

INTERNATIONAL RELATION

**Meaning, Nature, Scope, Evolution and
Approaches**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of Past year's papers

Meaning, Nature, Scope, and Significance
of International Relations (IR)

Evolution of IR

Approaches to IR

Major contributors

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

- Q1. Discuss the significance and evolution of International Relations as a discipline. Why do you think that IR should be inter-disciplinary in nature?
- Q2. state system is nothing but Westphalian system. Explain the level of analysis concept of IR
- Q3. Discuss the development and significance of IR as a discipline
- Q4. Discuss the nature, and scope of IR. do you think that IR should be inter-disciplinary in nature?
- Q5 explain the post Westphalian phase of IR

International Relation: Meaning

- Study of relationship and interactions between countries, nature and consequences of such relationship.
- Both a **condition**- facts of international politics, the actual conduct of relations among nations through diplomacy based on foreign policy, cooperation, conflict and war among them and **field of study** to understand and explain nations' acts and behavior in international state system
- International relations and politics are generally understood as a set of actions, reactions and interactions between sovereign states, through the medium of their foreign policies.
- Study of the global state system.
- **State system**: The organization of humankind into sovereign states ; Palmer and Perkins "It is the pattern of political life in which people are separately organized into sovereign states that must manage to get along together" in the anarchic world order.
- Study of events, phenomenon, issues, organizations, structures, conflict, and cooperation beyond the boundaries of nation-state
- **For example** : study of global conflict, violence & war, peace & cooperation, global trade & business, migration, refugee, terrorism, climate change, energy crisis, hunger & poverty, etc

Definitions

- **Hans Morgenthau** : Struggle of power among states in International system.
- **Palmer and Perkins** : IR includes many other things beyond interrelationship between states, international organizations, and groups. Despite keeping nation-state in its centre, IR also accommodate various other relationships at upper and lower levels of nation-states.
- **Stanley Hoffmann** : IR is concerned with those elements and events which affect foreign policies and powers of those fundamental political units in which the world is divided.
- **Quincy Wright** : IR not only organize study of relations between states but also study of various kinds of groups like nations, states, people, alliances, regions, international organizations, industrial organizations, religious organizations, etc.

Nature of IR

- **Anarchy** : No supranational authority, widely varying capabilities among legally equal and sovereign nation-states
- States or nation-states are main actors in the International state system
- Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism
- Multi-Disciplinary, Multi Theoretical
- Behaviouralism: comparing state's behavior to human's nature
- ***Changing nature in contemporary world***
 - Increasing roles of non-state actors, supranational organizations
 - Locus shifting from Europe and North America to Asia and 3rd world countries
 - Focus shifting from inter state war and security to interdependence and cooperation to tackle environmental degradation/climate change, terrorism & violence, hunger & poverty, energy security, epidemic, human rights, etc.

Scope of IR

- **Traditional scope:**

- Study of conflictual and co-operational interactions among states in the International state system
- Study of processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states
- Study of struggle for power and power relationship among states
- War and peace, security and cooperation, independency and interdependence among states
- Study of international laws, treaties, covenants, conventions, etc.
- Study and evaluation of foreign policies of states, and national interests

- **Contemporary scope:**

- Study of International organizations in fields of politics, trade, economy, cultural, education, religion, regulation, movements.
- Study of International economic system, free trade, economic liberalization, globalizations.
- Study of non-state actors, civil societies, NGOs, social movements, and social phenomenon such as human rights, epidemic, environmental issues, terrorism, migration, refugee, poverty and hunger, etc.
- Contemporary international relations embrace the whole gamut of diplomatic history, international politics, international organization, international law and area studies aimed at understanding and solving problems and conflicts of shared global communities separated by boundaries of nation-states

Significance of IR

- **Nation-states:**
 - Help protect national Interests by Understanding, analyzing, and explaining events and phenomenon across the national boarder
 - Help formulate and orient foreign policy
- **Community:** Help protect interests and contribution as part of global community
- **Individual :** Events, decisions, and phenomenon beyond one's nation's boundary affect people of that nation
- MNCs, NGOs, movements, global opinion leaders, etc: help them play their part/role in global community and International system
- Help tackle terrorism, climate change, epidemic, human rights, migration/refugee, natural disaster, hunger, poverty, etc. **Help achieve universal human values** of security, freedom, progress, order, justice, welfare at global level among people living in separate nation-states

Level of Analysis



Individual



National



International
system

Evolution of IR

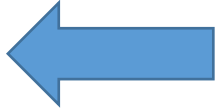
- **Pre-Westphalia(pre-1648):**
 - Greek city states, Roman Empire, Medieval Empires in India, Iran, China, Japan
 - Multiple and multilayer authority, No territorial sovereignty, share of power and authority between church and Emperor, Feudal society
 - IR as Diplomatic History
- **Treaty of Westphalia (1648):**
 - Westphalian state system: legal equality and sovereignty of states, non intervention, balance of power
- **Post Westphalia:**
 - Nationalism and nation-state in Europe, Colonialism, democratization
 - Decolonialization, Rise of American nation-state, integration of decolonized states into Westphalian state system
- **Contemporary**
 - Challenge to Westphalian state system, UN, EU, NATO, ASEAN, OPEC and other supranational organizations, Globalization and rising role of non-state actors
 - Global community, promoting and protecting human values and democratic principles, inter-disciplinary, humanistic, and problem solving approach

Major Approaches to IR

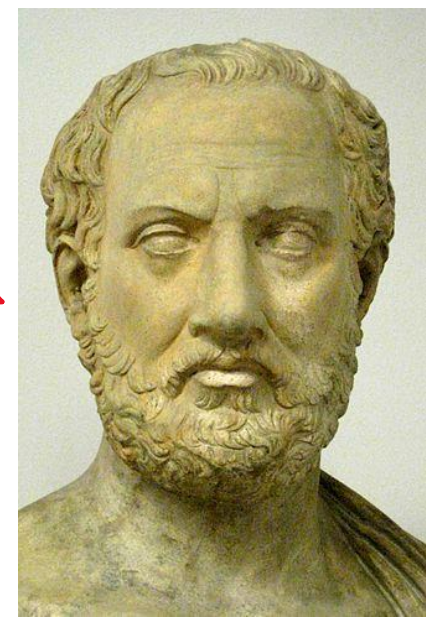
- **Realism:**
 - Visualize IR as constant Struggle for power among states.
 - States are guided by their fear, self-preservation, and self-interest in the anarchic state system
 - *Thucydides, Hans Morgenthau(classical) , and Kenneth Waltz(neo-realism) are main proponents*
- **Liberalism or idealism :**
 - highlight interdependence and cooperation among states by way of International organisations(UN), free trade & commerce, and Democracy
 - Most of the time, States behave rationally and responsibly
 - *Immanuel Kant (classical) , Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye (neo-liberalism)*
- **Marxism :** Visualize International state system as exploitative capitalist design wherein capitalist class of the 'core' (states of western Europe & North America) in nexus with elite class of 'periphery' (3rd world states) exploit the masses and natural wealth of the periphery. State act as instrument of capitalist class.
- **Feminist View:** traces and link exploitative, and self-interested nature of IR to gender inequality and domination by men



Hans Morgenthau(1904 – 1980): Father of IR; '[*Politics Among Nations*](#), ' 1948
Realist school of thought- IR is struggle for power among nation-state



Thucydides (460-400 BC): Father of Realism and scientific history ; His '*Melian dialogue*' is regarded as a seminal work of international relations theory



Prominent Contributors



Kenneth Waltz (1924-2013): gave Neo-Realism, level of analysis; wrote '*Man, the State, and War*', '*Theory of International Politics*'

Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. : Founded Neo-liberalism



Sum Up

- traditionally IR is study of interactions and inter-relations between sovereign states in the international state system.
- However, its nature and scope underwent significant changes and expansion in the era of globalization
- Now focus is shifting from state to non-state actors, decentralized, de-centred interactions among multiple players in the more dynamic global system
- Realism, liberalism, Marxism, and feminism provide major theoretical perspectives to study IR
- Realism: IR is struggle for power between states ; Liberalism: Focuses on interdependence and cooperations; Marxism analyses state system through class struggle; for feminists gender discrimination represents exploitation, violence, and struggle for power in the international system
- For realists, treaty of Westphalia is an landmark event ushering International state system and hence IR, but Westphalian state system is under increasing attack, of late.

References

- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
- Study materials of IGNOU on this topic
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INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Theoretical Perspective

Realism

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PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the theory of realism with reference to Hans J. Morgenthau

Q2. Critically analyse the main features of political realism of Hans J. Morgenthau

Q3. Analyze the core concepts of Morgenthau's political realism and compare it with Kenneth Waltz's theory of neo-realism.

Q4. Discuss the six principles of Hans Morgenthau's understanding of realism. Is it right to say that Realism is theory, paradigm and traditions? Justify your answer.

Q5 Discuss the principles on which the Morgenthau's theory of realism is based.

Important Definitions

- **Paradigm:** theoretical frameworks within which all scientific thinking and practices operate.
 - distinct set of concepts or thought patterns, including theories, research methods, postulates, and standards for what constitutes legitimate contributions to a field.
 - the practices that define a scientific discipline at a certain point in time. Paradigms contain all the distinct, established patterns, theories, common methods and standards that allow us to recognize an experimental result as belonging to a field or not.
- **Theory:** Reflective thought. A formal idea or set of ideas, stated in certain linguistic propositions, that is intended to explain some aspect of natural world or social phenomenon.
- **Approaches:** a way of dealing with a situation or problem. Consists of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data. A mode of analysis which provides a set of tools and develops concepts for the study and comprehension of any political phenomena.

Realism: Meaning

- State are main actors of IR - **Statism**
- International state system is anarchic, hence **self-help** is only way for **survival** of state
- In absence of world govt for survival Power must be balanced by power.
- [states](#) are defined as rational actors, pursuing their interests rather than agents of [morality](#). Interests rather than morality guides actions of states in global world order.
- National Interest defined in terms of power is the concept on which autonomous sphere of political science/IR is built
- State pursue goal of 'security maximization' or 'power maximization' for its survival
- **political and moral spheres are separate : State represent supreme moral good. Its moral aspirations are not tied to universal moral laws.**
- **Examples of realism in practice** : Many Instances of Mahabharat, Balance of power, Alliance building, Behaviour of European states during inter war period, Cold war era, War between Athens and Sparata,, etc

6 principles of realism by Morgenthau

- human nature base of rational political theory: rational (and unemotional) theory of international politics based on objective laws that have their roots in human nature”
- Interest and power: placard of politics: Concept of (National) Interest defined in terms of power is what gives (International) politics an autonomous sphere separate from economics, ethics, or religion
- Meaning and content of both Interest and power is not fixed, it is contextual.
 - National Interest depends upon the political and cultural context with which foreign policy is formulated
 - Content and manner of use of power are determined by political and cultural environment.
- Morality vs national Interest: State represent supreme moral good. In protecting its interests state are not bound by abstract universal moral principles.
- Difference between moral aspirations of a nation and universal moral laws; concept of interest defined in terms of power saves state both from moral excess and political folly
- Pluralist Human Nature and autonomous political sphere
- To develop autonomous theory of political science, “political man,” must be taken away and focused(abstracted) from other aspects of human nature

Classic Vs Neo Realism

Classic Realism

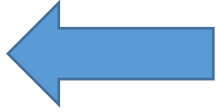
- **Focuses on Human Nature**
- **Analyses state behaviours**
- **philosophical and normative**
- Oldest approach since beginning
- Dominant approach during cold war
- No status quo or pacifism- revisionist
- State constantly seek power
- Stresses autonomy of political sphere
- **Proponents:** Thucydides , Machiavelli, Hobbs,, Morgenthau, [E. H. Carr](#), Reinhold Niebuhr

Neo-Realism

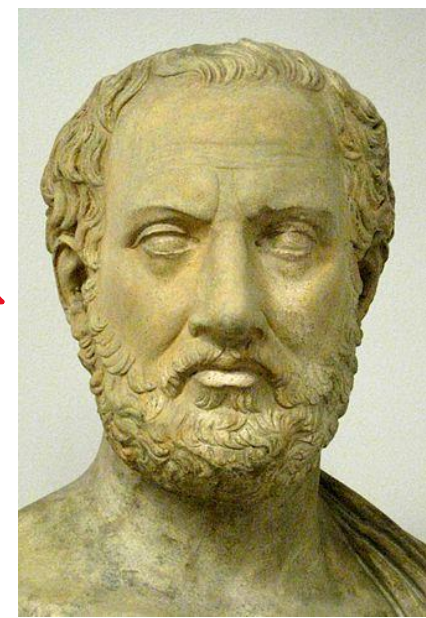
- Focuses on Structure of state system
- Ignores state level analysis, rather focuses on global state system
- Analytical and empirical- value neutral
- Evolved in 1980s- post cold war
- **Defensive variant- status quoist and pacifist**
- **Allows crossing of spheres- multi-disciplinary**
- **States seek security, power is means to security**
- **Proponents:** Rousseau, **Kenneth Waltz** , John Mearsheimer,



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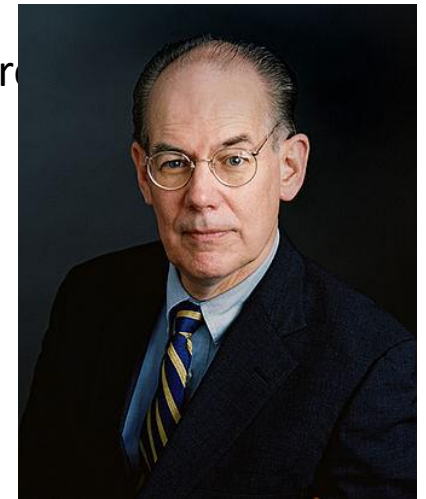


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Kenneth Waltz (1924-2013): gave Neo-Realism, level of analysis; wrote '*Man, the State, and War*', '*Theory of International Politics*'

John Mearsheimer(1947) : Offensive Neo-realism ; The Tragedy of Gr



Reinhold Niebuhr(1892-1971): Christian realism
'Moral Man and Immoral Society'(1932),
'Nature and destiny of Man'(1939)



Neo-Realism or Structural Realism

- Not the human nature but anarchic structure of world state system should be the basis for formulating theory and policy for IR
 - **Structure of International State system: No world govt., relative power distribution among states which are functionally similar, sovereign and legally equal.**
 - **Survival by self help define anarchic world state system**
 - Great variations in relative power and capabilities of states, self-help and survival instinct determine state's foreign policy
 - **Power is means to achieve end of Security. Hence states are 'Security Maximizer'**
 - But according one variant : 'offensive' neo-realism, **states are 'Power Maximizer'**
 - **Security Dilemma: lack of trust- each state increasing its capabilities- end result heightened tension, no increase in security**
 - **Balance of power : internal vs external**
-
- Rank ordering of states on the basis of capabilities and power: to identify great powers – uni, bi, and multi-polar world order
 - Focus on Global state system, ignoring unit (state) level analysis- perceptions of state leaders, state society relationships, and motivations of states

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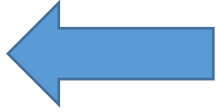
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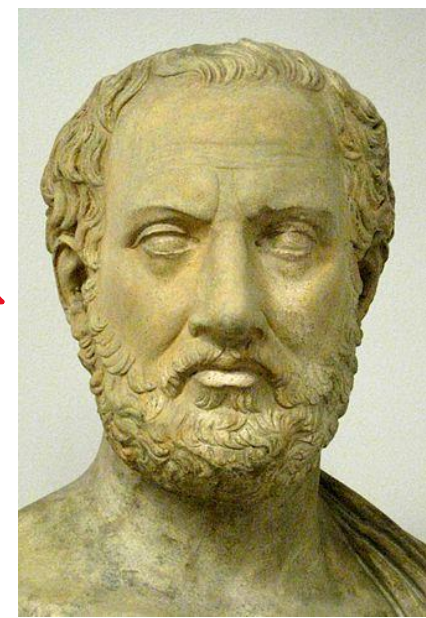
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WESTPHALIAN STATE SYSTEM

Pre & Post Westphalia
POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Pre-Westphalia Global Political Order

- The Greek city-state system, the Roman Empire, and the Middle Ages are each key developments leading to the Westphalian order
- In the ancient world there existed small city states in Greece, India, Egypt and Italy
- Thereafter sprawling dynastic empires- Roman, Maurya, Han in china
- Medieval period saw feudal system in Europe, and Multi-national empires - Holy Roman Empire in Europe ,Safavid Empire in Iran, Mughals in India, Ming in china ,Ottoman Empire in Turkey
- Empires had layered and divided authority- Emperor- kings- lords/baron-Nights--serfs; church vs state
- No concept of sovereign states, national self-determination, and secular state
- However, they had diplomatic relationship, trade & economic interactions, and some sort of balance of Power

Westphalia Treaty- 1648

- Ended 30 years of war in Europe mainly between Roman catholic Habsburg(Holy Roman Empire) empire and protestants kings of Sweden, Denmark, France, Netherlands
- The Treaty was signed at Münster and later at Osnabrück (in one the Roman Catholic city and one the Protestant city).
- Established commonwealth of sovereign, legally equal states ; ended rule of Emperor(layered & decentralized rule) and religious authority(protector of Christian commonwealth) in Europe
- Considered as beginning of IR based on state system- sovereign, legally equal states bound by diplomatic relationship, and peace by maintaining balance of power
- The treaty also established IR norms of non-interference in the domestic matters of one state by other and national self-determination
- State could decide its religion, moral standards and its interest ,and could inter into diplomatic relationship with other states
- The essence of modern national-state became the Westphalian idea that political legitimacy has to come from secular legal authority rather than from divine sanction as it was a practice in the Middle Ages.
- Foundation of modern state: Centralized administration and government, big and powerful armies ,taxation system , absolute control on domestic affairs, political obligation, diplomatic relationship with other states, etc.

Westphalian State System in the beginning

- Territorial sovereignty states ruled by Kings/princes having their own religion (Catholicism, protestants- Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians)
- State: defined territory, population(subject/citizen), military power, centralized Govt./administration
- Non-interference and legal equality
- Diplomatic relationship among states
- Adherence to International law, treaties, covenants
- Balance of Power and collective security- concert of Europe(Britain, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria)
- Non-recognition of political organization beyond Europe- non-European political system were not members of the state system

Features of Westphalian State System

- Prominent feature of organizing political life in modern era – coincides with modernity
- Came into being first in Europe, expanded to North America by late 18th century, to Latin America- early 19th, Asia & Africa- 20th Century
- Sovereign and legally equal states, non-interference, national self-determination, diplomatic recognition and relationships, and adherence to International laws/treaties
- Secular state, citizenship, political rights and obligation, national morality, territorial integrity, national interest, and Balance of Power
- State became the main, sometime sole, actor in global politics/IR
- Despite being Global political phenomenon, it is still Eurocentric
- 3rd world countries though included in state system, not treated equally

Post Westphalian Development in IR

- Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Congress of Vienna (1815):, and Treaty of Paris (1856) further shaped concept of national sovereignty, nation-states, and Balance of power
- French revolution was paradigmatic shift- notion of popular sovereignty, liberty, equality
- The system that emerged after the Vienna Congress was a system of great-power hegemony and known as the Concert of Europe- Britain, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining international order
- Nationalism-nation-state and national self-determination
- WWI: 914, the system's membership reached 43. For the first time the European exclusiveness ended; States from Latin America, 3 Asia, one from Africa and one from the Middle East.
- Second half of the nineteenth century that regular international conferences started taking place for adopting conventions regarding the behaviour of states.
- after World War II, De-colonized nations of Asia and Africa were included – post colonial states
- 20th Century and beyond : Globalization,, Supranational Regional alliances(EU, ASEAN), International organizations, Non state actors- MNC/TNC, global political organizations, Communities, movements, etc reveals new trends which suggest that the Westphalian system of territorially sovereign nation-states is on decline.

Post Westphalian Global Order

- Rising role of Non-state actors and International organizations in IR
- United Nations security system(UNSC) and the EU as two typical signposts of post-Westphalian orders
- More decision making powers, overriding states, to International organisations who may now interfere in domestic affairs- WTO, FAO, UNSC, EU, IMF, World Bank
- Condition of anarchy to internationalized structure
- State sovereignty vs constitutional principles of democracy and rule of law
- Horizontal (inter-governmentalism) vs vertical (supranational authorities) (hierocracy of International organisations) legal global order
- Withering away of state system in the era of globalisation

Sum Up

- Westphalian treaty of 1648 considered as beginning of modern international state system
- The treaty ended rule of Empire and authority of catholic churches in political system of Europe
- **Westphalian Template**- Territorially sovereign and legally equal states interacting each other through diplomatic relationship and following International law, treaties, conventions- has been the defining features of IR in modern times
- Pre- Westphalian system- **Ancient**- City states and Empires; **Medieval**- feudalism and vast empires; theocratic states
- Post Westphalian : Popular sovereignty, democracy, Citizen's Right, nationalism, nation-states, Balance of power
- Globalist ion and Westphalian state system : is under stress in the era of supra-national International organizations- EU, UN, WTO, IMF, World Bank-
- Rising role of non-state actors- MNC/TNC, International organizations, communities, social movements, opinion leaders, International law, treaties/covenants, media, etc in IR

References

- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
- J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens, (2008) **The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations**, New York: Oxford University Press
- Material available on You Tube, and World Wide Web on this topic
 - **Wikipedia Articles:**
 - https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holy_Roman_Empire
 - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westphalian_sovereignty
 - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_of_Westphalia
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 - https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280207607_Which_Post-Westphalia_International_Organizations_between_Constitutionalism_and_Authoritarianism
 - <https://wnorton.com/college/polisci/essentials-of-international-relations5/ch/02/summary.aspx>
 - J STOR article :
 - **Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth** by Andreas Osiander : https://www.jstor.org/stable/3078632?read-now=1&seq=8#page_scan_tab_contents
 - **Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory** by Turan Kayaoglu : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40730727?seq=1>

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INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Theoretical Perspectives

Level of Analysis

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Level of Analysis Approach in IR

- In IR research and studies, focusing on a particular level in terms of components and system, or in terms of parts and whole
- Level of Analysis is very common approach in Natural Science and social science researches.
- Different level gives different perspective, frame of reference, and lenses to understand the dynamics of IR
- It is similar to Cartography in which different projection methods are used to draw two dimensional map of spherical earth- different projections gives different details of the same earth
- Examples: In organizational studies, Individual, group, and organization can be the levels ; In Electronics , Atom, sub-atom, and electronic levels, and Levels of Analysis in IR may be International System, National level, regional levels, and Individuals

Typical Level of Analysis in IR



Individual



National



International
system

International System level: Systemic Approach

- Unit or level of analysis is global International System or Inter-state system
- Typical Phenomenon under analysis: creation and dissolution of coalitions, frequency and duration of specific power configuration in the global world order, global terrorism, Environmental degradation, War, etc
- Advantages: Comprehensiveness, Overall big picture, Whole is more than its parts, easy to comprehend because of uniformity of phenomenon at national level- like uniform foreign policies, good descriptive and predictive capabilities
- Dis advantages: Insufficient explanatory capabilities, deterministic, treating nation-state as black box, ignores variations at national level- undermine national autonomy and independence of choice
- Examples: Focusing on Anarchic world order to develop theory of IR- neo-realism ; Uniform foreign policies of nations guided by interest defined in terms of power

National level: Nation-state as prime Actor

- Unit or level of analysis is nation-state, internal dynamics of nations, Nation as actor analysis ; also called unit level analysis
- Typical Phenomenon under analysis: National Foreign policies, National Interests, National Ideologies, relation between the national govt. and civil society, Regime type in nations, etc
- Advantages: More descriptive capabilities- more detailing, Comparative analysis , More explanatory capabilities, Unpack the 'black box',
- Dis-advantages: Over emphasis on national differentiations, Ethnocentrism, Loses sight of big picture, much more complex and time consuming
- Examples: To explain causes of World war II, analyzing ideology, motives, and actions of key nations- Germany, Russia, England, France- as prime actors.

Individual level Analysis

- Unit or level of analysis is key leader and statesman ; Individual as actor in IR
- Typical Phenomenon under analysis: Human nature and motives, Ideology and world view of the individual actors, Role of Individuals in shaping foreign policies of nations and key events in International Relations.
- Advantages: Much deeper and Micro analysis, More explanatory and Descriptive capabilities,
- Dis-advantages: Not very comprehensive analysis, Loses sight of big picture, Difficult to analyze individual motives, complex and time consuming
- Examples: To explain causes of World war II, analyzing nature, motives, and actions of key Individuals- Hitler, Stalin, Churchill, Mussolini as prime actors.

Other possible Levels of Analysis

- **Group level** : People, community, interest and pressure groups within nation states
- Examples: Role of lobbying by interest groups in national foreign Policy
- **Regional Level**: Group of nations in a geographic region
- Example: Analysis of regional alliances, regional power configuration, EU, NATO, Middle East, ASEAN, South Asia, etc



Kenneth Waltz (1924-2013): level of analysis in his '*Man, the State, and War*', as 'Images' to analyze causes of war.



Barry Buzan (1946): Professor of IR in LSE; in 1995, He revisited the level of analysis concept of David Singer as part of his comprehensive security analysis

Prominent Contributors

J. David Singer (1925-2009) was an American professor of political science; Wrote Seminal Article- '*The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations*' in 1961



Morton A. Kaplan (1921– 2017) was Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago. "*System and Process in International Politics*" (1957) gave unit level analysis and system theory in IR

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- Recommended reading list of DU on this topic
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INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Theoretical Perspective

LIBERALISM

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Critically examine the core assumptions of Liberalism in the study of IR

Q2. Notes: Neo Liberalism In iR

Q2. Discuss the Neo-liberal theory of international Relations with special reference to the concept of "complex-interdependence".

Liberal Approach to IR: Basic Principles

- Bound to its core ideologies of individual liberty, autonomy, and inalienable rights, it believes in universalism and hence cooperation and interdependence to survive in anarchic world order
- Positive view of human nature- reason, rationality- Optimistic view on IR
- National Interests are varied , cannot be solely defined in terms of power
- States are main but not the sole actor. NGOs, MNCs, International Institutions, cobweb of people/groups linked through multiple channels of interactions
- Free trade, free flow of capital, Modernisation, Globalisation, Democracy, people to people contact and cooperation, International Regime and Institutions, shall bound/integrate nations towards cooperation and interdependence
- Vision of less conflictual and more peaceful and progressive world joined by common interests and bound by interdependence and integration.

Features of Liberal Approach to IR

- Liberalism and realism are two contending mainstream theories in IR
- Deals with 'Low politics' Issues- Economic, Social, ecological, technological (High politics- National security, War, Diplomacy)
- 4 strands – Sociological, Commercial or Interdependence, Institutional, Republican
- Closely linked to liberal democracy- free market capitalist economy, Democratic welfare state- and Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization (LPG)
- Neo-liberalism has gone too close to neo-realism in ideology

Evolution of Liberalism in IR: 5 Phases

- **Early: 17-18th Century: Core ideologies by Hobbs, Locke, Kant**
 - State of nature- social contract- civilized, modern, peaceful society
 - Enlightenment: Science, reason, rationality- freedom, cooperation, peace progress – ‘Republics-perpetual Peace’ (Kant)
- **Imperial : 18-19th Century: Colonialism, modernization, universalization**
 - Civilizing mission, Rule of law, modernization, increased trade, dependence
- **Inter-war period: Idealism**
 - Belief in moral values, cosmopolitanism, progress, peace, Institutions
- **Post War period : Neo Liberalism**
 - Less idealistic, more pragmatic
 - Primacy of state, power politics, anarchic world order but belief in Institutions to facilitate peace and cooperation
- **Post cold war period: Liberal Hegemony**
 - Led by US agenda of expanding liberal democracy with free market capitalism across the globe in hegemonic way- by deploying its hard, soft, and structural power

4 Strands of Liberalism in IR

- **Sociological**
 - Apart from relations between states, relation between individuals, groups, and people/societies- transnational social networks- also influences IR
 - Overlapping and cross cutting interdependent relation between people promote peace and cooperation
- **Commercial or Interdependence**
 - greater interdependence and integration through trade, commerce, investment
 - increasing the cost of withdrawal from cooperative venture
 - Increasing role of TNCs, Multilateral organizations, economic rather than military interests
 - Integration theory: David Mitrany; Complex Interdependence Theory- Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye
- **Republican**
 - Democratic peace theory: less possibility of war between democracies due to their political culture of peaceful conflict resolutions, common moral values, common ties
- **Institutional**
 - Institutions help build trust and cooperation among states in anarchic world order
 - Help distribute gains of cooperation equitably and transparently
 - Provide information, platform to debate, express opinion, agreements

Neo Liberalism

- separation of facts and values; Scientific inquiry of social phenomenon- positivist approach; cooperation vs harmony; properly coordinated international regimes and institution
- International regimes and institutions help govern a competitive and anarchic world system
- States are main, but not the only actor in IR
- States are rational actor, seeking to maximize their interests- which are varied- in the anarchic world order
- In cooperative venture, states are concerned with absolute gains, not relative gains, but concerned about cheating
- State may shift loyalty and resources to institutions if they are mutually beneficial and fulfil interests of the state
- Obstacle to cooperation: areas of no common interest(zero sum game), cheating- no compliance by others,
- Functional integration theory(1950s and 60s) and complex interdependence theory(70s and 80s)

Complex Interdependence: Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye

- Explained in their book '*Power and Interdependence*' (1977)
- Interdependence in IR means mutual dependence in which actors/countries are affected by actions of one another
- Core principles: States are not the sole actor, social welfare/economic issues are as important as security issues, and cooperation is equally dominant characteristics as conflict in IR.
- Features:
 - Multiple and layered channel of interconnections: Inter-state, trans governmental, and transnational: cobweb of multiple actors linked through multiple channels of interactions
 - Absence of Hierarchy among Issues : overlapping issues- no primacy to security/military issue
 - Minor role of Military force in resolving conflicts in globalized world
- It has become core principle of neo-liberalism. It is half way between realism and liberalism, between power politics and cooperation, between high and low politics.

Pros and Cons of Liberalism in IR

Pluses

- Positive and optimistic views
- Advocate peace, progress, development
- Link global politics to domestic politics
- Explain both historical changes and continuity
- Practical solutions to deal with contemporary global problems
- Help build global institution and regimes

Minuses

- Complex- difficult to understand
- limited to 'Low Politics'
- Fragmented- multiple strand
- Neo-liberalism too close to realism
- Dilemma of Imposition vs restraint in dealing with non-liberal and non-western cultures/nations
- Couldn't explain increase in inter-state wars
- Fail in situations of no common interest, life and death issues, concerns of relative gains, reverse trend of nationalism and realism

Liberalism Vs Realism

Realism

- Unchanging self-interested, competitive, evil Human nature
- Focus on survival/security, distribution of relative power
- National Interest defined in terms of power
- State sole actor in IR
- Unchanging nature of state
- Deals with 'High Politics'- survival, security, power
- **Proponents:** Morgenthau, E. H. Carr, Kenneth Waltz, Reinhold Niebuhr, John Mearsheimer

Liberalism

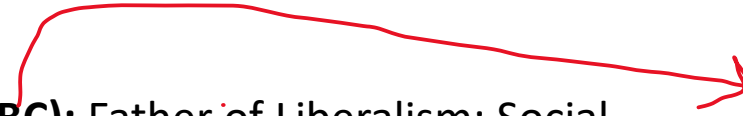
- Positive view on ever changing human nature
- Focus on cooperation and interdependence
- Varied national interests defined in terms of social preferences
- Multiple actors, multi-model relationship
- Domestic social configuration, other factors changes state's interest and nature
- Deals with 'Low Politics'- Socio-economic-ecological Issues
- **Proponents:** Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Bentham, Woodrow Wilson, Karl Deutsch (Security Community), Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, David Mitrany



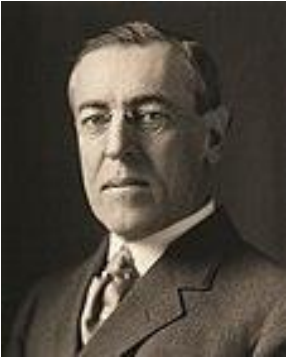
Immanuel Kant(1724 – 1804): Father figure of Enlightenment philosophy; 'Republicans will establish eternal Peace' in his essay Perpetual Peace (1795)



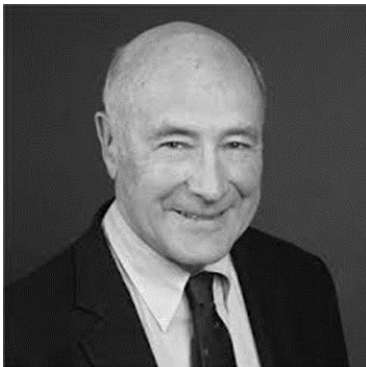
John Locke (1632-1704 BC): Father of Liberalism; Social Contract, natural Rights of Life, Liberty, Property ;



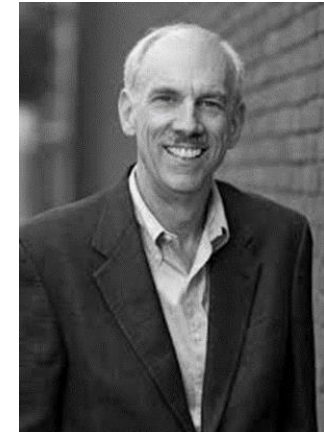
Prominent Contributors



Woodrow Wilson (1872-1919): Proponents of Idealism; 14 point peace principle; state should make its internal political philosophy the goal of its foreign policy



Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. :
Founded Neo-liberalism; Complex Interdependence



Sum Up

- Liberalism has been the challenger mainstream IR theory to dominant realism
- Tied to core ideologies of liberalism- individualism, inalienable rights, toleration, and minimal state- it highlight peace, progress, cooperation, and interdependence among multiple actors in IR
- It believes in building trust, cooperation, integration through free trade, expansion of free market economy, democracy, and international regime and institutions
- 4 strands- Sociological, Commercial or Interdependence, Republican, Institutional
- Neo-Liberalism adopt pragmatic approach ceding some ground to power politics of Realism but it believes in complex interdependence, International regime and institutions, and building trust and cooperation.
- Having a positive and optimistic view, solution to problems of contemporary globalized world, More focus on socio-economic issues, are its pluses; complex and fragmented, Euro and Ethno-centrism, fail to stop and explain war, are its minuses

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INTERNATIONAL RELATION

Theoretical Perspectives

Marxist Approach on IR

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Explain Marxist Theories in IR

Q2. Discuss the World System Theory with special reference to Immanuel Wallerstein.

Q3. Notes on World System Theory

Q4. Critically analyze the Marxist approaches of international Relations.

Q5 Notes on Dependency Theory.

Marxism: Introduction: basic principles

- **Dialectical and Historical Materialism**

- Materialistic conception of History: Changes in economic base (mode and relations of production) of society brings about changes socio-political-cultural superstructure- historical progression
- Perpetual class struggle- exploited vs exploiter; change in mode of production changes the class characteristics- master/slave, lord/serf, capitalist/labour

- **Exploitative nature of capitalism**

- Minority capitalist class owns means and forces of production, majority labour class sell their labour
- Profit, which is nothing but surplus value of labour, is taken away by capitalist, living labour at subsistence level
- Capitalist class dictate the superstructure, their ideas/worldview becomes mainstream, thus status quo is maintained

- **Vision of communist society:**

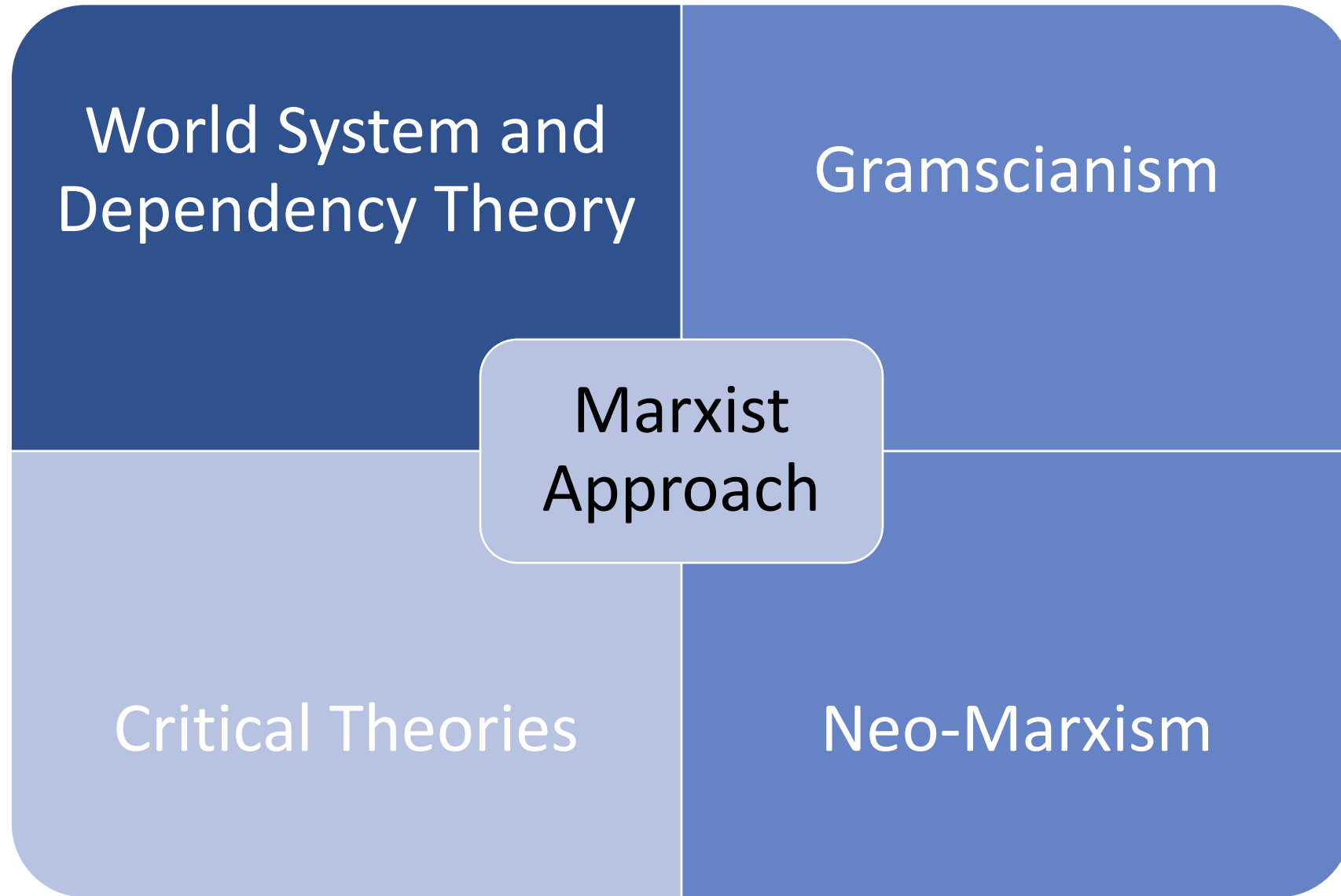
- Capitalist system will force the majority exploited class to revolt and bring about socialism and finally communism
- Communism: no private property, no wage-labour, class less society – from each according to his ability, to each according to his need'

- **Conception of State as instrument of class exploitation.** State help maintain dominance of capitalist class, and use force to suppress any resistance from labour class

Marxism in IR: Main Ideas/principles

- International system is capitalist world order whose structure and dynamics further the interest of dominant class
 - Main actor in IR is class; state, MNC, International organization- UN, IMF, World bank, WTO- they all represent dominant class interest in the global economic system
 - Structure of global capitalist system – Core, periphery, and semi- periphery areas- Elites of core areas in alliance with the elites of periphery exploit masses of the periphery ; core-satellite configuration leads to dependency of periphery on core.
- IR is not interplay of Interest and power but reflection of global mode of production and resulting relation of production among states- global economic structure determine global politics
- Colonialism and imperialism were process of capitalist expansion; Globalization is nothing but global expansion of capitalism- new capitalist imperialism
- Dominant class/state not only use force but also its hegemony to make their ideas, ideologies, worldviews as mainstream and commonly accepted by subordinate class/states- soft power or cultural hegemony

Four strands of Marxist Approach in IR



World system Theory : Immanuel Wallerstein

Structure of global capitalist system – Core, periphery, and semi- periphery areas ;
Closely linked to theory of imperialism and dependency theory

Core

- Prosperous
- Developed
- Politically/Militarily Dominant
- Control global economic system

Semi-Periphery

- Declined core or upwardly mobile periphery
- middle Income
- exporter of both raw material and manufactured goods
- both exploited and exploiter

Periphery

- Satellite of the core
- Poorly developed
- Exports raw material
- Politically/Militarily weaker

Configuration of Core, periphery, and semi- periphery changing across time and space It has its beginning, middle, and end

evolved in North Western Europe 15-16th Century with England, France, and Netherland as core, spain, northern Italy, southern Germany as semi- periphery and eastern Europe, and Latin America as periphery

Dependency Theory : Andre Gunder Frank

- Postulated by Frank in the context of Latin American nations. Ideologically linked to World System Theory
- Seemingly developed regions with a underdeveloped nation are satellites of the 'Core' or dominant economic powers/regions
- International satellites further develop their own satellites in the hinterland of the nation- Hierarchical metropolis-satellite structure
- Satellites are dependent on the CORE for technology, capital, raw material, and markets
- Such development is not autonomous, self-generating, sustainable, and equitable. Actually, it is development of underdevelopment!
- Example: Northeastern, north, and Sao-Paulo regions of Brazil, Bengal in India, Export oriented regions of Chile, Argentina, Mexico, etc

Gramsci's concept of Hegemony

- Built on Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'Hegemony' in his 'Prison Notebook'(1971)
- Interaction of economic base and socio-political superstructure
- Hegemony- 3rd dimension of power –manufactured consent- moral, political, cultural values/ideas of dominant class accepted as their own by subordinate/exploited class
- Hegemony is created and maintained by civil society and network of institutions- media, educational system, NGOs, etc.
- Through Hegemony, dominant class controls superstructure- socio-political-legal system
- In IR, hegemony manifest in dominant capitalist power/state controlling global superstructure – internet, financial market, global trade- and manufacturing consent on prevailing moral, political, cultural values/ideas- dress, food, entertainment, Leisure, worldview, etc

Gramscianism in IR: Robert W. Cox

- Knowledge of social world is contextual- reflect ideas/values of certain time/space
- Impossibility of fact-value separation; hence no objective and timeless theorization possible
- Mainstream IR theories are status quoist- help maintain hegemony of dominant class in current world order
- Dominant powers have shaped and given a highly exploitative and inequitable world order but in which by hegemony consent of exploited obtained
- The degree to which a state can successfully produce and maintain its hegemony is an indication of the extent of its power
- **Example:** Hegemon: Previously UK, now USA ; Dominant Ideas: Free trade, privatization, Liberalization, Globalization

Critical Theory in IR

- Developed out of the work of the **Frankfurt School**- Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas, Andrew Linklater
- Post-positivist, reflective, interpretive theory: question structure of world order and its outcome
- More focus on superstructure phenomenon- culture, bureaucracy, media, the structure of the family, reason and rationality ,theories of knowledge. Doubtful proletariat revolution- their absorption in mainstream system- **one dimensional society**
- **Emancipation**- more equal and just world, reconciling with nature, Not Domination/control but Dialogue, understanding ; Habermas: emancipation through widest possible participation in words and deeds-radical democracy; communicative rather than strategic actions; discursive ethics
- **Cosmopolitanism**: expansion of the moral boundaries of a political community: Rights and responsibilities crosses nation-state's border
- Example: EU represent progressive or emancipatory tendency in contemporary world politics

Neo-Marxist Approach

- Going back to original ideas of Marx- historical materialism, and focus on economic base- mode and relation of production
- international relations are part of a broader pattern of global social relations. As social relation changes, IR also changes
- Mode of production decides social relationship which in turn decides inter-state relations- thus economic base is the building block of IR
- With time mode and relation of production changes, changing IR; hence timeless theory based on 'Political man' i.e. realism is illusion
- Current wave of Globalization should be explained and theorized from Marx idea of global expansion of capitalism after demise of USSR
- Major Contributor: Justin Rosenberg

Pros and Cons of Marxist Approach

Pluses

- Raises fundamental issue of unequal and exploitative world order from class perspective
- Reveal hidden sources of Power- cultural Hegemony, and Economic dominance
- Emancipatory and Transformative
- Re-Formulate IR principles to make world more equitable, harmonious, and less exploitative
- Highlight aspects of deliberation- communication and dialogue, cosmopolitanism, and world citizen and community

Minuses

- Excessive focus on Economic aspects- Economic Determinism
- Excessive focus on class; Undermined other identities- race, Gender, caste, disability
- Fragmentation: multiple strand- couldn't develop unified explanatory theory of IR
- Utopic approach: largely unrealized
- Gap between theory and practice- gave rise to authoritarian regimes and tensions of cold war



Immanuel Wallerstein(1930-2019) : Senior Research Scholar at **Yale** University;
World System Theory.



Robert Warburton Cox (1926 –2018) was
a **Canadian** scholar of political science :*'Production, power,
and world order(1987), Political economy of a plural
world(2002)*



Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937): **Italian** Marxist Thinker; Idea of cultural Hegemony
. *'Prison Notebooks'* (1929-35)

Justin Rosenberg : **English** Scholar. *Neo-Marxism approach to IR;*
wrote ' the follies of globalisation Theory' and 'the empire of civil society'



Andrew Linklater(1949): scholar of the critical theory paradigm within IR from **Wales**, ' *Beyond Realism
and Marxism(1990)* ; *'The Transformation of Political Community'(1998), Critical Theory and World
Politics(2007)*



Andre Gunder Frank (1929-2005) **German-American** sociologist
and economic historian who promoted dependency theory after
1970

Sum Up

- Marxist approach to understand IR reveal economic and exploitative nature of global politics
- From Marxist perspective global inter-state system is extension of capitalism and class exploitation at global level
- Marx' ideas have been interpreted in different ways giving multiple strands of Marxist theories in IR
- World system theory of Wallerstein and Dependency theory of Frank highlight exploitative nature of Metropolis/core and Satellite/Periphery structure of global capitalist system
- Theories influence by Gramsci's idea of Hegemony reveal soft/cultural power of global hegemon who obtain consent of exploited class by controlling mainstream ideologies, culture, worldview
- Critical theory under Marxist fold focus upon emancipation and transformation of global humanity by reconciliation with nature, communication, dialogue, participation, and expanding the moral boundaries of rights and responsibilities beyond national boarder
- Finally, Neo-Marxists bring back the focus on economic base- mode and relation of production- and its impact on global world order
- Though largely unrealized and utopic, Marxist perspective of IR shall be relevant, enticing, charming, and appealing because amid the Juggernaut of Capitalism it raises foundational issue of inequality, exploitation, and contradictions of prevalent notions of development and modernization

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PERSONAL IS INTERNATIONAL

Feminist Perspective on IR

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Analysis of Past year's papers

Gendered aspect of politics

Feminist perspective on IR

Comparison, feminist reformulation of IR principles, and pros/cons

Prominent Contributors

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. 'War is in the minds of men'. Analyse this statement in light of feminist debate in IR

Q2. Explain Feminist perspective in IR

Q3. Analyze the Feminist approach to the study of IR

Q4. Critically examine the feminist perspectives of international Relations in the context of mainstream International Relations theories.

Q5 Examine the Feminist Critique of IR.

Gender: a social construct



Characteristics and mode of thought associated with Masculine Gender



Characteristics and mode of thought associated with Feminine Gender

Objective, Rational,
reason, competitive,
autonomous, strength,
Courage, assertive,
public- outwardly

Subjective, emotion,
empathy- relatedness,
Nurturing, sensitive,
private- inwardly

Personal is Political: Feminist Perspective of Politics

- Sex- male/female is biological, but gender- men/women- are social construct
- Gendered division of society is power politics. It involves hierarchy, gendered division of labour, domination/subordination, private/public, political economy, and all what we call political
- Patriarchy is the institution through which gender dichotomy, and dominance of men over women are maintained and perpetuated
- Capitalism, Colonialism, Racism, and violation of human rights, and global exploitation(of resources, human) are all dimensions of men's world in which women are at receiving end, invisible, and sufferer
- Conception of State itself is masculine; statecraft, interest of state, security, power all are defined in masculine way, making women invisible or insignificant in inter-state relations

Personal is International: Feminist Perspective of IR

- Theory and practices of IR are guided by Masculine world view
- Power seeking rational and amoral state, national interest defined in terms of power, power defined as domination, security defined as having maximum power- Masculine world view
- International processes are not gender-neutral, and gender relation are not insulated from international factors.
- all aspects of IR are related to Gendered relation in family/society– war, security, power, Interest, foreign policy
- Question invisibility and marginalization of women in IR- where are the women? ‘Militarization’, overemphasis on brute power, war, conflict, interests further pushes women to the margin of IR
- Redefining concepts and components of IR from feminist perspective will make world more peaceful, interconnected, co-operative, moral, and less exploitative, unequal, conflictual

Feminist Vs mainstream Perspective on IR

Aspect	Mainstream Perspective	Feminist Perspective
Inter-state relation	Gender Neutral	Highly Gendered
National Interest	Defined in terms of power	Multi-dimensional and contextual, may not always antagonistic
Security	More power- more security	Human security, environmental security
Power	Domination, Influence	energy, capacity, potential, collective endeavor: to act in concert, persuasion, coalition building
War & Violence	Gender Neutral	war as male's terrain- men-protector, defender, fighter ; Women: to be protected, backend services ; structural violence- domestic violence, sexual violence, racial abuse, Chauvinism, lessened life span due to hunger/poverty
Role of state	Pre-dominant	Highlight non-state actors, diminishing role of state in solving current global problems

Feminist re-formulation of 6 Principles of Morgenthau by Tickner

1. **Dynamic objectivity** : Objectivity, culturally defined, is masculine. Political theory based on masculine view of human nature, which is dynamic-both masculine and feminine, is half truth. Dynamic objectivity- more connected and less domination
2. **Dynamic and contextually contingent national Interest which cannot be defined solely in terms of power**: Current global problems- terrorism, climate change, epidemic, hunger/poverty - demand cooperative rather than zero sum solutions
3. **Meaning and content of and power is distorted to align it to masculinity**: Power is not always domination and control. Collective endeavor and empowerment what contemporary world need more
4. **Separation of moral command from political actions untenable**: All political actions have moral significance. political actions should conform to universal moral principles of Justice and fulfilment of basic needs necessary to ensure social reproduction.
5. **Accept Difference between moral aspirations of a nation and universal moral laws**; But we must find common moral elements in human aspirations which could become the basis for de-escalating international conflict and building international community.
6. **Deny the autonomy of political sphere as a masculine construct** :Confining politics around narrow boundary of 'political man' excludes women, their concerns and contributions.

Pros and Cons of Feminist Perspective

Pluses

- Dissect IR from gender lens to bring out its overtly masculine approach
- Establish connection between gendered humanity and IR
- Bring women/femininity into center of IR to make it holistic
- Re-Formulate IR principles to make world more peaceful, engaged, and less exploitative and conflictual
- Highlight aspects of cooperation, deliberation-communication and dialogue, shared vision, and world community

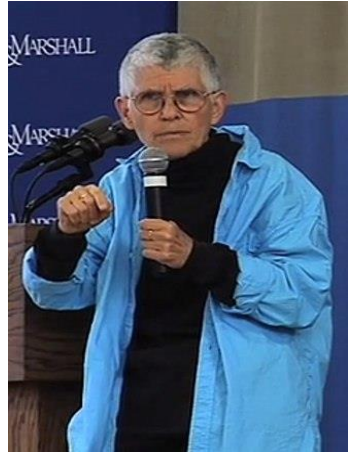
Minuses

- Micro and qualitative approach
- Undermine other identities- race, class, caste, disability, sexuality
- In deriding masculinity, lost balance
- Couldn't provide explanatory theory
- Fragmented approach



Judith Ann Tickner(1937): Most influential feminist in IR; *'Feminism and International Relations,'* 1948
Gendering World Politics, Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving International Security

Cynthia Enloe (1938) : *'Bananas Beaches and Bases' : Militarisation, Colonisation ; 'personal is international'*



Prominent Contributors



Carol Cohn: founding director of the Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights. *'Women and Wars' (2013)*

Marry Wollstonecraft: *vindication of the rights of women*- 1792



Laura Sjoberg : *Gendering Global Conflict. Toward a Feminist Theory of War (2013)*

Simone de Beauvoir(1908-1986): *'the second sex'* – ' women are not born but made'-1949



Sum Up

- Aspects of IR highlighted by mainstream theories are overwhelmingly masculine making it primarily male domain in which women are invisible or at margin.
- Aspects of IR are gendered and gender relations are reflected in IR theory and practice
- Re-formulation and re-definitions of core aspects of IR- war/peace, security/power, national interest, etc
- Provide alternate perspective on IR to make the world more peaceful, engaged, interconnected and less exploitative, and conflictual
- Pointing masculine nature of IR, making IR holistic, balancing universal moral values and realpolitik, and providing alternate solutions to global problems are some of its merits
- Micro and qualitative analysis, fragmentation, overemphasis on gender identity, failure to give explanatory theory of IR are some its de-merits

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GOOD WISHES !

WORLD WAR I

CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

World of 1900

- 8 powers, 6 in Europe- England, France, Austria-Hungary empire, Germany, Italy, Russia- , USA, and Japan
- **‘Triple Entente’**- England, France, Russia and **‘Triple Alliance’** of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy
- Almost entire 3rd world was colony of these 8 powers, majority of them under England and France
- Germany, after its unification in 1871, was rising power with imperial aspirations; It joined ‘scramble for Africa’ and gained colonies there
- Realism was accepted ideology of IR; secret diplomacy, power maximization by militarization, acceptance of war for national interest
- Ottoman Empire, based in Turkey, was weakening fast; nationalism was on rise

Factors Behind World War I

- **Rise of Germany after its unification in 1871 : Disturbed balance of power**
- **Imperialism**
 - Rivalry for Colonization ; Germany joining the race, Russian dream of pan slave nation
- **Militarization**
 - Power maximization by building huge army, developing modern weapons
 - Machine Guns, tanks, Fighter planes, Submarine, Torpedo, Chemical weapons
- **Alliance Building** centered on war
 - **‘Triple Entente’(Allied powers)**- England, France, Russia and **‘Triple Alliance’ (central powers)** of Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy
- **Ideological preference of war for national Interest**
 - Glorification of war, past experience of war yielding quick dividends
- **Nationalism**
 - Movement for pan Slav nation ; Multi-national Hapsburg and Ottoman Empire

How the War Unfolded: Event Trajectories

- June, 1914: The Spark: assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary in Sarajevo, Bosnia by a Serbian ultra nationalist group 'Black hand'
- July, 1914 (July Crisis): Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia supported Serbia for many reasons, Germany declared war on Russia.
- August, 1914: France, always susceptible of German's war motives, joined the war against Germany as alliance partner of Russia
- Germany attacked France through neutral Belgium; Great Britain, an ally of France, declares war against Germany
- 1917: USA joined war against Germany; Russian Revolution- Russia pulling away from the war
- 1918: Renewed vigorous war, but no headway; Retreat of German and Habsburg armies; Germany Surrender

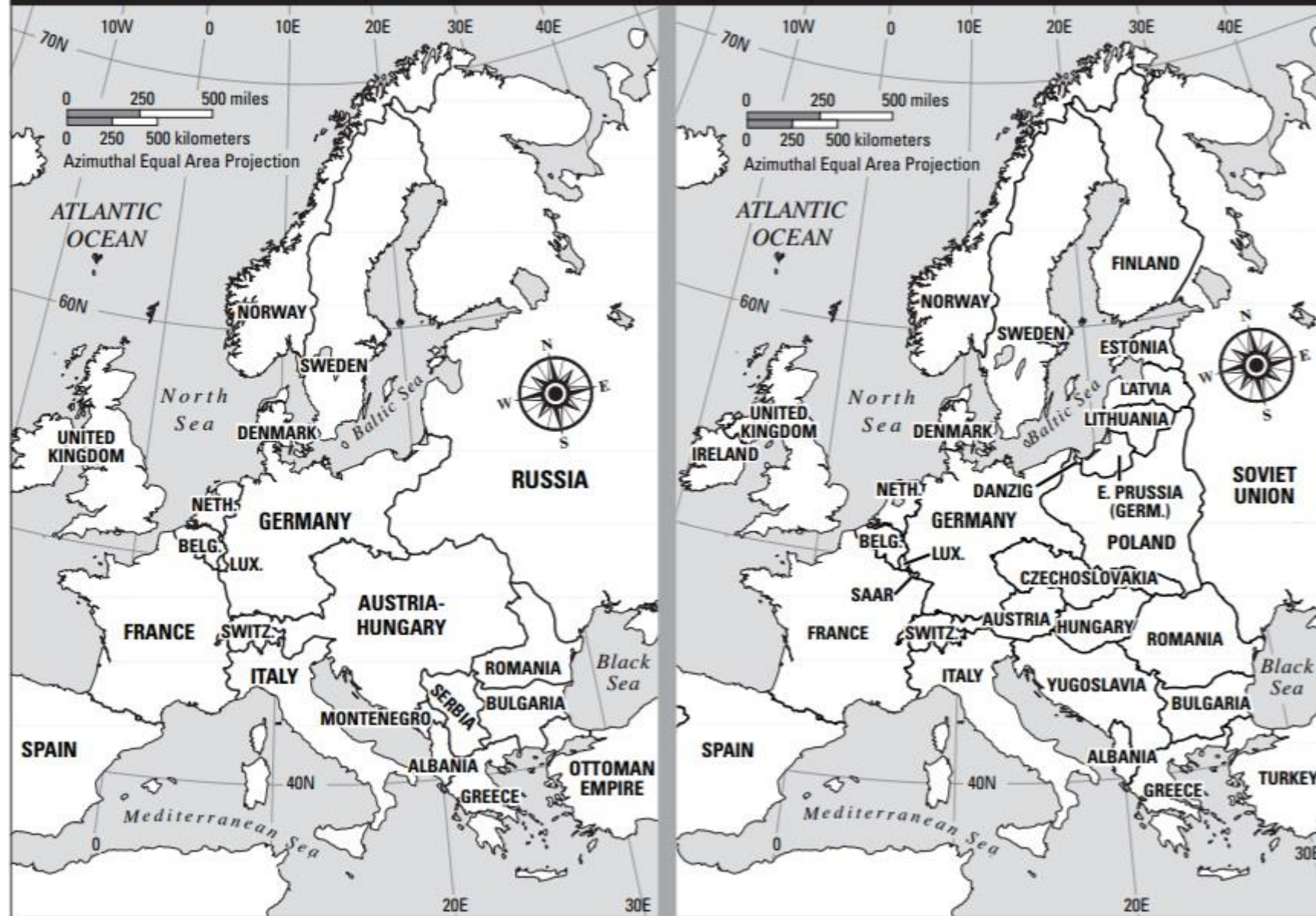
Features of World War I

- First truly 'Global' War or 'Total' War
 - Fought mostly on European Soil and between European power but colonies were dragged into the war
 - Joining of USA, and Japan made it truly global
- Huge loss of life: about 18 million died
- Trench warfare
 - Hundreds of kilometers of trench in which soldiers lived for years fighting and dying
- Use of new science & Technologies
 - First time: Machine guns, Air plane, Tanks, Submarine, and Chemicals weapons
- Germany fighting on two fronts- West with France, East with Russia ; Stalemate on these fronts for most of the time

Post war events changing face of Europe

- June 1919 : Treaty of Versailles between Germany on the one side and France, Italy, Britain and other allied powers on the other
- One sided treaty forcing Germany for reparation(paying for war), virtually Disarming it, and taking away both its colonies and territories
- Re-drawing the Map of Europe:
 - Cutting East Prussia from Germany, New nation state of Poland re-constituted.
 - A new Czechoslovakia created by check lands from Habsburg Empire and Slovak and Ruthenian country from Hungary
 - Serbia gained Bosnia from Austria and Slovenia from Hungary, and Montenegro to become new nation state of Yugoslavia
 - Belgium, Denmark, Romania, Italy and France gained territories; Rumania became almost double of its size
 - Finland, and Baltic nations- Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia- carved out from Russia as new nations

Europe Before and After WWI



Taken from Europe After World War I <http://www.csun.edu/~sr6161/world/unit%206/Unit%206%20Detail%202.pdf>

Consequences of the World War One

- Fall of Empires
 - German, Austro-Hungarian Hapsburg, Ottoman, and Russian
- Redrawing map of Europe
 - New nation-states of Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia
- Fascism in Germany and Italy
- Rise of two superpowers- USA and USSR
- Weakening power and influence of Europe
- Nationalism and anti-colonial movements in 3rd world
- Creation of League of Nations

Sum Up

- War of 1914, involving all major powers of the world, was largely fought on European soil, but was first truly global war.
- Rise of unified Germany, Militarization, Imperialism, Alliance Building, and Nationalism were main factors behind build up to the war
- Protracted Trench warfare, Use of new science & Technologies, Huge loss of life, Stalemate on both east and west fronts, were some of the characteristics of the World War I
- Fall of Empires, Redrawal of Map of Europe, coming up of several new nation-states, Rise of USA and USSR as new superpower, Weakening power and influence of Europe, and nationalism, creation of league of nation, and anti-colonial movements in 3rd world country were its major Consequences

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RISE OF FASCISM

Causes & Consequences

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. What were the causes of Fascist upsurge in Europe in the inter-war period?

Q2. What were the major consequences of the policies of the victors of the first world war during the inter-war period?

Q3. “the seeds of second world war were sown in the Paris Peace Conference”. In the light of the above statement discuss the emergence of Nazism in Europe.

World of 1919

- Europe was devastated by after effects of war. Empires of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, Ottoman had fallen; its power & Influence reduced
- Germany was punished and humiliated through the treaty of Versailles; its territories and colonies taken away, was de-militarised, forced to pay for war guilt; its national ego was hurt
- Italy, though on victor's side, was unhappy for getting less rewards- territories ; Japan was hurt, too;
- Economic hardship, socio-cultural disillusionment- sense of loss, unemployment, frustration with existing system
- After Russian revolution, rise of communist/socialist movements in many countries ; Elites, Landowners, conservatives Bourgeoise were at unease
- Liberalism and Enlightenment ideologies were losing ground

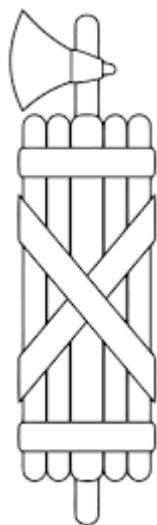
Fascism: Meaning

- Fascism is the totalitarian organization of govt. and society by a single party dictatorship, intensely nationalist, racist, militarist, and imperialist. (William Ebenstein, in '*today's isms*' (1980))
- As a political ideology, Fascism opposes both Liberalism and socialism. Fascism believes in complete, unconditional obedience of individuals to the state which represents the organic society. Hence it rejects equality and individual autonomy and liberty.
- In contrast to reason and rationality of Liberal Enlightenment, fascism relies on faith, emotions, symbols and myth.
- It was against the principles of liberal constitutional democracy. It generated huge popular and mass support for dictatorship of single party led by supreme leader.
- In opposition to socialism, it rejects equality, social ownership of means of production, class war, and dictatorship of proletariat
- Though started as revolution against established system, fascism was anti revolutionary, against the socialist revolution sweeping Europe after the first World War.

Features

- **Extreme 'Right'** : Ultra nationalism, racial superiority, Organic society, idealizing war & violence, strong arm coercion, passionately anti-liberal, anti-socialist, anti-democracy, anti-rationalist, and traditionalist
- **Totalitarianism**: Total control of State in all walks of life
- **paramilitary organization** : SA, Brownshirts, SS (Black Shirts) of Hitler, Black Shirts of Mussolini, Blue-shirts in Spain's Falange
- **Symbolism**: Military uniform, Swastika of Nazi, eagle clutching a wreathed swastika Nazi German and eagle clutching fasces of Italian Fascists
- Rule by **single party** headed by a immensely popular **mass leader and Dictator**
- **Capitalism without liberal democracy**- low wages, no labour union
- **Contradictory**: traditionalist but extremely modern Industry, Dictator who was extremely popular mass leader, capitalist but anti-liberal, anti-socialist but led by national socialist labour party (Nazi)
- **Militarism and Imperialism** : In International relation, Fascism didn't believe in International organization/treaty, It relied upon Military might to force issue and Imperialism

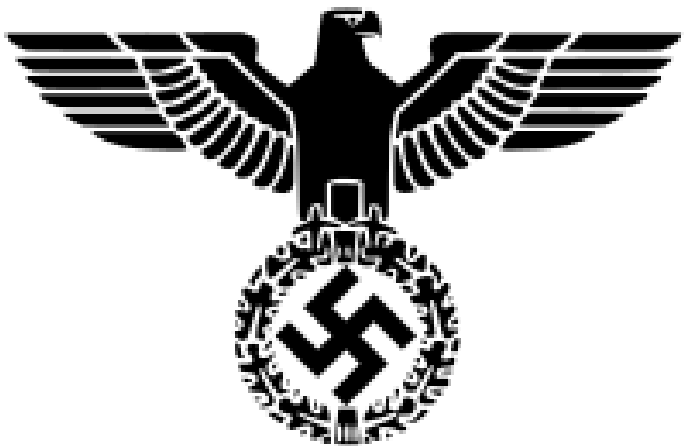
Key Symbols: Fascism



Fasces



Fascist Italy



Nazi Germany



yoke and arrows of
Falange Spain



Straight Arm Salute, Nazi



Swastika, Nazi

Factors supporting Fascist upsurge in Europe

- General sense of **disillusionment**, **loss**, and **uneasiness** after the great war
- **Treaty of Versailles** : Bruised Ego of German Nation
- **Economic Slump of 1920s**- job loss, hardship, frustration
- Growing fear of **communist revolution**: Conservative Elites, landowners, capitalists feeling threatened by rise of communist movements
- **Diminishing influence of Liberal ideologies**- liberal democracy, liberal capitalism, universal equality, rights, individualism, etc

Fascist upsurge in Europe: Event Trajectories

- **Italy:**

- 1915: Fascist Revolutionary Party (PFR), founded in Italy
- 1921: National Fascist Party (PNF) under Benito Mussolini started aligning with conservative 'right' and became influential
- October 24, 1922: 'march to Rome' : 'Black Shirts' of Mussolini terrorise Rome, King Victor Emmanuel III forced to appoint Mussolini Prime Minister
- 1922-43: Totalitarian, coercive, single party fascist Govt. in Italy

- **Germany:**

- 1919: Anton Drexler formed a new political party "German Workers' Party"
- 1920-23: Hitler joined party, renamed "National Socialist German Workers' Party(Nazi)" rose in its ranks, and took control
- 1923: Munich Putsch(march to Munich): failed , Hitler arrested, Nazi party banned
- 1929-33: Great Depression- hyperinflation, unemployment, social unrest- Nazi grew in popularity
- 1933: Hitler was appointed Chancellor, led the coalition govt, by series of manoeuvre/manipulations, and strong arm tactics became legal dictator
- 1933-39: Rise of German power; *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community), Lebensraum (living space), Aryanization", and Anti-Semitism

Rise of Fascism in other parts of World

- Japan
 - Ultra nationalist, and expansionist, rule by military elite under the dictatorship of Emperor Hirohito
- Spain
 - fascist movement, the 'Falange', founded in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera ; military dictatorship of Francisco Franco displayed many fascist characteristics
- Others in Europe:
 - Poland anti-Semitic Falange, led by Boleslaw Piasecki,
 - The National Union party in Portugal led by the Dictator António **Salazar**
 - The Arrow Cross Party in Hungary,
 - In Romania the Iron Guard
- Also spread to Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile), Africa (South Africa), and Middle East (Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon)

Consequences of Fascist Upsurge in Europe

- **Holocaust**
 - Genocide of about 6 million Jews in Nazi Germany and German occupied Europe
- **World War II**
 - More than 60 million people died
- **Coming together** of Liberalism and Communism
- **Discredit of Fascist Ideology** for all time to come
 - Everything associated with Fascist ideology- expansionism, Jingoism, Imperialism, Racism, Ultra-nationalism, etc were discredited forever
- **Liberalism gained ground**

Sum Up

- Fascism, the ultra 'right' movement, first appeared in Italy in 1920s. Soon it spread to Germany, Spain, Japan, and many countries across the globe
- Fascism believed in ultra nationalism, racial superiority, organic society, idealizing war & violence, strong arm coercion, anti-liberal, anti-socialist, anti-democracy, anti-rationalist, and traditionalist
- sense of disillusionment, loss, and uneasiness after the world war I, **treaty of Versailles** and Bruised ego of German nation, Economic Slump of 1920s, Declining influence of Liberalism, and growing fear of communist revolution, etc. were main factors behind Fascist upsurge in Europe
- Rise of fascism had devastating consequences. It led to World war II, holocaust, and ideological war
- Today, Fascism is a discredited slang, but it showed the world the devastation caused if national egos are hurt by unjust/inequal treatment in international politics.

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GOOD WISHES !

WORLD WAR II

CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

World of 1930s

- Upsurge of Fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan, and almost all parts of Globe
- An ideological triangle- Liberalism in North America, Western Europe; Fascism in Central and Southern Europe, and Communism in Russia, and Eastern Europe
- Nazi Germany was the emerging belligerent super-power; Militarily superior than any nation of mainland Europe, economically and Industrially advanced
 - On mainland Europe, France was no match, Russia despite its geographic advantage was way behind Germany in military advances
 - Expansionism, adventurism, and belligerence by Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Militarist & Imperialist Japan
 - Nazi Germany breached Treaty of Versailles many times, attacked Rhineland, assimilated Austria, and Annexed Czechoslovakia
 - Britain and France under the policy of appeasement were mute spectator, USA aloof and neutral, USSR concerned but neutral
- Great Economic Depression, capitalism and liberalism both were in crisis

Factors Behind World War II

- **Unjust Treaty of Versailles**
- **Fascist upsurge in Europe ; Rise of Fascist Italy, Germany, and Japan**
 - Highly adventurous, expansionist, and Imperial movements of Nazi Germany
- **Appeasement Policy of Britain and France**
 - Inclined not to involve in another world war, both allowed Hitler do whatever he wanted
- **Failure of League of Nations**
 - USA never joined, USSR & Germany not allowed, Japan broke way in 1933
 - Failed completely to check attacks and annexation of neighboring territories by Hitler
- **Imperialism**
 - Imperialist motives of Nazi Germany, Japan, and Italy forced Britain and France to declare war
- **Ideological Tussle**
 - Fascism was challenging both Liberalism and Communism

How the War Built Up: Event Trajectories

- **Adventurism and expansions by Nazi Germany**

- 1936: Attacks and Occupies Rhineland- a demilitarized zone between France & Germany.
- March 1938: Attacks Austria and unifies it with Germany
- October 1938 -39: Attacks and occupies Czechoslovakia
- 1st September, 1939: Attacks Poland

- **Adventurism and expansions by Fascist Italy**

- 1935: invades Ethiopia
- 1939 : Invade Albania
- 1940: attacked and conquered British Somaliland

- **Imperial advances of Militarised Japan**

- 1931: Attacks and take away Manchuria
- 1937: Attacks China
- 1941: Japanese planes attacked the United States Naval Base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii Territory

How the War Unfolded: Event Trajectories

- 3 sept, 1939 : Britain and France declared war on Germany; world war II began;
- Sept 1939-May 1940 : Phony War
- 1940 : German Blitzkrieg (Lightening war)
 - Germany's Military Blitzkrieg won Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, and Romania
 - Germany started air strikes on Britain, which retaliates
 - Germany, Italy, and Japan signed a joint military and economic agreement, became Axis powers
 - Italy invaded Egypt, which was controlled by the British, Albania, and Greece
- **1941:** By July 1941, Germany won almost entire mainland Europe except Russia
 - Germany invaded and won Greece, Yugoslavia, island of Crete ; Axis forces regained north Africa
 - 22 June 1941: Operation Barbarossa: Hitler attacks Russia breaking no aggression treaty
 - Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, invaded Burma, Hong Kong (then under British control), and the Philippines
 - USA and Britain declared war on Japan
- **1942-45**
 - War prolonged in Russia; Sept, 1943 : Italy surrenders to allied forces,
 - Jan 1944: The siege of Leningrad was lifted by the Soviet army
 - 6 June, 1944: the D-day : War of Normandy: First Victory of Allied Forces against Germany
 - March 1945 : Germany was squeezed from both West & East- The Allies crossed the Rhine while Soviet forces were approaching Berlin from the East.
 - 30 April, 1945 : Hitler clearly facing defeat commits suicide, few days later Germany Surrenders
 - August 1945 : 6 and 9 August 1945, Nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan Surrenders on 14th August ; World war 2 ends

Features of World War II

- **Much more widespread** across the globe than world war I
 - Apart from Entire Europe, fought in Asia (Japan, China, Manchuria, Hongkong, S-E Asia including India, Middle East). Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, Libya, etc.), Pacific Islands, South America (Brazil, Mexico, Bolivia, Colombia), USA, Canada
- **Huge loss of life:** more than 60 million died – 4 times more than world war I
 - Holocaust : more than 6 Million Jews died
- **German Blitzkrieg**
 - In contrast to prolonged Trench war of WWI, German Tanks and war Planes encircle enemy armies with Lightning speed
- Despite Germans winning the entire mainland Europe, except Russia, by July 1941, the war didn't end
 - *British, assisted by USA, refused to make peace treaty with Hitler which confused him to take wrong decisions to attack Russia and called War on USA
- **Germany again fighting on two fronts-** West with Allied forces led by Britain, East with Russia despite Hitler's strategy not to repeat this impossible situation after Germany's defeat in WWI
- First and till date last **Nuclear war**

* *This is taken from multiple websites such as*

<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/war-articles/nazis-truce-britain-1941-exchange-wanted-unobstructed-attack-ussr.html>

Consequences of the World War II

- Fascism, as political ideology, was dead
- Division of Europe by Iron Curtain
 - West Vs. East Europe
- Start of Cold war
- Bi-polar World
 - Fall of Germany, and British Empire left only two superpowers- USA and USSR
- De-colonisation and end of Colonialism/Imperialism
- Emergence of 3rd world
- Creation of United Nation

Sum Up

- Happening barely 20 years after WWI, WWII was more widespread, brutal, and devastating
- Unlike protracted Trench war of WWI, most of the wars in WWII were short, swift, and Decisive. German Army's tactics of Blitzkrieg won Hitler almost entire mainland Europe by July 1941
- Unjust Treaty of Versailles, Fascist upsurge in Europe, Failure of Appeasement policy by Britain and France, Imperialism, Militarization, Failure of league of nation were main causes of WWII
- Engulfing entire Globe, Huge loss of life, German Blitzkrieg, Germany fighting on two fronts against its strategy, first nuclear war - were some of the characteristics of the World War II
- Death of fascism, Division of Europe by Iron Curtain, Cold war, Bipolar World, Decolonisation, Emergence of 3rd World, creation of united nation, were its major Consequences

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COLD WAR

CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Evaluate Cold war as a major phase of Contemporary International Politics in the light of ideological conflict.

Q2. What is cold war? Discuss major events of Cold War till Cuban Missile Crisis.

Q3. Discuss cold war as a major consequences of second world war. How did it affect the North-South Dialogue?

Notes: Détente, New Cold war

World of 1945

- World war II ended with first Nuclear strike and great devastation.
- Allied Powers-USA, Britain, France, USSR- were victorious but real remaining superpowers were USA and USSR
- First time in recent history, focus was shifting from Western Europe to USA, Japan, China, Euresia-USSR
- Naturally, European colonial Empire started crumbling- de-colonization impending
- Western and Eastern Allied powers overran German occupied territories opposite sides and met in Berlin City
- Thus, western Europe was in control of Britain-USA whereas Easter Europe was under control of Red Army of USSR
- No official treaty to share the territories, especially Germany, Japan, and their occupied territories, won in the WWII
- Ultra Right Fascism down and dusted, Liberalism and Socialism remained to face each other

COLD WAR : DEFINITIONS & MEANING

- A state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures short of open warfare (*Google Definitions*)
- The state of geopolitical hostility that existed between the Soviet bloc led by USSR and the Western powers led by USA from 1945 to 1990
- 45 years of armed and mobilized confrontation between two poles of the bi-polar world
- It was also ideological war between capitalism with liberal democracy and Socialism and communism.
- COLD PEACE? Abandonment of war as an instrument of policy against each other
 - MAD : Mutually Assured Destruction on face of Nuclear Warfare

Arenas of Cold War

- **Berlin : 1948-61**
 - 1948-49: Blockade of West Berlin by USSR
 - 1961: Berlin Crisis, erection of Berlin wall by East Germany
- **Korea : 1953**
 - Korea was Japan's Colony ; after defeat of Japan in WWII, it was divided into North and South Korea along 38 degree latitude; North-Communist; South : Capitalist
 - 1953: War between north & south Korea supported by USSR/China and USA
- **Cuba: 1962**
 - Cuba became communist led by Fidel Castro in 1959. It allowed USSR to install nuclear missiles facing USA ; USA blocked sea access to Cuba, heightened tension, sanity returned to both superpower and war avoided
- **Vietnam: 1955-75**
 - Vietnam(Indochina) was French Colony. WWII – Japan attacks and take over Indochina; 1955: France leaves, new state of Vietnam- North & South along 17 degree Latitude ; North-Communist; South : Capitalist
 - 1965: USA sends massive land troops to south Vietnam to fight Communist forces; war lingers till 1975; Communist won, Vietnam United as communist nation; huge negative impact on USA
- **Afghanistan(1979-88)**
 - 1978: Communist coalition toppled centrist govt; USA helped ' Mujahideen' opposing communist Govt. USSR sent a large troop to protect the communist regime; proxy war between USSR and USA lingered for 9 years, when in 1988 Gorbachev decided to pull out
- **Other Arenas:** Congo Crisis(1960-65); Arab-Israel Conflict (1970s), Iranian Revolution of 1979, Hungary(1956)

Phases of Cold War

- **1946-53 :Start, ‘containment’-Truman Doctrine**
 - The Warlords: Truman, Stalin
 - Berlin Blockade (1948), Iron Curtain, USSR tested Nuclear Bomb(1949), Revolution in China(1949), Korean War(1951-53)
- **1953-69 : Heightened Tension, Crisis, Escalation**
 - The Warlords : Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Khrushchev, Brezhnev
 - Warsaw Pact (1955), Hungarian Revolution(1956), Berlin Crisis(1958-61), Cuban Missile Crisis(1962), Congo Crisis (1960-65), Vietnam Crisis(1955-75), More Missiles and Nuclear Arsenals, Space race
- **1969-79 : De-escalation in conflict : Détente phase**
 - The Warlords : Richard Nixon, *Henry Kissinger* and Leonid Brezhnev
 - US-China Détente, SALT I& II (1972), S.T.A.R.T, ABM treaty, Space cooperation, increased US-USSR and US-China trade, Crisis in Middle East(1973), Vietnam War(1965-75)
- **1979-85: New cold war : Renewed Conflict, Arms race, Heightened tension**
 - The Warlords : Jimi carter, Ronald Reagan, Brezhnev
 - Afghanistan Crisis(1979), Islamic Revolution in Iran(1979), US Strategic Defense Initiative- **Star War (1983)**, Olympic Boycotts (1980, 84), NATO military exercise(1983), US navy fleet Exercises(1983), arms race & new Missile Deployment
- **1985-89 : Last Phase; The End**
 - The Peacebuilders: Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev
 - Geneva Summit (1985), Reykjavík Summit (1986), Washington Summit (1987), INF Treaty, East European Revolutions, Fall of Berlin wall (1989), USSR dissolved (1991)

Factors Behind Cold War

- **American fear of Communist expansion in New Nations of the 3rd World**
- **Anti-communist propaganda and public opinion in USA**
- **Fear of USSR of NATO invasion in its zone of influence**
- **Decolonization, Emergence of New nations**
 - **Neo-Imperialism: both USA & USSR competed for its guidance and influence on New Nations**
- **Ideological Tussle**
 - **Between Capitalist liberal democracy vs Single party Ruled state socialism- communism**
- **War Psychosis and ecosystem**
 - **Two world wars in span of 20 years made all to believe in impending 3rd World war**
 - **Military-Industrial complex, War related socio-economic system, secret Diplomacy, Espionage, War experts, IR based on realism**
- **Military/security alliances on ideological lines : division of world in two camps**
 - **NATO, SEATO, ANZUS : USA led ; Warsaw Pact: USSR led**

Features of Cold War

- Actual wars were fought in 3rd world soils : Europe out of the equation
- Proxy, phony, propaganda war : more drama, gesture then substance
- Uneven and Asymmetric balance of power
 - USA : Technology, ICT, Air and Sea superiority ; USSR: Conventional weapon (tank), huge landmass, Large Land Army, Secret Resolve
- Arms race, huge built up of Nuclear Arsenals, Military-Industrial Complex
- Manifested in Science, Space Research, Sports, arts & culture, Industrial-military production, Economy, and assistance to 3rd world
- Golden period of 20th Century: General peace & Stability, Economic progress, arts & culture
- Non Aligned Movement of many New 3rd world nations

Consequences of the Cold War

- Eliminated, or Overshadowed all rivalry except between USA & USSR
- Stabilized the global order after the WWII
- Excess Supply of deadly arms all round the globe
- Indirectly helped continuance of totalitarian communist regimes
- Non-Aligned Movement
- Gave leeway to smaller, less powerful New 3rd world nations
- Made United nations largely ineffective
- Affected popular culture- Art, Cinema, Literature, dress, entertainment, Psyche, sports, science & technology, etc.

Sum Up

- Cold war, which consumed half of 20th century, was prolonged political and ideological tussle between Capitalist and Communist world led by remaining two superpowers after WWII
- Most of wars during cold war were fought on 3rd world soil in which rivals were supported by USA and USSR
- Thus, it was a tussle to expand zone of influence in newly decolonized nations – a version of shadow Imperialism
- Proxy, phony, and propaganda war, Asymmetric balance of power, Arms Race, NAM, Golden period of 20th Century, manifestation in science/technology, space research, sports, arts/culture: its features
- Mutual fear and Suspicion, Decolonization, Ideological tussle, Division of world in two camps, defense alliances, War Psychosis and ecosystem, etc : Causes
- Stabilizing of the world order, excess supply of arms, Non Aligned movement, Defunct UN, Continuance of totalitarian Communist Regimes, and affecting popular culture: Consequences

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Emergence of Other Power Centres

**Hegemony of USA and Potential
Superpowers**

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Q1. Discuss the evolution of the post cold war world order with reference to emergence of new power centres in IR

Notes: Global South perspective in IR, Multi-polar world, BRICS.

World of 2019

- USA is undisputed Hegemon of the world
- Widening gap between 'North' and 'South' ; Coming closer of 'West' & 'East'
- Regionalization: EU, ASEAN, NAFTA, African Union, USAN, SAARC
- Economic and trade Groups: G8, G20, BRICS, Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, Trans pacific Partnership, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
- Liberalism- liberal democracy and free market Economy- is the uncontested political ideology
- But it is challenged by Islamic world view- Islamic fundamentalism, radicalism and its growing hatred to western worldview, especially USA
- New Global challenges: Terrorism, Climate change, Global poverty/hunger, Energy crisis, Human Rights, Epidemics
- Globalized world ; Information Society;
- Rising alternate power centers: China, EU, BRICS, ASEAN, INDIA ; But none of them in a position to challenge US hegemony

USA : HEGEMON OF THE GLOBAL VILLAGE

- USA possesses disproportionate amount of Hard, Soft, and structural power vis-à-vis any other state
 - **Hard power** : Military Dominance- both absolute & relative; it spends more on its military capability than the next 12 powers combined. Lead NATO – the most formidable Military alliance
 - **Structural Power** :
 - International state system, global economic order, global ICT all are hugely dependent on USA ; UN, WTO, IMF, World bank,
 - provider of global public goods- SLOC, global satellite network- GPS, Internet, Monetary system- Bretton Wood
 - **Soft Power**: Socio-cultural hegemony: Hollywood, Best selling Novels, Netflix, Amazon, Apple, Food- Macdonald, KFC, Pizza hut, Coke, Pepsi; Dress: Jeans, T-shirts; Academics- MBA, Top universities, most Nobel winners; Ideologies: Liberal democracy, free market economy, rule of law, Individual's right and liberty
- Largest Economy – about 21 Trillion USD in 2019 ; lead NAFTA ; Privileged alliance with EU ; 2nd only to china in trade volume
- Attracts best talent pool of the world ; largest numbers of startups and unicorns; dreamland- associated with good life and personal success
- **Challenges**: Slowing economy; huge deficit, Burden to provide world public goods and maintain global structure, Pluralism and openness, State sceptic society, Rising alternate powers, Confrontation with Islamic world, target of terrorism, Gun culture

EUROPEAN UNION

- 28 Member nations- all western European nations plus many eastern Block nations- 3 Baltic states, Balkan states- Croatia & Slovenia, Poland, Romania, Czechia and Slovakia
- 1992: Treaty of Maastricht was signed establishing the European Union (EU); European parliament, Euro-common currency, single market, Schengen Visa
- 2nd Largest Economy – 18.5 Trillion USD - slightly less than USA; but much less GDP per capita than that of USA ; Much better use and spread of the wealth- social democracy
- Share in world trade- 30%- almost equal to China but more than USA, prosperous and technologically advanced, top trader, lawyer, and repository of occidental culture- language, art, architecture, science, low-profile diplomacy and the emphasis on the rule of law
- Its combined Military might and expenditure is only second to that of USA, largest political union, common market, single currency, largest aid donor
- Political and diplomatic clout: 2 of its members- Britain & France- are permanent members of Security council
- Challenges: lack of stateness; no common foreign and defense policy, 'Euro scepticism', Brexit, euro crisis, midlife political crisis, Divergence in national and EU policies

CHINA: THE NEXT SUPERPOWER?

- Fastest growing economy for decades , projected to overtake the US as the world's largest economy by 2040s.
- Largest population, 4th largest area, largest export/Import, 2nd largest GDP, 2nd Largest Military expenditure, Veto power in UN
- Unique in being communist politically and capitalist economically
- BRI (Belt and Road Initiatives)- reviving old Silk route and trade, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)-50 % world population, 40% GDP
- In comparison to USA: faces less threat from terrorism, antagonism with Muslim world, trade deficit, and pluralism but lack the soft and structural power
- **Challenges:** Demographic- aging, gender imbalance , Non-Democratic, Poor HDI , Environmental degradation, Regional rivalry- Japan, Russia, India, Less favorite destination for global talent pool,, inequality and corruption, and risks to social stability.

ASEAN: Association for South East Asian Nations

- established in 1967 by— Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - Bangkok Declaration
- Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar (Burma) and Cambodia joined later
- One of the fastest growing economic region- part of East Asian Miracle
 - Better quality of life, health care, education, efficient public services, stable pro-business economic policies, Unleashing women's economic potential
- 'ASEAN Way': a form of interaction that is informal, non-confrontationist and cooperative. No desire for supra-national Institution; respect for national sovereignty of member nations
- ASEAN Security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community
- **Challenges:** Small area and population, very less hard, soft, and structural power, surrounded by potential superpowers- China, Japan, India

BRICS

- Acronym coined for an association of five major emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
- Formed in 2009, S. Africa joined next year
- 3.1 billion people, or about 41% of the world population, 27 % of area, combined GDP of US\$18.6 trillion- about 23.2% of the world's GDP ; expected to be largest economic block, surpassing G7, by 2050
- Planned to create currency reserve pool (CRA) and BRICS development bank
- Political and diplomatic clout: 2 of its members- Russia & China are permanent members of Security council ;
- 'Locomotive of the South' ; 'south –south Dialogue' ; cooperation in ICT, digital economy, transnational crime, trade, and investment.
- **Challenges:** Geographic , Ideological and political divergence, No political or trading alliances, India-China Rivalry, lack coherent political stand

Where Does India Stand?

- One of the fastest growing economy for last 15 years;
- 2nd Largest population, 7th largest area, 5th largest GDP
- But only about 2% of world trade, very low per capita GDP(137th rank), 5th in Military expenditure
- Member of G20, BRICS, SAARC, Commonwealth, and FTA of ASEAN
- World's largest Democracy, largest middle class, English educated talent pool, demographic dividend. stable political system, united nation, strategic location,
- **Challenges:** Poverty, Inequality in income/wealth, Regional Imbalance, Terrorism, Troublesome Boarder and Neighbours, Lack of research & Innovation, Brain drain, Rigid & inefficient Bureaucracy, Multi-ethnic, Multi-religious, and multi lingual communities, Low investment in education, Health, and Infrastructure

Sum Up

- USA is the undisputed Hegemon of the world; Its hard, soft, and structural power is unprecedented and unmatched
- European Union, China, India, and BRICS nations may be the next superpower but except China none is getting closer to USA
- China, though very close in GDP and ahead in trade, lags much behind in structural and soft power
- Combined Might of China, India, ASEAN, and Middle East , i.e. Asia may regain its superpower structure after the gap of half a millennium.

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