LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-I

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CONTENTS

Units		Page No.
1.	Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches *Vinod C.V., Lovely Professional University*	1
2.	Liberal and Neo-Liberal Approaches *Gauri Thakur Pradhan, Lovely Professional University*	15
3.	Marxism and Other Radical Approaches *Gauri Thakur Pradhan, Lovely Professional University*	36
4.	Neo-Radical Approaches *Vinod C.V., Lovely Professional University*	51
5.	Post-Structuralist and Post-Modernist Approaches *Vinod C.V., Lovely Professional University*	61
6.	Feminist Approaches *Gauri Thakur Pradhan, Lovely Professional University*	76
7.	Environmental Approaches *Gauri Thakur Pradhan, Lovely Professional University*	84
8.	World Views: Asia, Africa and Latin America *Vinod C.V., Lovely Professional University*	92

SYLLABUS

International Relations-I

Objectives

- To provide the students with the theoretical information about different modules, realist, liberal, Marxist, radical, structuralist, etc.
- To provide them with the intellectual information of those factors—cold war, emerging powers, grouping, international divergence, intervention, and invasions, affecting the international relations.
- To introduce practical knowledge of international order of the modern world, changing nature of powers, human rights,population displacement, international justice, environmental problems, etc.

Sl.No.	Topics
1.	Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches: Concepts of National Interest, National Power and National Security. Theories of Conflict, Balance of Power, Deterrence and Inter-dependence
2.	Liberal and Neo-Liberal Approaches: Concepts of World Order and Globalism, Search for legal institutional mechanisms, Theories of Communication and Conflict Resolution, Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism
3.	Marxist and other Radical Approaches: Theories of Imperialism, Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism and Hegemony
	Neo-Radical Approaches: Theories of Underdevelopment, Centre-Periphery and Dependencia
4.	Post-Structuralist and Post-Modernist Approaches: Interrogating Nation-State; Post-Colonialism: Culture, Ideology and Hegemony
	Feminist Approaches to question of Power, Stat, Peace & War, Human Rights, Genocide
5.	Environmental Approaches: Critiques of Development and Progress; Sustainable Development
	Worldviews from Asia, Africa and Latin America

Unit 1 : Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches

Notes

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
1.1 Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches
1.2 Concept of National Interest
1.3 National Power
1.4 National Security
1.5 Summary
1.6 Keywords
1.7 Review Questions
1.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know realist and neo-realist approaches.
- Explain concept of national interest and national power.
- Discuss national security and power balance.

Introduction

For the study of International Politics the approach which has been considered as useful for a long time, is Realist Approach. Although, the name of Machiavelli is being reiterated as the mentor of this view by the European scholars, but in fact the thinkers who grandly create International Politics on the basis of realism, can be seen in every country or society. In India about four centuries before Christ, the writer of Economics, Kautilya, adopted this principle for his research. The famous Historian Thucydides of ancient Greece, while describing Peloponnesian War drew the conclusion that ambition of expansion influences selfish attitude, feeling of insecurity and growing power among the states.

Very briefly, the gist of Realist Approach is that in International Politics physical realism is very important and national interest should be defined on this basis only. The inceptions like ideals and values are abstract and logical conduct or determination of policies should not be allowed to be influenced by them. In the opinion of philosophers and thinkers of Realist Approach the utility of ideals and values is not more than filling of bitter pill with sweet pill. The basis of this thinking is only that philosophical concept which can be observed in the thinking of Hobbes. In the view of Realists, man is primarily selfish and clashes of selfish attitude are to be seen everywhere due to limitations of physical entities and natural resources. Right from personal family life to national and international level this fact exists ever and everywhere. So International Politics cannot be taken as exception and it should be considered as an example of power-struggle.

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1.1 Realist and Neo-Realist Approaches

In reference to International Politics the chain of events of 20th century had been influential in providing a prime place to Realist Approach. Both the World Wars made this thing clear that in spite of claiming to follow legal system and ethics, the countries never hesitated to resort to indulge in massive massacre to protect their narrow selfish ends. Same experience had been felt in torment- inflicting imperial policies of colonial European countries. The white God-men pretended to make "unsophisticated" African-Asian people as 'well-cultured', eventually continued to fill their treasure only. In case, there is a bit of problem in achieving their end, they never hesitated even a little to resort to atrocity.

Example It may be Britain or France, Holland or Belgium, all behaved similarly in India, Indo-China, Indonesia and Africa.

The instances of revolutions emphasizing liberation from exploitation and torture only proved that the authority of power is ultimate. First of all the revolution started in China in 1911 and then in 1917 Bolshevik Communists dethroned Czar of Russia. At both the places the change of authority had not been without violence and the atmosphere of home-war sustained. The struggle between revolutionaries and reactionaries had continued. The neighbouring and other countries were afraid of these revolutions and wanted eagerly to interfere with army. Once again this thing was underlined that only power especially military capability can play a decisive role in international world. If a particular country or public group is not well equipped in itself, it can only try to draw balance of power in its favour by diplomacy or treachery.

The Impact of Realism Approach on World Politics

The interval between two World Wars had been very dangerous and perturbing. After the defeat in First World War, Germany had to face not only dejection and insult but also very big economic burden was put on it as fine and compensation of war. Due to growing unemployment and inflation discontent and resentment spurted briskly in the public of Germany especially in youth wing and it exposed the German democracy. The ground for emergence of dictatorship was prepared rapidly. Adolf Hitler did propaganda and expansion of the extreme nationalist racial theory, in which there was supremacy of supreme authority. After the defeat of Germans, Hitler was of the view that the reason for German defeat in First World War was that the Germans forgot about their authoritative heritage. They thought themselves to be the descendants of the Aryans, superior and more powerful than all. Devotion to power could only retrieve them their old status and prestige. **The propagation of autocratic Realist Approach contributed the most in the emergence of parties of Hitler and Nazis**.

The same thing was noticed in Soviet Union, the Communist Party inspired by the principles of Marx had the gratification that the Soviet Union would never shun the principles and ideals in its deals, but after gaining power the communist government of the Soviet Union went on entering into Realist negotiations. This activity accelerated after the death of Lenin and during the tenure of Stalin, no effort was considered to be necessary to cover it .This thing was emphatically explained to all communists of the world that Soviet Union is the strong-hold of Communism. At the time, when it finds itself in danger, there cannot be any national or international interest greater than protecting it. For defining national interest of the Soviet Union and negating all other national interests, the effort to give it prominence caused deep difference of opinion not only in Russian Communist party but grave breaches were also created in international communist movement. During First World War an alliance which was adopted according to improvised 'Aapat-Dharma' between Germany and Russia, had been part of opportunist diplomacy. It was not possible to cover it in any way either with idealism or theory or

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concept. Similarly, even after Second World War until Nazi Germany invaded Russia of Stalin, Soviet Union did not join Allied Nations in encounter of war despite criticizing Nazis and Fascists bitterly.

The emergence of Japan in East Asia as military super- power accomplished amidst two World Wars. The controller of intoxicated Japanese Army chose the way of imperialistic expansion to make his country ever progressive and prosperous and interfered with violence in Manchuria, Korea, China and South-East Asia. The example of Japan and its policies compelled the aggrieved countries and their rivals to conclude that there was nothing more important than grabbing power in international Politics.

Owing to this after the completion of Second World War the scholars who studied and analyzed International Politics, they all sponsored Realist Approach. **E.H.Carr, George Cannon** and **Hans Morgenthau** were main among them.

Realist Approach in Reference to International Politics

The birth of nation-state took place about three and a half hundred years ago in 1648 after the alliance of Westphalia. From then to till now it had been held as main active-actor creative unit at international stage. According to tradition of international law the state is sovereign or it does not accept the supremacy of any other power-authority. If we accept this concept of sovereignty, all nation–states, may be small or big, have same status in the sphere of international politics. Realist thinkers consider this legal realist approach as legal fiction, but they do not negate this thing that state-interest is that pivot around which the whole international politics revolves.

The test of nation-interest is being done in detail elsewhere but it is essential to mention this much that to sustain the unity and integrity and sovereignty of a nation-state has been considered to be basic nation-interest for ages. Continual power struggle has been going for the conservation and growth for this basic nation-interest. Sometimes this power struggle assumes the form of violence and there is explosion of war and sometimes a sort of balance of power is maintained for a short or long period due to political effort which somehow sustains peace. **Morgenthau** in his famous book **'Politics Among Nations'** has given only this definition. 'International Politics is struggle for power among the nations for nation-interests.' In the opinion of Morgenthau and other Realist philosophers this is the greatest ideal and principle, and nothing is logical beyond it. To establish supremacy on less powerful state and to resort to expansion to keep its sovereign state risk-free is mandatory and ethical.

According to Realists, the international system is anarchical in its spontaneous form. In the flawless position narrated by Hobbes every second state is taken to be the enemy and they try to bring that under its authority. In the view of Realists, no state can expect help and cooperation from the other state on the basis of any ideal or principle.

Notes Every state has to fulfill its selfish interests. If for the sake of selfish ends or nation-interests, weapons are to be used or war has to be declared, it cannot be in the least considered to be illegitimate.

According to this ideology, peace is not superior or better state in itself. For the protection of peace and to avoid war whatever political efforts are done, their valuation should be done relentlessly according to pure gain and expense basis. For the establishment of peace, Morgenthau has described various methods out of them it is essential to mention the efforts to delimit willfulness of other states and to change the system of anarchy. In the same way, if it is not possible to achieve selfish means through warning of force, the matter of reconciliation can be thought of through political dialogue.

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Keigley and Bitkoff had also propagated the principles of Morgenthau. According to their views, man is selfish naturally and his conduct is not ethical naturally. Their primary enculturation is to increase their power and establish authority over others. It is childish to think in this situation that they will leave the way of power struggle due to some idealist inspiration. To think like this especially in international forum of sovereign states, is just like a dangerous mirage. It will be good for us if we accept this fact which Toms Hobbes had indicated that in human society every one is in continuous war with each other. It is the prime duty of each state that it should keep national welfare above all other personal selfish ends and group interest and conserve power to safeguard national interest. The meaning of power should be considered as military-martial power without hesitation. The significance of economic power can be considered to be important for increasing military capability and growth of prestige of nation-state. Helping states and allied friends can surely be proved useful but they cannot be always taken as trustworthy. From the view- point of Realist Approach the responsibility of self-security and national security cannot be relinquished on any international law, political tradition or any international agency. If all states behave according to Realist Philosophy, one continual active balance of power can assure permanent peace. The thoughts of these scholars fully match the thoughts of Morgenthau. All of them agree that no strategy of international politics can be antagonist to human nature. Only Realist principles can influence the conduct of human beings in accordance with their natural attitude.

Main Elements of Realism Approach

Morgenthau himself has enunciated six Realist principles in which the gist of this thinking can be seen -

1. It is the confidence of political Realist thinkers that in every society the behaviour of a man is influenced by his natural culture so if we want to change social facts, we will have to know these natural norms. If we neglect them or try to establish any other opposite ideal or principle, our efforts will be unsuccessful.
2. The meaning of international politics is,'defined power-struggle in reference to national welfare'. There is a need of looking at political aspect of life in the form of independent and autonomous sphere—one such sphere which is different from economic, moral, creative and spiritual- religious point of view.
3. The concept of Realism Approach is linked closely with the concepts of national welfare and power, but it is not there that it always remains static or non-changeable. The concept of Realist Approach in international politics keeps on amending and changing with the changing time-scale.
4. There are no such ideals or moral principles which can be considered as eternal or universal. Each of such claims should be tested on the criteria of country, time and physical truth. In reference of international politics, any political activity should be reasonably edited by associating it with 'cause and effect'.
5. Political Realism Approach refuses to uphold ambition of any state as universal or eternal Realism and considers Realistic analysis as relative to time.
6. In the end, we have to agree that in the study and analysis of international politics there is real and fundamental difference between Realism Approach and other ideologies. The political Realists claim to liberty of politics and define it in terminology of the power of interests.

Criticism of Realist Approach

Baylis and Smith had done criticism of Realist Approach in great detail. According to them, it is an old and illiberal principle which very narrowly evaluates international system focusing only on

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the concept of power. By taking its help only single phase–partial study of international politics is possible. Morgenthau and other Realists neglect this realism that in international politics except the states other workers are also active. These scholars are not ready to accept that on international stage the status of all the nation-states is not similar. So selfish ends and conservation of national interest of different states are also not same. Their share in struggle of power or theme of balance of power cannot be considered to be the same. **Berten** agrees that the inter-relations of the states are edited on various levels and they can be seen as big spider-web which connects people, groups, institutions and companies with the activities of nation-states. The negligence of this reality cannot be called 'Realism Approach'. In the opinion of **Cocks**, Realism is primarily the principle of searching solution of problem. It accepts the present system and status quo without asking any question and neglects changeable elements and attitudes willing to have liberty in international system. It also neglects the creative possibilities of alternate world-system. According to **Rosenberg**, Realist Approach is a reactionary ideology which tries to strengthen illiberal thinking and system. The pendulum of this idea swings between anti-social, unsystematic anarchy and autocrat selfish means sovereignty and no hope of meaningful conclusion can be expected from this. At the most by taking its help, efforts can be made to logically justify opportunist conduct.

Neo-Realist Approach

Recently, in the background of international incidents of some decades, the propagation of Realism principle had been done comparatively in refined form. The propagators of revised ideology are known as 'Neo-Realists'. Kenneth Waltz is main out of all. His book Theory of International Politics (1979) is considered to be the most blatant propagator of Neo-Realist principle. This thing cannot be rejected that Kenneth Waltz collected thought-provoking remarks expressed and published here and there, and tried to provide an attractive theoretical appearance to it through the medium of disciplined presentation. The thinkers of Neo-Realist Approach claim that the survey of world level international politics accredited it and on other levels personal or state-welfare level, its criticism in reference to this, cannot be accepted as genuine.

According to Pennise Smith, the basic concepts of New-Realist Approach are following:

1. The state and the other units come into contact with each other in an anarchical background. In international system, there is no such centralized authority which can implement laws on international level or discipline the conduct of different subjects on the basis of rules. In absence of such an authority, there is no possibility of normal protection of collective interests of global community.
2. The framework of international system is created by different people.
3. The conduct of the states is always inspired by selfishness and all-pervasive anarchy encourages competitive behaviour and gives priority to self-interest means in preference to cooperation.
4. Nation- state always behaves logically and adopts such tactics for their selfish interests which may enhance profit and reduce loss.
5. The most severe challenge due to anarchy before the nation-state is to sustain its existence.
6. The nation-state views every second nation-state as possible enemy and for its national security it thinks it to be a risk. The condition of doubt and fear raises a feeling of insecurity. The main source of political dealing of the nation-state is this feeling of insecurity.

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Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. In international politics ..... is the most important.
2. In emergence of Hitler and Nazi party ..... contributed the most in propagating Realism.
3. According to Realists, international system is anarchical in its ..... form.
4. ..... of international system is created by different people .

1.2 Concept of National Interest

In international politics, the concept of national interest is prominent. The irony is that for its definition the scholars are not of one opinion and even after long debates most of the matter remains unclear. Nevertheless, there is no difference of opinion in this that the main aim of foreign policy and total activities of international diplomacy is for the protection of national interest. In continuation of this in 19th century the quote of famous foreign minister Lord Palmerston of Britain is repeated again and again, 'There are no perpetual foes or friends of any country. Only national interests are perpetual and ever-lasting.' Several scholars agree that 'Truth' of this quote is maintained from then to now. The national interest of any state is considered to be above the interest of any person, family or group and extensive concurrence is seen about this that the unity, integrity and protection of its geographical boundaries are of foremost national interest.

As a matter of fact, this thing is not easy and simple. From the mid of 19th century to till today in History there have been such ups and downs which had changed the identity of nation-state. It is evident, if the very identity of 'nation-state' is changed, or if any sovereign state is divided into two or more sovereign states (as revealed by the example of India-Pakistan) then the national interest cannot remain perpetual. In this matter, the remark of British scholar **Neville Maxwell** is very thought- provoking. According to him, in any state the figure which decides national interest is ruler in authority and supreme section who as per its interest confirms the definition of national interest and determines the priority of competitive national interests. This matter is worth remembrance that the writers who suggested the determination of national interest on the basis of section interest were themselves not Marxists but had been supporters of Realist Principle. It is perhaps essential to see that in modern nation, which should be essentially democratic, they must have public concurrence or sympathy of public opinion for the issue of national interests.

If we turn over the pages of History, it will not take a long time in concluding that it had never been difficult to diffuse fever of patriotism in general public by inciting passion. Any dictator can declare his selfish aggressive policies as synonym of national interests by picking up agenda of national prestige or inciting racial-communal sentiments in public. This thing was to be seen during the interval between two World Wars in the dealings of Nazis of Germany. Somewhat same tendency was revealed in the perturbing years of 'Great Cultural Revolution' of Maoist China. Expansionary aggressive states, in order to logically justify its policy and for the protection of national interests can give argument for compulsory need of initiating self-defense measures. Recently, America gave such arguments while dethroning Saddam.

Generally, the responsibility of defining and interpreting national interest is supposed to be of foreign and defense ministries. In democratic countries and in responsible and transparent political systems this task is not confined to one-sided order, directions or statements. In parliament, one public debate has always been there through the medium of debates and newspapers, radio and television. It tries to open, revise and are refine national interest. In the states where the political system is of sole-right of one party or having form of dictatorship, there also it is childish to say that national interests never undergo any change and accepted undisputedly. For example, in systems of Russia and Populist

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China about martial challenges, deep difference of opinions had been revealed time to time inside the party. About the subjects of war and army, when there is requirement of technical and scientific specialization the senior officers of army also take part in discussion. With the rise and fall of particular leaders, there may be change in chief advisors also or their impact went on increasing or decreasing. Nevertheless, it is not right to assume that there is lack of alternates in the field of foreign policy or defense strategy. Like Western Capitalistic countries, in Communist world also there has not been lack of such research fellows busy in intellectual activities whose specialization is in the analysis of national interest. It is, of course, that they cannot publish their ideas publicly as it happens in the West. It will be wrong to draw a conclusion that there is almost nil impact on the policies of their countries.

Mainly, it can be said that the concept of national interest is linked to the ideology of Realist Approach. The use of principle of power and subjective analysis of ground-politics is considered to be of use at the time of its accounting. In reference to non-traditional sources of national security, the aspects of national interest have spread extensively. In absence of evident definition its interpretation is being done in liberal way.

The Thoughts of Morgenthau

In his book, **Defense of National Interest**, Morgenthau has written that national interest should be considered as only one criterion of foreign policy. Although they themselves reject this thing that entire economic and cultural impacts which influence national interest, decide the definition of national interest, as national interests are defined in extensive atmosphere.

Notes In view of Morgenthau, there is no difference in means and ends for national interest.

Morgenthau has classified national interest as permanent, compulsory, primary and secondary. But he has not clarified the standard on whose basis; difference can be made in other types of state. The scholars are of the view that the ideas of Morgenthau about national interest cannot at all be called devoid of morality or immoral.

For Morgenthau there are a lot of differences in personal ethics and dealings of a state. To achieve ends of national interest he had mentioned some means which are as follows:

1. War or any other use of force
2. Balance of power
3. Political activities

The Kinds of National Interest

Thomas Robinson has ticked off six kinds of interest in his book National Interest:

1. First is the capability to stop encroachment beyond the geographical and cultural boundaries of nation-state. No compromise can be ever made with this.
2. The safety of migrants and ambassadors is the second class national interest.
3. Changeable national interests emerge and merge according to existing conditions in different states.

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General National Interest and Special National Interest

The nation states employ some means for the conservation of its interests. Both types of means—martial and non-martial are used in reference to war or peace. Except military force, through the medium of alliances also, the states strengthen their position in international system and display capability of authority.

Diplomatic Advice: Diplomacy (advice and dialogue) is considered to be the most useful of national interest means because with this the state can be saved from the loss of life and money incurred in war. Its use is not only done for the solution of untimely controversies but also to avoid violent clashes for probable interests in future. Along this it will be useful to remember that in every condition diplomacy cannot be termed as better option than war. This is possible that any war-monger state uses diplomacy just for provoking dilemma in the mind of the rival or for getting essential interval for enhancing its strength.

Example One excellent example of failure of diplomacy is the Munich Agreement by the British Prime Minister in 1936 with Nazi Germany.

All the scholars are of one opinion that this 'Appeasement' proved to be extremely costly in the end. This senseless political effort to establish peace in their time was held responsible in the end for the explosion of Second World War.

For peaceful solutions of conflicts, 'mediation' is also considered to be very useful. The utility of 'abnegation' and 'restriction' has been accredited many times. Economic blockade is taken as activity of war level in international law. During cold- war to escape from disastrous clashes, the use of publicity or ill-publicity had been done in well-planned way to achieve its national interest.

Collective Security: Some of the scholars think that Collective Security can be a good method of gaining national interest. In the Declaration Letter of the United Nation Organization, aggressive attitude has been termed as illegal. Collective Security had been distinguished prestigiously. During the time of cold-war, at least in its ensuing years Collective Security had been considered as very important. The creation of competitive military organizations to encourage unification of different spheres had been done according to this ideology.

Did You Know? According to Lord Palmerston, there are no perpetual foes and friends of any country. Only national interests are perpetual and ever-lasting.

1.3 National Power

In the area of international politics, the concept of power is like that central pivot around which entire theoretical analysis and diplomatic activities revolve. Common man defines power in his daily life in a very flexible manner and it is weighed and investigated sometimes with physical power and sometimes by linking with economic capability. In short, not even in the context of international politics, but in broader context also its meaning can be said to be 'capability to influence others' conduct'. This definition can be found correct in political, economic and cultural, in any context related to a person or group. This definition has been probably accepted in this form by philosophers like Bertrand Russell and scholars of realist politics like Hans Morgenthau.

Generally, in the context of international politics in traditional manner (state's) power has been understood as the synonym of military power and strategic power. Economic power is seen in the form

Notes

of the means to gather and increase this military power. In reality, form of power and its authority cannot be kept limited only till physical dimensions. Power of thoughts may remain abstract, intangible and invisible, but it cannot be understood as less effective. History is witness that from beginning of civilization, humans are ready to fight and sacrifice their life for abstract values, ideals and beliefs. It may be religion or cultural heritage of partnership; these facts are seen linked in indifferent manner with the identity of nation state. While defining national interest also these conceptual abstract matters play decisive role. The power of thoughts is so strong that they do not hesitate to challenge the imbalance of physical power. That's why the importance of study of special concepts is so high in international politics.

It is required to add in the beginning itself that the concept of sovereignty of nation which is established in international law, saves its meaning only until nation is master of that power, by whose utilization it is capable of saving its unity and integrity and is capable of stopping any other state to interfere in its internal matters. The concept of power is linked to the international arrangement of modern nation-state in an indifferent manner.

Even before the rise of nation state concept of power has been central in politics. On the basis of punishment or strength only a ruler could ascertain that the public and subjects will obey his orders and social system will remain disciplined. According to the divine principle of the origin of state humans prayed to God, after getting scared from the danger of devastating lawlessness, for a sovereign ruler who gained power in public interest. In the principle of origin of state on the basis of social agreement to end lawlessness the mutually struggling hurt and injured primitive human groups themselves assigned power to the ruler. In both circumstances, state and power are inseparable. This fact should also be kept in mind that any concept of power is neither independent of values nor is this establishment argumentative that the state's power is autocratic and arbitrary in spite of claiming about sovereignty. Many examples are found of eradication of rulers with autocratic and arbitrary conduct and the pressure of tradition has been quite impactful on this topic that the utilization of state's power can be understood legal and proper for the confirmation and protection of national interest in public interest.

Two aspects of power are normally seen and assessed by separating them. Internal and external, and along with it this debate is also old that which way of power utilization is better—direct or indirect. According to most scholars of international politics, power is an instrument not an executable.

Realist Principle and Concept of Power

The most blatant orator of classical realism in international politics is Hans Morgenthau and according to him the summary of international affairs is the power struggle persistent between nation-states which can be defined in context of national interest. The inspiration of such thoughts is the philosophical thought of Hobbs in which human is ethereally selfish and everywhere in society, whether it is a person or state, every entity is seen in situation of struggle against others. This situation of lawlessness essentially appoints this duty for nation-state that it reserves power to protect its existence against attack from any probable enemy and tries to mould present power balance in its own favour by means of military establishments etc. After Hans Morgenthau scholars like Kenneth Waltz have taken ahead this thought. In evaluation of power of nation-state they have included shape, population, resources, economic capability, military power, political stability and leadership competence and work skill. By all these matters that power potential and capability are decided by which lawless situation can be changed and protection of existence is possible for nation-state.

Criticism of this theory of power based on realism and neo-realism is done by liberalist thinkers in which Keohane and Joseph Nye are prominent. According to them, nation-state is not independent, disengaged, autocratic entity but an organization legally representing human society. In the context of international politics along with nation state the importance of state's activists and actors should

Notes

also be understood. According to these scholars, the sole reality is not essentially struggle between nation, state, states can utilize their power to increase cooperation (regional and national).

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. According to most scholars ..... of international politics is an instrument not an executable.

   (a) Power (b) Sovereignty

   (c) State (d) Rule

6. Nation-state is an ..... legally representing human society.

   (a) Organization (b) Establishment

   (c) Committee (d) Nation

1.4 National Security

For any nation state national security is the topmost in the list of national interests. For the common man national security is the synonym of national interest whose meaning he understands by keeping safe unity and integrity by protecting geographical boundaries of the nation. The traditional definition of national security kept it limited to military and strategic dimensions. The reason for sustaining this thinking has been that the state which is incapable of keeping its unity, integrity and geographical boundaries free from invaders infringement cannot consider itself sovereign. If it cannot keep under its power on that geographical region displayed on the map as its occupied area by which it is recognized as a nation-state under one umbrella then it will be considered dependent.

This fact is often ignored that in the end the military and strategic security which is considered to be the most important, why is it so important? Reality is that within the boundaries of the nation state, to willfully apply economic policies within its domestic politics, to select political system and to keep social organization systematic the autonomy which is needed, for that sovereign rule is important in any geographical part. The protection of its economic, social and cultural national interests, the effort by the means of military strategic security, is considered to be national interest. This fact is worth repeating that the economic and social aspects cannot be considered less important than military aspect. Some scholars believe that this fact is implicit in the word strategic. A scholar named Walter has clarified this fact by a quite succinct comment that a nation can be considered secure only until when it cannot be forced to sacrifice its fundamental values. When challenged, it should have the capability that in the situation of denying war there should be no requirement of any negotiations of those values which are tied to its existence and are a part of its national identity, and in war situation (to protect them) its victory is certain. This abstract form of national security is considered to be the least and probably this is the most important.

The Fine and Complex Form of National Security

In some special circumstances, without infringement into geographical boundaries and without evidently defeating the government in power in war or else without dethroning them by any other way, the national security of any nation can be endangered. In the Cold War era, even after the end of colonialism, it was quite tough for the newly risen nations to save and maintain their independence. The challenge of neo-colonialism was linked with economic imperialism. In many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America supremacy of foreigners continued on natural resources and market. In many nation states alongwith the end of the struggle for independence, fighter attitudes also started

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ending. The hunger to enjoy independence was vivid. In most nations public was eager for this matter that the rate of economic progress should be high and standard of living should raise. To establish strong foundation of economic autonomy it was important that immediate consumption should be reduced, gird up for sacrifices and for few years patience should be maintained. During the years of Cold War both supreme powers and other big powers understood foreign help as the useful tool of their foreign policy because of strategic reasons. One influence of this was that this misconception spread amongst developing nations that by foreign help—import of wealth and technology, the way of economic progress will be easy and accessible. Going forward this fact became clear that this was merely an illusion. The reality of foreign help was nothing more than back-breaking loan. The threads which were tied together with foreign help used to pull the strings of those taking help like puppets. Because of this the economic autonomy and self-dependence of developing nations could be ambushed. This fact does not apply one-sidedly only on help given by multinational international organizations. The kind of necessary condition that the World Bank used to impose; after that the independence of policy making in social area didn't remain with the nation accepting help. It should not be necessary to say that there was never much difference between the values of the World Bank and those of American-western values. Much later the newly risen Asian countries became aware of this economic fact of national security.

In the same manner everywhere indifference only can be seen in the beginning years about the cultural facts of national security. A big reason for this was that in different colonies the instrument of modern education, especially higher education and research was always the language of colonial power (foreign). The conspiracy to dismiss traditional domestic knowledge was continuously ongoing during the colonial era. White colonists claimed that they are undertaking the task to 'polish' 'vandal' and 'gothic' people. People like 'Rudyard Kipling' called this 'White Man's Burden'. On the pretext of ending bad practices prevalent in African-Asian societies, western-Christian morality and argumentative modernization was imposed upon. Whenever slaves solicited autonomy, the organizations that were courteously granted to them were merely faint and foggy copies of western organizations. Even after independence whether it is bureaucracy or penal code, election procedure or means of communication, experiences from colonial era were easily accepted as the best. By this that mentality was developed which has been called 'Intellectual Slavery' by famous Caribbean-African socialist and revolutionary Frantz Fanon. Many nation-states have still not been able to free themselves from this gland of inferiority. Its influence is that for prior imperialists and colonists the cultural infringement into national security of newly risen nations was easily possible. African-Asian nations have been denying 'domestic' without putting any thoughts because of accepting western organizations and lifestyle as ideal and exemplary. They have been heating up debates over those issues in their public life whose initiation has been in foreign land (completely different ambience). In this context nobody has free time to think whether any such nation can remain free for even a short time. A scholar named Barry Buzan has clearly said in short words that the national security thematic complete debate's arguments should remain centralized around independence and impending crisis.

Caution In the context of nation-state there can be only one meaning of nation-state, the capability of states and societies to save and maintain their independent identity.

In the years following Second World War the definition of national security has been polished and researched from time to time as a result of implicit actions between states and international arrangements. The fragmentation of nations, regional integration, success and failure of United Nations Organization has influenced this thought.

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Ideological Theories about National Security

Until recent times the entire thought process about national security normally remained focused on strategic interests of nation-states. As has been said before, now within this circle all domestic matters influencing socio-economic interests of citizens of the state and all matters liberating from external harmful influence are being included. Traditional thinking was influenced by realism in international politics, so change in this has been brought by increasing popularity of liberalist analysis. In recent years, different ideological viewpoints have played role in changing its definition in which Construction Theory, Critical Theory, Feminist Theory, Post Modern viewpoints are there for doing study of international relations.

Realist Theory: Classical liberalist thinkers' viewpoint is basically pessimistic about human nature. According to them, international arrangement displays situation of anarchy in which existence of state is always endangered. It is obvious that national security is always endangered and on national level the responsibility of protection of all groups from outside dangers can be considered only of the state. Its opposite is liberalist theory which is relatively much more optimistic. Scholars inspired by philosopher scholar Kant's 'Democratic Peace' thought believe that such organizations and systems can be created in international arrangement by which international issues can be solved in a peaceful manner. Such code of conduct and laws can be implemented by which mutually beneficial social regulations based on agreement can be successfully implemented by ending anarchy. According to this theory in international arrangement not only collision between international interests, but also their union can also be seen. It is not essential that every state sees the other state as their enemy; they can also be seen in the form of working partners supporting each other's common interests.

Alternative Thoughts about National Security

Apart from realist and liberalist thoughts about national security, construction theory is prominent. Its implementers suggest that international politics is a form of social reform. These scholars deny the theories of realists and neo-realists according to which international politics is basically anarchist and antisocial. According to it during the analysis of national security this should also be kept in mind that how the utilization of national power is being done in the name of national security. Planning for its use for legislative and social interests can only be considered correct.

Feminist Thinkers: They stress on the fact that till now the thoughts on national security in international politics have been displaying the mentality of sex discrimination and women oppression. It may be power struggle or diplomacy; it has been accepted as the field of men. Women are kept out from this area in an unjust manner by propagating their weak and soft image. Feminists believe that this oppressive imbalance needs to be immediately ended. National security should be defined in this way that in its circle all those questions and issues should come which are strongly tied together with female life. Even a glance manifests that the dissatisfaction and anger of feminists is acceptable in a big way. Whenever there is war or violent explosion then biggest damage is to women and children dependent on them. Similarly, in times of crisis like natural disasters and famines also the abuse and infringement of women rights are seen. Nobel Prize winner economist, **Amartya Sen,** has proved this fact in his research. Because of interference of feminist thinkers only the international thoughts about national security have changed in the last decade in quite a revolutionary manner and under the topic of human security many of those issues are being included which feminist thinkers stress upon.

Critical Theory: Scholars believe that national security cannot be kept indifferent or detached. Its motive cannot be anything less than liberation of humans. If we accept this request then we will also have to accept that for sovereign nation the meaning of national security can only be to keep citizens living in its own control area free from any kind of oppression and exploitation. Decision of foreign policy and strategic preparation or diplomatic operation should be done accordingly.

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The emphasis of diplomatic realists and neo-realists has only been focused on lawlessness in international arrangement and selfishness and aggressiveness of human nature. Because of this scholars from **Morgenthau** to **Kenneth Waltz** are seen entangled in analysis of power balance established by use of violence and strength. Danger to existence of state is remarked upon again and again and all the time fear, dilemma and confusion for national security are told as the eternal realist. Security of one state is believed to be danger to the other state. In this philosophy permanent peace remains a dream and relations in international group always remain volatile and stressful. Names of scholars like **John Harz** and **Robert Jervis** are with the theory of continuous strategic dilemma.

Liberalist thoughts have been giving challenge to neo-realists thoughts. According to these thinkers, by mutual cooperation and collaboration the nations active on international stage can gain control over lawlessness and by trying continuously for permanent peace, can remove the apprehensions produced from volatility and uncertainty. Liberalist thoughts are optimistic towards human nature and believe the role of international organizations and international law quite important in this context. Today most scholars agree with the fact that realist viewpoint is constricted and is incapable in the 21st century to understand the reality of international world and suggest a path in the area of diplomacy. But along with this most scholars also believe that liberalist theory often deviates from the actual reality in its optimism. For all the topics which have been included under human security like—environment, health, refugees, food security, human rights, etc., it can be said that along with cooperation the probability of struggle in all these areas is also quite strong. Any nation-state acquiring the realist viewpoint can adopt the way of using strength to resolve such issues and violent explosion of war can happen. Along with this recent experience lesson is also learned that any realist morality-free nation state/supreme power can indirectly try to destroy or defeat the enemy by using these non-traditional weapons instead of traditional arms, for means of its petty national interest. Its one example was seen during Vietnam War when America used herbicide chemical Agent Orange as a weapon in South Vietnam to defeat Vietnamese guerrillas, even after properly knowing that such chemicals make the earth infertile and venomous for many years. Other rulers also, by polluting environment with the tactics of destroying the crop standing in enemy's farms or by breaking his morale by spreading epidemic, knowledge masters have been considering tactics to destroy economic life from strategic viewpoint.

1.5 Summary

- In the context of international politics the affair of 20th century was influential to establish realist theory in prominent place.
- In the upliftment of Hitler and Nazi party, in rendering autocratic realism provided maximum share.
- Birth of nation-state happened about three hundred any fifty years before today after the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. From then till now these are considered main worker-actor and active entity on international stage.
- Bellis and Smith have criticized realist theory quite elaborately. According to them, this is an old, illiberal theory which does the examination of international arrangement by quite narrow viewpoint by only remaining focused upon the concept of power.
- In the perspective of the international affairs of last few decades, the rendering of realist theory has been done in relatively sophisticated manner. Those rendering revised concepts are known as 'neo-realists'. In these Kenneth Waltz is prominent.
- The concept of national interest is prominent in international politics. The main target of foreign policy and the complete activity of international diplomacy are to protect national interest.

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- In the area of international politics the concept of power is like that central pivot around which entire theoretical analysis and diplomatic activities revolve.
- For any nation state national security is the topmost in the list of national interests. For the common man national security is the synonym of national interest whose meaning he understands by keeping safe unity and integrity by protecting geographical boundaries of the nation.

1.6 Keywords

- **Realist :** Person who says reality or truth, who believes in the Realist principle
- **National Power :** Power or capability influencing another nation

1.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by Realism? Describe the influences of realism on international or world politics.
2. Comment upon neo-realism.
3. What do you mean by national interest? Clarify thoughts of Morgenthau on national interest.
4. Clarify the concept of national power.
5. Criticize the different facts of national power.
6. Verify this statement—National security is the topmost in national interest.
7. Describe the different theoretical thoughts of national security.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Worldly	2. Autocratic	3. Natural	4. Organization
5. (*a*) Power	6. (*b*) Society		

1.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations—***V.N.Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
5. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations, 1914-1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Unit 2 : Liberal and Neo-Liberal Approaches

Notes

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
2.1 International Economic System
2.2 Uruguay Dialogue 1986–93 (GATT Agreement) and WTO
2.3 International Communication
2.4 Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism
2.5 Summary
2.6 Keywords
2.7 Review Questions
2.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know international economic system.
- Discuss Uruguay Dialogue and World Trade Organization.
- Elaborate international communication.
- Know functionalism and neo-functionalism.

Introduction

There have been many such occurrences in the 20th century because of which on the basis of inequality, mutual cooperation and feeling of respect towards one another, reassessment of economic relations of world community is considered important. The first attempt to establish international economy was done in Bretton Woods at the time of end of Second World War. In reality, after the war the ties of colonialism and imperialism were becoming loose and undeveloped nations wanted to gain economic independence also along with political independence. For establishment of justified independence nations of the third world demanded formation of new international economic system. In the Jakarta Convention of non-aligned nations the developing countries invoked increase of mutual cooperation. To maintain international security and peace United Nations Organization was established on 24th October, 1945.

2.1 International Economic System

The foremost effort to establish international economic system after the end of Second World War had been done in Bretton Woods. The arrangement of Bretton Woods conference had been done by five super-powers—America, Soviet Union (which boycotted the conference later on) England, France and China. The proposed 'economic system' in Bretton Woods had been a planning of America, which had support of other prominent industrial countries and whose aim was to accomplish its

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interest. The developing countries of the third world stared talking about alternate economic system after exposing its shortcomings. In 20th century, several such incidents took place due to them on the basis of equality, mutual cooperation and feeling of respect for each other the re-establishment of economic relations is considered to be important. In Soviet Union in 1917 the occurrence of socialist revolution is a prominent incident.

Notes The socialist revolution of Soviet Union launched a new era. In place of imperialist and capitalist exploitative system, there came a system based on the concept of equality and justice.

The second incident was- during 1940 to 1950 there was increase in number of socialist states and there was expansion of socialist world. These socialist countries were opponents of colonial system and they started to give stress on the principles of equality of world trade and economic relations. The third incident was—détente in mutual relations of the states or emergence of tension- release and emergence of element of amiability in different political and economical states. Emphasis was given that the assessment of economic relations should be done as per the ideals of democracy and justice. In 1960, the problem of development of developing nations became centre point of study. As a matter of fact, after the war, the bonds of colonialism and imperialism were weakening and little-developed countries wanted to have economic liberty along with political liberty. In international politics and economics vocabulary, in the decade of 1970, there rose a new concept, which is known as 'New International Economic System'.

New International Economic System: Meaning

The meaning of the concept of 'New International Economic System' is—in the hearts of newly formed states there has risen a yearning that their economic development might not depend upon the will of capitalist countries and Multi-National Corporations must not think them to be raw material producing colonies. The management of World Economic System is based on the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference and full rights on raw material of the producer nation, these principles are in accordance to national interests of developing countries, because they have jurisdiction on more than half of raw material. For establishing appropriate economic liberty, the countries of the third world demanded creation of New International Economic System. The developing countries have high hopes of creation of New International Economic System, because there is possibility of reorientation of world economic system to be done in accordance to their interest

Fundamental Principles of New International Economic System

1. To establish sovereignty of any nation on minerals and all types of economic activities.
2. To stop as far as possible, the tendency of increasing or decreasing cost of raw material and to see that there should not be much difference between the cost of raw material and finished goods.
3. To expand the preference of trade with developed countries.
4. To equalize world currency system.
5. To encourage import of industrial goods produced by developing countries.
6. To equalize the difference in technical progress in developed countries by developing countries.

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7. To lessen burden of financial debts over developing countries.
8. To levy appropriate control on the activities of Multinational Corporations.

Above mentioned all demands are universal and are in concurrence with the interests of the nations of the third world. United Nation's General Assembly in May, 1974 presented a new structure of present popular economic system in its conference. They proposed a declaration and a program to establish 'New International Economic System'. The demand to establish 'New International Economic System' is such a demand which is anti-imperialistic demand with which Asia, Africa and most of the nations of Latin America agree. The nations of Socialistic block support these demands.

Foreign Trade Related Problems of Developing Countries

For developing countries there are a lot of importance of foreign trade. But to expand foreign trade these nations have to face following problems:

1. Problems related to growth of import
   - *(i)* No increase in income as per import
   - *(ii)* Chakriya change
   - *(iii)* Change in kind of industrial production
   - *(iv)* Competition with developed countries
2. Problems related to transport
3. Conditions of trade

The Demand of New International Economic System: Historical Background

In Cairo, in July 1962, for the first time there was mention of economic development in the conference which was organized by Non-aligned movement on 'Problems of Economic Development'. In Cairo Conference the main stress was given on 'Cooperation and improved trade relations'. In Lusaka Summit Meet the non-aligned countries undertook to opt for 'general initiative' for economic and development matters with developed and industrial countries. In 1973, in fourth non-aligned summit in Algiers attention had been drawn towards inequality set up by popular international economic system while exposing exploitative tendencies of non-aligned nations. To discuss these inequalities sixth special conference was called. It passed historical proposals of declaration of establishment of 'New International Economic System' and 'executive planning'. The main demands of both the documents were related to trade, economic cooperation, cost of minerals, handing over of technology and spheres of regulating activities of Multi- purpose corporations. The demands which were kept in the sphere of trade gave stress on restrictions on unjustified quota and to avert high rate tax on export by developing countries and ban on restrictive trade pattern. The main base of total demand had been inter-dependence of developing countries. This idea is based on this concept that rich and poor world cannot survive if they live separately for a long time.

Discussion for New International Economic System

In new international system there was beginning of two kinds of discourse or discussion. One is south-south cooperation and second is north- south discourse. The meaning of north-south discourse is discussion amids set developed and developing countries for quest of mutual cooperation. The meaning of south-south discourse is discussion amidst developing countries for a quest of mutual cooperation and self- dependence.

South-South Cooperation

These days the world has been divided into two spheres—north and south. 'North' indicates rich countries and 'South' means poor or developing countries. The implication of 'South-South cooperation'

Notes

is that south- south means for economic cooperation amidst developing countries there is search for a base for mutual discussion and cooperation. For the establishment of 'International Economic System' efforts had been done for 'North-South Cooperation', but due to stubbornness and inflexible attitude of rich developed countries, no encouraging results came out and poverty in developing countries went on increasing. In stead of running after the mirage of cooperation of 'North-South' developing countries of southern globe started emphasizing on 'South-South Mutual Cooperation'. The 'South-South Cooperation' indicated the developing countries should not depend on developed countries of North Globe for their economic development and should try to seek economic cooperation among developing countries only, so that they might step towards self- dependence.

Background

The actual beginning of south-south cooperation took place in 1968 in Second UNCTAD conference in New Delhi to give stress on the need of mutual cooperation among developing countries. After this deliberation was held on the concept of south-south cooperation in 1970 in Lusaka meeting. In the meeting of foreign ministers in Lima in 1975 and non-aligned meeting in Colombo in 1976 and in fourth UNCTAD meeting (1976) affirmation was done for such type of concept of cooperation. In the meeting of 'Group-77' in 1979 also among developing nations, the stress was given on need of increase of mutual trade and need of collective self-dependence. In Caracus in May, 1981 in high-level meeting of developing countries, on the subject of economic cooperation, a new dimension was awarded to this agenda. Demand among developing nations was made for universal method of tariff preferences so that there might be increase in trade, production and employment. During the period of 22–24 February, 1981, there was a conference of 44 countries in New Delhi. Its inauguration was done by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This conference found out concrete directions for south-south cooperation. This conference was convened to decrease dependence on North (Western rich countries) and to establish mutual cooperation among south-south. The rich countries like Saudi Arab, Kuwait and United Arab Amirat had been invited in that conference. In October 1982 the ministers of 'Group 77' initiated discourse on establishment of tariff preferences among developing countries after making a declaration in New York. The aim of such program was to increase their mutual trade after adopting direct provisions of entering into long term agreements for mutual trade dealings. Harare Summit conferences of non-aligned countries (1986) formulated clearly the need of 'south-south cooperation' in place of 'North-South Dialogue'. **Robert Mugabe** clearly stated that 'it is not possible to bring about improvement in international economic relations without opting 'south-south cooperation' and collective self-dependence. To encourage south-south cooperation, a decision was taken to call for the meeting of finance ministers of developing countries in North Korea. This meeting started in the capital Pyongyang of North Korea on 9th June, 1987. In declaration of Pyongyang emphasis was given on south-south cooperation and collective self-dependence. In 1987 only, formation of 'Southern commission' was done to establish harmony and give new direction to mutual cooperation among developing countries.

Different Stages of South-South Cooperation

Different stages to institute south-south dialogues are following:

1. UNCTAD Conference
2. Meetings of Group 77
3. Summit Meets of Non-Aligned movement
4. G-15 Conference
5. South Commission

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6. ASEAN, SAARC, IORARC, BIMSTEC
7. Formation of G-3

UNCTAD Conference

UNCTAD or before the conference on trade and economic development of the United Nations, discussion used to be held on foreign trade and problems regarding cooperation under rate of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (**GATT**) Expected benefit could not be had by little-developed countries of this above mentioned 'General Agreement'. Due to this, a new program was initiated for international economic cooperation. The aim of this program was to decrease present trade gap in little-developed countries. This program has been given the name of 'UNCTAD'. All the member countries of the United Nations are also the members of 'UNCTAD'. The foundation of 'UNCTAD' took place on 30th December, 1964, as permanent organ of the General Assembly of The United Nations. All the members of The United Nations are the members of UNCTAD also. It tried to give new direction to the progress of international trade. The meeting of UNCTAD is organized every 4 years. The twelfth conference was held in Accra (Ghana) in 2008. Its next conference was held in Doha (Katar) in 2012.

Group-77

In the decade of 1960, out of new members of the United Nation Organization, the number of African states was great and about two-third members were from the developing countries of the third world, who started calling themselves as 'Group of 77'. The foundation of this group had been done in provision of The United Nations Organization. The first meeting of Group-77 was held in Algeria in 1967. In present its number has gone up to 135, even then it is being addressed as 'Group-77'. It is an inter-sovereign group which represents developing countries. These are such countries whose economic interests are same. They want to bring about basic changes in the formation of world economic system through the medium of The United Nations. There is one insider small group of group-77, which is known these days with the name of G-24. These days only G-24 represents Group-77 and has discourse on various agendas from the side of developing countries in The United Nations.

Example 49th annual meeting of Finance Ministers of G-24 concluded in Washington on 26th September, 1993. G-24 represents the interests of developing countries in matters of international Monetary Fund.

The conference of Scientific and Industrial ministers of 'G-77' countries was held in Rio de Janeiro in 2006. The countries of Group-77 are related to southern globe. These countries are not only poor but also connected to the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. 'Group-77' is indicative of unity of developing countries. They wanted to do bargaining by organizing together and wanted to mould the decisions for the interests of developing countries regarding laws concerning ocean, control of weapons, atomic energy, international trade and such other agendas.

Non-Aligned Movement

In Non-Aligned Movement there are mostly nations of developing countries of third world. In Harare convention, in place of 'north-south cooperation' stress was given on 'south-south' or mutual economic cooperation. Non-Aligned Movement is a program of cooperation in both economic and technical spheres. These programs should be made logical and mutual harmony should be established in them. In Jakarta Convention (September, 1992) of Non-Aligned countries call had been given for

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growth of mutual cooperation among developing countries. In 11th Non-Aligned Summit (14–15 October, 1995) organized in Cartagena, extensive discussion was held on the question of south-south cooperation along with other issues. The main topic of discussion was the need for improvement in Brettan Woods institutions and make export market available for developing countries after Uruguay regime. According to annual report of 1996–97 of Indian Foreign Ministry, "Non- Aligned Movement is fulfilling constructive role in growth of south-south cooperation and mutual talk with north." Many Non- Aligned nations (as oil exporter countries) are such who have plenty of wealth. On the other side, many Non-Aligned countries (like, India, Pakistan and Singapore) are those who are quite modern from the point of view of science and technology. So for both wealth—infested countries and technically advanced countries; it will be appropriate for them to cooperate with each other for mutual benefits.

G-15

The organization of G-15 was done in 1989 in Belgrade after the Non-Aligned Summit Meet. At present there are 19 countries included in this, out of them except Brazil and Mexico all other nations are Non-Aligned. Its members have spread around prominent areas of the world- Africa, North and South America (including Caribbean), Asia and Europe. Its members are—Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Jamaica, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, Iran, Columbia and Chili. Its first Summit Meet was held in Kuala Lumpur. In Kuala Lumpur the role and relevance of G-15 was clarified. It was seen as firm representative of developing countries (south), whose aim was to quicken and encourage the task of development so that it could lift above dim and controversial atmosphere of big sized organization Group-77 and work properly. Then it could suggest concrete measures in the direction of strengthening mutual cooperation among developing countries and initiate meaningful talk between developed and developing countries. In Kuala Lumpur meet, India proposed to do prominent role in two projects. They were—(i) Establishment of gene bank for medicated and fragrant plants; (ii) Development of procedure of energy for solar energy, pumps for irrigation, small refrigerators, corers and dyers. The second Summit Meet of G-15 was held at Venezuela capital, Caracas from 27th November to 29th November in 1991. Third Summit Meet of G-15 concluded in Dakar, the capital of Senegal from 21st November to 23rd November in 1992. In this the Heads of States of 10 countries including India, Indonesia and Egypt participated. The meaningful initiative which was adopted in Kuala Lumpur Summit of G-15 towards south-south cooperation was taken ahead in Dakar Conference. Seven projects were taken up for mutual cooperation in this conference. G-15 has initiated some special projects, out of them India is convener for two projects. The consent of establishing south conversion, trade and technical specimen conversion centre had been granted by G-15 in its Kuala Lumpur Summit in 1990. For this program India has contributed 25,000 dollars. India has also appealed to establish one professional training institution for its member countries in Africa to make G-15 more impressive. In short, the aim of G-15 is to discuss the problems concerning cooperation, policy related harmony and development among developing countries.

South Commission

To give quick direction to south-south cooperation, the decision was taken to found 'Southern Commission'. On 2nd October, 1987 international organization south-south opened its office in Geneva. The Ex-president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere assumed the office of President of this 28- member commission installed by Non-Aligned Movement. Dr. Man Mohan Singh was designated as General Secretary of the Commission. In the inauguration ceremony of the Commission Nyerere told, "On the policies implemented by international financial institutions and debt-giving states, the nations of third world felt a sort of despair."

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Did You Know? The full name of ASEAN is 'Association of Southeast Asian Nations.'

ASEAN, SAARC, IORARC and BIMSTEC

ASEAN is the union of countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The aim of formation of ASEAN is—to accelerate the economic progress in South-East Asia and to search solutions of different common problems with collective cooperation. Its target is to prepare a common market in this area and enhance trade among member countries. The full name of SAARC is, 'Southern Asian Association for Regional Cooperation'. Its establishment was done on 8th December, 1985. The members of SAARC are—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives. In April, 2007, Afghanistan also became its member. The prime basis of SAARC is to give stress on regional cooperation. After giving consent to South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) beginning of new era took place in economic cooperation in south Asia. The purpose of SAPTA had been to obliterate impediments relating to trade in Asia. With the formation of SAPTA and 'Southern Asian development Fund', many hopes of increase in economic cooperation can be cherished.

In March, 1997, the creation of Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IORARC) is an important incident. In this organization those countries of Asia, Africa and Australia are included which are located near coastal areas of Indian Ocean. Except India the other countries included are—Australia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Oman, Yemen, Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique, Madagascar, South Africa and Mauritius. The main aim of this organization has been to enhance trade and economic cooperation among countries of Indian Ocean and to construct market of Indian Ocean on the basis of economic unity, in which the interests of all the regional states can be kept secure. India participated actively in the meetings for economic cooperation with Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand to give shape to this prospering initiative of cooperation.

In Bangkok on 22nd December, 1997, in the meeting of Finance Ministers of Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand, the decision was taken that leading countries will coordinate the cooperation in six basic regions means in trade and investment (Bangladesh), technology (India), transport and communication (Thailand), energy (Myanmar), tourism (Sri Lanka), and fishery (Sri Lanka). Now new name of 'BIMSTEC' is 'Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Corporation'. Seven countries including India of economic group BIMSTEC signed Free Trade Agreement on 8th February, 2004. For Trade Agreement, 17th meeting of BIMSTEC was arranged in October, 2008 in Colombo. This agreement will prove to be important in prominent markets of south Asia and south-east Asia. On 31st July, 2004, in first summit meeting at Bangkok, of economic cooperation organization, BIMSTEC the member countries—India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Nepal and Bhutan to counter terrorism, decided to form a united workforce. In the first meeting of this organization the leaders of member countries accorded consent to increase economic cooperation, formation of free market region and to accomplish talk regarding this in time. During the meeting the name of this economic cooperation stage linked with countries of the Bay of Bengal was changed. In past its name was formed with first letter of member countries, BIMSTEC. Now its name-letters are the same, but its meaning is changed. Now it will be known as 'Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation'.

Formation of G-3

In June, 2003, for trade growth as well as for accomplishing political aspirations, India, South Africa and Brazil formed 'IBSA' 'Group-3'. The union of these three countries has first objective on the

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political platform—to initiate improvement in construction of Security Council and initiate to provide impressive role to developing nations in The United Nations Organization. For permanent membership of the Security Council, these three countries (G-3) propose to give support to each other.

North-South Discourse

For fulfiling aim of setting up new international economic system, efforts were done to establish discourse between rich and poor countries, which is called 'North-South Discourse'. On one side there are conditions of adverse trade and on the other side there is increasing debt-effect - both had contrary effect on disbursement balance of developing countries. The report of World Bank of 1984 clearly indicated that the countries of 'south' are extremely over-burdened with debt. The trade deficit of developing countries has increased more than thrice on account of decrease in exports. International Monetary Fund realizes much more amount as disbursement of interest than the debt that they have given to developing countries. The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in its special conference in May, 1974, for 'New International Economic–system passed draft of declaration and programme. From that time through the medium of different stages; as UNCTAD Conference, Non-Aligned Summit Meets, etc., the developing countries of south started demanding total change in the structure of world economic system. With the continual fall in economic condition of developing countries, bad impact has to be there in any condition on the plight of developed countries in long coming time. So it was very important for international economic relations and finally for equal development of world peace that these proposed issues should be solved satisfactorily through extensive international discussion between rich and poor countries. International Monetary Fund also asked in his report to eliminate present trade hurdles and stop increase of protectionism from industrial nations so that there can be development of markets of developing countries. Monetary Fund issued a warning that foreign trade policy is such a region by which there is serious danger to international cooperation. This is a special responsibility of industrial nations that they should try to make trade-zone liberal.

North-South Dialogue: Certain Efforts

From the view of North-South following efforts are mentionable - 1. Paris Conference (1975–77), 2. Brant Commission, (1977) 3. Cancun Conference (1981), 4. Uruguay Dialogue (1986-93) and World Trade Organization, 5. Earth Conference (June, 1997), 6. Annual Meeting of G-8 in Avene (France) (June, 2003).

Paris Conference (1975–77)

Paris Conference is also known as 'International Economic Cooperation Conference'. American Foreign Secretary Dr. Henry Kissinger took special interest in the arrangement of this conference. Total 8 developed and 19 developing countries took part in this conference. The discussion in this conference took place haltingly and it continued for 18 months. The conference ended in June, 1977.

Brant Commission, 1977

President of World Bank Robert McNamara proposed to establish a non-official independent commission to solve international development issues. The proposed non-official commission started its work in December, 1977. This commission became popular with the name of Brant Commission, because its President was Ex Chancellor of Germany, Willy Brant. Its members belonged to all the

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parts of the world—east, west, north and south. Indian Economist Dr. L.K. Jha was member of this commission. The first meeting of this proposed commission popularly known as Brant Commision, took place in December, 1977, in Bonn in chairmanship of Willy Brant. Its two reports are considered to be the most authentic concerning problems of social development. These reports are known with the heading of 'North-south—a program for survival' and 'Common Crisis'. Apart from them, these authentic documents have been known for famous principle of 'Mutual- Dependence' in which there is analysis of mutual-dependence of 'developed and developing countries (north–south dialogue). The commission insisted and clarified that for world peace, 'mutual dependence' is essential for developed and developing countries. For this, the commission proposed to call 'informal meeting of leaders of the world'.

Suggestions of Brant Commission

Brant Commission gave stress on north-south dialogue and gave suggestions on following issues:

1. Object trade
2. Foreign debt for developing countries
3. International Monetary improvements
4. Handing over of technology
5. Multi-national corporation
6. Ocean Laws
7. Multi-purpose trade

Cancun Conference, 1981

On initiation of the President of Mexico, 22 countries including India arranged a small summit meet (October, 1981) of poor-rich nations for north-south dialogue in the city Cancun of Mexico. The objective of this meet was to create appropriate atmosphere for international discourse on the agenda of rich-poor countries and to finish the hurdles in the path of exchange of dialogues. Developing countries insisted that extensive change should be done in the structure of international monetary fund and World Bank so that in changing situations they could follow their responsibility in proper way. Rich countries vehemently opposed this proposal and did not accept this proposal. Present System is such that the president of World Bank will always be an American and the Director of Monetary Fund will be a citizen of Western Europe. Some of the western countries also had the right to veto on the decisions of these two institutions. That's why they did not want any amendment in the constitution of these two institutions. In this summit meet, extensive deliberation was done on food, starvation, agriculture development, trade and energy. A five-point plan was presented by India in this summit meet in reference to export linked problems of developing countries.

Five-point plan of India

1. Afresh agreements might be done concerning import-export of materials.
2. For stabilizing prices, the activity to make common fund should be expedited in guidance of UNCTAD.
3. The tendency to restrict export of goods by developing countries should be stopped or decreased.

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4. Talk should be initiated immediately for renewal of contract concerning fiber.
5. There should be review of different restrictions on the export by developing countries and they should be successively finished in some fixed duration.
   - Even after failure of Cancun conference, for 'north–south dialogue' conference of world leaders was called by Mrs. Indira Gandhi at United Nations Head office in New York in 1983 in provision of UNCTAD.

Self Assessment

Fill in the Blanks:

1. For developing countries ..... trade has too much importance.
2. In Cairo conference, main stress was given to ..... and improved trade relations.
3. All the members of The United Nations Organization are also members of ..... .
4. In Non-Aligned Movement most of the ..... belong to third world.

2.2 Uruguay Dialogue 1986–93 (GATT Agreement) and WTO

After the Second World War, the international trade system that came into existence is mainly conducted by provisions of common agreement related to trade. This common agreement is known as "GATT". The task of making rules related to international trade is done by "GATT" organization. The main motive of "GATT" is to minimize tariff rates and the removal of difficulties coming in the way of development of international trade to achieve targets of mutual profits. From the establishment of GATT (1947) till now there have been eight multilateral trade meetings. The eighth conference (Uruguay round) began on 20th September, 1988 in South Africa's nation Uruguay under the conduct of "GATT", in which approximately hundred member nations participated. Later its number increased to 108. The period of four years was decided for Uruguay dialogue regime and GATT had to submit its conclusions by December, 1990. But even after completion of seven regimes of continuous trials and dialogues of 7 years no success could be obtained over certain international market systems. Eighth regime of the dialogue began in 'Punta del Este' city of Uruguay. In this dialogue was held related to the area coming under "GATT". In traditional form "GATT" has only been creating laws related to trade of things, in which mainly produced goods are only included. Agriculture is out of its working area. In the present regime of Uruguay dialogue expansion was done in the area by stepping aside from past tradition and for the first time four new areas were included in the dialogue list. The following are these areas:

1. General Agreements on Tarriffs and Trade
2. Trade related to aspects of rights on spiritual wealth
3. Trade in Services
4. Agriculture

In Doha conference in the leadership of India developing nations got a big success in the matter of requisition and production of medicines related to public health. For protection of the public against diseases like HIV/AIDS, TB., Malaria, etc. the TRIPS of the World Trade Organization and patent related rules will not be able to pose as a hindrance in the matter of production of medicines. The inclusion of this provision related to public health in the Doha manifesto is being seen as a big victory of developing nations. Due to heavy disagreements between developed and developing nations the conference failed. In the leadership of India developing nations did not let rich industrialist nations realize their intentions.

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World Trade Organization (WTO)

The establishment of World Trade Organization was done on 1st January, 1995. World Trade Organization is a rule based, transparent and evidently multilateral trade organization which protects member nations from pressure from powerful trade participants. Most Favorable Nation ensures behaviour principle that member nations do not do prejudice against members of World Trade Organization not only in their revenue system, but also in matters of other rules, regulations, encouragements etc.

Headquarters

The headquarters of World Trade Organization is in Geneva.

Tasks

Some important tasks of World Trade Organization are the following:

1. Providing facilities for the implementation, administration and operation of World Trade agreement and Multilateral and Plurilateral agreements.
2. Work in the form of a platform for discussion between members on any prospective issue related to trade and tariff.
3. Administer rules and processes related to Settlement of Disputes.
4. Utilize World Resources favourably.

United Nations Organization

The establishment of United Nations Organization was done on 24th October, 1945. Its headquarter is in New York.

Motive

- Maintain international peace and security.
- Develop friendly relations between countries.
- Unitedly, work to eradicate poverty, sickness and uneducation from the whole world, stop environmental damage and providing rights to every common man and promote respect towards independence.

Languages

English, French, Chinese, Arabic and Spanish are the languages of the office of United Nations Organization whereas working languages are English and French.

Security Council

Security Council is the authoritative organization taking up responsibility of United Nations Organization related to world peace and security. It has five permanent members—United States of America, Britain, China, Russia and France. Until the Security Council exists the permanent

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membership of these five will remain. Every permanent member receives the right to Veto. According to this arrangement, if among the five permanent members, even one grants his vote against any important decision, then that topic will be considered unaccepted.

General Assembly

This is the only part of United Nations Organization in which all member nations have membership and they have been given same voting rights. General Assembly has been given the responsibility of important tasks related to peace, security and cooperation. General Assembly presents annual budget under its financial powers.

International Court of Justice

There are 15 members in this court which are elected by General Assembly and Security Council. Its headquarters are in The Hague (Netherlands). The tenure of judges is of 9 years but there is no restriction on their reelection.

Secretariat

This is the administrative part of the United Nations Organization. There is one Secretary General and other workers. The appointment of Security General is done for 5 years by the recommendation of Security Council by the General Assembly.

Collective Security

According to Morgenthau, "In the dynamic process of collective security the issue of security is not genesis of an individual country, whose resolution should be done by weapons and other parts of national power." The relation of security is with all nations. They will keep the thought of everyone's security in a collective manner, as if their own security is in danger. If 'A' is a danger for the security of 'B', then 'C', 'D', 'E', 'F' will take actions against 'A', even if 'A' has challenged them and 'B' and similarly oppositely also. One for all and all for one is the principle of collective security. **Georg Schwarzenberger** has written by clarifying the symptom of collective security—"This is a means to carry joint proceedings by different nations to stop attacks on the foundation of a well established international system." Like British ambassador Lord Loftus was told by Bismarck on 12th April, 1869 according to the report sent to British Foreign Minister Earl of Clarendon on 17th April, 1869 – "If you announce only this that every time that a person, who will purposely breach the peace of Europe, will be seen as collective enemy—we will be a part of this announcement, and will abide by it. This path, if other powers support it, will be a sure guarantee for Europe's peace."

The meaning of collective security is:

1. The attack done on one state will be considered as an attack on all states.
2. The security of one country is not the topic of tension for that country alone, but it is the tension of complete international society.
3. If one country endangers the security of any other country then all countries, will carry proceedings from endangered country.
4. Except attacker cooperation between all other countries is quintessential for collective security. It is possible that because of scare from this 'cooperation' the attacker gives up the thought of the attack.

Self Assessment

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Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The headquarters of the World Trade Organization is in …… .

   (a) America (b) Soviet Union (c) Ghana (d) Geneva

6. …….. conference is known as 'International Economic Cooperation Conference'.

   (a) Geneva (b) Paris (c) Uruguay (d) UNCTAD

7. The establishment of United Nations Organization was done on 24th October, ……

   (a) 1950 (b) 1945 (c) 1942 (d) 1947

8. Secretariat is the …… part of the United Nations Organization

   (a) Administrative (b) Political (c) Judicial (d) Commercial

2.3 International Communication

Many decades ago a famous communications philosopher of Canada, Marshall McLuhan, commented that world has transformed into a village. This imagination of global village was realized in the world of communication for the first time. Although when the transmission of Short Wave radio began, from then itself the geographical boundaries of nation-states were rendered worthless in a way. For any nation it became possible that it can address its public and do neglect and disdain of another nation's government. During Second World War Nazi Germany and Britain, both fully utilized radio. Nazis also successfully used means of film during years of their rise to enflame racial passion. In answer attack of this war, friend countries blowed the weapon of Hollywood and used Charlie Chaplin's films to ridicule Hitler and destroy his magical influence. After the war transmission of television made possible the transmission of both radio's words and film's scenes together. This can be accepted as the most important communications revolution of international politics.

From then till now whatever mentionable revolutionary inventions or changes have happened in the area of communications, somewhere they are linked to television transmission. First through means of cable, then through satellites complete world can be linked in one communication instrument. No nation-state can impose ban or censorship on such transmissions. Whether it is conspiracy against ritually appointed government or propaganda of communal separatist terrorization, this means has been strategically utilized. Transmission is a universal issue today not only because telecommunications instrument is worldwide but also because the ownership of this technology is in the hands of a few countries and the transfer of this technology is a very profitable business. In this era of globalization because of means of telecommunication development and propaganda of such a global, equally felt, consumerist culture has been possible under whose pressure not only small, but bigger states also are feeling the danger of loosing their identity. One more time, they are feeling endangerment of their sovereignty, independence, unity and integrity because of this.

Along with this few more things should be discussed. Often this fact is automatically accepted proven that in western countries and societies, in democratic state arrangement means of communication remain impartial and independent. Organizations like B.B.C. and Washington Post are considered more important than the government of any party, in the issue of building public ballots. Recent experience has been making this self-righteous and egotistic value public knowledge. For famous institutions also their own national interest is considered most sensitive in the times of danger and they become self-controlled in a behavioural manner. Here it is required to remind this fact that entrepreneurs like Rupert Murdoch do not hesitate even to convert their nationality to maintain profitability of their communications kingdom and to spread their wings in China willingly become ready to do anything and upon getting desirable price London Times and Wall Street Journal also becomes ready to get sold in the hands of Rupert Murdoch.

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Caution The biggest danger of this reality is that those international means of communication are considered fearless, impartial and independent, they are also seen as favouring a country or capitalism like all other multinational corporations. This fact should be understood as dangerous for countries like India.

In the end, analysis of the role of internet is important in making communications a universal issue. Until recently it was thought that internet is not only a democratic, but also a disorganized technology instrument whose utilization everyone can do as per his own requirement. After terrorist attacks on America, America has started fastening its reins. India itself is not against disciplining internet. Indian government has expressed deep concern on the fact that by democratic means the public display of maps like Google Earth can increase danger of strategic safety for any country. Internet and satellite phone are all interwoven. This is known as convergence. Here more detailed explanation of this technical topic is not possible, but this fact is to be remembered that universality of communications means and communications instruments cannot be understood every time, at every place democratically, equally or as assistant for liberation of human race.

Communication Theory

These days along with political science the discussion on Communication Theory is mainly done in international politics. This theory is known as communication theory or transmission theory and to achieve few decided targets in administration and politics and look at the working and setting of utilization of processes in that meaning in which communication vehicle can be fast driven by steering towards desired target. Famous American Mathematician Norbert Wiener is known as propagator of communication theory. Weiner developed communication theory on the basis of Theory of Messages, Cybernetics and Feedback System. The credit of applying communication theory in political science and international politics goes to Harvard professor Karl Deutsch. From this viewpoint Deutsch's book 'The Nerves of Government' is a creation of special importance.

Communication theory does not take that much interest in results of decisions which it takes in the process of its creation. This is probably in accordance with the form of cybernetics because in that too processes of working and setting are given more importance than the target.

Karl Deutsch begins his description of communication theory by telling difference between Communication engineering and Power engineering. Deutsch writes that change in power engineering is probably in that proportion in which power is utilized. Opposite to it, utilization of little power in communication engineering too sometimes brings big change in the situation of 'recipient' of 'message'. Such changes are thousand times greater than the power used in experiments. The complete foundation of communication theory is on change. Change is brought about by power, but it is dependent on received message and abiding by it. Its comparison can be done with that information which is important to turn the barrel of a gun towards any designated direction. Probably, no power is spent in pressing a gun's trigger, but the target towards which the gun is shot it gets deeply impacted. From this conclusion can be drawn how much power will be required to take the message, knowing this is not that much profitable as this that what was the result of its use.

Communication theory considers administration as an arrangement of decision and creation situated on the basis of different message flows. The basis of communication theory is fixed on two types of concepts—first, those concepts whose relation is with the organizations operating communication and second, those concepts whose target is to understand different types of flows and processes. In first category, those organizations come which we can name as receptors or reception systems.

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Second category, whose relation is with information flows, is more important. Other concepts such as Channels, Load and Load Capacity are linked to this concept of flow.

Deutsch thinks that the measure and counting of information can be done and to infer in what amount in correct or distorted form is the sent information being received, the achievement of transmission tables, capability or measure can be studied quantitatively. In this relation it can be known that there are a lot of influences on Deutsch of high level magnitude based on Maths done in the area of Electrical Engineering. Deutsch has used the method of study of message flows to study groups and societies, states and international societies, and all types of organizations.

Negative feedback is considered to be the soul of Deutsch's communication theory. By negative feedback his meaning is those reactions through means of which the information of results produced from decisions and implementations, enters the system in such a way that without even trying it turns the system itself into such direction which can take it closer to attainment of relevant targets. The basic value of communication theory is that it is important that to reach targets there should be enough amount of feedback.

The recognition of a good system is that it can receive information in undistorted form and on correct time and on its basis it can timely bring important and enough change in its situation and behaviour. Deutsch believes that in political system too this process should be similarly easy and organized like in the anatomical system of any live being.

Deutsch has even more clarified his conceptual framework by linking four quantitative matters in his analysis of communication theory. These four matters are—Load, Lag, Gain and Lead. Meaning of Load is that vastness and speed which such a system wants to attain and bring into the situation of its targets. Meaning of Lag is even after receiving of information related to decisions and tasks in timely and correct form, the slack in its understanding by the system or correct proceedings about it. Meaning of Gain is the response being vast and influential towards received information. Meaning of Lead is by speculating future results of the proposed proceedings, organization should be maintained in such a way that it can achieve the appointed target.

Deutsch considers form of feedback more superior in comparison to traditional analysis. This is because many such important questions can be asked in relation to procedures of political systems which are not possible in traditional systems of analysis. It should be possible for the administration that it should timely and correctly analyze country's domestic or probably changes in international situations, by which it can properly make arrangements in relation to them. With the help of communication theory administration can also speculate that how much burden is being put on different decision systems on a special occasion by political leadership, interest groups, political groups or social sections.

Deutsch also believes that communication theory can provide absolute information related to the degree of capability of any political system. Absolute because its basis is on quantitativeness, not on an undecisive pile of known and unknown facts. He also expects from this theory that it will provide capability to the state to change its targets and learning from experience. These concepts were named by Deutsch as goal changing feedback and learning.

Communication Theory for Study of International Politics

The basic entity of this process of analysis is information flow because through its means the process of working can be speedily attached. In international politics also the flow of information is important in taking decisions. Those nations which have enough network of information collection they can farsightedly utilize foreign policy.

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Task Throw short light on non-aligned revolution.

2.4 Functionalism and Neo-Functionalism

Beginning of functionalism is with organic functionalism. In natural sciences when organic science developed some social scientists applied Organicism over socialistic principles too. In last 6–7 decades only much development of functionalism theory has happened. Saying this will be improper that thousands of pages have been written on functionalism theory. Kingsley Davis says that whatever literature is present in socialism, its three fourths part is functionalist literature. Where there is popularity of functionalism, there its bitter criticism has also happened. Critics say that in the name of system functionalism stops the speed of the wheels of society's progress. The motive of this theory is to produce such delusion in the society so that status-quo remains in the society which means that the rich enjoy voluptuous life and the poor decay and rot in their inhuman situation. Another blame is that functionalist theory is not a theory but an ideology, which always provides protection to the interests of capitalists. In the end of the seventh decade, the book of Alvin W. Gouldner, 1970 'The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology' was published. Gouldner pulled legs of functionalists. He says that functionalist theorists are hollow monks who are trying to save rich's domes by climbing over poor's chests. According to him, functionalism theory is nothing else but a socialist cheating. In this unit, we will get enough opportunities to criticize functionalist theory. Here we want to stress upon the fact that it is not the case that there is no spot on this theory and its vast sheet. The students of this theory should look at the conceptual outline without any prejudices.

If we look at the influence of our country's functionalist theory, the situation here is not hopeful. This country kept under the control of colonialists and feudalistics had favorable opportunity to adopt functionalism. Here socialists and humanitarians were standing with open arms to welcome functionalism. The sponsored analysis socialism and socialist humanity which is available to us, T.N. Madan has evaluated the education procedures in that. Apart from some Marxist Socialists in whom A.R. Desai and Ram Krishna Mukherjee are included, all have presented their studies in functionalism guides. There is redundance of study on village, caste, joint family, etc. and the method of all these is functionalist. Some political scientists of recent times have linked historical method also with functionalism.

Definition and Meaning of Functionalism

Functionalism is like an impersonator which has many forms—Partial Functionalism, Analytical Functionalism, Anthropological Functionalism and Socialist Functionalism. A big establishment of functionalists is that social life is a complete system. There is consensus or unanimity in this sytem. But it is not that this consensus and system is free of any struggle or chaos. There is opposition in this system also. There is violence and destruction too in this system. But functionalist thinkers also state that there are requirements of every system and for the fulfillment of these requirements such coherence gets established between simple and disruptive powers that system's equilibrium and homogeneity is maintained. Hence a big belief of functionalists is that there is a certain homogeneity and balance in the society. In this system to come out of struggle there are social controls and laws. Apart from this the second belief of functionalists is that the different parts of society like politics, education, development, revenue, etc. are mutually linked to each other. This linkage is not accidental. There are decided experience basis and work relations behind it. There are many principle preachers in the alley of types of functionalists, in which the main are Kingsley Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton.

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There are many types of definitions of functionalism. The common fact in these differences is that functionalism looks at the complete picture of society by keeping one part of the society with the other parts and all accept this.

The second use of this title is in context of any system. Max Weber describes the function of person in different occupations at one place. He writes that, "When economists categorize occupations then they easily say that there should be analysis of the functions of the group. This is called as occupational analysis by Sargant Florence. According to this type of meaning the relation of function is linked with occupation."

Mostly, in political science the third use of function is very simple and popular. Here its meaning is taken with activities. It is said that the type of function of governor is the fourth type. Here meaning of function is taken as the mutual relations of the agents. In his research he says that there is function autonomy in agents. And fifth type is that which socialists use. According to them function is that activity by which the complete system of the society is maintained. For example, in a library when book lifter does any activity to make any desirable book available then this activity becomes an assistant in maintaining the complete system of the library. So the job of book lifter is linked to the other tasks of the library, hence this activity is a function.

If we look with historical viewpoint, the tradition of functional analysis in socialism is quite old. This type of analysis can be seen in books of Auguste Comte (1798–1857) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). Later Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) developed this type of analysis. The analytical form of functional principle can be seen in the books of 'Talcott Parsons' and 'Robert Merton'. In America in the fourth and fifth decade of this century functional principle in socialist principle was at its ultimate elevation. After 1950 increasing decline started coming in the popularity of functional principle. Today this principle is in its stalky form.

Functionalism believes society to be a system. This means that the different parts of society are mutually linked to each other and their linkage forms the complete society. When we analyze the society, we take any entity and see its relation with other entities and the complete society. In this manner if we study family and religion then we do not consider them as separate entities. We link the relation of these entities with the complete society. Especially, we see that family or relation contributes to some types of complete social system. As we said in the beginning, the principle preachers of the beginning used to compare Society and Organism both on the level of equality.

There are some requirements for any system to remain alive. Without the fulfilment of these requirements it gets impossible for any system to stay alive. For example, if human's body has to remain alive then it needs air, water, energy and other things and protection from outside dangers. The basic requirements to maintain functionalist system are called pre-requisites. Until these pre-requisites get fulfilled, system cannot function.

Neo-functionalism

The way in which Parsons' student Robert Merton rebutted his teacher's principles and thoughts, in the same way Parsons' student Luhmann also disapproved his teacher's theoretical analysis. Luhmann was a resident of Germany but his education was in America. Luhmann has proposed neo-functionalism. It will be enough for us to say about Luhmann's neo-functionalism that he has presented a new trustworthy alternative to functionalist principle. Jeffrey C. Alexander has announced Luhmann's neo-functionalism, but along with this he writes while criticizing this functionalism that neither does it have clear concepts, nor any decided procedure and nor any model or ideology. According to Alexander, Luhmann's neo-functionalism is such a principle which (1) gives opportunity for functionalist analysis on personal, structural and cultural levels, (2) analyses neo-functionalist system and subsystem, (3) manifests human processes, (4) clarifies social discrimination and (5) establishes activities between social areas.

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Luhmann's has done creation of vast literature of neo-functionalism. His writings are in German language, so many scholars are not acquainted with neo-functionalism. Luhmann's neo-functionalism is different from Radcliffe, Brown, Malinowski and Merton in few important issues. All these traditional functionalists firmly believe that the basic foundation of functionalism is Functional Needs and Requisites. In other words, the activities carried to fulfil the needs of society or system, they are functions. If functional needs are not there, functions are also not there. In the context of functionalist principle if any definition is given for functions then needs and requisites are essential. Like Jeffrey Alexander and Kingsley Davis, Luhmann has also done contempt of functional needs and Requisites. These thinkers say that there is no decisive place for Functional Needs and Requisites in functionalist description. Turner has commented about Luhmann's neo-functionalism that if in any functionalist criticism Functional Needs and Requisites are neglected then such functionalism does not remain functionalism. Turner is clear in his viewpoint. Till some point the functionalism of Niklas Luhmann, Jeffrey Alexander and their supporters, is also unfunctionalism. This kind of comments of Turner is very strict, but neo-functionalism is unacceptable in the gallery of socialist principles as of now.

The development of neo-functionalism has not been done alone by Luhmann. There are many principle preachers who have developed this new tradition in which Jeffrey Alexander, G. Ritzer, Paul Colomy, etc. are included. Analysis of Luhmann's neo-functionalism is given because he is the groundbreaker of this tradition. Luhmann was the student of Parsons, that's why this is expected that like Parsons his writing also will be excessively analytical and abstract. This is not exactly the case but still to a point Luhmann does the description of his neo-functionalism on an abstract level. Traditional functionalism which was developed by Merton, there is predominance of structuralism. This is the reason why we call Merton's functionalism as Structural Functionalism. Luhmann's has not given any such special place to structuralism. In his famous writing 'The Differentiation of Society', 1982 structuralism has been given lower place than expected.

Caution His only motive has been that he makes such an abstract strategy in which the alternative of prevalent functionalism can be kept. This alternative should be such which can use excessively hard research strategies. This neo-functionalism should be such which should be assistant in studying completely diverse, heterogeneous, structural contexts or occurrences.

The center of the kind of neo-functionalism that Luhmann has described is system. His functionalism is focused on modular system. The definition of this type of functionalism is very simple and it is like this—"When the activities of humans become unified and organized then there is emergence of system. When different types of persons do their activities then a mutual relation is established between these activities. One action gets linked to second action and other actions by functions. All these traditionally linked actions make the system and this is neo-functionalism".

Now Luhmann describes system. All social systems are found in multidimensional environment. When there are many kinds of socio-cultural and spiritual environments then such system becomes complex in essential form. System has to confront such multidimensional environment. Hence Luhmann's argument is that to solve the problem of a complex environment the social system should develop some such mechanisms which can reduce the complexity of this environment. These mechanisms can tell some such ways and means through which this complexity can be reduced. As a result of implementing mechanisms system is maintained and its mutual relations go on.

Where Parsons and Merton believe system's Functional Needs and Requisites essential for the system, there according to the analysis of Luhmann the biggest requirement is that whatever complexity is there in environment and the system, it should be reduced so that the mutual relations between

persons can go on without any hindrance. That's why Luhmann analyses social processes in such a way that the system and the complexity of environment become minimum. Those processes which reduce these complexities are known as mechanisms. Hence wherever we look at Luhmann's writings his complete analysis is focused on these mechanisms. In mechanisms discrimination, ideology, law, symbolic media and many such critical matters are there.

If in short we define Luhmann's functionalism, we can say that when humans' activities are organized and united then they create the system. These organized and united activities of humans are mutually linked. Social system is built from multidimensional environment. So environment is complex. Hence system continuously reduces the complexity of environment. Hence the social processes working as mechanisms are functional.

Dimensions of Environment

There are three main dimensions of any environment whose complexity is reduced by mechanisms. These three dimensions are – (1) Temporal Dimension, (2) Material Dimension and (3) Symbolic Dimension. Luhmann says that in social principles the dimension of time is important. Social system is tied by wheel of time. The system of family in India which was in Mauryan times was tied in the environment of dimension of that time. Past, present and future all three dimensions are instituted in time. Hence such mechanisms of social system should be developed which can reduce the complexity of time.

Luhmann has also shown concern of the material dimension of environment. All probable activities of humans are tied with a huge material place in essential manner. Some social activities are done in Mumbai and some are in Moscow. Place is unlimited. Which such activities should we develop which can bring any type of system in mutually tied activities in material world? Which type of creation happens of this system of relations?

Luhmann has told the third dimension of environment symbolic. There are many types of symbols in society. By which activities the subject chooses these uncounted symbols, this too is an important issue. In reality, to unify social activities, to tie them in one formula, any symbolic means has to be acquired. Society surely acquires some mechanisms to reduce the complexity of all these three dimensions of environment. The activities of environment are essentially temporal, material and symbolic.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True / False:

9. The most important revolution in international politics is believed to be communication revolution.
10. The analysis of the role of internet is not important in making communication a public issue.
11. Communication theory is also known as Transmission theory.
12. Generally, international issues can be of four types.

2.5 Summary

- The first attempt to establish international economy was done in Bretton Woods at the time of end of Second World War.
- In the vocabulary of international politics and economics a new concept was risen in the decade of 1970, which is known as 'New International Economic System'.

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- Two types of dialogues or discussion of new international system started. One was South-South Cooperation and the other was North-South Dialogue.
- World Trade Organization is a rule-based, transparent and evidently multilateral trade organization which protects member nations from pressure from powerful trade participants.
- The establishment of United Nations Organization was done on 24th October, 1945. Its headquarters is in New York.
- The credit of applying communication theory in political science and international politics goes to Harvard professor Karl Deutsch. From this viewpoint Deutsch's book 'The Nerves of Government' is a creation of special importance.
- A big belief of functionalists is that there is a certain homogeneity and balance in the society. In this system to come out of struggle there are social controls and laws. Apart from this the second belief of functionalists is that the different parts of society like politics, education, development, revenue, etc. are mutually linked to each other. This linkage is not accidental. There are decided experience basis and work relations behind it. There are many principle preachers in the alley of types of functionalists, in which main are Kingsley Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton.
- The activities carried to fulfil the needs of society or system, they are functions. If functional needs are not there, then functions are also not there. In the context of functionalist principle if any definition is given for functions then needs and requisites are essential.
- In traditional functionalism which was developed by Merton, there is predominance of structuralism. This is the reason why we call Merton's functionalism as Structural Functionalism.

2.6 Keywords

- **South-South Cooperation:** Search for basis of economic mutual cooperation between developing countries
- **SAARC:** South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
- **ASEAN:** Association of Southeast Asian Nations

2.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by international economic system? Describe basic principle of new international system.
2. Describe historical background of new international economic system.
3. Do extensive criticism of Uruguay Dialogue and World Trade Organization.
4. Describe United Nations Organization and collective security.
5. What do you understand by international communication system? Describe communication principle.
6. What is functionalism? Give meaning and definition of functionalism.
7. Describe neo-functionalism.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Foreign	2. Help	3. UNCTAD	4. Developing
5. (*d*)	6. (*b*)	7. (*b*)	8. (*a*)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. False

2.8 Further Readings

Notes

Books

1. **International Relations** — *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations in 21st century** — *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **Introduction to International Relations** — *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
4. **International Relations** — *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **International Relations** — *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **International Relations** — *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950** — *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Notes

Unit 3 : Marxism and Other Radical Approaches

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
3.1 Marxism
3.2 Imperialism and Free Trade
3.3 Free Trade Policy
3.4 Rise of Neo-Imperialism
3.5 Colonialism
3.6 Summary
3.7 Keywords
3.8 Review Questions
3.9 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know marxism.
- Explain imperialism and free trade.
- Discuss rise of neo-imperialism.
- Elaborate colonialism.

Introduction

Some scholars believe that in the area of international politics Marxist viewpoint cannot be included in conceptual mainstream because this is not a completely independent and autonomous principle. Even though to confirm this materialistic historical analysis, concepts and beliefs taken from economics and socialism are used, but the requirement to study it separately is still left. Saying this does not seem argumentative that this principle is just an expansion of the principle of class struggle at international level. Marxist principle is frequently placed in competition with liberalist analysis of international politics and on its basis many nation-states (and other actors) active on international platform are claiming their own policy making that capitalist ideology has defeated communism. There should be no hurry to reach this conclusion that for the students of international politics now there is no requirement to become familiar with Marxist viewpoint.

3.1 Marxism

The fact which was stated in the beginning of the Communist Manifesto published in 1894, that is meaningful and succinct even today. Till today the history of all human societies, is a history of class struggle and in the absence of victory of the oppressed and exploited, freedom, social justice and end of disparity cannot even be imagined. Today, in the era of globalization, when many multinational

corporations are seen as more wealthy and powerful in comparison to many independent nation-states, the definitions of class struggle have acquired new dimensions. Even though colonialism has ended many decades ago, the danger of neo-colonialism and economic imperialism is standing before us even today. The danger of spreading of cultural hegemony and consumerist anti-culture in the form of epidemic in the whole world is also big. This fact has become clear in many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America that in economic life the political freedom becomes hollow on being dependent on others. It is difficult for the nation to imagine independence after loosing its cultural identity. In the third world the thoughtful analysis of the new concepts of 'dependence' and 'denomination' is presented by scholars like Andre Gunder Frank and Samir Amin. Revolutionary thinkers like Frantz Fanon have compared the cultural spiritual slaves with the animals of imperialist masters with lot of hatred. After looking at all these facts the class division of international system is clearly seen and probabilities of blast of class struggle too.

Today capitalist world is seen as the synonym of western world Europe, North America and along with this their special racist identity also emerges. Saying this is not enough that in upper modern, upper-capitalist, upper-industrialist society, the 19th century's Marxist thought has remained just as a legendary thought and there is no use left of it. In our understanding, whatever may be the future of communism, the understanding of Marxist principle is important for the international students.

Some critics believe that Marx does not have much relation with the Marxist principle. The scholars who propagate this ideology today, Karl Marx would not have had the idea of their worldly knowledge. In reality, whenever Marx tried to search the future his view only remained limited to industrialist society. According to his forecast only united laborers could do the initiation of revolution of proletariats. The communist revolutions that occurred in Russia and China, Marx could not imagine them.

Basic Facts of Marxism

Lenin has commented on contemporary international panorama in which most mentionable is that speech where imperialism has been told as the highest state of capitalism. The foundation of Marxist principle is based on this order that on the basis of dialectic materialism historic analysis of every issue should be done and should be attentive towards different phases of its ascendant or west-progressing development. The main facts of Marxist principle are the following:

1. World organization is in two sections, exploiter and exploited, wealthy and deprived and the collision of their interests and selfishness is essential.
2. Marx and Lenin both have stressed upon the fact that before reaching the destination of communism capitalism will have to pass through the state of imperialism. In this phase international peace is continuously endangered and situation remains stressful because of inequality and exploitation. In this way imperialism is an example of declining capitalism where monopoly takes the place of competition increasing production and workmanship and along with the import of wealth in colonies the principle of free trade cannot be allowed to function because of monopolist possession. To maintain hegemony over raw material and natural resources and to stop anybody else to reach market located in its own control area, again and again wars are fought. According to Marxist analysis first and second world wars were such struggles.

Notes According to Marxist principle, the alternative to imperialist wars is only one – worldwide revolution of proletariat.

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3. According to Marxist world knowledge imperialism is not going to itself wither. To dethrone it the worldwide preaching of revolution is most important. For this cooperation is most important between communist internationalism and sibling revolutionaries. The interests of labourers world wide are similar. Their struggle only can demolish exploiting power-base of capitalism. Until this mission is not successful, anywhere the true democracy cannot be seen.
4. There is an important place for co-existence in Marxist view. It can be called 'calamity religion' of a kind. To fight with big evil, when one's own existence is seen in danger then the cooperation with smaller evil is poised argumentative. Marxists say that its meaning should never be understood as if class struggle has been given up. Peaceful co-existence was defined for the first time by Lenin and Trotsky at the time when Brest Litovsk treaty was being signed. At that time getting rid of czar and his supporters was given priority and the importance of this fact was understood that immediate war respite with Germany can be applied. Here this fact is worth remembering that this principle of peaceful coexistence has not always been undisputed. Revolutionary Chinese leader and commander of guerilla warfare Mao Tse Tun believed that the internal protests of capitalists and socialists are so close and so severe that there is no scope of peaceful coexistence between them. In the beginning of 20th century due to this principle disagreement Russians and Chinese were compelled to choose their own different paths. The influence of principle differences was quite deep on international politics and immediate power equations.

Contemporary World and Marxist Principle

In the last two decades dramatic change is seen in international system. After disintegration, fragmentation and dissolution of Soviet Union, United States of America is the only supreme power left. After the death of Mao nobody is left to challenge populist China after it chose the path of 'Four Great Modernizations'. By this an unhistoric imbalance can be seen on the international stage. Writers like **Francis Fukuyama** declared this as "Decisive Victory of Liberalism over Communism' and did not wait to announce 'End of History'. Meanwhile the endeavor to establish special favoring international economic system by the World Trade Organization has once more underlined the importance of study and analysis of Marxist principle in international politics. Basically, this principle is the coordinator of Marx's thoughts and Lenin's communist principle and in context of South Africa the assimilation of thoughts about 'Dependence'.

Did You Know? The 'World System Theory' formulated by Immanuel Wallerstein is the modern version of Marxist principle.

According to **Wallerstein,** capitalist center and the concept of developing exploited nations are important. In his book Modern World-System detailed analysis has been done of social structure. Writer has described states in two categories in his analysis—'Worldwide Empire' and 'Worldwide Economics'. In first category, political processes are considered important and in second category such matters have been instructed which participate in competition through market. This thinker believes that the problem of modern world is basically capitalism whose development happened in 16th century by wealth reserves. In this the development of world system can be clearly seen and surely sometime later its end will also come. Analysis is multidimensional. Geographic and historic, both dimensions play most important role in this analysis. The historical development of the political creation of present world system and to understand the factors that established and struggled; this kind of Marxist analysis proves quite useful. From circumference to center in the transfer of wealth this political framework also plays decisive role. When Wallerstein describes world system then along

with geographic, historic dimension also stays in front of him. The rise and fall of historic trends, the cycles of appearance and disappearance of dangers, about 'intervals', provides easy access to useful internal knowledge. According to this view present world system is endangered and soon it will be replaced by another world system.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. It is difficult for the nation to imagine independence after loosing its …… identity.
2. World organization is in two sections, exploiter and exploited, wealthy and …… .
3. …….. has important place in Marxist viewpoint.
4. The problem of modern world is basically ……. .

3.2 Imperialism and Free Trade

The use of the word imperialism is very great and unclear. Therefore, the use of this word is done in arbitrary manner and the task of defining it becomes difficult. In short, we can define imperialism in this way that the policy of making other nations dependent with the motive of expansion of land, expansion of political power, exploitation of economic resources of dependent nations and cultural predominance on imperial states is imperialism. Charles Hodges has given a detailed definition, which can be adopted in the form of normally correct definition. He says that, "Imperialism is a projection externally, directly of the alien political, economic or cultural power of one nation into the internal life of the another people... It involves the imposition of control, open or covert, direct or indirect of one people by another—Charles Hodges."

Government Restriction of Trade Before and After Industrial Revolution

From ancient times ruler class have had control over trade and commerce. Chinese Chau dynasty created comprehensive rules for business. Roman emperor Diocletian to ascertain that people do only those tasks assigned to them, had them shot. In Byzantine Empire government not only formed strict rules for business, but also government had mastership over many businesses. In medieval Europe, Christian church, imperial landlords, used to create classes and city-states for restriction of business. In the beginning of modern era strict government control over businesses, whose recommendation was done by commercialists, was prevalent.

As industrial revolution developed, serious evils started. Labourers raised voices against less salary, more work hours and bad work conditions. The terrible conditions in which women and children had to work in industries and mines started being protested from many directions. Many people while criticizing the policy of non-interference, held it responsible for wastage of many human and natural resources. Hence in the beginning of 19th century many governments tried to eradicate these evils. They placed foot forward towards restriction of businesses by government by leaving the policy of non-interference. In the beginning many laws were created to correct the conditions of those working in industries. After 1842 working of women and children in British mines was declared illegal. Security instruments were organized in industries and mines.

Beginning History of Free Trade Policy

In 17th and 18th centuries, governments of Europe conducted imperialism. When industrial revolution occurred in 19th century, then industrialists believed government restrictions dangerous for business.

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By suggesting strategies of non-interference they said that every person should have the liberty to establish any kind of business enterprise and should have the independence to run it arbitrarily. They stressed upon the fact that they should have the liberty to decide salary, work hours and work conditions of their workers and in this there should be no interference of government or labour unions. These supports of non-interference policy were hostile towards the government ownership of any business. These industrialists believed that if governments abide by noninterference policy, then businessmen will be encouraged to start new businesses and expand old industries. They also believed that by competition between capitalists as a result of the natural rule of demand and supply better goods will be produced and prices will also be reduced.

In 19th century industry prime countries primarily followed non-interference policy. Those businessmen who were autonomous earned lot of money. Generally standard of living increased of those living in industrial nations. From 1860 more than 10 hours of work could not be taken from labourers. Arrangement of insurance and pension was also done for sickness, accident and old age. Governments of this time arranged protecting laws in 1890 to save industry businesses from opposite competitions.

Beginning of Liberal Imperialist Policy

In this era heavy change was seen in common public of Britain and British government in the thoughts related to colonies and correction in arrangement related principles of empire was also getting shown. Although again and again this announcement was done that British Government does not want more empire expansion but still empire expansion continuously went on. In the same way in relation to colonies also resort was taken to such policies which were sometimes against each other. By this the form of government policy seemed probably erratic and mutually hostile. Still slowly a new and liberal imperialist policy was risen amongst components having different thoughts.

Change in imperialist policy became visible in the policies of Free Trade. By this old trade system was heavily impacted. Till the middle of 19th century probably all those sea-trade related regulations were ended which were always disliked by American colonies. Now trade between England and its colonies started happening on those conditions, on which Britain's trade used to happen with other independent countries. Because of free trade Britain was not making that much economic profit from colonies, which it used to make earlier. But now the value of colonies had increased because over there England's miserable labourers and workmen could settle because there was labour depression in the father nation.

3.3 Free Trade Policy

Under Free Trade that commerce policy comes, which does not make any difference in domestic and foreign objects and which does not do difference in favour of domestic objects. It does not put any kind of extra burden on foreign goods. The known benefits are as old as old is science of economics. For the first time Adam Smith presented forceful arguments in favour of benefits of free trade after severely protesting against commercial policies. That protest had been done on the basis that by free trade among different nations there is possibility of existent of differentiation due to use of division of labour. It may result in increase of production of every country and after that increase in physical welfare of the country. The policy of free trade had been first of all adopted by Britain and after that Holland, Belgium, America, etc. followed it.

The term free trade is used to denote that system of commercial policy which draws no distinction between domestic and foreign commodities and therefore neither imposes additional burdens on the latter, nor grants any special favor the former—Prof Adam Smith.

The practical rule of free trade is the removal of all artificial restrictions on or encouragements to any particular industry, the levying of duties for the purpose of obtaining revenue and from no other

motive, the levying of equivalent excise duties where customs duties are requisite. —Bestable, Theory of International Trade.

Opinion in Favour of Free Trade

Several arguments have been presented by the supporters of policy of Free Trade:

1. International Trade makes benefits attained by specialization and division of labour possible in different countries of the world. By Free Trade each country gets the specialization in production of those goods, by whose production it gets sumptuous benefit. It imports only those goods, which it can import from other countries at less cost than the cost of its own production. Thus, by free trade there is increase in real annual income of all the countries who do international trade.
2. By division of labour, the free trade scheme, due to specialization, it helps in reducing the cost of expense of production in the world. Owing to this, there is increase in demand of consumption. With the increase in demand of goods, there is encouragement in progress of specialization and production methodology.
3. Free Trade eliminates the defects aroused by monopoly, an anti-social element. The Free Trade system protects the existence of competition and frees consumers from autonomous producers.
4. Free Trade is helpful in procuring raw material equally to all the countries of the world by stalling the policy of differentiation of any particular country. Some countries including Germany and Italy in 1930, which do not produce raw material, did rigorous complaint in economic conferences that they do not get raw material as they do not have colony set up. They put up a demand of equal rights to procure raw material from the world. Thus, under Free Trade. Only big nations do not have monopoly on objects from raw material especially on resources of tropical zones. By multi-lateral trade this raw material was available for Germany, Italy or Japan and such other countries which depended on import for fulfilment of raw material.
5. The free trade system fully protects the economic interests of all the countries of the world. During inter-continental war, the problem of fulfilment of raw material became a difficult enigma. There was lack of raw material in many countries like Italy, Japan and Germany. Such countries had been referred as ' haves-not' countries, where as countries including England and France, who could procure raw material from colonies, had been called 'haves'. The cause of this was that between 1920 and 1930, the system of Free Trade became chaotic. Many kinds of impediments emerged in it and in place of Free Market, several bilateral treaties were done. This was the reason that Germany, Italy and other 'haves-not' countries started yelling for re-distribution of colonies. Japan invaded China and took hold of Manchuria-which was store-house of coal, iron, soy and raw objects.
6. By Free Trade the debtor country can pay back its debts to debt giver by exporting goods. By free trade there is possibility of export and import between debtor and debt-giving country and thus- the payment of international debts becomes feasible.
7. There is integral harmony between Free Trade and gold standard system. Any international currency standard depends upon free buy-sell of currency units of different countries. Under this different currency units are processed mutually. This multilateral process among different currencies cannot be possible without Free Trade. Thus, there is mandatory relation between multilateral convertibility and Free Trade system. From 1920 to 1930, the Free Trade system became chaotic and due to this gold standard had to be given up. In 1931, England forsook gold standard. After that in 1933, America and in 1936 France also had to follow

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suit. Immediately after forsaking gold standard international economic relations also became chaotic and heavy cracks emerged in political relations among countries of the world. Finally, due to all these conditions, the Second World War started in 1939. In fact, Free Trade is very essential for international friendship and permanent world-peace, which is lacking these days. Thus, in modern world there is dire need of re-establishment of Free Trade.

8. We should not forget that for most of the countries of the world, international trade is matter of life and death. "For the clarification of importance of international trade, we can take example of some of the countries of Western Europe, where forty crore people live in small area of land, with limited natural resources. The financial prosperity of countries like England, Holland, Belgium, Italy and others depends on international trade. England is dependent on other countries for cotton, silk, jute and wool. Without Malaya's rubber and petrol of mid-east and western globe its cars and buses will be just stranded. Most of the necessary things such as tea, coffee, coco, tobacco, will not be available to England without international trade." If raw material from other continents had not been available to the countries of western Europe, the industrial revolution, which brought about total transformation of industries of the countries of Western Europe and made it industrial centre of the world by the end of 19th century, would have been impossible or its sphere would have been very limited.

Arguments Against Free Trade

In spite of above mentioned benefits of Free Trade, some Economists believe that under some circumstances harm may be inflicted on to some industries due to Free Trade. Following arguments can be given against Free Trade:

1. Under the system of Free Trade it becomes very difficult to save child-industry from foreign competition. Such type of industry cannot survive on its own, so its launch becomes impossible and if that industry is however launched, it does not have capacity to bear the competition.
2. In Free Trade there is exploitation of semi-developed countries. They have been trapped in vicious circle of poverty. Semi-developed countries are unable to compete with developed countries. Due to the policy of Free Trade, there was downfall of cottage industries in India before independence.

Caution It is essential for practicability of Free Trade system that there should be full competition of goods and means in the market but in reality such thing does not happen. If in any market there is absence of full competition, the allotment of means and goods cannot take place efficiently.

3. Although the ideology of Free Trade is based upon the concept of full employment, but reality is that—there is acute problem of unemployment in developing countries. Owing to import of modern technique from abroad, the possibility of all the more increase in the problem of unemployment is there.
4. Due to Free Trade there is beginning of cut-throat competition in world trade. In order to increase their export, the developed countries start taking measures of dumping. Due to this, semi-developed countries have to suffer great loss. To avoid this loss these countries levy restrictions on import.
5. The concept of Free Trade is based on unjustified assumptions, as-full liberal demand and supply, full mobility in means, the condition of full employment in means, presence of full

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competition in means and object trade. But all these assumptions are unreal and unpractical. That is why Prof. Keens has commented, 'In developing countries the policy of conservation is only beneficial, not the policy of Free Trade.' Due to above mentioned unreal assumptions the utility of Free Trade policy comes to an end.

Thus, on the basis of arguments in favour and against Free Trade, it cannot be said assertively that Free Trade is better or not better than restrictive trade. According to Prof. Fredrick Benham, 'From theoretical point of view whatever is said in favour of conservation but in practical Free Trade seems to be good and for Free Trade, the conditions remain always normal. Some people can understand it without economic education. As it encourages international distinction and means of production can be kept in their maximum beneficial use.'

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. From ancient times ..... section kept control over trade-commerce.

   (a) exploited (b) ruler (c) citizen (d) worker

6. Free Trade System fully protects ..... interests of all the countries of the world.

   (a) economic (b) social (c) political (d) religious

7. For most of the countries of the world, international ..... is question of birth and death.

   (a) friendship (b) relations (c) trade (d) war

8. The ideology of Free Trade is based on concept of full ..... .

   (a) liberty (b) employment (c) means (d) demand

3.4 Rise of Neo-Imperialism

Imperialism has almost finished in its traditional form now, but it is still alive in its modern environment or with its vesture. Traditional Imperialistic state, especially Western developed countries and United States of America, still by their policies have been working to manage the policies of new countries (states which got freedom after 1945 or developing countries). By giving stress on race of weapons, through medium of giving foreign aid by providing supply of weapons, by controlling world financial institutions, by diplomacy, exercised in indirect war policy in international conferences and by means of various kinds of pressures, on the name of protection of human rights, in the name of non-armament, in the name of Liberalism and global view, these countries have been following the policy of maintaining authority and control on less-powerful and developing countries. This policy is called neo-imperialism. This is modern version of imperialism, against which still the struggle has to be done. To bring this form to an end is the main objective of foreign policies of developing countries.

The Objectives of Neo-Imperialism

The origin of neo-imperialism took place under three distinct situations—(a) New balance of power formed due to post war peace treaties (b) The will to rule others permanently (c) The existence of weak states. According to Morgenthau, there are three objectives of Imperialism—first is to establish Local Preponderance by Imperialistic power, second is—Continental Empire and the third is—to establish World Empire. So these three can be termed as objectives of Imperialism.

1. **Local Preponderance :** Such imperialistic power which wants to expand its rule over neighboring states, has the objective of local preponderance. This policy overturns the

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already existing position and wants to establish its own authority within the self determined boundaries. This is a kind of localized preponderance policy and its notable examples we find in monarchist policies of 18th and 19th centuries.

Example In 18th century, Fredrick the great, Luis fifteen, Maria Theresa, Peter the great and Catherine second had been the operating-powers of such type of foreign policies.

In 19th century, Bismarck was also proficient in following such kind of imperialistic policies. The objectives of Imperialism of Russia in control of Finland, Eastern Europe, Balkan, Dardanelles and Iran show the aim of Local Preponderance.

Morgenthau writes, 'The boundaries of such kind of imperialism, like geographical imperialism are not determined by outer facts of nature, as to go beyond this becomes technically difficult or from political point of view, it is stupidity. On the contrary, it is result of independent selection out of different alternatives which can be one out of three options—policy of maintaining status-quo, continental imperialism and the third is local imperialism. In 18th century, the third option had been preferable because that time there existed such framework in which some of the powers were equal and they discouraged the efforts of continental imperialism. The experience of Luis Fifteen showed that such kind of trial can be so dangerous. Except this, the imperialism of 18th century was conducted by mainly the personal power and greed for fame of the kings, not by popular feelings of modern nationalism. These theories were implemented under the structure of monarchical traditions, which exercise control over the leaders of political stage.' Due to this the concept of local preponderance was adopted for the objective of imperialism.

2. **Continental Empire:** The second probable objective of imperialism can be to establish rule over the countries of one continent. Its meaning is to establish imperialistic control over the policies of continental countries by superiority and containment. It can be called Geographically determined Imperialism. Luis fourteenth, Napoleon third and William second had been inspired by the objective of Continental Imperialism. In decade of 1850, the ambition of authority over Italy peninsula of the state of Piedmont-Sardinia under the chairmanship of Cavour, in 1912 and 1913, the ambition of very big empire in Balkan by different partners of Balkan war and ambition of Mussolini to change Mediterranean Sea to Itavali lake are the example of Geographically determined Imperialism. American policy, under which there was planning of gradual expansion of good land area in North American Continent, was also part of Geographically determined Imperialism. This kind of Imperialism had been accepted as element of American foreign policy concerning Western globe. 'Munro Theory' was envisaged for getting status-quo, in the policies of Non-American powers concerning Western Globe. It became such an armor due to that United States of America could establish its authority over that geographical region. For Latin America, American policy was the policy of Imperialism, which was operated by the objective of Continental Imperialism.

3. **World Empire:** When one nation, which is follower of imperialistic policy, is persuaded by the objective of winning over entire world or unlimited Imperialism, then all comment that the objective of such imperialistic policy is to establish 'World Empire'. The rare examples of such unlimited empire can be seen in expansionist policies of Napoleon the great, Arabian rulers of 7th and 8th centuries, Napoleon First and Hitler. All these inspired the powers of their countries to establish World Empire. Here the greed of power is unlimited and every second independent state is considered to be enemy for the objective of World Empire. Unlimited Imperialism is considered to be objective for all such imperialistic powers which is promoted by the illogical greed of ruling over other nations and establishing their authority over them.

Means of Imperialism

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According to Morgenthau, as there are three kinds of imperialism due to distinct situations and three kinds of imperialism as per objectives, in the same way in means of imperialistic policies also, three kinds of varieties should have been established. These means are mainly termed as military, economic and cultural imperialism. In reality, military imperialism indicates military victory, economic imperialism does exploitation of others and cultural imperialism aims at eliminating one kind of culture by the other culture, but all of them work as means of imperialistic objective. Its aim is to overthrow of the status quo, or it overthrows power relations of imperialistic nations and its victims.

1. **Military Imperialism:** Military imperialism is the most obvious, ancient and repressive method of empire building. Military imperialism tries to achieve its goal by direct military invasion. In modern era, Hitler, Mussolini, Napoleon, Louis fourteenth and many other rulers used this method of military victory. From the viewpoint of imperialistic nation, the benefit of this method is that the new relations which are established as a result of military victory, which only can be changed other war prompted by vanquished nation and the possibility of success of the war is not that much of the vanquished nation as that of imperialistic nation. Generally, in such kind of empire building, lot of importance is given to war. All including Alexander, Napoleon and Hitler took assistance of war in building of their empire. This is right that where empires are built with war, their disintegration also takes place with defeat in war.

Example Nazi Germany started war for their imperialist objectives, but it lost its power during this process and even became himself victim of other imperialistic powers.

2. **Economic Imperialism:** To use best economic power for setting up empire over weak and poor nations is the most logical method of imperialism. In the words of Morgenthau, 'Economic imperialism is less obstructive and also generally less effective than the military variety and is, as a rational method of gaining power, a product of modern time'. The general characteristics of the policy of economic imperialism are to establish economic control over other nations. The imperial power controls the economic system of other nations; as a result there is curb on the policies. For example, all the mid-American republics are sovereign states but to a great extent, their economic life is dependent upon the import from United States of America. With this the control of America is possible over all these nations. These nations cannot implement any policy, may be domestic or foreign, for a long time if United States of America has objection to it.

Economic Empire is in accordance with the expansionistic era of machines and capitalism. Its modern stupendous example is 'Dollar Imperialism'. 'Oil Diplomacy' is also a variety of Economic Imperialism. By foreign investment, financial aid, debt, Multi-national corporations, trade and technical monopoly and with other such methods, rich and powerful nations are implementing economic imperialism on poor nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are generally referred as 'Third World'. These nations are giving whatever economic assistance and debt to under-developed countries, behind that their real objective is to control their economic system and consequently control their internal and foreign policies. Under-developed states are politically independent and legally fully sovereign states, but from economic point of view they still depend upon rich developed countries, which had been traditional imperialistic powers. This situation of politically independent but economically dependent is given the name of Neo-imperialism and New-colonialism. Economic imperialism is main instrument of Neo-imperialism.

3. **Cultural Imperialism:** Military Imperialism overturns power relations topsy-turvy by military victory and Economic Imperialism manipulates it with economic control, Cultural Imperialism tries to change status-quo and tries to overturn power relations by controlling

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human brain. Its aim is to control the brains of people of other countries by superiority of its culture and by ideology and life-style of imperialistic power. Cultural imperialism is a unique and subtle method of propagating the culture of imperialistic power and superiority of ideology and by impressing others by publicity and expanding the power of the state with psychological means. In this method of imperialism there is no use of military power or economic pressure, but for achieving the objectives of imperialism, this is the most impressive and permanent successful method.

Morgenthau has written about this, "**Cultural Imperialism is the most subtle and, if it was to succeed by itself alone, the most successful of imperialistic policies**."

Cultural control is exercised on that section which is that country's policy making leadership section. Generally, Cultural Imperialism comes as helper of military and economic imperialism. Its one main example is, Fifth Column, whose use was done in Austria before the Second World War, where Nazi Government invited German army to seize the country. The Fifth Column of Nazis also got great success in France and Norway, because inside and outside of the government many influential citizens became traitors. They became followers of Nazi philosophy and its international objectives. Morgenthau thought that publicity of communist ideology in different countries of the world after 1917 was expression of Cultural Imperialism. When United States of America does publicity of its literature in large quantity in Asia and Africa, its main aim is the broadcasting of Cultural Imperialism. The Cultural Imperialism was adopted for growth of colonial policies. Its objective was to destroy the self-respect of the people of other counties and fill feeling of slavery in them forever.

Thus, there are three main methods of imperialism. Some scholars think that religious imperialism is a different and distinct method. But we believe that religious imperialism is only a part of cultural imperialism. The form and region of imperialism has always been inhuman and undemocratic. This is a sin and a blot on the image of humanity. Thus, imperialism is the prominent reason of economical ruin, mental slavery, moral and character descent, political bondage and destruction of cultural heritage of its subordinate countries.

The Reasons of Development of Imperialism

If we look at the conditions of 19th century, they appear to be suitable for the development of imperialism. The countries following imperialism took ample advantage of these conditions and to realize their interests, they justified their every victory. As a matter of fact, more powerful countries presented imperialism in such a way as if it has been an essential and natural incident. For the development of Imperialism following reasons have been useful:

1. **Industrial Revolution and surplus production:** In between years 1850 to 1870, industrialization took place rapidly. Due to this economic production spurted at large scale. Along with England and France, Germany, Italy and United States of America's industrial production also increased. These countries started worrying about the sale of finished goods. The countries of Europe were following the policy of conservation, so heavy taxes were imposed on foreign goods. Due to this, the industrial countries had to look for new markets to sell their surplus manufactures. The trader class of these countries pressurized their governments either to grab colonies or claim their right on them. This was the basis of new imperialism.
2. **The Need of Raw Material:** One mandatory reason imperialism was the need of industrial countries of raw material. Mainly industrial countries tied to claim rights on such colonies from where they could get enough raw materials easily. For industrial production the need of rubber, tin, cotton, refined oil, manganese, etc. was enhancing. So the country which could procure as much good and cheap raw material, it could produce as much cheap and better quality goods. In udyog pradhan countries, most of the people were engaged in industries,

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so the production of food material declined and its fulfilment had to be done from colonies. In the same way, need of oil, coffee, tea and other things proved helpful in development of new imperialism.

3. **Protection of Investment:** There started the collection of surplus capital in prominent countries of Europe as compulsory factor of Industrial Revolution. After 1880 up to 1914, most of the countries of Europe, out of them England and Belgium were prominent, thought under-developed countries to be useful for investment of their surplus capital. From Britain 36% of its average capital had been invested abroad, specially in under-developed countries from 1909 to 1914. The sub-continents of Africa and Asia were providing such opportunities where European countries could hold control over large territory and protect their capital. The construction of railways had been a unique example of this.
4. **Development of means of Transport and Communication:** Owing to scientific inventions, revolutionary changes took place during this duration. With the use of rail, telegraph and telephone, it became easy to hold control over colonies. Big steam-operated ships were being constructed with whose help heavier goods could be carried to far-off places. Those ships also had the system of refrigeration so that it became possible to fetch fruits, milk, cheese, butter and new kinds of vegetables from distant colonies. It took only three weeks to travel from London to India. Through telegraph and cable, there arose no problem in executing business deals. The development of means of transport at various places rounded off such type of problems, which gave a hand in the development of Neo-imperialism.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True / False:

9. Neo-imperialism was born under three distinct situations.
10. Military imperialism is the most explicit and correct method of Empire-building.
11. Cultural imperialism comes up as helper of military and cultural imperialism.
12. The policy of America for Latin America has also been Imperialistic policy.

3.5 Colonialism

Modern historians have called the period from the beginning of 19th century to the middle of 20th century as the era of 'Modern Imperialism'. 'Imperial' word was coined by Benjamin Disraeli in 1872 in the context of common elections of Britain in 1874. In reality it should be called 'Colonial Imperialism'. In the beginning of 19th century Karl Marx and Frederick Engels used the word 'Colonialism' Hobson was the first man who used the word 'Imperialism' in economic viewpoint and later strong dialogue was started by many political economists and historians which has still not ended.

Imperialism is basically a political concept which informs the possession of one country over another. Colonialism is basically a demographic concept which is the indicator of presence of population in any foreign land. Without doubt when one population leaves its native country and stays in any other country on conditions of local people then such population is known as foreign or immigrant. But when foreign population possesses over local people in context of numbers or power or both then they are known as colonialists. Without doubt in the context of power and social science the clear meaning of right over other people is political right. But these rights are not imperialist until it has any such center in the foreign land from where rights are obtained. On the other hand, under imperialist rules in that country the presence of workers of imperialist government is essential even if it is in volatile form. Meanwhile in both colonialism and imperialism the component of economics is maximum.

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In this way we see that the use of the words colonialism or imperialism is very unclear. Because of this the utilization of this word is done in arbitrary manner. Because of this reason the task of defining it becomes difficult. In short, imperialism can be defined in this way that "The policy of making other nations dependent with the motive of expansion of land, expansion of political power, exploitation of economic resources of dependent nations and cultural predominance on imperial states is imperialism."

Here we will describe the trend of colonial imperialism developed in 19th and 20th centuries. From 16th century to the middle of 18th century after the geographical searches of Europeans, Portugal, Spain, England and France had established big colonial empires. Spain occupied American continent for the most part of South America, over mid America, Mexico, West Indies and some parts of today's United States of America. England and France occupied some parts of Northern America. From these countries of Europe many people went to these colonies to permanently settle there. During this era European control over African continent was about over one fifth part, especially on sea coasts. This was the era of slave trade. In 17th century, European people engaged in slave trade used to make approximately 5000 Africans as slaves every month and used to send them to America. Europeans came to Asia with the primary motive of trade. After getting support from the governments of their countries, businessmen of Portugal, Holland, England, France and other countries were trying to establish their business locations in Asian countries and to establish monopoly of business with them.

We can divide the complete imperialist era into two sections—'Ancient or Medieval Imperialism' and 'New Imperialism'. In ancient times Roman culture people went ahead the most. Roman empire was expansive and well organized. Even in medieval times Arabic and Mongolian people established huge empires. The imperialism of this time was political imperialism which has been appearing in all parts of the world in similar form, in which different dynasties kept attacking their neighbours for their own expansion, but this order kept limited to local campaign only till the end of 14th century. The political aspirations of rulers, their geographic ignorance, natural hindrances and as a result of not getting exact way in the ocean, even after being colonially or imperially yeaning, kept limited to their own continent.

From 15th century the empire that European nations created by occupying world's unknown areas, is known as 'Colonial Empire'. Its main basis was 'Commercialism'. The policy of acquiring gold and silver by regulating trade and industry is known as 'Commercialism'. In other words, main motive of European nations was to obtain trade profit from colonies. Because of economic exploitation of colonies by imperialist countries the colonialist empire is also known as 'Economic Imperialism'. Commonly, first phase of imperialism and colonialism had ended by the end of 18th century. Victory of Britishers over India which began in the middle of 18th century, was completed till the middle of 19th century. During this time colonial infiltration had began in China.

New Imperialism of Europe

In 19th century commercialist trend assumed a new form. Till this time as a result of industrial revolution new ideologies were born in economic area. In reality policy of industrialism itself was the mother of policy of new imperialism. For all such countries, who had wealth in ample amount, whose production was continuously increasing, for such states investing wealth and exporting production had become very essential. German chancellor Bismarck who used to consider colonies as burden over Germany, he also was forced to adopt operational colonialist policy.

Different and important heads of European states announced establishing control over undeveloped areas as essential and important moral responsibility of their states. For example, France named its colonialist expansion as 'Expansion of Civilization'. England believed it to be 'The White Man's Burden or Responsibility'. Italy announced it as 'Holy Duty'. As a result of this policy in the last phase of 19th century 90 per cent part of African continent was divided among European states and in this way in areas of Pacific Ocean and on expansive geographical areas of Asia, the control of European states was established.

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Prominent thinkers, writers and influential people of Europe from time to time tried to claim their colonialist policy as justified. Between 1868 and 1872 under provision of 'Imperial Foundation Revolution' in England dominating people raised the fact that England should carry out all possible attempts to secure its empire. Similarly, while giving speech in 1870 in Oxford, famous writer Ruskin said that "England should establish new colonies as soon as possible. Wherever she finds useful place empty, she should establish right over it… if she will not do this she will be destroyed."

In France there was comparatively lesser industrialism. Common public over there was not a supporter of colonialist policy but still the members of Republican party like Leo, Gambetta, Jules Ferry, etc. created pressure to establish colonies in Tunisia and Tonkin.

Task Throw light on economic colonialism.

3.6 Summary

- Till today the history of all human societies, is a history of class struggle and in the absence of victory of the oppressed and exploited, freedom, social justice and end of disparity cannot even be imagined.
- The definitions of class struggle have acquired new dimensions. Even though colonialism has ended many decades ago, the danger of neo-colonialism and economic imperialism is standing before us even today.
- The 'World System Theory' formulated by Immanuel Wallerstein is the modern version of Marxist principle. Basically, this principle is the coordinator of Marx's thoughts and Lenin's communist principle and in context of South Africa the assimilation of thoughts about 'Dependence'.
- The policy of making other nations dependent with the motive of expansion of land, expansion of political power, exploitation of economic resources of dependent nations and cultural predominance on imperial states is imperialism.
- Commercial policy comes under free trade, which does not differentiate between domestic and foreign objects and does not favour domestic objects and does not put extra burden on foreign objects.
- Imperialism has almost finished in its traditional form now, but it is still alive in its modern environment or with its vesture.
- The origin of neo-imperialism took place under three distinct situations – (a) New balance of power formed due to post war peace treaties (b) The will to rule others permanently (c) The existence of weak states.
- Imperialism is basically a political concept which informs the possession of one country over another. Colonialism is basically a demographic concept which is the indicator of presence of population in any foreign land. Without doubt when one population leaves its native country and stays in any other country on conditions of local people then such population is known as foreign or immigrant. But when foreign population possesses over local people in context of numbers or power or both then they are known as colonialists.
- From 15th century the empire that European nations created by occupying world's unknown areas, is known as 'Colonial Empire'. Its main basis was 'Commercialism'.

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- Policy of industrialism itself was the mother of policy of new imperialism. For all such countries, who had wealth in ample amount, whose production was continuously increasing, for such states investing wealth and exporting production had become very essential.

3.7 Keywords

- **Imperialism:** Principle to maintain and increase empire
- **Free-Trade:** Such trade happening with other countries in which there are no hindrances related to import and export
- **Colonialism:** A demographic concept which is the indicator of population in any foreign land

3.8 Review Questions

1. What is Marxism? Describe the basic facts and principles of Marxism.
2. Describe Imperialism and Free-Trade.
3. What is Free Trade Policy? Present arguments in favour of and against Free Trade Policy.
4. What is neo-imperialism? Describe the means of neo-imperialism.
5. Comment upon the target of neo-imperialism.
6. Throw light on reasons of development of neo-imperialism.
7. What is colonialism? Throw light on Europe's neo-imperialism.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Cultural	2. Deprived	3. Co-existence	4. Capitalism
5. (b)	6. (a)	7. (c)	8. (b)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. True

3.9 Further Readings

Books

Books

1. **International Relations, 1914–1950—***Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
2. **International Relations in 21st century—***Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations—***V.N.Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—***Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **Introduction to International Relations—***G.M.Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations—***Manik Lal Gupta, S.Chand*
7. **International Relations—***Mahendra Kumar Mishra*

Unit 4 : Neo-Radical Approaches

Notes

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
4.1 The Concept of Underdevelopment
4.2 Theories of Underdevelopment
4.3 Dependency Theory
4.4 History of Evolution of Dependency Theory
4.5 Summary
4.6 Keywords
4.7 Review Questions
4.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know the concept of underdevelopment.
- Explain theories of underdevelopment.
- Elabourate dependency theory and history of evolution of dependency theory.

Introduction

What is the implication of 'Development'? Can 'Development' be called as 'Economic Development'? What are the different processes in economic development and political development? There is discord between different thinkers about the meaning of development. Spart Emerson, Lipset, Coleman, etc. define development in the perspective of economic progress and prosperity. Economists like Rostov look at development in the context of industrialization. Sociologists like Gunnar Myrdal and Learner tell development as a synonym of political modernization. If any political society is modern from political viewpoint, meaning there is public participation in intellectualization of power, differentiation and specialization in organizations then it will be accepted as the situation of development. Binder believes development to be the operator or constituent of any national state.

Notes According to **Binder,** the scale of development is the development of feeling of nationality and construction of a national state.

Some people believe that any state cannot be believed to be developed until it has formulated bureaucracy in the form of the system to influentially administer public issues. Almond and Coleman

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say that development is the synonym of democracy. Some people name organized change as development. The political systems in which absolute and organized methodologies are prevailing and where unnecessary disturbances are not there they are known to be in the state of development.

In relation to development two viewpoints are prevailing in larger form. First, one path viewpoint of development and second, multi path viewpoint of development. Thinkers who keep one path viewpoint of development believe that all nations are moving ahead through the path of development. Their belief is that there is only one way towards development in all these states. All nations of the world are in different states on this one path of development; nations trying for development have the ideal of developed nations in front. Other thinkers believe development to be multi path. According to them development of societies is multidirectional because by historical, economic, social, cultural and political situations the motives and targets of development are fixed and by this only the direction of development is formulated.

4.1 The Concept of Underdevelopment

The definition of underdevelopment does not have a universal acceptance. Some writers like Robinson and John Atwell believe that underdevelopment is like a state in which all human societies have remained existent in their old history. States can develop by bringing scientific technology into behaviour by this process of social production. Few other writers like Prof. Hosilits examines that, "If it is developed and at present advanced nation, then they would have been underdeveloped at one time." Another writer Frank believes that developing nations were never underdeveloped even though they had ever remained undeveloped. Another writer Walter Rodney presents this thought in his book 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa' that 'Underdeveloped' is not the absence of development because all people have developed from one way or the other and this development can be more or less expansive. Rodney believes that the social development of human race has become completely different. Hence few countries are developed and some are not. Countries of Asia and Africa were developing in their own way but when they were colonized and exploited they were left far behind in the race of development. Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had become incapable in taking themselves out of exploitation. Apart from this, developing nations are under-developing because through means of neo-colonialism the difference between underdeveloped nations has become even wider.

Underdevelopment and Capitalism

Because of Capitalism, which is a global occurrence, third world countries are still under-developed. Writers like Paul A. Baran, Rhodes and Furtado have found by discovery that there is very close and obvious relation between expansion of capitalist system and relations of underdevelopment. Henry Bernstein has found by inspection that, "In the center self-certifying character of capitalist development and in surrounding countries the rebirth of underdevelopment are parts of solo process."

Theories of Underdevelopment

The Marxist View of Underdevelopment

In Marx's times, the concept of underdevelopment was not prevalent hence he has not mentioned this in his writings. Lenin also wrote that sending wealth to outside country increases those nations' development of capitalism where wealth is being sent. Marxist ideology stresses upon the fact that the historical role of capitalism has been to produce as much more as possible out of the production

power. Marx stresses upon capitalism's character of exploitation and tells that in the end its result will be class struggle and by this capitalist system will itself end.

The Radical Theory of Underdevelopment

According to this theory, imperialism is the main fact in the process of economic development which has similar meaning as exploitation and oppression. Whereas second is united group of third world countries which is its victim. Third world is engaged in being free from imperialism by struggling hard against imperialism which takes the step of development. This struggle is tough and will go on for a long time because imperialism is not going to give up so easily. This struggle can only successful when its basis is of communist form.

Conclusion

The known proof of human development presents the shining picture of human advancement and on the other side such human picture which is displaying its sadness without saying anything. According to 1997 report of UNADV, many faces of globalization have come forward. On one side many countries are taking breath of development by globalization but along with this many are repressed by globalization.

In many ways the distance between poor and rich countries is increasing. At the same time, in many ways progress of human development is present and will keep getting strong. Hence the future of international politics will not only be of mutual doubt and politics of struggle which is going on between north and south, but there will be a dialogue also between them, who consider the progress of globalization most necessary and essential and look at the process of globalization in the form of a probability.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Sociologists like Gunnar Myrdal and Learner tell …….. as a synonym of political modernization.
2. Underdevelopment is like a state in which all human …….. have remained existent in their old history.
3. Because of Capitalism, which is a global ……. third world countries are still under-developed.
4. Through means of neo-colonialism the difference between ……. nations has become even wider.

4.2 Theories of Underdevelopment

The development related thoughts of the theory of development of Nurkse are found in the book '*Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*'. In his thoughts under-developed nations remain incapable in developing because of being victim of economic vicious circle. There is scarcity of savings in these countries because of which there is less income and less employment. Because of scarcity of savings funds commission and wealth building is also less which results in lesser demand for savings. In this way, scarcity of savings is both cause and effect of less development. According to Nurkse, underdeveloped nations are poor because there is extensive poverty in them.

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Caution The vicious circle of fewer savings, less funds commission, less wealth building, less production, less profit, less employment, etc. can be broken only when arrangements for balanced development are made.

According to Nurkse under balanced development mutual funds commission and development in different backward pieces and areas of economy is included. By increasing funds commission in different industries and agriculture this vicious circle breaks because another industry purchases the production of one industry and it becomes possible to establish balance in supply and demand.

Development Theory of Rosenstein Rodan

Rosenstein Rodan has given value to balanced development, but the thought of balanced development should be received in the form of a Big Push. The summary of his thoughts is that to cross the hurdles of development in underdeveloped economy and to bring it on the path of progress 'Strong Efforts' are needed which certainly should be in the form of maximum volume of appropriation. The state of 'Big Leap', 'Big Raise' or 'Big Push' has been named as the theory of 'Strong Efforts'. To put a stationary economy on the path of progress this has been told essential that on a big scale appropriation programmes should be conducted. As per Prof. Rodan in underdeveloped nations social and economic facilities such as transportation, communication, education, health facilities, trusts, organizations, labour-welfare, etc. are available in minimum measures. Because of minimum availability of these facilities private investors have to face adversity and hurdles in production investment. If these important facilities are expanded in underdeveloped economies in a large scale then private investors will get inspiration to invest.

Development Theory of William Arthur Louis

According to Louis, there are two main symptoms prevalent in underdeveloped nations: (1) Because of high population density availability of labour in comparison to demand is very high. Because of high fulfilment of labour many people remain unemployed. (2) In these countries two sectors of mutually opposite situations remain prevalent—capitalist sector and backward primary sector. In capitalist sectors the level of wealth, production and income is high, whereas in backward primary sector there is scarcity of wealth, production and income. In Louis thoughts if upon transfer of labourers from backward primary sector to capitalist sector more income production starts happening in capitalist sector then there can be increase in wealth building and economic development can speed up.

Marxist Theory: According to Marxism, capitalism is the reason of present plight of under-developed nations. According to Lenin, the rise of imperialism happened because of capitalism and by imperialism the exploitation of underdeveloped nations increased.

Conclusion: When we discuss about development then 'political development' should not be neglected. From the viewpoint of study of 'political development' **Lucian Pye's** book '*Aspects of Political Development*' is an important creation.

Task Throw light on Marxist theory of development.

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4.3 Dependency Theory

Based on unequal relations prevalent between nation-states in the present times, dependency theory tries to do analysis of politics. In relation to third world it does not accept structural, functional theory and traditional Marxist theory which does analysis of politics. In reality, the genesis of dependency theory happened in the form of an alternative to the proper and supported modernization and development theories by Marxist and western scholars. Hence in obvious form this theory neither criticizes nor dismisses Marxist and western theories. Especially, dependency theory refuses to accept the Continuum Theory of development and Diffusion Theory which consider underdevelopment as a substandard of development, which is a volatile and transitory state that has support from developed nations; and which appreciate the positive and important role of excessively low form of foreign help and investment given by developed states to underdeveloped states. Dependency theory presents an alternative viewpoint for the study of politics by doing analysis of minimum level of development process prevalent in third world states along with dismissing Euro-centric inclination and limited nature of imperialism and modernization.

Prominent supporters of dependency theory are Andre Gunder Frank Wallerstein, Don Santos, Sunkel, Furtado, Stavenhegen, Euzo Falleto and Frantz Fanon. All these thinkers are in agreement on the fact that the substandard development of third world countries (whom Frantz Fanon has called The Wretched of the Earth) is related to their colonial existence meaning their legacy is related to the situation of outside dependence on countries. But along with agreement strong discord on many subjects and questions also exists between these thinkers. These are some such subjects—correct nature of dependency and substandard development, nature of relations between peripheral states and central states and possible correction in relations of area and problem.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. According to Nurkse underdeveloped nations are poor because there is extensive …….. in them.

   (a) equality (b) poverty

   (c) affluence (d) uneducation

6. According to Louis, there are …… main symptoms prevalent in underdeveloped nations.

   (a) four (b) three

   (c) two (d) zero

7. In capitalist sectors the level of wealth, production and …… is high.

   (a) income (b) expenditure

   (c) objects (d) loss

8. According to Marx, capitalism is the reason of …… plight of under-developed nations.

   (a) ancient (b) present

   (c) immediate (d) indirect

4.4 History of Evolution of Dependency Theory

Description of history of genesis of dependency theory can be started with the works of Economy Commission for Latin America—ECLA. This commission tried to analyze the substandard development level of Latin America and solve probable solutions for the first time. It found that the outside centric

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programme adopted by Latin American countries became the instrument of their exploitation not means of their development. Generally, world economic system and especially international trade was said to be responsible by this commission for substandard development prevalent in Latin America. This conclusion was drawn that the division of the world between developed countries (centers) and substandard developed countries (peripheries) was responsible for continuous substandard development system in third world countries. Periphery's dependence was exploited by the center for its own profit and due to this economic and industrial difference between center and periphery was increased.

Example Latin America was being maximum dependent on international system, on which developed nations dominance prevailed.

Under influence of the analysis done by Economy Commission for Latin America (ECLA) beginning dependency ideologists, especially Furtado and Sunkel, started giving this argument that the arrival of modern capitalist organizations in local countries gave birth to substandard development in Latin America and other substandard developed states. They refused to accept that situation of substandard development was the first stage of development. They believed that substandard development was the origin of 'development' and this was the result of international labour division and technical process controlled by developed societies. Nature and area of relations between developed and substandard developed states gave birth to such healthy labour division in international trade system in which substandard developed states became producers of basic things for export. By these exports they became importers of things produced by developed nations. In this arrangement real and heavy profit was gained by developed nations. Difference between them and substandard developed nations became permanent and started becoming even wider. Economies of substandard developed countries had to become dependent on economies of developed countries. These became unsuccessful in being organized with international economy in real and proper form. They became dependent on developed nations for wealth, industrial goods, technique and knowledge. The equipment of foreign help increased the dependency of substandard nations. Ill influences of protected trade and economic policies adopted by developed nations, inclination of GATT towards interests of developed nations, failure of UNCATD and control of developed nations over international economic organizations; all these resulted in dependency of peripheries over the center. The substandard development standard of peripheries in reality became their dependence over developed nations.

In analysis of international relations and political processes prevalent in substandard developed nations some ideologists made this dependency the foundation and the grouped form of thoughts of such ideologists got the name of Dependency Theory.

Views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein

Did You Know? Very important contribution in the development of dependency theory was given by A.G. Frank and Wallerstein.

Both gave this firm argument that development and expansion of economies of developed nations has conducted and ordered substandard development of third world (periphery). They also believed that development of periphery countries cannot happen in present world economy system because it is in favour of wealthy states (centers) and harmful for peripheries. Substandard developed nations were living dependent on developed nations. The thought of import changing industrialization suggested by development theories did not solve the issues of the third world countries. Instead of

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doing development now the economies of third world countries have become even more dependent on economies of developed nations. Substandard developed nations can do their own development only by uprooting prevalent system. To achieve this motive where few dependency ideologists supported bringing communist revolution, there few others supported achievement of this motive through liberalist improvements—by establishing balance in trade, getting powerful in the situation of bargaining by regional cooperation and adopting new technology through indigenous economic instruments.

I. View of A.G. Frank: Like Dos Santos, A.G. Frank thinks that by structural viewpoint of Economy Commission for Latin America (ECLA) the naming of development path of outer perspective of substandard development of Latin America as a Mistaken Choice is wrong. He told present economic relations similar to unequal nature which was correct but unluckily he ignored autonomous colonial organizations and foreign wealth investments and internal colonial organization of substandard developed nations.

In the context of development of capitalism in the west Frank described process of substandard development. He said that the circumstance of substandard development of peripheries is restricted by development and expansion of developed west. He agreed with Dos Santos and believed that dependency is a situation of localization which limits the probability of development of peripheral states.

A.G. Frank has argued that substandard development in reality is the produce of history of maximum form of developed dependent-states (peripheries) and relations of developed centers. In today's times in the world system some developed states are controlling or obstructing a large number of developments of dependent states (peripheries). He proves his idea by giving example of many Latin American states.

Frank did deep analysis of economies of Latin American countries and drew the conclusion that there are three paradoxes of capitalism which were responsible for their substandard development.

First, Frank talks about allotment of Economic Surplus and paradox of scuffle. The organization of autonomy of world capitalist system snatches this redundancy and like a chain establishes capitalist links to capitalist world and national centers and with them regional centers and with local centers and like this ahead also… This paradox displays exploitation nature and area of world capitalist system.

Second paradox of capitalist system is Metropolis—satellite polarization. It means, as Frank says, "Economic development and substandard development both are related and qualitative. In organizational way both are different from one another but still each is produced from relations with the other."

Third and last paradox which gives birth to substandard development is related to 'Continuity in Change'. Expansion and development of capitalist system has maintained its necessary organizations and paradoxes and in this process it has been the source of substandard development in substandard developed nations.

While doing analysis of substandard development of substandard developed nations Frank says that in front of developed countries the condition of their dependent countries is bearing the source of their limited development. With time the relations with their centers maintain their continuous substandard development and increase it. Revival of developed nations also limits the development process of their subordinates. History is proof of the fact that the areas that are areas of every substandard development were strongly linked to their centers in the past.

By what means can substandard developed nations control the issue of their substandard development, in answer to this question A.G. Frank suggests that first they should recognize the true enemy. He believes that even though in first form enemy has been imperialism but today the enemy that needs to be completely killed is proletariat section, which is live and active only in dependent country. It is working as an agent of imperialism (now neo-colonization). It is important to carry on proceedings

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against such social section on domestic level. Along with this Frank believes that the end of the cycle of dependency and substandard development cannot be done by economic improvements, like industrialization and import fulfillment etc. this can only be done on domestic and international levels by socialist revolution against relations between center-peripheries. Even by disagreeing with capitalist and socialist thoughts presented by Marx, Frank accepts the necessity of socialist revolution to end prevalent system. He believes that in context of world capitalist system, which is prevalent nowadays, only substandard development can flourish, not high level development. Only socialist revolution can end substandard development. In this way we can say that Frank is Marxist to some extent but he does not accept the socialist revolution suggested by Marx, he is the ideologist of dependency.

II. View of Wallerstein—Like A.G. Frank, Wallerstein also believes development and substandard development to be two different results of a single historical process—capitalism development and expansion. While doing analysis of world capitalist process he adopts center-periphery model and clarifies it. He describes the economic development of the west and does the description of character of exploitation produced by it through change in international relations and relations between different countries (social system).

Wallerstein has defined Social Totalities in reference to labour division, as Dr. Sunil Kumar Sahu says. One unit is completely formed when a single division of labour comes in it. According to Wallerstein, mainly only two types of comprehensive level social systems are prevalent: (i) Empires in which functional economic division is kept under the control of imperial state; and (ii) world economic systems in which there are many political sovereigns, in which any one alone is not capable of establishing control over the complete economic system. In post-warring times empires have ended, but along with it there has been rise of neo-colonial dependency of independent sovereign countries (along with Latin American countries) over developed states. The system which has been formed like this is a world capitalist system which is labour division in geographical form, which has three structural situations—core, periphery and semi-periphery. These are tied together in world market trade. By the end of empires situation of political sovereignty of centers over peripheries has only ended, in economic form the sovereignty of first over the second is still there. In economic contemporary system the nature of unequal exchange between developed (center) and substandard developed (periphery) is still there. The functional form of this system is limited to many matters—social, economic, political and cultural. This is helping developed nations in which they are not only prevailing their control over economies and economic policies of peripheries but are also doing their expansion and affirmation. Peripheries are leading a life of dependency over the centers.

Wallerstein did the analysis of the development of centers and substandard development of peripheries and gave the suggestion that development of centre and substandard development of peripheries both are related to process of capitalist expansion and unequal transfers in both. Centers have capability and skill to exploit sources, means and labour of peripheries and they are doing this. In this way in present international system substandard development of peripheries is maintained.

Like Frank, Wallerstein also believes in the fact that in prevalence of present capitalist world economy the probabilities of transport change (improvement) are very low. In fact, even by focusing means of production in their own hands, periphery states cannot control their dependency and substandard development. Because of this reason Wallerstein also accepts that problem's solution is only socialism, but he does not support socialist revolution to end prevalent capitalist world system. Like Hegal Wallerstein insists on the primacy of totality. Because capitalism is a world system, it can only be converted to socialism by changing it in total form. Because Wallerstein accepts secular inclinations of capitalist world system, so he believes that in times to come, internal paradoxes of 21st and 22nd centuries will end it. This system will change to socialism and dependency of peripheries on the centre will end and descent of era of social transfers will happen.

Notes

4.5 Summary

- Sociologists like **Gunnar Myrdal** and **Learner** tell development as a synonym of political modernization.
- In relation to development two viewpoints are prevailing in larger form. **First**, one path viewpoint of development and **second**, multi path viewpoint of development.
- Henry Bernstein has found by inspection that, "In the center self-certifying character of capitalist development and in surrounding countries the rebirth of underdevelopment are parts of solo process."
- According to 1997 report of UNADV many faces of globalization have come forward. On one side many countries are taking breath of development by globalization but along with this many are repressed by globalization.
- Based on unequal relations prevalent between nation-states in the present times, dependency theory tries to do analysis of politics. In relation to third world it does not accept structural, functional theory and traditional Marxist theory which does analysis of politics.
- Very important contribution in the development of dependency theory was given by A.G. Frank and Wallerstein. Both gave this firm argument that development and expansion of economies of developed nations has conducted and ordered substandard development of third world (periphery).
- Like A.G. Frank, Wallerstein also believes development and substandard development to be two different results of a single historical process—capitalism development and expansion.
- Like Frank, Wallerstein also believes in the fact that in prevalence of present capitalist world economy the probabilities of transport change (improvement) are very low.

4.6 Keywords

- **Underdevelopment:** Where less savings, less income and less employment exist
- **Dependency:** Being dependent on help from others because of being less developed

4.7 Review Questions

1. What do you mean by underdevelopment? Describe different principles or theories of underdevelopment.
2. What do you understand by Dependency Theory? Analyze history of development of Dependency Theory.
3. Analyze contribution of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein in development of Dependency Theory.
4. Comment upon:

   (a) Nurkse's theory of development

   (b) Rodan's theory of development

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Development	2. Society	3. Occurrence	4. Under-developed
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (b)

Notes

4.8 Further Readings

Books

1. **International Relations**—*Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations in 21st century**—*Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations**—*V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations**—*Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **Introduction to International Relations**—*G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations, 1914–1950**—*Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
7. **International Relations**—*Mahendra Kumar Mishra,*

Unit 5 : Post-Structuralist and Post-Modernist Approaches

Notes

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
5.1 Post-Structuralism
5.2 View of Michel Foucault in Post-Structuralism
5.3 Key Terms of Post-Modernism
5.4 Post-Modernism
5.5 Characteristics of Post-Modern Society
5.6 Summary
5.7 Keywords
5.8 Review Questions
5.9 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know post-structuralism and view of Michel Foucault on this subject.
- Explain key terms of post-modernism.
- Discuss post-modernism and its characteristics.

Introduction

Kurzweil wrote in 1980 that structuralist era has nearly ended now in Paris. On the other hand paris's Giddens, 1987, Roac, 1984 and Waithrow, 1984 said that structuralism has not ended and reality is that the breathlessness of structuralism has got a new life and in its new life it has adopted the form of Post-Modernism or Neo-Structuralism. Lambert, 1990 has discovered beginning history of Post-Modernism and in its meaning Post-Structuralism. In this context Jacques Derrida, 1990 who is a groundbreaking thinker of France, has said that structuralism has not ended, in reality it is in its transitional phase. Sun of Post-Structuralist era is seen rising from East direction now.

5.1 Post-Structuralism

If anybody describes Post-Structuralism in short, he will say that structuralism has taken farewell from subjective approach and now is standing on the threshold of objective approach. This has been tried in Post-Structuralism its expansion should be done in this way that under it many theoretical perspectives can be incorporated.

Notes

Notes The transfiguration of Post-Structuralism has happened with social life. Where earlier structuralism was linked to modern world, there Post-Structuralism looks at post-modern world.

Lambert has decided Post-Structuralism or in this meaning date of birth of Post-Modernism also in symbolic manner. With the destruction of modern construction of a house he has presented the death of traditional structuralism. He has presented the destruction of a modern house in the following way:

July 15th, 1972: Time 3:32 pm: Modern craftsmanship has died. This happened at the moment when a housing project named Pruitt-Igoe was destroyed in Paris. This housing project was located at a place named St. Louis which was representative of modern craftsmanship by all means. That was such a modern craftsmanship which skilled craftsmen had decorated with full attraction. But this housing project of its decade which was the biggest of its kind in St. Louis was a symbol of poverty and human calamity. By accepting this fact this complete project was scrapped.

Example Destroying this house which is a symbol of poverty and human calamity accepts this thought that modern craftsmanship is a failure and in this meaning modernism itself is irrelevant.

The reason whatever **Lambert** has said is that modernism has neglected society's underprivileged sections and going ahead in future this neglect cannot go on. Post-Modernism will be an era of backward and underprivileged sections. Similar ideology has been kept by post-structuralists of France. Among the fathers of this ideology Lambert, Derrida, Giddens, etc. are prominent. When these thinkers see post-structuralism, their tendency naturally leans towards the underprivileged. Structuralism, post-structuralism and post-modernism although believe their spiritual foundation to be **Saussure** and **Strauss** but still the centres of their study are those sections of the society which have been the recipients of neglect from centuries.

Spiritualistic Foundation of Post-Structuralism

It is interesting that even while post-structuralism is responsible towards underprivileged sections it links its spiritual identity with Philology. If there is any similar relation between structuralism, post-structuralism and post-modernism then as Giddens says, it is with language science.

Lyotard, 1984 has done spiritual description of post-structuralism. He says that what we call scientific knowledge that is nothing else but a form of what we speak, tell and give speech. In other words there is no difference between scientific knowledge and daily speech and forms of conversation and in this meaning if science is just a type of our conversation then no special place of science is created. In this reference scientists too do not hold any higher place in society.

These humanitarians who take above-mentioned simple meaning of science say that in place of positivism language science should be made foundation of their analysis. In our conversation, dialogues, speech and discourse etc language only is used and so they also should take language as related to science. If for material sciences positivity is a main approach then for social humanities language also is a reliable approach.

While accepting language as foundation of post-structuralism Lambert says:

In any understanding of existence of knowledge, activity and life now language can be considered as central foundation in essential form. Social life is now seen as a series of numerous basic texts. There is requirement to voice the mutual relations of these basic texts.

Notes

If we look at principle creations of post-structuralists, then it becomes clear to us that even though there is difference in their approaches, all these ideologists basically believe language to be their reliable foundation.

What is known as Post-Structuralism

It is true that like any scientific theory the discovery of post-structuralism also is to find out true structures of the society. This new version of structuralism does not accept positivism. It requests that whatever a person says, does and however he stays that is all a form of science. What is known as science in a laboratory, by means of language it can be seen in conversation, speech and discourse. In this way this world is tied together as a series of numerous basic texts. The voicing of these basic texts can be done through their mutual relations.

One approach of science is very clear. It requests that there is no cohesion between material and natural objects of the whole world. There is unity in complete natural world. Science sees this only. Post-structuralism does not see this unity and cohesion. Its central study is difference. When post-structuralists compare empirical basic text and traditional basic text then they find a difference. This difference itself is study material of post-structuralism.

Lambert has described series of texts. In this relation he presents four thoughtful points:

1. Conversation, dialogue, speech, discourse, etc. are forms of theories and from both basic texts originate.
2. To know empiricism we take interviews, do surveys, find fact materials for census, all this is basic text.
3. Whatever we get from empirical text we do its comparison with theoretical text. If we see empirical text in context of theoretical text then by this our society related understanding becomes deeper.
4. Traditional study of series of basic text is an effort to look at society in its totality.

If we look at the definition of post-structuralism given by Lambert then it will be clear that structuralists do not look at unity and cohesion but look at the implicit differences in the world. Where positivists believe in this rule that there are some such factors in the society which tie it together in a formula, there post-structuralists stress upon this fact that the world's center is in differentiation. By making the target of his study sharper Lambert says that post-structuralists try to recognize differentiations instead of discovering unity.

If we look at this post-structuralist description given by Lambert in political idiom, we will have to say that tendency of neo-structuralism is towards those minority backward sections which are different from majority and influential groups. In Europe black people are in minority backward sections. In this way in probable form in comparison to men women are also backward. In our country downtrodden, tribals and women come under such underprivileged groups. All these groups are areas of study of post-structuralism.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Lyotard has done ……. description of post-structuralism.
2. Lambert believes language to be ……. of post-structuralism.
3. Traditional study of series of basic text is an effort to look at society in its ……. .
4. Structuralists do not look at unity and cohesion but look at the implicit …… in the world.

Notes

5.2 View of Michel Foucault in Post-Structuralism

Michel Foucault is an enlightened thinker. His writing is multidimensional. Whatever he has kept in his creations it leaps the boundaries of sociology and touches boundaries of many social sciences. In reality in his sociology there are many special sociologies. He has linked himself to study mechanisms of social sciences. He has done many surprising studies. For example, he has presented empirical studies on insanity and medicine. On the other end, he has also worked in authorized manner on social control of crime and sex. In reality Foucault has singly voiced social problems. After writing so much once he was asked whether he looks hallucinogenic or illusory in his writings. In response he says, "Who am I? Don't ask me this and also don't ask whether I will remain the same in my thoughts."

Spiritual Background

In this way Foucault has written a lot about post-modernism. His ambience is really vast. This complete writing is very influenced by many thinkers mainly French. Influence of Karl Marx is also seen in his post-structuralism. He was influenced by sociology of Marx's knowledge. But he did not accept the economic system of Marx anywhere. Truly, if you see then a big influence on Foucault was of philosopher Nietzsche. As per tradition of Nietzsche he said that there is lot of influence of power and knowledge on society. Foucault was a philosopher of first place and he has built post-structuralist principle based on concept of power and knowledge.

In a way Foucault has dug deep in the area of knowledge. He has done research work on different genres of thoughts, knowledge and conversation, dialogues, discourse, speech etc. His question is: Which type of people rule over themselves and others? In assured way the rule that is done on the public its means is knowledge and its origin. Few people in the society discover power and knowledge to rule over public. According to Foucault, the basis of post-structuralism is power of knowledge. More knowledge a person has, his power is also that much influential. In his complete creations, whether it is linked to crime, sex or insane people, Foucault searches for that knowledge which grants power.

Post-structuralism is different from structuralism of Levi Strauss by many viewpoints. Biggest difference is that this new form of structuralism adopts the approach of positivism by sacrificing subjectivism. In this context the theoretical perspective of post-structuralism is completely separated. The other mentionable idiom of post-structuralism adopts issues of Post-Modern Society by leaving behind issues of modern world. Another specialty of this new version of structuralism is that it does comparison of basic texts created by the brain with empirical texts. As Lambert says post-structuralism is linked with chains of basis text. To look at beginning forms of these chains is the task of post-structuralism. Post-modernism is such a synthetic sociological theory which presents a unified concept about future's society by taking facts and concepts from various knowledge institutions. This is such an attempt to create principles about the future's society which arranges objects in its decided perspective by receiving a lot from philosophy, literature, art, craftsmanship etc. This is also true that the manifestation of this mentioned theory is linked to the lifestyle of developed and capitalist countries. Its sole motive is to destroy whatever facts and principles are there of modern society. Interesting thing is that this analytical principle has not yet been created, but the process of its making can be seen clearly. This is one angle of the analysis of post-modernism. Second angle is completely critical. Argument of some thinkers is that when now future's society is not yet created then how can the principle of post-modernism be created based on that? These thinkers say that post-modernism is a kind of lawlessness, which leaves the members of the society unbridled—one can do whatever one wishes to. In this society industrial production gets linked to consumerism. Human values and standards are kept on the shelf and the road roller of post-modernism tramples whatever comes in its way. This is the viewpoint of some thinkers over post-modernism.

The critics of post-modernism also say that it is not a theory, but merely a concept. The way in which radical sociology is a concept, similarly post-modernism is also a concept. Truly, if we see then in

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today's social sciences and daily dialogue "Post-Modernism" is getting popular in the form of a fashion. If any social scientist or in this meaning any artist, craftsman or musician has to become of the first class then he will have to do his expression in any form in post-modernism. In a way the use of the word post-modernism itself makes a person modern.

In past few years, when we tried to understand the painting of any artist then it was said that this is modern art and that's why we will have difficulty in understanding it. Post-Modernism is the next step of this modern art. It is difficult to say that to what extent we will be able to understand it. Phases of post-modernism can be seen in different genres. This post-modernism is available in story literature and poetry and can be seen in craftsmanship. Its form can be seen in dance, music and theater art. In a way post-modernism is like a colour which can be coloured on any object. Whatever state the object may be in—good or bad, colour it with the colour of post-modernism and the object will be improvised.

In western countries and America these days post-modernism has become an idiom of general public life. For example, in these countries in many paintings, spiritual and academic areas, post-modernism can be seen. Those famous people or artists who are linked with post-modernism in any way, in those names of Rauschenberg, Baselitz, Schnabel, Warhol and maybe Bacen are mentionable in the art world. In the area of craftsmanship names of Jencks and Venturi are taken. In the genre of theater the name of Artaid is on the top. In the area of story literature names of Baith and Bartheeme are in the first line. In the post-modernism of movie world the name of Lynch is mentionable. In similar manner in photography the names of Sherrman and in philosophy the names of Derrida, Lyotard and Baidroiard are taken. There are some post-modernists in humanities, geography and sociology also. This list of post-modernist artists, thinkers and writers is endless—it does not have any limit. Some writers' names are added to this list and names of some writers and thinkers included in this list are taken off. There is such uncertainty in post-modernism that common reader does not understand. Truth is that post-modernism is fashion on one end and on the other end one such illusion or such confusion net which distracts the general public.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. Michel Foucault's ……. is multidimensional.

   (a) thoughts (b) writing (c) method (d) use

6. In a way Foucault has dug deep in the area of …….. .

   (a) research (b) foundation (c) knowledge (d) theory

7. Post-modernism is available in story literature and …… .

   (a) art (b) poetry (c) genre (d) theater

8. Post-modernism is …… on one end and on the other end illusion.

   (a) fashion (b) genre (c) discovery (d) concept

5.3 Key Terms of Post-Modernism

Whenever post-modernism is discussed then the use of a family of words related to modernism is continuously done. Many times these words are used in the form of synonyms. This type of arbitrary use obscures the meaning of words. The complete scientificity of terms is lost. In such a situation the conceptual form of some words related to post-modernism should be clear. In this matter four words are especially mentionable:

Modernity, Post-Modernity, Modernization, Modernism Here we will do conceptual analysis of these terms:

Notes

1. Modernity: In about 17th-18th century renaissance came in Europe. In this era initiation of industrialization happened. Where the discovery of steam took forward technical development, there development of philosophy, education and scientificity and logic in spiritual area happened. German sociologist theory, which was very influential at that time, used modernity. This modernity developed economic and administrative rationalization. Facts from values and customary from theoretical areas were seen differentiated. In this era itself Weber presented the description of modern capitalist industrial state. In reality in this century the description of modernity started being done in the context of ancient times. It was linked with renaissance. From the time when there was emergence of modernity, in complete Europe its description was linked with new social – economic and political systems.

2. Post-Modernity: Simple definition of post-modernity is that it is that era which came after modernity. In reality concept of post-modernity is that which destroys complete social forms linked with modernity. In a way post-modernity negates and unaccepts modernity.

Few post-modernist thinkers do not accept this meaning of post-modernity. They believe that it is such a movement whose leap is towards post industrialized era. Many questions rise in context of description of post-modernity: Should post-modernity be considered as a part of modernity? Is it continuity of modernity or completely separate? Is it only worldly change or its indication is towards a special mental state?

In reality we will have to describe post-modernity in a different way. It seems that post-modernity stresses upon different forms and dimensions of a person and social processes. Now this is being believed that those subjects which we considered autonomous, have now become plural or multidimensional in their nature. Post-modernity stands on the footstep of uncertainty. A big argument for it is that there is a fixed place for diversity. Also post-modernists believe that by industrial technology there is increase in production, but this complete increase is eaten up by universal consumerism. Under this concept there is no place in life for sacred thoughts and customs. Everyone works on this principle that he should get maximum enjoyment and fun in life.

Post-modernism is standing on unity of diversity. The social economic changes that scientific technology has brought, in that the new discovery and transfer of innovation population and organization of nation states has happened, all these are indicative of post-modernism. In this way the power source of post-modernism is the world's capitalist market.

3. Modernism: In the end of 20th century a movement started in the area of art, which initiated new cultural values. In reality development of modernism has happened in opposition to Classicism. Modernism stresses upon experiments. Its motive is to discover the internal truth behind peripheral façade. In modernists the names of Joyce, Yeats, Proust and Kafka etc are mentionable in the area of literature. Names of Elliot and Pound are taken in poetry.

Madan Sarup has kept the indications of modernism this way –

1. In this customs are matters of the Good and the Beautiful (Shivam and Sundaram).
2. This concept discovers illusory and uncertain facts and understands the nature of reality without any attachment.
3. In this integrated personality has been negated.

These indications of modernism, which have been kept forward by Madan Sarup, are in reality the indications of post-modernity also. Because of this the description of modernity becomes a bit tough.

4. Modernization – Fourth concept linked to the concepts of modernism is modernization. Generally, those processes and situations are linked to modernization which are related to industrialization and which we call modernization. There is unity in diversity in it. This diversity is seen as a result of scientific and technical discoveries in social and economic results.

As a result of Five Year Plans in our country changes have come in urban and rural societies – stratification has become intense and rise and fall has come in caste system. We will keep all this under

modernization. In foreign countries also modernization can be seen in rationalization of bureaucracy and corporate capitalism. If modernism is a state or situation of the society, then the process to maintain its momentum is modernization.

All these four concepts linked with modernism are not synonyms in any meaning. Using these in arbitrary manner is depriving them from scientific meaning. When post-modernist thinkers want to build principles for future's society then it is essential to have clarity about these introduced concepts.

5.4 Post-Modernism

Before doing conceptual study of post-modernism it should be understood that its origin is from societies of developed capitalist countries. This culture is also in the area of fine art. Hence if modernity is the study of culture of modernism then post-modernity is the study of culture of post-modernism. In reality the genesis of post-modernism happened in the decade of 1960 by artists of New York. Just after this in the decade of 1970 the wave of this movement was seen in European ideologists. In these ideologists the publication of the famous book 'The Post-Modern Condition 1984' of Jean-Francois Lyotard is especially mentionable.

Lyotard has blown hard on modernist writers in this book. He considers this era's thinkers and ideologists as people who can only say things. He says that the theoretical grand narratives that Parsons, Merton or other social scientists have given, they are nothing else but myths. These modernist writers have established that science is savior of humans. Saying this is also not correct that philosophy presents complete knowledge by integrating it. In this tone he also blames that universities do not develop knowledge in any meaning. Including all this Lyotard's argument in his book is that what we call as universal and operational knowledge that is nothing else but myth. He believes that it is not the case that in any meaning we get any total reason behind any task. Reasons are many, not one.

In art, literature and similarly social sciences the way in which post-modernism is being utilized, Madan Sarup has kept its central concept in following points-

1. The line of difference drawn between art and quotidian is not accepted by post-modernism. The sole argument for this is that in any situation art is not different from daily life. Art is neither an imaginary world nor is only for art. Art and social science are linked with daily life.
2. Post-modernism does not accept this kind of superior or cascading theory that there is any difference between worldly culture and noble culture. It believes that culture is culture and it cannot be divided into sections. In its viewpoint noble or middle class culture equal to common man's culture.
3. Lyotard and post-modernist supporters of his theory say that this unaccepts conceptual modernism in every way. In reality the content on which modernism is dependent, it adopts it in post-modernism form.
4. Post-modernism is found spread in all aspects of life. Where we see it in art, literature, theater, poetry, crafts, etc., there its form can also be seen in social sciences.
5. Post-modernism is opponent of those theories which are considered magnificent and grand in traditional manner. It believes that the peripheral way in which reality is seen, it should be accepted in same way. Looking at latent instead of manifest is its central motive.

The harm to post-modernism which we see in different areas has been strongly criticized by many thinkers. This theory does not accept modernism and the theoretical outline which it gives of future's society that future's society has not yet been formed.

Notes

Meaning and Definition of Post-Modernism

Thinkers say that post-modernism is a synthetical theory whose implementation has been done in sociology. In recent years post-modernism theory is the most important multi-disciplinary educational development. Its description has been done by many post-modernist ideologists in whom Douglas Kellner, 1980, D. Harvey, 1989, J. Lyotard, 1984, Jean Baudrillard, 1984, William Bogard, 1990 and Frederic Jameson are prominent. In the last decade these thinkers have described post-modernism in conceptual reference. Although most thinkers accept that in today's situation post-modernism is not a coherent theory, but still these thinkers have tried to define post-modernism.

In defining post-modernism Kellner's argument is –

It is not that there can be any integrated theory of post-modernism, but still in this there is more incorporation of many different theories.

One step ahead of Kellner is request of Alex Callinicos, 1989 –

There is more mutual inconsistency, internal opposition and inclarity in the definitions of post-modernism given by ideologists.

George Ritzer, writes while doing analysis of some important definitions given by post-modernists –

In reality post-modernist theory can be seen in different areas. These areas are—art, architecture, literature, film, philosophy, cultural theory, social theory etc.

Ritzer says that relation of post-modernist theory is linked with development of post-modernist society. Most philosophers do not agree with this fact about the matters building post-modernist society. When there is no agreement in relation to building of post-modernist society, then how can the theory of post-modernist society be made.

There are many disputes in relation to the definition of post-modernism. Still it is certain that the image of post-modernist society that is being built is different from modern society. Therefore, post-modernism is a result of modernism. Even after this clear agreement it is not certain to what limit is post-modernism basically different from modernism. Still it will be correct to say that the genesis of post-modernism is happening from modernism. Reality is that there is no agreement between post-modernists on the fact that how post-modernist society will be, how will its creation happen. Lyotard has presented the layout of probable post-modernist society in this way –

A post-modernist person becomes entranced with the music of the underprivileged of west while living in America. He takes McDonald dish in lunch and in dinner he eats food made in any foreign cuisine. While living in America he wears French perfume and his knowledge is limited to TV games. A post-modernist person is completely oblivious to what society's creative writers, artists and critics are doing. People become lazy and lethargic in such society. People's likings are in complete mess in this era.

Lyotard has kept above-mentioned criticism of post-modern society's image. There are many criticisms which keep the image of post-modern society muddy and tainted. For example, Callinicos unaccpets this society completely in this way –

Now I renounce all this. I do not believe that we live in post-industrial and post-modernist era which is influenced by capitalist production process from last two centuries in the whole world and are basically different.

Whatever efforts we put in to define post-modernist social theory, that much more our difficulties increase. The central issue in this complete description is that what is the framework of the post-modernist society that they imagine? This framework has not yet been created but is in the process of creation which we call post-modernism. This will be known in the coming years that in future how the framework of this society will be. In this difficulty it can be said recently that the definition of post-modernism is in its transitional era.

Notes

Differences between Modernism and Post-modernism

The image of post-modern society that post-modernists have created is different from modern society. The list of facts telling difference between these two societies is very long. Main fact is that where modernism is linked with sensibility, there generally it is considered that post-modernism is irrational and there is more flexibility in it. For our analysis we do not take the difference between modernism and post-modernism in continuation. Our motive is to look at post-modernism in the form of a theory. There are some such facts in post-modernism which give it the form of a synthetic theory.

Lyotard and other post-modernists strongly criticize ideologists and grand synthetical theories. In this context they renounce the grand theories of Marx and Parsons. They call these theories Grand Narratives. These grand episodes which are called Grand Theories by C. Wright Mill are never liked by post-modernists. These grand ideologists present the complete form of the society. In reality post-modernists like to keep different theoretical messages in a synthetical form. This theory wants to make us tolerant towards society's diversity. Hence the comparison of modern and post-modern societies is a difficult task. Reality is that post-modern era has gone much ahead of modern era. Its sole motive is to thread together small local versions into one source and give it the form of a theory. In this theory the great versions which are in accordance with any great tradition are despised for post-modernists.

In the epilogue of the comparison of modern and post-modern societies George Ritzer writes in his book Contemporary Sociological Theory, 1994:

In this way post-modernism generally renounces great versions and neglects great theories especially in sociology.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True / False:

9. The origin of post-modernism is from the cultures of developed capitalist nations.
10. Post-modernity is not found in all walks of life.
11. As a result of Five Year Plans in our country changes have come in urban and rural societies.
12. Modernism does not stress upon experiments.

5.5 Characteristics of Post-Modern Society

Any description of symptoms of post-modern society cannot be done without the context of modern society. Social scientists' concept is that after the Second World War a new society emerged. The identification of this society is done with many names—consumer society, post-industrial society, red tape society, media society etc. This society also started being called as post-modernist society. Post-modernist writers believe themselves to be post-structuralists. Post-structuralists say that the society that emerged after the Second World War that is actually Post-Marxist society. Its argument is that now this Marxist principle is out of context. This principle does not apply on today's social developments. After reaching here a conflict occurs between science and philosophy. The topic of conflict is that after Renaissance the modern society that rose, have its last rites been done?

After Renaissance in 18th century the modern society whose description was done by philosophers its basis was objective science, universal morale and autonomy of art. Philosophers said that such special culture should be reserved which daily provides new inspiration and power to life. They hoped that culture of art and science will be in this way that through its means not only natural powers would be controlled but world and person, moral upliftment, justice and pleasures of humans would also be understood.

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But all the ideals and dreams of Renaissance were destroyed. After 18th century, science, customs and art everything became autonomous areas; art was for art, science for science and customs for customs. All these areas became indifferent to human life. Today strong criticism of cultural modernism happens in France, America and other parts of the world. America's Denial Bell has strongly criticized this type of modernism. French thinkers, known new philosophers have refuted this complete concept of Rennaisance. Its influence is also seen in thinkers of Britain and America.

When we talk about describing specialties of post-modernist society then it should be said clearly that the concept of post-modernism is still in unclear state today. Neither have most people understood it. It seems that post-modernist theory has born as a result of reaction of modernist theory. Probably, its motive is to bring emerging new culture's matters into its own ambience. The incorporation of the new social and economic systems that came in the decades of 1950 and 1960 has been done in post-modernist society. In this context, it should also be said that some post-structuralists like Fokart, Derrida and Lyotard are also actually post-modernists. There are many such similarities between post-structuralist theories and post-modernist behaviours that it is difficult to separate them.

Here we will describe some specialties of post-modern society in above-mentioned context:

(1) Nature of post-modern society is to renounce thematic boundaries

Nature of post-modernism is destructive. Its birth is reactive. Post-modernist does not accept the boundaries and sub-boundaries created of different social sciences, art, literature, philosophy, etc. In reality, post-modernism believes the end of the era which detents knowledge in characteristics. Post-modernism reverses all these artificial boundaries, ties them together and adopts a synthetical genre. Its discovery is for new paradigms, new politics and new theories.

In this way it will keep Marxism and women movement and traditional theories in new frame. Post-modernism wants to build such critical social theory, which can provide new thought to our contemporary political issues.

(2) Prevalent Theoretical Creations are just Verbiage and Metaphorical

Post-modernism renounces the prevalent theories in sociology, humanities and similar academic disciplines. These kind of theories are just verbiage which maintain the customary thinking. George Ritzer has compared four types of synthesis of post-modernist theory in theoretical area:

a. Post-modernism completely renounces great grand theories,

b. The attempt of this theory is to compare small thoughts on local level,

c. Foremost this theory rebuts boundaries created by different disciplines and takes forward this concept that the thoughts taken by different disciplines will give birth to new analysis and

d. Whatever prevalent old theories are there in sociology they should be alleged. In place of them whatever important is found should be kept in analytical theories.

All together post-modernism announces a strong movement. It believes that whatever theoretical creations are there; should be broken. Those creations should be reanalyzed. New theories should be formed. Whatever old theoretical texts are there, post-modernism completely destroys them. Its motive is to develop more understanding about the society.

(3) Post-Modernism is Opponent of Marxism and Functionalism

In post-modernists, Lyotard and his book 'The Post Modern Condition is considered prominent. He says that in modern society the slogan of workers' freedom that Marx had given, the discussion about accumulation of wealth and fact said about emergence of the classless society; the credibility of all that has been lost in post-modernist era. This principle of Marx is left to be mere grand texts.

Exactly like Marx, the theories presented by functionalists like George Homans, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton are also mere grand texts. Post-modernism thinkers consider these modernist thinkers

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to be only conservative thinkers. Neither can social equality preached by Marx can come into this society and nor can unanimity expected by Parsons. Lyotard and other post-modernist thinkers say that the type of individualist and rebutted society is today, will always be maintained. The opposition of post-modernist society is with the struggle between narratives and science or theoretical knowledge. Today narratives are vanishing but there is no other fact to take their place. This narrative knowledge only gives us beauty-knowledge, not its utilization. Condition is that in the name of custom and science Beautiful, Good and Truth have separated and become autonomous. Necessity is of the fact that we should build the society by studying small occurrences. This society will be such whose creation will be done by market's powers.

All together post-modernists say that great stories told from tradition are out of context in today's world and small stories are good. Our great narratives only become history's philosophy, especially when we look at them in today's political context. Exactly opposite from this, local narratives which are short texts are linked with local creative power.

(4) Transformation of Knowledge

A big specialty of post-modernism is science and technology. Their central argument is of transformation of thoughts. Post-modernists begin their speech with language. They say that language is such a medium which gives articulation to thoughts. Hence the study of language should be through scientific system, i.e., through language science. Post-modernists present maximum concern through language related theories. After this they think about issues related to the world. In today's context maximum relation of language is with computer which is a modern technique. They archive whatever information they get from the world and in this context they also talk about Data Bank. If we look at it in the context of technology and science, clearly technical transformation, which is through computer, greatly influences knowledge. If you truly see, then today's machines keep great knowledge in minute form and keep them in business market. Now the ways to learn knowledge and ways to categorize knowledge are happening by machines. This is a revolutionary change in the field of transformation. It is amazing that a book of hundreds of pages can be kept in a floppy.

Lyotard believes that any knowledge cannot survive without today's technical transformation. As society comes into post-modern era, change comes in knowledge's level also. Lyotard's forecast is that whatever is there in our knowledge repository, if its quantification is not done then its existence will be lost. Our old theory that until knowledge does not reside in the brain, it is lost, has become an old tale now. In today's situation knowledge only for knowledge has become meaningless. Now knowledge is acquired to sell.

Now everybody accepts that the knowledge coming out of computer is a big power of production. In coming years in power competition the place of knowledge will be the topmost. The more knowledge one has, the more powerful he is, is not a fact of far. Very soon different nations will put in herculean efforts to acquire maximum knowledge. It is a simple fact—the nation that has biggest repository of different information, that nation will be that much powerful. If there will be any competition or struggle between nations or countries, then it will be for the amount of information one has. Probably in post-modern era power of science will increase because it will be more powerful in production of information.

Post-modernists say that in this computer era the question of knowledge is really a question of government. Now government will grant the tasks of knowledge transformation, production, etc. to machines from the hands of administration. Now this question will be asked again and again—the machines that are full of knowledge repository, who will reach those machines? Really, knowledge is that power that will decide society's interests and harms. In this context, a big specialty of post-modern era is science and technology and related to this computer and knowledge's accumulation and transformation are main issues.

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(5) Rejection of Narrative Knowledge

A big argument of post-modernists is that the narratives known as great and grand should be thrown in the garbage. This is a kind of parrot rote which continuously post-modernists have been repeating. What are narratives? The stories, myths, famous fiction all come under narratives. Panchatantra stories, myths like formation of pond by Bheem's club, bridge on sea, the genesis of Rajputs from fire pit of Abu mountain, and many sagas which the post-modernists dislike. They oppose them.

The reason for opposition of narratives is that they give legitimacy to society's backward customs, traditions and superstitions. Social customs, malice and other traditions become strong and strengthen because of these narratives. As much today's society will be traditional, in that there will be that many narratives. The train of narratives begins from the era of epics and before this there are sagas of scriptures. There is continuous abundance of myths. Stories linked with myths, discussions still give guidance of fasting and worshipping to common public. Post-modernism challenges such great narratives.

(6) Post-modernism opposes scientific knowledge

Scientific knowledge does not do representation of complete knowledge. In reality, its competition and struggle is with other types of knowledge which are in the form of narratives. The way in which the knowledge linked with narratives provides legitimacy to social customs and traditions, in the same way scientific knowledge provides legitimacy to government like any myth. According to post-modernists, every person can acquire scientific knowledge. Even after this nobody judged the knowledge of narratives in scientific manner because the priests and Godmen did not want this. Hence if today we want to utilize knowledge then we should do it in such a way that the technique produced by it can be sold in the market. The way in which narratives are only stories, myths and sagas, whose utilization is only for women at home or children playing in the courtyard, in the same way science without technology will remain huddled in laboratories of universities. Because of some such reasons post-modernists look at narratives and scientific knowledge with indifference.

Task Post modernism is against Marxism and Functionalism. Clarify.

(7) Dominance of Merchantilization of Knowledge

When origin of industrial revolution happened then merchants felt that as much technology will be used, that much will be the production. This was wealth distribution. There is important role of research in production of goods. It is specialty of many multinational organizations that research happens in them with big expense. The objective of such research is to present proof, but these proofs are acceptable only in that situation, in which they can give output in proportion to input.

Did You Know? Today the objective of any science and its research is to produce equalization in input and output.

In other words, post-modernists believe that now the objective of science is not only to discover truth. Its objective is to produce equalization in input and output. Scientists, technicians and instruments are not bought so that they can discover knowledge. Their purchase happens so that they can grant maximum power to the owners of the organizations.

In the context of post-modernists science is not a target in itself. Now its direction is to do maximum production instead of exploration. In this context the maximum emphasis of educational institutions

is not on receipt of orders but for work dexterity. When students make a new invention in educational institutions then they are not asked whether their invention is correct, they are asked about the utilization of their invention. In other words, in relation to knowledge in post-modern era discovery happens of the fact that whatever has been obtained from research can it be sold quickly in the market. Probably, because of this reason maximum business organizations give training to their workers for work proficiency.

(8) The Art of Modern Society is Bourgeois, it needs to be Rejected

Lyotard has seen complete art whether it is painting, dance or literature in the context of post-modernism. One form of art is religious or sacred. Its relation is with religion. Such an art can be seen in the caves of Ajanta-Ellora or in Khajuraho temples of Konark. The second form of art is courtly art. We can see it in Mughal or Rajput art. Third form of art is Bourgeois. Sacred of courtly art is linked to life processes in direct or indirect way. On the other end, the form of Bourgeois art is outside life processes. This is consumerist art. In this art there is no social work of the artist. This art is only for art. It does not have any relation with praxis of life. Such Bourgeois art is just aestheticism. It does not have any link with life's ups and downs. Because of this reason it is not acceptable to post-modernists.

Epilogue

The theoretical revolution of post-modernists has essentially reached an appointed milestone. Emergence of many such theories is happening in sociology which take a lot of loan from different scholars. The analysis of these theories can be done on different levels. The lines tying down the traditional theories into appointed boundaries are not becoming bleared. For example, the analysis of principle of Marx being done in different contexts keeps the complete principle on many levels. Until now the principle of Marx was kept in dialectic and historical materialistic context. Post-modernists now do the analysis of Marx on functionalist level by crossing this boundary. Here the boundaries of functionalism and dialectics have broken. Maximum tendency in post-modernism is towards synthesis or integration. Hence it can be clearly said that if there is any socialist principle of post-modernism it is synthetical and integrated principle.

Many doubts have been produced on this synthetical principle of post-modernists. All sociologist principles cannot build synthetical-integrated grand principle on basis of other principles. If there are some such endeavors then it is not possible for everyone to have agreement on them. It is like basing a conclusion on the basis of few things here and a few things there. In this way no principle can be formed which can be trusted.

Post-modernist ideologists do not leave any stone unturned in the criticism of modernism. No aspect of life has been saved from their criticism. They are not less than great narratives. Today's short narratives formulated by them will become great narratives tomorrow. Interesting fact is that recently the writings that are being published in the area of principles are another era ahead of post-modernism. These ideologists say that which concept will come after post-modernism. Herbert W. Simmons and Michael Billig, 1994 request that after post-modernism we will have to rebuild theories linked to politics and praxis. After post-modernism reflection is needed on women movement, dalit upliftment and critical Marxism. Future will tell that till where will post-modernism and after post-modernism the sociologist principles linked to the society, will take the society towards prosperity.

5.6 Summary

- Lambert, 1990 has discovered beginning history of Post-Modernism and in its meaning Post-Structuralism. In this context Jacques Derrida, 1990 who is a groundbreaking thinker of France, has said that Structuralism has not ended, in reality it is in its transitional phase.

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- The transfiguration of Post-Structuralism has happened with social life. Where earlier Structuralism was linked to modern world, there Post-Structuralism looks at post-modern world.
- If there is any similar concern between structuralism, post-structuralism and post-modernism then as Giddens says, it is with language science.
- Post-structuralism is different from structuralism of Levi Strauss by many viewpoints. Biggest difference is that this new form of structuralism adopts the approach of positivism by sacrificing subjectivism. In this context the theoretical perspective of post-structuralism is completely separated.
- In about 17th-18th century renaissance came in Europe. In this era initiation of industrialization happened. Where the discovery of steam took forward technical development, there development of philosophy, education and scientificity and logic in spiritual area happened. German sociologist theory, which was very influential at that time, used modernity.
- Hence if modernity is the study of culture of modernism then post-modernity is the study of culture of post-modernism. In reality the genesis of post-modernism happened in the decade of 1960 by artists of New York.
- After Renaissance in 18th century the modern society whose description was done by philosophers its basis was objective science, universal morale and autonomy of art. Philosophers said that such special culture should be reserved which daily provides new inspiration and power to life.

5.7 Keywords

- **Implicit:** Hidden or contained inside, situated permanently inside
- **Realism:** The form in which a fact or object is present, accepting it in same form

5.8 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by post-structuralism? Describe the spiritual basis of post-structuralism.
2. Analyze the thoughts of Michael Foucault in relation to post-structuralism.
3. What is known as the key to post-modernism? Describe.
4. What do you mean by post-modernism? Clarify differences between post-modernism and modernism.
5. Describe specialties of post-modern society.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Spiritual	2. Basis	3. Completeness	4. Diversity
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (b)	8.(a)
9. True	10. False	11. True	12. False

5.9 Further Readings

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Books

1. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*
2. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
4. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
6. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Notes

Unit 6 : Feminist Approaches

Contents

Objectives

Introduction

6.1 Western Feminism Vs Indian Feminism

6.2 Patriarchy: An Observation

6.3 Meaning of Feminism

6.4 Gender Equality Vs Woman-Empowerment

6.5 Summary

6.6 Keywords

6.7 Review Questions

6.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know Western Feminism vs Indian Feminism.
- Explain meaning of feminism.
- Elaborate gender equality vs woman empowerment.

Introduction

Feminism is a social principle of political movement which is generated by experiences of women. Though originally it is unprompted by social relations, but many Feminist scholars give more stress on gender inequality and rights of women.

The objective of Feminist principles is to comprehend the nature and reasons of inequality of gender and to analyze the influence on thus generated principles of politics of gender discrimination and its impact on the principles of balance of power.

Example Force of political publicity related to women-consultation concerns procreation related right, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal wages, sexual harassment, discrimination and sexual violence.

The basic fact of ideal related to feminist consultation is that gender should not be basis of legal rights. Main criticism of feminist consultation has been that its principles and philosophy depended mainly upon western values and philosophy. On ground level feminist consultation is always active at its own level in every state and geographical limits and feminist consultation of every region has its own specific problems. 'In India Feminism has been seen from western perspective whereas it should be understood from Indian perspective. Although patriarchy has existed in every era and time, but in

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India it is present with extreme complexities, in which all caste, class and religion have been included, it is named as 'Brahmanical patriarchy'. It does not mean that its target is only one caste. This displays woman's subjugation prevalent in Indian society in different forms.'

Here the effort is to see through Feminism from Indian perspective and to analyze present problems on this substratum.

Feminism and woman-empowerment is, of course, different from each other, but not opponent. Feminism is a philosophy, whose aim is- to find out the causes of distinct position of woman in society and to present an alternate solution for her welfare, whereas woman-empowerment is a movement, is an action plan, or a process which is mainly carried out by government or non-government organizations.

Notes Feminism is the study of problems of women, so it cannot be irrelevant till women and men come back to the position of similar status.

In women studies we study about both—principles and their application. Now a question of Feminism being irrelevant or irrelevant arises. The objective of this time is woman-empowerment. Everyone would agree to it, but why is there a requirement of woman-empowerment? That is so because woman is weak, but why and how the woman is weak; its reply can only be given by Feminism. Feminism can only tell that which methods or tactics should be adopted for woman-empowerment in any particular society. But it is regretting that in our society most of the people would not agree at all that the position of women in our society is of subjugation. Women are not less than men in any field, but they are deprived of the opportunities. Feminism explains about matter of such situations and to do effort in this direction is called women-empowerment.

6.1 Western Feminism Vs Indian Feminism

When Feminism is being discussed, in general, this question props up in everyone's mind what is the utility of Western concept of feminism in India? These questions are authentic up to some limits, especially when many questions are being raised in West itself on Feminism. In fact, Feminism emerged as an ideology when the women of West had already got fundamental rights, though for this they fought sparse form, only then they got franchise such as right of citizenship, political and some economic rights. As they already had fundamental rights, so their issues were connected with sexuality, sexual freedom, concepts of womanliness, domination of men. This is remarkable regarding this subject that there was control of higher class white women on Feminist Movement and lower class non-white women were separate from this.

The issues which were before western Feminism were, although important for countries like India but not of great use. Indian society is still a feudalistic society and the greatest problem before the women were of primitive attitude, due to that they had only nominal rights except citizenship right. There existed a class of women, who had got basic conveniences of life and they were in influence of western Feminism. Thus, some Feminist thinkers in India also raised those points which were points of western Feminism and there was no specific use of them in rural social system of this place.

Extensive change in the concept of Feminism came after third wave. Third wave of Feminism had been related mainly to Latin American, Asian and non-whites women. There was an impact of North-modern ideology on this wave, which honored differentiations. On account of concepts of differentiations, this thing was being discussed that with one similar principle there cannot be solution of problems of women of all the classes. The problems of different classes are different from the other and their solution should be found out differently. This wave caused deep impact on Indian Feminist Movement.

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Here also, downtrodden women started accusing Feminist Movement that it represented only higher class same caste women and left out downtrodden, rural and poor women.

Owing to it, the attention of thinkers of Feminism diverted to the diversity of Indian society and discussions were being held how to mould Feminism according to Indian society? This had been decade of 1980 and 1990 and at that time for Indian society the word, 'Brahminical Patriarchy' had been used. This word expresses the complex formation of our society and probable thrice exploitation on downtrodden women. The downtrodden women become victim of exploitation by caste, class and patriarchy. The man of her society exploits her because she is a woman, Landlord exploits her as she is a poor labour and she has to bear insult by same caste for being downtrodden.

In India, present concept of Feminism discusses that the problems of poor, rural, downtrodden and minorities' women are diverse and of rich and same caste are different, so they should be discussed differently. Present Feminism along with women, talks about all those downtrodden and exploited sections, who had been pushed to the margin of the society. It thinks that under Feminist Movement itself many channels can work together, though their ways are different but their goal is same so all should come ahead together.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. ..... is a principle of political movement which is generated from experiences of women.
2. Feminism and women-empowerment are different from each other, but they are not ..... .
3. There was extensive ..... in the concept of Feminism after the third wave.
4. Feminism is the study of woman's ..... .

6.2 Patriarchy: An Observation

The meaning of patriarchy is generally taken from male-dominated society, in which inheritance of property is gained by the son from his father. But from the view of Feminism, the concept of Patriarchy is very extensive. It is not only concerned with domination of men, but it is concerned with that social structure, under which authority is always in the hands of powerful one, may it be woman or man. Thus, the ideology of Patriarchy impresses both woman and man. After grasping the meaning of Patriarchy we can give the clarification of objection, according to which it is said that, 'It is the woman who is enemy of the other woman'. In this reference, this thing needs to be noted that no simple and weak woman tortures any other woman. Those women who have been impressed by Patriarchic ideology, they think themselves to be superior to other women and try to show down. Our society is called Brahminical Patriarchic society because here caste-system is an important part of structure of society which bestows a hierarchical form to Indian society. Same caste man exists on the highest pedestal in this series and oppressed woman stands at the lowest. This is an important specialty of Patriarchal system that it does not consider each member to be equal and grants them higher or lower status. Thus, Patriarchal system is totally contrary to democratic values, in which the differences of caste, gender, creed and religion are to be avoided and the principle of 'one person one vote' is adopted to keep human prestige on supreme pedestal. Feminism movement had great contribution in knowing Patriarchy and then analyzing it deeply and bringing its true form before all.

Difference between Sex and Gender

The greatest contribution of Feminism has been to establish difference between 'sex' and 'gender'. Sex is a biological terminology which displays biological difference between man and woman, whereas

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the word 'gender' shows social discrimination between man and woman. The word 'gender' indicates that except biological differences, all other differences are not natural but created by society only. So this is obvious, if it is man-made, it can also be eliminated. Behind all the discriminations concerning women, there is a process of full socialization according to that, right from childhood boy and girl have been brought up in different methods. This difference any one can see in one's neighborhood. Girls are trained to do household work well and boys do outside work. Girls are thought to be kind, soft, caring and domestic and boys are taken as strong, powerful, solid and brave. These days, there are some improvements in this situation, but not at all the places or levels. It can be said that there is nothing bad in any work of any kind but due to classification of work, the talent of many girls remained hidden and many boys became victim of various imperfections. It can sound odd when we hear that small boys are advised generally to stop crying on this pretext that they are males. We do not talk to them emotionally, and they keep on choking internally. Some boys are very sentimental and often they are not able to cry openly by expressing their view fearing that others would tease them. On the whole, gender based discrimination forces not only women but men also to lead life as per already set mould.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The meaning of Patriarchy often refers to ..... dominated society.

   (a) woman (b) man (c) woman-man (d) children

6. Our ..... is called Brahminical Patriarchy society.

   (a) community (b) country (c) society (d) state

7. The greatest contribution of Feminism is to establish difference between sex and ..... .

   (a) gender (b) man (c) woman (d) caste

8. There has never been any enmity of Feminism with men or with ..... .

   (a) humanism (b) racism (c) patriarchy (d) socialism

6.3 Meaning of Feminism

There are some communities which have got anti-feminist view. Some say that they hate Feminists but love humanists. In democratic country, every one has a right to express one's choice or thoughts. Those who oppose any issue, in fact do not know any thing about that matter. There is no enmity of Feminism either with men or humanism. So when somebody says that he does not like Feminism because it is opposed to men, he is just showing his little knowledge about this subject. Feminism is such a principle which presents that aspect of society where the position of woman had been secondary for centuries. Now people can say that in our country, women used to be worshipped. This thing is also not fully true. People should speak only after studying well about this subject. Anti-Feminism has become a fashion nowadays, as there used to be fashion of Feminism some times ago. But while supporting or opposing any thing, at least some information should have been there about it. In my opinion, after knowing Feminism once, nobody would oppose it although one might not agree to it.

Discussion through the Medium of Questions on the Commercialization of Woman Body

We often see the incidents happening in the society but never try to know the causes behind them. Today's woman has got many conveniences as compared to past as social, political and economical systems are changing. It appears as if they are free. When we look at models, actresses and other

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advanced women in other professions, we conclude that woman has got liberation. But we also know that they are also taking wrong advantage of their freedom. If a woman participates in beauty contest or belongs to corporate world, it is assumed that she is able to make progress only by using her body as a weapon. In advertisements of television, she is considered to be guilty of body-exposure, but we never try to know the reasons behind it.

Now a question arises, is really today's woman liberated? Is she so much liberated that she is advancing ahead by using her body as a weapon? Have all her problems ended? Has she got all the rights for which she has been fighting for decades? There is a book which is searching answers of all these questions. 'The dream of woman-liberation'. The chief editors of this book are Prof. Kamla Prasad and Rajendra Sharma. Arvind Jain and Leeladhar Mandloi are the guest editors of it. Some excerpts from editorship of Arvind Jain are presented here:

"How much 'share in power' has a woman got or will get in through 'weapon of body'? We fully well know it. In this dangerous 'game' of men, if a woman decides to participate, is this decision her own or prompted by 'money' (rupees, dollar or pound)? In the economics of body what is the deciding foundation point between willingness and independence? Who is deciding the rules, conditions and election process of the game?"

From these questions the situation becomes clear. We are seeing that in the advertisement of men's deodorant women are being seen wearing a bikini, but who is getting this done from them? Who is compelling them that if they do not do so then they will be out of the competition?

Why do women allow their exploitation at all? Its answer is where does the exploitation of women not take place? If they decide to enclose in the house to escape from being exploited, will exploitation not take place there? Are women fully safe in their house? No. In show business, the use of 'women body' is well presented by Arvind Jain –

"Is there any meaning of opposition and negotiation of a beautiful woman in front of international wealth? On afore-decided value (prize, award, emolument, …) by men industrialists when thousands of world beauties are brought in a line for body exposure, then the puppet or beautiful doll dancing in hands of national and international agents are only thing, commodity or means. In playing the game based on conditions of the buyer, the defeat of the beauty is already decided."

The whole affair of confining women to home or bring her out of the house is a part of game of world-pervasive fund. It determines the rules of the game, players, defeat and victory. On one side it forces woman to enclose in the house, then proves her domestic work as unproductive so that there grows a feeling of lack of self-confidence and on the other side, glamorizes showbiz like modeling, and acting and thus attracting beautiful girls towards all this. We must keep in mind that a model should have lot of self-confidence to walk on the ramp before hundreds of people. This 'money' only fills this self-confidence in her which otherwise proves role of housewife as negative.

It can be said that in order to carry on its business, Capitalism utilizes woman in its own way. Woman exists only to work either in the house or walk on the ramp as per the instructions. To contemplate and take decisions is the task not of woman but of man only because almost all the money of the world is owned by only men.

Caution

Except one or two, all CEO's Multi-National Company's, film, politics and almost everywhere there is dominance of men. Women are absolutely ignorant of all these affairs and dance on tune of men-folk. If they oppose or raise a question, they have to be out of competition. They are seen with inferior attitude on being follower of Feminism (it is being pointed out as an abuse these days).

Self Assessment

Notes

State whether the following statements are True / False:

9. Girls are taught to do domestic work whereas boys outside work.
10. Capitalism utilizes women as per its will to carry on its business.
11. Our modern society adheres to religious scriptures.
12. The position of woman in India is supreme.

6.4 Gender Equality Vs Woman-Empowerment

How have our religious books influenced Women-empowerment? Is that influence negative or is it positive also? On one side, we quote the couplet of Manuscript 'yatra naaryastu poojayante' and try to tell that in ancient times at our place woman used to be worshipped, on the other side there are some Shlokas that are quoted against women. This was assumed that such shlokas encouraged men that they could justify subjugation of women. We have to find out what kind of impact of those religious provisions was there on the position of women?

Some decades ago, our society was greatly influenced by these religious books, even illiterate persons would also try to justify their stand by quoting, 'Yes, this has been mentioned in Ved-Puran', may be they had never seen that book. Today, the position is entirely different. At least the intelligent and educated class does not quote these documents; still there are some people who want to settle the case of woman-empowerment on the basis of religious documents. Moreover, they want to prove by citing instances that 'our religion is better' and 'in our religion, women had never been regarded inferior'. This is ridiculous that they find out examples from religious documents to confine women to house.

Efforts have been made to prove by these documents that in ancient India the position of women was supreme and there was no discrimination with them at all. (It is not true as Gargi-Yajnavalkya discourse is the proof). They have not tied to prove that religious documents had been fully responsible for present position of women. There has been an effort to know how far the provisions of religious documents been able to enter our society of present times and from the time of renaissance up to today how much and what kind of impact, they have been able to put on woman-empowerment?

Precisely, before knowing what impact the provisions of religious scriptures have put up on the plight of women, mainly on its process of empowerment, it is essential to know about empowerment. Different scholars have defined empowerment in different manner. Cambridge Dictionary defines it in a form of authorization. In relations to people, its meaning is—control on one's life by oneself. The issue of empowerment is discussed in reference to weak section of society which includes poor, women and other people of dalit and backward section of society. The implication of making women empowered is, 'To establish control over resources and conserve them so that they can take decisions on the subject of their life or to influence decisions taken by others regarding them'. An individual is only called empowered, when he has authority over large share of power resources. These resources can be in various forms such as—private property, education, communication, knowledge, social prestige, status, leadership and impression. It is obvious that whoever is powerless needs to be empowered. This is a fact that women are still laggard - this thing has been accepted by our policy-makers, wise thinkers, economists and social-workers. Some people say that women have become quite empowered whereas some declare that not only women but even men are also tortured.

Did You Know? It has been accepted by many thinkers the plight of women in India is still very backward… so from some past decades, efforts for women empowerment have been done on every levels.

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One big reason to fail in their effort or not able to realize the goal, has been illiteracy, but bigger reason is backward mentality of the society. We have not been able to accept so far that there are gender discriminations in our society, and then there is no question to raise the question of woman-empowerment. Even now we do not blame social structure for violence met out to women; we hold mental disorderliness guilty of it. Some out of us still do not agree that women are lagging behind and cite example of a few women to prove that women are scaling heights of success.

Yes, some women have really clinched the goal by continuous struggle but most of the women in our country are lagging behind in economic, political and cultural field. It is essential to bring them ahead.

6.5 Summary

- Feminism is a social principle of political movement which is generated by experiences of women.
- The objective of Feminist principles is to comprehend the nature and reasons of inequality of gender and to analyze the influence on thus generated principles of politics of gender discrimination and its impact on the principles of balance of power.
- Feminism and Woman-empowerment is, of course, different from each other, but not opponent. Feminism is a philosophy, whose aim is to find out the causes of distinct position of woman in society and to present an alternate solution for her welfare, whereas woman-empowerment is a movement, is an action plan, or a process which is mainly carried out by government or non-government organizations.
- The greatest contribution of Feminism has been to establish difference between 'sex' and 'gender'. Sex is a biological terminology which displays biological difference between man and woman, whereas the word 'gender' shows social discrimination between man and woman.
- If a woman participates in beauty contest or belongs to corporate world, it is assumed that she is able to make progress only by using her body as a weapon. In advertisements of television, she is considered to be guilty of body-exposure, but we never try to know the reasons behind it.

6.6 Keywords

- **Feminism:** Finding out the position of women in the society and presenting alternative solutions for their improvement.
- **Patriarchy:** In which the right to wealth is acquired by son from father.

6.7 Review Questions

1. What do you understand by feminism? Analyze western feminism vs Indian feminism.
2. What is the difference between 'sex' and 'gender'? Describe.
3. Evaluate the questions rising on the commercialization of woman-body.
4. Describe Gender Equality Vs Woman Empowerment.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Feminism	2. Opposing	3. Change	4. Issues
5. (b)	6. (c)	7. (a)	8. (a)
9. True	10. True	11. False	12. False

6.8 Further Readings

Notes

Books

1. **International Relations in 21st century—** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
2. **International Relations—** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **International Relations—** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations—** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **Introduction to International Relations—** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations—** *Manik Lal Gupta, S.Chand*
7. **International Relations, 1914–1950—** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*

Notes

Unit 7 : Environmental Approaches

Contents

Objectives

Introduction

7.1 Emerging Crisis of Environment

7.2 International Trade and Environmental Pollution

7.3 Political Hindrances in Environmental Fostering

7.4 Unfavourable Conditions of Developed and Developing Countries

7.5 Summary

7.6 Keywords

7.7 Review Questions

7.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know emerging crisis of environment.
- Explain international trade and environmental pollution.
- Discuss political hindrances in environmental fostering.
- Elaborate unfavourable conditions of developed countries.
- Discuss unfavourable condition of developing countries.

Introduction

Like the subject of human-rights, regarding subject of environment also, the concern of international world can be seen only after Second World War. The destruction of World War underlined the issue that how dangerous the modern weapons can prove to be for the environment. Bombing devastated big historical cities and green fields changed into barren graveyard. The use of atom bomb presented a new challenge for the environment. From the experience of **Hiroshima** and **Nagasaki**, this thing became clear that after using atomic weapons even once, the environment remains polluted for years and the clouds floating in the atmosphere can spread the radio-active dust far and wide. Although the use of atomic weapons had not been repeated, still due to contention going on between two big powers, hundreds of tests of atomic weapons had been conducted. Due to atomic tests conducted by Americans and French in Southern—Western Pacific Ocean, innocent Japanese fishermen were greatly hit by the pollution produced by them.

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Caution The warning of atomic scientists was not less startling that due to ill-effect of radiation not only directly affected people become ill, but also the danger of cancer increases manifolds for coming generations.

By keeping these issues in mind, the treaties to ban such testing, first of all in atmosphere, then in space and bottom of the sea, had been possible.

Notes Mrs. Gandhi made an apt comment and said rightly, 'Poverty is the greatest polluter.'

7.1 Emerging Crisis of Environment

Since the beginning of the decade of 1970, this thing was well known, that the danger of pollution is like an infectious epidemic by which a person sitting in his own house is not safe. The couples of **Sprout** in their book ' **Space Ship Earth**' framed the allegory that as all the passengers traveling in spaceship are equally responsible to keep the atmosphere of the spaceship free of pollution and forced to cooperate, because in its absence nobody can be alive, same situation is also of the inhabitants of this earth.

During recent years, many huge oil-carrier tankers met with an accident, and oil spilling from them polluted the water of the sea also polluted thousands of miles distance shore. Along with it, a new question popped up. Who is to be blamed for such pollution emerged out of this kind of accident and who should be forced or punished for compensation? Irony was such that the accident may have taken place out of the region of any nation-state, the affected state is eager for rehabilitation and justice.

Did You Know? In **Stockholm**, the capital of Sweden, in 1972, in the chairmanship of United Nations Organization, first **International Environment Summit Conference** was organized. The contribution of Mrs. Indira Gandhi had been very important and her lecture is memorable even today.

Mrs. Gandhi, on one side accepted without hesitation that preference should be given to protection of environment, and at the same time she suggested strongly that the solution of this issue should be found by joining this with the problem of development. Mrs. Gandhi also underlined this thing that the danger which has emerged in the present time for the environment, colonial powers are not less responsible for that. Western countries never bothered to worry about the health of nature while exploring these resources, may it be oil or minerals. In living style of capitalism, extravagance, selfish tendency and mentality of consumerism was predominant, whereas in poor countries like India there was deep attraction for Gandhism. They also simply agreed that the store of nature is ample for the requirement of each individual, but it proves to be incapable in fulfiling the greed of any particular community or nation.

In the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, the countries of third nation kept that irrefutable logic before the world that without economic development, their political liberty can be considered half and keeps them in subjection. To eradicate social discrimination and to improve their status of living, we cannot

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ignore economic development and for this natural resources are the only fund for them. This thing is also clear that sovereign nations can have sole authority on natural resources; it cannot be a shared heritage. This option was kept before the developed counties in 1972 only. If they think that the subject of protection of environment is important for international system, they should give up exploration of natural resources for the sake of environment protection and should make arrangement for suitable compensation.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. Bombing ..... historical cities.
2. Floating clouds can spread radio-active dust in ..... .
3. Mrs. Indira Gandhi commented that ..... is the greatest polluter.
4. In Stockholm International Environment ..... conference, Mrs. Gandhi unhesitatingly agreed to give preference to Environment Protection.

7.2 International Trade and Environmental Pollution

This is worth-mentioning that this debate regarding natural resources was warming up when the clouds of oil-crisis were hovering over horizon of Western Asia. The Arabian Nations started expressing their discontent that they are not getting appropriate cost of this natural resource of warlike importance. Thus, the agenda of environment protection, knowingly or unknowingly, got connected with wider background of economic equations of international trade. At the time of Stockholm Conference of 1972, this hope blossomed that perhaps in coming years, environment would become central point of international politics, but series of incidents of international level, pushed it on to the margin for more than a decade. The culmination of Vietnam War, end of Mao-war in China, acceleration in the process of release of tension and the beginning of second cold war had been so perturbing that environment could not be given equal attention. The declaration of Emergency in India itself and then due to dethronement of Mrs. Gandhi, Junta Party government dropped the issue of environment from primary list of international dangers. There was acceleration in unification of Europe and this also shifted the attention of people from environment.

The meaning should not be drawn that the concern about the subject of environment has diminished during all these years. Creation of hole in the layer of Ozone has often been in the headlines. According to the scientists, the reason of this was blind-fold use of hydro-carbon fuel due to which CFC gas spreads unnaturally in the atmosphere. It makes ozone-layer thin and brittle. After this, ultraviolet rays, coming from the sun to the earth, become all the more dangerous. The reason of increasing cases of skin-cancer in the whites, living in Southern hemisphere, has been the hole in Ozone-layer.

Ill-effects of Nuclear Weapons

Some of the scientists had concern regarding **Nuclear Winter**. According to them, without any explosion in the battle of nuclear weapons, the more and more tests of maximum annihilating nuclear weapons polluted the atmosphere of the earth very badly. There was such an envelope of dust, owing to its effect; there was a probable danger of decreasing temperature of the earth in coming years. This climate of Nuclear Winter could cause rain and hence the life of all living beings and plants on the earth would have been in danger. Although this forecast was soon proved to be baseless, still there grew a deep interest in environmental problems in the minds of the common people.

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Irony is this, after a few years, the place of Nuclear Winter had been taken by challenge posed by Global Warming and Climate change due to human interference. This time, to tell that this apprehension is baseless, is not easy. Most of the scientists are unanimous about this thing that the temperature of the earth is increasing uncommonly with unnatural pace. It can be either cyclone like El Nino, or storm like Rita, or Tsunami, all these have underlined one thing that the nature has been expressing its anger at short intervals. The pictures received through satellites give evidence of this thing that snow in North Pole is melting and throughout the world icebergs are sliding back. Not only in Africa, but also at other places also the barrenness of the fertile land and expansion of desert has been increasing in fearful manner. Unplanned urbanization and exploitation of natural resources have been destroying invaluable rain-forests and rare bio-diversity is becoming extinct. The Environment Specialists believe that our knowledge regarding change of climate and other natural processes is at half-note and no scientist can claim to know that the life of various living beings is hanging on delicate ecological balance and is inter-dependent. Just now, it cannot be said how will the extinction of bio-diversity affect coming generations?

We cannot get relief from our responsibility by saying that this headache concerns coming generations only. The growing danger of pollution and its new kinds have assumed devilish form, and it is very much confronting us. In this, clearance of ash of radioactive fuel, produced out of nuclear furnaces, chemical pollutants and polluted material produced from electric instruments is prominent. The use of unforesightful life-saving drugs has given such resistant capability to some bacteria and virus that the treatment of diseases caused by them is becoming unviable. It may be HIV AIDS, Ebola Virus or Bird Flu, the relation of these diseases is in one way or the other connected with protection of environment. (Like organisms and vegetation, viruses also are not confined to man-made political boundaries. For the treatment of non-curable diseases, the invention of various medicines has become possible only due to natural treasure of biological diversity. The pollution of the environment enhances many times the fatal results of any epidemic. All these things have been authenticated by scientific research.)

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. The sovereign state may have sole ownership on its natural resources, it cannot be had in partnership of ..... .

   (a) heritage (b) law (c) means (d) system

6. The issue of hole in ozone-layer in the earth's ..... has been in the headlines.

   (a) environment (b) atmosphere (c) nature (d) earth

7. Growing ..... of environment and its other kinds have taken devilish form.

   (a) proportion (b) time (c) danger (d) nature

8. The ..... of the environment enhances many times the fatal results of any epidemic.

   (a) protection (b) pollution (c) equality (d) difference

7.3 Political Hindrances in Environmental Fostering

May be after Stockholm, the arrangement of second big international conference on the subject of environment could be made only after 20 years, this would be wrong to conclude that there had been no progress on the subject of environment politically, all these years. The problem of Global Warming and change in climate had always been placed on the top of crisis-list. In city of Quota of Japan, the agreement on which most of the countries did signatures, for that diplomatic and international discussion went on for years. The issue which came up after that discussion

Notes

and became bone of contention was that who is the most responsible country for pollution fostered out of use of hydro-carbon fuel. On one side, America and Japan insisted that highly populated countries like India and China are fostering this danger, whereas in these countries the responsibility should be settled not on the basis of national consumption but on the basis of consumption per individual, to ignore this issue can be termed as highly unjustified that those affluent western countries who due to their consumerist life-leading policy have produced this crisis, are now placing hindrances in the path of progress for the developing countries. India and China have given this logic that they ready to reduce the use of such fuel on their own, if affluent and capable countries like America may make the technology of reducing pollution available to them on confessional rates. Many responsible scientists of the western countries accept this thing that in reducing carbon caused pollution, the important role of rain forests has been proved. Most of such rain forests exist in developing countries and to sustain the healthy environment of the earth, their protection is the most essential. As the responsibility of this task is with the developing countries, they should get prize or compensation to have control in their erosion.

America and some western countries have been ignoring this demand with deviousness. On the contrary, they adopted a cunning tactics of dividing developing countries in Quito treaty. They suggested for carbon exchange. In brief this bargaining is like this: America became ready to accept it would curtail the use of carbon fuel a little immediately. It has been hesitating to promise for such curtailment for future also. Yes, it does suggest that the countries which do not use such type of fuel, will hand over their share of carbon fuel to America and in exchange, America would give money as fixed financial aid. The suggestion of carbon exchange can be termed as a conspiracy to prove that Quito conference was a failure. America is the prominent country who did not sign that agreement. Although most of the members of United Nations Organization endorse Quito Agreement, but the exclusion of only one supreme powerful nation, makes it useless.

There are many other issues connected with environment which are not universal like change of climate and global warming, but they have been jeopardizing international system in regional background. It includes international river—controversy and management of such natural surroundings whose boundaries touch more than one nation or are spreading beyond the boundary.

Example

Sindhu, the Ganges and river-project of the Brahmaputra, Iravadi, Mekong are some of the examples which have been popular in this reference. Himalayan boundary and Himalayan environment are also such subjects where the protection of the environment is possible only through mutual collaboration and cooperation.

The necessity of such collaboration and cooperation is desired at the time when nature exposes its fury in boisterous dance. At the time of tsunami, this thing was to be seen. It is either forecast of calamity or need of lessening devastation by the calamity or relief after the calamity and rehabilitation and re-building, for all these works, farsighted, constructive and cooperative government policy is greatly needed. The irony is that even at the time of crisis many nation-states are seen as devoid of human sympathy and are in the grip of enmity. International cooperation is not that spontaneous. Indian government did not permit the relief work to be done by international groups in the region of Andaman and Nikobar because that whole area had been very sensitive from strategic point of view and there existed its big naval base. Likewise, when in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the Pak-owned territory was struck by earthquake, Pakistan felt unreasonable hesitation in accepting help of Indian soldiers because they were not able to accept how they would explain to the citizens of that region that India has been their inborn enemy and would continue to be their enemy forever.

Self Assessment

Notes

State whether the following statements are True/ False:

9. Nepal has fostered a danger by constructing a dam in three deep valleys.
10. There is no example of Bhopal Gas Tragedy of 1984 in human history.
11. The important role of fostering carbonic pollution by rain-forests is evident.

7.4 Unfavourable Conditions of Developed and Developing Countries

Some analysts have attracted the attention of us towards this point that the debate connected with environment protection can be made part of conspiracy to curb capability of developing countries in international trade very easily. Western Capitalist Countries, especially America and members of European Community restricted the products of developing countries to enter their markets by putting various injunctions, sometimes on the pretext of pollution and sometimes for incapability of giving environment protection. This suspicion cannot be called baseless.

An important Summit Meet on the subject of environment concluded at Johannesburg in 2002. By name this meet centered on environment, but before its inauguration those issues flashed in headlines of diplomatic circles, and their far-fetched association can be linked with environment. The caste-system giving rise to social discrimination in India, gender discrimination and agenda of racialism and poverty became successful in pushing immediate problem of environment behind. There were two reasons of this. Some upheld that various non-government organizations in their excessive enthusiasm for environmental protection flouted and neglected the rights of poor and weak people and of their basic needs so much that most of developing countries of third world thought that protection of environment and its danger is just a play thing in the hands of rich nations. In India, the campaign of 'save-tiger' hanged in media. But news of hunting of protected tigers, oppression of backward tribe of Sundarban or offspring of forest of mid-India is seldom referred. On the other side, there has been lot of dissension about conservation of environment or of its danger among African-Asian countries. For example, India has been engaged in saving the tigers, whereas China is not prepared to do any curtailment in the use of manufacturing traditional medicines out of bones of tigers. Japanese have been demanding exquisite ivory boisterously for decoration of their houses. They had supported those African countries like Botswana, who wanted to eradicate the ban put on export of ivory. Such type of controversy also arose on the subject of ban on hunting of whales.

Japanese and Americans, despite being aloof on this subject, are not prepared to give up their selfish obstinacy. The logic of affluent western countries is that there is no evidence of this thing that the danger of extinction of rare species had been generated due to their voluptuous consumption of them. They hold illiterate, greedy Afro-Asian 'savages' and their corrupt governments responsible for all this. This thing applies to all who use either skin of crocodile, snake or musk deer, or use rare vegetation for medicines manufactured for the treatment of malignant diseases. There seems to be no possibility that in near future it will be possible to comprehend fully the danger to environment. We should think that it can be solved on collaborative basis for collective interest by giving it importance of war-like agenda.

Task Throw light on the ill-effects of nuclear weapons.

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7.5 Summary

- Like the subject of human-rights, regarding subject of environment also, the concern of international world can be seen only after Second World War. The destruction of World War underlined the issue that how dangerous the modern weapons can prove to be for the environment.
- Since the beginning of the decade of 1970, this thing was well known, that the danger of pollution is like an infectious epidemic by which a person sitting in his own house is not safe.
- The agenda of environment protection, knowingly or unknowingly, got connected with wider background of economic equations of international trade.
- Some of the scientists had concern regarding Nuclear Winter. According to it, without any explosion in the battle of nuclear weapons, the more and more tests of maximum annihilating nuclear weapons polluted the atmosphere of the earth very badly.
- Irony is this, after a few years, the place of Nuclear Winter had been taken by challenge posed by Global Warming and Climate change due to human interference.
- An important Summit Meet on the subject of environment concluded at Johannesburg in 2002. By name this meet centered on environment, but before its inauguration those issues flashed in headlines of diplomatic circles, and their far-fetched association can be linked with environment.

7.6 Keywords

- **Natural Resource:** Means or Deposits found from the nature
- **Pollutant:** Things that spread pollution or dirt

7.7 Review Questions

1. Write a short note on the emerging crisis on the environment.
2. Prepare a write-up on International Trade and Environmental Pollution.
3. Analyze Political Hindrances in Environmental Fostering.
4. Analyze Unfavorable Conditions of Developed and Developing Countries in Environmental Fostering.

Answers: Self Assessment

1. Destroy	2. Atmosphere	3. Poverty	4. Top
5. (a)	6. (b)	7. (c)	8.
9. False	10. True	11. False	

7.8 Further Readings

Notes

Books

1. **International Relations, 1914–1950 —** *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
2. **International Relations —** *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
3. **International Relations in 21st century —** *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
4. **International Relations —** *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
5. **International Relations —** *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
6. **Introduction to International Relations —** *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
7. **International Relations —** *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*

Notes

Unit 8 : World Views: Asia, Africa and Latin America

Contents

Objectives
Introduction
8.1 Asia
8.2 Nepal: Challenges of Democratic Development
8.3 India, South and East Asia
8.4 Africa and Latin America
8.5 Summary
8.6 Keywords
8.7 Review Questions
8.8 Further Readings

Objectives

After studying this unit, students will be able to:

- Know countries coming under Asia.
- Discuss India, South and East Asia.
- Explain Africa and Latin America.

Introduction

Today, the area that is called South Asia, its historical identity has been in the form of India. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were undivided states until 1947 for whose independence a united struggle was fought. Sri Lanka and Burma (now Myanmar) also were closely linked with Indian subcontinent in administrative arrangement of British Empire. Not only did large number of Indian immigrants live in these two countries, but also played an impactful role on economic cultural lives over there. This is also true that whether it was Sri Lanka or Burma, no Indian considered them as 'foreign'. The Bengali novels of Sharat Chandra Chattopadhyay reflect this fact. The events of Sri Lanka are always considered as disturbances in its own courtyard for Tamil Nadu. The situation of Nepal cannot be said to be much different from these examples.

8.1 Asia

From the viewpoint of international law, Nepal was always independent but Nepal's independence was not different from the 'dependence' of other Indian royal estates. Nepal's king also had to accept the appointment of British Resident in his court and by accepting British paramountcy only this inland state kept on doing the operation of its international relations, as per directions from British Indian government. Even after keeping interest in Nepal and Tibet, China in an unsound condition

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was unable to influence the events here and Nepal was completely under the control of the colonial government ruling in India. In domestic politics also Nepal king was not free. Real power was in the hands of the Rana dynasty tyrannical prime ministers who also used to be army commanders. Rana dynasty's relation of marriage was with Nepali royal dynasty and also with many Indian royal families. Because of this reason by British mercy feudalism could be maintained in Nepal. It needs to be added that the western end of India-Nepal border in the Mahakali zone of Baitadi and Karnali or the lowland mass touching Uttar Pradesh and Bihar for hundreds of miles, invisible international border for common man, never restrained anyone. Indians and Nepalis living in this complete area have been happily believing themselves to be the children of both countries and due to similarity in language and religion it has been very difficult to differentiate among them.

Example Nepal is sole such foreign country whose citizens are recruited in the Indian army.

Detailed description of this fact is necessary because before division even while not being a formal part of India, the strong and intimate relations of India with Nepal should not be considered any less as compared to Pakistan, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka. In northeast Bhutan was India's protected state during British regime that used to happily and willingly accept the advise of Indian government in foreign relations and defense areas. The followers of Buddhism have believed India to be the birthplace of Buddha and India as their natural ally and well-wisher. Two other countries of South Asia are Afghanistan and Maldives. Afghanistan's rise in the form of a nation-state has been recent in the beginning of 20th century. Before this in this inland state there was prominence of mutually competing tribes. In the era of colonial imperialism Russia and Britain both believed it to be in their interest to keep Afghanistan in between them (as a buffer) so that mutual conflicts can be avoided. Afghanistan's boundary used to touch north-west frontier of western Punjab and the ethnic cultural identity of many Afghani Pashtuns is similar to Indians living in this area. This fact can be seen in Rabindranath Tagore's story **Kabuli Wala** that how far did entrepreneurial pathans reach and for Indians not only in Punjab, but also in far fetched areas were considered as trustworthy friends. No such strong relation of Afghanistan was ever with any other neighbours Iran and mid-Asian republics of Soviet Russia. All together, Afghanistan's identity is south Asian, not mid-Asian or west-Asian. Strong relations of Maldives too have not been with any other foreign country except Sri Lanka and Kerala. If we keep in mind this historical background and traditional experience, then this fact seems very bizarre that in south Asia struggle is seen more than cooperation.

'Hindu-Muslim' Divided Mentality in Medieval Period

Until a very long time, Britishers were held responsible for hostility and bicker in south Asia. Nobody can disagree with the fact that colonial powers always tried to rule by gaining from division. It is thinking matter that if those living in different countries of south Asia were not victims of mutual division then would Britishers be able to take advantage from it? If this was the only reason behind division then after independence and after return of Britishers so much time would not have been spent in getting rid of this mentality. In reality the size of the Indian subcontinent is very large and the diversity of its population is vast. All Indians living in different parts of the country display such abundance in language, food habits, religious cultural tendencies that it becomes difficult to keep them balanced always. It is difficult to forget the fact that before arrival of Britishers there was rule of Muslim Sultans and Mughal rulers over India. Out of these mostly used to consider themselves as children of India and their rule did not apply staunch Islamic laws. But this is also true that out of these all were not wise, tolerant and far-sighted public loving. On one end Akbar and on the other Aurangzeb are examples of changing mentality and administrative preferences of this era. This fact

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can also not be held false that during their military expeditions Muslim armies destroyed Hindu temples, broke idols and applied taxes like Jizya over Hindus.

In complete medieval times, Muslim minorities believed themselves to be part of the ruling section and poor Muslims also remained obsessed with this unfortunate pride. It should also be remembered that Muslims started blaming Britishers, who became India's rulers by ending Mughal Empire, for their plight. Even though only aristocrat section was affected by this change but these parasitic landlords were successful in misguiding the common man. The reason for increasing dissatisfaction of Muslims was also that where under influence of staunch Muslims most Muslims abstained from adopting modern western scientific knowledge, there unexpectedly Hindus in large numbers chose the new path of progress even after all conservatism. Soon their share increased in occupations like government jobs, medical, engineering, law and they started being even more influential in socio-political life. After the disturbance of 1857 leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed tried hard to change the thinking of their Muslim counterparts but they got very limited success in these attempts.

After neutrally thinking, we will also have to accept the fact that the enthusiasm with which Mahatma Gandhi gave and got support for the opposition movement, it appointed a center of faith and attraction outside the country too for Indian Muslims. There is no scope for detailed analysis of the fact that how Muslims like Jinnah, members of minority Bohra community, Mohammed Ali Jinnah who did not accept many taboos of Islam, played the trump card of communism and blackmailed Congress leaders or compelled Nehru, etc. for continuous appeasement of minorities. Still this fact should be understood that the members of the Congress Party were unsuccessful in stopping liberal Muslim leaders—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Asif Ali, etc. majority Muslims from going to the Muslim league. For this only pointing towards agitation of aggressive nationalist Hinduism is not enough.

Rise of Hindu Fanaticism

In the end of 19th century, after establishment of Arya Samaj by Maharshi Dayanand the indications of revival of Hindu religion started being seen. The reformist, Vedic Hinduism free from social malpractices preached by Swami Vivekananda, also proved to promote Hindu mentality adept in powerful and capable self-protection. From mid 19th century the revolutionaries of Bengal have been accepting this fact without any hesitation that they believe India to be a goddess and are the worshippers of power. Obviously, when these devotees of Durga and Kali used to appeal to their countrymen for freedom from unreligious oppressor rulers then the followers of other religions could not link with them in spontaneous manner. Here it is useless to argue that on philosophical level there was no prejudice between Hindus and Muslims for Vivekananda and Yogi Arvind. They used to equally consider both as Indians. Even Vivekananda's guru Ram Krishna Paramhans was quite influenced by Quran Sharif and used to consider it as a respectable religious scripture. In the minds of the common man the gap between Hindus and Muslims was present before arrival of the Britishers and deepened during British rule.

In the decade of 1920, Dr Hedgewar established Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and this voluntary social service organization propagated this ideology in which minority Muslims were known as exploiter foreign rulers. Later the organization's head guru Golwalkar vocalized this mentality even more forcefully. But again it needs to be added that the influence of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was very limited in the days of the freedom fight and the way in which the power-base of Arya Samaj was Punjab, in same way the real strength of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh was limited to Maharasthra. This fact should also be remembered that years before the establishment of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, Lokmanya Tilak started glorifying Ganesha festival and Hindu empire of Chhatrapati Shivaji to organize patriotic freedom fighters. Hence in the freedom fight of India one strong stream has been the one which has found inspiration from Hindu mythical mentality and it

does not accept secularism as an essential condition for modern nation-state building. Some scholars also suggest that this thought is linked to India's basic reality and is much better alternative than Nehru's western model communism.

Meanwhile, if division could not be avoided then the biggest reason for that should be considered as this divided mentality.

Notes If Hindus and Muslims really consider each other to be brothers, then the blast of communist violence would not be so destructive. The bitter memories of these communal riots and deep wounds have made cooperation in south Asia not only difficult but nearly impossible.

India-Pakistan Misunderstanding due to Kashmir Conflict

At the time of independence the population of India was 33 crores and it was second largest populated country. If its relations with neighbouring countries remained peaceful then the matter of economic-cultural cooperation could be thought. But Pakistan was not at all ready for it. The conditions in which Kashmir's Hindu ruler agreed to become part of India seemed fraudulence to Pakistan. Pakistan was not ready to accept that the majority Muslim public of the valley of Kashmir was not ready to become a part of Pakistan and wanted to walk on the democratic and secular path told to them by their famous leader Sheikh Abdullah. Pakistan soon forgot this fact too that it had sent infiltrator soldiers to illegally occupy Kashmir and imposed an undeclared war on India. From then till now Kashmir Conflict has been killing all possibilities of cooperation and collaboration between India and Pakistan. Here we will have to accept the fact that the far-sighted impatience in which democratic Nehru had made the declaration that the role of United Nations Organization would be happily accepted to resolve the Kashmir Conflict and to know the desire of Kashmiri public, a referendum will be drafted to grant them the right for self-determination, gave Pakistan an unerring diplomatic weapon. Whenever India talked about cooperation or collaboration Pakistan poked the thorn of Kashmir and deflated the balloon.

'Self-Decision', Clanism and Corruption

Indian government argues that in Jammu and Kashmir not once, but many times unbiased elections have been held and the public there has shown by using their right of self-decision that they want to stay with India. Unfortunately, the hollow argument can neither influence Pakistan nor anyone else. To call the elections held in Kashmir as unbiased and fearless was an exaggeration. The percentage of participation in it used to be only 5 or 10%. Elected candidates used to keep winning in nearly planned manner by heavy majority in the votes cast. The rule of the state of Kashmir has been a synonym of clanism and corruption. The family of Sheikh Abdullah himself could keep its monopoly over the resources of Kashmir for a long time. When Sheikh Abdullah came into the circle of suspicion of central government, then he was put out of office and detained and it became even easier to control his successors. It may be Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad or Sadiq sahib, nobody's stature was of equivalence to Sheikh Abdullah. It should be considered as Kashmir's bad luck that no ruler out of these could sacrifice the temptation of family-loving corruption.

At the time when Kashmir became a part of India, due to the influence of Sheikh Abdullah to maintain the autonomy and identity of Kashmir state in Indian union a constitutional protection was granted to its special circumstance. Under article 370 of the Indian constitution the state of Jammu and Kashmir could adopt its own constitution. Except sensitive issues like foreign relations, defense issues and

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communication, Jammu and Kashmir state legislature was given the freedom to pass laws according to its own will. Special condition recognition was given to this state for income tax, production fee, etc. also. The fact that was most important was that any other citizen of India, who was not of Kashmir's public, did not have the right to buy land there. By all these reasons Jammu and Kashmir state could be kept separate from the country's mainstream. On one hand this arrangement appeased the pride of Kashmiri leaders and the aristocratic ruler section there and kept their vested interests hidden, on the other hand it also encouraged the secessionism feeling. Kashmirism kept Kashmiris together, but separated them from other Indians.

Pakistan's Propaganda

After Pakistan's attack in 1947–48 to protect the country's unity and integrity it became important to appoint Indian army in the valley of Kashmir in large numbers. The presence of these soldiers gave Pakistan the opportunity that it could blame India that it is being successful in keeping Kashmir as its part by using pistols and force. Most troubling matter was that no elected government was free from the charges of corruption on a big scale. Even though central government used to put a big amount of money into the accounts of state for the development of Kashmir's public, it was being eaten up by few families. Looking at the strategic sensitivity of the state Delhi' central government kept ignoring its peoples' corruption and fraudulency. Its very severe results were seen. This propaganda became easy for Pakistan that India is spending all resources on the expense of the armies and it does not care for the common man (especially Muslims). The biggest drawback of India's diplomacy was that it remained completely unsuccessful in revealing the truth behind Pakistan's false allegations. Truth is that when the entire country was going through a phase of economic hardships and scarcity, at that time too liberal subsidies were given to Kashmir's public. It may be food or oil, gas, life-saving medicines, all these were easily provided to Kashmir's public at much lesser rates than any other part of the country. If the common man still remained deprived of all these then the single reason for this can only be considered that the Kashmir's businessmen tied with Kashmir's government were middlemen, profiteers and were deeply immersed in black-marketing. It is ironical that the Kashmiri people complaining about prejudice and neglect against them have been ignoring the areas different from the valley of Kashmir. This fact is not hidden from anyone that the little development that can be seen is limited only to land. Areas of Jammu and Ladakh have been forced to consider themselves as the step-child of their state governments. Hindus living in Jammu & Kashmir state and resident Buddhists of Ladakh also are minorities in reality and their rights have been continuously infringed.

After independence till the three decades of 1975–76, Pakistan continuously kept trying to instigate Kashmir's public against Indian central government. The complete focus of Indian government remained fixed upon the elected government of the state, in fact on one single leader and it did not feel necessary to pay attention towards the increasing dissatisfaction and anger of Kashmir's public. Most quick influence of Pakistan government's propaganda was on the youth of Kashmir who were a victims of unemployment due to corruption and used to yearn for basic facilities like education and medicine. Whenever any cricket match was played between India and Pakistan or during Asian and Olympic Games clash was between India and Pakistan in sports grounds, then the sympathy of these Pakistani youth was seen with partiality with Pakistan and on Pakistan's victory they used to cry anti-Indian slogans and lighted fireworks. All this was never considered unpatriotic, but was considered mischief of silly kids. The absurdity of this thought was common knowledge by the decade of 1980 when a Pakistan inspired organization named Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front took up weapons in the valley of Kashmir while raising the slogans for freedom. From then till now approximately one-fourth century has passed and Kashmir state has been tumultuous. Today it is difficult to think that issue of Kashmir is a diplomatic challenge, foreign ministry's responsibility or risky challenge for strategic protection, whose solution will have to be searched by the army as of now.

Human Rights in Kashmir

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Caution As for the question about the issue of foreign policy in reference to Kashmir Conflict, there are two angles to it. The compulsion of giving answers continuously to Pakistan's allegations is not on India but in changed international perspective it cannot ignore the accusation of violation of human rights.

In the freedom fight of Bangladesh its participation was on the human foundation of the protection of its human rights. In recent years, the biggest exertion of Indian diplomacy has been wasted in telling international community that they have not forcefully occupied Kashmir. Second challenge is that retribution is important against the tactics that Pakistan has adopted to weaken India by thousand attack war. One side it is important to take the step to increase mutual trust to improve relations with Pakistan and India does not want any hindrance in peace process, but on the other side the proposal of peace cannot always be one-sided and unconditional. Whenever there is any proposal of peace Pakistani infiltrators carry out such a terrorist activity through secessionism that this peace process goes sour. It may be the parliament attack on Delhi or bomb blasts in Sadbhavna Express to kill and injure Pakistani passengers; all these are part of this tactics. Some analysts believe that from the time when Bangladesh made itself independent with India's help, Pakistan believes it to be responsible for its fragmentation and so it has taken inspiration from India itself and has started the operation of freedom struggle behind the curtain in Jammu and Kashmir state.

Unfortunately, in recent years in international world staunch Islamic aggressiveness has been boosted because of many reasons. States like Libya and Saudi Arabia who have become rich by oil earnings have enflamed Jihadi law in irresponsible manner. Under pressure of strategic necessities of Cold War America has continuously ignored the communal and Islamic fanaticism of Saudi Arabia. Apart from this America itself prepared savage terrorist army of Talibans in Pakistan to kick out Soviet Russia from Afghanistan. Rise of Islamic fanaticism and terrorism in Iran has increased Pakistan's audacity. The refugees troubled by domestic war going on from decades in Afghanistan that reached Pakistan and were increasing dangers for it; sending them to Kashmir in form of professional Jihadis has been easy for Pakistan. In this way, the Kashmir Conflict that was a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, has completely entangled with international terrorism and Islamic Jihad. Whenever Pakistan gives the argument that without solving Kashmir Conflict India-Pakistan struggle cannot be ended, it forgets that its conspiracy to link Jihadi terrorism in Kashmir with the question of the state's autonomy itself has enflamed the flames of this struggle.

When members of Al Qaeda carried out terrorist attack on America, then this hope was raised that now America will put pressure on Pakistan to stifle and punish Islamic terrorists and will sympathetically understand India's issue in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Soon this hope was extinguished. America has been adopting double standards in the international campaign against terrorism and until in the elaborate background it feels Pakistan to be its helping agent, none of its pressures will fall into India's favour.

Kashmir Conflict and Secularism

Kashmir conflict is not limited to only controversial land. Kashmir's being an indifferent part of India is also a big test of its secular identity. As it has been said before the meaning of the state of Jammu and Kashmir is not only the valley of Srinagar, but also the expansive area of Ladakh, where Siachen glacier is spread, is also a part of this state. A big highly sensitive area of Indo-Chinese border is also situated here. India cannot just make the relations between free Kashmir and valley of Srinagar normal

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and believe that the conflict has been resolved. Neither can the central government ignore the torture and family-destructive displacement of Hindu priests in Jammu and Kashmir state. Many years ago maybe someone who linked Kashmir conflict with the problems of minority Muslims living in other parts of the country was considered foolish, but this situation has changed today. After the destruction of Babri mosque and bomb blasts in Mumbai with the feeling of revenge, not only has the feeling of insecurity increased in the minority community in the whole country but also in majority Hindus deep dissatisfaction has risen with the fact that every time India's secular government keeps busy in appeasement of minorities only. Due to this mentality the steep rise from 2 to 198 in the number of members of the Parliament of the fanatic patriotic and Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party was possible. Godhra Kand in Gujarat and terrible riots in its reaction can be understood in this perspective. Pakistan will never want that Kashmir conflict should really be resolved and this topic of enflaming anger in Indian minorities is lost.

India-Pakistan Nuclear Competition

In 1988, India successfully did nuclear tests and soon after Pakistan also showed the world that it also has atomic weapons. Thereafter nuclear blackmail conditions also developed. Because of this nuclear blackmail only Pakistan had the audacity that it infiltrated into Kargil and tried to drive off Indian forces from there. It is ironical that Americans themselves have initiated giving unnecessary weightage to nuclear blackmail. According to many American analysts, Kashmir conflict and India-Pakistan struggle pose to be most volatile and perturbing challenge in south Asia. Such thought ignores the fact that many cooperations between India and Pakistan have not only been possible but have also been meaningfully completed. Its best example is the Indus River Water Treaty of 1960. Even after fighting three wars there has been no interruption in imposing this treaty. This fact is also true that on non-governmental level, public of India and Pakistan have increased continuous contacts and today probably it is not possible for any government of both countries to refuse mutual public collaboration.

Internal Issues of Bangladesh, Topics of Quarrels

To start the topic of participation in any cooperation or collaboration programmms with all other countries in south Asia is meaningless until friction is maintained between India and Bangladesh. It is very important to remember the fact that the influence of fanatic Islam has not been only on Pakistan, but Bangladesh's politics has also not been untouched by it. Unfortunately, after some time of gaining independence Sheikh Mujibur was assassinated and military dictatorship returned to that country. To keep themselves in power Bengali army officers created alliance with staunch Mullahs and Ulemas and soon Bangladesh transformed from secular democratic to Islamic state. In this way, by going back once in suicidal form, it became possible for Bangladesh to patch up with Pakistan. This fact should be underlined that the improvement in relations was among the military ruler section and it cannot be considered as one which ended Pakistan's fragmentation. Meanwhile, military dictatorship and in between citizen's rule gaining power by removing it, also could not gain success in controlling corruption. Administration was proved to be spendthrift and useless. Because of slow speed of economic development spread of dissatisfaction and anger in common public was natural. Unfortunately, in the years after independence Bangladesh has been the victim of natural calamities. Once more than six lakh Bangladeshis lost their lives in a tropical cyclone. Every year floods bring such destruction which entangles this country in the tentacles of famine and epidemic. Until the time when the relations of Bangladesh with India were strong and intimate, India used to help Bangladesh more than its capability. But when Bangladesh's government started arousing its public by saying that India is responsible for all its problems, then India pulled out its support. This dissatisfaction about Farakka Barrage usually takes explosive form during summer season.

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Apart from this the infiltration of a big number of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in Assam and Tripura remains a topic of tension for Indian government. Indian government believes that to hide their incapability and failure, Bangladeshi governments push the poorest section of its population into India and puts the burden of their sustenance on them. These Bangladeshis unaccountably infringe into the international boundary line and out of these, majority leads unsocial criminal life, even if it is not by choice. In the name of Islamic brotherhood Pakistani detective agency ISI tries to use such elements in the form of dangerous weapon against India. It is difficult for India to ignore this fact that because of infiltration of these Bangladeshis in India, the pattern of population in bordering states has changed in a very dangerous manner. Complaint of local public is not only that these penniless Bengalis end the probabilities of their employment by agreeing to work on very cheap wages, but also that out of these many have been able to register their names into the registered voters list by illegal means. Party in power may be Congress or Marxists, in the name of minority protection, have been granting safe passage to these foreign infiltrators. This situation is arising similar crisis in West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. Because of increasing tensions many times communal riots have blasted.

Many districts of Assam have become profusely Muslim in fluke. This is not at all possible on the basis of birth rate of Muslim population. Many times there have been violent encounters between the border security forces of India and Bangladesh with the issue of Bengali immigrants. It also needs to be repeated in context of Bangladesh that treaty and alliance or cooperation and collaboration cannot be one-sided. Bangladesh will have to show sensitivity towards Indian strategic concerns. In its absence meaningful south Asian cooperation is impossible.

Self Assessment

Fill in the blanks:

1. From the viewpoint of international law, …….. was always independent.
2. Until a very long time, …….. were held responsible for hostility and bicker in south Asia.
3. The size of the Indian subcontinent is very…..... .
4. After establishment of …… Samaj by Maharshi Dayanand the indications of revival of Hindu religion started being seen.

8.2 Nepal: Challenges of Democratic Development

There is a little difference in Nepal's situation. When soon after independence the Indian government freed Maharaja Tribhuvan from the clamps of the Rana dynasty, India-Nepal relations remained unstrained friendly for some time. There was one more reason for this good will. Many Nepalis took part in the freedom fight of India and friendly relations of B.P. Koirala and other leaders were with Nehru and other Congress and communist leaders. But this situation could not continue for long. Situation of Nepal's land politics is such that it is very important for it to maintain balance between two big powers of Asia—India and China. In the decade of 1950, as tensions increased in Indo-Chinese relations, the aspirations of Tribhuvan's heir Raja Mahendra started increasing. He felt that the way in which 1950's treaty had made Nepal dependent on India, it can be reduced by getting support from China. Mahendra's feeling was also that Indian government wants to keep the dominance on royal family by giving support to Nepal's democratic parties. The conduct of Indian businessmen and diplomats living in Nepal also seemed derogatory to average Nepali.

Usefulness of 'India-Revolt': In 1960, Raja Mahendra established Panchayati democracy by suspending democracy. In totality this arrangement was to delegate autocratic power to the king. Whatever be the motive of Mahendra, this change increased the sourness in Indo-Pak relations. Indians' concern was natural towards Chinese movements in Nepal especially after 1962. On Mahendra's invitation Nepal invited China to build Kathmandu-Kediri highway and also accepted the proposal of building

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of a motor highway in lowland from east to west. Both were considered perturbing by India for its safety. The Prime Minister of Mahendra, Tulsi Giri's actions were specially against India and he strongly proposed the need that India should call back its technical advisors, specialists, etc. from Nepal. Announcement was made about strong conditions against Indians working in Nepal. To prove its independence in foreign matters, in this era Nepal bolded its voice against India on nearly every international platform. Nepal's government provided full opportunity to countries against India like Pakistan and America to move ahead in Nepal's support. This situation probably went on for fifteen years. In 1971, in the freedom fight of Bangladesh after India's vigorous military interference it became impossible for Nepal to consider India as a weak neighbour and after atomic blast in 1974 in Pokharan Smt Gandhi wiped off the remaining memories of 1962. The credit for this fact should be given to the Indian Government that it maintained patience during all this time and liberally fulfilled all the needs of inland Nepal. This should also be accepted that Mahendra's heir Maharaja Birendra proved to be much more far-sighted and wise than expected. He not only maintained the distance between China and India, but also sacrificed the temptation of oppression of democratic political movements in Nepal. Because of this wisdom constitutional democracy could be kept safe until one-fourth century.

River-Water Dispute: In these years the tensions between India and Nepal kept increasing and decreasing. The issues, for which the encounters were most intense and passionate, were of river water disputes. When India constructed dam over Kosi river, there was a lot of dissatisfaction in Nepal. A big portion of Nepal's land was to be immersed in water after the construction of the dam. Nepal Government did not make any efforts to convey to its public that it has willingly, after peaceful discussion, sold this land to Indian government and Nepal will also gain from the electricity produced after construction of the dam according to conditions of the treaty. This fact was also kept hidden that Indian government was also giving compensation for the losses due to dam construction. In later years when the project to construct a new dam on the river Mahakali at a place called Pancheshwar, once again all these baseless arguments started heating up the discussion that the bigger sized neighbour India is pressurizing Nepal and is violating its sovereignty for its own profit means. Dissatisfied Nepalis who give outcries of international law and tradition every time easily forget that from years India has been giving them more concessions than the requirements decided by international law. For example, there is only one condition for the neighbour of an inland country that it will provide accessibility to two unrestricted path corridors to reach ship ports. There was a time when India had provided Nepal the accessibility to not only two-three but fourteen such entry gates. It has been said earlier that there is no barrier marking limits on the India-Nepal border. On the events of election, etc. only strict regulations of boundary related constraints or border taxes, etc. are enforced. To underline this fact Rajiv Gandhi made Nepal realize the reality by limiting the number of these entry gates in his tenure.

Topics of Indian Dissatisfaction: The 1950 friendship treaty is another big reason which increased tensions in reference to India and Nepal. Nepalis have been feeling that this treaty is not equal and was done when Nepal was weak and could not protect its national interests. When the concern to renew this treaty came forward Nepal registered many objections and a new treaty was signed. According to this new treaty Nepal does not have to pay border taxes which are imposed on products imported from foreign countries when goods built in Nepal are sent to India. Unfortunately, Nepal has been openly exploiting this arrangement. By putting the stamp Made in Nepal, goods imported from China or Thailand like vegetable edible oil, silk clothes, copper wire, electronic equipment, toys, etc. are sent to India. Some Indian companies also created conspiracy to gain illegal profits from this arrangement. They established industrial units to produce cigarettes, cold drinks and edible oils in the Nepali area of India-Nepal border which resulted in heavy thefts of production tax and income tax. All this could not happen without the agreement of Nepal Government and these events have certainly reduced the probabilities of cooperation between India and Nepal.

Infiltration of India's enemies in Nepal: The infiltration of India opposing entities in Nepal is most responsible in increasing tensions between India and Nepal.

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Did You Know? From years not only Chinese but also Pakistanis have been using Nepal's land to create conspiracies against India.

When Khalistani separatist movement started in Pakistan, ISI. tried to establish consensus with them for Pakistani interests and when separatist terrorism started spreading in Kashmir then it was thought to send Pakistani agents to India via Nepal. Nepal's capital Kathmandu is a prominent center for foreign tourists and therefore there are lots of shops of Kashmiri businessmen over there. Behind these curtains anti-Indian activities could be carried on without any hindrances. When an Indian plane was hijacked from Kathmandu in 2000, curtain lifted from the fact that the links of this conspiracy are tied from Kathmandu to Kandhar and Kabul. Before and after this too this fact was publicly obvious that Nepal may not help anti Indian conspirator entities, but ignores them. Providing protection to Pakistan's detective agency by a minority member of Nepal's parliament was well known and this member's offence flourished on the lowland area of India-Nepal border. Later this infamous leader was murdered by competitors.

Royal Massacre, 'Change of Power' and Maoist danger in Nepal: Suddenly, tensions also increased in India-Nepal relations when Maharaja Birendra was murdered alongwith his family in the massacre of royal palace and Gyanendra took over power. Gyanendra who was considered partner of Indian businessmen considered Indian Government as its opponent and was against democratization of Nepal from many years. He and his unruly son Paras were especially unpopular. This change of power from which one could smell dethronement, raised hopes in the Maoists active in Nepal and inspired them to increase their activities. Due to Maoist rebellion in Nepal also Nepal and India's relations have been tensed. Along with Maoists the supporters of democracy in Nepal feel that the support given to royal dynasty by Indian government is a silly decision, taken because of defining India's national interests in a very constricted manner. On the other hand, the dynasty feels that behind the curtain through opposition parties, India keeps helping the opponents of the royal palace and wants to maintain the capability of interference in Nepal. Maoists keep feeling that the things given to Nepal's army are used for their own abolition. Indian Government fears that Nepali Maoists have been giving help and refuge to the extremists active in India. Many analysts have expressed their concerns on the active but dangerous Red Corridor reaching from lowland of Nepal to the coast of Tamil Nadu. It is evident that no possibility remains for economic or any other technical cooperation when there are so many doubts prevalent about each other.

In our understanding, the limits of 'Marxist state' are also quite clear like royal diplomacy. First thing is that it is stupidity to try to forcefully compartmentalize all leftists and Marxists by labeling them similarly. Leave apart Indian Marxists, there is no close relation left of Nepal's Maoists with the other communists of Nepal. It is argumentative to suggest that until recently, until Gyanendra's cruel oppression and fierce power demonstration brought all Nepalis except loyal courtiers in one match, till then Nepali communists situated in different areas used to consider each other as enemies. The palace has been taking advantage of this reality. Today Madhav, leader of Communist party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) is active in Nepali communist party front. But Maoists are still out of this alliance and are giving warning to communist parties to not to do any agreement or surrender. Where other Nepali political parties are taking breath of relief by recovery of the parliament and are ready to celebrate victory, Nepali Maoists are not ready as of now to give up weapons before impartial elections and formation of constitution building society. Adamancy of abolition of royal dynasty and establishment of republic is still underway and in its eyes the decisive war is still going on.

Contradiction of Maoism after Mao: It is very important to remember that those calling themselves Maoists consider them completely different from other Marxists. This difference is basic on conceptual level as well as on work level. Traditional Marxists in which Leninists, Stalinists and communists of

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all forms and aptitudes are included, consider communist party the most important for revolution and labourers as the most important sharp weapon for class struggle. Mao completely reversed this concept. In his view comparison of Asian country like China, could not be done with industrial west and the guidance of revolution in such society can be done primarily by farmers not by labourers. Along with this he gave importance to the revolutionary role of public liberation struggle by negating the tactics of change in power by dethronement or common strike and according to this developed the philosophy of guerrilla tactics. Here it needs to be repeated that in abstract it is impossible to refrain from taking risk of simplification of Maoist philosophy. But the fact that is being stated here, there is not much scope for misunderstanding in it. Another fact is most important.

It may be Marx or Lenin or Stalin, all their viewpoint was to export communism to the whole world after establishing the fort of communism in Europe. Every student of history remembers those discussions of Comintern when sharp Indian youth communist M.N. Roy challenged the establishments of grand Lenin. After Lenin's death and establishment of Stalin's dominance over Soviet Union, voicing of dissent or to alternatively breakdown Marx or Lenin became impossible. Trotsky paid its price with his life and uncountable honest revolutionaries were buried in the cold cemetery of Siberia. During the Second World War the most important challenge for Stalin was to keep Soviet Union immune. In other words, the national interest of communist Soviet Union was considered above the interests of all other communist parties and the interests of their country societies. African communists struggling against imperialism and colonialism were considered as puppets or scapegoats. Here we do not have the time to publish detailed list of those people who were killed in the black paths of history. Only in struggle against Maoism it needs to be remembered that Maoism was on a basic level a revolutionary attempt to coordinate between communism and nationalism. Other communists did this attempt in their country and society—Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam and Fidel Castro in Cuba. Even after getting strategic support and lifesaving economic help from Soviet Union neither did they accept to become Soviet's yesman nor did their aspiration remained of export. This fact needs to be repeated again and again because nowadays this monster is being created that the lava of Maoist violence can reach from Nepal to India and can burn us. One should remember that when Maoism was at its peak in China, then too Indian Maoists remained unsuccessful in getting help from outside the border.

It needs to be understood that if once really change of power happens in Nepal, after establishment of republic if political process is imposed then why can't today's violent Maoist Nepalis play the role of responsible members of parliament? Till today there has been no allegation of corruption or worthlessness. They have been criticized only for fierce violence. Royal violence of Nepal's government and Maoist violence cannot be weighed equal in the same weighing scale. It is true that even after renouncing violence the attitude of Nepali Maoists will remain anti-Indian for a long time. The excitement and foolishness with which Indian Government has given direct and indirect support to autocratic kingship in the name of constitutional democracy, its blow is bore by Maoists. The Indian weapons given to Nepali army have been used to destroy their own youth instead of using against any outside enemy. India's national interests can never be imposed upon Nepalis according to America's strategic definition. India's advantage is in the fact that Nepali Maoists initiate peaceful democratic revolution in its national interest. After stability and peace is reinstated in Nepal, economic development will again gain speed and hostility and enmity will certainly reduce along with the reduction of sore disparity prevalent in the society. There is no need to send specialist democrats of Indian communist party to explain this fact to Nepali friends. Foreign ministry needs to remain silent for a few days.

In the end, a small but most important fact. Haste in reaching this conclusion is dangerous that from Orissa, Andhra Pradesh to Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Bihar, a red path has been formed which will prove to be the highway for infiltration for Maoist revolutionaries. Remember the emergency in Punjab or inquiry of Jehadi entities in Jammu and Kashmir state or struggle cessation in the northeast between Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam, everywhere it is clear that without public support no disorder can be successful. Regional governments and central government

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should look inside themselves instead of stipulating every explosion of anger and dissatisfaction as foreign conspiracy. The way in which the capability of Indian Marxists is very less to influence Nepali Maoists, in the same way the power of blowing revolution's bugle in India in impactful manner is not seen by even the fiercest Maoists of Nepal. Even though keeping in mind Nepal's sensitivity the headquarters of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been established in Kathmandu but neither did Nepal-India cooperation gained boost from it nor could the speed of south Asian cooperation increase.

Civil War in Sri Lanka, Standstill in Regional Cooperation: Poor Sri Lanka has been tied in violent national civil war from last two decades. In this struggle more than 30,000 innocent lives have been lost and lakhs of people have become homeless. Detailed description of this problem of Sri Lanka has been done elsewhere and here only this needs to be clarified that Sri Lanka has never had the leisure to think in positive manner about south Asian cooperation. Especially, after Rajiv Gandhi's murder, India has remained quiet about the events of Sri Lanka. Maldives and Bhutan do not come out so much influential on any criteria of population, area and historical experience that they can take any positive initiative alone or by coming together, in the matter of regional cooperation by breaking the standstill between India-Pakistan-Bangladesh-Nepal. Afghanistan has become a formal member of SAARC a few years ago and it too has been scorching in the flames of devastating civil war from about 25–30 years. If we look at the land-related reality then this fact can be easily understood that why the description of SAARC is done in the form of a dead newborn. In totality, in south Asia the probabilities of struggle as opposed to cooperation are more clearly evident.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

The proposal for SAARC was first kept by the president of Bangladesh, General Zia Ur Rahman. This fact is clear that his real motive was to balance all the small neighbours of Asia by unifying them. It will be to ignorance to consider it as an attempt for a creative beginning. After change of power General Zia acquired power and it was important for him to take such a step to put legality robe over his administration which proves him to be a better custodian of Bengali national interest than his predecessor leaders. Bangladesh also thought that the national interest thought of Nepal and Bangladesh is similar against India in the river water conflict and probably cooperation will be possible between them because of this reason. Many scholars also believed that this initiative was taken on America's directions so that the military dictators of Pakistan and Bangladesh can be given recognition in south Asia. Meanwhile, till four-five years SAARC related activities were carried out in informal way and its formation remained abstract. It is evident that India could not take any initiative because his attempt to establish dominance over big neighbour could be rejected. Secondly, Sri Lanka and India were busy in suppression of violent brawls in internal politics. The matter of association for regional cooperation went into cold bag. The formal establishment of SAARC was done on 7th December, 1985. Until then little stability had come in the different nations of south Asia. Until now whatever diplomatic dialog had happened about SAARC and the public debates that had went on, by them agreement was formed on this matter that bipartisan issues will not be brought up in this association. First summit completed in Bangalore where it was decided that the headquarters of the association will be in Kathmandu, and first secretary will be nominated by Bangladesh. This summit was organized in November, 1986 and in it those areas were also highlighted in which cooperation was necessary and possible. The list of these areas was decided in 1983 itself in the secretary level discussion of government officials. Apart from agriculture, health facilities, weather forecast, postal services, telecommunications, transport, science and technology, sports and cultural topics were also included in this list.

In the first summit this fact was clear that it will not be easy to resolve bipartisan issues outside the summits of the association. President Jayawardene raised the topic of defining terrorism in this summit. His effort was to put India in the posture of rescue. Attempts for direct dialog between LTTE

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and Sinhal government pushed behind all other issues. In coming years, Pakistan also kept raising Kashmir conflict in SAARC summits. Because of this reason the other ambitious creative proposals of regional cooperation kept failing. It is distant to compare with European community established for regional cooperation. In comparison with the regional cooperation association of southern and eastern Asia ASEAN too, SAARC is seen as directionless and lethargic, meaningless imperial formal association. Even though in every member country a special department has been formed in the foreign ministry to encourage SAARC, it is considered to be of second grade and officials appointed here believe appointment here to be instrument of punishment.

Self Assessment

Multiple Choice Questions:

5. At the time of independence the population of India was …… .

   (a) 20 crores (b) 30 crores (c) 33 crores (d) 35 crores

6. In ……. India successfully did nuclear tests.

   (a) 1995 (b) 1998 (c) 1990 (d) 1994

7. The infiltration of India ……. entities in Nepal is most responsible in increasing tensions between India and Nepal.

   (a) supporter (b) opposing (c) leftist (d) Naxalite

8. The proposal for SAARC was first kept by the ……. of Bangladesh, General Zia Ur Rahman.

   (a) President (b) Prime Minister (c) Foreign Minister (d) Ambassador

8.3 India, South and East Asia

Starting from Myanmar linked with northeast border of India the area which is spread with its back towards the Pacific Ocean to the Philippines group of islands, is now known as south-east Asia. On the southern end of India from Andaman-Nicobar islands, the border of Sumatra state of Indonesia is only forty-fifty kilometers far and this group of thousands big and small islands is famous in the whole world with its Hindu cultural identity of 'one island'. This area situated in south of China and north of Australia has maintained strong and close contact with the Indian subcontinent from thousands of years.

Apart from Myanmar, in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia the Hindu-Buddha influence is evident in every aspect of life—mythical scriptures, language-folk arts or architecture. The 'Angkor Wat' world of Cambodia is the largest religious Hindu monument in the world and the monument of Borobudur in Indonesia is an important part of Buddha cultural heritage. Islam reached Malaysia and Indonesia via India. Around 2000 years ago Hindu influenced states had been established in this area. Thousands of years before Christ was born Indian businessmen were acquainted with this area and names like Yawadwipa, Suwarnadwipa and Poornadwipa are again and again found to be read in ancient documents. Only the area of Vietnam was such on which Chinese imprint was most clear and so it was given the name of Hindu-China. Until few years ago in the books of Indian history it was mentioned with the name of Brahattar Bharat. Indonesians consider Ramayana and Mahabharata to be a part of their historical heritage and do not believe it to be imported from any foreign land. Meanwhile, after the end of colonial era it was considered appropriate that the name Brahattar Bharat should not be used.

In the form of south-east Asia the description of this geographical area was done during the Second World War by British navy chief Lord Mountbatten when he was the secretary of a corporate headquarters in Colombo. From then this phrase became popular.

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Neglect of Southeast Asia after Independence

At the time of India's independence only three southeast Asian countries were free—Burma, Indonesia and Thailand. Malaya and Singapore were British colonies and complete China-Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam were stuck in the flames of civil war and could not be considered as fully free. Philippines was freed by America after the Second World War after being in Japanese possession but it was extremely dependent on America. Communists Chinese had revolted against British rulers in Malaya and Britishers had to declare emergency for their oppression. About twelve-thirteen percent portion of the total population of Malaya and Singapore was of Indian origin people and Indian congress had the tension of their well-being from before independence. India could not rush in playing any active meaningful role in Malaya, Singapore or Hindu-China. During the Second World War Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose formed Azad Hind Fauj in Southeast Asia and continued struggle against the Britishers with the help from Japanese. After Japan's defeat it was difficult for India to remember the memories that in most countries of Southeast Asia, the image of Japanese was of fierce oppressors. India itself had accepted the membership of United Nations after independence and it did not want to collide with Britain on the question of population of Malaya or Singapore. This should also be highlighted that Indian government did not keep any compassion towards violent freedom fights and because of this it did not show much interest in Malaya's emergency and struggle of Hindu-China as it had shown in Indonesia.

Rift in Secular Movement: Collision with Indonesia

Under the activities of secular movement it tried hard to reduce the tensions resulting from the Cold War in Southeast Asia and took meaningful diplomatic initiative in Southeast Asia to promote African-Asian brotherhood. India's diplomatic activities in Vietnam, Malaya and Singapore remained constricted till the middle of the decade of 1960. During secular movement in its first phase cooperation was possible with Burma, Cambodia and Indonesia. Unfortunately, in 1962 after military mutiny new government was formed in Burma in which the decision of recluse was made. In these days feeling of estrangement increased with Indonesia whose reasons have been mentioned elsewhere. In Chinese and Pakistani influence Indonesia probably went aloof from India. In 1962, in another mutiny Sukarno was dethroned and anti-China riots enflamed in Indonesia. The new military government that came forward, it left the path of secularism and decided to go to American pavilion. Indonesia remained secular for namesake and it chose capitalism-free trade system for its development. Because of this fact it became even more difficult for Indian government and industrialists to do trade in Indonesia or do strategic cooperation.

Malaya and Singapore became a union state in 1963 but separated in 1965. In 1965 itself, Sukarno announced the campaign to crush Malaysia by which situation became even more tense. In this year Vietnam War became strong and India also had to fight a war with Pakistan. After being defeated by China in 1962 India's image became dull and its stature became very less in Southeast Asia in comparison to China. This fact cannot be negated that those days India was struggling because of economic disparity and danger of political instability could also be seen in domestic politics. Because of the delirium of all these facts India could not display much interest in Southeast Asia even after wanting to.

Formation of ASEAN

In 1968, with inspiration from America Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed. Even though to say its motive was regional cooperation, but its real motive was to form a strong wall to stop any other powerful communism in Hindu-China and Vietnam. Learned scholars had also noted that its form was little racial too. For namesake Singapore of Chinese population had been

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included in it but its other members Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Philippines were Malayans. For years this regional association remained inactive because it was considered inspired and fostered by outside power. The quarrel which generated bitterness between Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines about the possession of Borneo Island was not over completely and nobody expected any probability of creative cooperation in near future.

Today mostly when ASEAN is mentioned in the successful projects of regional cooperation it should be considered as a happy coincidence. Fortunately Indonesia soon became wealthy by export of mineral oil and condition of Brunei also improved in the blink of an eye. Public interest dictatorship of Dr Mahadev in Malaysia and Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore increased the speed of economic development of these two countries. Socio-political tensions decreased in these two countries when prosperity increased and the matter of cooperation started being thought over. This fact can also not be forgotten that after the end of the Vietnam War it became necessary for ASEAN to look for a new role in which there was no place left for the opposition of communism. One result of ASEAN's formation and development was that lesser place remained for India in Southeast Asia. For a long time India was seen requesting that it should at least be granted special membership in ASEAN. Fast progressing Southeastern countries did not want to include poor India in their category. The attitude of a small city-state like Singapore was of wretched contempt towards India. Illegal immigrants who reached Malaysia and Singapore to work also wrecked India's image. In this complete phase from 1965 to 1984 India's foreign policy and thought-process of Southeast nations kept each other on margin.

Look East Foreign Policy and ASEAN

Change was brought in this situation when Indian Prime Minister Narsimha Rao announced the Look East foreign policy. He believed that India can brilliantly use Southeast Asia in the form of entry gate to reach Japan and Korea and in this campaign can also do profitable trade with this middle destination. Singapore is among one of the busiest ports and businessmen have easy access to economic facilities of international standards in this island. From a long time Indian professional lawyers, accountants, doctors, professors etc have been working in Singapore and Singapore's Indian citizens have accumulated wealth of prestige on the basis of their hard work and skills. Even though these Singaporean Indians have been repeating that they do not have any emotional attachment with the land of their forefathers but their presence has been enough to increase the morale of Indians. Once after reaching Singapore, reaching not only Indonesia, but Australia too becomes easy. Singapore state's air services are also of international standard and from this island very conveniently controlled air services are operated to other countries of Southeast Asia. As far as Malaysia is concerned, India is a big importer of vegetable edible oil called palm oil. Also industrialists linked with the construction of India's big roadways, bridges, dams and power plants have been getting attracted to the probability of precious contracts in east Malaysia.

Influence of Increasing Islamic Fanaticism

In recent years, Malaysia's politics has also been influenced by Islam. Especially, in northern and eastern states, fanaticism has increased and because of it relations with India have been influenced. Where on one hand Malaysia has started giving preference to Bangladeshis over Hindu Indians for cheap labourers, there for professionals it has started liking to appoint Pakistani or Australian or other whites by giving more salary than expected.

Two-three decades ago not only India, but also Malay descendant Malaysians too liked to come to India for higher level professional education. Now because of increase of prosperity by oil export it has not been impossible for them to study by going to Australia, Canada, England or America. Because of this too depreciation of relations with India has happened. In the years after independence poor Indian

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labourers working in three mines and rubber plantations used to look towards their motherland in their rough times. After two-three generations their children are now neither uneducated nor are they poverty stricken like before. For marriage also they are free from traditional bindings and in the changed political scenario of Malaysia they are eager to immigrate to Australia or western countries by looking at the probabilities of their prosperity. On many international platforms many times disagreement has been seen between Malaysia and India. Fortunately there has been a lot of improvements in this situation after Dr Mahaveer took a break and his heir sons are in favour of Malays but are not such hard custodians that Malaysians of Chinese and Indian origin consider them to be their opponents. Without displaying unrequired enthusiasm, Malaysia has tried to improve relations with India. But still because of the misuse of visa from time to time (even though lapse was unknowingly due to technical reasons) not only illegal immigrants, but prestigious businessmen also are mistreated in Malaysia. Too much probability of this fact is not seen that India can get any success in tying any special link with Malaysia.

India and Vietnam: Changing Roles

In the tenure of Smt Indira Gandhi mostly this probability was considered important that because of common thinking and strategic interests India can impose far-sighted and mutually profitable ambitious project of economic and technical cooperation. Such thinking was not baseless because in the scarcity of resources Vietnam could not think about importing expensive technology or consumer goods from any foreign country. It could also be suggested that India's middle standard technology and cheap and durable consumer goods, could prove to be quite ideal and useful for their requirements. Along with Cycles, fans, sewing machines, refrigerators, televisions, the mention of reconstruction of roads, dams and industries destroyed in war was also done in this reference.

India's cooperation was also presented in the form of best alternative for the training of medical and health facilities, agriculture and animal rearing, processing of edible goods and English language. All these facts are also repeated again and again in the context of other countries Hindu-China Cambodia and Laos. After the integration of the country Vietnam accepted the membership of ASEAN and it also clarified that it does not have any hesitation in accepting help from western capitalist countries or multinational organizations for national rebuilding and economic development. In this changed background India's role has been continuously becoming narrow. Indian industrialists and investors too have given preference to favourable, more profitable and expectedly risk-free countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, etc. in comparison to Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. This fact applies not only to Indian government's policies but also to professional organizations like CIC and FICCI.

When government of Rashtriya Janatantrik Morcha was formed then due to historical-cultural equilibrium again the relations of India with Southeast Asia started being considered important. When diplomacy heated about the ambitious project of linking Ganga and Mekong rivers the mention of BIMSTEC again started being heard. Then foreign minister Jaswant Singh raised the matter of usefulness of Thailand and Burma to improve relations with south China and to give opportunity to the northeast states of India also to become advantaged in equal manner from international trade.

Fanatic Terrorism, Political Instability and Regional Cooperation

This time too unexpected change in international affairs took away India's attention from Southeast Asia. Indonesia, the biggest and resourceful country of Islam itself, had to bear the attack of Islamic terrorism. Bomb blasts in Bali in nightclub and fanatic terrorist sabotage in the premises of Borobudur monument made this fact public knowledge that Indonesia can become the victim of explosive and contagious political instability anytime. Before the natural tumultuous calamity of tsunami good states in Sumatra too had reached near perturbing form of civil war. In East Irian and North Kalimantan

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too tribal enmity, dissatisfaction and anger have taken communal form. North Malaysia and South Thailand also have not remained untouched from fanatic Islamic terrorism. Southern Philippines has been the victim of leftist Islamic terrorism from decades. In Myanmar Aung San Suu Kyi is detained under house arrest from more than a decade and military government has been forcibly saving its existence over there.

In totality, cooperation or collaboration with India is not on the top of any country's priority list. If India has not supported democratic movement in Myanmar then only because of this reason that looking at the disturbed situation in the northeast neither it does not want to loss the strategic support of Myanmar government, nor is it ready to take the risk of any such diplomatic reform whose advantage China gets by fluke.

Today even though it is being said that in the context of international trade ASEAN is our biggest partner. This situation has been a coincidence and the necessity of the neutral assessment of these figures is remaining.

Self Assessment

State whether the following statements are True/False:

9. Apart from Myanmar, in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia the Hindu-Buddha influence is evident.
10. At the time of India's independence only five Southeast Asian countries were free.
11. India itself had accepted the membership of United Nations after independence.
12. Malaysia's politics was not at all influenced by Islam.

8.4 Africa and Latin America

One main pillar of India's foreign policy has been fraternity and unity with African and Latin American countries. So from the experience of last six decades this fact seems inappropriate that India's relations with Africa and Latin America do not seem to be conducted based upon any well-thought policy. This fact is not limited only to principles or concepts but also seems weird when based on the criteria of pure realism and in the context of national interest.

In the years after independence, one main issue of India's foreign policy has been opposition of South Africa's racist-Apartheid policy. While pursuing imperialist and colonialist policies India also supported all those freedom fighters of Africa who were fighting such war. Apart from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda in East Africa, India gave its support to Ghana and Nigeria on Western African coast. Arabic nation Egypt, situated on Africa's northern boundary not only kept getting India's diplomatic support, but Nehru did successful setting up of his diplomacy with its leader Nassir. Detailed analysis of all this has been done elsewhere, but here it is important to clarify one thing that India's diplomacy has been quite unstable in Africa. Its interest was mainly in those countries or anti-colonial struggles and movements which were or had been a part of the British Empire and where English was spoken. There was one more reason for it. In the era of English colonialism Indian bonded labourers were taken to these destinations in large numbers and in many countries the number of citizens of Indian origin was not negligible. In spite of being minority Indians were influential in economic and social life in the forms of businessmen, shopkeepers, middlemen, lawyers, doctors and administrators of lower level. Before independence also British Indian government's foreign department used to appoint its ambassador in South Africa and East Africa. Hence it is argumentative to think that India had not taken any revolutionary or developmental initiative because of 'Love for Africa', but had carried on the contacts and policies

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going on there. Yes, its important exception was South Africa where India gave full support to Nelson Mandela, leader of African National Congress and fighting patriotic war for freedom. Another reason for this interest in the affairs of South Africa has been the name of the Father of the Nation Bapu being linked with it (The beginning experiments of Satyagraha were done by Bapu in South Africa).

India's Beginning Step towards African Countries

The beginning era of false happiness and misunderstanding was ending by the decade of 1960. Only the membership of the United Nations was not enough to maintain strong relations between India and African nations. Even though India played an important military and diplomatic role in the resistance of this danger, but this was done under the provisions and orders of the United Nations. Indian foreign policy makers cannot take any credit for this. In 1965, Rhodesia's (today's Zimbabwe) leader Ian Smith announced one-sided independence and formed a shameless, white, racist government. For façade Britain and America kept on criticizing and condemning his impertinence but for the protection of their strategic and occupational interests, kept on giving them support in conscious and indirect form. It took many years to dethrone Ian Smith. By strong mutiny only he could be compelled to resign. Mugabe who took his place, thrived black racism in public attracting manner. His short-sighted, corrupt, temperamental, dictator, clan-favoring policies bankrupted Zimbabwe. By showing political understanding, India found itself incapable to criticize this decline and anarchy. Except playing cricket match with Zimbabwe no other economic or technical cooperation thematic achievement can be registered.

From the mid of the decade of 1960 Nigeria was stuck in the grip of destructive civil war. One time it started being felt that Biafra state will be separated. To enflame communal and racist tensions, Western countries have been primarily responsible, who have been feeling that the best way to maintain their possession over Nigeria's mineral oil resources is this country's division. It needs to be added here that foreigners cannot be held responsible to rule by division. This is also true that like many other countries of Africa, Nigeria too has been obsessed with its tribal pre-colonial primitive culture. In comparison with national interest, tribal loyalty or family sustenance is given importance. Whatever tribe takes over the central government, it only suggests its own people or state's welfare. Because of this economic development has been badly imbalanced.

The uneven equation of Christians vs Muslims has made this valley even more explosive. It may be Nigeria or Ruanda-Burundi or Angola Mozambique, for traders of weapons and merchants of death it has been profitable to maintain this situation of communal violence or civil war. This fact can also not be unseen that in this situation of danger American and European multinational companies have been doing relentless exploitation of natural resources without any obstructions. They only have to ensure that there is no attack or loss to their top officials-personnel or plants. This fact is also incredible that even after violence of such vast manner and for such long time, their assets or investments did not have to bear any losses.

In the context of Nigeria the mention of this fact is important so that this matter can be understood that until most countries of African continent—especially nation-states accomplished with natural resources and large in terms of population and area, are going through the phase of anarchy and instability, it is very difficult for India that it can diplomatically confront America or other western states. When civil war was going on in Angola and Mozambique, even Cuban volunteers were playing decisive role and America and Britain were accomplishing their national interests through hirelings and scapegoats. India was forced to remain blind with closed mouth. This fact is worth remembering that after remaining inactive for such a long time, now India cannot suddenly become active in African continent.

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India's Tactless Attitude and Irrational Policies

In East Africa, in Uganda when it was the rule of Amin, then many Indians were forced to become refugees after being homeless and bankrupt. Amin's government also became infamous for poisonous propaganda of black racism. In this matter also India always displayed uncommon control and unnatural sympathy. Its policy is known to be of appeasement and opportunist. After the displacement of Idi Amin too, Indian foreign ministry has not made any efforts for creating any well-thought meaningful policies to regain its 'lost position'. In Tanzania too that era has been long lost when Julius Nyerere was believed to be Indian by calling him 'African Gandhi' that the friendship of these two nations is unbreakable. Similarly, it was thought about Jomo Kenyatta (in the context of Kenya). India never showed vigilance about this matter that the fanatic communist attitude or single-party democracy in these countries is taking them away from India. In the decade of 1965 and 70, Maoist China was successful in increasing its influence here by technical help and aggressive diplomacy. Most Indians get satisfied by the fact that by handful of teachers or doctors getting jobs there, our national interest gets satisfied.

We need to go back to Nigeria again. Nigeria is an important oil producer and exporter country with whom India's friendly relations have been there. Many times Nigerian diplomats of high posts and diplomatic students studying in India have been caught in smuggling of intoxicating substances or illegal use of foreign currency. If India has been ignoring all this in spite of testimonies and proofs, it is because Nigeria is considered to be sensitive challenge in the context of energy conservation of India. A big part of the Nigerian population is Muslim and this can also not be ignored. Similar things are seen about Algeria. Although this fact needs to be immediately clarified that the conduct of Algerian diplomats or other citizens in India has never been similar to Nigerian exceptions. In Algeria too in recent years, staunch Islamic terrorism has increased like Egypt and India cannot believe its relations with Algeria to be safe only on the basis of communist secularism.

It is important to pay attention to the fact that Indian policy towards Africa is seen to be decided on at least four levels or conducted according to action-reaction principle. In first category the Arabic nation-states of African continent, with which our relations are seen to be as decided according to our West Asian policy. Libya's mention is especially important where in spite Colonel Gaddafi's staunch Islam love and terrorist revolution, India has been bypassing deplore and criticism and even after taking the danger of American anger, has always kept on trying to continue profitable economic cooperation with it. In the other category, Nigeria needs to be kept separate, which, because of its oil reserves, is kept equal to milking buffalo who can sometimes kick or hit with horns but this should not be considered wrong. In the third category, one time more is South Africa alone with whom there is strong relation of India because of historical reasons. Along with this the fact is worth remembering that in the perspective of changed globalization a new role has also risen with South Africa. It may be the export of cheap lifesaving medicines and vaccines by Indian medicine companies or via South Africa, the attempt to strengthen relations with Latin America, about all other countries India is seen to be unaware and indifferent.

Latin America

India's relations with the South American continent have never been too intimate and its biggest reason can be seen as the farness of India from this geographical area. It can be reached there after circling half of the Earth and in this condition no business can be profitable. Apart from this from last 150–200 years military dictatorship's rule has prevailed in the big states of South Africa. What is known as revolution there is mostly the synonym of dethroning mutiny. Some people believe that in the prehistoric times India had contacts with Mexico's Aztec and Inca Indians but this myth cannot be

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gathered as a proof to change history. South Africa is considered as a close relative of Latin Europe and because of this reason its another name is also Latin America. In the era of European colonialism the influence of Portugal and Spain was in Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. Chile and Peru also remained in their influence area. Some Indians who reached West Indies in the Caribbean also reached here but their numbers remained negligible. In this area in the form of oil producing country only Venezuela can be considered important but because of distance its name is kept quite low in its list in reference to Indian energy conservation.

The two big states in Latin America that are recognized in the form of regional powers, in them Argentina and Brazil are prominent. In these in Argentina after Second World War the white racist culture has been more vocal and because of not being able to quit its fascination of remaining attached with Spain, it has been difficult for India to maintain friendly relations with it. Argentina gave refuge to many Nazi war criminals who ran away from Europe and the fanaticism of a famous ruler Peron and his wife Eva Duarte also gave quite an undemocratic form to that country's politics.

Task Throw some light on India's relations with Latin America.

Coincidence of Interests with Brazil

Cooperation with Brazil has been much easier for India. Until recently Brazil like India was considered as a state on the verge of becoming a nuclear power capable in creation of nuclear weapons. It was believed that on the issue of nuclear compression, the interests of India and Brazil are similar. In recent years, there has been a change in this situation but it may be the area of environment themed diplomacy or patent system imposing disparity on the pretext of protection of intellectual property in the system of World Trade Organization, once more the coincidence of the interests of India and Brazil can be clearly seen. It may be a gathering of western countries or independent power display in comparison to Russia and China, the name of Brazil along with India and South America is continuously added in recent years. Motor vehicle device manufacturers, two-wheeler vehicle and cycle manufacturers and Indian medicine companies have started reaching Brazil by crossing long distances. With increasing tensions in western Asia, efforts to increase rapport with oil producer Venezuela's relations are also becoming evident. But as of now reaching this conclusion will be haste that these relations will be considered equally important as those with our neighboring countries, Europe, Russia, ASEAN or Korea etc. Relations with China and Mexico are limited to cultural dimensions only and Peru, Ecuador etc are just namesake. There is no probability of a change this situation soon and only satisfaction can be found by thinking that no tough challenge will be created for Indian foreign policy about Latin American affairs.

8.5 Summary

- Today the area that is called South Asia, its historical identity has been in the form of India. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were undivided states until 1947 for whose independence a united struggle was fought.
- Until a very long time, Britishers were held responsible for hostility and bicker in south Asia. Nobody can disagree with the fact that colonial powers always tried to rule by gaining from division.

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- After independence till the three decades of 1975–76, Pakistan continuously kept trying to instigate Kashmir's public against Indian central government.
- Kashmir conflict is not limited to only controversial land. Kashmir's being an indifferent part of India is also a big test of its secular identity.
- Suddenly tensions also increased in India-Nepal relations when Maharaja Birendra was murdered along with his family in the massacre of royal palace and Gyanendra took over power.
- Under the activities of secular movement it tried hard to reduce the tensions resulting from the Cold War in Southeast Asia and took meaningful diplomatic initiative in Southeast Asia to promote African-Asian brotherhood.
- One main pillar of India's foreign policy has been fraternity and unity with African and Latin American countries.
- In the years after independence, one main issue of India's foreign policy has been opposition of South Africa's racist-Apartheid policy.
- India's relations with the South American continent have never been too intimate and its biggest reason can be seen as the farness of India from this geographical area.

8.6 Keywords

- **Cooperation:** Collaboration, nature of working along with others
- **Speed-breaker:** That situation when issue's solution could not be found by dialog

8.7 Review Questions

1. Throw some light on the reasons of 'Hindu-Muslim' divided mentality in medieval period.
2. Clarify India-Pakistan misunderstanding due to Kashmir conflict and Pakistan's propaganda.
3. Comment upon 'Human Rights in Kashmir'.
4. Describe internal issues of Bangladesh.
5. Analyze different issues of India-Nepal river-water dispute and India's dissatisfaction.
6. Describe Southern Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.
7. Describe the formation of ASEAN and its works.
8. Describe increasing fanatic Islamic influence and fanatic terrorism.
9. Vividly describe India's relations with African countries.

Answers: Self Assessment

1.	Nepal	2. Britishers	3. large	4. Arya
5.	(c)	6. (b)	7. (b)	8. (a)
9.	True	10. False	11. True	12. False

8.8 Further Readings

Notes

Books

1. **International Relations** — *Prakash Chandra, Vikas Publishing House*
2. **International Relations in 21st century** — *Pushpesh Pant, Tata McGraw Hill*
3. **International Relations** — *V.N. Khanna, Vikas Publishing House*
4. **International Relations** — *Mahendra Kumar Mishra*
5. **Introduction to International Relations** — *G.M. Dar, Rajat Publications*
6. **International Relations, 1914–1950** — *Radheshyam Chaurasiya, Atlantic Publishers*
7. **International Relations** — *Manik Lal Gupta, S. Chand*