



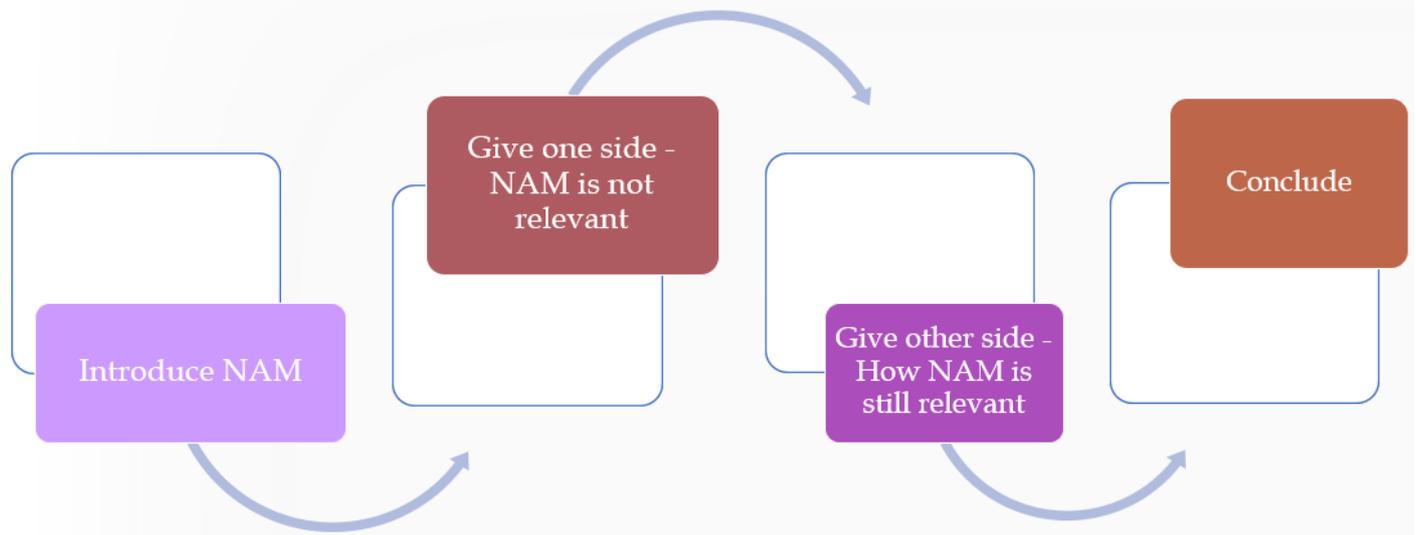
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Awakening Toppers

Political Science & International Relations Crash Course

Lecture - 26

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1) Do you endorse the view that the end of bipolarity and the rise of multiple regional organisations has made the non-aligned movement (NAM) more or less irrelevant? [2017]



Introduction

- NAM was created as an institution in 1961, on the **Bandung Spirit (1955)**, to counter the bipolar world order and give voice to much of the third world.
- It stands for an active role in world affairs and friendship and cooperation with all countries. It consists of taking an independent position based on the merits of each issue, and on the requirements of national interest.
 - **Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru** “India should avoid entering into “other people’s quarrels “, unless, and this is important and “our interest is involved.”
- It is not directed against any ideology but seeks to promote peace and friendship in the world, irrespective of ideological differences.
- However, its relevance in present times is contested.

NAM - Lost Relevance

- **Changing global power structure**-Hans Kochler points out that NAM was relevant only during the cold war era Bi-polar world. Now there is only one dominant global power (US) and hence its objectives are redundant.
- **As per Lok Raj Baral** Unlike during the Soviet-US Cold War, the world is currently heading to become multi-polar. No single power can lead the present world, so new alliances and blocs are emerging in changing scenarios and contexts. Even the United States of America is creating new alliances, so how can we remain indifferent from the shift in global power and balance.

- **S Jaishankar** said that non-alignment was for a specific era and a particular context. Even India its most important participant has been espousing the idea of issue-based or multi- alignment rather than non alignment.
- Furthermore, NAM was portrayed as a platform for the developing world. However the rise of alternative multilateral and regional organisations such as BIMSTEC, ASEAN, BRICS, SCO, RCEP which include countries from the global south as well as other parts of the world have overshadowed NAM entirely.
- **Too idealistic in nature**-According to C.R Mohan, NAM was irrelevant even before the end of the cold war because it didn't have any concrete achievement and it was extremely idealistic.
- **Lack of concrete agenda**: One of the main weaknesses of NAM has been the lack of concrete agenda. Its membership rules are extremely vague and open ended. Furthermore it has not been able to shift its focus from being only an issue based political grouping towards realistic agenda based on economics, trade etc further adding a dent to its relevance.
- **Emergence of new dynamics**- The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was the formal end of the first phase of the Cold War. With the emergence of China, the re-emergence of Russia and creation of several US-led security, military and strategic alliances like NATO, Indo-Pacific Strategy, QUAD and recent alliance between the US, UK and Australia (AUKUS) have resulted in a new kind of polarisation in the world and new wave of cold war is in the offing. These developments have also questioned the relevance of NAM.

NAM-Still Relevant

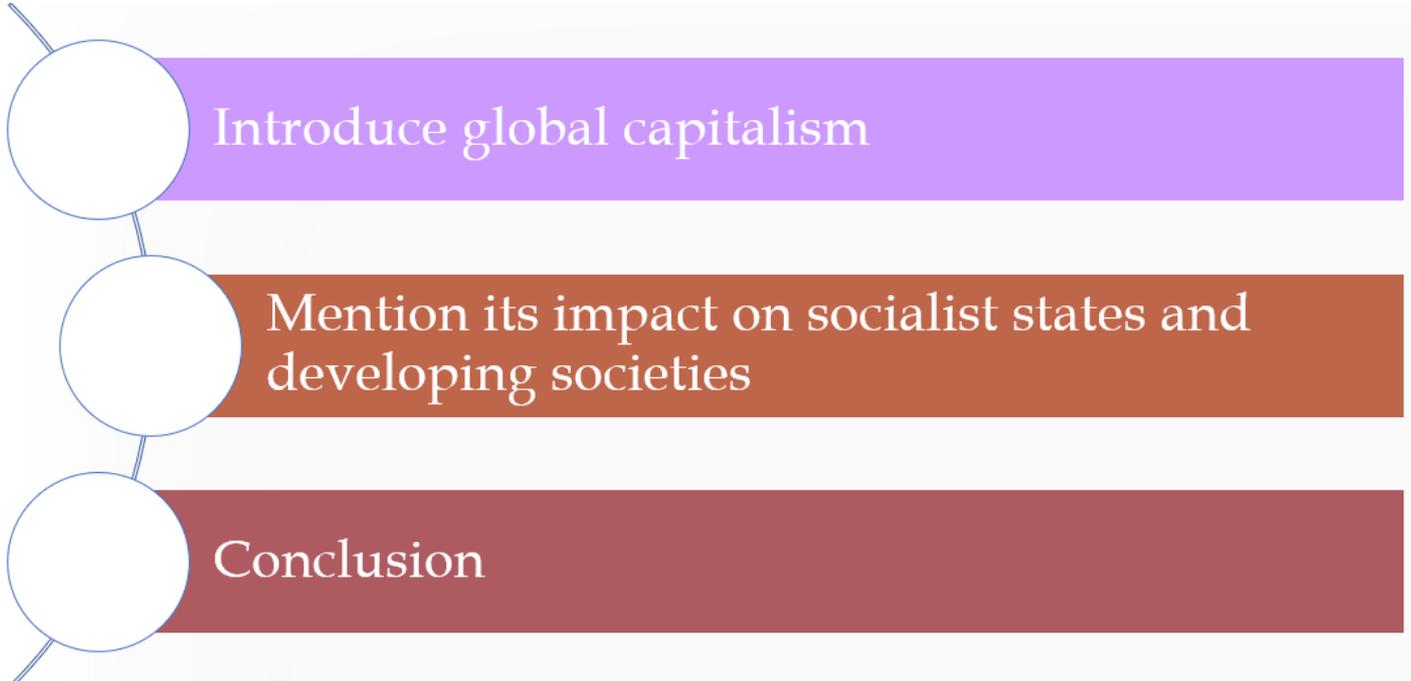
- **NAM as a moral force**- According to T.P Sreenivasan, NAM stood for freedom of judgement and action, hence it is still valid whether there are one block or two. It will be premature to denounce the death of NAM. M.K. Narayanan suggested that India must regain its moral leadership and revive the non-aligned movement.
- **Platform of south-south cooperation**-NAM as a platform can still help increased cooperation and coordination among the global South for example in pushing for WTO negotiations and bringing UNSC reform. K Harikumar also sees the platform as important for South South cooperation.
- **Connection between Africa and Asia**: NAM happens to be an important slice of history and few groupings that creates trans-continental relations.
- **Combat Neo-colonialism**: While NAM's agenda of promotion of decolonisation may be done with, the grouping can mould itself to counter forces of neo-colonialism and become a platform for further strengthening new international order that highlights more egalitarian global economy and trade. Further it can play an important role in highlighting developmental issues facing the third world such as the lack of vaccines, drugs, medical equipment during the pandemic. During the pandemic, NAM leaders at an online summit (Uniting Against COVID19 Pandemic) reiterated their commitment to founding principles.

- ***Pursuit of multilateralism***-After the disintegration of the USSR, there have been attempts to revive the platform e.g. **Havana Declaration, 2006 reoriented NAM's agenda.**
 - It sought to strengthen the UN system, reform multilateralism, address the challenges of globalisation and implement HR objectively
- More recently, **S Jaishankar at Baku Summit,2019** - "Multilateralism is undoubtedly under strain today. It is important that our Movement continues to work together and take the lead in building multilateral governance structures that are capable of meeting the 21th Century challenges.

Conclusion

- As per **Dr. Vasif Huseynov**, the solidarity among the members of the NAM would be critical to ensuring their security and defending their national interests. However, to ensure its continued relevance, NAM must reform its membership rules to make them more strict, develop a concrete workable agenda as well as set up a secretariat for long term planning and coordination.
- He further argues that a new need for the NAM emerged in recent years, as international politics gradually succumbed to the resumption of the divide of international politics between the United States and its allies, on the one hand, and Russia and China, on the other.
- NAM must prove itself as a collective voice of reason and a source of strength to its membership. For this, the member states of NAM, need to recommit themselves to make the movement more effective and faithfully adhere to its principles.

2) How has the development of Global Capitalism changed the nature of Socialist economies and developing societies? [2017]



Introduction

Global capitalism is capitalism that transcends national borders. It is characterised by the rise of transnational capital, a transnational capitalist class, and a transnational state.

The End of the Cold War coincided with the acceleration of globalisation based on the neoliberal Washington Consensus (rational choice theories).

Thus, economically, ideologically, geographically and culturally capitalism has come to dominate the world. Such dominance impacted Socialist and developing countries.

Changing Nature Of Socialist And Developing Economies

- State socialist societies were formed in opposition to the political and economic systems of the capitalist world and according to Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, such states were part of the semi-periphery.
- Rise of market fundamentalism-Neo-Gramscians highlight the hegemony of market fundamentalism from 1980s to 2008.
 - IMF's role in Structural Adjustments focused on reduced government intervention, trade liberalisation and privatisation.
 - Many developing societies witnessed increasing levels of imports, and consequent high levels of foreign debt which created dependency on the western capitalist system
 - As a result they undertook reforms to open their markets. De jure they held onto socialist ideas, but de facto they became mixed economies.
- Rise of State Corporatism: The political scientist **Jean C. Oi** coined the term "local state corporatism" to describe China's distinctive type of state-led growth, in which a communist party-state commits itself to policies which are friendly to the market and to growth given the advent of global capitalism. **W. Shan** points how China is among the most open markets in the world: It is the largest trading nation and also the largest recipient of foreign direct investment, surpassing the United States in 2020.
- State as Facilitator of capitalism: The advent of global capitalism in socialist economies and developing societies is often moulded by the States. For example, the Indian state facilitated and shaped the advent of LPG forces in India after 1991, providing for a progressive opening up of the economies and mitigating the changes encountered in the society due to the advent of globalisation. The bureaucracy in particular plays a prominent role here, thereby leading to the rise of an 'overdeveloped state' in mediating between global bourgeoisie and indigenous capitalists (**Hamza Alavi and Atul Kohli**).
- Emergence of neo-colonialism-Describing the impact of global capitalism on socialist states and developing economies, **Samir Amin** in his book **Capitalism in the age of Globalisation** analysed the impact of French neo-colonialism in West African countries and how it created unrest in the region.
- Development of underdevelopment-Similarly **Immanuel Wallerstein** (World Systems Theory) held that global capitalism has led to 'development of underdevelopment' in the developing world as emerging economies face difficulties in regulating MNCs and maintaining social welfare.
 - These assertions became true when neoliberalism faced the 2008 Global Financial Crisis or the Covid19 pandemic and the following global recession being witnessed.
- However not all countries have totally accepted western capitalism and become a satellite of western states.

- Chinese Marxists like **Jiang Hui** indicates that socialism with Chinese characteristics has become the flagbearer of the world socialist transition and the 21st century is a period of competition between US vs China's economic systems.

Conclusion

We can see that in present times, the western societies are reeling under the wave of protectionism. Yet developing countries are calling to protect multilateralism and free trade.

At the same time, the advent of the pandemic and tumultuous nature of international trade and economy has also led to greater protests and unrests among people leading to a revival in socialism as has been seen with the new 'pink tide' in Latin America. The state of economies in contemporary socialism may follow a hybrid model- while global capitalism may be here to stay, socialist principles can ensure a more egalitarian distribution of its rewards.

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