are complemented by government/political system. The growing inequalities warrant urgent attention from the political system to curtail the spread of the market. More than ever, economic power seems today to have become political power while citizens appear to be almost entirely stripped of their democratic defence tools and their capacity to impress on the political economy interests and demands incommensurable with those of capital owners.

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5.7 Challenges to Liberal Democracy:

Today, liberal democracy faces multiple external challenges—from ethnonational autocracies, from regimes claiming to be based on God’s word rather than the will of the people, from the success of strong-handed meritocracy in places such as Singapore, and, not least, from the astonishing economic accomplishments of China’s market-oriented socialist system. But there is also an internal challenge to liberal democracy, a challenge from populists who seek to drive a wedge between democracy and liberalism. Liberal norms and policies, they claim, weaken democracy and harm the people. Thus, liberal institutions that prevent the people from acting democratically in their own interest should be set aside. It is this challenge on which we wish to focus.

Across Europe and North America, long-established political arrangements are facing challenges. Its milestones have included the Brexit vote; the 2016 U.S. election; the doubling of support for France’s National Front; the rise of the antiestablishment Five Star Movement in Italy; the entrance of the far-right Alternative for Germany into the Bundestag; moves by traditional right-leaning parties toward the policies of the far-right in order to secure victories in the March 2017 Dutch and October 2017 Austrian parliamentary elections; the outright victory of the populist ANO party in the Czech Republic’s October 2017 parliamentary elections; and most troubling, the entrenchment in Hungary of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán’s self-styled “illiberal democracy,” which seems to be emerging as a template for Poland’s governing Law and Justice party and—some scholars believe—for insurgent parties in Western Europe as well. This revolt threatened the assumptions that shaped liberal democracy’s forward march in the 1990s and that continue to guide mainstream politicians and policy makers of the center-left and center-right. In India, liberal democracy is facing challenge with the rise of Hindu nationalism and radical Hindu parties. Minority rights are on constant threat with rise of majoritarian Hindu ideology and rights.

Stop to Consider :

Liberal Democracy in a non-Western country: Taiwan

Taiwan is a young democracy in East Asia, which offers a pluralistic and inclusive experience to its residents. Taiwan’s story of democratic transition along with its awareness for liberal principles is fascinating. Over the years, it grew stronger and this island nation became one of the strongest gender equitable liberal democracies in Asia. In terms of gender equality, Taiwan ranks 9th in the world and the rank is much

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above than China, Japan, Korea and Singapore. Citizens of Taiwan have also embraced enthusiastically human rights and multiculturalism based on the principle of self determination. The election of Tsai Ing-wen, first women president in East Asia for two terms (2016 & 2020) boosted the scope of women's political empowerment with 42% Parliamentary representation, legislative reforms in all areas of equity and security, and an vibrant women's and queer movement.

The democratic transition in Taiwan has created an environment for critical debate and discussion on the crucial issues of labour, political awareness and minority rights within the domestic political arena. Along with democratic transition, some major developments took place in Taiwan in terms of feminist movement and women and LGBTQ rights. Since 1990's, the women's movement in Taiwan was a great success by promoting, organizing and mobilizing debates of gender equality in the areas of equal pay and opportunities, children rights and protection against domestic abuse. Some of the important issues brought to attention by the women's movement are the Act for the prevention of Prostitution of Children and Youths passed in 1995; the Revision of family Provision in the Civil Code passed in September 1996; the Act for the prevention of domestic violence passed in May 1998; and the Act for the Prevention and Treatment of Sexual Assault Problems passed in 1996; and the Equal Employment Act for Men and Women passed in 2000.

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5.8 Democratic Peace Theory:

Historically it is proved that liberal democracies don't go for war with each other. Democratic peace is the proposition that democracies are more peaceful in their foreign relations. The main assumption of Democratic Peace Theory is countries with liberal democratic forms of government are less likely to go to war with one another than those with other forms of government. Advocates of the theory draw on the writings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant and other 18th-century Enlightenment thinkers, writings of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who in his 1917 World War I message to US Congress stated that "The world must be made safe for democracy." Dependent on the ideologies of liberalism, such as civil liberties and political freedom, the Democratic Peace Theory holds that democracies are hesitant to go to war with other democratic countries.

Currently, Democratic Peace is a popular area of research. The democratic peace proposition has many possible empirical and theoretical forms. On the empirical side, some propose that democracies are more peaceful in

their relations with all other states in the system while some propose that democracies are more peaceful only in their relations with other democracies; others argue that the more democracies there are in a region or the international system, the more peaceful the region or international system will be; and still others doubt the existence of any significant relationship between democracy and peace.

On the theoretical side, there are many different accounts of the relationship between democracy and peace, with most focusing on domestic political institutions, domestic political norms, and constructed identities. The democratic peace proposition is connected to many other propositions linking domestic politics and international relations, including that democracies are more likely to cooperate with each other, that democracies are more likely to win the wars they fight, that escalating military casualties degrade public support for war, that leaders initiate conflict to secure their domestic hold on power, that democracies fight shorter wars, that different kinds of democracies experience different kinds of conflict behavior, that different kinds of authoritarian systems experience different kinds of conflict behavior, and others. The democratic peace also overlaps with related ideas such as the liberal peace and the commercial peace.

5.9 Origin of Democratic Peace:

The democratic peace proposition has been appearing in Western thought for millennia; however, Immanuel Kant in 1791 furnished its first modern formulation in his essay “Perpetual Peace.” In this essay, Kant argued that nations with constitutional republic governments are less likely to go to war because doing so requires the consent of the people—who would actually be fighting the war. The idea that global democracy would provide a solid foundation for global peace was restated in 1917 by Woodrow Wilson as a justification for American entry into World War I and then as part of his vision for a new world order. The United States first promoted the concepts of the Democratic Peace Theory in 1823 by adopting the Monroe Doctrine. In this historic piece of international policy, the U.S. affirmed that it would not tolerate any attempt by European monarchies to colonize any democratic nation in North or South America.

Modern political science first observed the dyadic democratic peace—that democracies tend not to fight each other—in the 1970s. The theory received fuller theoretical and empirical attention in the 1990s. Francis

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Fukuyama 1992, in his famous argument that humanity had reached “the end of history,” incorporates the democratic peace proposition. In the 2000s, proponents of the democratic peace responded to their critics and embedded the democratic peace in a broader Kantian peace. Perhaps the strongest evidence supporting the Democratic Peace Theory is the fact that there were no wars between democracies during the 20th century.

Advocates of Democratic Peace provide several reasons for the tendency of democratic states to maintain peace:

- The citizens of democracies usually have some say over legislative decisions to declare war.
- In democracies, the voting public holds their elected leaders responsible for human and financial war losses.
- When held publicly accountable, government leaders are likely to create diplomatic institutions for resolving international tensions.
- Democracies rarely view countries with similar policies and form of government as hostile.
- Usually possessing more wealth than other states, democracies avoid war to preserve their resources.

SAQ

Analys the main arguments of Democratic Peace Theory (150 Words)

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5.10 Main Arguments:

There are two main variants of democratic peace theory. First one -the structural account argues that it is the institutions of representative government, which hold elected officials and decision-makers accountable to a wide electorate, that make war a largely unattractive option for both the government and its citizens. Because the costs and risks of war directly affect large segments of the population, it is expected that the average voter will throw the incumbent leader/party out of office if they initiate a losing or unnecessary war, thus, providing a clear institutional incentive for democratic leaders to anticipate such an electoral

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response before deciding to go to war. However, this view does not assume that all citizens and elected representatives are liberal-minded, but simply that democratic structures that give citizens leverage over government decisions will make it less likely that a democratic leader will be able to initiate a war with another liberal democracy. Thus, even with an authoritarian leader in place, institutions such as free speech, political pluralism, and competitive elections will make it difficult for these leaders to convince or persuade the public to go to war.

Stop to Consider :

Contemporary Arguments on Democratic Peace Theory : Two contemporary political scientists – Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett’s arguments on Democratic Peace Theory is worth mentioning. Michael Doyle’s work is based on Immanuel Kant’s perpetual peace. He stated in his two part article “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs (1983)” that spread of democracy could eliminate the world. People in democratic countries will treat each other ethically. According to Michael Doyle, “Liberalism has been identified with an essential principle – the importance of the freedom of the individual. Above all, this is a belief in the importance of moral freedom, of the right to be treated and a duty to treat others as ethical subjects, and not as objects or means only.” However, Doyle’s essay takes a critical, postcolonial outlook to challenge democratic peace theory on two grounds: first, to demonstrate that it offers, at best, a very much distorted interpretation of Kant’s original predicaments; second, to denounce the illiberal, imperialist character produced by such a distortion. Interestingly, Doyle claims that democracy is what defines a liberal state; this would mean that peace is defined by democracy.

Although Michael Doyle’s work opened a new discourse on democratic peace theory, another political scientist Bruce Russett have provided another thought-provoking argument on the theory. First, Russett provided a simple definition of the democratic peace and then questioned if the democratic peace theory can replace those realist ideals and then presented two theories of the democratic peace theory: the cultural/normative and structural/institutional model; and then ultimately triangulated interdependence as another underpinning to the theory. He furthered argued that the normative/cultural and institutional/structural are what restrain states and maintain the peace. Within the cultural/normative model, decision maker will try to follow the same norms of conflict resolution that have been developed within their domestic political processes and they will expect other decision makers in

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other states to likewise follow.

Advocates of the normative/cultural perspective, on the other hand, argue that shared democratic and liberal values best explain the peace that exists between democratic states. According to this view, democratic political culture encourages peaceful means of conflict resolution which are extended beyond the domestic political process to other democratic states because leaders in both countries hold a reasonable expectation that their counterparts will also be able to work out their differences peacefully. Political ideology, therefore, determines how democracies distinguish allies from adversaries: democracies that represent and act in their citizens' interests are treated with respect and consideration, whereas non-democracies that use violence and oppression against their own people are regarded with mistrust and suspicion. The importance of perception means that even if a particular state has 'enlightened citizens and liberal-democratic institutions,' unless other democratic states regard it as a genuine liberal democracy then the democratic peace proposition will not hold.

Stop to Consider : Important Points to Remember

- The Democratic Peace Theory holds that democratic countries are less likely to go to war with one another than non-democratic countries.
- The theory evolved from the writings of German philosopher Immanuel Kant and the adoption of the 1832 Monroe Doctrine by the United States.
- The theory is based on the fact that declaring war in democratic countries requires citizen support and legislative approval.
- Critics of the theory argue that merely being democratic may not be the primary reason for peace between democracies.

5.11 Criticism:

Critics of the Democratic Peace argue that the simple quality of being democratic in nature may not be the main reason for the historic tendency of peace between democracies. Some critics have argued that it was actually the Industrial Revolution that led to peace during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The resulting prosperity and economic stability made all of the newly modernized countries—democratic and non democratic—much less belligerent toward each other than in preindustrial times. Several factors arising from modernization may have generated a greater aversion to war

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among industrialized nations than democracy alone. Such factors included higher standards of living, less poverty, full employment, more leisure time, and the spread of consumerism. Modernized countries simply no longer felt the need to dominate each other in order to survive.

Democratic Peace Theory has also been criticized for failing to prove a cause-and-effect relationship between wars and types of government and the ease with which definitions of “democracy” and “war” can be manipulated to prove a non-existent trend. A significant study conducted in 2002 study contends that as many wars have been fought between democracies as might be statistically expected between non-democracies.

Other critics argue that throughout history, it has been the evolution of power, more than democracy or its absence that has determined peace or war. Specifically, they suggest that the effect called “liberal democratic peace” is really due to “realist” factors including military and economic alliances between democratic governments. Realists argue that it is not common politics but rather common interests that can best explain the low incidence of wars between democracies. Beginning with the Cold War, they point out that democratic states have been far more likely to formally align themselves with other democracies than in the century before, suggesting that common strategic interests are a more important factor than domestic political processes. Thus, the particular structure of the international political system is the key factor determining how states will act. But the realist critique has been largely disproven by studies that have persuasively found that democracy, rather than alliance prevents conflict and war; nonaligned democracies are less likely to fight each other than aligned non democracies; and two nondemocratic states that share common interests are more likely to fight each other than two democracies that do not share common interests.

Check your Progress :

1. What is liberal democracy - discuss.
2. List out the main features of liberal democracy.
3. Trac the origin of liberal democracy.
4. Discuss the challenges to liberal democracy.
5. What is the relationship between liberal democracy and capitalism. Discuss.

5.12 Summing Up

This unit is relevant for understanding the main arguments about “Liberal

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Democracy.” Liberal Democracy is particularly considered as a product and characteristic feature of modernity. It came into existence as a result of civil war against royal absolutism and paved the way for the transfer of powers from the Crown to the British parliament. Since then, liberal democracy has expanded not only in physical terms but also has matured in terms of meaning ascribed to it. The American and French Revolutions coupled with the growth of industrial capitalism since the late 18th century has deepened the roots of democracy. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789, and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the political ideas of John Locke who invoked the idea of inalienable rights of man, Bentham’s defence of representative politics, J S Mill’s championing of suffrage for women have greatly contributed to the development of democracy particularly in a liberal sense. You may also be in a position to understand the definition, significance and various features of liberal democracy. After reading the first segment you could find out that how liberal democracy is connected with capitalism.

This unit also discusses in details about another dominant theory in international relations i.e. democratic peace. This democratic peace proposition not only challenges the validity of other political systems i.e., fascism, communism, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, but also the prevailing realist account of international relations, which emphasises balance-of-power calculations and common strategic interests in order to explain the peace and stability that characterises relations between liberal democracies.

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