



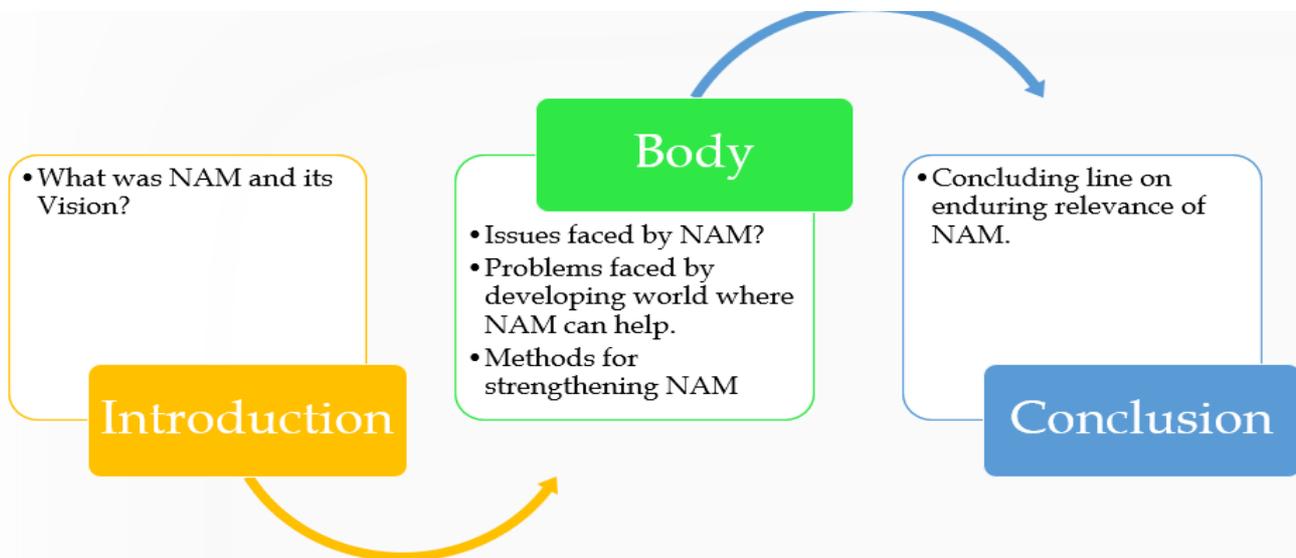
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Awakening Toppers

Political Science & International Relations Crash Course

Lecture - 12

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Discuss the ways to strengthen NAM to enable it to address the challenges faced by developing countries. [2020]



- Non-Aligned Movement, established in 1961, was an apt response to the the bipolar Cold war contest and a manifestation of Afro –Asian cooperation and source of ‘moral force’ which sought to reinforce the self-determination and independent foreign policy of newly decolonized world.

However, it faces a number of challenges today:

- **Question of relevance:** With the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the Warsaw Pact, the world order changed from bi-polar to unipolar. USA emerged as single superpower. MEA Dr. Jaishankar called NAM a concept of a bygone era.
- **Lack of regular summits:** With India as a critical member, the country had not attended a number of summits between 2016-19 wherein Dr. Jaishankar argues that recent world has seen the rise of groupings like BRICS, G20, ASEAN, SCO etc which have overshadowed NAM.
- **Failed to resolve regional tensions:** In the era of cold war the tension in South Asia escalated due to regional conflict between India-Pakistan. NAM failed to avoid tensions in the region, that further led to the nuclearisation of the region.
- Other issues include lack of internal coherence and leadership, membership crisis and that most of the countries are weak.
- NAM remains a credible platform for engaging with Global South. This was highlighted with the conduct of online summit in 2020 titled "**United Against Covid-19**" to address the global struggle to fight the Covid19 pandemic and supporting NAM to increase its role in dealing with and mitigating the outcomes caused by this disease in NAM, as well as other countries.
- Need for reinvigorated multilateralism (Shyam Saran) which the UN has failed to do. NAM can play a crucial role by pushing for reforming and strengthening the United Nations. Beginning of new rivalries- US, China, Russia.

- For the developing countries this multipolarity presents an uncertain, complex and gloomy environment led by a Northern Concert of Powers- Neo-colonialism, Civil Strife.
- The world continues to be divided into the nuclear 'haves' and 'have-nots'. The nuclear 'haves' seem to be determined to retain their arsenals of the nuclear weapons- the Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons was especially pushed by Global South.

Ways to address the challenges

- **New Charter and regular summits:** As T.V. Paul remarks about NAM, there is space to resurrect the old movement as a soft balancing mechanism against powerful states. One of the most important reforms required by NAM to maintain its relevance in contemporary global politics is to develop a charter stating a specific vision and goals that go beyond the Cold War bipolarity and holding regular summits.
- **Soft- balancing:** T.V. Paul further highlights the need to develop a new 'Bandung spirit' which takes into account the new realities of global politics. He remarks that NAM countries could engage in soft balancing of this nature hoping to delegitimise the aggressive behaviour of the great powers.
- **Permanent Secretariat:** As global politics gets more technical and complicated with the emergence of issues like climate change, nuclear proliferation, global and new terrorism, pandemic and health crisis, trade wars, NAM requires a permanent secretariat as well as staff that can keep working on these issues and produce credible data in between summits.
- **Strict Membership Criteria:** NAM also needs to strengthen its membership rules. The conditions for NAM were extremely vague and rooted in a specific context. The same need to be updated and enforced strictly.
- **Coherent functions and strategy:** Further as Dr. Jaishankar stated, there is need to revitalise the current arrangements and working methods of our Movement, to allow us to pursue a positive and forward looking agenda. This includes NAM moving beyond just an ideological grouping towards evolving a more pragmatic role- need to be realigned with the concerns of present time example: climate change, terrorism, healthcare, cold war 2.0, etc.
- NAM needs to indulge in 'norm entrepreneurship' with concrete initiatives including engagement with emerging states in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) grouping. Engaging China and India more intensely while restraining the U.S. and Russia from aggravating military conflict in Asia-Pacific can be the effort of the developing countries.

Expert
Opinion

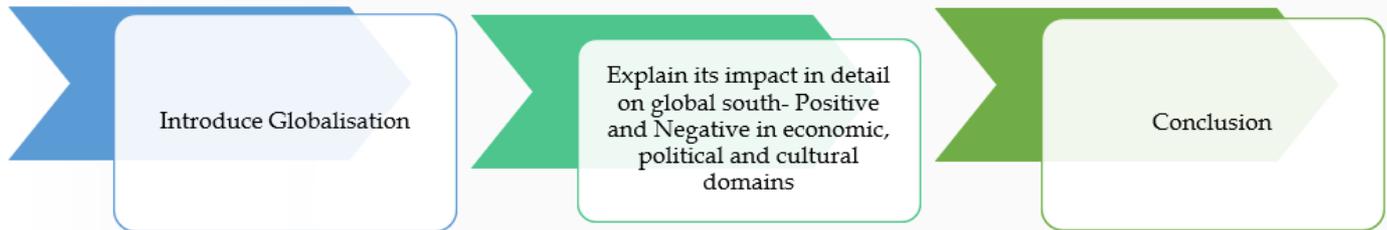
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TP Sreenivasan says that the word “non-alignment” gave wrong notion that end of NAM was to remain nonaligned, but quintessence of non-alignment was freedom of judgement and action and NAM remains valid whether there is one block or two.

According to MK Narayan, while non-alignment giving way to strategic alignment, organizations such as NAM may seem anachronistic. But it still resonates with many third world countries. It also offers alternative platform for putting forward a different viewpoint. It would hence be premature to announce death of NAM.

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Critically examine the process of globalisation from the perspective of countries of the Global South. [2020]



Globalisation

- In the words of Thomas Friedman, globalization can be understood as inexorable integration of markets, nation states, and technology to an extent never seen before. It can be understood as stretching and deepening of relations across time and space such that the world has become a borderless global village.

Impact On Global South

- **Economic Domain- Positive impact:**

- **Jagdish Bhagwati** (In Defence of Globalisation) argued that due to the trickle down effect, global inequalities have reduced for the first time. Global literacy has increased, IMR has declined and life expectancy has increased in the global south.
- According to the **IMF**, globalisation helps developing countries to connect with the rest of the world and increase their economic growth, solving the poverty problems in their country. It ensures the **comparative advantage theory** and thus boosts trade promoting prosperity especially among the developing countries.

- **Economic Domain- Negative Impacts:**

- However, according to **Naomi Klein**, the present processes of globalisation have led to widening inequities between North and South as well as within countries. The demand for NIEO was a result of endurance of neo-colonialism which had a debilitating impact on Third World.
- Instrumental Marxists like **Immanuel Wallerstein and A.G Frank** also argue that current form of globalisation has perpetuated '**development of the underdevelopment**' in countries of global south due to unequal terms of trade, monopoly rents and other extractive policies
- According to **Joseph Stiglitz**, globalisation and more specifically the Washington Consensus lacked in attention to governance and did not adequately consider the impact of economic policies on the state and its role, thus failing to address both poverty and inequality.

- Similarly, **Prof. Ramesh Thakur** (*The Dark Side of Globalisation*) argued that the trade advantage of developed countries vastly outstrips development assistance given to developing countries.
 - He gave examples of Baltic states witnessing negative growth, stagnant economies of African LDCs and Guinea Bisau turning into a narco state due to adverse effects of globalization

Political Domain- Positive Impact:

- Capitalist modernity has led to the decline of '**zoon politikon**'. There is increased cynicism against politicians and less faith in organised politics in countries of the global south. The result is the rise of **new social movements and deepening democracy due to rise of 'network society' (Castells)**.
- There is also political lethargy as lines between traditional left and right are blurring. **Friedman** famously said that '*political choices get reduced to Pepsi and coke*' especially with the rise of post-industrial societies (**Daniel Bell**).
- Many scholars argue that globalization may, in some ways, have strengthened the state, which, as states such as China and Russia have demonstrated, has gained renewed importance as an agent of modernization.

Political Domain- Negative Impact:

- **Kenichi Ohama** and **Marshall McLuhan** feel that there is dilution of sovereignty which has led to a *crisis of governability* in countries of the south.
- Similarly, **Samir Amin** (*Capitalism in the Age of Globalisation*) has shown growing French neo-colonialism in West Africa and rise of puppet regimes in the global south

Socio-Cultural Domain- Positive and Negative Impact:

- **Globalisation allowed diverse cultures to interact and come closer to one another as can be seen in the advent of "Glocalisation"**.
- On the other hand, **K.N Pannikar** talks about the cultural crisis for middle class families due to diffusion of cultures. We can witness religious revivalism due to clashes between religion and market forces.
- **Benjamin Barker** says that since market is fast replacing religion as the opium for masses we can witness **Jihad v/s McWorld** fight or a renewed version of Huntington's '**clash of civilisations**'.
- Rising ethnic chauvinism, xenophobia and racial purging (Rohingyas) are becoming common in many of the culturally heterogeneous countries of south. Further the issue of cultural appropriation by the West has also led to a number of issues.

Conclusion

According to Jagdish Bhagwati, globalisation itself is not the problem or the solution. Variety of steps need to be taken to ensure that globalisation reaches its logical end.

It is a double-edged sword and if nations invest in capacity of their people and adopt right economic policy, it can bring prosperity. **Bhikhu Parekh** rightly suggests globalisation is needed to be based on “dialogue among civilisations’ rather than globalisation from above to bridge the north south divide.



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