

ALL PPT VIDEOS

Global Politics

4TH SEM CBCS

GLOBALISATION

INTRODUCTION

Meaning, Perspectives, Dimensions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Meaning, Features, significance

Alternative Perspectives

Multiple Dimensions

Sum Up

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Understanding Globalization and its Alternative Perspectives- social, economic, political, cultural, and technological dimensions of globalization

2015. Explain the concept of ‘ Globalization’. Discuss its alternative perspectives.

2016: Discuss the meaning & significance of Globalisation. Examine its economic and social consequences.

2017. Critically examine the key debates on political and economic aspects of globalization.

2018: What do you understand by the term Globalization? Discuss the cultural & technological dimensions of globalization.

Meaning & Definitions

- Worldwide Interconnectedness and interdependence of people, places, ideas, information, objects, activities, and exchanges ; **breadth** of interconnectedness **stretched** globally, and its **intensity increased manifold**
- Globalization refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant. (**Steger**)
- intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. (**Anthony Giddens**)
- Globalization is a trans-planetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multi-directional flows of people, objects, places, and information, as well as the structures they encounter and create that are barriers to, or expedite, those flows (**Ritzer**)
- Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. (**Roland Robertson**)
- Globalization may be thought of as processes which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions - assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact generating trans-continental or inter-regional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (**David Held**)

Features of globalization

- **Process, a condition, structure, a force, Policy, marketing strategy, predicament, an age?**
 - **Globality: condition ; Globalism:** ideology of globalization ; **Globalization:** processes transforming our present social condition into one of globality ; Denotes movement towards greater interdependence, interconnectedness, and integration
 - **Global Structure :** Inter-governmental organizations (IGO) & IO –UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank; International NGOs- Amnesty International, Trans-national Corporations (TNCs)- Walmart & Amazon, Global movements, International Civil Society
 - **Post Modern Global age beginning from the end of cold war; Neo liberal era- free market economy and liberal democracy sweeping the world**
 - Rise of ‘supraterritoriality’ or ‘deterritorialization’(Scholte)
- A spatial continuum with the 'local' and the 'global' at extremes and 'national' and the 'regional' at the centre.
- Compresses the time and space aspects of human interactions (**James Mittelman**)
- Role of Markets, IGO, INGOs increasing at the cost of Role of State/govt
 - Reconfiguration of the idea of Sovereignty, state, nation and Nation-state
 - Multi-actor global politics/IR- nation-state, NGOs, MNC/TNC, global movements, Global civil society, International regime & organizations
 - Blurring the line between ‘national’ and ‘international’ in areas of policy making, and governance
- **Multiple Dimensions- economic, social, political, cultural, technological**
- Heated Debate and alternative perspectives on its origin, driving forces, extent, impacts, and supporting ideologies

Significance of Globalization

- Touches one way or other all aspects of life of people across the Globe
- Has fundamentally changed the Global Politics and IR
- Deep impact on how Researches are conducted, Technologies are developed, deployed and utilized
- Has impacted nature, role, and capacity of nation-states and how citizen relates to the state/Govt.
- Brought paradigmatic shift in all academic disciplines
- Affected ideologies, worldview, and popular culture around the globe

Alternative Perspectives on Globalization

- Alternative Perspectives/viewpoints on existence, extent, origin, key drivers, nature, Impacts of Globalization
- Multiple perspectives on its origin
 - As basic human instinct,
 - as a long-term cyclical process,
 - as a series of historical epochs or waves, each with its own point of origin,
 - multiple points of origin of globalization are located in seminal historical events,
 - New phenomenon of late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries
- Alternative perspectives on key drivers : Materialistic vs ideational
 - Forces and relation of production- capitalism, MNCs, Technology are the key drivers
 - Ideas, thinking, information and knowledge driving globalization
- Multiple perspectives nature of expansion of globalization.
 - Globalization from Top vs Globalization from below
 - by large-scale forces, such as the nation-state and the MNC of the 'North' imposed on the 'South'
 - Globalization from below : Worldwide opposition of globalization from above by individual actors, groups of actors, social movements, etc
 - Anti- globalisation or alter-globalization movement
- Alternative perspectives on its Impacts- good or bad

Alternative Perspectives on Impacts of Globalization

Pluses : Globalists or Globophilia

- promote world peace, Human security and Economic well-being.
- Faster Economic Growth and Increasing Democratization
- Optimum resource utilization; global division of Labour
- Great equalizer : ‘ Flat World’ : Friedman
- Global Governance: IGO, and INGOs : UN, Greenpeace, Amnesty International, WWF
- Break territorialization of Earth in borders of nation-state ; furthering the spread of "civil society"
- Promote universal human Rights, world community, respect for diversity, increases power to working in concert

Minuses : the Sceptics or Globophobia

- **Political Rights/conservatives**
 - Immigration, Outsourcing, Job loss to locals, Cultural homogenization- cultural destructions, rising cultural nationalism
- **Political Left/Liberals**
 - Globalization as Neo-Imperialism ; World System theory (Wallerstein) and Dependency theory (Gunder Frank)
 - Increases Inequality and poverty – works against ‘Have nots’ and ‘Global South’
 - international financial organizations work for the interests of ‘North’
 - Increasing powers of MNC/TNCs vis a vis State
 - Reduce national Sovereignty, Democratic space, and govt’s accountability to citizen
 - Decreased social security and welfare
 - Environmentally unsustainable
 - Not opposed to idea of globalization per se, but neo-liberal globalization: its imposition from ‘North’, its corporate forms, protecting interests of ‘haves’, and its lopsided features

Alternative Theoretical Perspectives: Heywood

- **Realist Perspective**

- Merely intensifying economic interdependence
- Globalization has been made by states, for states, particularly dominant states.
- No dilution in status & role of states
- Question globalization is associated with a shift towards peace and cooperation; rather it leads to 'mutual vulnerability', conflict, disputes

- **Liberal perspective:**

- Globalization reflects the victory of the market over 'irrational' national allegiances and 'arbitrary' state borders
- Increased productivity and intensified competition in global market benefits all- win-win game
- Globalization brings social and political benefits
- Free market economy brings liberal democracy, dispersal of global power, emergence of global civil society, growing importance of international organizations.

- **Critical Perspective : Marxism, Feminism, Post-colonial**

- globalization as the establishment of a Global Capitalist Order, Neo-Imperialism
- State, mere instrument to further global capitalist interests – Internationalization of State
- Globalization as an uneven, hierarchical process - world systems theorists- core & periphery ; dependency theory
- weakening of democratic accountability and popular responsiveness due to burgeoning corporate power
- Feminist : Growing gender inequality, spread of Pornography, Feminization of Migration
- Postcolonial theorist: 'Cultural Globalisation'- Western Imperialism which subverts indigenous cultures and ways of life and leads to the spread of soulless consumerism.

Dimensions or Types of Globalization

- **Economic Globalization**
 - global economic integration ; economic globalization is globalization
 - **Liberalization**: Trade, Financial, Investment, Economic policy, Currency; **Privatization**- outsourcing, PPP
- **Political Globalization**
 - Global Politics/IR in era of globalization
 - Issue of Sovereignty, territoriality, nation-state, statelessness, global governance, role of IGO, INGO, TNC, Global community, global movements, etc
 - **Collective Dilemma** :Global terrorism, Climate change, Migration, pandemic, Human security, Global poverty
 - Role of non-state actors in policy making & regulations ; Interconnectedness & interactions of cities/regions/organizations bypassing states
- **Social Globalization**
 - State retreating from social welfare – retreat of welfare state
 - Less public spending, creation of public goods, and public services
 - Migration, family structure, community life, social security, adversely affected social stability
 - Conflicts between domestic social norms, social institutions and global social norms and institutions
- **Cultural Globalization**
 - **Homogenization**- common global popular culture & **Heterogenization**- culture is becoming increasingly varied
 - Food, entertainment, Leisure, worldview, Ideologies, social practices – all affected , becoming globalized
 - Cultural relativism vs universalization
- **Technological Globalization**
 - **ICT revolution**- Information Society
 - Pervasiveness of technology in daily life: Facebook, Google, Twitter, Microsoft, Apple, Samsung

Sum Up

- Globalization is greater and faster interconnectedness of people, places, information, objects, activities, and exchanges across the Globe
- May denote process, condition, structure, force, Policy, marketing strategy, predicament, an age.
- Deep impact on all aspects of people's life, academic disciplines, science, research, and technology
- Alternative perspectives on its existence, extent, origin, key drivers, nature and impacts.
- It is multi-faceted and Multi-dimensional- Economic, Social, Political, Cultural, Technological
- For globalists it has brought economic prosperity, democracies, equality, peace, human rights, global governance
- For escapists, on both side of political spectrum, it adversely impacted local people, created greater inequality, served interest of 'Haves' of 'the North', environmental destruction, consumerism, socio-cultural turmoil

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DIMENSIONS OF GLOBALISATION

Economic, Cultural, Technological

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Economic Globalisation: meaning,
dimensions, perspectives, pros& cons

Political, Cultural, Technological
Globalisation

Globalization to Slowbalization?

Sum Up

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Syllabus: Understanding Globalization and its Alternative Perspectives- **social, economic, political, cultural, and technological dimensions of globalization**

2015. Explain the concept of ‘ Globalization’. Discuss its alternative perspectives.

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Economic Globalization: Meaning & Definitions

- 'shift from a world of distinct national economies to a global economy in which production is internationalized and financial capital flows freely and instantly (OECD,1995)
- 'the web of economic interconnectedness and interdependence making the world economy as a borderless single global entity. '(Ohmae 1990).
- Absorption of national economies into an interlocking global economy
- Denoted ideological victory of capitalism- market, private property and competition were accepted worldwide – global capitalism
- 'triumph 'of **Neo-liberalism**- a particular form of capitalism- minimal state maximum market, liberalization, deregulation, privatization individualism, and democratization
- Neo-liberal IR: also denote modern developments in liberal international relations theory that have blended liberal and realist ideologies

Phases of Economic Globalization

- WWII to the early 1970s : **Bretton Woods system-**
 - system of rules, institutions, and procedures to regulate the international monetary system
 - IMF and World bank were set up
 - Fixed currency exchange rate – all national currencies pegged to USD
 - convertibility of the US dollar to gold, (gold at \$35 an ounce)
 - Collapsed in 1971- USA terminated convertibility of the US dollar to gold
- Since 1980s : **Washington Consensus-** Neo-Liberal phase
 - Consensus on policy for economic development between IMF, World Bank, and US treasury deptt.
 - **Fiscal discipline** (cutting public spending)
 - **Tax reform** (cutting personal and corporate taxes)
 - **Financial liberalization** (the **deregulation** of financial markets and capital controls)
 - **Floating exchange rates** for currencies
 - **De-regulation:** abolition of regulations that impede market entry or restrict competition
 - Trade liberalization (**free trade**)
 - Openness to foreign direct investment (**FDI**)
 - **Privatization** – outsourcing, PPP, disinvestment

Dimensions of Economic Globalization:

- Free International trade
 - Since 1945, international trade has, on average, grown at double the rate of international production
 - \$629 million in 1960 to \$20,000 million in 2018 (32 times!)
- Globalized production, distribution , and consumption
- Global division of labour
- Globalized financial system
 - freely convertible currencies, free flow of capital & money, global currency trading
- Issue of 'non-globalized', 'invisible' economy: Feminist perspective

Alternative Theoretical Perspective : Structure vs agency

- **Realist Perspective**

- global economy is a product of state policy and institutional regulation
- Globalization has been made by states, for states, particularly dominant states -No dilution in status & role of states
- Question globalization is associated with a shift towards peace and cooperation; rather it leads to ' mutual vulnerability', conflict, disputes

- **Liberal perspective:**

- Globalization reflects the victory of the market over 'irrational' national allegiances and 'arbitrary' state borders
- globalization by consent' and led by human desire for economic betterment. Role of agency & technology crucial
- Economic globalization brings liberal democracy, dispersal of global power, emergence of global civil society, growing importance of international organizations.

- **Critical Perspective : Marxism, Feminism, Post-colonial**

- Marxist: globalization is the natural and inevitable consequence of the capitalist mode of production
- globalization as the establishment of a Global Capitalist Order, Neo-Imperialism
- State, mere instrument to further global capitalist interests – Internationalization of State
- Globalization as an uneven, hierarchical process - world systems theorists- core & periphery ; dependency theory
- Manufactured consent through the spread of pro-market values and a culture of consumerism and materialism
- Feminist : Issue of 'non-globalized', 'invisible' economy

Pros and Cons of Economic Globalisation

Pluses

- **The Invisible hand and magic of the market**
 - Generate wealth, brings prosperity and economic opportunity
- **Everyone is a winner**
 - makes the rich richer, makes the poor less poor
 - TNCs spread wealth, widen employment opportunities and improve access to modern technologies in the developing world
- **Economic freedom promotes other freedoms**
 - Socio-political freedom : 'despotism' of custom and tradition is weakened as individualism and self expression
 - Democratization: greater opportunities for Deliberative and participative Democracy

Minuses

- **Deepening Poverty and Inequality**
 - Zero Sum Game : Winners & Losers
 - Form of Neo-colonialism, Neo-imperialism
- **Democratic Deficit** : The 'hollowing out' of state and democracy
 - diminishes the influence of national governments and therefore restricts public accountability
 - Internationalizations of state- surrender of state authority to global corporate financial and economic interests(Robert Cox) ;
 - 'Disaster Capitalism' (Naomi Klein (2008)).
 - Linkage of capitalism & democracy a myth
- **Consumerist Materialism**
- **Ecological/Environmental degradation**

Political Globalization

- **Doubt** over the continued relevance of the principle of **state sovereignty**
 - Dilution in Sovereignty: Porous Boarder, Non-state Actors-TNC, INGO, global terrorist groups-, Collective Dilemma, Individualism and Universalism
 - Diminishing capacity and role of state in a globalized, interconnected world
- Arguments against:
 - Myth of Borderless World, Dominant role of state, Pooled sovereignty, Enduring attraction of the nation-state
 - economic globalization nevertheless requires a political framework that is provided by the state, notably in the form of the 'military-territorial power of an enforcer' (Robert Cox)
- Changing role & nature of state: '**competition**' state, the '**market**' state and the '**postmodern**' state
- '**Internationalization of the state**' (Robert Cox)- State adjusting national economic practices and policies to the perceived interest of the global capitalist economy.
- **Return of the state**
 - maintain domestic order and protect its citizens from external attack ; threat of terrorism, growing nationalism, conservatism
 - ICT : wider powers of surveillance, control and increasing regulation
- Statelessness, weak, and failed state and state-building

Cultural Globalization

- Cultural **Homogenization**: *Coca colaization, Macdonaldization* : Flattening out of cultural differences
 - assault on local, regional and national distinctiveness; Cultural Hegemony
- Chief factors fueling cultural globalization
 - growth of TNCs , global media corporations –Netflix, Amazon Prime, increasing popularity of international travel and tourism, ICT revolution
- Cultural globalization as a ‘top-down’ process- global monoculture, cultural imperialism, ‘westernization’ or, ‘Americanization’
- Two main ingredients of cultural globalization have been the **global consumerism** and the **rise of individualism**
 - Consumerism : commodity fetishism ; materialism- form of captivity and manipulation that distorts values and denies happiness.
 - individualism has profoundly weakened community and our sense of social belonging
 - spread of ‘anomie’:, feelings of isolation, loneliness and meaninglessness, (Émile Durkheim)
 - decline of ‘social capital’ (Robert Putnam)
- Cultural **Heterogenization**: polarization and diversity; cultural backlash- rise of ethnic nationalism and religious fundamentalism

Technological Globalization

- Technology, especially ICT, key drivers of Globalization
 - Printing press, Telegraph, Telephone, Semi-conductor and Computer, radio, TV, Mobile phone, satellite & transatlantic fibre cable, Jet plane, Internet, Plastic Money, GPS, AI, 3 D printing, e –Commerce, M-commerce, Mobile banking, cloud computing, IoT, Block chain, Crypto currency
- technological diffusion, the spread of technology across borders driving technological innovation at greater speed
- Technology driven Financial globalization: **Electronic Transfer of Funds (ETF)**, **Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication (SWIFT)**
- Techno-globalism: rationalizes globalism on technological grounds ; technological determinism
- Globalized society: Information Society : Knowledge or weightless society
- Knowledge and high tech industries- Google, FB, Twitter, Microsoft, Apple, etc- are both drivers and face of globalization
- Issues/Challenges: Digital divide; may increase inequality and gaps between 'Have' and 'have nots' ; 'The North' and 'The South'

Globalization giving way to Slowbalization?

- Globalization has given way to an era of sluggishness, or 'slowbalization,' a term coined by Dutch writer and trend watcher, Adjiedj Bakas in 2015
- Global trade has fallen from 61 per cent of the GDP in 2008 to 58 per cent now.
-
- FDI dropped from 3.5 per cent of the GDP in 2008 to 1.3 per cent in 2018.
- PwC report: in 2019, the global volume of merchandise traded slowed down drastically and even went into reverse.
- Growing movements for 'Slow City', Slow Food', 'slow travel', 'slow fashion', 'slow consumption', 'slow gaming' and even 'slow education' !

Sum Up

- Absorption of national economies into single interconnected global economy by way of free trade, free flow of money and capital, global division of labour, and other neo-liberal policy prescriptions is called economic globalization
- Two pillars and phases of economic globalization- Bretton wood system and Washington Consensus
- Alternative perspectives on economic globalization- structure vs agency, good vs bad, realist vs liberalists, vs critical theorists
- Political globalization denotes dilutions of role of states, alternative view of sovereignty, international governing structure (UN, EU, IMF, WB, WTO), cosmopolitanism- global justice, universal human rights
- Cultural globalization manifests in 'Cultural Homogenization' and 'cultural Heterogenization'
- Technological revolution, especially ICT, has been factors behind globalization as well as resulted into further technological innovation and emergence of knowledge or weightless society.
- Of late, growing dissatisfaction with lopsided, top down, adverse aspects globalization, anti-globalization movements such as 'Slobalisation'- 'Slow City', 'Slow Food', 'slow travel', 'slow fashion', 'slow consumption', 'slow gaming' and even 'slow education'. etc are growing

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IMF, World Bank WTO, MNC

Structure, Functions, Criticism

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

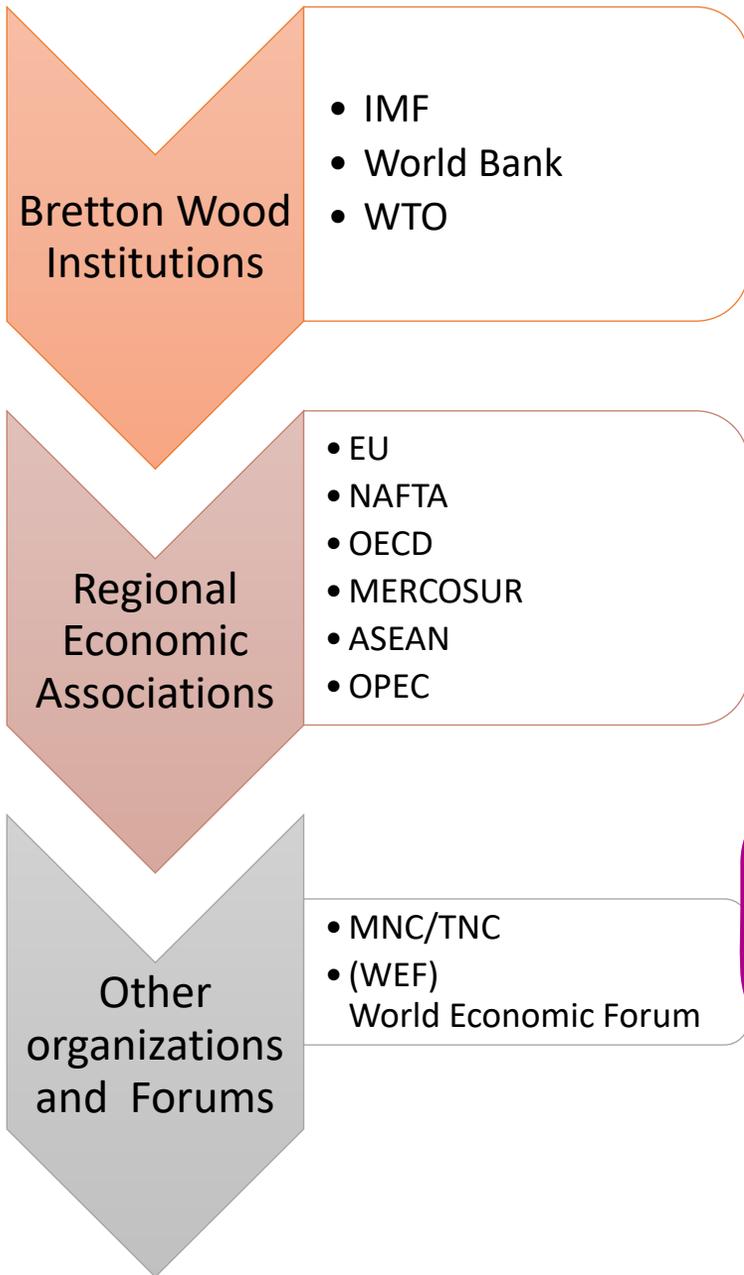
Syllabus: Global Economy: Its Significance and Anchors of Global Political Economy: IMF, World Bank, WTO, TNCs

Q1: Discuss the structure and functions of WTO and its role in global economy.

Q2: how has formation of WTO helped in removing the barriers to free trade?

Q3: how do you perceive the role of WTO in the contemporary global economy?
Examine it in the context of developing economy.

Q4: elucidate the role of IMF and world bank in contemporary global economy.



GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

Global Governance: Global governance is a broad, dynamic and complex process of interactive decision making at the global level that involves formal and informal mechanisms as well as governmental and non-governmental organizations

Global Governance is different from governance within a nation-state. Why? How?

- Governance without Government !

Global economic Governance is the set of norms; rules and institutions to manage the global economy without any world Government

Global Economic Governance takes place mainly through IMF, World bank, WTO, and MNC/TNC; States of course remain the main actor.

IMF cuts India's FY20 growth forecast to 4.8%

The IMF cut its estimate citing a sharper-than-expected slowdown in local demand and stress in NBFC sector.

ET Bureau | Last Updated: Jan 20, 2020, 07:58 PM IST

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IMF lowers India's FY20 growth estimate to 4.8%

The International Monetary Fund has slashed its estimate on India's 2019 economic growth to 4.8% from the 6.1% expansion it projected in October, citing a sharper-than-expected slowdown in local demand and stress in the non-bank financial sector.

The steep cut in India's growth rate has weighed on IMF's projection on the world economy, which it now expects to have expanded 2.9% in 2019 compared with the

previous forecast of 3.0%.

The IMF's World Economic Outlook (WEO) Update revised India's 2020 growth forecast to 5.8%, down 0.9 percentage point from the previous estimate. For 2021, the estimate is 6.5%.

The markdown has been the highest for India in the latest WEO projections.

The report cited monetary and fiscal stimulus, along with its expectation of subdued oil prices, for the projected improvement in India's growth this year and the next.

Coronavirus' global impact will depend on how govts respond, says IMF

IMF officials have been urging a strong, coordinated global response, including rolling out spending measures to cushion the blow from the virus

AFP | PTI | Washington
Last Updated at March 12, 2020 20:58 IST

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The IMF is due to release its updated World Economic Outlook next month

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OPEC to try to stem global oil price plunge amid Coronavirus slowdown

Addressing the Great Slowdown

Effects of global slowdown

The severity of the slowdown in the global economy due to the coronavirus pandemic will depend on how long it lasts and how governments respond, the International Monetary Fund said Thursday.

"Under any scenario, the global growth in 2020 will drop below last year's level, which was 2.9 percent," IMF spokesman Gerry Rice told reporters. But how far

Iran asks IMF for \$5bn emergency funding to fight coronavirus



The coronavirus death toll in Iran has risen to 354 amid over 9,000 cases. Above, a pedestrian crosses a street while wearing a protective mask in Tehran. (AFP file photo)

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- Iran's economy already battered by US sanctions that curbed oil and gas exports

DUBAI: Iran has asked the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for emergency funding to help it fight the coronavirus outbreak that has hit the Islamic Republic hard, Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif said on Thursday.

The escalating outbreak in Iran — the worst-affected country in the Middle East — has killed 429 people and infected 10,075. The outbreak has damaged Iranian businesses and is bound to hit its non-oil exports after many neighboring countries and trade partners shut their borders.

IMF

- A kind of global financial and monetary regulator and facilitator
- Was set up in 1945 to oversee the new monetary order that was established by the *Bretton Woods agreement*
 - **Bretton Woods agreement:** Fixed exchange rate system under which all national currencies were pegged to USD which in turn was pegged to Gold, @35 USD for one ounce of Gold
- After Collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1971, its role changed to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world
- It provides short term multi-currency loan to member countries to tide over Balance of Payment crisis and emergent situations
- It keep watch over the global economic and financial conditions and provide assistance/advise for fiscal & monetary policies to member nations
- 189 member states, each contributing fixed quota proportion to their economic strength and getting proportionate voting rights
- Chief Institution through which Structural Adjustment Program- L.P.G. shaped by the *Washington consensus* - was carried out in 2nd & 3rd world countries

Changing role of IMF

- Initial role was to ensure stable monetary and exchange rate regime
- After collapse of Bretton Wood System of fixed exchange rate its role changed and expanded to ensure financial stability, mitigate balance of payment and other economic and financial crisis, and extending loans for 'Structural adjustment Programs'
- Changed global economic order in new millennium further marginalized the loan giving role of IMF. Now it focuses more on monitoring and surveillance of global economic situations and policy regimes, preventing measures, and technical assistance

World Bank

- Partner organization to IMF. A global financial institution giving long term low interest loans and providing technical assistance to governments sponsored guaranteed projects in middle-income or creditworthy poorer nations
- Was set up in 1944 along with IMF as outcome of *Bretton Woods agreement* to provide concessional loan to European countries for reconstruction post WWII
- Since 1960s, it has changed and widened its role. Now it provides loans and grants to the governments of poorer countries aimed to reduce poverty/hunger, cleaner environment, population control, education and sustainable development.
- Governing Structure:
 - Member nations of IMF automatically becomes its members. Currently 189 members
 - 25 Executive Director run the day today operations of the Bank on behalf of board of Governor
 - Chief executive of the Bank is **President** who heads boards of Director, ED function also as Director
 - Each member is represented by Governor; board of Governor is the highest decision making body
 - Sources of funds: by selling **World Bank** bonds to investors and Contributions from Members
 - voting rights proportionate to economic strength (share of the **Bank's** capital stock held by the member)

Changing Role of World Bank

- Initial role was to provide loans to rebuild war ravaged Europe.
- Later, it started providing loans to projects related to physical infrastructure (e.g., transportation, telecommunication, water projects, etc.) capable of generating income
- From project financing to macro-economic management by broader "structural adjustment" loans to Middle & low Income nations
- It now deals with a broad range of issues related to economic development including "population, education, health, social security, environment, culture , aspects of macroeconomic policy and structural reform, and poverty alleviation"
- "Knowledge Bank" where it tried to position itself as the repository of 'development expertise'.
- WB extend loans to nation-states and sub-national govts to deal with a variety of governance matters such as "publics sector and Public finance management, corruption, legal and judicial reform, human rights and broader policy reforms"
- NGOs, Women, civil Society and affected peoples have grown increasingly involved in projects financed by the Bank

Difference between IMF and World Bank

IMF

- Global monetary & Financial regulator and facilitator
- Give short term loan directly to national govts to tide over B.O.P. crisis
- Gets its funds as contributions from members
- Deal only with national or federal govts; No dealing with private sector or NGO
- IMF loans are for bailing out countries from crisis
- **Its concerns are** macro Economic stability

World Bank

- Financial Institution giving loans to projects and Govts, pvt. sectors
- Give long term loans for Projects.
- Gets its funds mainly by selling bonds
- May deal with all level of govts.
- May deal with provincial govt, private sector, multilateral institutions or NGO
- Its loan are not for bail out. Long term socio-economic development through WB funded projects
- Focuses on micro aspects of development.

Similarities between IMF and World Bank

- Both born out same year from *Bretton Woods agreement in 1944*
- Located in same complex in Washington DC
- Same member nations. Members of IMF automatically becomes members of World bank
- Both take forward the neo-liberal economic agenda to developing nations as per the 'Washington Consensus'
- Governing structure, voting rights, decision making process are similar
- Both now supervise economic reform packages and structural adjustment programs
- World bank is now also moving into Macro economic management like IMF
- Thus, once distinct, the World Bank and the IMF became increasingly intertwined and similar

Criticism of IMF and World Bank

- World Bank is criticized for violation of environmental norms, human rights, and democratic values by govts and projects funded by the world bank; its pro-metropole bias, and forcing neo-liberal economic order
- IMF is criticized for forcing neo-liberal economic policies on low income nations through its structural adjustment program- 'one-size-fits-all' approach
- IMF is accused of not involving NGOs and civil societies, no concern for poverty in developing countries, non transparency and non-accountability in its decision-making and operations.
- Both are criticized for non-transparent decision making, non-democratic governance structure in which poor developing nations are marginalized and having no voice, and furthering the interests of great economic powers, elites and private sector at the expense of poor and marginalized communities
- Both Institutions vigorously pursue neo-liberal economic agenda as per Washington Consensus- free trade, export led growth, de-regulation, liberalization, privatization, less welfare expenditure, tight fiscal discipline, low interest rate regime, etc
- IMF reflect "the interests and ideology of the Western financial community" (Stiglitz)
- They are visualized by many as Institutional mechanism to integrate poor countries as periphery or satellite of 'world state system'.
- To many, they represent Neo Imperialism of great economic powers

WTO IN NEWS

Coronavirus to have "substantial" impact on trade: WTO

"The effects on the global economy are also likely to be substantial and will start to show up in the trade data in the weeks to come," Roberto Azevedo told heads of delegations in a closed-door meeting in Geneva on Monday.

Reuters | Last Updated: Mar 02, 2020, 07:35 PM IST



Representative Image

GENEVA: The head of the World Trade Organization said on Monday that he expected the coronavirus epidemic to have a "substantial" impact on the global economy, but that plans for a June ministerial meeting were going ahead, a Geneva trade official said.

"The effects on the global economy are also likely to be substantial and will start to show up in the trade data in the weeks to come," Roberto Azevedo told heads of delegations in a closed-door meeting in Geneva on Monday.



Tariff war: WTO sets up dispute panel over India's duty hike on 28 American goods

The US in July had dragged India to the WTO by filing a complaint against New Delhi's move to increase customs duties, alleging the decision as inconsistent with the global trade norms. According to a communication of the Geneva-based WTO, the dispute settlement body has established a panel "to examine the matter referred by the US".

PTI | Last Updated: Jan 10, 2020, 10:12 PM IST



global trade norms.

NEW DELHI: The World Trade Organisation's (WTO) dispute settlement body has set up a panel to examine the US complaint against India which had increased customs duties on 28 American goods last year.

The US in July had dragged India to the WTO by filing a complaint against New Delhi's move to increase customs duties, alleging the decision as inconsistent with the

World goods trade may remain below trend in Q4 2019: WTO

The forecast does not augur well for India as the country's exports contracted for a third month in a row in October by 1.11 per cent to USD 26.38 billion.

PTI | Last Updated: Nov 18, 2019, 07:06 PM IST



The findings were released by WTO

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) on Monday said the global goods trade is expected to remain below trend in the fourth quarter of the current year amid increasing protectionism and increase in customs duties. The forecast does not augur well for India as the country's exports contracted for a third month in a row in October by 1.11 per cent to USD 26.38 billion.

"World merchandise trade is expected to remain below trend into the fourth quarter of

2019," according to the WTO's latest Goods Trade Barometer.

WTO

- Inter governmental organization based at Geneva for regulating and facilitating ‘free’ trade among member nations and dispute resolution related to trade
- Was set up in 1995 as Institutional Avtar of GATT (**General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade**) which is a legal trade agreement among many nations under UN conference on Trade and Employment in 1947 at Geneva
- WTO also deals in trade in services and Intellectual property rights, GATT only dealt in Trade in Goods
- ITO (International Trade Organization) was to set up along with IMF and World bank as outcome of *Bretton Woods conference* in 1944; but due to reluctance of USA, ITO never became reality. GATT, an UN led treaty, acted as multi-lateral trade organization without institutional mechanism
- Main role & functions of WTO:
 - To ensure that GLOBAL trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible by having rule based multilateral trade agreements
 - to reduce barriers to trade by lowering tariffs and tackling non-tariff measures, such as import licensing restrictions, quota or the use of trade measures for protectionist purposes.
 - To monitor and implement trade agreements
 - provides a forum for negotiations and for settling trade related disputes
 - review and report national trade policies, technical assistance, and capacity building (training, workshop, seminars)
- Currently 164 members; non-states having autonomous trading territory(custom territory) may become member- Hong Kong and Taiwan; EU is also a member. Each member have permanent mission or representative at WTO headquarter at Geneva

Governance structure and Role/Functions

- Headed by Director General (DG)
- Top decision making body: Inter-ministerial conference held once every two years
- ‘Rounds’ of negotiations ; one ‘round’ may span into several Inter-ministerial conferences (Ex: Doha Round-Doha, **Cancún, Hong Kong, Geneva, Bali** Inter-ministerial conference)
 - 10 rounds of trade negotiations, latest is Doha Round started in 2001, WTO was set up in Uruguay round
 - Doha round is still inconclusive due to main unresolved issue on Agriculture subsidy and rules protecting small-scale farmers from the surge in food imports.
- General Council for day to day decisions and management
- 3 Councils on trade in goods, services and **Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights(TRIPS) and Trade Negotiations Committee**
- **Trade Negotiation Committee(TNC),**
- **Councils, committee, working groups, working party, etc monitor implementation of trade agreements**
- Dispute Settlement Body(DSB) and Appellate Body
- Voting Rights & Decision making process: Each member has one vote; decisions generally by consensus, voting only rarely ;

Efficacies of WTO in increasing global trade

- While the average tariff applied during the trade war of the 1930s was around *50% the average tariff applied by WTO members today is only around 9%.
- ***About 32 times higher export value in 2007 than in 1950
- Global trade has increased more than the GDP growth in last 50 years
- WTO helped prevent trade war, protectionism, isolationism, trade favouratism, cartelization
- **15% reduction in trade cost in developing countries after trade facilitation agreement
- Helped faster, smoother, and freer trade in services
- WTO's success at preventing trade wars far outweighs its failure to promote trade talks.

* (Bagwell and Staiger 2002) ; ** claimed by WTO publication https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/20years_wto_e.pdf

*** <https://ourworldindata.org/trade-and-globalization>)

Criticism and challenges of WTO

- Excluding poor countries from the decision-making process and promoting richer countries' agendas that seek to open up poor economies to MNCs/free trade
- Narrow Focus of Free Trade: Ignoring broader social, environmental and development goals
- Failed to help developing countries cope with the global food, energy and financial crises
- Rich-country often circumvent WTO rules but poor nations are taken to task on slight violation of agreed trade rules.
- Its failure to open up developed market for export of agriculture, and improved access to vital medicines
- Non-transparent rules for trade in Intellectual property rights harming local innovation, and resources.
- No consultation with NGOs and civil societies and influenced by MNCs
- Challenges:
 - Rising wave of nationalism and right wing populist politics giving rise to protectionism
 - Stalemate of Doha Round on Agriculture and subsidies
 - Growing signs of Trade war, as happened recently between USA & China
 - Growing economic muscle and voices of Developing countries and their loss of trust in WTO

MNC

- **MNC:** Corporate organizations which are incorporated in one country (home country); but whose operations and assets extend beyond the home country in at-least 2 other countries (host countries)
 - "a firm that has the power to coordinate and control operations" in more than two countries "even if it does not own them." Dickens (2007)
- **TNC:** enterprises which own or control production or service facilities outside the country in which they are based.
- Various ways in which corporations become trans- or multinational: **Greenfield Investment , merger and acquisition, strategic collaborations**
- About 61000 MNCs, account for 10% of world's GDP, 1/3rd of exports
- Majority of them from USA, EU EX: General Electric, Toyota Motor, IBM, Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil, Amazon, and Vodafone Group
- Of late many emerging from developing countries- Tata Motors, Petrobras, Mittal steel
- Revenues of many of these MNCs are more than GDPs of many nation-states
- Most of the FDIs, and portfolio investments are coming from MNCs
- They greatly influence decisions of IMF, World bank, WTO, and other multilateral inter-govt organizations, and regulation & policies of host countries
- They are the harbinger of Neo-liberal Economic Globalization

Concerns with and criticism of MNCs

- Most of them serves the larger interests of Developed nations- USA & EU
- Many of them violate safety & environmental norms, rules & regulations regarding employment, reporting, tax compliances, etc
- Exert dis-proportionate market power on national policies
- They force national govts to lower regulatory norms- 'Race to Bottom'
- They combine with IMF, WB, and WTO to influence global economic policies favouring mostly the global 'North'
- Representation of executives in leadership position in MNCs from developing nations is negligible
- They dilute the capacity and role of nation-states in multiple ways
- Cultural Homogenization, lacking local sensitivity, predatory strategy, undermining local knowledge/skills/know-how, lobbying & corruption, etc

Sum Up

- Global economic Governance is the set of norms, rules and institutions to manage the global economy without any world Government
- IMF, WB, WTO, and MNCs along with Nation-States are anchors or pillars of Global economic Governance
- IMF, WB, WTO are called Bretton Wood Institutions representing Institutional mechanism of USA led economic Governance of post WWII era
- They contributed significantly towards global financial stability, progress, development, and freer trade and Investment
- But they came under heavy criticism for furthering interests of developed nations, elites, MNCs and their non-democratic governing structure, non-transparent decision-making and un-accountable operations
- With change in the global economic order with rising economic power of India, China, Brazil, East Asia, and also because of rise of nationalism, right wing populist politics relevance and importance of IMF, WB, WTO are on decline, many predicting major change in global economic governance.

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ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Climate Change, Global Commons

History and Challenges of Global Cooperation

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Global Environmental Issues: Sources and Examples

Climate Change: Meaning, Features
International Cooperation, Challenges

Issues of 'Global Commons'

Theoretical Perspectives on Environmental Issues

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Contemporary Global Issues : Ecological Issues: Historical Overview of International Environmental Agreements, Climate Change, Global Commons Debate

2019. Environmental degradation has become global problem. How the international community addressed this issue through major international agreements? Discuss.

2018. Write an essay on global warming and climate change.

2017: : Explain the ecological issues in global politics with special reference to Global Commons Debate.

Notes: Global Commons, climate change, Kyoto protocol

Economic Development and Environmental Degradation

- **Agriculture:**

- Soil and Water Pollution- Excessive use of chemical Pesticide and Fertilizers
- Release of Methane- a greenhouse gas- Global warming
- Indirect: Deforestation, Mono culture, Fossil fuel & crop residue burning,

- **Industry**

- Burning of Fossil Fuel- Coal, Gas, Oil- Greenhouse gases- Global warming
- Toxic chemical/material in air/water/Soil/Atmosphere: Air/water/Soil Pollution; Ozone hole
- Over-utilization of natural Resources- Linear economy

- **Transport**

- Burning of Fossil Fuel- Coal, Gas, Oil- Greenhouse gases- Global warming
- Toxic chemicals- SO₂ & NO₂: Air Pollution, Acid rain

- **Trade**

- Faster & Over-utilization of natural Resources
- Trade in Endangered Species; Fossil Fuel burning in Production & distribution/transport

- **Materialism & Consumerism**

- Human centric, nature dominating values/culture
- Over-utilization and waste of natural resources

Major Environmental Concerns

- Pollution
 - Air, Water, Soil
- Resources Exploitation
 - Over-utilization & exhaustion of Natural Resources
 - Waste Generation- toxic metals, plastics, nuclear and Electronic waste
- Loss of Bio-diversity, Ecological Imbalances
- Tragedy of 'Global Commons'
 - High Sea and Deep Ocean, Global Atmosphere and Outer Space, Antarctica
- Global Env issues: Ozone Hole, **Global warming/Climate Change**

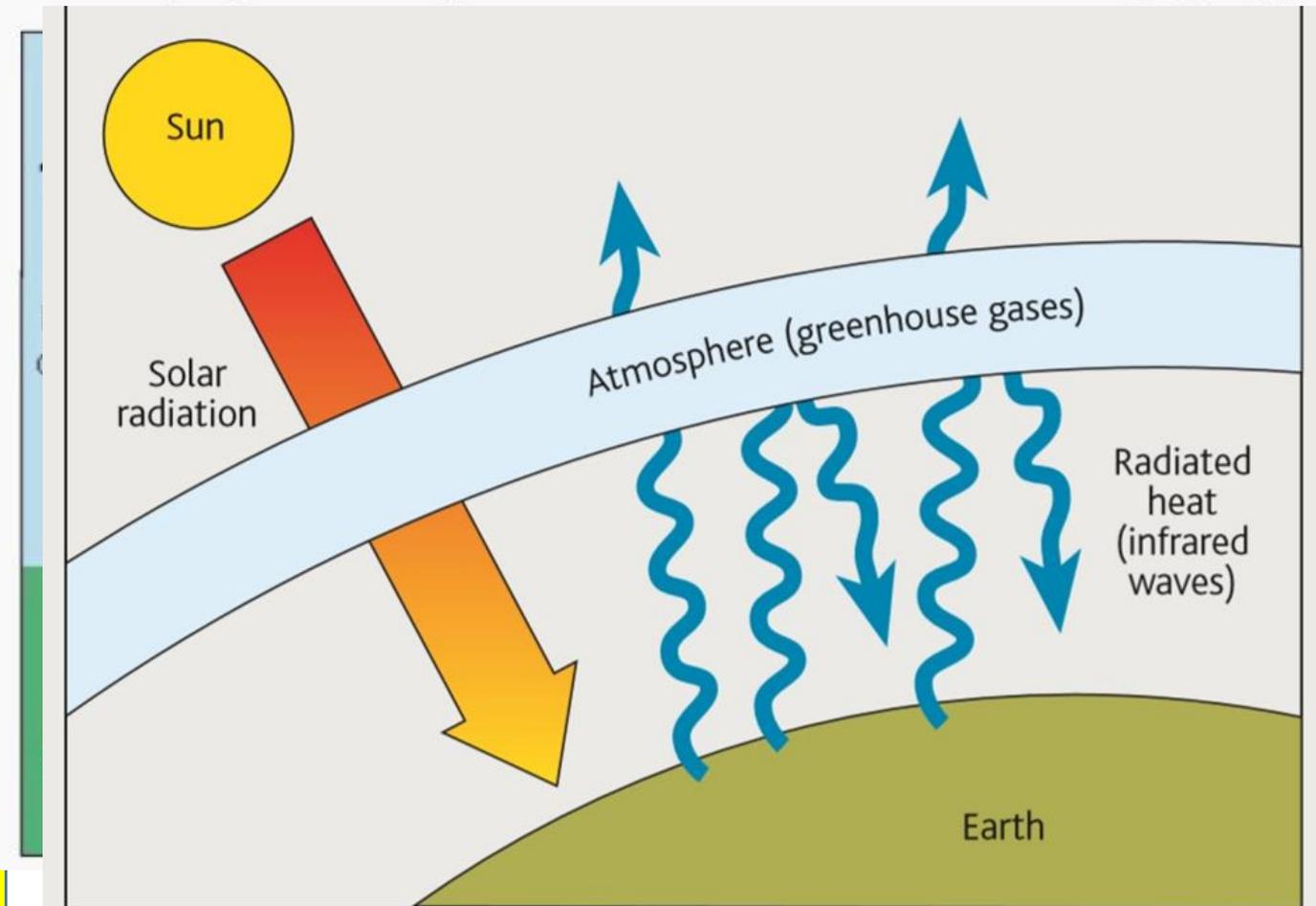
GLOBAL WARMING OR CLIMATE CHANGE

1970s- 80s: growing realization of excessive warming of global atmosphere due to human generated Green House Gases-Co₂, Methane and Nitrous Oxide

1988: The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC):
Data collection, report on Global warming
NGOs- Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth

Green House Effect: Sun's radiation heats Earth which re-radiate longer heat waves which are trapped by Green House gases to make Atmosphere warm

Anthropogenic CO₂ sources and sinks in 2005 [PgC/y]



- **Pre-Industrial Era:** 250 part per million Co₂
Sources of Co₂ balanced by Sink
- Now, CO₂ level rose to 412 ppm. Rising avg. global temp by 1 ° C from pre-industrial level

Global warming effects: Rising sea level, melting of Polar Ice & Permafrost, More intense tropical cyclone, uneven and unusual rain patterns, coastal flooding, drought , desertification, etc

1990 base during 2008-12

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON CLIMATE CHANGE

1960s-70s: growing concern on environmental degradation and ecological sustainability

Rachel Carson's **The Silent Spring** (1962), 1972 '**Limits to Growth**' by the 'Club of Rome, UN report '**Only One Earth**' NGOs, **Greenpeace** and **Friends of the Earth**

1972: UN conference on the human environment at **Stockholm Sweden- UNEP**, and '**Principle 21**'- sovereignty over national resources vs responsibility for transnational pollution.

Oil crisis-1973, 'second Cold War' early 1980s slowed Env concerns but 1984 **Bhopal Gas disaster** and the **1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster** reignited the debate

1987: Brundtland Commission report-" Our Common Future", concept of '**Sustainable Development**'
Montreal Protocol: ban CFC which caused Ozone hole

2015: COP 21: Paris Climate Accord: Intended Nationally Determined Contribution(**INDC**)- emission cut from 2020

2007: Bali COP: 'Road Map' for Climate Negotiations ; **2009 Copenhagen COP failed** to reach to agreement on Framework for climate change mitigation beyond 2012

2002: World Summit on sustainable development(**WSSD**), Johannesburg; Sustainable development- interdependence of socio-economic dev and env protection.(definition changed)

1997: KYOTO Protocol:2nd COP under UNFCCC; binding targets for industrialized 41 countries to cut greenhouse gas emissions (Avg 5.2 %) from 1990 base during 2008-12

1992:UN conference on Environment & Development(**UNCED**)- **Rio Earth Summit** ; '**Agenda 21**' , UN Framework Convention on climate change(**UNFCCC**) ; Commission on Sustainable Development(**CSD**),and yearly Conference of Parties (COP)

'North' vs 'South' on Climate Change

Views of 'North'

- want to discuss the environmental issue as it stands now
- want every nation to be equally responsible for Climate Change
- 'south' should not demand for 'Right to pollute' on development ground
- Developing nations- China, India, Brazil- have large total carbon footprint, they should also join 'North' in cutting Emission
- Funds & technologies should be given to 'south' but in just and cooperative way
- Emerging powers-China, India- are using climate negotiations to pressurize 'North' and extract undue benefits

Views of 'South'

- Present Crisis is caused by unsustainable & exploitative economic model of 'North'
- 'north' has already over-exceeded its quota of 'Carbon Pie'
- Poor of Global 'south' have right to development
- Environmental questions cannot be separated to demands of development and restructuring International economic order.
- Hence, 'North' must compensate 'South' by transfer of funds & technologies to cut emissions
- 'north' should take greater responsibilities for cutting Emission- per capita emission is much higher there - ***common but differentiated responsibilities***

Tragedy of the ‘Global Commons’

- Garrett Hardin (1915–2003): *‘the tragedy of the commons(1968)’*-“Freedom in a ‘commons’ brings ruin to all’
- Global Commons, are ‘common pool resources’ not in control any nation but used by entire humanity as a whole
- Examples: High Sea and Deep Ocean, Global Atmosphere and Outer Space, Antarctica
- Environmental Goods- Clean air- are Collective Goods ; problems of ‘Free Ride’
- International Cooperation is difficult because of diverging national Interests and lack of any World govt.
- Use of Global Commons is technology and resource intensive, lacked by ‘South’
- **Success:** Antarctica Treaty 1959, Montreal Protocol-1987, protocols on Deep Sea fishing- 1982 Law of the Sea agreement, and uses of outer space- UN Outer Space Treaty-1966
- **Failures:** Agreements on Global Warming/Climate Change

Alternative Theoretical Perspective on Environmental Issues

- **Realist Perspective**

- Natural environment as a fixed contextual factor or component of national power.(Hans Morgenthau)
- concerned with survival than with sustainability
- Human behaviour is similar to animal behaviour in nature- Survival of the fittest
- scarcity, and therefore conflict over resources, often plays in generating international tensions- Geopolitics

- **Liberal perspective:**

- Nature and Environment are viewed as a resource to satisfy human needs- human dominion over nature
- Individualist view- nature mixed with human labour-property rights
- Free-market capitalism endorsed self-interested materialism, economic growth by exploitation of natural resources
- Reformist view on Ecology: Generational justice, Moderation, Sustainable development, International Cooperation, Scientific innovation to contain ecological problems

- **Critical Perspective : Marxism, Feminism**

- **Ecofeminism** : Masculinity- domination over nature; Femininity- close to mother nature ; Patriarchy reflect human domination of nature and hence environmental degradation
- **Marxism**: Capitalism, private property root cause of exploitation of nature. Current regime of environmental Governance based on the ideologies of liberal capitalism
- Oriental values of mother nature, communitarianism, and peaceful co-existence as in Buddhism, Taoism, and other eastern cultures- nature is the source of all value and morality

Rio Summit & Kyoto Protocol

- **1992 Rio Summit & UNFCCC:** calling for greenhouse gases to be stabilized at safe levels on the basis of equity and in accordance with states 'common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities'
- The clear implication was that developed states should take the lead, committing themselves to restoring 1990 levels of emissions by the year 2000 –**Agenda 21**
- However, although it was accepted by 181 governments, the FCCC was no more than a framework for further action and it contains no legally binding targets. The Convention bound Nations to continue dialogue through Conference of Parties (COP)
- **KYOTO PROTOCOL 1997:** 2nd COP under UNFCCC: Kyoto Protocol set binding targets for developed states to limit or reduce their greenhouse gas emissions by 2012. applying these targets to 41 developed states
- The targets were designed to reduce total emissions from the developed world to at least 5.2 per cent below their 1990 levels.
- National targets varied, however, with the EU and the USA being set targets for reductions of 8 per cent and 7 per cent respectively, while other states, such as Australia, were allowed to exceed their 1990 levels
- Furthermore, in providing a mechanism for **emissions trading, Joint implementation, and Clean Dev Mechanism(CDM)**
- **Minuses:** the targets set at Kyoto were, arguably, inadequate in terms of achieving the Protocol's goals ; Second, the USA's failure to ratify the treaty; Third, the decision to restrict binding targets to developed states alone seriously compromised the Kyoto process from the outset.

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International Terrorism

**Meaning, Features, Causes, Impacts,
Counter Measures**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Meaning, features, evolution, Causes & Types

Globalisation & Terrorism, Post 9/11: New Terrorism

Countering Terrorism

Impact on world peace, security, and global politics

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: International Terrorism: Non-State Actors and State Terrorism;
Post 9/11 developments

Q1. International Terrorism is a huge challenge for the world and threat for global politics. Discuss.

Q2. What is terrorism? Critically Analyze the phenomenon of International Terrorism as a challenge to International Peace and Security.

Q3: : Discuss the measures taken to curb international terrorism in post 9/11 global politics.

Terrorism: Meaning & Definition

- A form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives through creating a climate of fear, apprehension, and uncertainty (Goodin 2006).
- Historically, the term 'terrorism' described State violence against citizens during the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror, 1793–94 under the leadership of Robespierre.
- However, of late 'terrorism' has come to mean the use of violence by small minority aiming to achieve political change by means of terror.
- 'Terrorists' do surprise and indiscriminate attacks on civilians, symbols of power, and political leaders
- common forms of terrorist action - assassinations, bombings, hostage seizures, plane hijacks, suicide killing, indiscriminate firing, etc
- Terrorist attacks have immediate aims of drawing widespread attention to their issue, provoking a knee-jerk response, and wearing down their opponent's moral resolve

Terrorism : Features

- Highly contested phenomenon and a deeply controversial concept.
- 'Terrorism' carries deeply pejorative connotations, tends to be used as a political weapon, implying that the group or action to which it is attached is immoral and illegitimate
- Terrorism is a 'hearts and minds' issue ; Terrorists for one may be 'Martyr' or 'Revolutionary' for others
- As 'weapon of the weak', similar to guerrilla warfare- hidden bases, sudden, sporadic attacks, supported by propaganda
- Historically national/sub-national phenomenon, became, transnational and now global in the age of globalization
- Terrorist groups that are covert (hidden) and often operate in small, loosely-organized cells.
- While terrorism is often portrayed as action by non-state actors against States, governments/States may also employ terror against their own or other people, called 'state terrorism' and 'State Sponsored Terrorism'

Evolution

- ‘Terrorism’ denoted State violence during and after French Revolution- **Reign of Terror** by Robespierre
- **Late 19th century: Anarchist terrorism** : ‘Propaganda By The Deed’: used violence to raise political consciousness and mass revolt
 - **Notable victims:** Tsar Alexander II (1881), Empress Elizabeth of Austria (1898), King Umberto of Italy (1900) and Presidents- Carnot (1894) of France and McKinley (1901) of the USA.
- **1945-60** : Terrorism as part of **national liberation movement**- anti-colonial movement FLN in Algeria, Palestine Liberation Organization(PLO), and groups such as Black September
- **1960s and 1970s** : Wave of violence by **radical left groups** such as the Baader-Meinhof Group in West Germany, the Italian Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army and the Angry Brigade in the UK
- **1960-1990:** Terrorism by **Ethnic minority for national self-determination**- IRA in Northern Ireland, ETA in the Basque region of Spain, the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ)in Canada, LTTE in Sri-Lanka, Kurdistan Workers' Party or PKK in Turkey and Iraq, Kashmiri separatist movement in India, Hamas and Hezbollah in Israel
- **Late 1990s:** Rise of **radical Islam terrorism** led by Al-Qaeda ; 1993 attack on the World Trade Centre, the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing (Saudi Arabia), the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya
- **2001: 9/11: Paradigm Shift:**
 - Became global phenomenon: global terrorism as principal threat to international peace and security.
 - ‘war on Terror’ by Bush Administration in USA
 - Rise of ISIS as chief proponent of radical Islamic terrorism
 - Terrorism becoming mainstream issue in global politics and IR

Causes

- **Culture & Ethnicity**

- When cultural & ethnic minority perceive extreme threat in prevailing political structure
- Ex: ETA in the Basque region of Spain, the Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ) in Canada, LTTE in Sri-Lanka, Kurdistan Workers' Party or PKK in Turkey and Iraq, Chechen terrorists in Russia

- **Extreme Left ideology- Anarchism**

- Baader-Meinhof Group in West Germany, the Italian Red Brigades, the Japanese Red Army and the Angry Brigade in the UK
- Naxal and Maoist insurgencies in India, Nepal

- **Revolution, national liberation, and national-self determination**

- PLO Philistine, LTTE in Sri-Lanka, IRA in Northern Ireland, PKK in Kurdistan, FLQ in Canada, FLN in Algeria

- **Religious fundamentalism:**

- Exhibited under many religions but Radical Islamic Terrorism has become most prominent in 21st Century
- Al-Qaeda, ISIS, JeM, LeT, etc
- Aims: restoring the Caliphate as a pan-Islamic state(ISIS) , Civilizational war(Jihad) against western civilizational hegemony and infidels(Al-Qaeda)
- by 1995 almost half of the 56 terrorist groups then believed to be in operation could be classified as religious in character and/or motivation. Hoffman (2006),

*Types

- **Insurrectionary or revolutionary terrorism** – this is aimed at the revolutionary overthrow of a state (examples include anarchist, Naxal and revolutionary communist- Maoist terrorism).
- **Loner or single issue terrorism** – this is aimed at the promotion of a single cause (examples include the bombing of abortion clinics in the USA and the 1995 sarin nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway by the religious cult Aum Shinryko).
- **Nationalist terrorism** – this aims to overthrow colonial rule or occupation, often with the goal of gaining independence for an ethnic, religious or national group (examples include the FLN in Algeria, LTTE in Sri Lanka and Hamas and Hezbollah in Israel and the occupied territories).
- **Global terrorism** – this is aimed at inflicting damage and terror on a global level or at transforming global civilizational relations (examples include al-Qaeda, ISIS and other forms of radical Islamist terrorism).

*From A. Heywood, (2011) Global Politics

Terrorist Hotspots

- Middle East : Al-Qaeda, ISIS, PLO, Hamas, Hezbollah, PKK
- Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir zone: Al-Qaeda, Taliban, JeM, LeT, etc
- Chechenya, Iraq, Syria, Palestine , Israel, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Lebanon, Libya, Congo, Somalia, Guatemala
- Main Targets: USA, Bali, Spain (Madrid), France(Paris), UK(London), India(Mumbai. Kashmir), Pakistan

Major Terrorist Attacks on India

- **March 1993:** Serial Bomb blasts in Mumbai- more than 250 died
 - Supposedly as reaction to Riots after Babri masjid Demolition- The attacks were reported to be coordinated by terrorist **Dawood Ibrahim**
- **Dec, 1999:** IC 814(from Kathmandu to Delhi) was Hi-jacked
 - India had to release JeM chief **Masood Azhar**
- **Dec, 2001:** Terrorist Attack on Indian Parliament by JeM, LeT
- **July 2006:** Mumbai suburban train bombings- more than 200 died
- **26/11, 2008:** Mumbai attack- 3 days of indiscriminate firing and bombing at Taj mahal hotel, Railway stations, and public places-174 died
- **2016:** Uri attack: Indian Army's 12 Brigade Hq was attacked- 18 soldiers died
 - India carried out surgical strikes on terror launchpads across the LOC
- **2019:** Pulwama Attack: An explosive filled SUV was driven to convoy of trucks carrying CRPF personnel's: 44 CRPF men died
 - 12 days later, India bombed the JeM camps in Balakot in Pakistan Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region

Globalization and Terrorism

- Modern terrorism is sometimes portrayed as a child of globalization.
- **First**, increased cross border flows of people, goods, money, technology and ideas are exploited by terrorist groups to build organization, and coordinate operations
- **Second**, increased international migration- diaspora communities- provide support and help sustain terrorist campaigns ; Ex: LTTE, Khalistan, 9/11
- **Third**, rising inequality, cultural homogenization, hegemony of western culture, values, and western power, etc has fueled discontentment helping cultural/religious fundamentalism and terrorism backed by such ideologies
- **Fourth**, ICT has helped terrorist groups in many ways- planning, information sharing, propaganda, coordination, etc
- **Fifth**, end of cold war and resultant excess supply of arms/weapons are reaching to terrorist groups

Post 9/11: New Terrorism

- 9/11 reflected paradigm shift in the nature of terrorism, its significance, and response of global communities against it, reflected by 'War on Terror';

Traditional or Old Terrorism	New Terrorism
Mostly national/sub-national phenomenon	Global phenomenon- strike any where, many places same time
Mostly Secular	Majority of them Religious
military-style command and control structures	amorphous international networks of loosely connected cells
Less radical and devastating	more radical, ruthless, and devastating- 'catastrophic terrorism'; 'hyper-terrorism'
Method: assassination, plane hijack, hostages	New methods: Suicide attack, Serial bombing, Indiscriminate firing, Using public transport as weapon & target
Not part of mainstream global politics	High on UN agenda, Multilateral discussions, Global Politics and IR

Impact on world peace, security, and global politics

- State take Terrorism as war against State, and threat to national security.
- If the Terrorist groups are based in other States, the target State may retaliate by attacking terrorist bases which may result into international conflict or outright war
 - Example: USA's war on Afghanistan(2001), India's Air strike at Balakot in Pakistan, Dispute between Indonesia and Australia after Bali Bombing
- **Politicizing Terrorism**, by linking it to specific culture or religion, or using it as an excuse for furthering geopolitical interest, may further threaten world peace and make global politics conflictual
 - Example: USA's 'war on terror' which many see as strategy to control oil-rich middle east
- **Terrorism threaten the liberal democratic order**: even the democratic Govts may curtail citizen's right and freedom in the name of fighting terrorism, may lead to authoritarianism
 - Example: Guantanamo bay detention camp by USA, NSA and TADA in India
- **Major terrorist attacks causes crash of share markets**, disruption in economic activities, and restrict the movement of goods, people across boarder
- Global Terrorist groups are non-State actors, but their bases are specific States. This may lead to **allegation of 'State Sponsored' Terrorism**, resulting into conflicts in global politics
 - Conflict between India & Pakistan and between Iran and USA on the issue of State Sponsored' Terrorism

Ways to Fight and Control Terrorism

- **Strengthening state Capacity**

- Increase security, surveillance, crack-down, extra-legal methods to deal with terrorists
- Cons: endanger the liberal-democratic values- freedom, rights, justice
 - such measures may be counterproductive –may generate support & sympathy for terrorists

- **Military Repression**

- Chechnya and Sri Lanka, Israel, Northern Ireland, Surgical Strikes by India on terrorist location across the boarder

- **Political Deals**

- ‘hearts and minds’ strategy
- Northern Ireland and south Africa

- **Global Co-ordination**

- ‘War on terror’ of USA joined by many States
- International identification of terrorist organization, Sanctions
- Increased coordination of Interpol

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International Migration

Meaning, Features, Causes, Impacts

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Meaning & Definitions

- The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State(country).
- Process by which people change their country of usual residence.
 - Excludes movements that are due to recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimages (UN DESA)
- International movements with an intention to stay in destination country for more than one year be classified as international migration (UN)
- The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence and across an international border to a country of which they are not nationals (*International Organization for Migration*)
- Process of movement/mobility is Migration and the person who moves is Migrant

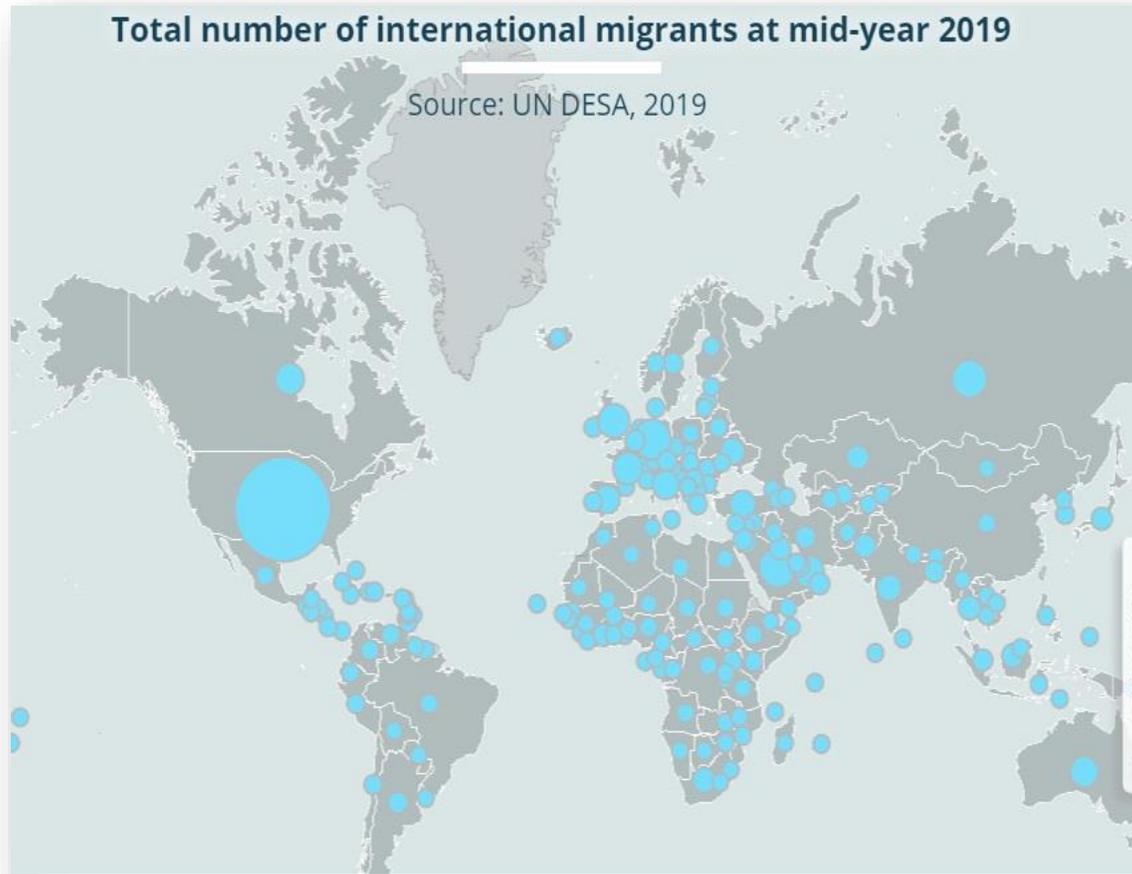
Meaning of terms associated with Migration

- **Immigration:** inward migration to a country- Immigrants are moving in people
- **Emigration:** outward migration from a country- Emigrants are moving out people
- **Home country:** Country of origin ; **Host Country:** Country of destination
- **Migration cycle:** cyclic process of crossing boarder, transiting, reaching host nation, staying and returning back to home country
- **Refugee:** people who are forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster.
- **Asylum Seeker:** Refugee who seeks permission to permanently live in the host nation.
- **Remittances** – international monetary transfers that migrants make to their home country.
- **Stateless Person** – A person who is not considered citizen of any nation-state
- **Diaspora** : large-scale dispersal of people belonging to a nation in many countries
- **Xenophobia:** attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners
- **Push** : negative factors(socio-economic, political) in home country causing out migration
- **Pull:** positive factors in hos country attracting migration

Features of Migration

- Migration as a process based on inequality and discrimination, and controlled and limited by nation-states.
- Hostile public climate and political opinion towards migrant from poorer countries.
- Politicization of migration
 - A dominant political discourse today is that migration is a problem that needs to be fixed by appropriate policies
 - Becomes electoral issue, regional conflict, bi-lateral relations
- Migration has grown more than ever in the last 30 years because of the accelerated pace of globalization
- But people mobility across boarder is much less than those of goods and capital
- far more people move within their own countries than internationally
- 2/3rd migrants are labour migrants; about half of migrants are below 40 years
- About 65% of migrants live in Developed nations, USA & Germany being top 2 destinations ; Asia sends maximum nos. of Migrants followed by Europe.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION DATA: AT A GLANCE



Total nos. of migrants: **271 million** (3.5% of world's population)

Total nos. of migrants in 1990: 153 million (**80% growth** 1990-2019)

Top **3 migrants sending** nations- **India**, Mexico, China

Top **3 migrants receiving** nations- **USA**, Germany, Saudi Arabia

Total nos. of **Refugees**: 25 Million (Syria, Turkey tops)

The number of **Stateless persons**: 3.9 million (Bangladesh, Myanmar, Côte d'Ivoire)

Top nations by % of migrants to total population: UAE-84%, Qatar-74%,,, Luxemburg-43%, Jordan-40%,Australia-33%, Saudi Arabia-31%,USA-14%, Germany-14%

Economic contribution by migrants: about **8 trillion USD- 10% of world's GDP** ; as a nation- **3rd largest GDP!**

Total Remittances by migrants to home country: **689 billion USD, thrice more than total global aid**

Topmost remittance receiving nation: India- 80 b USD, 2.8% of GDP

Types of Migration

- Cyclical/circulatory vs Permanent
- Forced vs voluntary
- Pull vs Push Migration
- Internal vs External
- Early/primitive vs Modern
- Individual vs Group/Mass
- Seasonal/Periodic. Vs Random
- Legal vs Illegal
- 1st vs 2nd and 3rd Generation migration
- 'South'-'North', 'North'-'North', 'South'-'South', 'North'-'South'
- Labour Migration
- Climate Migration

Historical Trajectory of International Migration

- **Pre-historic and ancient times**

- Migration of primitive man from Africa to other parts of Globe
- Migration of Aryans, from central Asia grasslands to India during 2000 BC (late Harrapan Period)
- Migration of people from Asia to America across a land bridge now under the Bering Sea
- Jews migrating from Babylonia- 600BC and Jerusalem-160 AD,
- Huge migration during Greek and Roman civilization, Migration in India from North West- Shaka, Huns, Kushans, Ind-Greeks

- **Medieval Period**

- Migration of Turkic peoples across most of Central Asia into Europe and the Middle East
- Migration of Turks, Arabs, Parsi, Afghanis into India from 8th to 16th Century

- **Modern Period**

- Migration after great exploration, discovery, and colonialization ; migration of Slaves, plantation and Indentured labourers from Africa & Asia to America/Europe
- Migration from Europe to North America(17th to 19th Century), Australia(18th- 20th Century)
- Decolonialization caused mass migration in many post colonial States-Migration on the wake of partition in 1947- about 20 million
- Two world wars also caused mass migration
- Migration before emergence of nation-state was very common, easy, and less noticeable
- Current regime of strict Boarder control, Visa policy, and Immigration laws are very recent developments
- Migration slowed down after World war II, but accelerated post 1990- in the age of globalization
- Migration to developed nations for job is the main feature of current international migration

Factors(Causes) of Migrations

- **Economic**

- Difference in wage rate, employment prospects, economic well being, public services, and quality of life in home & host nations
- 2/3rd of International migrants are labour migrants
- 'South'-'North' Migration

- **Social**

- Migratory Selection: better educated, healthy, more skilled and economically better-off people have a tendency to migrate.
- Reflect global social transformation in the age of globalization

- **Demographic**

- Demography of host nation(ageing population, lower participation ratio), and home nation(young population)
- 3/4th migrants are in working age bracket; male more likely to migrate

- **Govt policies in Home and Host countries**

- Immigration policy in host nation and policies to contain emigration(brain drain) in home nations

- **Geographic**

- Physical Proximity(Mexico-USA), Convenient/safe travel route(North Atlantic ocean, Bering Strait), No natural Boarder(India-Bangladesh, USA-Mexico)

- **Advancement in Modern Technologies: Transport, and ICT**

- **Globalization**

Impacts of International Migration

- **On home nation**
 - Brain Drain: loses best educated, healthy labour force
 - Economic gain: Remittance, Network effect (Diaspora)
 - Political: greater democratization, less authoritarianism- Voice vs Exit
- **On host nation**
 - gains youthful, vigorous, flexible and ambitious new workers of all types
 - migrants may free up natives to take better paying and quality jobs
 - Economic: contribute in economic growth, lower inflation, more demands
 - Socio-cultural: more vibrant, multi-culture society
 - Politicization: Immigration policy may become electoral issue (USA: Wall on Mexico Boarder; India: CAA, NRC, Illegal migrants), Xenophobia
 - Costly Immigration governance: Boarder control, surveillance, citizenship test
- **Global Politics**
 - Affects bilateral relations on the issue of Immigration & Refugee (Ex: India- Bangladesh; India-US, US-Mexico; Trumps decision to ban Immigration from Muslim nations)
 - Conflict in regional associations- EU (Brexit), NAFTA
- **On human civilization**
 - Global competition to attract talent
 - Played big role in development of human race
 - Help Globalization and cosmopolitanism- Global community

International Treaties Covenants on Migration

- The **Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM)** is an intergovernmental negotiated agreement, under the auspices of the UN, that covers all dimensions of international migration in a holistic and comprehensive manner.
- **The UN global compacts on refugees** : provides a blueprint for governments, international organizations, and other stakeholders to ensure that host communities get the support they need and that refugees can lead productive lives.
- UN Convention relating to the **Status of Refugees**, 1951, and 1967 Protocol
- The United Nations **High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**
- International Convention on the **Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families**
- United Nations **Network on Migration**
- UN Protocol against the **Smuggling of Migrants** by Land, Sea and Air
- International Labour Organization **Migrant Workers Convention**, 1975
- migration-related targets included in the **Sustainable Development Goals(SDG)**.
- UN Convention on the **Reduction of Statelessness**, 1961
- **International Covenants which also relates to International Migration**
 - Universal Declaration of Human Rights (arts. 2, 15)
 - International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (arts. 2(2), 2(3))
 - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (arts. 2(1), 13)

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Human Security

Meaning, Features, Evolution, Debates

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Contemporary Global Issues : human security

Q1 Critically examine the concept of Human Security. Do you think human security can provide an alternative framework of security? Give reasons

Meaning & Definition

- The concept of human security represents a departure from traditional notion of security, which focus on the security of the State. human security goes beyond State and focuses security of individuals anywhere in world, and its end goal is the protection of people from traditional (i.e., military) and nontraditional threats such as poverty, hunger, disease, etc.
- Core theme of HS is that securing State is not same as securing individuals and military threat is only one of the multiple threats to individuals which need collaboration of multiple actors including States.
- Human security entered into the policy and academic debates in the early 1990s. Human development report of UN in 1994 was the crucial milestone.
- Definitions:
 - Human security means first, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression; and second as protection from sudden and harmful disruption in the pattern of daily life- whether in homes, in jobs or in communities. (UNDP HDR 1994)
 - The objective of human security is to safeguard the 'vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedom and human fulfilment.(UN commission on human security, 2003)
 - Human security as the preservation and protection of life and dignity of individual anywhere in world by ensure '**freedom from fear**' and '**freedom from want**'(Japan foreign ministry)
 - Human security can no longer be understood in military terms. Rather it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and rule of law. Moreover these pillars are interrelated, progress in one area generates progress in others (Kofi Annan, UN secretary General, 2001)

Traditional security vs Human Security

Perspective	Traditional Security	Human Security
Scope	Concerned with securing sovereignty and territorial integrity of nation-state	Concerned with survival, livelihood, well-being, and dignity of individuals anywhere in world
Referent Object	Nation-State	Individual
Assumption	security of States ensures security of its 'citizen', international peace & security	Security of state may not ensure security of individuals within the state. Safety of individuals-key to international peace & security
Security by what means	By Military power, balance of power, diplomacy	By favourable socio-political-economic conditions, human and sustainable development, protecting human rights
Status of Individual	Individuals as citizen of State	Individuals as autonomous actor in IR
Who provides security	State(self-help)- government model	Shared responsibilities- State, markets, International organizations, INGOs, civil society, local community, Individuals- Governance model

Evolution of the idea of Human Security

- The idea of extending the concept of security from State security to individual human beings was first articulated by the **Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues** in 1982
 - highlighting the need to devote due attention to the relation between security and the well-being of individuals.
- 1987: **Brundtland commission report**: “ Our Common Future” sustainable human development- linked the security of individuals to development and environmental security
- **End of cold war and globalisation strengthened** the idea of non-military threats to individuals coming from socio-economic deprivation, environmental degradation, and violation of human rights
- 1994: **HDR of UNDP** first time explicitly defined human security and brought in into fore of global agenda- freedom of fear and freedom from want, in which freedom to live in dignity was added later on.
- 1999:
 - **UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS)**
 - **Human Security Network (HSN)**, a group of Foreign Ministers from 13 countries
- 2000: **UN Millennium Summit**- UN adopted agenda for “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want”
- 2001 : **UN Commission on Human Security; Agenda for Sustainable Development(SDG) included HS as its goal**
- 2004: **The Human Security Unit (HSU)** - placing human security in the mainstream of UN activities
- 2006: **The Friends of Human Security** – a flexible and informal group of supporters comprising mainly UN member States and international organizations
- 2012: UN General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution in which Member States agreed on a common understanding on human security
- 2015: the **Inter-Agency Working Group on Human Security** adopted the Framework for Cooperation for the System-wide Application of Human Security.

3 DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY

- FREEDOM FROM FEAR
 - Personal security threats- violence, war, conflict, terrorism, law & order, violence against women and children
 - Physical threat to life, property and peace
- FREEDOM FROM WANT
 - Socio-economic threats- livelihood, poverty, hunger, disease, pollution, environmental degradation
- FREEDOM TO LIVE IN DIGNITY
 - Includes civil, political and human rights

Narrow Vs Broad Conception of Human Security

Freedom from fear

- Personal security threats- violence, war, conflict, terrorism, law & order, violence against women and children
- Main stimulus: end of cold war, ethnic strife, weak/failed State, humanitarian intervention
- Caused by human agencies
- By police/military, law & order
- Narrow view of human security
- Negative- prevent
- Easier to mitigate

Freedom from want

- Socio-economic threats- livelihood, poverty, hunger, disease, pollution, environmental degradation
- Stimulus: guns vs butter concern, growth vs development
- Structural: Socio-economic structure, power relations
- By human and sustainable development
- Broader view of human security
- Positive- provide
- Difficult to provide

4 Characteristics and 7 components of Human Security

- **4 Characteristics:** it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is best ensured through prevention, and it is people-centred.
- **7 components:**
 - **Economic Security**
 - Livelihood, poverty, education, economic well being
 - **Food security**
 - Hunger, famine, access & affordability to required quantity/quality of food
 - **Health security**
 - Injury, disease, universal access to healthcare
 - **Environmental security**
 - Pollution, climate change, resource depletion, ecological degradation, , deforestation, desertification, Stalinization, natural hazards/disaster
 - **Personal Security**
 - Violence- war, conflict, military/police actions, terrorism, law& order, domestic violence, child abuse, drug abuse, xenophobia
 - **Community security**
 - Security to and from community; identity and integrity of cultural diversity, oppressive traditional practices against women and marginalized sections
 - **Political Security**
 - Political repression- no political freedom & rights, political detention , violation of civil/political and human rights, dictatorship and authoritarianism,

'Pros' and 'Cons' of the idea of Human Security

Pluses

- Extend the meaning of security beyond National and military security
- Instead of territory, or State centric, it is people-centric
- Connect Security to Development and environmental sustainability
- Forward looking concept which can bring lasting international peace and prosperity
- Post Colonial, post-modernist and post globalization approach to security
- Brings all stakeholders together in IR, truly multi-actor and collaborative approach
- Moves beyond Government to Governance
- It denotes paradigm shift in notion of security, international peace and IR

Minuses

- concept is too much value loaded, normative, and analytically weak and impossible to implement.
- concept of HS for being too broad to be useful in policymaking.
- No accepted meaning & definition
- Seems to work against International State System
- North-South perspective: embedded in 'northern' understandings of peace, order, security, rights and development, and thus often meets with resistance from the global south
- Elitist view, top down approach not pluralist, bottom up and inclusive of the views and agencies of sub-altern people in global south

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GLOBAL RESISTANCES

GLOBAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Meaning & features of Global Social Movement, Global Civil Society, and NGO

What are resisted by Global Social Movements

Examples of Global Social Movements

Limitations of Global Social Movements in resisting Globalisation

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Global Resistances (Global Social Movements and NGOs)

Q1. Critically discuss the impact of global resistances on international politics with special reference to global social movements

Q2. What do you understand by global social movements? Discuss its impact on global politics

Q3: To what extent the global social movements have been successful in resisting globalization?

Q4: Critically examine the nature and character of global resistance movements in contemporary era

Global Social Movement(GSM): Meaning

- **Social Movements** : networks of groups and activists, with an emerging identity, involved in conflictual issues, using mainly unconventional forms of participation and protests" (*Della Porta et al. 2006*)
- **Global Social Movements** (GSMs) are loose networks of individuals, groups, and organizations that collaborate across borders to advance similar agendas throughout the world and in doing so have developed distinct identity and become powerful actors in global governance.
- A movement on world level pursuing far reaching social changes for the betterment and well-being of global society.
- Transnational networks of actors that define their causes as global and organize protest campaigns and other forms of actions that target more than one state and/or international governmental organizations.
- GSMs are associated with global social justice and democratic movement which resist predatory and hegemonic form of neo-liberal economic globalization

Global Civil Society: Meaning & Features

- Global Civil Society refers to the vast assemblage and networks of individuals, groups, NGOs, social movements operating in transnational plane
- New forms of civic participation and involvement in a globalizing world. Located in transnational arena, not bound by nation-state or local society
- They are kind of “society of societies” or ‘Cosmopolitan Society’
- They are still evolving as open-ended civic space at global level, linking local, national, and international societies.
- They are actors in IR distinct from states, corporates- MNCs/TNCs, and International organizations
- Most of the global social movements are channeled through Global Civil Society

NGO : Meaning, Features and role in Global Social Movement

- Non-governmental Organization (NGOs) are private, non-profit, professional organizations concerned with public welfare goals.
- NGOs may include philanthropic foundations, academic think-tanks and other organizations focusing on issues such as human rights, gender justice, health, rural development, social welfare, anti-corruption, environment, and indigenous peoples.
- NGOs do not serve private interests and are engaged in solving social issues
- NGOs are not affiliated with any government, but they often deal with the same public policy issues that govts do, only from a different angle. They help to bridge the gap between individuals, govt, and corporate world.
- **Ex:** Red Cross, Child Rights and You(CRY), Amnesty International, Give Foundation, Greenpeace, HelpAge India, Pratham, Smile Foundation
- NGOs get funds from govt, non-govt development agencies, corporates, general public, and fee for their services/products
- NGOs provide organizational bases to Global Social Movement and Global Civil Society.

Features of Global Social Movements

- Form a very loose system having weak ties among transnational networks. It is a highly fluid system and is continually changing its style, messages, and constituencies.
- Develop collective identity which is somewhat vague & overlapping
- Emanate from global civil society and uses NGOs as organizational bases
- Take up issues of social justice, democracy, peace, equity, participation, ecological degradation, unequal power relation in globalized world, etc
- Represent resistance to neoliberal globalization from above; movement for Globalization from below, more humane, just, equitable, and ecologically sustainable globalization
- Also known as global justice movement, global democracy movement, alter-globalisation movement, critical globalisation movement, global social justice and democracy movement
- Unconventional actions-mass protest during major economic events
- Extensive use of Internet and social media ; Counter hegemonic, pro-poor, and emancipatory ; Participatory, inclusive and consensus based decision making process
- Post modernist and anarchic strands

What is Resisted?

- Hegemonic Neo-liberal economic globalization- free trade, global financial institutions- IMF, World Bank, WTO-, liberalization, privatization, retreat of welfare State
- Disempowerment, marginalization, exclusion, inequality- Predatory globalization
- Ecological damages, rising inequality, exclusion and silencing voices of marginalized people of global south, worsening human rights, undemocratic and non-transparent International economic organizations, cultural homogenization, etc
- Unaccountable Corporate Powers on MNC/TNC over global 'south' , Imperialism
- Structural Adjustment Program, debt and financial restructuring, free trade agreements, subsidies, agricultural patents
- Sexism, racism, violence/militarism in the interest of western, capitalist and patriarchal system
- Religious fundamentalism, all forms of dominance and inequality and injustice
- In a nutshell- against present form of 'North' led 'Globalization from Above' which is not just, fair, inclusive, equitable, egalitarian, and emancipatory

Some Examples of Global Social Movements

- Some popular organizations representing global social movements
 - 'Zapatistas' in Mexico
 - 'Peoples' Global Action' founded in Geneva
 - World social forum
 - 'Globalize Resistance' based in Britain
- Some landmark protests/demonstrations against neo-liberal globalization
 - series of protests surrounding the WTO Ministerial Conference of 1999 at **Seattle, USA known as the Battle of Seattle**
 - **Anti-capitalist Protests** during the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank summit in 2000 in Prague, capital of the Czech Republic.
 - *Massive protest during G8 summit at **Genoa in July 2001***
 - *Protest during EU summit in 2001 at **Gothenburg** , Sweden*
 - *First European Social Forum (ESF) held in Nov 2002 in Florence Italy*
 - *Climate change protest by **Greeta thonberg***

Pros and Cons of Global Social Movement

Pluses

- Highlighted exploitative, undemocratic, exclusive, and inequal nature of globalisation
- uphold progressive values such as social justice, democracy, peace, ecological sustainability, equity, and inclusiveness
- Resist the hegemonic neoliberal economic globalisation
- Formation of global civil society
- Gave voice to marginalised people of Global 'south'
- Raised issues of environmental degradation, Human Rights, labour, and gender justice linked to globalisation
- Alternate vision of 'Globalisation from below'
- Forced developed states, WTO, IMF, and World Bank to be more accountable, transparent, and concerned about issues of unfettered neo-liberal globalisation

Minuses

- Many of them guided by ideology, initiative, and enterprise of Global 'North'
- Representations of voices, interests, and aspirations of marginalized people of global 'South' is still low
- Excessive focus on global, resistance not from local grassroots level
- Couldn't develop genuinely grassroots, transparent, participatory, representative system
- Fragmentation and incoherency
- Vague, Overlapping and contradictory identities
- Weak organizational base
- Product of same process and suffer from similar weaknesses to which they resist
- Some of them have violent & Anarchist strands

Sum up

- Global social movements are loose networks operating in transnational plane for social changes at global level
- Global civil society channelizes its energy through GSMs which uses NGOs for organizational bases
- GSMs resist neo-liberal economic globalization, i.e. globalization from above and promote alternate vision of globalization from below- more humane, just, fair, equitable, inclusive, sustainable globalization
- Pluses: highlighted disturbing aspects of globalization, gave alternate vision, raised issues of poor, marginalized, and moderated the unbridled capitalist/neo-liberal globalization
- Minuses: Vague & overlapping identity, fragmentation, guided, funded and initiated by Global 'North', not linked to grassroot level, weak organizational base, incoherent, adopting similar methods, technologies, and suffering from similar weaknesses to which they fight.

References

- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
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- **Anti-Globalization Forces, the Politics of Resistance, and Africa: Promises and Perils** by E. Osei Kwadwo Prempeh(https://www.jstor.org/stable/3180897?read-now=1&seq=15#page_scan_tab_contents)
- **CONSTRUCTING 'THE ANTI-GLOBALISATION MOVEMENT'** by Catherine Eschle(https://www.jstor.org/stable/41852911?read-now=1&seq=11#page_scan_tab_contents)

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SOVEREIGNTY

**SOVEREIGNTY IN THE AGE OF
GLOBALIZATION**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of Past year's papers

Meaning, Nature, and Features of
Sovereignty

Evolution of state Sovereignty

How Globalisation affected Sovereignty ?

Sovereignty in the age of Globalisation

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Has the process of globalisation emerged as a challenge to the Sovereignty of states?

Q2. How does globalization impact political Sovereignty? Do you agree with the view that idea of nation state is on a state of decline in the era of globalisation? Give reasons.

Q3. How globalization has led to transformation of state power?

Q4. What are the impact of globalisation on the Sovereignty and territoriality of nation-state? Explain.

Q5 Globalisation impacts political Sovereignty and territoriality of nation state; comment.

Sovereignty : Meaning

- The principle of absolute and unlimited power; the absence of a higher authority in either domestic or external affairs for a population of fixed territory.
- ‘the absolute and perpetual power of a commonwealth’. **Jean Bodin** (1530–96). law reflects the ‘will’ of the sovereign.
- Monopoly of coercive power in hands of single ruler to protect individuals from lawlessness **Thomas Hobbs**(1588 –1679)
- Sovereignty vested in Monarch vs notion of popular sovereignty by **Rousseau**
- Sovereign statehood is an institution- set of persistent and connected rules, prescribing behavioural roles, constraining activities, and shaping expectations in international society of state (**Robert Keohane**)
- the supreme legal authority of the nation to give and enforce the law within a certain territory and in consequence independence from authority of other nations and equality with them under international law (**Morgenthau**)
- **Billiard Ball analogy**: In the billiard ball model of world politics adopted by realist theorists states are the billiard balls that collide with one another while sovereignty is the hard and impenetrable outer shell of the ball which enables it to withstand the impact of the collision

Features of Sovereignty

- Sovereignty is what makes state the prime actor in global politics
 - States are states because they are capable of exercising sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders, and so are autonomous and independent actors in global politics.
- State sovereignty is the basis of UN and all International Law
- Internal Vs External Sovereignty
 - **Internal sovereignty** : State having supreme power/authority within its territory, especially monopoly of legitimate force/coercion and finance- fiscal & monetary
 - The notion of a supreme power/authority within the state in which the sovereignty is vested
 - **External sovereignty**: state as an independent and autonomous entity and actor in world affairs
 - external sovereignty guarantees that the territorial integrity and political independence of each state is inviolable
- Where or in which authority Sovereignty located within a state?
 - King? Church? Temples? People?
 - popular sovereignty representing the 'general will' of people
- Huge disparity in relative power of states makes the concept idealistic (idealism)
- Sovereignty of states vs Human Rights and Global Justice

Evolution of State Sovereignty

- State, as prime political institution representing a fixed population and territory, emerged in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe ;
- The Peace of Westphalia (1648) is usually taken to have formalized the modern notion of statehood
- Sovereignty was essential feature of statehood as per the treaty. All other state were supposed to respect the territorial integrity of a state, not to interfere in its domestic affairs, and treat other state as equal.
- State has monopoly of the means of 'legitimate violence'(Weber) and Financial-fiscal & monetary-monopoly (Schumpeter)
- rise of nationalism in 18th & 19th century in Europe gave rise to nation-state
- Concept of nation-state expanded from Europe into North America, then, during the nineteenth century, into South America and Japan, becoming a truly global system in the twentieth century, due to the process of decolonization in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific.
- Growing influence of state in cold war era: welfare states, macroeconomic planning and the mobilization of mass citizen nationalism, collectivist and totalitarian state
- Notion of state sovereignty came under great stress and intense debate in the age of globalization after the end of cold war.

Alternative Perspective on Sovereignty in the age of Globalization

- **Globophiles and hyperglobalists** : Globalization has diluted the notion of state sovereignty
- **Realists**: State sovereignty is very much intact and in many ways has got new instruments and dimensions
- **Middle ground**: Globalization has altered the role and significance of the state, and nature of sovereignty

How Globalization Affected Sovereignty?

- **Globalization affected the notion of territoriality:** increasingly 'permeable' state borders ; notion of 'supra-territoriality'; de-territorialized' transnational corporations(TNCs)
- **Regionalization:** EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, African Union, NATO
- **Multi-lateral Economic organisations:** WTO, G-20, BRICS, IMF- undermined the capacity of states to operate as autonomous self governing units
- **Globalized economic and financial system-** borderless' global economy
- **Collective action Dilemma and emergence of Risk Society:** Climate change, Pandemic diseases, Terrorism, Migration, Disruptive technologies, Hunger/poverty, energy crisis

Changing Nature of Sovereignty in the age of Globalization

- **Collectivized** and **Welfare** States of cold war era gave way to **Neo-liberal** states
 - Neo-liberalism : 'hollowing out' of the state ; Liberalization, privatization, deregulation and the 'rolling back' of welfare provisions
- **Government** gave way to **Governance**
- **Changed relationship** between markets and states, state and society
- **Changed nature of sovereignty**: Instead of centralized territorial control and barrier to intervention as a bargaining tool for influence over trans national network for economic and strategic edge
- **Post-Sovereign State**
 - Market state
 - Competition State
 - Post Modern State
 - Internationalization of state
- Notion of **Pooled Sovereignty**- EU, ASEAN

State Sovereignty and Globalisation- Debate

Globalisation diluted Sovereignty

- Globalisation made state border permeable
 - Disruptive Technologies
 - Financial globalisation
 - Pandemic Diseases, Terrorism, Pollution, Climate change
- Rise of non-state actors
 - Government changed to Governance
- Collective Action dilemmas
- Human Rights & Global Justice
- Complex interdependence changed the nature of Sovereignty
- ***Ideologies supporting this view: Liberals, Neo-Marxists, critical theorists***

State Sovereignty is intact

- Myth of the Borderless World
- economic globalization requires order, security, and law enforcement-provided by states
- State remains most dominant actor both internally and externally
- Sovereignty adapting to globalisation: Pooled Sovereignty, Sovereignty as bargaining tool
- Nationalism and Nation-state remain most potent ideologies
- Rise of nationalist and right wing parties
- ***Ideologies supporting this view: Realists, Middle ground theorists***

Sum Up

- Notion of state being supreme and ultimate authority over a fixed territory and population is state sovereignty
- International state system, UN, and International law all are based on the notion of state sovereignty
- Evolution of state or nation state is closely linked to evolution of notion of sovereignty
- Globalization has affected sovereignty in multiple ways- making borders permeable, disruptive technologies, rise of non-state actors, International organizations, de-centered and networked regulation, complex interdependence, and collective action dilemmas
- In views of Liberals, and critical theorists, state sovereignty and state power are declining in the age of globalization
- For realists, state sovereignty and power are intact, rather increased due to globalization.
- However, the middle ground which highlight changing but prime role of state and state sovereignty in global affairs is most plausible.
- Sovereignty is re-defined in the age of globalization. Instead of centralized territorial control as a bargaining tool for influence over trans national network

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- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
 - A. Heywood, (2011) *Global Politics*, New York: Palgrave-McMillan, pp. 112-134.
 - R. Keohane, (2000) 'Sovereignty in International Society', in D. Held and A. McGrew (eds.)
- *The Global Transformations Reader An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew
- Materials available on WWW and you tube videos

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