

**DDCE UTKAL UNIVERSITY**  
**M.A.POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**PAPER-VII**

**GLOBAL POLITICS: CONTEMPORARY  
CHALLENGES AND ISSUES**

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## **UNIT-1**

### **Cold War:**

#### **Introduction:**

The term cold war can be generally defined as a state of tension between two countries, in which each side adopts policies to strengthen itself and weaken the others. The cold war is a situation of a very high critical relation between two countries, where tension remains high and there is a fear of war always. It is therefore a situation of neither peace nor war.

In international relations cold war indicates a state of constant conflict and strife, suspicion and mistrust, antagonism and hostility maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed confrontation between the adversaries. Cold war is not a state of armed struggle but such a state in which the rivals, while keeping their peace time diplomatic relations intact continue their hostility. Both the antagonists adopt all means other than the war to weaken each other. It is not an armed war but a diplomatic and an ideological war. It is fought by means of political propaganda that is why it is called 'propaganda war'. The cold war is not an actual war but the danger of such as a 'hot war' is always imminent. In short it can be defined as a state of intense diplomatic, political, economic and ideological struggle short of armed belligerency and clash.

Actually cold war means the period of tension between the two super powers, the USA and USSR.

***Origin of cold war:***

Regarding the origin of the cold war there are different opinions. The term cold war was for the first time used by Bernard Bruch, an American statesman but war popularised by Prof. Lippmann. He used it for describing the tension between the USA and USSSR.

It generally believed that the cold war started after the Russian revolution of 1971. However some scholars believed that the cold war actually started after the Second World War. The main reason of the cold war has been attribute the ideological different between the two super power, where the USA tried to the pursued its policy of cheeking the communist expansion of USSR. USA took the help of democracy to check, the soviet expansion on the other hand the USSR considered the USA as the leader of the capitalist world. The USSR believed that, the USA was all set to disturbed the very existence of the USSR.

Thus military suspension between the two super power teds to a situation when both these countries tried to a situation when both these countries tried to expand their base by making the alliances and at the same time rapidly important expanding their military capability. The cold war didn't arise all of a sudden, it progressed gradually. This entire progressed can several phases and situations.

### *Causes of the cold war:*

Regarding the causes of the cold war scholars and historians are not unanimous. These causes are broadly divided into two groups. That is orthodox and revisionist. According to orthodox view soviet union is squarely responsible for the initiations of the cold war as it forcibly established communist regime in East Europe countries in the post world war II period in violation of its agreement with the western allied powers. Whereas revisionist argues that among the western nation was responsible for the cold war.

#### *Orthodox view: The USSR responsible*

1. Russian unwillingness to allow democratic elections in the territories liberated from the Nazis and super imposing communist governments there was especially in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and east Germany.
2. Russia's refusal to withdraw her forces from Iran whereas Britain and the USA withdrew their forces.
3. Soviet Union's pressure on Greece and turkey by supporting subversive activities of communist there.
4. The Soviet Union destroyed German industries and transferred costly German machine to Russia as reparation, adversely affecting already ruined German economy.
5. Their maintenance of an unnecessarily large post war armed force.

6. Discontinuation of supplies from soviet areas of occupation.
7. Their selfish and often obstructive behaviour in the new born international organisations.
8. Refusal by soviet leaders to help in post-war reconstruction in regimes outside soviet control.

***Revisionist view: The USA responsible***

Revisionist school of thought accuses America more than the USSR. The following actions of the USA displeased the Soviet Union.

1. The American military intervention in Russia in 1918-19 which was aimed at overthrowing of the Bolshevik revolution was still fresh in the memory of the soviets.
2. The American refused to inform the soviet of the Manhattan project to develop the atomic bomb.
3. The soviet suspicion was further deepened by certain acts of America in post war years. For example the united states supported previous Nazi collaborations in American occupied countries, notably Italy, and pressurised the soviet to abide by its promise to permit free elections in areas vital to soviet national security notably Poland.
4. During talks at Yalta president Roosevelt agreed that the Soviet Union can install friendly governments on her western boundaries. Therefore it is inappropriate to control that the Soviet Union expanded in the east Europe in violation of any agreement.

5. Regarding activities of the USSR in Greece, turkey, and Persia the contention held by the orthodox that Russia wanted to impose communist governments in these countries was also baseless. Because in Persia, the soviet union only wanted some
6. The revisionists hold President Truman largely responsible for the cold war. Had Roosevelt continued to be the president in the post war period the cold war could not have come to such a pass.

***Objective view: Both are responsible***

According to objective view both the super powers are responsible for the origin of the cold war. There are certain objective reasons that culminate into cold war. These are

1. ***Misperceptions***: the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union was rooted not in conflicting interests but in mutual misunderstanding. The cold war is described in terms of a property of each party to consider their own actions as virtuous and those of others of malicious. This is called as mirror images, of course resulted in conflict and distrust. The tendency of both soviets and Americans to have the same perception of each others.
2. ***Mutual antagonism***: the cold war is also seen as a product of mutual antagonism. The history of the origins of the cold war indicates that mistrust and consequent fear were the very bases of the conflict. Stalin was as cautious of the Americans as they were of him.

3. ***Ideological incompatibilities:*** another reason for the soviet American conflict was ideological incompatibilities. Many Americans were apprehensive of soviet communist doctrine. There was a particular apprehensive that communism as was an expansionist, crusading ideology intent on bringing world revolution. Soviet Union was believed in communism where as USA believed in capitalism.
4. ***Economic Interests:*** while the western bloc USA favoured capitalist economy promoting individual initiative and enterprise, where as the eastern bloc (USSR) favoured for the socialist planned economy control by the state the western nations are developed countries but their development is nourished by the explanation of poor countries of the third world.
5. ***Objective Law:*** many historians are of the opinion that it is the law of nature that victorious powers are always fought after the victory. After the Napoleonic war the victorious fought among themselves over the distribution of spoils of war.
6. ***Other Reasons:*** the leaders of the two countries were also responsible for the cold war as they saw the world differently. They imposed on events different definitions of reality. In sum they become captives of their visions of reality. Others reasons were “the emergence of power vacuum”.

### ***The Evolution of Cold War (1945-71):***



Preponderance of the cold war characterises the international relations in the post world war-II period. The evolution of cold war in this period has not proceeded in consistent manner. It has been marked by varying degrees of intensity. There are many phase of cold war.

1. ***Truman Doctrine:*** in march 1947 US president Truman announced a new doctrine- the Truman doctrine in which he pledged full US support for “free people who were resisting attempted subjection by armed minorities and outside pressures” by armed minorities and outside pressures. Its real purpose was to announce the decision that the USA will provide all help to such state as were resisting the soviet pressure.
2. ***The Marshall Plan:*** a little latter, the USA formulated and announced the European Recovery Programme Marshall Plan, for helping the socio-economic reconstruction of Europe. In reality, it was also an attempt to win over the states of Western Europe and to keep them away from communism and soviet advances.
3. ***The USSR sponsored:*** The USSR reacted strongly against the Truman doctrine and Marshall Plan. These were seemed as US attempts at establishing its power in the international relations, as well as for isolating the USSR against the Marshall Plan, the USSR was established the council of Mutual Economic Assistance for helping the economic condition of socialist states.

### ***Major issues/development in Cold War:***

1. ***Germany as the centre of Cold War:*** In respect of Germany, the USSR came to adopt a policy which was strongly opposed by the western powers. The division of Germany into Federal Republic of Germany (Pro west) and German Democratic Republic (Pro USSR) was affected in the process of attempts made by the USSR and the western powers to maintain their powers in their respective occupation zones.
2. ***Berlin issue and Cold War:*** in 1948 the cold war got manifested in the form of Berlin Blockade with a view to check western economic intervention in Berlin, The USSR decided to introduce its own economic reforms immediately. The USSR decided to apply the new East Zone currency and goods to Berlin.
3. ***Organisation of NATO and Division of Germany:*** the immediate fall out of such policies came in the form of the establishment of NATO on 4<sup>th</sup> April, 1949 by the USA and her allies and the subsequent establishment of Federal Republic of Germany on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1949. The Soviet counter move came on 7 October, 1949 when Soviet occupation zone in East Germany was declared to be the state of German Democratic Republic.
4. ***Rise of Communist China and Cold War:*** in 1949 rise of Mao's Communist Party to power in China gave a big boost to Soviet influence in the world politics and it produced a reaction in the form of the US commitment to follow containment to follow of

communism more vigorously. The USA then entered into a security treaty with Formosa china and declared it to be the real china.

5. ***Korean crisis and Cold War:*** in 1950, the Korean War provided the ground for the pursuance of cold war politics in Far East. The situation created by the North Korea provided the USA and the western powers an opportunity to attempt containment of communism by helping democratic South Korea against communist North Korea.
6. ***SETO and WARSHAW PACT;*** during 1953-63 the USA continued its policy of military and economic offensive on the pattern of NATO, it organised the SEATO and MEDO. These organisations were meant to check the spread of communism into South East, Asia and Middle East. Whereas the USSR on 4<sup>th</sup> may, 1955 was successful in organising a communist defence pact- the Warsaw pact involving eastern European socialist states. It was designed to “resist the attacks of the imperialists and capitalists”.
7. ***Nuclear Arms Race and Cold War:*** further the emergence of nuclear armament race between the USA and the USSR followed by the space race further made the cold war graver. This Nuclear weapons race created a highly dangerous situation in the periods of Cold War.
8. ***Cold War towards Hot War- Cuban missile crisis (1962):*** in October 1962 the Cuban missile crisis came to be developed

between the USA and USSR. It brought them to the threshold of a war, when the soviet missile carrying ships were on their way to Cuba, the USA in ordered the blocked of Cuba. The American govt declared that it would regard any missile launched from Cuba against any nation as an attack by the USSR on the USA requiring a full retaliatory response. On 23 October.1962 the USA decided to take all necessary steps for ending the threat to peace and security of the American continent. On 24<sup>th</sup> October 1962 the U.S Blocked of Cuban ports become effects.

Out of the three interpretations described in the previous paragraph the third one proved correct as the new cold war did not last long and the process of detente revived. In 1985 when Gorbachev came to power he presented a new political thinking to the world. Initially America was sceptical about Gorbachev's sincerity of purpose. The summit level talks between the presidents of two superpowers that were disconnected in the wake of Afghanistan crisis in 1979 were resumed in November 1985. Even since there has been a series of such summits as an annual features creating conducive atmosphere favouring cordial Soviet-American relations and reducing armed race. Geneva accord on Afghanistan was signed in 1987 and subsequently soviet troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. The same year with the signing of INF treaty between the two superpower détentes was revived. With the collapse of communist regimes in east Europe in 1989 the East Bloc withered away. In July 1991, the historic Strategic Arms

Reduction Treaty (START) was signed between President Gorbachev and President Bush to reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals by about 30 percent and marked the end of fifty-year long cold war. In December 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist as it was disintegrated and its successor Russian Federation was badly mauled by internal problems. In February, 1992 President Bush and Russian Federation President Yeltsin made a formal declaration regarding the end of cold war.

***Summary:***

Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union was to be solely blamed for the initiation of the cold war. Both were equally responsible as both were victims of their images and expectations. Each of the great powers felt threatened and each had solid reason to see the other with suspicion. All the above view points and theories are only partially correct. They reveal some aspects of Soviet-American rivalry, but not all. The origin of the cold war was due to multiple reasons and no single viewpoint can embrace all of them.

**Unipolarity and American Hegemony**

The cold war came to end in 1990s 20<sup>th</sup> century with the disintegration of communist empire Eastern Europe and collapsed of Soviet Union. This cold war which marked a deep imprint on the minds of individuals for 45 years (from end of 2<sup>nd</sup> world war to

1990). This period witnessed the power conflict between two super power USSR and USA. They both competing with each other in militarily, technology development instead of going into a hot war. But the power and influence of America dominated over Soviet Union and also over the whole world. After the war US emerged as the sole super power and the bi-polar world transformed into Unipolarity order and it is accepted that America act as a “Hegemony”.

The American century: In 1941 ‘Time magazine’ announced the arrival of the American century. A world dominated by European great powers for centuries. World now see its future shaped by US. From that period to till 1950 America prevailed it’s hegemony throughout world but it did not last long. These were some reason for which that period consider as ‘American century’ these are.

- In 1945 the USA stood alone as only the only major industrial power not devastated by war. At that time USA was responsible for over half of the world’s total product.
- For responding Nazi and Japanese military aggression the USA had turned this productive capacity into a great and powerful military machine with the world’s largest navy and air force a large high-tech army and sole possession of nuclear weapon.
- American allies in the Second World War were increasingly dependent on the USA to run their own military machine.

- The global institution like United Nations born immediately after the war were shaped and dominated by the USA.
- America creates a congenial international environment promoting its own version of collective security and liberal economy relation through 'Marshall Plan'.
- In cultural spheres American movies dominated cinema and created an image of the USA as a land of. American popular music was everywhere to be heard. Willis Conover's Jazz broadcasts on voice of America influenced several generations of European listeners.

In short the USA in 1945 possessed abundance the traditional form of military power as well as on "soft powers". But it didn't last long in 1950 it failed to materialize because of these reason

- Although the USA possessed enormous military capacity far away developed from Soviet Union. But strategic location of the Soviet Union, on the doorstep of America's fellow liberal democracies in western and central Europe gave it a potential outrage. The possibility that the Red Army might occupy Western Europe in response to an attack on the Soviet just like Soviet attack to Finland in 1939. Further after the Soviet produced its own nuclear weapon in a balance of power came between these two super power but perhaps as Churchill suggested a 'balance of terror' was established. The addition of Red China and

through decolonisation emergence of new nations caused for the disappearance of USA hegemony.

- As a cold war strategy and partly to create markets for its products and capital, USA used its economic predominance to help to rebuild the capitalist economy of Western Europe and Japanese aid programmes such as the Marshall Plan, by direct military subsidies and USA investment. The result was within a short period of time the devastated European economies were rebuilt and surpassed these previous levels of prosperity. Under American leadership the wealth of European nations particularly western European is raised and they began to compete with USA successfully and as they become richer and more powerful, were less willing to follow the USA lead in world events especially since the 1960s.
- The soft power of America began to decline along with the wealth of Western Europe, their cultural confidence also recovered. The communist party of France in the Southeast Asian region.
- In the 1950s the rock and roll preserved the dominance of American culture replaced by many alternative models provided by British youngsters' in the 1960s.

In the early 1970s the USA was certainly the most powerful state in the world, but talk of an American century had become highly unfashionable because of its defeat in the Vietnam war and the failure of the mission to rescue American hostages held in Iran in 1980.



But after 10 years things looked very different. 1stly because of dramatic changes in the strategy of USA and other reasons Soviet Union collapsed. The Regan doctrine of helping guerrillas to ensure the Afghanistan invaded by the Soviet would become its Vietnam. Further the level of arms spending on high-tech weapons was not matched by Soviet Union. Regan and George Bush very skilfully finished the cold war. But after the end of cold war these strategies in Gulf War 1990 lost its political legitimacy and consensus as it had Korean War before.

The American economy remained somewhat dominant because its major competitors Japan had problems therefore USA dominance of the critical post-industrial information technology based sector was increasingly apparent. Moreover American popular culture dominated the new entertainment media, sadly the wills of Conover was replaced by MTV and Baywatch and CNN. It was good time for declare a 'new American century'. But it didn't happen the reaction of these developments was muted Francis Fukuyama gave the most powerful account of the significance of liberal democracy defeat to communism in his thesis 'End of History' (1992) but instead of more popularising this American gave a negative attitude. Paul Kennedy in his "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers" warned the USA of the dangers of inevitable imperial overstretch and American people thinking "we all lost the cold war".

The winning of the cold war did not mean that conflict would disappear, but rather that new form of conflict perhaps more critical hard to manage would appear. The rise of post-war nationalist movements and the “Clash of civilisation” observed by Huntington contribution to this downbeat mood. But the American academic international community and especially neorealist scholars be that this American dominance would be short lived.

***Role of ideology in American strategies:***

Ideology is a major factor in determining the foreign policy of any nation world witnessed the whole world war was an ideology war between capitalism and communism. But on American strategy the role of ideology because of two factors

1stly, the power of the US makes it more likely that such ideas will be put into practice then usually the case.

A popular classification of US policy offers by Walter Russell Mead. He classified the US thinking into four categories

1. ***Hamiltonian:*** It named on the Alexander Hamilton, the co-author of the federalist papers and first US secretary of the treasury are mercantilists and close to being traditional realists in their approach to power, basically deals military intervention.
2. ***Jeffersonians:*** Named for President Thomas Jefferson, share the common view that the US is a ‘city on a hill’ a beacon to the rest

of the world but they seek to promote US values by commercial inter course and the promotion of ideas.

3. ***Jacksonian***: Named on populist president Andrew Jackson it emphasis the policy of isolation. They seek to avoid involvement in world affairs as far as possible although it should be noted that when US citizen are attacked they respond with righteous fury demanding total war and unconditional surrender.
4. ***Wilsonians***: named on President Woodrow Wilson, it believed that the US value such as democracy and the rule of law are universally applicable and seek actively to promote them in the world.

### ***Summary:***

The end of the cold war ushered in a unipolar moment in world politics as could be seen from American military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan with other major powers like Russia and China remaining silent spectator to American doing. These powers preferred bandwagon to balance of power. We found a mixture of all types on the American foreign policy. Moreover now days the most powerful of these stands is willsonian, however it divided into two verities on unilateralist/multilateralist. On multilateralism and provide the original ideas of President Wilson that US promote its values through peaceful and by international institution and peace with allies.

### ***Questions:***

- 1. Discuss the causes of Cold War?*
- 2. Discuss the causes of end of cold war?*
- 3. After the end of the cold war, there was a unipolar moment in the world?*
- 4. There has been a decline in American hegemony comment. Analyse?*

## ***UNIT-2***

### ***1. FUNCTIONALISM***

The realist theories which are considered as the building bloc theory of international politics involve power struggle and conflict among nation states. This theory divided the international system into various sovereign states. It emphasises that international system is anarchical by the sense that there is no central authority to regulate the behaviour or control authority. As a result a situation of 'self help security' comes out. Where all state found them competing with each other for more and more power. This theory becomes relevant since the end of cold war. But after the end of cold war the world think more toward co-operation, peace rather than conflict and war. At that time theory of integration emerged the very important community and to establish peace, co-operation between them.

**Exponents:** Functionalism is the oldest theory of integration. It may also be called precursor of integration theory. After the coming of neo-functionalism it becomes old or classical functionalism. Unlike realism and neo-realism the functionalist didn't believe that human nature is bad, self-centred, egoistic, etc. rather they propounded that man is rational and needs co-operation and peace more than war, because we all witnessed the devastating consequences of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. States must integrate world structure so that peace and co-operation established in the world. Functionalism is different from federalism as it lays emphasis not on creation of a world federal structure with all its constitutional structure but rather building 'peace by pieces' through transnational organisation that concentrate on 'sharing of sovereignty' to a supranational institution. The most important proponent of functionalism is David Mitrany other functionalist known Leonard Woolf, Norman Angell, G.D.H.Cole, Jean Monnet etc.

***Assumption:*** There are some assumptions of functionalism. Those are

1. Man is sufficiently rational to respond to the need of co-operation if it brings to him rewards. Men judge everything on its cost-benefit analysis and if it found that co-operation is more beneficial than war it agreed to recognising appropriate structure for establishing co-operation.

2. Man is possessed of a kind of natural recognition of the overriding importance of some ends and will select subsidiary ends which help their fulfilment. Man ultimately prefers not to kill. He prefers peace, laws and order.
3. Functionalism assumes that war is caused by poverty, misery, and despair. If these conditions that afflict human welfare are eliminated the incentive for military rivalry will recede. War is the product of a crudely organised international system based in suspicion and anarchy, national sovereignty and national exclusivism. Thus, functionalists advocate a gradual approach towards global unity that is designed to isolate and ultimately render obsolete the stubbornness of nation states.
4. Finally there is the optimistic assumption that organisations designed for a specific need or problem will disappear as the need is met. If foreign offices flourish when, in Mitrany's opinion they are increasingly irrelevant, what is to prevent international agencies from developing similar inclinations?

***Explanation:***

1. Functionalism endeavours to overcome conflict prevalent in inter-state relations including war either by focusing on economic and social welfare of the people of the world and by-passing state boundaries or by establishing international organisations devoted to the various activities and functions arising from the satisfaction of man's socio-economic needs.

The functionalist prefers to promote integration at international level.

2. Functionalist gives more precedence to socio-economic needs over politics. It emphasizes that political co-operation automatically comes if co-operation is established in socio-economic field therefore the possibility of war would be overcome. The classical functionalist believed that war is not based upon aggressiveness of nature but upon the way this nature is conditioned by the present system.
  
3. Functional theory stresses on the socio-economic and welfare needs. David Mitrany believes that functionalism is 'A Working Peace System' as it emphasizes the common index of needs. Very much such needs cut across national boundaries not a few are universal and an effective beginning for building up an international community of interest could be made by setting up joint agencies for dealing with those common needs. If by establishing various institutional organizations the welfare need of mankind may be fulfilled then men go for that.
  
4. Mitrany believed that peace and prosperity can be established through a high degree of participation. He wished to maximize welfare and participation by allowing free flow of goods, services, people and ideas through transnational organization unhindered by state boundaries. This is based on 'form should follow function' or institutional forms should grow out of

function being performed rather than a tight states system. This will be possible through neutralise the antagonism of the state by the growth of cross-cutting ties and development of a transnational community that may be international sub-national with different people working together for different purpose.

5. Functionalism is for the evolution of 'piecemeal non-political cooperation organisation' which are set up most effectively the economic, technical, scientific, social and cultural sector collectively these sectors are called functional sectors.
6. The gradual expansion of functional organisations to larger and larger areas of activity is expected to initiate a 'spill-over' effect. While elaborating the spill-over, Colombia's and Wolfe say, "if an international cooperative venture works to mutual advantage in the sector of coal and steel production, then it whets the appetite of and creates additional administrative requirements for participating government to enter into cooperative ventures in related functional areas such as transportation, pollution control, and labour legislation."

Functionalism paves the way for enhanced cooperation and ends with political unifications. Frankel adds, "this 'spill over' would not be limited in scope but that 'the learning process' would eventually affect the very core of the present international system i.e. the institution of the sovereign state. As the organisation would start in relatively unimportant non-



controversial socio-economic fields, the existence of a few such organisations clearly would not transform international society but a large number of them would become politically decisive.”

7. Functionalism goes beyond theory building and norms-building. It was put into practice by the rapid growth of international organisations from the mid-nineteenth century: in the sphere of communications (post and telecommunication and formation of the Universal Postal Union), international rivers (the Rhine and Danube) some scientific enterprises (the Geodetic Union). The healthy experience of the growth of these international unions was the reason for the distinctly functionalist provisions of article 23-5 of the League of Nations covenant. The international labour organisation was set up and the functionalist work of the League in the field of world health and refugees welfare were so successful that, after the political failure of the League, serious thought was given to reform the League to become a largely functionalist agencies- WHO, FAO, UNESCO etc- were formed during Second World War and these were loosely tied with the United Nations as ‘Specialised Agencies’. Functionalism also responsible for the growth of IGOs and INGOs alike, the latter provide essential support to the former’s effort to promote transnational promote transnational collaboration in solving socio-economic problems.

According to Coulomb's and Wolf "the fundamental assumes it is easier to establish narrow in scope functional in sectors like energy production, transportation, communication, controls, health protection and improvement labour standard etc to develop grandiose political institutional. Governments don't resist functional organisation as these political bodies are mutually beneficial for the participant states and not antithetical to national sovereignty.

8. The gradual expansion of functional organisation to larger and larger area of activity is expected to initiate a 'spill-over effect'. It means co-operation in functional sector like social, technical, scientific, etc gradually lead to non-functional like political, military, etc.
9. In this way it paves the way for enhanced co-operation and ends with political unification. This spill-over effect would not be limited in scope but that 'the learning process' eventually affect the very core of the present international system that is the institution of the sovereign states start from socio-economic field gradually goes to political.
10. Therefore people would voluntarily transfer their allegiance and loyalty from individual states to cross-national units and a new functional international society would emerge in

which major units would be based upon function rather than territory. Thus Mitrany's vision of functionalism would rule political divisions and creates an expanding network of international relations and agencies in which and through which the interest and life of all nations would be gradually integrated.

11. The strategy of functionalist tends to highlight co-operative aspects of international behaviour. They view world in terms of the politics of co-operation and reason rather than the politics of conflict and irrationality. Slowly, they expect with the accumulation of a large variety of functional organisation linking people and their interest across national boundaries, a transformation in both national attitudes and institutional will take place. Finally transnational and supra-national attitudes and institutions will obviate the nation states. The functional agencies like- universal postal union in the sphere of communication the geodetic union in scientific spheres. International labour organisation WHO, FAO, UN, ESCO, etc. functionalism also responsible to growth of IGOs and INGOs to promote transnational collaboration is solving socio-economic problem. It also includes role of MNCs and TNCs.

**Criticism:** There are some criticisms levelled against this

1. Functionalist are vague on the kind of global organisation that will emerge out of their ideas. They are ambiguous in regard to the ways the activities of the functional institution would be

co-ordinated. Their formations are of a utopian kind. The prospective of 'shrinking world' taken by the functional theory has been treated very sceptically by the critics. European experience reveals there is nothing inherently integrative in technology or economic growth perceive. The essential only in the sense of being an ideal of norm, not in the sense of predetermining the direction of change

2. According to Taylor "functionalism is not and was never intended to be, a systematic analysis". The works of functionalist are scattered far and wide in numerous pamphlets, articles and books which have rarely been brought together within a coherent theoretical framework.
3. The cause of war assumed by functionalist is questionable. Do poverty and despair cause war or does war cause poverty and deprivation? Sometimes instead of aggression material deprivation causes apathy, rivalry and enmity without recourse to violence.
4. Functionalism does not take enough account of the working of human nature in politics. It presumes a natural willingness inner goodness of human nature. Functionalism assumes that man is innately 'good and rational and devoted to common to the common weal'. This is one-sided view of human nature; actually man is synthesis of both good and evil. He may be good and rational and equally he can be irrational and selfish.

5. Functionalism criticised on the point of the time factors. Claude points out, “functionalism is not in a hurry and its claim to offer hope to the world is implicitly based upon the supposition that a long period is both necessary and available for working out solutions to the problems”. In this hi-tech world no one has the patience to wait for such a long time. People want instant solutions to their socio-economic problems.
6. Functionalism’s insistence on the separability of political and socio-economic spheres of activity is objectionable. In actual life economic and social activities cannot be disjointed from political activities. Functional strategy has not proved immune to political influence. On the contrary, structures have generally seemed more responsive to political than to economic imperatives. Pressure groups, parties and changes of regime have mattered greatly and shifts in the technological and economic foundations have allowed governmental reassessments of policy and reassertions of will. Kegley and Wittopf add, “The reality is that technical cooperation is often more severely impacted by political considerations than the other way around. The withdrawal from and the subsequent re-entry of the United States into the International Labour Organisation (ILO) because of the politicised nature of the organisation dramatised the primacy of politics. Indeed,

functionalism makes the naive assumption that technical undertakings and political affairs can be separated.

Notwithstanding the above criticism, if we don't regard functionalism as panacea, but merely as an approach, a way of building piecemeal, then in the dark clouds it is ray of hope. This was, after all the strategy followed in the European community through Schuman plan, where France and Germany, after three wars, decided they would not fight for the control of the coal and ore resources of Alsace, Lorraine, the Saarland and the Ruhr but rather develop them together with other natural partners in that area. To a large extent it justifies the functionalist action plan and the world is by far a better place owing to its success. It is also known that achievements of the United Nations are more in the non-political field through its specialised agencies than in the political sphere. This validates this theory. Though this theory is way behind in achieving its major objective of integrating the nation-state and removing the national boundaries yet the above instances show that it is not totally utopian or irrelevant.

**Summary:**

Functionalism is the oldest theory of integration. It may also called precursor of integration theory. After the coming of neo-functionalism it becomes old or classical functionalism. Unlike realism and neo-realism the functionalist didn't believed

that human nature is bad, self-centred, egoistic, etc. rather they propounded that man is rational and need co-operation and peace more than war, because we all witnessed the divasting consequences of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. Functionalist gives more precedence to socio-economic needs over politics. It emphasis that political co-operation automatically come if co-operation established in socio-economic field therefore the possibility of war would be overcome. The gradual expansion of functional organisation to larger of activity is expected to initiate a spill-over effect. It means co-operation in functional sector like social, technical, scientific, etc gradually lead to non-functional like political, military, etc. to a larger extent it justifies the functionalist action plan, and the world is by far a better place owing to its success. Though this theory is way behind in achieving its major objective of integrating the nation-states and removing the national boundaries yet the above instances show that it is not totally utopian or irrelevant.

### **2.Neo-Functionalism:**

Neo-functionalism has its recent origin in a systematic critique of the classical functionalism. It has derived many of its dynamism and substances from the success of European Economic Community and it took much of its conceptual and explanatory apparatus from the development of American political science in the fifties and sixties.

Together these three major influences were responsible for the emergence of this school of thought.

Major exponents of neo-functionalism are Ernst B. Hass, Leon N. Lindberg, J.P. Sewell, Karl Kaiser and Scheingold. But Ernst Hass has best identified mainly with this theory. His major purpose was to reformulate the older of classical functionalist's propositions in the light of three requirements. First that of making them more realistic and meaningful; secondly that of bringing them into an ordered relationship with other theoretical approaches and themes in social sciences; and thirdly, that of producing verifiable propositions which could be tested against the empirical evidence obtainable from the history of European integration.

**Assumption:**

There are some basic assumptions of neo-functionalism. Those are

1. The classical functionalism emphasis the element of agreement on consensus in society, which established homogeneity in the society but neo-functionalism, assumes that social life is dominated by competition among interests; interest groups play a vital role in integration view by neo-functionalism. They assume that integration result from an institutionalised pattern of interest politics played out within the existing international organisations.
2. The neo-functionalism theory assumes a procedural consensus groups are persuaded to pursue their interests through an agreed



framework which is an essential in the end of the integration process.

3. The neo-functionalist assumes the psychology of elites in integration, whereas the older functionalists stressed a popular psychology in an integration process leading to a universal socio-psychological community. The difference in emphasis is clear. The former is much more interested in formal institutional framework; the latter on the other hand concerned with changes in popular attitudes as the test of effective integration and thus favoured informal community model.
4. Finally the classical functionalist and neo-functionanlists differ on their assumption about politics. Classical functionalism is regarded as mainly a non-political approach to the solution of political problems neo-functionalism in contrast clearly gives precedence to the political factors in the process of merging formerly independent states.

**Explanations:**

1. Neo-functionalism thus process to reach its ultimate goal of a supranational community not by avoiding controversial issue areas but by stressing cooperation in areas that are politically controversial. It proposes to hurdle political obstacles standing in the way of co-operation by

demonstrating the benefits common to all member of a potential political union.

2. Neo-functionalists argued that political integration comes about not because of functional needs or technological change as such but owing to the integration of political forces- interest groups, parties, governments, international agencies etc, which seek to exploit political pressures in pursuit of their own interest. In specific circumstances, it is argued, the conflicts involved in such a process are resolved so as to give greater powers and competence to common organisations and increase the scope and significance of decisions taken jointly rather than separately by national governments. Neo-functionalists thus prefer to stress cooperative decision making processes and elite attitude in order evaluate the progress toward integration.
3. The initial steps towards integration are economic but this has crucial political implication in decisions as to how much national sovereignty delegated to the new union. Although differences creep up over the need to take political decisions but these differences prove harmless for integration as each interest group sees benefits in abiding by the integrative process and losses in abandoning it. Procedural consensus prevails among majority of the interest groups and expectations and demands are directed towards integration. This was reinforced by the existence and activities of the

E.E.C commission which was a central coordinating body and which the pressure groups did not wish to offend even if their attitudes towards it might be sometimes negative. In this way the whole decision making machinery is biased towards integration.

4. While rigorously explaining political integration, neo-functionalists have been very sensitive to conceptual and methodological issues. There must be systematic survey techniques upon the degree to which important elites in various countries exhibit nationalist or internationalist orientations. In particular they have been concerned with the elusiveness of what they are trying to explain. Neo-functionalists share the view that political integration is not a condition but a process of change which leads to some sort of political community. It will be pertinent to explain in brief how the major representative theorists have tackled the problem of defining the goal or end-product of the integrative process.
5. Neo-functionalists share the view that political integration is not a condition but a process of change which leads to some sort of political community.

*Joseph Nye's concept of neo-functionalism:* The work of Haas and Mitrany refined by Joseph Nye in more effective and detailed process. Nye set forth a theoretical framework for analysing the conditions for integration, drawn specially from European and non-western experiences that modified greatly the

notions of politicization and spill over found in the writing of Mitraný and Hass. Nye contribution lies in developing a neo-functionalí model based on ‘process mechanism’ and ‘integrative potential’.

Nye suggested that neo-functionalí contain seven ‘process mechanism:-

1. ***Functionalist linkage of tasks or the concept or spill-over:***

As the co-operation in one field can gradually lead to co-operation in other fields may sometime not any sign of increased co-operation because as Nye hypothesize that ‘imbalance created by the functional interdependence or inherent linkages of tasks can be a force pressing political actors to redefine their common interest/tasks’. However such redefinition of task does not necessarily lead to an ‘upgrading of common task’. Thus, if the linkage of tasks can cause spill over, it can also produce spill over back. For ex where elite and interest groups that benefited in the earlier stages of the integration later become reluctant to take additional integration steps when growth rates dropped off.

2. ***Rising Transactions:*** The process integration increasing transactions, including trade, capital, movement,

communication and exchange of people and ideas. Here Nye emphasis rising transactions need not lead to a significant willing of the scope of integration but to increase the central institutional capacity to handle a particular task.

3. ***Deliberate linkage and coalition formation:*** Nye again emphasis on accentuated spill over, in which problem are deliberately linked together into package deals not because of technological necessity, but because of political and logical projections and feasibilities. Nye points to politicians, international bureaucrats and interest groups efforts may promote integration they may have a negative effect if an issue identified with integration decline.
4. ***Elite socialisation:*** Nye emphasis the growth of supply for integration arising from elites who have participated actively in an integrative scheme. The extent to which integration will determine the level of their socialised. The integration process becomes success if the elite become more socialised towards integration.
5. ***Regional group formation:*** Regional integration stimulates the creation of both formally of informally non-governmental groups of transnational associations.
6. ***Ideological and identities appeal:*** The establishment of sense of identity represents a powerful force in supply of regional integration, because when small nations join in an

integration process they get an identity they also join together different ideology and helping process and integration because they will benefited in a continuing basis.

**7. *Involvement of external actors in the process:*** Nye stresses the importance of external actors and their active involvement in integration process. He notes the importance of outside governments an international organisation and of non-governmental actors in regional integration schemes.

Nye further provides four conditions that influence the integration scheme what he speaks “Integrative Potential”.

- 1. *Symmetry or economic equality of units:*** those who are participating in integration process must have symmetrical development in various aspects like economic off in per capita income etc.
- 2. *Elite value complementarity:*** The value levels of the elite groups of various units must be homogeneous and they have worked together effectively on a transnational basic rather than contradictory basic.
- 3. *Existence of pluralism:*** According to Nye “the greater the pluralism in the member states, the better the conditions for an integrative response to the feedback from the process mechanism”. The integration structure must be multi-centric but

there is not complete dissolution of statehood centric but there is not complete dissolution.

4. ***Capacity of member states to adopt and respond:*** The higher the level of domestic stability and the greater the capacity of key decision makers to respond to demands within their political units also affects the process of integration.

Finally four conditions are likely to characterise the integration process over time:

1. ***Politicization:*** the means by which problems are resolution an competing interests are reconciled or the extent world the beneficial are sufficiently equitable widespread.
2. ***Redistribution:*** it is the phasing of changes in status and economic benefits among the groups within the integrated units.
3. ***Redistribution of Alternative:*** it means when the elite think that the integration process stopped then they alternatives which are less beneficial then the integration process. Therefore they rejoined in the process.
4. ***Externalisation:*** this is the extent to which member of integrated unit find it necessary to a common position on issues in order to deal with non-members.

***Summary:***

Neo-functionalism has its recent origin in a systematic critique of the classical functionalism. The neo-functionalism theory assumes a procedural consensus groups are persuaded to pursue their interests through an agreed framework which is an essential in the end of the integration process. Neo-functionalism shares the view that political integration is not a condition but a process of change which leads to some sort of political community.

***Questions:***

- 1. Discuss the basic assumption and explanation of functionalism?***
- 2. Discuss the basic assumption and explanation of neo-functionalism.***
- 3. Integration is possible through peace through pieces. Analyse?***

***UNIT-3***

***Terrorism***

***Introduction:***



For a last few decades, terrorism has become a great problem in international relations. Terrorism is now a new phenomenon in both domestic and international politics. Since the dawn of civilisation it has been used as a tool to achieve political ends. It has emerged as a global problem and cause of concern for international community only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More especially it becomes an international problem since 1950s and after the attack on world trade centre in 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002 the concern for world terrorism felt more. Now all the states of the world joined hands for fight against terrorism and it become an important agenda in united nation for global concern. We may also say the process of globalisation make terrorism globalised in post-cold war era. Today terrorism is not just confined within the territorial limit of nation but literally internationally in that its range is transnational. Its membership is worldwide, its networking is global and target can be anywhere anytime.

***Meaning of terrorism:*** The concept of ‘terrorism’ is basically based on a state-state centric concept and totally based on legitimate-illegitimate dichotomy. This concept of terrorism is totally a state centric concept. According to Max Weber ‘the state has the legitimate monopoly to use violence or force within the territory of state’ all other organisation within the state have no power to use force or violent method and if they used is illegitimate. Therefore, terrorism belongs to the act of group of individual who trying to have the monopoly to used violence and force. This today

it is considered that whatever may be goes against the state is called terrorism because of that the attack on America's world trade centre is considered as act of terrorism from a state-centric prospective because of that it is considered as orthodox view of terrorism.

***Approaches to expanding to terrorism:*** There is a multitude of situations capable of cause terrorism. We found terrorism among deprived and uneducated people and among the affluent and we find among psychotic and normal healthy people and among people of both sexes and of all ages. Terrorism occurs in rich as well as in poor countries. In the modern industrialised world and in less developed areas, during a process of transition and development prior to or after such a process in former colonial states and in independent ones, and in established democracies as well as less democratic regimes. The terrorism is an worldwide phenomena spread through the globe.

Effort should be made on the cause of terrorism why terrorism occurred in such a growing speed, when all are capable of find out the cause of terrorism then only we are capable of find out the cause of terrorism then only we can go for its solution and because of it we must have a 'root debate prospective' in the cause of terrorism. We are confronted with different level of explanation as well as goes through various theories.

***1. Psychological Explanation:*** The individual and groups levels of analysis aims mostly on psychological explanations some major

tasks of this field would be to identify why individual join a terrorist group and 2ndly why they continue to stay the group and other related questions are who the terrorist are? A specific terrorist personality? Etc. There are two main theories. These are

a. ***Psycho-Pathological Theories:*** The basic assumption of this is “non-violent behaviour is the accepted norm and those engaged in terrorist activist therefore necessarily must be abnormal. Several researchers of psychology by study behaviour and profiles identified a distinguishable terrorist personality: spoiled, disturbed, cold and calculating, perverse, excited by violence, psychotic, manic, irrational and fanatic are character traits frequently claimed to be typical to the terrorist. This theory have been much criticised not only for divesting terrorism completely from the socio-economic and political setting but also on empirical grounds.

In diagnosing terrorist as mentally disturbed individuals, and portraying terrorism as violence just for the sake of violence itself, explanations have been much criticised not only for divesting terrorism completely from the socio-economic and political violence so far have failed to give any viable psychological explanation of the violent personality. Several researchers have pointed to the conclusion that “the best documented generalization is

negative; terrorist don't show any striking psychopathology".

***b. Psycho-Sociological Theories:*** This theory focus on the influenced of environment on individual behaviour. Wilkinson argues that explanations of terrorism should concentrate on the social context of terrorist. Crenshaw too argues that psychological variable must be integrated with environmental factors on various levels in order to reach a comprehensive theory of the cause of terrorism. Her argument is that though terrorism initially as a matter of individual motivated and perception of social conditions and about the deliberate choice of the individual to join a terrorist group to participate in acts of terrorism and continue engaging in terrorist activity.

A very common thesis is that the decision employ terrorism is a result of failure of other attempts of influence the government through other non-violent their grievances and it known by a learning process from own experiences and the experience of others because of that they choose the way of extra-ordinary violence method to influence the decision making process and structures. She further argues that thesis illegal influence is actually possible and inspire

when a terrorist attack become successful and it create a belief among perpetrators that terrorism might be a belief among perpetrators that terrorism might be short-cut to revolution and it act as a catalyst not substitute to mass revolt. The decision to employ terrorism may also be ideologically grounded to revolutionary theories in which political violence plays an essential role in sparking off a mass uprising popular revolutionist also used as useful agenda setting function of terrorist it also provides a window of opportunity by determining why sub-states groups turn to terrorism against the regime.

***Relative deprivation theories:*** It is a version of psycho-sociological research tradition. This theory propounded the of Aristotle, Tocqueville, and Freud's theory of revolution that the political violence originated from frustration. Dollard et all assumed it. Later, Galtung argued that the situation most likely to provoke aggressive behaviour is one in which individuals find themselves in a state of disequilibrium along various socio-political dimensions of status. According to Ted Gurr the relative deprivation or aggressive behaviour occurs from the gap between expectations and satisfaction.

***The Contagion Theory of Terrorism:*** These theories explain the variance in terrorist's decisions to launch terrorist. A number of studies have demonstrated that occur of terrorism is far from

random but there is a clear trend of periodical cycle in the occurrence terrorist attacks of terrorism. A high level of terrorism in one month is to be followed by followed by few incidents in the next month suggested that the decision by terrorist groups to launch an attack is influenced by similar attacks elsewhere this concept contagion is given by Weimar and Brosius. This concept of terrorism is because of:

***Mass Media and Terrorism as Communication:*** The term itself is a communication method. Several scholars have reconceptualised the phenomena of terrorism in the form of symbolic communication. As Brian Jenkins has noted that “terrorist do not try to take and hold ground or physically destroy their opponent’s forces. While terrorist may kill the object is not mass murder but terrorism is a theatre.

This perspective on terrorism has been developed further to explain the sudden increase of international terrorism in the late 1960s. One assertion frequently met in the literature on international terrorism is that the introduction of new electronic mass media, especially modern hand-held Television cameras was a crucial facilitating factor in the rise of international terrorism in the late 1960s, while the underlying causes lie elsewhere. These technological innovations enabled media reporters to bring live coverage of dramatic events directly into the living rooms of millions of peoples. According to Hoffman,

the emergence of new broadcasting technologies enabling news networks meant that the media revolutions presented terrorist groups with unprecedented opportunities for media attention and publicity.

***The Contagion Theory and The Spread of Terrorism:*** The thesis of contagion is used to explain why the occurrence of terrorism in one country often leads directly or indirectly to more terrorism in other countries, whether in some organisation or by second generation groups. Crenshaw maintains that attitudes and beliefs that condone terrorism are communicated transnational. Redlick argues that “information flows thus seem to benefit militants of discontented individuals or groups in today’s international system” in several ways. So Crenshaw argues that the roots of terrorism in various national contexts are not completely, hence events in one country may inspire to copy in others.

Moorhead Kennedy has also suggested similar effects of improvement in communication: disaffected groups “find ways to communicate and bond to the extent that there is little hope for ameliorating of their situation, terrorism on a wider scale becomes increasingly possible in the next century.

In the sum both empirical observations and studies of patterns of terrorism appear to give some credibility to the

contagion thesis, which points out increased transnational flow of information and symbolic relationship between modern mass media and terrorism may cause increased terrorism.

***Societal Explanations:*** On the societal levels of analysis, explanations of terrorism are primarily sought in the history development and culture of a large society or system and in its contemporary social, economic and political characteristics and environments. Author of societal explanation frequently distinguish between precipitations and precondition of terrorism immediately precede the outbreak of terrorism in long run. These circumstances are again sub-divided into permissive factors, which provide opportunity for terrorism by enabling a certain strategy and making it alternative to political actors and direct situation factors inspiring and motivating terrorists. Crenshaw illustrates the use of this classification of types of factors conducive to terrorism. Her starting point is that there are some social and political conditions that make terrorism more likely to occur. She identifies modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and the fundamental changes these developments brought to society as being preconditions of terrorism creating opportunities, vulnerabilities and motivation. Crenshaw also discusses various direct causes of terrorism like the existence of



grievances among a subgroup, discrimination and lack of opportunity for political participation and elite disaffection.

Treating terrorism as a social-political phenomena analysis at these levels usually acknowledge at a theoretical level the ultimate importance of the individual and on psychology processes at the lower level of analysis. However practical integration of individual and societal levels of analysis has traditionally been a significant problem for research on terrorism on terrorism resulting in theories taking the influence of psychological factors for granted without further accounting for such influence in the analysis.

***The impact of modernisation:*** Modernisation and globalisation increased the process of political violence. The sociologist Emile Durkheim argues that this modernisation process transition the pre-modern organic solidarity to the modern mechanic society. In pre-modern society, individual think himself as an inseparable part the whole society but now he becomes mechanical method. This transition has an effect on society and that may weaken the legitimacy of the state and ultimately promote conflict the use of political violence and terrorism.

Another line of argument liberal theory claims that modernisation leads to prosperity and political development- both in turn generally expected to be social conditions conducive to stability and the absence of violent conflict. Originally being a theory of casual mechanism in interstate relations, as put forward and tested by Erich Weede and others, the liberal model has also proven useful employed to domestic relations. In short the theory claims that free trade and an open economy will foster a high level of economic development. A prosperous developed economy will in turn lay the ground for democratic rule, which again together with a high level of economic development is argued to have a stabilising effect on internal affairs and ultimately promote domestic peace.

Modernisation theories are often very complex covering a whole range of social, economic and political factors. Within this broad theoretical framework, some focus on the level of industrialisation, globalisation and the capitalisation of the economy, while others emphasis the process of change itself or the social consequence of these processes such as urbanisation and social mobility, development of communication networks, specialisation, rapid economic growth and increasing economic inequality internationalisation of culture, denationalisation and increasing interdependency.

***Rapid Economic Growth and Terrorism:*** the process of economic modernisation and growth causes of political violence and terrorist. This model proposed that economic modernisation influence society in such a way that individuals are willing to resort to terrorism. This dissolution effects of modernisation on existing social norms and structures, through the rise of a society in which individuals finds themselves alienated from social bonds, without any recognised structures of organisation and influence, to the mobilisation of frustration lead into terrorist attack factor. A prominent example of such a modernisation model is same Huntington's classical study 'political order in changing society'. Huntington argues that "not only does social and economic modernisation produce instability but the degree of instability is related to the rate of modernisation...For example wherever industrialisation occurred rapidly, introducing sharp discontinuities between the pre-industrial and industrial situation, more rather than less extremist working class movements emerged. Huntington observed that the speed of modernisation has been much higher in the non-western world and argued that the heightened drive for social and economic change and development was directly related to the increasing political instability and violence that

characterised Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the years after the Second World War. Hence the causal directions tend to be for the occurrence and extent of terrorism to be higher in countries that have the highest rate of economic growth.

Wilkinson too points to the relationship between what he calls “the stresses and strains of rapid modernisation tending to accentuate socio-economic relative deprivation and the occurrence of terrorism.

***Economic Inequality and Terrorism:*** Economic inequality is another modernisation related factor that has been claimed conducive to terrorism both in developed as well as less developed countries. In 1835 Tocqueville argued that ‘almost all the revolutions which have changed the aspect of nations have been to consolidate or to destroy social inequality. So we can say that today’s terrorism is for destroying inequality. Tocqueville identified two opposing routes through which inequality might have an impact on revolution- through the aim destroying it. The theoretical argument is clearly rooted in relative deprivation theory an related hypothesis. Several studies have concluded that there is a positive correlation between inequality and armed conflict- that is a tendency for countries with high level of internal inequality to be more exposed to armed conflicts.

This also appears to be case for political terrorism. Engle finds a clear tendency for higher levels of terrorism in those countries in which income is most unevenly distributed.

***Democracy and Terrorism:*** Democracy based upon freedoms openness and popular participation, democracies tend to enjoy greater legitimacy among their population. Hence dissatisfaction rarely reaches a level of serious the existence of regime. In addition democratic systems have dissatisfaction can be directed. Therefore we would expect a high level of state legitimacy and a low occur in low measures of freedom and democracy. On the other hands the democratic system emphasising universal of the majority dictatorship in practice. This problem arises for minority suppression and they lead to motivated for using violence. Crenshaw has argues that semi-democratic regimes are particularly exposed terrorism.

***Causes of terrorism on the international stage:*** in early period terrorism considered as a group of individuals who go against the state and used violence method against the state with the territory of state but in a global issues. Various nations affected by the same conditions make it global. One common argues is that the fierce competition between the super power during the cold war and the existence of nuclear arms international terrorism a preferred weapon in the struggle for global hegemony. Hence the super power sponsored for communist and anti-communist guerrilla movement and violent method

opposition groups worldwide played a crucial role in sustaining a high level of international terrorism.

1. Israel-Palestine Rivalry: one of the foremost causes of the growth of terrorism in the contemporary world is enmity between Israel and Palestine. Newland points out, “a most viable and deeply saddening inspiration for expanding global terrorism is the escalation of generation long, tit for tat, more one eye-for-an-eye conflict between Israel and Palestine, which have blinded both to the human roots of their historically great cultures, now plunged into natural degradation, if not destruction.
2. Colonialism: Terrorism is also a result of many years of brutal suppression, physical torture and culture dehumanisation which is used by colonial power in a foreign country. In the process of anti-colonial struggle for national struggle for national liberation, violence and terrorism became the ultimate tactics. Terrorism is brought about where and when an open political participation is not possible on account of severe oppression.
3. Extension of Guerrilla Strategy: many a time terrorism was employed by revolutionary leaders as an extension of guerrilla tactics played very important role. Wilkinson clarifies that this does not imply terrorism of even agree with the principle unless it is extremely carefully supervised.

4. Fundamentalism: religion has become the main motivating force terrorism across the globe. In 1930s and 1940s the underground Jews in Palestine who were forcible expelling Palestinians in pursuance of the objective of setting up an Israel state were described as terrorists. From 1950 onwards, the armed resistance of Palestinians.
  
5. State sponsored terrorism: In the literature on terrorism school of thought assigns great weight to the influence of “state sponsored terrorism” as an explanation for the growth of international terrorism since the 1960s. Since clandestine group often face a funding problem, “substantial financing may be a precondition for international terrorism as well as contributing cause of it. Hence contemporary international relation terrorism is seen as driven primarily by the material and financial support and propaganda assistance provided by states or government sponsors. This was a popular explanation especially during the Regan administration, who pointed to the soviet role in sponsoring international terrorism. The thesis drew evidence from works such as Claire Sterling, *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism*, but has come under heavy criticism especially from the radical left, who viewed the US role in sponsoring anti-communist

guerrillas as the other side of the coin. Both schools assigned, however a significant role to state sponsorship.

6. **Hegemony and Bipolarity in World Politics:** Until recently this thesis has not been rigorously examined. A 1997 study of Volgy, Imwalle and Corntassel, looks at whether “hegemony capabilities, acceptance of hegemonic leadership, bipolar conflict, bipolar balance and contagion effects can account for variations in international terrorist activity. Their results show that hegemonic control is significant and that change in hegemonic capabilities- measured by the hegemony’s share of the world’s economic and military capabilities-demonstrate a strong effect on terrorist frequency. Regarding terrorist intensity both bipolar balance between the superpowers hegemonic support, measured by surveying patterns of voting in the UN and hegemonic capabilities account significantly for variation in the intensity of global terrorism. Of the three independent variables, hegemonic controls over systematic resources still remains important in accounting for the frequency of terrorist activity even when the hegemon is no longer the direct target of terrorism.

7. ***Weak and Collapsed States:*** while state sponsorship and hegemonic rivalry may have encouraged the growth of international terrorism, the existence of weak and collapsed states also seem relevant explaining international terrorism, although theoretical studies in this field are scant. Weak and



collapsed states whose main characteristic is the absence of a central government authority controlling most of its territory, often attract both domestic and foreign insurgent groups and have in some cases been a major training ground for international terrorist organisations. Lebanon became the host of a truly international network of revolutionary guerrilla movement and terrorist organisations, including both organisation with a local or regional cause, such as the Palestinian groups and Islamic resistance movements and organisations such as the Armenian ASALA and Japanese Red Army. During the 1990s Afghanistan, ravaged by civil war, has also become an important training ground and safe haven for a number of insurgent groups and terrorist organisations. Hence there is much empirical evidence that the existence of weak and collapsed states might encourage both the spread of internal conflicts and international terrorism.

### *Some other reason for this*

1. State sponsored ship of terrorism
2. Hegemony and bi-polarity in world politics
3. Weak and collapsed states

### *Summary*

Terrorism is now a new phenomenon in both domestic and international politics. Since the dawn of civilisation it has been used as a tool to achieve political ends. It has emerged as a global problem

and cause of concern for international community only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More especially it becomes an international problem since 1950s and after the attacked on world trade centre in 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002 the concern for world terrorism felt more. Key counter terrorism strategies include the strengthening of state security, the use of military repression and political deals. State security and military approaches have often been counterproductive and have provoked deep controversy about the proper balance between freedom and security. Effective solution to terrorism has usually involved encouraging terrorists to abandon violence by drawing them into process of negotiation and diplomacy.

## ***Environment in International Politics: Green Politics***

### ***Introduction:***

“Man is a social animal, who live without society may be God or Beast” this is the framework analysis Aristotle. This viewed the relationship between man and social or environment inseparable and interrelated. Environment- the things around us affecting and influencing as and motivating us for our smooth functioning. Man is a part of this great, beautiful, wonderful world along with other living and non-living beings. God created all equal important and inter-connected with each other. But we have being because of our thinking

power considered as the master of the world and trying to masteries over other because which stand us into the door step of our own destroyed along with the whole world, because we human being destroying other thing in particular and the whole environment in general which helps us for our survival. Because of degradation of environment the question put on the survivalist of human being in the earth because of our development a luxurious living style.

Environment in World Politics: the whole concerned of western world on the relationship between human behaviour and nature based upon the view of John Locke that “man should mastery over nature and subjugate nature for its own benefit”. On this concept industrial revolution started in western world in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century.

“As human nature is selfish, self-centred and egoistic in the vital nature of Hobbes and Locke human being trying to exploitate the nature in the name of ‘Development’”.

The concept of ‘Development’ in western capitalist countries based on the ideas of Hobbes and Locke that man should mastery over nature and the Newtonian concept of matter. Man considered nature as “fixation of human intelligence in for the bitterness of the human being”. Because it look nature as nothing but a matter and to control over matter lead to mastery over universe over universe propounded by Newton.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century to till today, thought four hundred year. Man exploited nature. It makes its life more luxurious and better way of

living in the cost of environment in the name of ‘development modernisation’ ‘industrialisation’ etc. This destruction of environment is a result of limitless intervention in the very functioning of the nature. It is called ‘anthropocentric’ where men have the primacy over environment and it also emphasis that modern concept of development based on “fossil fuels technology’ which causes destruction of environment. This environment crisis made a intellectual to rethink about the relationship between men and nature. In this very and it also called ‘green politics’. As environment crisis not limited into the territorial limits it enter into global politics also.

### ***The rise of Green Politics:***

Environment politics or green politics can be traced back to the, industrialisation of the nineteenth century. This environment crisis makes the world a spaceship earth- where the resources are very limited and there is no outside supply. This resource is very limited for a period and when the period is over all died. Further, Scientist are predicted that up to 2050 all resources of the earth will be over because the present concept of development based on exploitation of non-renewable resource the cost of renewable resources. Further it is the 20 to 25 percent world population of west who exploited 80% of world resources. This is known as ‘Tragedy of commons’ –as resources are all, the rich countries exploited as much as possible because of 400 years of exploitation environment crisis occurred.

After the 1960s and 1970s, environmental movement emerged as important issues in global politics, particularly in western developed nations. This movement are very much influenced by some works of Green politics included Rachel Carson's silent spring (1962) a critique of the damage done to wildlife human world by the increased use of pesticides and other agricultural chemical. Murry Bookchin's 'our synthetic environment'. This period of the 1960s and 1970s also show the birth of a new generation of activist and so-called 'economic groups campaigning on issues such as the dangers or pollution dwindling reserves of fossil fuels, deforestation etc. these environmental problems generally address on three problems:

1. **Resource problem:** Attempts to conserve natural materials reduction of the use of non-renewable resources (coal, natural gas etc), increasing the use of renewable resources and reducing population growth.
2. **Sink problem:** Attempts to reduce the damage done by the products of economic activity through reducing pollution level increasing recycling and developing less polluting technologies.
3. **Ethical problem:** attempts to restore the balance between mankind and nature through wildlife and wilderness conservation, respect of other species changed agricultural practices.

Because of these problems various environment related problems emerged. Those are - global warming, deforestation, climate change.

Ozone layer hole, Acid rain, Green house effect, Soil erosion, Sea level rise etc. These all are non-traditional and non-state security threat. These threats are more dangerous than nuclear weapon and even they have no respect for territorial boundaries.

### ***Relation between man and nature:***

This is a major concern that what is the relation between nature and human being till 1970s, this relationship based on exploitation of nature for the development of human being a zero sum game where one win out of loss of another. But this environment crisis makes a revolution between man and nature. There are two broad approaches on this:

1. ***Unity approach:*** this unity approach based upon the idea that nature and human being are same they are both complementary to each other and inseparable the development of human being is only possible with the development of nature and within nature
2. ***Opposition approach:*** This approach is opposite to unity approach and gives a position of human being against nature. It based upon the idea that nature is nothing but matter and human being used environment for its better way of life.

### ***Environment and International Relations Practice:***

Environment issues have also affected the course of actual international relations for the past few decades. Their major impacts on international relations are:

1. ***Sustainable Development:*** With growing concern for environmental degradation among people and nations of the world, the term ‘sustainable development’ is becoming very popular. Solution to the problems caused by ecological imbalances is found in sustainable development. Thus this term is in vogue in recent years at both national and international levels. Brundtland report says, “Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet of the future.
2. ***The North –South Divide:*** Environment debates in different international forums and conferences witnessed the North – South divide and hierarchy. Disagreement between North and South out-weighed their agreement on the nature of global environment problems. Wide-ranging differences between them on a number of issues such as causes of global environmental degradation, mechanisms of arresting ecological crises etc, remain. While some perceive underdevelopment of third world countries argue that the very process of development along the lines of industrial progress has been instrumental in environment negotiations.
3. ***Politicisation of Environment Issues:*** The environment negotiations gradually became politicised in the 1990s and the countries, which pledged for action to mitigate for example the impact of climate change, were willing no more to stick to

their words. During this period the issues of climate change got entangled in the controversy surrounding widening differences in perception over the issue between developing countries especially regarding the measures to mitigate the impact. The developed states led by the US were of the view that “climate change is a common technological and economic problem and it is caused by Green house gas emission. It could be tackled by providing aid and encouragement of new technologies in developing states.

4. ***Divergent Views of Developed Countries:*** Even the developed countries have divergent views on many environmental issues. For example the tough stand against the carbon dioxide emission by European states was mainly due to awakening among the people regarding the likely impact of climate change. Moreover “growth of Green Parties in more than two third of the European countries including Germany, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Finland, Italy, France and the Netherlands worked as catalyst in Europe,” observes Sebastian. The US proposed this tough stand taken by European countries due to its position as the world’s largest producer of coal, oil and gas and the presence of well organised interest groups from this industry which play vital role through financial support during electioneering period.
5. ***Environment Management standards:*** In early 1990s the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO)



established a technical committee ISO/TC 207 environment management system to bring out standing relating to environmental practices in organisations.

6. ***Earth Day and World Environment Day:*** April 22 is a day dedicated not just to recognise the beauty and riches of the earth but also to make the earth a healthier and safer place to live. Speeches, workshops, parades and demonstrations on the occasion of the Earth Day have brought awareness about the dangers of overpopulation, energy waste and other issues of vital concern. Earth day was first observed on April 22, 1970 with the message “Give Earth a Chance” and intention to reclaiming the purity of the air, water and living environment.
7. ***Global Initiations, Conference and Summits:*** The United Nations has been seized of the seriousness of the environment problems and hard taken a series of initiatives. Several international conferences and summits were also convened to discuss and find solution to problems like global warming, climate change, water and air pollution, sustainable developments etc.

Major ones are discuss below:

- ***The Stockholm conference:*** it was in this background that the United Nations Environmental Agency organised the international conference on Human Environment, at Stockholm from 5 to 14 June 1972. It was attended by

representative of 114 nations. The conference adopted the motto “only one earth” for the entire humanity. The conference declared June 5 as the world environment day.

- ***The first world climate conference 1979:*** It was a scientific gathering that recognised climate change as a serious problem; issued declaration calling the government to prevent potential man-made changes in climate established a World Climate Programme under the joint responsibility of the world Meteorological organisation, UN environment programme and the International Council of Scientific Unions.
- ***An Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC):*** It was established in 1988. A number of intergovernmental conferences focusing on climate change were held in the late 1980s and early 1990s. IPCC released its First Assessment Report in 1990 which, after an exhaustive peer review process confirmed the scientific evidence for climate change and suggested possible response strategies.
- ***Nairobi Conference 1982:*** in 1982, UN Conference on Environment was held at Nairobi. The conference adopted a report entitled “The World Environment 1972-82”. It was a stock-taking exercise.
- ***The Rio summit 1992:*** The UN convened “Earth Summit” at **Rio** de Janeiro to foster “our common future” from June 03 to 14<sup>th</sup>, 1992. The conference was attended by 175 heads

of states, 10,000 govt mission and 20,000 NGOs. The 6 basic conspicuous issues were:

1. Green house Gas Emission
2. Forests
3. Population
4. Technology
5. Transfer
6. Finance

The earth Summit ended with the adoption of the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21-a blue print for sustainable development.

- ***Kyoto Summit (Japan) 1997:*** The conference was meant to set a framework for international action to mitigate global warming for at least next 10 years.
- ***World Summit on Sustainable Development,2002:*** The World Summit on Sustainable Development held from August 26 to September 4, 2002 in Johannesburg, South Africa was described by the advanced countries as a “resounding success”. But the developing countries, non-governmental organisation and environment rejected the Johannesburg Declaration as “the worst political sell out in decades”. The ten day event that drew more than 60,000 participants from 185 countries was follow-up to the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992, which put forward 2,500 recommendations the majority so which have not been implemented.
- ***Bail Conference:*** The 13<sup>th</sup> conference of Parties (COP-13) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) held in Bail (Indonesia) from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> December 2007 was primarily meant to be a precursor to the port Kyoto

framework for climate change. Under the Kyoto Protocol, countries actual emissions have to be monitored and peruse records of trades carried out have to be kept.

### ***Summary:***

Many environment issues now have a crucial transnational dimension. No doubt several measures with regard to environment protection have been initiated at the international level yet there is much scope by inequality of bargaining power between the north and the south. With the diminution of national sovereignty in the developing countries due to globalisation, this inequality has further accentuated. Both developed and developing countries must involve themselves in serious negotiations for achieving good and pollution free life for the future generations. Sustainable development need not wait for furthers technological breakthrough, green technologies, renewable resources of energy and other alternative solutions available in the present can be utilised for a good start.

### ***Questions:***

- 1. Discuss the causes of terrorism from various perspectives?*
- 2. Discuss the various causes of international terrorism?*
- 3. Environment change leads to violent conflict. Analyse?*

## ***UNIT-4***

### ***Human Rights***

International politics has traditionally been thought of in terms of collective groups, especially states. Individual needs and interests have therefore generally been submitted within the larger notion of the 'national interest'. As a result, international politics largely amounted to a struggle for power between and amongst states with little consideration being given to the implications of this for the individuals concerned.

Many cultures and civilizations have developed ideas about the intrinsic worth and dignity of individual human beings. However, these theories were traditionally rooted in religious belief, meaning that the moral, worth of the individual was grounded in divine authority, human beings usually being seen as creatures of God. The prototype for the modern idea of human rights was developed in early modern Europe in the form of 'natural rights'. Advanced by political philosophers such as Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke (1632-1704),

such rights were described as ‘natural’ in that they were thought to be God given and therefore to be part of the very core of human nature. Natural rights did not exist simply as moral claims but were, rather considered to reflect the most fundamental inner human drives. By the late eighteenth century, such ideas were expressed in the notion of the ‘rights of man’ which was used as a means of constraining government power by defining a sphere of autonomy that belong to the citizen.

Such thinking gradually acquired an international dimension during the nineteenth and twentieth century’s through attempts to set standards for international conduct, usually based on humanitarianism. For example, the growth of humanitarian ethics helped to inspire attempts to abolish the slave trade; a cause endorsed by the Congress of Vienna (1815) and was eventually achieved the Slavery Convention (1926) (even though forms of slavery continue to exist flicking of women). The anti – slavery society, formed in 1837, can perhaps be causes that were translated into a form of international standard setting included the regulation of the conduct of war, through the Hague Conventions (1907) and the Geneva Conventions (1926), and attempts to improve working conditions, spearheaded by the International Labour Office, formed in 1901.

*Nature and types of human rights:*

1. Civil and political rights were the earliest for of natural or human rights. The core of civil and political rights are the rights to life, liberty and property, although they have been expanded to include, for example, freedom from discrimination, freedom from slavery, freedom from torture or other inhuman forms of punishment, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and so on. Civil and political rights are often typically seen as negative rights, or forbearance, rights: they can be enjoyed only if constraints are placed on other. Negative rights therefore define a private sphere within which the individual can enjoy independence from the encroachments of other individuals and more particularly, from the interference of the state. Negative human rights thus correspond closely to classic civil liberties. Civil liberties are therefore often distinguished from civil rights, the latter involving positive action on the part of government rather than simply forbearance. The dual character of civil and political rights is evident in the complex relationship between human rights and democracy.

2. The struggle for economic, social and cultural rights gained greater prominence during the twentieth century, especially in the post-1945 period. By rights often drew on socialist assumptions about the tendencies of capitalist development towards social injustice and unequal class

power. These rights are positive rights, in that they imply a significant level of state intervention, usually in the form of welfare provision (welfare rights), the regulation of the labour market (worker's rights) and economic management generally. Controversy has surrounded economic and social rights. Supporters have argued that economic and social rights are in a sense, the most basic of human rights, as their maintenance constitutes a precondition for the enjoyment of all other rights. Economic and social rights can therefore only be viewed as aspirations rather than entitlements. Second, it is unclear who or what is responsible for upholding economic and social rights. The perspective of economic liberalism, economic and social rights may be counterproductive, in that higher level of (albeit well-intentioned) state intervention may simply undermine the vigour and efficiency of capitalist economies.

3. Since 1945 a further set of rights have emerged in the form of solidarity rights, or so-called 'third-generation' rights. These encompass a broad spectrum of rights whose main characteristic is that they are attached to social groups or whole societies, as opposed to separate individuals. They are sometimes, therefore, seen as collective rights or people's rights. Whereas 'first-generation' rights were shaped by liberalism and 'second-generation' rights were



shaped by socialism, 'third-generation' rights have been formed by the concerns of the global south. Solidarity rights have therefore been used to give issues such as development, environmental, sustainability and cultural preservation a moral dimension.

*Implication of human rights for global politics:*

Human rights by their nature have profound implications for global politics. Why is this? The first answer to this question is that, being universal and fundamental; human rights invest governments with powerful obligations, affecting their foreign as well as domestic policies. The protection and realization of human rights is thus a key role of government, and perhaps, according to liberals, its core purpose. Interactions between states should therefore have, at least, a human right dimension. This, in theory at least, imposes major constraints on the behaviour of national governments, both in terms of how they treat their domestic population and in their dealings with other peoples and countries.

The second way in which human rights have implications for global politics is that they imply the boundaries of moral concern extend beyond national borders. Growing acceptance of the doctrine of human rights therefore goes hand in hand with the growth of cosmopolitan sensibilities. Human rights fulfil each of the three elements of cosmopolitanism. Individualism (an

ultimate concern with human beings or persons not groups) universality (a recognition of the equal moral worth of all individuals) and generality (the belief that persons are objects of concern for everyone, regardless of nationality and so on). The cosmopolitan implications of human rights are evident not only in attempts to use international law. Albeit usually 'soft' law to set standards for the behaviour of states, but also in attempts to strengthen regional and global governance and thereby constrain, or perhaps redefine the natural, the theoretical implications of human rights are counter balanced by powerful practical and sometimes moral considerations.

### ***Protecting human rights***

At the heart of this regime continues to stand the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This defect was rectified by UN Declaration. Although the UN Declaration is not a legally binding treaty, it is commonly seen as a form of customary international law that is used as a tool to apply diplomatic and moral pressure to governments that violate any of its articles. Declaration challenged states exclusive jurisdiction over their own citizens and weakened the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs. The incorporation of the Declaration into a legally binding codification of human rights in effect, human rights law was achieved through the adoption in 1966 of the international covenants on Civil and Political Rights

and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Collectively, the 1948 Declaration and the two covenants are commonly referred to as the “International Bill of Human Rights”.

A major step in this direction was taken by the establishment of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, which had been one of the key proposals of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

***Realist view:***

Realist objections to the culture of human rights have at least three bases. In the first place, they take issue with the essentially optimistic model of human nature that underpins human rights, which emphasizes dignity, respect and rationality. Second, realists are primarily concerned about collective behaviour, and especially the capacity of the state to ensure order and stability for their citizens. Third being based on positivism, realism is keen to uphold its scientific credentials. This implies a concern with what is, rather than with what should be.

***Liberal views:*** The modern doctrine of human rights is very largely a product of liberal political philosophy. At a philosophical level the image of human as ‘rights bears’ derives from liberal individualism. On a political level, liberals have long used the notion of natural of human rights to establish the basis of legitimacy. Social contract

theorists thus argued that the central purpose of government is to protect a set of inalienable rights, variously described as 'life, liberty and property.

### ***Critical views:***

The global justice movement has used economic and social rights as the basis of calls for a radical redistribution of power and resources both within countries and between them. Human rights have thus been turned into cosmopolitanism. Feminists, for their part, have demonstrated a growing. The most prominent advocacy NGOs are Human Rights Watch (initially named Helsinki Watch, and set up to respond to the activities of East European dissidents groups). A campaign by Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists during 1972-3 thus initiated the process that led to the 1975 Declaration on Torture. NGOs played a particularly prominent role in drafting the 1990 convention on the Rights of the Child and were highly influential in the establishment of the Land Mine Treaty of 1997.

The protection of human rights is generally seen to be most advanced in Europe. This largely reflects the widespread acceptance, and status, of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) (1950), which was developed under the auspices of the Council of Europe and is based on the UN Declaration. By 2009, 48 states had signed the European Convention. The ECHR is enforced by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

## ***Human rights in a world of states:***

The key dilemma of human rights protection is that states are the only actors powerful enough to advance human rights, while also being the greatest human rights abusers. This reflects the inherent tension between human rights and foreign policy to which Vincent (1986) drew attention (although he may well have included domestic policy as well). Nevertheless, the image of unavoidable antagonism between human rights and states right is misleading. In the first place, the trend for states to establish civil liberties and human right in domestic law long i.e. dates the advent of the international human rights regime. Second, international human rights standards have not been foisted on reluctant states.

Why, then, have states accepted, and sometimes championed, the cause of human rights? Virtually all states for example, have signed the UN Declaration, with a large majority of them also having signed the two optional international covenants. From a liberal perspective, support for international human rights is merely an external expression of values and commitments that are basic to liberal democratic states.

Support for human right is therefore one of the common norms that has transformed the international system into an international society.

For instance, argue that, behind the cloak of humanitarianism and moral purpose, human rights are often entangled with considerations about the national interest. This is reflected in the

selective application of human rights, in which human right failings on the part of one's enemies receive prominent attention but are conveniently ignored in the case of one's friends. The USA was therefore criticized in the 1970s for condemning human rights violations in Soviet bloc countries, while at the same time maintaining close diplomatic, economic and political ties with repressive regimes in Latin America and elsewhere. For radical theorists, such as Chomsky, the USA has used human rights as a moral cloak for its hegemonic ambitions.

Since the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, China has been a frequent target of human rights criticism. From the USA and from groups such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

As far as the USA is concerned, its commitment to human rights and humanitarian law was called seriously into question by its conduct of 'war on terror'.

Human rights have been particularly difficult to uphold in conflict situations. In part, this reflects the fact that power politics amongst the permanent members of the Security Council usually prevents the UN from taking a clear line on such matters.

This happened particularly tragically in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, in which about 800,000 mainly ethnic Tutsis and some moderate Hutus were killed and in the 1995 Srebrenica massacre in which an estimate 8,000 Bosnian men and boys were killed. However, from the 1990s onwards, greater emphasis has been placed on

extending international law to ensure that those responsible for the gross breaches of rights involving genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes are brought to account.

The authority of Universalist liberalism, which underpins the doctrine of human rights, has been challenged by two main philosophical developments in the West. Liberalism is defective because in view of the individual as an asocial, atomized, unencumbered self makes little sense. Communitarians emphasize, by contrast, that the self is embedded in the community,

Postmodernism has advanced a critique of the 'Enlightenment project' which was expressed politically in ideological traditions such as liberalism and Marxism that were based on the assumption that it is possible to establish objective truths and universal values, usually associated with a faith in reason and progress. Instead, postmodernists have emphasized the fragmented and pluralistic nature of reality, meaning that foundation list thinking of any kind is unsound. In the words of Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984), post-modernism can be defined as 'and incredulity towards narratives'. Human rights and other theories of universal justice must therefore either be abandoned altogether or be used only in a strictly qualified way that takes account of the political and cultural context within which the ideas emerged. .

Postcolonial concerns have been more clearly political. Relativism has been defended by postcolonial thinkers on two grounds. First, in line with communitarian and postmodern thinking,

postcolonial theorists have argued that circumstances vary so widely from society to society, and from culture to culture, as to require differing moral values and, at least, differing conceptions of human rights. What is right for one society may not be right for other societies, a position that suggests that the outside world should respect the choices made by individual nation-states. Secondly, and more radically, postcolonial theorists have portrayed universal values in general and human rights in particular, as a form of cultural imperialism. Such thinking was evident in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), sometimes seen as the most influential text of post-colonialism. Developed a critique of Eurocentric, in which *Orientalism* ensures the cultural and political hegemony of Europe in particular and of the West in general through establishing belittling or demeaning stereotypes of the peoples or culture of the Middle East, although this is sometimes extended to include all non-western peoples.

Attempts to highlight the cultural biases that operate through the doctrine of 'universal' human rights have been particularly prominent in Asia and in the Muslim world. Key Asian values include social harmony, respect for authority and a belief in the family, each of which is meant to sustain social cohesion. As such, they challenge, and seek to counter-balance, the bias within traditional conceptions of human rights in favour of rights over duties, and in favour of the individual over community. A further difference is that, from an Asian values perspective, political legitimacy is more closely tied up with economic and social development than it is with democracy and civil



liberty. Although those who have championed the idea of Asian values rarely reject the idea of human rights in principle, greater emphasis is usually placed on economic and social right rather than on western civil and political rights. The Bangkok Declaration of 1993, adopted by Asian ministers in the run-up to the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, thus attempted a delicate balancing act by recognizing both the distinctiveness of Asian cultures and the interdependence and indivisibility of human rights. It is also notable that the Chinese government often responds to criticism of its human rights record by arguing that collective socio-economic rights are more important than civic and political rights, highlighting its success in relieving an estimated 300 million people from poverty.

Islamic reservations about human rights have been evident since Saudi Arabia refused to adopt the UN Declaration in 1948, on the ground that it violated important Islamic principles, notably its rejection of apostasy the abandonment or renunciation of one's religion. Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990), is that rights, and all moral principles, derive from divine, rather than human, authority. As such the UN Declaration and for that matter, any other human principles and laws are invalid if they conflict with the values and principles outlined in divine Shari a law. Indeed, in principle, the former should derive from the latter. From this perspective, the doctrine of universal human rights is merely a cultural expression of the political and economic domination that the West has customarily

exerted over the Middle East in particular and the Muslim world in general.

These include concern about the secular nature of western societies, implying a lack of sympathy with, if not outright hostility towards, religion and an excessive individualism that threatens traditional values and social cohesion.

### ***Humanitarian intervention***

The state-system has traditionally been based on a rejection of intervention. This is reflected in the fact that international law has largely been constructed around respect for state sovereignty, implying that state borders are or should be inviolable. Nevertheless, it has long been recognized that intervention may be justifiable on humanitarian ground. Francisco de Vitoria and Hugo Grotius for example, each acknowledge a right of intervention to prevent the maltreatment by a state of its own subjects, making them, effectively early theorists of humanitarian intervention. In the post-1945 period, interventions that had a significant humanitarian dimension included those that occurred in Bangladesh and Cambodia. In 1971, the Indian army intervened in a brief but brutal civil war between East and West Pakistan helping East Pakistan to gain its independence as Bangladesh. In 1978, Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia to overthrow poll pot's Khmer Rouge regime, which had during 1975-79 caused the deaths of between one and three million people due to famine, civil war and executions.

The modern idea of humanitarian intervention was a creation of the post-Cold War period, and it was closely linked to optimistic expectations of the establishment of a new world order.

Human intervention and 'new world order': The 1990s are sometimes seen as the golden age of humanitarian intervention. The end of the cold war appeared to have brought to an end an age of power politics, characterized as it was by superpower rivalry and a 'balance of terror'. Key to this was the belief in a global age states could no longer restrict their moral responsibilities to their own peoples.

Optimistic expectations of the establishment of a world of peace and prosperity in the post cold war era were soon punctured by the growth of disorder and chaos in what were sometimes called the 'zone of turmoil' or the 'pre modern world'. They can be explained in terms of internal factors, faults and failing within the society itself. These include dictatorial government, rampant corruption, entrenched economic and social backwardness and festering tribal or ethnic rivalries. On the other hand they can be explained in terms of external factors, structural imbalances and inequalities within the global system. These include the inheritance of colonialism, strains generated by economic globalisation and sometimes the impact of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

## ***Summary:***

Human rights are those rights to which an individual is entitled by virtue of his status as a human being. Where an individual's civil, political and social-economic rights are exhausted. Civil and political rights were the earliest for of natural or human rights. Human rights have provided new agenda and subject matter to the discipline of international relations. Many non-state organisations have emerged as international actors in their own right due to issues like human rights. On the other hand there are several international and regional human rights organisations. At international level a number of special bodies have been set up to enforce human rights as per international convents mentioned above. It has resulted in better implementation of human rights at world level.

## ***UNITED NATION***

The United Nations is without doubt, the most important international organization created to date. Established though the San Francisco Conference (April-June 1945), it is the only truly global organization ever to be constructed, having a membership of 192 states

and counting. The principal aims of the UN, as spelled out by its founding Charter, are as follows

- To safeguard peace and security in order ‘to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war’.
- To ‘reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights’
- To uphold respect for international law
- To ‘promote social progress and better standards of life’.

However, the UN was not the first organization that was constructed to guarantee world peace, its predecessor, the League of Nations, had been founded at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 with very similar goals, namely to enable collective security, to arbitrate over international disputes and to bring about disarmament. The League of Nations was inspired by US President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, established as the basis for long-term peace in post WWI Europe. The League, nevertheless, suffered from major defects, which the later architects of the UN tried to take fully into account. In particular, the League never genuinely lived up its name; it was never properly a ‘league of nations. Some major states did not join, most notably the USA, through the refusal of the isolationist Congress to ratify US membership, while others left.

The League of Nations and the United Nations were both set up in the aftermath of world wars. The key goals of both organizations were the promotion of international security and the peaceful

settlement of disputes. In the case of the UN, this occurred in a context of an estimated civilian and military death toll of around 67 million and the radical dislocation of global and national economies in WWII. The early origins of the UN, indeed, emerged during the war itself, taking the form of an alliance of 26 states which pledged themselves to defeat the Axis powers through the Declaration of United Nations on 1 January 1942. As with the League, the USA took a leading role in the process, with President Franklin D. Roosevelt pushing for the creation of the UN during the final years of the war. The basic blueprint for the new international organization was drawn up in August 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, by delegates from the USA, the Soviet Union, China and the UK, the UN Charter was signed in San Francisco on 26 June 1945, with the UN officially coming into existence on 24 October (since known as UN Day).

The UN is a sprawling and complex organization, described by its second Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, as a 'weird Picasso abstraction'. Its size and complexity has enabled the UN is a hybrid body, configured around competing concerns, the need to accept the realities of great power politics and to acknowledge the sovereign equality of member states. This has created in a sense, two UNS, one reflected in the Security Council, the other in the General Assembly. The Security Council is the most significant UN body. It is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, and is dominated by the p-5, its permanent veto powers the USA, Russia (until 1991, the Soviet Union), China (until 1971, the Republic of

China or 'Taiwan'), the UK and France. The General Assembly on the other hand, is a deliberative body that represents all members of the UN equally. Whereas the Council is criticized for being poorly representative and dominated by great powers the assembly in a sense, is over representative, a highly decentralized body that often serves as little more than a propaganda the secretariat, the UN family consists of a sprawling range of funds, agencies and programmes that are responsible, at least in theory to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

*Promoting peace and security:*

The principal aim of the UN is to maintain international peace and security' with responsibility for this being vested in the Security Council. The fact that the two world wars of the twentieth century have not been followed by World War III has sometimes been seen as the supreme achievement of the UN (as well as demonstrating a clear advance on the performance of the League of Nations). On the other hand, realist theorists in particular have argued that the absence of global war since 1945 has had little to do with the UN, being more a consequence of the 'balance of terror that developed during the Cold War as a nuclear stalemate developed between the USA and the Soviet Union. Ultimately, how global and regional conflict would have developed and whether 'cold' wars would have become 'hot' evident that the UN has only had limited and intermittent success in

establishing a system of collective security act can displace a reliance on violent self-help.

There have been undoubted successes, for example in negotiating a ceasefire between India and Pakistan in 1959, maintaining peace in 1960 in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire) and mediating between the Dutch and the Indonesians over West Irian (New Guinea) in 1962. However, for much of its history, the UN was virtually paralyzed by superpower rivalry. The Cold War ensured that, on most issues, the USA and the Soviet Union adopted opposing positions, which prevented the Security Council from taking decisive action.

This was compounded by two other factors. First, the use by the p-5 of their veto powers dramatically reduced the number of threats to peace and security or incidents of aggression that the Security Council could take action over. In practice, until the People's Republic of China replaced Taiwan in 1971, voting in the Security Council on controversial issues generally resulted in a clash between the Soviet Union and the other members of the p-5. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was the most frequent user of the veto, exercising it on no fewer than 80 occasions between 1946 and 1955. After first using its veto in 1970, however, the USA has assumed this role. Second, despite the provision in the UN Charter for the setting up of the Military Staff Committee as a subsidiary body of the Security Council, resistance amongst the p-5 has prevented the UN from developing its



own military capacity. This has meant that when the UN has authorized military action it has either been subcontracted, for example to US led forces (Korean War and Gulf war) or to regional bodies such as NATO (Kosovo) or the African Union (Darfur) or it has been carried out by a multinational force of so-called 'blue helmets' or 'blue beret's contributed by member states. Thus one of the key conditions for an effective collective security system the availability of permanent UN troops to enforce its will has remained unfulfilled.

During much of the Cold War, then, the UN was characterized by deadlock and paralysis. The only occasion on which the Security Council agreed on measures of military enforcement was in relation to the Korean War in 1950. But the circumstances surrounding this were exceptional. UN intervention in Korea was only possible because the Soviet Union had temporarily withdrawn from the Council, in protest against the exclusion of 'Red China' (the People's Republic of China). This intervention, anyway, merely fuelled fears that the UN was western dominated.

This demonstrated that some members of the p-5 were clearly more equal than others. During the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, as the world grew close to nuclear war, the UN was a powerless spectator'. It was also unable to prevent the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan (1979), or to curtail the USA, escalating military involvement in Vietnam during the 1960s and

1970s. Similarly, the UN had only a very limited influence on the succession of Arab-Israeli war.

The end of the Cold War was the beginning, many hoped, of a new chapter for the UN. For so long marginalized by superpower antagonism, the UN suddenly assumed a new prominence as the instructed through twice an effective system of collected security could be brought about.

Since 1990, the security Council has approved non-military enforcement measures on numerous occasions for instance, in relation to Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Haiti, Iraq, Rwanda, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia and so on and measures of military enforcement usually linked to peacekeeping operations (as discussed in the next section) have become much more common.

However, early hopes for a UN-dominated 'new world order' were quickly disappointed. This was evident not only in sometimes high-profile peacekeeping failures, as in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, but, most significantly, in the USA's decision to go ahead with the invasion of Iraq in 2003, despite opposition from leading members of the Security Council. During the post-Cold War period, the UN has been forced to confront a range of new problems and conflicts.

The UN's role used to be to keep the peace in a world dominated by conflict between communism and capitalism. Now it is forced to find a new role in a world structure d by the dynamics of global

capitalism, in which conflict increasingly arises from imbalances in the distribution of wealth and resources. This has meant that the UN's role in promoting peace and security has been conflated with the task of ensuring economic and social development, the two being merged in the shift from 'traditional' peacekeeping to 'multidimensional' or 'robust' peacekeeping.

UN's peacekeeping operations were supported by about 6,000 international civilian personnel, 13,000 local civilian personnel and over 2,000 volunteer workers. During 2008-09 the budget for UN peacekeeping operations was about \$7.1 billion.

Does UN peacekeeping work?

How successful has multidimensional peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period been UN peacekeeping has been both effective and cost-effective when compared with the costs of conflict and the toll in lives and economic devastation (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). A study by the Rand Corporation in 2007 which analyzed eight UN-led peacekeeping operations determined that seven of them had succeeded in keeping the peace and six of them had helped to promote democracy (Dobbins 2007). These cases include the Congo, Cambodia, Namibia, Mozambique, El Salvador, East Timor, Eastern Slavonia and Sierra Leone. However, there have been a number of peacekeeping failures, notably in Rwanda, Somalia and Bosnia. UN peacekeepers were little more than spectators during the genocidal

slaughter in Rwanda in 1994. UN-backed US intervention in Somalia led to humiliation and withdrawal in 1994.

Failing on the ground have included the lack of a clear mission and especially serious gaps between the mandate for intervention and the security challenges confronting peacekeepers.

However, these are also evidence that the UN has learned lessons. Ever since the 1992 UN report, An Agenda for peace, there has been an acknowledgement that peacekeeping alone is not enough to ensure lasting peace. The growing emphasis on peace building reflects a desire to identify and support structures that will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict, helping to establish 'positive' peace.

In 2005, the UN Peace building commission was established as an advisory subsidiary body of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Its purpose is to support peace efforts in countries emerging from conflict, by bringing together all relevant actors (including international donors, the international financial institutions, national governmental troop-contributing countries, marshalling resources, and advising on and proposing integrated strategies post-conflict peace-building and recovery.

### ***Promoting economic and social development***

The UN Charter thus committed the organization to promoting 'social progress and better standards of life'. However, in its early

phase, the UN's concerns with economic and social issues extended little beyond post-war reconstruction and recovery, in Western Europe and Japan in particular. A major shift in favour of the promotion of economic and social development was nevertheless evident from the 1960s onwards. This was a consequence of three factors. First, and most importantly, the process of decolonization and the growing influence of developing states within the ever-expanding UN focused more attention on the unequal distribution of wealth worldwide.

Second, a greater awareness of interdependence and the impact of globalization from the 1980s onwards meant that there was both an increased acceptance and those economic and social problems in one part of the world have implication for other parts of the world, and that patterns of poverty and inequality are linked to the structure of the global economy. Third, as acknowledged by the transition from peacemaking to peace-building, the rise of civil war and ethnic strife underlined the fact that peace and security, on the one hand, and development, justice and human rights on the other, are not separate agendas.

The UN's economic and social responsibilities are discharged by a sprawling and seemingly, ever-enlarging array of programmers, funds and specialized agencies, supposedly coordinated by ECOSCO. Its main areas are human rights, development and poverty reduction and the environment. As far as development is concerned, the principal vehicle responsible for global development policy is the UN

Development Programmed (UNDP), created in 1965. Annual Human development Reports (HRDs) focus the global debate on key development issues, providing new measurement tools (such as the Human Development Index or HDI), undertaking innovative analysis and often advancing controversial policy proposals. By focusing on the notions of ‘human development’ and ‘human security’, the UNDP has also fostered innovating thinking about poverty and deprivation. In 1994, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali issued An Agenda for Development (to complement An Agenda for Peace, two years earlier), which attempted to establish a coordinated programmed for sustainable development in an era of globalization and in the light of the end of the Cold War.

The desire to reinvigorate the UN’s Development Programmed led to the unveiling in 2000 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). These set a target of 2014 for, among other things, halving extreme poverty, halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education.

### **Future of the UN Challenges and Reform**

The major factor that shapes the influence that the UN wields is the global distribution of power. For much of the twentieth century the UN was hamstrung by Cold War bipolarity. The high point of its influence came in the early to mid-1990s, and concluded with relatively brief period of cooperation and agreement among p-5 states

following the end of the Cold War. This, nevertheless, left the UN heavily dependent on the sole remaining superpower, the USA, creating the danger that US hegemony would render the UN a mere tool of US foreign policy, to be used, abused or ignored as Washington saw fit.

In one view, a more even distribution of global power is likely to favour multilateralism and encourage states to rely more heavily on a system of collective security, facilitated by the UN, rather than on violent self-help. In the alternative view, multi polarity is likely to be associated with increased conflict and greater instability, in which case the future history of the UN may replicate and greater instability, in which case the future history of the UN may replicate that of the League of Nations, as intensifying great power rivalry makes the task of international mediation.

Amongst other things, these include the threat of nuclear terrorism, the problem of state collapse and the disruption caused by the spread of infectious diseases. The changing nature of war and armed conflict raises particular difficulties for the UN in its peacekeeping and peace-building roles. Not only do the rise of identity wars and the links between civil strife, humanitarian and refugee crises and endemic crime make sustainable peace difficult to achieve, but they also strain the relationship between the quest for global justice and respect for state sovereignty. The case of Darfur, in the 2000s,

shows how UN intervention to keep the peace and provide humanitarian aid can be blocked by an unwilling host government.

While UN peacekeeping, development and other activities tend, remorselessly, to expand, major donor states have become more reluctant to keep up with their financial contributions, partly using these as levers to influence policy within the organization. At the end of 2006, member's states owed the UN \$2.3 billion, with the USA accounting for 43 per cent of this amount.

The 2000 Brahmin Report on Peacekeeping made a major contribution to reviewing UN peace operations, and provided the backdrop for the creation of the UN Peace building Commission in 2005. An area of particular concern has been the need for the UN to have a 'rapid development capacity', the ability to send peacekeepers to different corners of the globe at short notice with the resources to act swiftly and effectively.

UN's development activities continue to be how to improve coordination and reduce overlaps and duplication amongst the plethora of development orientation has been recognized within the UN.

### ***Summary:***

An international organisation is an institution with formal procedure and a membership comprising three or more states. These bodies can be thought of as instruments through which states pursue their own interest as arena that facilitate and as actor that can affect



global outcomes. The United Nations is the only truly global organisation ever constructed. The UN is nevertheless a hybrid body, configured around the competing need to accept the realities of great power politics and to acknowledge the sovereign equality of member states. The UN's economic and social responsibilities are discharged by a sprawling and seemingly, ever-enlarging array of programmes, funds and specialised agencies. Its main area of peacekeeping has led to an increasing emphasis instead on the process of peace-building. The UN faces a range of important challenge and pressure for reform. These include those generated by the changing location of global power in an increasingly multipolar world, those associated with criticisms of the composition and powers of the Security Council, and those related to the UNs fiancés and organisation.

***Questions:***

- 1. Discuss the role of UN in maintaining peace and security in the world.***
- 2. Discuss the new security challenges to UN.***
- 3. Define human rights?***
- 4. Discuss its types?***
- 5. Make a critical assessment of implication of human rights on world politics?***

