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Political Science & International Relations

UPSC 2023

Paper 2 - A

1. (a) What are the crucial functions of empirical political theory in comparative politics.

Changes in the Political System

Dimensions of analysis	Before <i>behavioral</i>	After <i>Behavioral</i>
Unit	State	Political system
Subject matter	Regimes and their formal institutions	Social and cultural structures; all actors in the process of decision-making
	Major democracies: US, Britain, France; analysis of democratic breakdown in Germany and Italy; authoritarianism in Spain and Latin America	Objective extension of cases (<i>decolonization</i>) and subjective extension with spread of discipline in various countries
	West-centric qualitative categories, typologies	Abstract concepts; empirical universals, quantitatively operationalized variables
	Narrative accounts and juxtapositions between cases	Machine-readable data sets and statistics; quasi-experimental comparative method
	Constitutional and legal texts, history	Survey (value and attitudes), aggregate (society and economy), and text (actors) data
	Normative: institutional elitism and pluralism; no elaborate conceptualization	Empirical: structural functionalism, systems theory, neo-institutionalism, rational choice, cultural theories

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1. (b) What are the difficulties faced by political theorist in comparing the States ?

Criticisms:

- A major issue in the comparative method concerns the choice of the units being compared. Sometimes in the Comparative Politics, it has been tried to draw parallel between two or more incomparable themes leading to imprecise conclusions.
- Further, in social sciences, there is typically the absence of large enough number of cases and reliable data that prevents the analyst from using the conventional statistical methods.
- According to A. Lijphart claimed that "the phrase comparative politics specifies the "how" but does not postulate the "what" of the analysis".
- The other problem raised by researchers with the comparative method is that research might be subjective and the researcher purposely chooses countries to demonstrate negative or positive to prove his/her opinion.
- There is the problem of conceptual stretching- Conceptual stretching is the distortion that occurs when a concept developed for one set of cases is extended to additional cases to which the features of the concept do not apply in the same manner. Sartori illustrated this problem by means of the 'ladder of generality'.
- Another issue is Galton's problem which refers to the situation where the observed differences or similarities may well be caused by exogenous factors that are common to all the cases selected for comparison.

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1.(c) How does democratic politics construct citizenship

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- Rights have often been viewed as one of the significant tools defining the relationship between individuals and State. **Harold J. Laski** defines rights as "those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general, to be his best". On their importance he remarked, "the state is known by the rights it maintains".
- The modern concept of citizenship is, by contrast, founded upon the principle of universal rights and obligations.
- T.H. Marshall** in his work *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950), distinguishes three bundles of rights constituting citizenship, viz. civil, political and social.
- In the late 1970s, **Karel Vasak** offered his concept of the three generations of rights:
 - The first generation regards negative rights and corresponds to civil and political rights.
 - The second generation presumes a positive action of the state and includes social and cultural rights.
 - Finally, Vasak's third generation of human rights is referred to as "rights of solidarity" which require collective action of individuals as well as state and other political units.

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Participatory democracy is seen as having merit on three grounds:

- Instrumental view** asserts that citizen participation is aimed at promoting or defending the interests of the participant. Before entering in participation, persons calculate the anticipated benefits and costs, and the prospects of attaining their objectives;
- Developmental or educational view** of participation holds that it enhances the participants' general moral, social and political awareness; and finally,
- Communitarian view** of participation justifies it in that it contributes to the common good.

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From the different meanings that are associated with democracy, one thing that becomes clear is that **democracy links government to the people**.

Participatory model envisages participation of all adult citizens of the state in collective decision making. This is because discussions allow a group to reconcile different interests, inform members about various issues and draw on the group's expertise.

Participatory democracy is based on the principles:

- People are sovereign
- Sovereignty is inalienable and cannot be represented
- People must express their general will and make decisions directly through their representatives
- Decisions are to be based on majority rule

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Nancy Frazer goes a step further in her analysis of public sphere and comes up with the concept of 'subaltern counter-republics'. This idea pushed forth the dimensions of deliberative democracy:

- a focus on inequalities in deliberation;
- a move towards plurality of contesting publics;
- a move to include self-interest in deliberation, where deliberation is constrained by fairness and rights;
- a move away from a sharp separation between civil society and state to considering these spheres interpenetrating and subject to democratic norms.

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1. (d) What is the structure and functions of International Court of Justice?

International Court of Justice

- The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

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- Its seat is at the Peace Palace in the Hague (Netherlands).
- It is the only one of the six principal organs of the United Nations not located in New York (United States of America). The International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges elected to nine-year terms, one-third of whom are elected every three years, by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council.
- The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies.

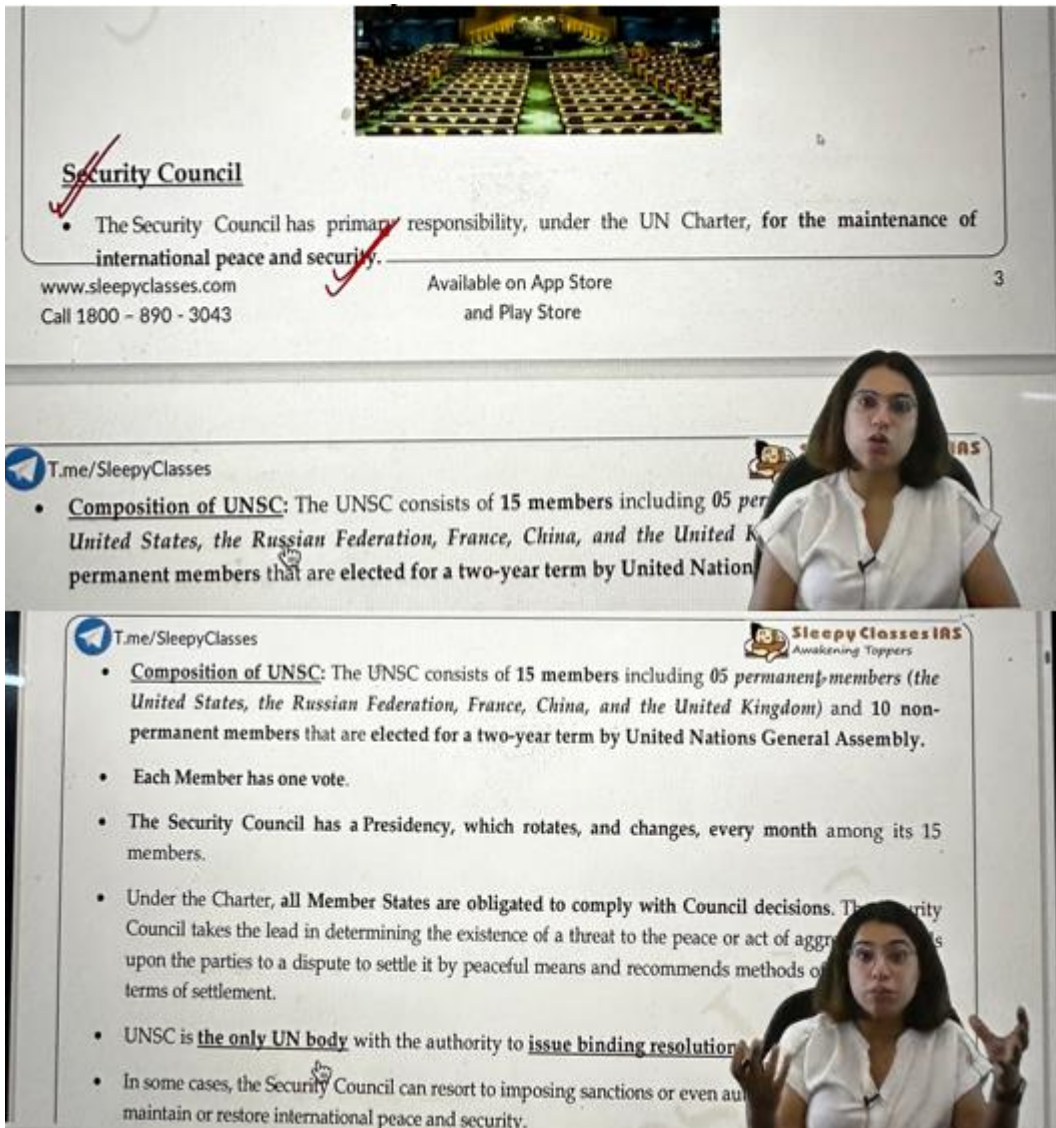
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- The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorized United Nations organs and specialized agencies. The International Court of Justice functions in accordance with its Statute.
- Only states may be parties in cases before the court, and no state can be sued by an individual or by a World Court unless it consents to such an action. Under article 36 of the court's statute, states may consent to the court's compulsory jurisdiction in advance by filing a declaration with the UN secretary-general.

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1. (e) Discuss the structure and functions of UN Security Council.



Security Council

- The Security Council has primary responsibility, under the UN Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

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- **Composition of UNSC:** The UNSC consists of 15 members including 05 permanent members (the United States, the Russian Federation, France, China, and the United Kingdom) and 10 non-permanent members that are elected for a two-year term by United Nations General Assembly.

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- **Composition of UNSC:** The UNSC consists of 15 members including 05 permanent members (the United States, the Russian Federation, France, China, and the United Kingdom) and 10 non-permanent members that are elected for a two-year term by United Nations General Assembly.
- Each Member has one vote.
- The Security Council has a Presidency, which rotates, and changes, every month among its 15 members.
- Under the Charter, all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions. The Security Council takes the lead in determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means and recommends methods of settlement in terms of settlement.
- UNSC is the only UN body with the authority to issue binding resolutions.
- In some cases, the Security Council can resort to imposing sanctions or even authorizing force to maintain or restore international peace and security.

2. (a) Discuss the relevance of the normative ethos of the Not-Aligned Movement in magnifying India's soft power in pursuit of her national interest. (20)

Relevance of NAM

- As per **Alexander Dugin**, the role of the nonaligned movement today is as relevant today as it is in 1961.
- Suhastini Thattai** highlighted following reasons for a new non-alignment initiative:
 - The world is facing challenges from great power conflicts again- Mr. Jaishankar referred to Afghanistan, Covid, Ukraine as examples where "big power rivalry" is having global consequences.
 - India maintains many of the NAM principles: political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality.
 - NAM Members are admitted if they take independent policies on great power conflict, not be a member of any defence alliance or host a foreign military base- all criteria India still adheres to.
 - While more than 120 countries voted to censure Russia at the UN, no more than 40 have joined the US and EU's sanctions, indicating that many countries are unwilling to be drawn into the growing battle-lines between Russia and the West and China and the West.
 - The members are mostly from the global south, which lies with the Indian push for South-South cooperation. Similar point is also highlighted by K Harikumar.
 - All India's neighbours- including Bhutan Bangladesh Nepal Maldives and Sri Lanka, members of NAM today, and share the value of independent foreign policy with India.
- As per **James Traub**, Cold War 2.0 is ushering in non-alignment 2.0. Hence, **Jorge Heine** is for "active nonalignment" in response to global competition between the US and China.

"The existing order" as former Indian National Security Advisor **Shiroshankar Menon** writes, "does not address their security needs, their existential concerns about food and finances, or transnational threats such as climate change".

During the pandemic, NAM leaders at an online summit (Uniting Against COVID19 Pandemic) reiterated their commitment to founding principles.

After the disintegration of the USSR, there have been attempts to revive the platform e.g. He Declaration, 2005 reoriented NAM's agenda. It sought to strengthen the UN system, reform multilateralism, address the challenges of globalisation and implement HR objectively.

S. Jaishankar at Baku Summit, 2019 - "Multilateralism is undoubtedly under strain too important that our Movement continues to work together and take the lead in building multilateral governance structures that are capable of meeting the 21st century challenge".

M.K. Narayanan suggested that India must regain its moral leadership and revive the non-aligned movement.

As per Nonalignment 2.0 document, "the core objective of a strategic approach should be to give India maximum options in its relations with the outside world—that is, to enhance India's strategic space and capacity for independent agency—which in turn will give it maximum options for its own internal development".

According to **Ashley J. Telts**, Nonalignment 2.0 see India as contemplating its external engagement principally from a viewpoint of how it ought to maneuver in order to protect itself while it remedies its infirmities.

Objectives of NAM 2.0 are three-fold:

- To lay out the opportunities that India enjoys in international sphere
- To identify the challenges and threats it is likely to confront; and
- To define the broad perspective and approach that India should adopt as it works to enhance its strategic autonomy in global circumstances.

Raja Mohan points out rethinking of NAM's role in Modi's foreign policy. NAM remains a critical diplomatic instrument for the pursuit of India's international interests. For example, reforming global institutions (UNSC).

Azerbaijan in a 2023 NAM summit meeting discussed the issues of global importance including post-pandemic recovery initiatives, international security, the institutional development of the NAM, etc.

Alot of the recent thinking and debates on non-alignment have occurred in Latin America and South-east Asia too.

Most Latin American countries have refused to align with any major power. They have also ignored US warnings to avoid doing business with China. Many have embraced Chinese infrastructure, 5G technology and digital connectivity.

For ASEAN non-alignment has as much to do with geography as strategy. Many member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations have historically championed "declaratory non-alignment". They have used the concept largely rhetorically while, in reality, practising a promiscuous "multi-alignment".

Prof. A. Adebajo-Uganda's chairmanship of NAM since December 2023 can help strengthen the NAM in Africa as well. Beijing is Africa's largest trading partner at \$254 billion and builds a third of the continent's infrastructure.

2. (b) In what ways does the functionalist approach in International relations help in maintaining peace and order, in global politics? (15)

Functionalism

Functionalism stands in the liberal tradition and follows the conceptualization of politics as a result of the struggle to satisfy individual and societal needs. Therefore, the focus lies on cooperation between a variety of actors across national boundaries, caused by common interests and needs within an interdependent global system.

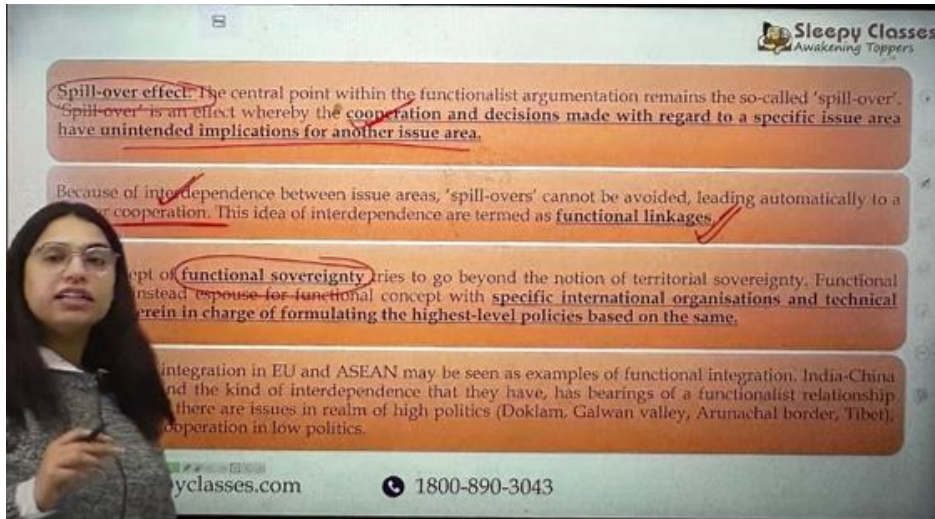
Functionalism is based on the ideas of **Richard Cobden** of "keeping politicians out and bringing technicians in." In International Relations, functionalism became largely associated with the work of **Mitrany** during and after the Second World War. Like many of his contemporaries, Mitrany considered nationalism and the political organization of societies in nation-states to be the main problem of Europe's war-torn history.

In order to achieve peace, he advocated the rise and spread of functional organizations where international problems would be tackled by those affected by and having expertise about them. He thus followed functionalist slogan in that he considered the territorial state not to be the adequate form of organization to address many problems under conditions of increased interdependency.

Functionalism

By the logic of the theory, states seeking peace and prosperity are able to gradually establish a working peace system.

- As Mitrany himself put it, this system will yield "not a peace that would keep the nations quietly apart but a peace that would bring them actively together".
- It will be based on technical and economic cooperation built upon pragmatic interests of the states involved. For example the European Coal and Steel Community was established to prevent another war between Germany and France.
- According to functionalist theory, states seeking peace and prosperity gradually build sectoral cooperation by integration, for it brings them closer to both prosperity and peace.
- The positive effects from strengthening such cooperation will incrementally cover adjacent sectors, resulting in the spill-over effect. In this fashion, integration processes spread themselves, underpinned by supranational structures performing certain functions, as indicated in the name of the theory. Institutions emerge in response to a process of integration.



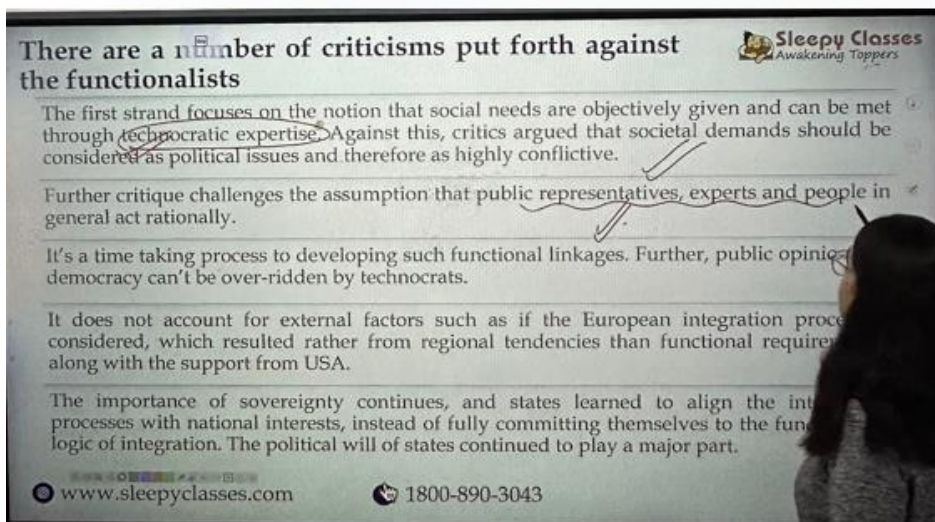
Spill-over effect: The central point within the functionalist argumentation remains the so-called 'spill-over'. 'Spill-over' is an effect whereby the cooperation and decisions made with regard to a specific issue area have unintended implications for another issue area.

Because of interdependence between issue areas, 'spill-overs' cannot be avoided, leading automatically to a greater cooperation. This idea of interdependence are termed as functional linkages.

The concept of functional sovereignty tries to go beyond the notion of territorial sovereignty. Functionalists instead espouse for functional concept with specific international organisations and technical agencies wherein in charge of formulating the highest-level policies based on the same.

Integration in EU and ASEAN may be seen as examples of functional integration. India-China relationship and the kind of interdependence that they have, has bearings of a functionalist relationship. However, there are issues in realm of high politics (Doklam, Galwan valley, Arunachal border, Tibet), which require cooperation in low politics.

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There are a number of criticisms put forth against the functionalists

The first strand focuses on the notion that social needs are objectively given and can be met through technocratic expertise. Against this, critics argued that societal demands should be considered as political issues and therefore as highly conflictive.

Further critique challenges the assumption that public representatives, experts and people in general act rationally.

It's a time taking process to developing such functional linkages. Further, public opinion and democracy can't be over-ridden by technocrats.

It does not account for external factors such as if the European integration process is considered, which resulted rather from regional tendencies than functional requirements along with the support from USA.

The importance of sovereignty continues, and states learned to align the international processes with national interests, instead of fully committing themselves to the functional logic of integration. The political will of states continued to play a major part.

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2. (c) How does the regime change and political crisis in Myanmar threaten regional security and peace?
(15)

What?

- In Jan 2021, the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Aung San Suu Kyi won a landslide victory.
- The Army, which contested the election through its proxy party, the United Solidarity and Development Party, fared poorly. This led to a coup on allegations of rigging by the NLD.
- With two years passing, need to look at the impact of the coup on India and issues it led to.



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Importance of Myanmar:

- According to S. Banerjee (ORF), Myanmar, which shares a border with four of India's north-eastern states—Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland—is **crucial to the country's 'Act East' policy**.
- India has a **number of projects with Myanmar in the pipeline**, seeking to improve physical connectivity through transport links, which in turn can assist in both countries' development goals.
- Critical to help **transform the landlocked north-eastern states**. This will link the northeast with the rest of India, and open up its access to the sea. Increase economic activity and generate jobs in the region, leading to **long-term stability, peace, and prosperity**.



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- In recent times, India been more pragmatic.
- It expressed concern over the 'political turmoil' and sought a proper resolution through democratic means.
- Barely a month and a half after the coup, on 27 March 2021, Indian officials attended the military parade in Myanmar's capital Naypyidaw to mark Myanmar Armed Forces Day.
- Some months later, in December 2021, then Foreign Secretary Harsh V. Shringla visited Myanmar. Though he did refer to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) five-point consensus on Myanmar.

ASEAN "five point consensus"

- An immediate end to violence in the country;
- Dialogue among all parties;
- The appointment of a special envoy;
- Humanitarian assistance to ASEAN; and
- The special envoy's visit to Myanmar to meet all parties.

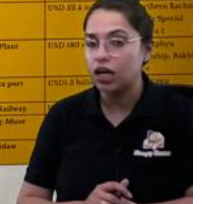


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Challenges:

- Incomplete projects and unfulfilled objectives
- Thousands of refugees in Mizoram and other states from the adjoining Chin state in Myanmar
- Rise of resistance groups: The Myanmar junta has recruited Indian insurgent group (IIGs) –eg. People's Liberation Army, in regions adjoining Manipur and Nagaland to fight against the local PDFs and other groups.
- Failure of military operations: The military regime is unable to crush the resistance movement.
- No formal links with the government-in-exile
- China is expanding its footprint in Myanmar's infrastructure projects.

Name	Total Investment	Location
Myeik LNG	USD 2.5 billion	Aranyaadyi
Kyaukse Special Economic Zone (KSEZ)	USD 1.5 billion	Kyaukse, Bhamo
New Yangon City project	USD 2.5 billion	Yangon
Chindwin River GCEZ	USD 2.5 billion	Northern Shan
Kaungmye GCEZ	USD 2.5 billion	Central Shan
Kyaukse Power Plant	USD 1.5 billion	Kyaukse, Bhamo
Kyaukse deep sea port	USD 2.5 billion	Kyaukse, Bhamo
Muse - Mandalay Railway	USD 1.5 billion	Muse, Mandalay
Mandalay-Tingyiay-Muse Expressway	USD 1.5 billion	Mandalay, Tingyiay, Muse
Kyaukse-Naypyidaw Highway project	USD 1.5 billion	Kyaukse, Naypyidaw



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Background of the issue

- The Laotian police busted about millions methamphetamine pills and more than 1.5 tonnes of crystal meth or 'ice' in north-western Bokeo province in January 2022 and in October 2021.
- These illicit substances are produced in the Shan state of Myanmar, and transported to Thailand via Laos.
- In the aftermath of the coup in Myanmar in February 2021, reports note the production has shot up exponentially, and record amounts have been seized.
- Such unregulated production and trafficking of drugs poses multifaceted threats to India and

Background of the issue



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Why in News

Foreign ministers from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) gathered last month in July in Jakarta, with a range of critical challenges to address. Chief among those issues was the crisis in member state Myanmar.

This development highlights the significance of the Security community and how peace theories are big supporter of such engagements. The basis of security community is collective identity. This justification holds that states allow individuals to escape the state of nature. They create a space for communities to construct moral meaning.

ASEAN - supra-national instⁿ

South Asia
↑
USA

The crisis exposed a tension between maintaining unity and upholding human rights values. Some member states prioritized non-interference and stability, while others advocated for stronger actions to protect human rights and democratic values.

West (EU) → security community → East (USA)
anarchy

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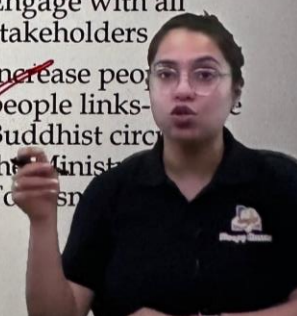
Way forward:

India has pursued a "dual-track policy", which essentially means doing business with the junta, which has ruled over Myanmar for all but five years since 1990, with tea and sympathy for the pro-democracy forces.

The decision to engage with the military rulers was taken in the mid-1990s primarily as a quid pro quo for its help in securing India's North-eastern borders by denying safe haven on its soil to North-eastern insurgencies.

But, over the last two decades, as China with its deep pockets emerged as a rival in the region, engaging with the junta was also seen as a way to retain Indian influence in Myanmar.

1. Expedite project implementation
2. Engage with all stakeholders
3. Increase people links-Buddhist circles, the Minister, To...



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3. (a) "During the Cold War, the Non-Aligned Movement tried to become a 'Third force' in World Politics, but failed because it was too large and unwieldy." Discuss. (20)

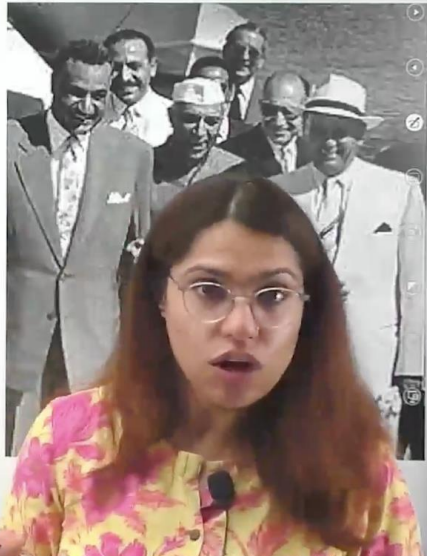
Vinod Kumar argued that:

- Non-alignment policy was about the *autonomy of decision-making and flexibility of choices in pursuit of national interest*.
- It also demonstrates how *visionary leadership seeking to influence international politics* could develop ideational frameworks to propel their grand strategy.
- NAM's actual relevance was in *determining the space for India and the third world* in the Cold War spectrum.

NAM as a foreign policy was based on Nehruvian vision:

- as a model of *third world self-sufficiency* bereft of influence of imperialism or colonialism, and
- as a platform to *safeguard the interests of those who wished not to align* with the superpowers in their rivalry.

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Challenges faced by NAM:

- *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.
- One of the main weaknesses of NAM has been the *lack of concrete agenda*.
- Further, its *membership rules are extremely vague* and open ended.
- The Sino-India war of 1962 was one of the first situations in which the non-aligned countries faced a situation that was not directly related to the two blocs or issues such as colonialism and the responses ranged from ignoring the situation, making profile appeals and statements to making attempts to mediate- *inability to concrete action*.
- Moreover, the lack of regular summits and failure of NAM in resolving conflicts have also dented the image of NAM as an organization
- *S. Jaishankar* quotes it to be a *concept of a "particular geopolitical landscape"* no longer exists after the end of Cold War.
- *Hans Kochler* points out that NAM was relevant only during the cold war era of the world. Now there is only one dominant global power (US) and hence its redundant.

Achievements of NAM:

Anti colonialism: A major goal of the Non-aligned Movement was to end colonialism. The conferences of the NAM continuously supported the national liberation movements and the organisations that led those movements were given the status of full members in these conferences. This support greatly facilitated the decolonization process in Asia and Africa.

Against Racism: It also condemned racial discrimination and injustice and lent full support to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and Namibia. Today in both countries this obnoxious policy has ended with independence and majority rule.

Peace and Disarmament: Another area in which the NAM made a significant contribution was towards the preservation of peace and disarmament. Its espousal of peace, of peaceful existence and of human brotherhood, opposition to wars of any kind contributed to the lowering of Cold War tensions and expanded areas of peace in the world with less states joining blocs.

3. (b) Account for the rise of European Union as a highly influential regional organisation. (15)

Both EU and ASEAN have been regarded as critical examples of regional integration. Compare and contrast the working as well as success of both the bodies. (20)

Structure function Goals

Introduction

- Introduce EU and ASEAN are models of regional integration

Body

- Main areas of similarities- legal, economic, political, security
- Main areas of differences between the two

Conclusion

- Importance of both bodies

- They have both achieved significant economic and political cooperation among their member states. **Article 52 of the UN Charter** refers, with approval, to regional arrangements, which support the purposes and principles of the UN. ASEAN and the European Union are two regional organisations which support the objectives of the UN by maintaining peace in their respective regions, by preventing armed conflict, by empowering their citizens, and by raising the standards of living of their peoples.
- The foundations of European Union were laid by the **Treaty of Paris** in 1952 which led to the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Backed by the **Marshall Plan** with large funds coming from the United States since 1948, the ECSC became a milestone organization, enabling European economic development.

• The European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are both **regional organizations** that have been viewed through the lens of **functionalism** (also known as "peace by pieces"). The EU, notwithstanding the decision by the United Kingdom to leave the union, is often referred to as one of the **most successful regional organisations in the world**. ASEAN is often referred to as the second most successful regional organisation.

• They have both achieved significant economic and political cooperation among their member states. **Article 52 of the UN Charter** refers, with approval, to regional arrangements, which support the purposes and principles of the UN. ASEAN and the European Union are two regional organisations which support the objectives of the UN by maintaining peace in their respective regions, by preventing armed conflict, by empowering their citizens, and by raising the standards of living of their peoples.

• Both EU and ASEAN are regional organisations with legal personalities backed by specific declarations. The second similarity is that both were founded to **promote peace through complex interdependence**. The EU was founded, after two disastrous world wars, to prevent the recurrence of war in Europe and to **institutionalise peace through economic integration as Hedley Bull** of English school suggested that role of institutions (European Parliament and European court of justice) can change anarchy into anarchical society. ASEAN was founded to create a peaceful environment in South-east Asia so that the member countries could focus their energies on their economic development.

• The third similarity is that both seek to **integrate the economies of their member states into a single market and production platform**. The purpose of integration is to enhance the welfare of their people and to have stronger negotiating power.

3. (c) Narrate the various ways in which rapid environmental degradation is posing a serious threat to human security. Illustrate your answer with suitable examples. (15)

Global Concerns Environment

National Interests → Zero sum approach

Collective concern → Industrial Security → UN

Resource problems - attempts to conserve natural materials through reducing the use of non-renewable resources (coal, oil, natural gas and so on), increasing the use of renewable resources (such as wind, wave and tidal power) and reducing population growth thereby curtailing resource consumption.

limited population

Sink problems - attempts to reduce the damage done by the waste products of economic activity, though, for example, reducing pollution levels, increasing recycling, and developing greener (less polluting) technologies.

finite resources → sustainable development → zero sum climate change → degradation

See the environmental issues

Ethical problems - attempts to restore the balance between humankind and nature through wildlife and wilderness conservation, respect for other species (animal rights and animal welfare) and changed agricultural practices (organic farming).

Anthropocene → Humans


Environment

DDT

Although forms of environmental politics can be traced back to the industrialization of the nineteenth century, it became a prominent movement in the 1960's and 70's.

Influenced by pioneering works of **Rachel Carson- The Silent Spring (1962)**, a critique of the damage done to wildlife and the human world by the increased use of pesticides and **other agricultural chemicals**, and **Murray Bookchin's Our Synthetic Environment** which examined how pesticides, food additives and X-rays cause a range of human illnesses, including cancer.

This period also saw the birth of a new generation of activist NGOs- ranging from Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth to animal liberation activists and so-called 'eco-warrior' groups. They stressed on the need to **"think globally, act locally"**.



1950-1980 → modern agriculture → population explosion

1950-1980 → modern agriculture → population explosion

The Class that Launched the Environmental Movement

4. (a) Critically examine the impact of globalization on the developing countries of the world. (20)

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

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.

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.

Defeating the onslaught of challenges like 2008, Covid de wars, Ukes

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.

Uneven geographies in developing world:

Branko Milanovic's book 'Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization' provides some vital insights, looking at the big winners and losers in terms of income over the two decades from 1988 to 2008.

Among the big winners were the global 1%, the world's plutocrats, but also the mid newly emerging economies. Among the big losers - those who gained little or none those at the bottom and the middle and working classes in the advanced countries.

Amartya Sen highlights how global interrelations have often been very pro-advancement of different countries through travel, trade, migration, spread of culture and dissemination of knowledge and understanding (including that of science and technology).

According to Sen, there is an urgent need for both international and national reform the distribution of the benefits of globalization. At the national level, public policies areas like education, epidemiology, land reform, microcredit, legal protection etc.

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 Barber** 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.

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

Globalisation → Corrupts on of states → increased vulnerability

J. Bhagwati, to address the adverse consequences of globalization, and to make "the beneficial globalization process work even better," argues for "managed" globalization using a three-pronged strategy:

- First, he advocates policies to mitigate the downsides associated with globalization, such as the displacement of jobs. More specifically, he advocates unemployment insurance, retraining programs and initiatives to reduce volatility in agriculture.
- Second, he argues that the transition from a closed to an open economy must be done gradually. This is especially true with financial markets. Bhagwati argues this is most likely the best explanation of the Asian financial crisis during 1997 and 1998. So, he argues, closed financial markets should be opened gradually and carefully to prevent this instability.
- Finally, Bhagwati urges the pursuit of policies that accelerate the beneficial effects of globalization on social issues including monitoring and reviews by various international agencies.

4. (b) What do you mean by offensive and defensive realism? (15)

Relative Gains: The constant state of insecurity is also encouraged by the fact that states are primarily concerned about maintaining or improving their position relative to other states; that is, with making relative gains. Apart from anything else, this discourages cooperation and reduces the effectiveness of international organizations because, although all states may benefit from a particular action or policy, each state is really more worried about whether other states benefit more than it does. Power, in essence, is zero-sum game – one state's gain is another state's loss.

... leads to a further bifurcation between **Defensive and Offensive Realists.** ... is seen as a 'defensive realist' i.e., someone who recognizes that states must and seek power in order to be secure and to survive, but who believe that excessive ... is counterproductive, because it provokes hostile alliances by other states. For ... does not make sense, therefore, to strive for excessive power beyond that necessary for security and survival.

J. Mearsheimer on the other hand, argues that states seek hegemony, that they are ultimately more aggressive than Waltz portrays them. The goal for a country such as the United States is to dominate the entire system, because only in that way could it rest assured that no other state or combination of states would even think about going to war against the United States. All major powers strive for that ideal situation. But ... is too big for global hegemony. The oceans are huge barriers.

No state would have the necessary power. **Mearsheimer therefore argues that states can only become the hegemon in their own region of the world.** e.g. China in Asia. Offensive realism rests on the assumption that all major powers are always searching for opportunities to gain power over their rivals, with hegemony as their final goal.

4. (c) Discuss the various constraints on American hegemony today. Which of these are likely to become more prominent in the future? (15)

Introduction

- What is hegemony?
- Application of hegemony in IR?

Body

- Conditions that point to decline of US hegemony
- Counter examples to decline hypothesis

Conclusion

- Conclude with way forward

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... are rising great powers and are destined to emerge as the number two and three economies in the world during the next several decades. Kishor Mahabubani argues that internally, the 30-year period of liberal-idealist domination of the U.S. foreign policy has coincided with a 30-year period of stagnation of working-class incomes.

- Externally, the U.S. literally fell asleep at the wheel while China rose dramatically. In 1980, in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms, China's gross national product (GNP) was 10% of that of the U.S. By 2014, it had become bigger. China's rapid economic rise, technological advancements, and increasing global influence have led to debates about whether it is challenging U.S. hegemony, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. According to the **2021 Asia Power Index**, within Asia, the United States still takes the lead on military capacity, cultural influence, resilience, future economic, diplomatic influence, and defense networks, but falls behind China in two parameters: economic capability and economic relationships. In the growing economic competition in Asia, U.S. ...
- In addition to relative decline, the United States confronts other constraints on its international power. The United States' soft power may diminish as its liberal model of political and economic development is challenged by authoritarian/statist alternatives as well as increasing global challenges including civilisational backlash (Huntington), economic crisis, climate and health etc. Geopolitical shifts, conflicts, and changing alliances have led to questions about the future of U.S. ...