International Relations
PSC201

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What is International Relations and what is its relevance?

Definitions of IR

Jeromy Bentham was the first person to use the word 'international', in the later 18th century, with regards to defining the relations between nation-states. A restricted definition of IR confines its focus to official relations and excludes relations other than the official from the purview of international relations.

From a broader view, IR may refer to all forms of interactions between members of separate societies, whether government sponsored or not.

The study of IR includes analysis of foreign policies or political processes between nations, and also focuses on international trade and civil society interaction.

Ingredients of IR

The study of IR involves looking at the nature and principal forces of international organization as well as the political, social, economic organization of political life. IR is also concerned with an examination of elements of *national power*, including the limitation of national power and examining how it can be controlled.

IR also focuses on the instruments available for promotion of *national interest,* with foreign policies of major powers and of smaller (strategic) powers and considers other historical ingredients as a background for events affecting the current sphere of International Relations.

International Politics vs. International Relations

IR is wider in scope than international politics. International politics focuses on various styles of politics: the politics of violence, the politics of persuasion, hierarchical policies and pluralistic politics.

Yet IR embraces the totality of relations among people and groups of people in global society, which go beyond looking at political forces to an examination of socio-cultural and economic processes as well.

League of Nations

WWI had caused 20 million deaths in 4 years. For the first time ever, there was a global consensus on the need for collective security and a focus on the need for prevention of war.

Nations attempted to put to practice the ideas of public voting by diplomats in international organizations; the rule of law; the promise of disarmament and foreign policies based on disarmament via the formulation of the League of Nations.

The League was ineffective in stopping the military aggression that led to World War II. It ceased its work during the war and dissolved in 1946. The United Nations assumed its assets and carries on much of its work.

Foreign Policy & Diplomacy
Foreign policies are based on circumstantial variables as well as contending theories concerning how to best achieve the interests of a state in its interaction with other states.

Diplomacy focuses on the structures and instruments available for diplomacy and the changing scope of interaction with international actors.

International Institutions

Contemporary international institutions in which groups of states or other actors can participate include International Non Government Organizations (INGOs) or the UN system. The European Union, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Association for South East Asian Nations or South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation are also other regional groupings with multiple functions.

Relevant Vocabulary

Contemporary: Current or from the same time period

Aggression: Violent behavior

Ceased: Ended

Disarmament: reduction of weaponry

Formulation: to devise or to design

Circumstantial: based on circumstances or ground realities

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 1 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

League of Nations
http://www.library.northwestern.edu/govpub/collections/league/background.html#introduction

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LESSON 02
Approaches to International Relations: Theories in IR (Continued from Lecture 1)

Political Realism

Realism emphasizes assumes that all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns. Realism seeks to preserve political autonomy and territorial integrity of nation-states.

Once basic interests are secured, national interests may take different forms. Some states may have an interest in securing more resources or land; other states may wish to expand their own political or economic systems into other areas. Generally speaking, national interest must be defined in terms of power.

National power has an absolute meaning since it can be defined in terms of military, economic, political, diplomatic, or even cultural resources. For a realist, power is primarily a relative term: does a state have the ability to defend itself against the power of another state? Does a state have the ability to coerce another state to change that state's policies?

The realist conception of the international system is an anarchical environment. All states have to rely upon their own resources to secure their interests, enforce whatever agreements they may have entered into with other states, or to maintain a desirable domestic and international order.

For a realist, there should be no authority over the nation-state. Realism tries to describe politics rationally, not on the basis of morality, but there is no universally acceptable definition of power. Realists also think there is a constant struggle of power as power is the ultimate aim for all states, which is not necessarily the case. Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger are famous realists.

"Realism", as Robert Gilpin once observed, "is founded on a pessimism regarding moral progress and human possibilities." From the realist perspective, incompatible goals and conflict are the defining features of world politics. Without enforceable international rules, decision makers have little choice but to compete with other states for security, status, and wealth. The competition is expected to be difficult, since the others are also likely to view their power resources and security positions in relative terms.

Tenets of Liberalism

Liberal and or neo-liberal theorists try to identify a common basis for international cooperation and interaction. Liberal theorists think that multiple actors are important to understanding outcomes in international system: states, MNCs, NGOs, etc. (these actors are not necessarily unitary or rational).

Economic, social and military goals motivate these actors to act and multiple means are used to achieve their goals. For liberals, the anarchic character of the interstate system does not imply that policy makers face an unchanging situation of international conflict. The prospect of economic, technological, and cultural benefits may give policy makers reasons to cooperate with other states. These include asymmetries in interdependence, military or issue specific power (where different states have power on different issues, e.g. OPEC countries have power with respect to oil prices not political issues)

According to liberal theorists, the anarchic international system is mitigated by norms and rules of international law and trade. Governance without government is the ideal system for global organization according to liberals. Liberals are particularly against the interference of the government in economic processes.

Idealism

Idealists regard realism as a passing phase of history. They envision a world free of power politics and violence. Idealists have great faith in international organizations and universal education in achieving this end. But crushing totalitarianism with democratic principles is not easy. Idealism can be frustrating given the lingering turmoil evident in the world. Rousseau, Kant and Woodrow Wilson were famous idealists.

Relevant Vocabulary

Anarchy: lack or absence of political organization

Mitigated: lessened, alleviated or eased

Interstate: between states

Assume: to take for granted

Lingering: ongoing or continuing. Global poverty for example is a lingering problem.

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 1 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Liberalism and Realism

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http://homepages.stmartin.edu/Fac_Staff/rlangill/PLS%20300/Competing%20World%20Views-Lamborn.htm

LESSON 03
Approaches to International Relations (Continued from Lectures 1 and 2)

Approaches to IR

There are several distinct approaches to the study of IR, these include: the traditional approach, the scientific approach, the behavioural and post-behaviouralist approaches, and the systems approach.

Traditional Approach

In view of the complex variables influencing behaviour of states, the traditionalists focus on the observed behaviour of governments. They explain observable government behaviour on the basis of concepts like balance of power, national interest, diplomacy etc. Traditional realists try to understand and resolve the clashing of interests that inevitability leads to war.

This is an approach to international relations that emphasizes the studying of such disciplines as diplomatic history, international law, and philosophy in an attempt to develop better insights. Traditionalists tend to be skeptical of behaviouralist approaches that are confined to strict scientific standards that include formal hypothesis testing and, usually, the use of statistical analysis.

Traditional theorists regard international relations as a sub-discipline of history and political science. There are historical, philosophical and legal variants to the traditional approach.

Scientific Approach

Scientific scholars challenged the traditionalist, arguing that IR is too broad and complex a field to be a sub-discipline of political science. They began constructing conceptual frameworks and partial models of international systems, and tried to collect and analyze data to refute of validate a formulated hypothesis.

Such theorists focus on statistical correlations between variables like incidence of war and alliance policies for e.g. While this approach has brought a methodological rigor to IR, it relies more heavily on process analysis than on experimentation. Even obtaining data is difficult in IR and the units of analysis vary (terrorism for e.g. is a relative term).

Behavioural Approach

In the 1960s and 70s, scholars began arguing that politics cannot be studied factually without reference to values. Behavioural approach is informed by socio-anthropological and psychological perspectives. It focuses on understanding the reasons behind the action behaviour of states and other international actors.

This approach has contributed to understanding how people and organizations of different cultures interact, the effects of propaganda and stereotypical views on conflict situations and international relations.

It is difficult to determine the behaviour of states, which is the aggregate behaviour of a large number of individuals and of superimposing authorities.

An approach to the study of politics or other social phenomena that focuses on the actions and interactions among units by using scientific methods of observation to include quantification of variables whenever possible. A practitioner of behaviouraism is often referred to as a behaviouralist.

Behaviorism refers to the ideas held by those behavioral scientists who consider only observed behavior as relevant to the scientific enterprise and who reject what they consider to be metaphysical notions of "mind" or "consciousness".

Post-Behaviouralist Approach

In the 1980s, an attempt was made to combine normative and empirical approaches to study IR.

This approach can be used to test the validity of the idealists' hypothesis to see if democratic or authoritarian states are more likely to be engaged in internal conflicts.

Systems Approach

This approach places more emphasis on the complex interaction between and within states, while retaining a post-behavioural scientific orientation. It does so by focusing on international systems which are interdependent and interrelated.

These systems range from small systems to intermediate and large systems. The UN system, individual nations, ethnic groups, individual voters, political parties, MNCs etc. can all be categorized into corresponding systems to understand the complex nature of IR.

Relevant Vocabulary

Hypothesis: conclusion made on examination of evidence

Correlations: similarities

Aggregate: combined

Variables: factors which are subject to change in different circumstances

Sub-discipline: discipline within a broader discipline

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 1 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

IR Paradigms, Approaches and Theories

http://www.irtheory.com/know.htm

THE NATION-STATE SYSTEM

Background and Approaches

A nation denotes a common ethnic and cultural identity shared by a single people, while a state is a political unit with a governance system controlling a territory and its inhabitants.

The nation promotes emotional relationship amongst its members, while states provide political and legal foundation for the identity of its citizens. The term nation-state has been used by social scientists to denote the gradual fusion of cultural and political boundaries after a long control of political authority by a central government. The nation-state plays a dominant role in international relations.

Nation and Government

While governments come and go, a state has more permanence. Students and scholars of international relations can depend upon the continued existence of a state as a viable political entity.

Historical Background

The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 created the modern nation-state. The treaty established the principle of internal sovereignty (preeminence of rulers from other claimants to power) and external sovereignty (independence from outside powers).

England, Spain and France obtained independence from dominance by the Holy Roman Empire. It is often said that the Peace of Westphalia initiated the modern fashion of diplomacy as it marked the beginning of the modern system of nation states. Subsequent wars were not about issues of religion, but rather revolved around issues of state. This allowed Catholic and Protestant Powers to ally, leading to a number of major realignments.

Another important result of the treaty was it laid rest to the idea of the Holy Roman Empire having secular dominion over the entire Christian world. The nation-state would be the highest level of government, subservient to no others.

Scholars like Machiavelli, Bodin and Grotius defended the authority of the state and provided justification for the secular state independent from the authority of the Pope.

Approaches to IR

There are three approaches to studying the social-cultural, political and economic forces at work within different nation-states.

i.   *Objective (Attributive) Approach*: identifies nationalism and the nation-state in terms of observable and quantifiable attributes, including linguistic, racial and religious factors.

ii. *Subjective (Emotional) Approach*: views nationalism and the nation-state as a set of emotional, ideological and patriotic feelings binding people regardless of their ethnic backgrounds.

iii. Eclectic (Synthetic) Approach: A more subjective than objective approach, seeking to supplement notions of nationalism and patriotism with interethnic interaction and education processes to explain creation of a common identity.

Further Evolution of Nation-State

State systems underwent further evolution on account of rise of representative government, the industrial revolution, population explosion, independence of developing countries, economic growth and multilateral organizations etc.

Relevant Vocabulary

Population explosion: uncontrolled growth of population

Sovereignty: dominion, rule or independence

Multilateral initiatives: joint efforts often involving different nations and with many objectives

Linguistic: concerning language

Quantifiable: scientific or verifiable

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 2 in "A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

International Relations

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_relations

LESSON 05
THE NATION STATE SYSTEM: BASIC FEATURES OF A NATION-STATE
(Continued from Lecture 4)

Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty is permanently associated with a nation-state. It evolved in the 16thc in France, during the conflict between the state and the church.

Many theorists have defined sovereignty. Hobbes focused on its absolutist aspect, while Austin focused on legalistic or juristic notions of sovereignty. The modern doctrine of popular sovereignty has transferred the source of absolute power from the monarch to the people.

The notion of sovereignty is important but it can become rigid unless applied to the evolving pattern of inter-state relations.

Nationalism

Nationalism implies elevation of the nation above all other values. States usually control the mass media to propagate their foreign policy objectives and centralize their education systems to popularize nationalistic values.

Nationalism may take precedence over moral and religious beliefs (Soviet Union) or it may become fused with such beliefs (Israel). Hans Morgenthau differentiated between nationalism of the 19th century and more recent nationalistic universalism under which one state can claim the right to impose its own standards upon the actions of all other nations.

Nationalism is an ideology that creates and sustains a nation as a concept of a common identity for groups of humans. According to the theory of nationalism, the good being, the preservation of identity features, the independence in all subjects, and the glory, of one's own nation, are fundamental values.

Nationalists base nations on various notions of political legitimacy. These can derive from the liberal argument that political legitimacy is derived from the consent of a region's population, or combinations of the two.

The modern vernacular use of nationalism refers to the political (and military) exercise of ethnic and religious nationalism, as defined below. Political scientists usually tend to research and focus on the more extreme forms of nationalism usually related with national-socialism, separatism etc.

National Power

Power is a gauged by both tangible and non-tangible aspects. The economic output, size, population and military strength of a state are tangible and quantifiable aspects.

Power also rests on intangible factors like quality of leadership, ideology, morale and manipulative or diplomatic strength. Power purchases security and enables survival of a state, thus it is an end onto itself. This long run objective to achieve power also requires exertion of power, so it is also a means to an end.

Ingredients of National Power

Force: the explicit threat or use of military, economic, nuclear and other instruments of coercion by one state against another.

Influence: using instruments of persuasion by one state to alter or maintain the behavior of another state.

Authority: voluntary compliance with directives of a state by other states out of respect, solidarity, or in recognition of expertise.

Relevant Vocabulary

Derived: obtained or extracted from

Legitimacy: legality or justification

Compliance: following and/or accepting instructions

Directives: orders

Solidarity: united stance

Explicit: obvious or visible

Intangible: not visible or very evident

Gauged: ascertained or measured

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 2 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Nationalism

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalism

NATIONAL INTEREST

Origins of National Interest

The word interest is derived from Latin and means "it concerns, or it makes a difference to". In the 1930s, Charles Bear wrote the first book concerning national interest. In following years the notion of national interest in IR has been used to describe the underlying rationale for the behavior of states in a threatening global environment, which preserves and protects one's values against another.

Statesmen who are responsible for and to their separate publics, and who operate in an uncertain milieu, often have little choice but to put the interest of their own entity above those of others.

National interest is understood to mean a state of affairs valued solely for its benefit to the nation. National interest often becomes synonymous with national egoism, with its disposition of transferring self love onto the national group.

One cannot speak about national interest without reference to values, even if they are a culmination of those held by some or all members of a given society

What does Nation Interest include?

Scholars define national interest variously. Some put self-preservation (territorial integrity, political independence and fundamental government institutions) at the head of the list.

Other categories of national interest focus on self-sufficiency, prestige, aggrandizement. Charles Bear focused on the notion of territory and commerce as being the defining features of national interest.

Morgenthau says that a country's national interests should be proportionate to its capacities Britain and France after WWII had superpower ambitions, not commiserate to their capacities).

Criteria for Defining National Interest

Ideological criteria: if one country's ideology is liberal-democratic, it will make policies supporting democratic governments and movements and oppose totalitarian ones.

Moral and legal criteria: the imperative to act honestly and make decisions in accordance with international laws.

Pragmatic criteria: unemotional, calculated decisions to deal with on ground realities.

Bureaucratic criteria: each organization tends to exaggerate its specific funding request and to argue in the name of the national interest rather than its own interest.

Partisan criteria: to equate the success of one's own political party with an entire nation's success.

Racial criteria: national interest defined in terms of interest of an ethnic or racial minority or majority

Class-status criteria: a particular class will defend its interests while defining national interest.

Foreign-dependency criteria: protector states define policy obligations of their dependencies.

Relevant Vocabulary

Imperative: vital or of utmost importance

Synonymous: identical, a different term with the same meaning

Notion: idea

Self-sufficiency: self reliance or independence

Aggrandizement: enhancement or exaggeration

Obligations: duties or responsibilities

Dependency: being dependent or reliant

Ground realities: actual circumstances

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 3 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

National Interest Analyses

www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/nia/

LESSON 07
NATIONAL INTEREST (CONTINUED FROM LECTURE 6)

Variations in National Interest

There are different types of national interest. Some of the salient ones are described below:

Primary Interests: preservation of physical, political and cultural identity of the nation-state.

Secondary Interests: protection of citizens abroad and ensuring diplomatic immunity of foreign missions.

Permanent Interests: long-term interests of strategic, ideological or economic nature which do not change easily, with changes in domestic politics, for example

Variable Interests: these are short-term interests varying with cross-currents of personalities, public opinion, partisan politics, sectional interests etc.

General Interests: involve a large number of nations, such as economic interests or diplomatic norms.

Specific Interests: location and issue specific interests emerging from more general interests (bilateral terms of trade for example).

Identical Interests: interests held in common by different states (climate protection concerns)

Complementary Interests: though not identical, these interests can serve as basis for agreement on specific issues (US-Pakistan security cooperation).

Conflicting Interests: bring countries at odds with each other. Yet these interests can also undergo change due to varying internal circumstances and a changing external scenario.

Means to Promote National Interests

Coercive Means: these can be internal so that they don't infringe directly on other sovereign nations (embargos, boycotts, severing diplomatic relations) or they can be external and are a prima facie act of war (seizure of property of offending state, suspension of treaties), if the other state responds with escalating moves, it leads to an outbreak of war.

Alliances: based on complementary or identical interests and strengthened by ideology, alliances can promote national interest.

Diplomatic Negotiations: common interests are most effectively perpetuated by means of diplomacy. Diplomacy is also useful in negotiating conflicting national interests without resorting to coercive means.

National vs. Global Interests

Given the complexities of international politics, Morgenthau for e.g. opposes state action based on universal principles, instead he advocates a pragmatic approach of acting based on national interests.

Yet, issues of global concern like growing inequalities and environmental problems require world leaders to think beyond the narrow ambit of national interests. The world is also becoming increasing interconnected due to which national interests often exert an influence on global interests and global interests to some degree also compel national interests.

Relevant Vocabulary

Coercive elements: potentially destructive elements which can lead to escalating tensions or cause outbreak of violence

Scenario: existing situation

Partisan: division into factions or different parties

Perpetuated: affected or enabled

Ideological: based on an ideology or belief system

Ambit: realm, domain or field

Inequalities: the gap between the haves and the have nots

Compel: oblige or influence

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 3 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Promoting the National Interest

www.foreignaffairs.org/20000101faessay5/condoleezza-rice/ campaign-2000-promoting-the-national-interest.html

BALANCE OF POWER (BOP)

Definitions of BoP

The equilibrium of power among members of the family of nations as will prevent any one of them from becoming sufficiently strong to enforce its will upon the others.

The power equation between states is based on an assessment of each state's relative power capabilities and this assessment provides the basis for the conduct of relations between them.

BoP from a historical perspective

From 1648 (Peace of Westphalia) to 1789 (French Revolution) was a golden age of classical balance of power, when the princes of Europe began accepting BoP as the supreme principle of foreign policy.

Evident use of BoP is also noted in the mid-17th cent., when it was directed against the France of Louis XIV. Balance of power was the stated British objective for much of the 18th and 19th cent., and it characterized the European international system, for example, from 1815–1914.

The Concert of Europe (from 1815 to1870) provides another good example of major European states striving to achieve balance power. The increasing the power of Germany began seeing bipolar set of alliances form, leading to the World Wars.

After World War I, the balance of power system was attacked by proponents of cooperation and a community of power. International relations were changed radically after World War II by the predominance of two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, with major ideological differences between them.

After the 1960s, with the emergence of China and the third world, a revived Europe and Japan, it reemerged as a component of international relations. With the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the United States, as the sole remaining superpower, has been dominant militarily and, to a lesser degree, economically.

Some BoP Techniques

- Alliances (NATO) and Counter-Alliances (WARSAW Pact)

- Armament (arms race in the Subcontinent spurred by need to maintain BoP) and

- Disarmament (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty)

- Intervention (Soviets and US incursion into Afghanistan) and Non-Intervention (France and Britain did not interfere in Spanish civil war of 1936)

Kinds of BoP

Simple or Complex: Simple BoP requires parity between powers but in more complex situations competing powers can achieve balance from additional sources.

General or Particular: General BoP lacks a preponderant power whereas particular BoP can imply regional preponderance.

Subjective or Objective: BoP based on appearances is subjective and fragile whereas that based on actual capabilities is objective and more stable.

Fortuitous or Contrived: Fortuitous BoP is not based on particular policies whereas contrived BoP is based on conscious policies of either or both sides.

Relevant Vocabulary

Assessment: estimation based on analysis

Fortuitous: unexpected or chance

Capability: capacity or the ability to achieve or do something

Preponderance: prevalence or hold

Fragile: subject to change, unstable

Intervention: intrusion or interference

Alliance: grouping or association to serve a specific purpose

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 5 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Balance of Power

http://www.bartleby.com/65/ba/balancPow.html

LESSON 09

BALANCE OF POWER (CONTINUED)

How is Power Balanced?

Often it is a matter of balancing threat rather than power, so distance, interdependence, and ideology matter. External balancing can take place through alliances but risks dependency on others and requires placing trust on them. This kind of trust and dependency was evident in NATO and Warsaw Pact during the Cold War.

Internal balancing takes place by building up the capacity of the state, as occurred with the US-Soviet arms race, in which both super powers tried to balance power by becoming more powerful themselves.

Degree of Polarization

Polarization is the process that causes neutral parties to take sides in a conflict. It also causes individuals on either side of the conflict to take increasingly extreme positions that are more and more opposed to each other. As parties move toward these opposite "poles," they define themselves in terms of their opposition to a common enemy. Trust and respect diminish, and "distorted perceptions and simplified stereotypes emerge." Parties assume more rigid positions and may refuse to negotiate.

The study of polarization first came to be identified with those realist writers who wrote about the structure of the international system, the impact of military alliances on war and peace, and the balance of power.

    a) Tightness of poles - all states in one camp or other?

    b) Discreteness of poles – degree of interaction between states on each side

    c) Level of animosity - degree of animosity

BOP and War

Truly uni-polar system would make major war less frequent, since one state can prevent others from arming for war. War is most likely during transitions in balance. Rising power gains strength, challenges previously superior state and, given newness of capabilities, war occurs because each side thinks it can win

Morton Kaplan's Rules of BoP

1.   All states act to increase capabilities but prefer to negotiate rather than fight.
2.   All states fight rather than pass up an opportunity to increase their capabilities.
3.   All states stop fighting rather than eliminate an essential state.
4.   All states act to oppose any coalition or single state which tends to assume a position of dominance within the system
5.   All states act to constrain states who subscribe to supranational organizing principles
6.   All states permit defeated or constrained states to re-enter the system as potential partners

BoP in the Modern World

Creation of superpowers, made it impossible to negotiate individual BoP. Increasing disparity between states has made maintaining BoP very difficult. Ideological positioning also makes switching sides very difficult in the multi-polar world

Functions of BoP

BoP has prevented universal empires from transforming the world by conquest. It is provided peace in the absence of effective mechanisms of collective security. Need for BoP between big powers has proven particularly beneficial for secondary or smaller states.

Balancing Power for Secondary States

Secondary states, if they are free to choose, flock to the weaker side, for it is the stronger side that threatens them. On the weaker side, they are both more appreciated and safer. States ally with those who can not dominate them to avoid domination by those who can.

Criticism of BoP

Power not peace is the overriding concern within the BoP imperative. War not peace provides the best means to check instability in the BoP. BoP has resulted in absorption and partition of smaller states (Poland was divided by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1772 to maintain BoP).

States are not static units as they can increase their power through armaments and also acquire power through development. It is difficult for states to switch sides, given the political, economic, socio-cultural ties.

Relevant Vocabulary

Mechanism: device, apparatus, or system

Polarization: division or diversion

Acquire: to obtain or to get

Partition: breaking up or division

Static: the same, or unchanging

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 5 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

BoP

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balance_of_power

Polarization

http://www.intractableconflict.org/m/polarization.jsp

DIPLOMACY

Definitions of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the management of IR through negotiations or the method by which these relations are adjusted or managed. Diplomacy tries to achieve the maximum objectives (national interests) with a minimum of costs in a system of politics where war remains a possibility.

There are two major forms of diplomacy. The simplest and the oldest is bilateral diplomacy between two states. Bilateral diplomacy is still common with many treaties between two states, and it is a main concern of embassies. The other form of diplomacy is multilateral diplomacy involving many states.

Formal multilateral diplomacy is normally dated to the Congress of Vienna in the nineteenth century. Since then, multilateralism has grown in importance. Today most trade treaties, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), arms control agreements, such as the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and environmental agreements, such as the Koyoto Accord, are multilateral. The United Nations (UN) is the most important institution of multilateral diplomacy.

Diplomacy from a Historical Perspective

The ability to practice diplomacy is one of the defining elements of a state, and diplomacy has been practiced since the first city states were formed millennia ago (around 5th BC). For the majority of human history diplomats were sent only for specific negotiations, and would return immediately after their mission concluded.

Diplomats were usually relatives of the ruling family or of very high rank in order to give them legitimacy when they sought to negotiate with the other state. Envoys eventually became negotiators rather than being just messengers. During the Middle Ages (6th to 18th century), the scope of diplomacy did not grow much and diplomats were mostly confined to maintaining archives rather than negotiating them.

In the late Middle Ages, in Genoa, the Duke of Milan established the first foreign mission. But this was still diplomacy of the court rather than that of the people.

After the American and French revolutions, diplomacy became more democratic and less aristocratic. The Congress of Vienna (1815) laid down procedures for diplomatic immunities and defined diplomatic hierarchies.

How Diplomacy Functions

Diplomacy functions through a network of foreign officers, embassies, consulates, and special missions operating around the globe. Diplomacy is bilateral in character but as a result of growing international and regional organizations, it is becoming increasingly multilateral in character.

Diplomacy & Foreign Policy: What's the Difference?

Diplomacy is the method and process by which foreign policy is pursued but it is not a policy onto itself. Outcome of diplomatic negotiations can effect foreign policy options.

Traditional Versus Modern Diplomacy

Traditional diplomacy assumed that major European powers had special responsibility for maintaining world peace and the colonies had no more significant diplomatic role than that of satellites. Traditional diplomacy was professional but secretive and relied on a limited cadre rather than extended diplomatic channels.

Modern diplomacy is more open and democratic; it requires reciprocal bargains and compromises so it is not possible for diplomats to spell out a given stance in advance.

Multilateralism is increasingly evident in the practice of modern diplomacy. It includes conference or summit diplomacy, with behind the scenes preparations by diplomatic officials.

Relevant Vocabulary

Globe: the world

Cadre: particular or specific segment

Outcome: result

Reciprocal: mutual or based on a give and take arrangement*:*

Summit: meeting involving heads of state (Presidents or Prime Ministers)

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 4 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Diplomacy

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diplomacy

DIPLOMACY (CONTINUED)

Instruments of Diplomacy

Most nation-states maintain state departments of Foreign Affairs or a Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Foreign office officials include career diplomats and political diplomats appointed by home governments.

Ambassadors head foreign missions and serve as the personal representative of the home state in host country (they can be career diplomats or political appointees).

Councilors of embassies rank second to the ambassador and are career diplomats.

Secretaries, with first, second and third rankings are mid-career officials implementing foreign policies of their home countries.

Attaches are junior career or non-career personnel focusing on specific areas (commercial, agricultural, naval, press attaches are common).

Diplomatic Procedures & Practices

Presentation of credentials and assuming charge in host country involves interaction with host governments.

Agreation: involves presenting credentials of diplomatic envoys, which are then approved by host countries where they are to be appointed.

Diplomatic missions and personnel enjoy certain immunities and privileges like the rights of extraterritoriality and inviolability. Home states can dismiss diplomats or they can be declared *persona-non-grata* by host countries, due to different reasons, including rising tensions between the two states in question.

Functions of Diplomacy

Diplomatic functions include reporting socio-cultural, economic and political conditions of the host country to the home country for formulating diplomatic strategies and formulating foreign policies.

Negotiating includes transmission of messages between foreign ministries of host and home states and the pursuit of agreements by compromise and direct contact.

Diplomatic Prerequisites

Diplomacy must be divested of crusading spirit. Those who try to achieve higher cause become impractical and impede negotiations. Instead it is necessary that foreign policy objectives must be defined in terms of national interest and supported by adequate power, to enable diplomats to negotiate effectively.

Diplomats must be able to realize the objectives and interests of other nations as well. In turn, nations must be willing to show flexibility on issues not vital to them or else diplomacy will be in vain.

Diplomatic recognition is perhaps the most important factor in determining whether a nation is an independent state. Receiving recognition has long been difficult, even for countries which are fully sovereign. For many decades after becoming independent, even many of the closest allies of the Republic of Netherlands refused to grant it full recognition.

Today there are a number of independent entities without widespread diplomatic recognition, most notably the Republic of China. Almost all nations do not officially recognize the ROC's existence on Taiwan, but rather retain informal links. The United States, for instance, maintains relations through de facto embassies known as the American Institute of Taiwan and the Taipei Economic and Cultural Representation Office.

Informal diplomacy has been used for centuries to communicate between powers. Most diplomats work to recruit figures in other nations who might be able to give informal access to a county's leadership.

In some situations, such as between the US and China a large amount of diplomacy is done through semi-formal channels using interlocurs such as academic members of think-tanks. This occurs in situations where governments wish to express intentions or to suggest methods of resolving a diplomatic situation, but do not wish to express a formal position.

Relevant Vocabulary

Prerequisite: requirement or precondition

Divest: disassociate from or deny

Impede: obstruct or hinder

Transmission: to broadcast or transmit

Compromise: conciliation, negotiation

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 4 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Diplomacy

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diplomacy

COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM & IMPERIALISM

Colonialism is an elusive concept. It is a political, a legal, an economic, a cultural and a social phenomenon, which does not lend itself to a short and clear definition. While colonizing states refrained from defining colonialism, many scholars of various disciplines have written about the subject.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the mid-14th century "colonye" was used to describe the Roman settling, creating outposts, or occupying lands outside the Roman city-state. Colonialism emerged around the 19th century to reify a European practice that was becoming prevalent across the world.

Defining Colonialism

The element of 'alien domination' appears to be at the heart of the colonial experience. Colonialism is foreign rule imposed upon a people. Colonialism is a system in which a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside its own boundaries, often to facilitate economic domination over their resources, labor, and often markets.

Colonialism can be defined as rule over people of different races living in separate lands by a single colonial power. Colonialism also refers to a set of beliefs used to legitimize or promote this system, especially the belief that the values and systems of the colonizer are superior to those of the colonized. Colonialism can thus be seen to imply domination of an alien minority asserting racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior majority. Hobson describes colonialism 'in its best sense' as the natural outflow of nationality, its test is the power of the colonizer to transplant the civilization they represent to a new social and cultural environment.

Judging Colonization

Defenders of colonialism argue that colonization developed the economic and political infrastructure necessary for modernization and democracy (they point to former colonies like Singapore as examples of post-colonial success).

Postcolonialist such as Franz Fanon argue that colonialism does political, psychological, and moral damage to the colonized as well.

Let us consider the case of British colonist for example. The British Empire, in the early decades of the 20th century, held sway over a population of 400–500 million people - roughly a quarter of the world's population - and covered roughly two-fifths of the world's land area.

The British Empire came together over 300 years through a succession of phases of expansion, interspersed with intervals of pacific commercial and diplomatic activity, or imperial contraction. Its territories were scattered across all parts of the world, and it was described with some truth as "the empire on which the sun never sets". The Empire facilitated the spread of British technology, commerce, language, and government around much of the globe. Imperial hegemony contributed to Britain's extraordinary economic growth, and greatly strengthened its voice in world affairs. Even as Britain extended its imperial reach overseas, it continued to develop and broaden democratic institutions at the homeland.

From the perspective of the colonies, the record of the British Empire is mixed. The colonies received from Britain the English language, an administrative and legal framework on the British model, and technological and economic development. During decolonization, Britain sought to pass parliamentary democracy to its colonies, with varying degrees of success.

British colonial policy was always driven to a large extent by Britain's trading interests. While settler economies developed the infrastructure to support balanced development, tropical African territories found themselves developed only as raw-material suppliers. A reliance upon the manipulation of conflict between ethnic and racial identities, in order to keep subject populations from uniting against the occupying power - the classic "divide and rule" strategy - left a legacy of partition or inter-communal difficulties in several parts of the world including the Subcontinent.

Decolonization

Decolonization is the antithesis of colonization. While anti-colonialist feeling first manifested in the 18th c. (in the US), decolonization is a product of the post-WW II period. Nationalism in Latin America, Asia and Africa, as well as the weakening of the colonial powers helped achieve decolonization.

The UN played an important role in ending colonial rule in Indonesia and certain African colonies. It particularly helped decolonize Liberia, Somalia and Eritrea from Italy.

Relevant Vocabulary

Elusive: hard to describe

Refrain: desist or avoid

Antithesis: exact opposite

Infrastructure: established system (of communication for example)

Prevalent: widespread

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 14 in '"A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Colonialism

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism

COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM & IMPERIALISM

Definition of Neo-Colonialism

Neo-colonialism implies political control of an underdeveloped people whose socio-economic life is directed by a former colonizer. Dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank argued that neo-colonialism leads to net transfer of wealth from the colonized to the colonizer, inhibiting successful development.

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state, which is subject to this phenomenon, is in theory independent and has all outward trappings of international sovereignty, but in reality its economic system and its political policy is directed from the outside.

The 3rd All Parties African People's Conference held in Cairo in 1961 described Neo-Colonialism as: "the economic infiltration by a foreign power after independence, through capital investment loans and monetary aids or technical experts, of unequal concessions, particularly those extending for long periods".

Why Neo-Colonialism Occurs

Weakness and growing resentment after WWII made direct colonization impractical. Previously united colonial territories were divided into mostly unviable states, compelling them to depend on their former colonial powers for economic and defense needs

To fund welfare policies within their own countries, former colonial powers needed resources, which were easy to generate through former colonies still reliant on them, thus encouraging neo-colonial ties to develop.

Types of Neo-Colonialism

Economic Dependencies: control over financial strings of a nation allows control over its political and social institutions as well.

Satellites: formal independence but political and economic control still exercised by colonial power. Control exercised by colonial power over a satellite is more extensive than that exercised by imperial states.

How Neo-Colonization Occurs

Former colonies are particularly prone to become economically dependent on colonial powers due to its capital investments, financial loans, and because of unequal exchange of goods and resulting trade imbalances. Technological dependency on former colonial powers enables retaining control over prior colonies. Military presence in the form of bases also helps exert and retain control of former colonies.

Critics of Neocolonialism allege that both nations and corporations have aimed to control other nations through indirect means; that in lieu of direct military or political control, neocolonialist powers employ economic, financial and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Those who subscribe to the concept maintain this amounts to control over targeted nations. They portray the choice to grant or to refuse granting loans, especially by international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, as a decisive form of control. They argue that in order to qualify for these loans (as well as other forms of economic aid), weaker nations are forced to take steps favorable to the financial interests of the IMF/WB, but detrimental to their own economies, increasing rather than alleviating their poverty.

Critics of neocolonialism also attempt to demonstrate that investment by multinationals enriches few in underdeveloped countries, and causes humanitarian (as well as environmental and ecological) devastation to the populations which inhabit 'neo-colonies.' This, it is argued, results in perpetual underdevelopment; which cultivates those countries as reservoirs of cheap labor and raw materials, while restricting their access to advanced production techniques to develop their own economies. By contrast, critics of the concept of neocolonialism argue that, while the developed world does profit from cheap labor and raw materials of developing nations, ultimately, it does serve as a positive force for development in developing countries of the Third World.

Relevant Vocabulary

Ecological: concerning the natural environment

Reservoir: stored amount

Inhabit: to populate or live in

Humanitarian: charitable or compassionate

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 14 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Neocolonialism
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neocolonialism

LESSON 14
COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM & IMPERIALISM

What is Imperialism?

Imperialism is the process of extending the rule of government beyond the boundaries of its original state. Imperialism establishes a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state uses direct military or economic means, to control the political sovereignty of another political entity.

Imperialism therefore implies the policy of extending the control or authority over foreign entities as a means of acquisition and/or maintenance of empires, either through direct control of territories or through indirect methods of exerting control on the politics or economies of other countries. The term is used by some to describe the policy of a country in maintaining colonies and dominance over distant lands, regardless of whether the country calls itself an empire.

Imperialists normally hold the belief that the acquisition and maintenance of empires is a positive good, combined with an assumption of cultural or other such superiority inherent to imperial power. However, imperialism has often been considered to be an exploitive evil.

Marxisits use the term *imperialism* as Lenin defined it: "the highest stage of capitalism", specifically the era in which monopoly finance capital becomes dominant, forcing the empires to compete amongst themselves increasingly for control over resources and markets all over the world. This control may take the form of geopolitical machinations, military adventures, or financial maneuvers.

It is worth noting that Marx himself did not propound a theory of imperialism, and in contrast with later Marxist thinkers generally saw the colonialism of European powers as having a progressive aspect, rather than seeing it as the pillage of those countries in favor of the European centre countries.

Distinguishing Colonialism from Imperialism

Many writers have used the terms colonialism and imperialism interchangeably, as if there is little difference between these two phenomena. Yet an important difference between the two phenomena is the presence of a significant number of settlers from the colonizing power in the colonized state.

Whereas settlement may be the most important feature of colonialism, it is generally acknowledged that colonialism involves much more than the immigration of people from one region to another one.

According to Michael Doyle, colonialism is one of the possible outcomes of imperialism, achieved either by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social or cultural dependence.

Objectives of Imperialism

- *Economic Gain:* to secure raw materials, or gain access to trade routes or to the sea

- *National Prestige:* imperialism is often portrayed as 'manifest destiny' or intrinsic superiority

- *Military or Defense Needs:* to gain control over strategic areas

- *Surplus Population:* over-populated states can find relief through migration to colonies

- *'While Man's Burden':* obligation to civilize savages

- *Marxist-Leninist View:* imperialism compelled by control markets for surplus production and investment, Communists were imperialist too

Examples of Imperialism

US Imperialism: under the guise of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) the US exerted control over Latin America under the guise of protecting interference of the European powers in the affairs of independent states of the New World.

Russian Imperialism: initially the imperialistic urge was confined to contiguous territories but with advent of the Cold War, Russian imperialism spread to the Asian, African and South American continents, filling in the vacuum left by the decreasing influence of colonial European powers.

Japanese Imperialism: as Japan industrialized and became increasingly militarized prior to WWII, it annexed parts of Korea and China. Thereafter Japanese imperialistic influence has primarily been economic.

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 14 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Imperialism

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperialism

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Changing Economic Circumstances

Since WWII, the world economy has undergone drastic changes brought about by changing political circumstances, industrial and technological changes, and changing trade patterns. The dominant economic order which prevailed for four decades after WWII is referred to as IEO.

IEO Subsystems

North-West System: referred to financial and trade linkages between developed nations of Western Europe, Japan and North America.

North-East System: referred to centrally controlled economies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

South System: referred to developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America

Criticism of IEO

Economics based on nationalistic grounds has received a lot of criticism. It failed to function in the case of the North-east, leading to the collapse of the USSR.

The control of capital and use of neo-colonial and imperialistic tendencies in terms of trade resulted in large disparities around the world.   The North-West system donated money to the South System, but it was not enough to remove widespread poverty. Many developing countries and segments of the population within the developed world called for a revision of the prevailing IEO.

NIEO

Reacting to the inequitable economic situation, countries of the South articulated a strategy to alter the structure of international economic systems. The NIEO called for economic justice and balanced economic growth which could be sustainable in the future.

One of the most significant and potentially far-reaching events of the 1970s took place in 1974. On that day the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly made its Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. The ground for the Declaration was prepared by a series of international meetings covering various issues of trade and development, culminating in the Fourth Conference of Heads of States or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, in September 1973.

The Sixth Special Session of the United Nations was summoned as a strategic follow-up of the Algiers Conference. The Algiers Conference and the Sixth Special Session of the UN was a long overdue Third World response to the blatant injustice and unjust partiality of the existing World Order.

It was under heavy pressure from the numerical preponderance of the Third World countries that the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations Organization set itself two tasks. The first was to declare unequivocally its determination to overthrow the Old International Economic Order - which was of course the World Order prevailing at the time - and establish in its place the New International Economic Order. To quote the Declaration, the NIEO was to be "based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence and cooperation among all States ... which shall correct inequalities and redress existing injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries."

The second objective and task was "to delineate a series of measures that should be taken without delay in certain areas of international relations in order to make the New Order a reality."

The Sixth Special Session of the UN fulfilled its first task by adopting the Declaration on the NIEO and by proposing on the same day the Program of Action for the establishment of the NIEO. The Sixth Special Session was therefore not merely a statement of principle but a statement of actions that had to be taken if the principle was to be translated into actual reality.

Predictably, the rich industrialized countries pretended as a first reaction to be open to the idea of a New International Economic Order but in reality felt seriously threatened. The then US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, as indeed befitted the then leading protagonist of the hegemony of the Northern Hemisphere in the Existing World Order, realized the threat to this hegemony if the NIEO ever became a reality. He therefore took it upon himself to lead the campaign at the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations held in September 1975 to strangle the NIEO in its cradle.

With the scarcely-concealed superciliousness that has come to be part and policy of the leaders of Western countries, chiefly the United States and Britain, in their dealings with Third World leaders, Kissinger appeared in the beginning of his speech to show sympathetic understanding of the aspirations of the developing countries. He gave evidence of understanding their determination to work for the eradication of the injustices of the World Order and the establishment of a New Order of justice and equality for all. Justice and equality were especially the demands of those parts of the World that had so consistently been denied them during the long night of colonialism and the first decades of neo-colonialism. The NIEO called for a transfer of technology and interest free investment-capital instead of charity. NIEO also challenged the structure of the international financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank, in which two thirds of the world population has less than a third of the voting power. There have also been summits held to specifically discuss the NIEO.

NIEO Activities

Cancun Summit: was held in 1981 but the US insisted that the Western states should participate in the summits as well if developing countries wanted to use the UN mechanism.

Melbourne Summit: was arranged by the Commonwealth to review issues of the South as articulated by the NIEO.

New Delhi Summit: North-South moot in reaction to demands from the South to reduce tariff liberalization, increase international commodity prices and make available more concessionary aid for development.

Subsequent UN events like the WSSD have also seen calls for NIEO.

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 9 in '"A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

NIEO

http://www.satyodaya.org/Articles/NIEO.htm

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

How NIEO Could Be Achieved?

A NIEO would require revised terms of trade and removal of agricultural subsidies and technology transfer from the developed to the developing world. Development aid, which is not 'tied' or motivated by political interests, could also help achieve economic development in poor countries.

Greater decision-making power in International Financial Institutions (World Bank, Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund) and the World Trade Organization could also help promote more equitable development.

NIEO & the Islamic World

The Muslim world comprising of over a billion people and with impressive energy reserves like oil supplies, still faces crippling levels of poverty and increasing disparities. It could thus have much to gain from the NIEO.

The population, resources and institutions (SAARC, ECO and OIC) of the Muslim world could also make it an effective advocate for the egalitarian approach espoused by NIEO.

NIEO Constraints and Challenges

NIEO does not pay sufficient attention to environmental concerns. This focus on the environment is vital since growth that ignores environmental costs is not sustainable.

Achieving NIEO requires real shifts of power and privileges in the world order, which will have serious political implications. It must be kept in mind however, that economic development does not necessarily guarantee for human development.

What the Third World, or at least the driving element among the nonaligned, meant by a new international order was very different. Revision of the international division of labor along the lines described was intended to accompany and implement the establishment of a self-reliant industrial national economy.

The strengthening of the national state and the active role of state policy were, in this strategy, to ensure that industry was not made up of discrete fragments, but of every stage of the production process. The resort to importation of the ingredients of these production lines (the purchase of turnkey factories) entailed a high level of exports, whether of 'traditional' raw materials or new industrial products. Hence the success of the strategies was largely dependent on the capacity to win concessions, which was in turn the program for the new international economic order.

The conflict of these two 'interpretations' of the new order has appeared in all the negotiations on the industrial international division of labor and relocation. The points of discussion were the character and options of establishment, the degree of decentralized decision-making, and the methods of financing the transfers, issues of personnel training and management, and access to external markets. The Third World

states generally pressed for: the establishment of as complete industries as possible, with upstream and downstream links, agreed rules subjecting the management of industrial units to the state's industrial policy, an option for management of units by local staff, access to international distribution networks for manufactured goods to localized firms (as the lowering of protectionist barriers by the developed countries was not regarded as a sufficient guarantee of access to these markets), support for national technological research, regulated financing (to avoid, for example, a subsidiary of a multinational financing its investment by calling on local banking sources without bringing in new capital), regulation of transfers (a sharing of risks, ceilings on exportable profits, obligations to invest part of the profit in the national economy) and so on.

These demands were regarded as unacceptable by the multinationals whose sole interest was in partial relocation through subsidiaries under their virtual control.

Gradually, most of the Third World states have had to come to terms with the redeployment strategy. The only states in a position to negotiate are those that refuse the direct establishment of subsidiaries and seek an alternative in the purchase of turnkey factories within the framework of their overall industrialization policy.

The strategy of these states counted on the possibility of successful change of the international order through unilateral joint action, and through further action from North-South collective negotiations. The idea, it should be remembered, was to organize cartels of Third World producers who could insist on price revisions for raw materials. National control over natural resources should allow scope for negotiation not only on supply, but also and above all on exploitation of the resources that took into account long-term national interests and halted the rates of exploitation governed entirely by the needs of the developed world. With this new-found strength, the Third World countries hoped to enjoy a genuine negotiating power that would oblige the North to make concessions: for instance, access to its markets, a code of conduct for transfers of technology. Co-operation between Third World countries ('collective self-reliance') was part of this bid for strength.

This is the essential context for discussing the use of oil surpluses. On some views the NIEO was to be no more than the rise in oil prices alone and the relocation of export industry a minor operation. On this view the oil revenue surpluses should be made available to the developed financial markets to supply their own policies of intervention in relations between developed countries, and marginal support for the 'survival' of the old international division of labor in the developing countries. This rescued the attitude of 'aid' as a permanent safety-valve ensuring the perpetuation of a system that was increasingly unjust day by day. The actual use of oil surpluses has in fact served this purpose.

In the mid-1970s there was still the hope that the Third World would reject this narrow view. The non-aligned movement and the group of 77 were seeking a strategy for collective battle for across the board increases in raw materials prices, as the resolution on the solidarity fund and producers associations taken at Dakar in February 1977 showed. This strong and valid approach was not sustained. Under the pressure of the developed countries and the bias of UNCTAD and endless 'negotiation' and 'dialogue', the 'stabilization' fund strategy replaced that of producers associations for collective unilateral intervention where such was required.

Economic Possibilities for the Future

The divide between the rich and the poor will continue to increase given the current patterns of economic growth seen around the world. The limits of growth will also catch up to spread more impoverishment around the world.

There needs to a basic change of values and corresponding structural changes, which can ensure that growth proves more beneficial for all, not those who are already rich.

Prerequisites for the NIEO

Political Development: need for good governance is imperative for economic growth, efficiency and redistribution

Equitable Economic Development: growth without increasing internal disparities is much harder to achieve

Social Development: meet basic human needs and provide opportunity to all to realize latent potential

Environmental Sustainability: growth in a manner rate and at a pace which does not harm the natural environment

Relevant Vocabulary

Latent: hidden, undeveloped or dormant

Disparities: differences

Egalitarian: equal, open, democratic

Surplus: extra or in excess

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 9 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Struggle for the NIEO

http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu32me/uu32me06.htm

NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT

What is Non-Alignment?

Many writers have used the term non-alignment to be synonymous to terms like isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, or non-involvement. Yet for the student of IR, these terms are not inter-changeable. Isolationism implies adopting a policy of aloofness; non-commitment implies detachment generally in international relations; and non-involvement implies detachment from tensions specifically between power blocs. Political neutrality has the closest similarity to non-alignment. While the former implies a specific context, the latter refers to a broader and continuing international situation.

Non-Alignment's Implications

Non-Alignment implies keeping out of alliances in general and military pacts in particular. Conceptually it is not meant to be a policy of passive but of active involvement in the struggle against imperial and colonial determination. Non-Alignment is meant to be dynamic and constructive rather than static and negative.

Origin of NAM

The idea of non-alignment in international relations was first conceived in 1955. The founding members of the movement were Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Abdul Nasir of Egypt and Ahmad Sukarno of Indonesia. Now the Non-Aligned Movement is a Movement of 115 members representing the interests and priorities of developing countries. The Movement has its origin in the Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955. The meeting was convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan and brought together leaders of 29 states, mostly former colonies, from the two continents of Africa and Asia, to discuss common concerns and to develop joint policies in international relations. Prime Minister Nehru, the acknowledged senior statesman, along with Prime Ministers Soekarno and Nasser, led the conference.

At the first NAM meeting, Third World leaders shared their similar problems of resisting the pressures of the major powers, maintaining their independence and opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially western domination.

The criteria of NAM membership were as follows:

1. The country should have adopted an independent policy based on the coexistence of States with different political and social systems and on non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favor of such a policy.

2. The country concerned should be consistently supporting the Movements for National Independence.

3. The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.

4. If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.

5. If it has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power conflicts.

Reasons for NAM's Growth

A   Nationalism: Strong sense of nationalism amongst newly independent Asian, African and Latin American countries.

B   Anti-Colonial Sentiments: Weary of colonial powers, newly independent countries sought means to counter their continuing influence.

C   Economic Underdevelopment: Newly emerged countries wanted to develop themselves rather than waste resources by getting embroiled in Cold War tensions.

D   Visionary Leadership: the ability of towering personalities of developing nations to join hands with other nationalists.

E   Presence of UN system: the presence of a collective forum where newly emerged countries could meet and voice their collective concerns.

NAM's Objectives

- Formulation of independent foreign policies
- Economic development by avoiding conflict and military build-ups
- Resistance to neo-colonialism and imperialism
- Strive for world peace by opposing war and nuclear armament
- Focus domestically on development and social welfare

NAM's Institutional Structure

Standing Committee: This committee consists of 7 member countries elected on the basis of geographic distribution, on yearly rotation basis to undertake preparatory work for the yearly ministerial meeting held on the eve of the UN General Assembly session.

Coordinating Bureau: The Algiers Summit of 1973 recommended establishing the Bureau which consisting of 17 member states which work in the intervening period between Summits to monitor implementation of decisions and programs.

Council of Ministers: This council consists of foreign ministers of member states.

Council of Heads: Heads of states of all countries which are members of NAM are members of this Council

News Pool: The Non-Aligned Press Agencies Pool was established in 1975 with the aim to facilitate the dissemination of information between member states.

Relevant Vocabulary

Formulation: To formulate or design a policy or an organizational structure

Welfare: Well being

Embroiled: Get involved in

Bilateral: involving two parties

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 10 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information: Background and History of NAM

NAM – Background and history
http://www.nam.gov.za/background/history.htm

NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT (CONTINUED)

NAM Conferences

Belgrade Summit, Yugoslavia - 1961

26 member nations attended the summit and supported the freedom struggles in Algeria, Tunisia, Angola and the Congo.

Cairo Summit, Egypt - 1964

47 member nations attended the summit and stressed the need for disarmament and non-interference.

Lusaka Summit, Zambia - 1970

54 member nations attended and decided to break off ties with Portugal and South Africa due to lack of compliance with UN decisions regarding decolonization and end of racial discrimination. The summit also called on Israel to withdraw from Palestine.

Algiers Summit, Algeria - 1973

76 member nations attended the summit and stressed the need for economic cooperation between developing countries and recognized that their fate rests primarily in their own hands.

Colombo Summit, Sri Lanka - 1976

86 member nations recognized the need to create new trade flows to make prosperity more widespread and equitable.

Havana Summit, Cuba - 1979

94 states attended the summit. Radical countries like Cuba and Vietnam urged NAM towards socialist bloc to fight anti-colonialism; westernized countries such as Singapore and Zaire urged need to ally with the West to avail access to resources and technological input. The Arab bloc also pressured NAM to expel Egypt for its unilateral agreement with Israel at Camp David. NAM resisted these pressures by condemning Egypt and Israel (without expelling them) and denouncing hegemonic designs of both superpowers.

New Delhi Summit, India - 1983

99 member nations urged for nuclear restraint and depoliticizing food aid and aimed to address increasing global inequalities.

Harare Summit, Zimbabwe - 1986

101 member nations participated and the Summit stressed the need to strengthen frontline states in Africa facing destabilization by intervention of Pretoria and for the need to pressure Pretoria to end apartheid in South Africa

Belgrade Summit, Yugoslavia - 1989

102 member nations participated and the Summit highlighted the need to hold free and fair elections in Namibia, the need to resolve the ongoing trouble in Palestine and Afghanistan.

Jakarta Summit, Indonesia - 1992

108 member nations attended but again there were tensions. Egypt, Cyprus and Indonesia favored closer ties with the West; Algeria Zimbabwe, Palestine and India wanted to confront the US; and Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Yemen and Libya wanted NAM to take on western hegemony.

There were also calls for NAM to be like a Trade Union of developing nations to gain global negotiating leverage.

Columbia Summit, Cartagena - 1995

This Summit recognized the need for reorienting NAM objectives in the unilateral world order. The Kashmir insurgency was also focused on.

Havana, Cuba (2000) – 135 member nations focused on improving South to South cooperation and improving trade terms with northern countries to eradicate poverty.

India called for membership suspension of countries with military rule, but this proposal was unanimously rejected.

Kula Lumpur, Malaysia (2003) – Attended by 114 member nations, the focus was on the revitalization of the NAM, for addressing issues of global concern.

Relevant Vocabulary

Apartheid: racial segregation

Discrimination: unfair difference in attitude

Reorientation: redirection

Hegemony: exertion of domination

Revitalization: reinvigoration or revival

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 10 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

NAM official website
http://www.nam.gov.za

NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT (CONTINUED FROM LECTURE 18)

NAM's Role in International Relations

NAM played a limited role in supporting the OPEC price rise, in the formation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the formation of the Group of 77 and articulating the New International Economic Order.

NAM has grown in size and can potentially be very influential but it has been unable to fulfill its lofty objectives and thus stands discredited. Most of the member states, which are a part of it, do not use the NAW platform to resolve disputes nor do they contribute much effort to making it more effective.

Yet the need for peaceful coexistence and better North-South relations makes the need for NAM even more urgent with its visionary blend of idealism and realism.

Criticism of NAM

NAM has failed to help promote peace and many of its members have been involved in bloody internal and external violence (for example the civil war in Cambodia, or the war between Iran and Iraq).

NAM has also been unable to bear on lingering disputes like the ME conflict and the problems in Kashmir causing tensions between Pakistan and India and in the Cyprus which is resulting in tensions between Turkey and Greece.

There is a dichotomy between what NAM leaders preach and practice; often they have adopted stances in the UN at variance with consensus developed in NAM.

NAM and Pakistan

Pakistan could not join NAM due to its membership in CENTO and SEATO. However by the 1970s, Pakistan realized the need for a broader approach to IR than seeking support of the US, so it withdrew from SENTO in 1972.

India opposed Pakistan's membership in NAM since Pakistan had done the same to India seeking entry into Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC). When CENTO winded up in 1979, Pakistan became a regular member of NAM in the Havana Summit and has been attending all subsequent summits.

Pakistan can play an important role in NAM given that it is the only declared Muslim nuclear state in the world and seeks non-hegemonic but respectful coexistence in the globalizing world.

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 10 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan.

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

NAM official website

http://www.nam.gov.za

THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACTS - INTRODUCING THE COLD WAR PHENOMENON

What does the Cold War refer to?

The Cold War refers to the phenomenon that overshadowed world politics from the end of WWII until the fall of the former Soviet Union. It is one of the most significant events from the perspective of students of international relations.

Implications of the Cold War

The term Cold War signifies the state of affairs in which bitter relations, hostility and confrontation between the two post-WWII superpowers (US and USSR). The Cold War did not result in outbreak of war between the superpowers.

The Cold War did result in an arms race, diplomatic confrontation, proxy warfare, ideological competition which engulfed the entire world order. The Cold War resulted in formation of eastern and western power blocks and corresponding alliances and institutions under the Communist and Capitalist power blocks.

The United States accused the Soviet Union of seeking to expand their version of communism throughout the world. The Soviets, meanwhile, charged the United States with practicing imperialism and attempting to stop revolutionary activity in other countries.

Cold War tensions increased the likelihood of a third world war, which could have led to devastating consequences due to the possibility of nuclear conflict. The Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan were some of the violent conflicts indirectly fueled by the Cold War.

Another manifestation was in the propaganda wars between the United States and the USSR. Indeed, it was far from certain that a global nuclear war wouldn't result from smaller regional wars, which heightened the level of concern for each conflict. This tension shaped the lives of people around the world almost as much as the actual fighting did.

One major hotspot of conflict was Germany, particularly the city of Berlin. Arguably, the most vivid symbol of the Cold War was the Berlin Wall. The Wall isolated West Berlin (the portion of the city controlled by West Germany and the Allies) from East Berlin and the territory of East Germany, which completely surrounded it and was supported by the Soviets.

Formation of Power Blocks

The eastern (communist) power block led by the Soviets and the western (capitalists) power block by the US also formed alliances. The communist nations were held together by the Warsaw Pact and the capitalist power block formed NATO.

Communist Ideology and Practice

The common ownership of means of production and distribution provided the political and economic basis for the spread of communism, based on Marx's philosophy of empowering the proletariat.

Communism in practice resulted in dominance of a single political party and centralized decision making. The bureaucracy became the new bourgeoisie under communism in practice.

Capitalist Ideology and Practice

Capitalism is based on the notion of individual liberty and the right to own private property. At the political level, capitalism emphasized the need for democratic government, multiparty politics, the independence of the judiciary, and freedom of press. In practice capitalism has caused problems for minorities, growing inequalities and arguments concerning the role of the state in managing the economy.

Relevant Vocabulary

Centralized: controls resting with the central government instead of with regional authorities

Proletariat: the working class

Bourgeoisie: the elite

Empowering: the process of enabling a given segment of people the capacity to yield more political and economic power

Superpower: very powerful state, like the US in the current world politics circumstances

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 6 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Cold War Museum

www.coldwar.org

THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACTS (CONTINUED)

Cold War in Europe

The October Revolution of 1917 had sowed the seeds of Communism in Europe. The Soviet Union's ambitions were checked by the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany.

The Soviets agreed to join France, Britain and the US to check the power of the fascists during WWII. At the end of WWII however, tensions grew between the former Allies over dividing the spoils of war. The Soviets were reluctant to grant Poland independence and did not want to vacate their troops from eastern Germany. Communism spread to Poland and led to East Germany.

The Cold War intensified in the next few years and the Soviets managed to install Communist regimes in Bulgaria, Hungary and in Romania. Thereafter, Albania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia also came under the influence of the Soviets and Finland's coalition government was also dominated by the Communists.

Europe was thus divided into two blocks: the Eastern block controlled by the Soviets and the Western block backed by the US. The post-WWII outbreak of conflict in Greece between the government and the Communist guerillas was a turning point in US foreign policy, when President Truman vowed to check the Soviet influence and to actively protect its foreign interests abroad.

Truman Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine was meant to fill the vacuum in power politics created by the weakening of Britain so as to prevent the global domination of Communism.

The Truman Doctrine offered direct assistance to Greece and to Turkey to check Communist influence and bypassed even the UN mechanism (a trend which was to reoccur in later years).

Marshal Plan

The Marshal Plan (named after the US Secretary of Defense) was an extension of the Truman Doctrine to protect (western) Europe from economic collapse and communist domination.

Aid under the Marshal Plan was used to reconstruct war ravaged Europe and it became the basis for lending for development to newly independent countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Expansion of the Cold War Arena

Communism also spread to China with the initial backing of Soviets. The disposed Chiang Kai Sek government was exiled to Formosa, which is now Taiwan. The spread of Communism to China also lent support to North Korea, where the US backed the South Koreans. Soviet support to the North Vietnamese led to more serious US engagement in the conflict, due to the fear that Cambodia, Laos, Burma and Thailand could also become Communist. Despite sending up to 600,000 troops to Vietnam by 1965, the North Vietnamese won the battle with support of China and the Soviets.

In the M.E, the US provided active support to the Israelis but the Soviets were not able to influence the ME conflict to its advantage. In Latin America, the Soviet influence in Cuban and Nicaragua made the US very

nervous and it supported brutal regimes like that of Pinochet in Chile to prevent its fall to communist influence.

The Congo, Ghana and Gold Coast got military and financial aid from the Soviets, which also led the US to take counter measures in Africa. In South Asia, besides Indian leaning towards the Soviet and the Pakistani inclination towards the US, the invasion of Afghanistan became a major Cold War arena for a proxy war between the Superpowers.

Relevant Vocabulary

Exiled: expelled, being thrown out of a country

Regime: government

Counter measures: measures taken in reaction to those of the opponent

Fascist: totalitarian, dictatorial (for e.g. Italy and Germany around the WWII period)

Bypass: to sideline or ignore

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 6 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Cold War
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War

THE COLD WAR AND ITS IMPACTS (CONTINUED)

Reconciliation

Even at the height of the Cold War, there were efforts to prevent an outbreak of all out conflict as that could have brought an end to human civilization as a whole. Khrushchev and Eisenhower yet at Camp David and commenced the trend towards disarmament.

A Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT) was signed in 1962, a hotline was established between the heads of states in 1963 and the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was signed in 1968.

From 1969 to 1978, a period of détente remained, where both sides accepted the status quo in view of the mutually assured destruction (MAD) capacity of the superpowers and as the realization concerning costs of nuclear arsenals was becoming apparent.

Nixon visited USSR and signed a Limitation on Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Systems and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, indicating adoption of a defensive rather than offensive posture by both superpowers.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks continued from 1969 to 1979. The US proposed ban on using mobile land sites and the superpowers also reached an agreement on a Seabed Treaty, banning use of sea-beds as nuclear launch sites

End of the Cold War

The process that brought the Cold War to an end began in the second half of the 1980s. It led to the Malta Summit between President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989.

The Washington Summit in 1990 between the same leaders resulted in signing of number of nuclear, chemical and conventional arms reduction agreements.

Resurgence of tensions

The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 fanned the embers of the Cold War again. The USSR's interference in Angola was also another irritant and the new US administration was also less tolerant and it wanted to begin building bridges with China, which Soviets were now opposed to, these moves simultaneously ended the period of détente.

Jimmy Carter used the human rights agenda to criticize Soviet backed regimes, the US discovered a Soviet brigade in Cuba and withdrew from SALT II, it boycotted the Olympic games in Moscow in 1980 and imposed a grain embargo on the USSR.

The Soviets in turn banned the LA Olympics in 1984 and shot down a South Korean air liner and by 1983 they pulled out completely from bilateral arms talks with the US after the Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles were found deployed by three west European countries.

The overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979 also impelled the US to secure bases in Oman, Kenya and Somalia to obtain a strategic stronghold and protects its interests around the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

On the other hand, the Soviets, Cubans, Nicaraguans and even the Ethiopians were accused by the US of supplying arms to insurgents El Salvador in Central America.

While the Cold War ended practically with dismantling of the 35 km Berlin Wall in 1989, it wasn't until the London Summit a few years later that the Cold War was formally announced to be over London Summit.

The London Summit emphasized the need for the US to reduce the number of nuclear weapons it had deployed in Europe. It obtained a pledge to withdraw the 1470 nuclear tipped artillery shells from West Germany and for the Soviets to withdraw troops from Central and Eastern Europe. It redefined NATO's new role from strength seeking alliance to a peace keeping mission.

The World after the Cold War

The balance of power shifted drastically after the Cold War and its effects were felt the world over (Consider the case of Pakistan for e.g. which felt abandoned by the US after the fall of the Soviets).

The collapse of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of new states and the change of governments in several countries (Breakup of Yugoslavia for e.g.). Unresolved conflicts, in Korea, Vietnam and Germany, complicated by the interference of the superpowers came to a quick end.

A new world order emerged at the end of the Cold War, which was influenced by multilateralism and a unilateral superpower. The end of the Cold War called for a new focus in IR which could better analyze and anticipate the realties of a new world order. The end of communism also had economic implications which boosted the legitimacy of the market mechanism.

Communism in practice resulted in dominance of a single political party and centralized decision making. The bureaucracy became the new bourgeoisie under communism in practice.

The Capitalist Ideology

Capitalism is based on the notion of individual liberty and the right to own private property. At the political level, capitalism emphasized the need for democratic government, multiparty politics, independence of the judiciary, and freedom of press. In practice capitalism has caused problems for minorities, growing inequalities and arguments concerning the role of the state in managing the economy.

Relevant Vocabulary

Reconciliation: removal of differences or tensions between states

Conventional weapons: normal as opposed to nuclear

Accuse: to blame

Bourgeoisie: the rich and powerful elite

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 6 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Cold War International History Project
cwihp.si.edu/default.htm

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

Justifications for Armament

Weapons are not the causes but the consequences of conflictive relations. A historical survey of the arms race indicates that during the past two centuries this form of international competition often ends peacefully in recognition of the military superiority of one side or the other.

Countries which have no adequate defense tempt aggressors and therefore preparing for war is the best way to achieve peace.

Arguments for disarmament

Arms and arms races are costly and potentially very bloody. Arms reduction can curtail defense burden and allow economic investment for more productive purposes.

The unchecked growth of armaments without economic means can lead to internal repression and external aggression.

Arms Controls

Arms reduction implies partially disarmament based on mutually agreed set of arms levels between given groups of nation states. Arms limitation includes a wide variety of international accords to limit impact of potential wars or to prevent their accidental outbreak (exchange of information to prevent misunderstanding or banning acquisition of particular types of weaponry).

History of Disarmament

Disarmament attempts can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which stipulated against the need for building fortifications. In 1816, the Czar of Russia proposed to the British government the reduction of armaments, a call that was not well received however.

In 1863 and in 1869, France made similar calls for disarmament in Europe, but it too was ignored. In 1898, the Tsar of Russia called on European powers to gather at Hague to discuss disarmament, a suggestion which was well received, leading to the First Hague Peace Conference attended by 28 states.

In 1907, another conference was held at the Hague for the same purpose. Both conferences called upon military and naval experts to propose reducing military expenditures through disarmaments, but the major powers were not ready for such moves in practice.

Disarmament after WWI

The devastation caused by WWI impelled statesmen of the world to give serious thought to disarmament. Woodrow Wilson in one of his famous fourteen points asserted armament should be reduced to 'the lowest point consistent with domestic safety'.

The Treat of Versailles (1919) also recognized that 'the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments'. The League of Nations was given the specific duty to secure a general agreement on disarmament and the covenant of the League stated that only those countries will be allowed membership who accepted the proposed agreement.

A permanent advisory commission was established in the League, but being comprised of military personnel, it failed to make much progress in a path of disarmament.

The Council of the League appointed another commission in 1920, the Temporary Mixed Commission, with a fixed four year mandate and comprised primarily of civilians. This temporary commission of the League was asked to identify limitation of land and naval forces for various countries according to their national security needs, the commission also proposed compulsory arbitration and proposed international aid to victims of aggression.

Unfortunately, the commission's recommendations were not accepted by members of the League of Nations. In 1926, the League set up another preparatory commission for disarmament which prepared a draft of a treaty considered at the Geneva conference of the League in 1932 by 61 states. Discussions on this draft continued for 2 years but then the Japanese attack on Manchuria and the German withdrawal from the treaty in 1933, dashed the hopes for disarmament.

Relevant Vocabulary

Conflictive: conflicting or tense

Armament: the process of acquiring weaponry
Impelled: compelled, obligated

Arbitration: resolution of disputes

Fortifications: building up of defenses

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 7 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Websites on disarmament and non-proliferation
www.disarm.igc.org or www.ndf.org

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL (CONTINUED)

Disarmament after WWII

The devastation unleashed by WWII again led to calls for disarmament. The UN charter laid much emphasis on the need for disarmament. The UN established a Military Staff Committee to assist the Security Council to regulate armaments and explore means for disarmament.

Disarmament efforts by the UN

The UN established the *Atomic Energy Commission* consisting of all five Security Council members and Canada.

The Commission was meant to explore mechanisms for peaceful transfer of nuclear technology, to identify safeguards by way of inspections for compliant states to prevent hazards of violation and to eventually work towards elimination of nuclear weapons.

While both superpowers agreed to cooperate, their divergent stances (the US arguing that control take precedence over disarmament and the USSR arguing the reverse) on the Commission goals led to its ineffectiveness.

The General Assembly of the UN also established a Commission on Conventional Armaments, which also felt victim to Cold War divergences, ultimately the USSR pulled out of both Commissions due to China's representation on them.

Atoms for Peace Plan

In 1953, President Eisenhower of the US proposed establishment of a pool of fissionable materials donated by declared nuclear states to the Atomic Energy Commission, which could be provided to other countries strictly for peaceful purposes.

The Soviets opposed this plan arguing that an agreement on prohibiting nuclear weapons was first necessary prior to disseminating nuclear technology.

Other Disarmament Efforts

Many disarmament and arms control efforts were undertaken through bilateral means between the two superpowers, the biggest proliferations of armaments in the post-WWII period (NTBT, NPT, SALT I and II).

The six nation summit held in New Dehli in 1985 is indicative of the growing concern amongst developing countries about arms race, particularly nuclear weapons (Ironically, India too is now a declared nuclear state).

CTBT

The NTP review conference was held in Geneva in 1995 which recommended infinite extension of the NTP. Israel, Pakistan and India were criticized for not acceding to the NPT nor to the subsequent CTBT, which even forbids tests required for developing nuclear weapons.

Even France signed the CTBT after conducting its last nuclear test in the South Pacific. India and Pakistan remain reluctant and argue that the advanced nuclear states can keep their weaponry safe and updated by tests stimulated in lab settings.

Relevant Vocabulary

Compliant: agreeing or accepting

Reliant: reliable

Divergent: differing or opposing

Reluctant: hesitant

Stimulated: replicated or duplicated in different conditions

Subsequent: thereafter

Proliferation: spread or dissemination

Forbid: prohibit or does not allow

Elimination: removal or destruction

Regulation: to provide guidelines or parameters

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 7 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

CTBT Website
www.clw.org/coalition/ctbindex.htm

THE RELEVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

What is International Law?

International laws are rules which relate to the functioning of individuals, institutions and states in the international arena. International law has various ingredients including general principles of law and justice, which are equally suited to regulating the conduct of individuals, organizations within a state and states themselves.

Evolution of International Law

Formulation of international law can be traced back to the third and fourth millenniums B.C. Early rulers had made international rules to safeguard emissaries, initiation and cessation of hostilities and arrangement of truces, and maritime laws.

To aid governance, the Romans devised principles of just gentrium or law of the people. By the time the Roman Empire fell, application of these laws was widely accepted.

European states also contributed to international laws at a later stage in history. By the 14th century, scholars were writing about international law. Hugo Grotius, for example, produced a momentous work on laws concerning war and peace, emphasizing the independent nature of law.

During the eighteenth century, three prominent schools of thought concerning international law were evident; the positivists, the naturalists and the Grotians.

The naturalists believed in upholding morality through laws. The positivists focused on practicalities and the consensual nature of these laws. The Grotians combined both naturalists and positivist elements.

In the past century, the League and the UN system, and subsequently the International Court of Justice have made important contributions to international law. Other institutions like IMF or WTO influence laws concerning trade economic laws.

Different Types of International Law

Private and Public Laws: private law concerns individuals, whereas public law concerns the behavior of organizations and even states.

Procedural and Substantive Laws: Procedural laws define types of permitted behavior whereas substantive laws concern territorial rights of states.

Laws of War and Peace: There are laws governing behavior of states in a state of war (concerning rights of prisoners of war) and those meant to prevent outbreak of violence and promote peace.

Particular and General Laws: General or universal laws are applicable to all sovereign states, whereas particular laws are defined by bilateral or regional agreements.

Relevant Vocabulary

Maritime: concerning the sea and its navigation

Bilateral: between two parties

Momentous: major or significant

Consensual: seeking agreement

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 11 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Foreign and International Law
www.washlaw.edu/forint/forintmain.html

THE RELEVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (CONTINUED)

Another Perspective on International Laws

Another viewpoint through which one can consider the topic of international law is to focus on the laws of power, coordination and reciprocity.

Laws of power regulate master-slave relations. Those of coordination regulate relations amongst members of the same group. Laws of reciprocity refer to the intermediary interaction which implies mutual benefit.

Naturalists vs. Positivists

Naturalism and positivism developed side by side. Naturalists argued that Divine authority was the source of all laws. They argued that such laws had international validity as they were relevant for all humans and were consistent with logical deductions concerning our natural state.

There is not much evidence of wide bodies of natural laws being accepted just because of their logical consistency or because of consistent obedience to Divine authority (St. Augustine was a prominent naturalist).

Positivists argued that only those international laws had validity, which were adopted by consent of sovereign states. Consent is therefore considered the basis for the sense of binding obligation implied by international laws.

The Grotians or the eclectics treaded the middle path between the positivists and naturalists, conceding to the relevance of both morality and consent.

Sources of International Law

Article 38 of the ICJ recognizes natural laws, general laws, custom and legal commentaries as the basic sources of international law. Based on principles of universal acceptability, some natural laws are applicable across the world. Based on the implicit or explicit consent of states, *customary laws* are mainly based on customs or treaties. *General laws* defined with reference to terms like justice or rights, enables jurists to fill in the gaps left by positivist laws. *Legal commentaries* help clarify, elaborate upon and apply the broad nature of laws to specific circumstances.

Formulation & Implementation of International Laws

There is no formal institution to make international laws, so they are made outside of formal institutions. Treaties, for example imply signatory states to accept certain conditions concerning a particular issue. Some treaties are made by international institutions but they only come into effect after ratification by sovereign states.

If a sufficient number of states follow a customary practice, it becomes an international custom. The International Court of Justice (ICJ), which is composed of UN member states recommended by the Security Council, has an advisory capacity to interpret treaties, but it lacks the authority of national courts.

International tribunals also lack the authority of national judicial institutions. There is no international institution to implement international laws. Individuals and states are treated as objects of international

laws. War crime tribunals were after WWII and after the massacres of Rwanda, the former president of Serbia is being prosecuted for war crimes against the Muslims of Bosnia by the ICJ.

International versus National Laws

National laws have much greater legitimacy than international laws. While individuals rarely have recourse to self-help within nations, states rely on self-help as a matter of norm lest they are bound by a treaty of some sort. With the passage of time, international laws are becoming more accepted and complex and sanctions and international censure ensure states to oblige to them.

Relevance of International Laws

Despite its limitations, international law helps give shape to international order. It influences and channels bilateral or even multilateral economic, social and political cooperation. It provides the normative background based on which independent states can make their decisions.

Relevant Vocabulary

Multilateral: operating at multiple levels

Normative: ethical or moral

Censure: criticism or denouncement

Validity: acknowledgement or legitimacy

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 11 in '"A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

International Court of Justice
www.icj-cij.org

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

What are International Organizations?

International organizations include Inter-governmental Organizations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). IGOs have official delegates appointed by member nations. NGOs, on the other hand, are comprised of private individuals or institutions.

Need for IGOs

IGOs provide a less binding sense of regulation in comparison to national governments, yet their presence is significant in an increasingly integrated world. While some contend that international organizations ensure compliance to wishes of powerful nations, others view them as deterrents to hegemonic designs.

Categorizing IGOs

IGOs can be placed into four distinct categories:

       i   IGOs can have a *general membership* and a *general purpose (UN system)*

       ii   IGOs can have a *general membership* and a *limited purpose (World Bank)*

       iii   IGOs can have a *limited membership* and a *general purpose (OIC, EU)*

       iv   IGOs can have a *limited membership* and a *limited purpose (NATO)*

History of International Organizations

The Greek city states like Sparta and Athens developed military and defense organizations like NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Twelve city states also formed the Amphictyonic League to protect the Temple at Delphi. The Romans developed administrative, legal and military structures which aided international organization at a later stage in history.

In 1305, Pierre Dubories, a French lawyer proposed alliances between Christian powers, which led to several such formations, the Hanseatic League most prominent amongst them. Subsequently, the 'Grand Design' of 1603 comprised of 15 Christian republics, it aimed to end violence and settle disputes peacefully, yet it too was an overtly Christian organization confined to Europe.

Establishment of a world government and enduring peace did begin to preoccupy prominent thinkers though, like the Italian poet Dante (13 century) and the philosophers, Rousseau and Kant (18 century).

The European Congress in Westphalia in 1648, which ended 30 years of a bloody war, was not able to establish a formal organization but it did promote diplomatic ties amongst many prominent states. The French Revolution of 1789 similarly brought wide recognition of the right of self determination. Then the Congress of Vienna in 1815 provided principles for navigation of international rivers and identified provisions for abolishing slavery.

The US Monroe Doctrine of 1825 also set the stage for international cooperation by issuing a strong proclamation against external interventions. The Brussels Congress of 1874 provided a code of land warfare approved by 15 nations. The Hague Commissions of 1899 &1907 stressed on arbitration to avoid violence and on the equality of all independent states.

Also public international unions like the International Telegraphic Union (1865), the Universal Postal Union (1847) and the Rhine River Commission (1804) became prototypes for international organizations formed in the 20 century, like the League of Nations and the UN system.

Relevant Vocabulary

Proclamation: declaration

Overt: Obvious or explicit

Intervention: interference

Preoccupy: predominant concern

Enduring: long lasting

Abolishing: to put an end to, or to eradicate

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 12 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Monroe Doctrine
www.law.ou.edu/hist/monrodoc.html

LESSON 28

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (CONTINUED)

The League of Nations

The League of Nations was a general membership, general purpose IGO. The League was formed in 1919 to prevent war through collective security and settling disputes through negotiations and diplomacy; and to improve global welfare.

Despite these bold aims, it could not prevent aggression by the fascist powers in late 1930s.The UN replaced the League after WWII.

United Nations

The UN is a general membership and general purpose IGO. The UN was established in 1954 and is now made up of 191 states. UN membership is open to all "peace-loving states". The General Assembly determines admission upon recommendation of the Security Council.

The term UN was coined by Roosevelt during WWII, to refer to the Allies. The name was transferred to the UN as it was founded by the victorious powers in the war as a condition of the Atlantic Charter and other wartime agreements.

The UN system is financed in two ways: assessed and voluntary contributions from member states. The General Assembly is a principal organ of the UN and it includes representatives from all member states.

The UN Security Council is the most powerful UN organ, which passes resolutions, determines the need for sanctions and is comprised of China, Russia, US, UK and France, all of whom have veto powers. There are also non-veto non-permanent members appointed to the Security Council, which are brought onto the Council from the General Assembly.

Criticism of the UN

The UN provides a platform to discuss global security concerns and highlights development and environmental needs. There are charges that the UN is increasingly attempting to usurp or conversely not doing enough to override national sovereignty. In general, the UN has shown a reluctance to act upon its resolutions.

Others say the UN gives precedence to government authority over individual liberty. They point to the inclusion on the UNCHR of Sudan, Cuba and Libya, which have poor records on human rights.

These above countries however, argue that Western countries, with their history of colonialist aggression, have no right to point fingers.

There are also internal institutional failures of the UN such as allegations of mismanagement and corruption regarding the Oil for Food Program.

Some point to the UN failure to act (or succeed) in security issues such as the ethnic cleansing campaign in Rwanda or its failure to successfully deliver food to starving citizens of Somalia, which was usually seized by local warlords instead of reaching those who needed it.

It is said that being in majority Arab states have an unfairly large influence which has enabled a large number of UN resolutions condemning Israel. Alternatively, some argue that the UN is ruled by a "tyranny

of the rich". Critics point out to the repeated use of the veto to protect Israel, and the failure of the UN to enforce its resolutions on powerful countries like the US while enforcing them on weaker states like Iraq or Syria.

Given the above criticism there is often talk of abandoning or of reforming the UN (including the expansion of the Security Council, since it does not include many of the prominent powers of the world like Germany and Japan. Since the UN was formulated after WWII and it is therefore criticized as no longer reflecting realities of the current world order).

Relevant Vocabulary

Aggression: hostility

Seize: usurp or take by force

Assessed: determined

Condemning: criticizing or blaming

Tyranny: injustice implemented by use of force

Abandoning: to leave, or to let go of

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 12 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

United Nations website
www.un.org

League of Nations
www.althist.com/league_of_nations.htm

LESSON 29

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (CONTINUED)

Organization for Islamic Conferences

The OIC is a limited membership and general purpose IGO. The OIC is an inter-governmental organization with a Permanent Delegation to the UN. OIC groups 57 mostly Islamic nations in Middle East, North and West Africa, Central Asia, Southeast and South Asia.

The OIC is dedicated to serving the interests of the world's 1.3 billion Muslims. The OIC was set up in Rabat, Morocco in 1969 in reaction to an arson attack against the Al-Aqsa Mosque earlier in the same year.

The primary goals of the OIC are:

- To promote solidarity among all member states;
- To consolidate cooperation among member states in economic, social, cultural, scientific, and other fields of activity;
- To endeavor to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination
- To oppose colonialism in all its forms;
- To support the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their national rights and to return to their homeland;
- To support all Muslim people in their struggle to safeguard their dignity, independence and national rights

European Union

EU is a limited membership and general purpose IGO. The European Union or EU is a supranational organization of European countries, which currently has 25 members. The Union was established in 1992. However, many aspects of the EU existed before that date through a series of predecessor organizations, dating back to the 1950s.

The European Union's activities cover all policy areas, from health and economic policy to foreign affairs and defense. A key activity of the EU is the establishment and administration of a common single market, including a customs union and a single currency (adopted by 12 of the 25 member states), a common agricultural and fisheries policy.
In 2004, European heads of state signed a treaty establishing the first constitution for the European Union, which is currently awaiting ratification by its member states.

World Bank

World Bank is a general membership and limited purpose IGO. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, better known as the World Bank, It came into existence on 1945 following international ratification of the agreements reached at the Bretton Woods Conference.

World Bank is an international organization whose original mission was to finance the reconstruction of nations devastated by WWII. World Bank operations are maintained through payments as regulated by member states. The World Bank's activities are currently focused on developing countries, to which the World Bank provides loans at preferential rates to finance development.

The Role of MNCs in IR

A multinational corporation (MNC) or transnational corporation (TNC) is one that spans multiple nations; these corporations are often very large. Most MNCs have offices and/or factories in different countries. They usually have a centralized head office where they coordinate global management.

Large multinationals have budgets that exceeding those of many countries. Multinationals often make use of subcontractors to produce certain goods for them. They produce employment and bring in investment to poor countries. They can also take away more wealth than they leave behind and influence global and local politics to ensure their own interests.

Worldwide Fund for Nature

WWF is a private international NGO with operations in countries. The WWF is a global organization, which acts locally through a network of country offices to halt the accelerating destruction of the natural environment. It is funded by both bilateral and multilateral agencies.

Relevant Vocabulary

Ratification: endorsement

Halt: stop or prevent

Discrimination: unfair difference in behavior towards different people

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 12 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Official World Bank website
www.worldbank.org

Official WWF website
www.panda.org

Official OIC website
www.oic-oic.org

THE ROLE OF DECISION MAKING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

What is Decision Making?

Decision making implies a conscious choice of one form of behavior alternative. Decisions are implied in policy making and in implementation of policy strategies. Decision making determines a course of action which has important consequences.

While the most important decisions are referred to leaderships at the top, various cadres of decision makers are needed in all institutional structures. In IR, decisions are made concerning foreign policies which formulate directions for socio-economic activities and defense needs of individual states.

Types of IR Decisions

Programmatic decisions: these are taken after careful deliberation of stated goals and consideration of alternatives.

Crisis decisions: these are decisions taken in times of grave threat for which there has been no preplanning, with little luxury of time crisis decisions can require ad hoc responses.

Tactical decisions: these decisions are derived from programmatic decisions. Tactical decisions are subject to revision, revaluation and reversal depending on outcomes.

Prominent Approaches to Decision Making

Decisions taken in IR can be located within methodological and historical frameworks. A traditional or historical approach to decision making is essentially descriptive. It focuses on the external behavior of states based on its particular historical, social, geographic imperatives.

The traditional approach assumes that decisions are made by designated decision makers, and that the decision making process itself influences decision making alternatives.

The scientific approach seeks to identify coherent variables which effect the decision making process. The scientific approach has identified five crucial variables in this regard:

i)   Idiosyncratic variables: focus on individual personality characteristics of decision makers (greatest importance in crisis decisions where little planning and advice can be accommodated).

ii)   Role variables: focus on defined expectations of decision makers and opinion makers (diplomats, politicians, and media) who influence their output. Roles are most important in programmatic decisions.

iii)   Bureaucratic variables: focus on processes and structures of government institutions and how they influence foreign policy.

iv)   National variables: geographic location, size, natural resources, population characteristic of individual nations also influence decisions. For example, a strategically located nation must be assertive itself or ensure protection of a bigger power; an insular state tends to avoid alliances; and populist states tend to be expansionist.

v)   Systematic variables: external variables like the prevailing world order, international regulatory frameworks, power balances are also considered vital in terms of foreign policy.

Political parties, pressure groups, public opinion are recognized to influence decision making processes much more in democratic than authoritarian states.

Relevant Vocabulary

Alternatives: other available options

Idiosyncrasies: peculiarity

Strategy: on a carefully thought plan

Framework: structure, outline or context

Vital: important or crucial

Authoritarian: dictatorial

Prevailing: existing

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 8 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Decision making: Individual and Group Influences on Foreign Policy
http://www.wwnorton.com/web/ir/chapters/ch6/critical-thinking.htm

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DECISION MAKING (CONTINUED)

Decision Making Processes

Astute decision making requires:

- Identification of shortfalls
- Clarification of feasible objectives
- Obtaining relevant facts and identification of alternative
- Obtaining feedback during implementation to make policy modifications

Decision makers must avoid getting so preoccupied with mechanics of policy making that they ignore policy content. Actual results emerging from a policy can differ from perceived objectives but it is difficult to take all variables into account while formulating a policy decision

Decision Making Theories

Organizational Process Model: views the state as an organization obtaining input from different units to reach a decision.

Following this model can result in a bounded rather than a comprehensive viewpoint due to the splitting up and compartmentalization of problems.

Rational Actor Model: considers states as monolithic entities whose leaders try to maximize national interests as a whole (Kissinger amongst others has favored this model of how states should make decisions).

Group Politics Model: uses a bureaucratic framework in which different departments/agencies pursue their own vested interests as well as collective national interests.

Personality Process Model: in addition to information and processes, the personality model focuses on cognitive and emotional factors in reaching decisions.

Difficulties in Decision Making

- Cognitive nearsightedness and the urge to make decisions to satisfy immediate needs must be overcome for more sustainable outcomes.

- Oversimplification can lead to dealing with symptoms instead of problems resulting in immature and inadequate decisions.

- Myopic perspectives without consultation and accommodation of different views lead to narrow minded policies.

- Preconceived notions or distortion of facts can be used to justify favored decisions.

- Prioritization is necessary given the numerous problems contending for a decision maker's attention.

- Making a right choice after through consideration of all relevant facts and alternatives is not easy.

- Avoiding biases is also difficult given that vested and divergent interests are often prevalent amongst decision making units.

- Showing flexibility in view of divergent policy options and perceptions is needed to devise a sound policy that will be implemented by all instead of being opposed to the point of causing ineffectiveness.

- Comparative analysis of decisions made in similar circumstances and candid and competent institutional support is vital for decision making in an increasingly complicated international environment.

Relevant Vocabulary

Divergent – varying

Relevant – important

Myopic – narrow

Prioritization – ranking in order of importance

Candid – honest

Vital - crucial

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 8 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:
http://www.wwnorton.com/web/ir/chapters/ch6/critical-thinking.htm

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SYSTEMS APPROACH TO IR

What is Systems Theory?

System theory is the attempt to understand international relations as a set of observable, understandable patterns between the actors that are elements of the international system.

Basic Definitions

System: a collection of elements related to each other by some pattern of behavior and actions

System Theory: explanation of observed patterns in international events by attributing those patterns to the characteristics of the international system

Underlying Assumptions

There are patterns that can be observed in international events. Actors in international relations comprise a system. The patterns we can observe in international relations are due (in part) to the characteristics of the international system.

Elements of the System

- National Actors
- Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGO's)
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's)
- Multi-national Corporations (MNC's)
- Other Groups (organized or not)
- Individuals

Rules of the System

Rules are statements which define actions which are required, forbidden or permitted. Patterns in the system are often due to the generally accepted rules about how to conduct IR (when it comes to alliance behavior for example). There are also a range of acceptable or expected responses enabling states to predict the behavior of other states.

System Poles

The term pole comes from the concept of polarity in electrodynamics. A system pole can be a single country (USA), a single country with its client states (USSR + Eastern Europe), or a group of actors (NATO or the EU)

Relevant Vocabulary

Polarity - two opposing points

Conduct - carry out

Characteristics - defining features

Patterns – things done in similar ways

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Section on Systems Approach in Chapter 1 of "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Comparative World Systems Approach
www.irows.ucr.edu/cd/courses/125/readings/chap2.htm

SYSTEMS BASED APPROACH (CONTINUED) – DISTINCT SYSTEMS IN IR

Three Distinct Systems in IR

Unipolar System implies one dominant power and it occurs when one actor conquering all others of note, or by institutional means, or by hegemony (rule by one dominant leader through the establishment of norms and behaviors that are acceptable in the system. Examples of a unipolar system include Roman, Chinese, & other empires; also the rule by a central power within a bipolar bloc like USSR in Eastern Europe or USA in the West.

Bipolar System

Two roughly equal coalitions of actors often formed around one strong actor in each coalition. Other important actors like the UN do not really threaten bipolar coalitions particularly if they are based on ideology.

Multi-polar System

Poles are roughly equivalent and there is a fluid and competitive system of shifting alliances. Relatively free of ideology and run by politics not ideology. Each actor is interested primarily in its personal power and wellbeing. There is a tendency to form counter-alliances since any one country or alliance that is too strong is a threat to all other actors.

Another approach to World System Analysis

World Economy Perspective has 3 major components:

1   Historical development of core-periphery division of labor

2   Episodic rise and fall of hegemonic power – a 1800-1914: Pax Britannica

3   Gradual geographic expansion of world economy coupled with periodic growth and stagnation

Changes in a system

Systems can be either stabilizing or destabilizing forces in international relations. Systems - even if they are stabilizing systems - have dynamics of their own. Most systems have some sort of self perpetuating process.

Systems often are - equilibrating - that is, they respond to changes by absorbing the changes and moving to a new stabilizing equilibrium. Sometimes systems respond to change by evolving into new systems

Factors which affect international systems are:

1   Change in the number of actors

2   Change in the power distribution between actors

3   Change in technology

4   Change in characteristics of the actors

Relevant Vocabulary

Relatively – comparatively

Equilibrium – balance

Stabilizing – balancing

Perpetuating – further promoting

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

About Systems
www.jameskay.ca/about/**systems**.html

LIBERALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Defining Liberalism

Liberalism clusters several historical and present-day ideologies claiming that defense of individual liberty is the most basic purpose of government.

Since WW II, liberalism and its many offshoots have become prominent schools of thought in the west and in increasingly large sphere of economies and societies influenced by them.

Liberalism typically favors the right to dissent from orthodox tenets or established authorities in political or religious matters. In this respect, it is sometimes held in contrast to conservatism.

Since liberalism focuses on the ability of individuals to structure society, it is opposed to totalitarianism and collectivitis ideologies like communism.

The word "liberal" derives from the Latin *"liber"* ("free"). Liberals of all shades tend to value freedom instead of government control.

Some adherents of liberalism sympathize with some of the aims and methods of social democracy arguing that the government should provide some form of health services and basic education for which taxation is needed.

Since liberalism is broad, and generally pragmatic in its orientation, there is no hard and fast list of policy prescriptions which can be universally assumed to be "liberal".

In some circumstances there will be tax increases, in others tax decreases. In some cases there will be the creation of a quasi-public entity to perform a function, in other cases privatization or the creation of a government program.

The ideas of universal human rights, transparency of government, popular sovereignty, national self-determination, the rule of law, fundamental equality are often linked to the more obvious liberal principles of notion of private property, non-interference of state in economic processes, although there is a wide gap between statements and reality.

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is an economic ideology rather than a broader political ideology . The swing away from government action in the 1970s led to the introduction of this term, which refers to a program of reducing trade barriers and internal market restrictions as a way towards a more free market capitalist system.

Neoliberalism accepts some government involvement in the economy, particularly the need for a central bank and national defense, but it seeks to reduce government regulation as much as possible.

While neoliberalism is sometimes described as overlapping with Thatcherism, many prominent economists and institutions, like the World Bank are influenced by the "neoliberal" philosophy.

This economic agenda is not necessarily combined with a liberal agenda in politics. An extreme example was the Pinochet regime in Chile, but even the US President Regan was being neo-liberal.

Neoliberals support big business and try to promote it as a sure route to economic growth and 'trickling down' economic prosperity.

Relevant Vocabulary

Notion – idea

Regulation - to guide

Route – way or means

Overlapping – cutting across

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism

LIBERALISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (CONTINUED)

Social Democracy

Social democracy is a political ideology emerging in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from supporters of Marxism who believed that the transition to a socialist society could be achieved through democratic evolutionary rather than revolutionary means.

During the early and mid-20th century, social democrats were in favor of stronger labor laws, nationalization of major industries, and a strong welfare state. Over the course of the 20th century, most social democrats gradually distanced themselves from Marxism and class struggle.

At present, social democrats don't see a conflict between a capitalist market economy and a socialist society, so they support reforming capitalism to make it more equitable through creation of a welfare state.

In the past, social democrats were often described as *reformist socialists* (since they advocated the implementation of socialism through gradual reforms). They were contrasted with *revolutionary socialists*, who advocated socialism through a workers' revolution.

Today, democratic socialists carry on the *reformist socialism* legacy and desire a fully socialist system through electoral means. But most social democrats want capitalism to be more equitable, not abolished.

Social democratic parties are amongst the largest in most European countries, and in European-influenced parts of the world (with the notable exception of the US). Social democrats are politically centre of left.

Liberalism vs. Social Democracy

The fundamental difference between liberalism and social democracy, besides the difference in origins, is in their views regarding the role of the state in the economy.

Social democracy seeks to achieve a certain extent of equality of outcomes, and upholds egalitarianism as the source of its moral values.

Social democrats support a large public sector and nationalization of utilities like gas and electricity to avoid private monopolies, achieve social justice, and raise living standards for all. Liberalism, instead prefers much less state intervention.

In the 1990s, many social democratic parties adopted neoliberal economic policies like extensive privatizations and open markets, much to the dismay of their own voters.

This has led these parties to become *de facto* neoliberal, and often resulted in a drastic loss of their popular support. For example, critics of the German Social Democratic Party and the British Labour Party accuse them of pursuing neoliberal policies.

Relevant Vocabulary

Abolish – to declare illegal

Adopted – applied

Intervention - interference

De facto – in effect

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_democracy

INTEGRATION IN IR

What is Integration?

Integration seeks to build a relationship between individual units, in which they are mutually interdependent and jointly produce system properties, which they would separately lack. Several scholars (Deutsch, Haas and Nye etc.) have argued for supranational integration

Dimensions of Integration

The *domain* of integration is the entire population of an integrated geographic area (Whales and England are integrated in the UK). The scope of integration implies the specific areas in which integration occurs (telegraphic services amongst several nations coordinated through International Telecommunications Union).

The *range* of integration implies what the constituent units gain or lose as a result of integrating. Integration into the US enabled smaller states to gain independence from the British. The *weight* of integration implies the ability of an integrative relationship to remain cohesive despite disruptive elements.

Purposes of Integration

- Maintaining peace between political units
- Attaining multipurpose capabilities through combination of economic power and resources
- Creating a new sense of identity

Preconditions for Integration

I   Mutual relevance based on prevailing patterns of transactions and communication between different political units
II   Joint benefits for all concerned units
III   Mutual responsiveness and political will to integrate
IV   Objective compatibility or consonance of major values of participating population, permitting corporation amongst them to obtain legitimacy

Functionalism

Functionalism implies partial or gradual amalgamation. Functionalism can help avoid premature amalgamation and can provide a chance to understand the habits and skills of more far reaching, stable and rewarding integration.

Assessing Integration

Regional or global governance could prevent the traditional rivalry between states, which is counter-productive and dangerous. Besides the willingness of nations to let go of their sovereignty and the challenge of sustainability, there is a danger of hegemonic designs dominating integrated government systems.

Relevant Vocabulary

Mutual – involving both parties

Dominating – dominant or

Amalgamation – joining or lumping together

Premature – not yet mature or ready

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Relevant sections in Chapter 13 and all of Chapter 16 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

In addition, students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

IR and European Integration Theory
aei.pitt.edu/archive/00000401/

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Globalization implies increased flow of information and interaction around the world. To say more things are flowing does not mean that they are flowing more equitably or that all the flows are beneficial. While flows among developed states may be increasing dramatically, increases are far less dramatic for developing states.

Advocates of Globalization

Globalization is promoted by governments of rich countries and major international organizations dominated by rich countries:

- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), intergovernmental think tank from world's 29 richest countries. OECD states produce 2/3 of world's goods and services
- International Monetary Fund, which makes loans to countries facing bankruptcy
- World Bank, which makes loans for development projects
- World Trade Organization, which oversees world trade and aims to promote it further

Why is the World Globalizing?

Technological changes, particularly in communications (phone and Internet connections) and transportation (cars, ships, planes) move not only ideas but also money and services now. Technology makes access to new markets possible and also enables flexible productions processes. Transnational linkages are not driven by economics but by bonds forged across countries both directly by immigration and indirectly by transnational loyalties and allegiances. Deliberate policy choices (Liberalization of trade, foreign direct investment, and capital) are pursuing a more global economy and culture.

Reconsidering Globalization

Globalization involves a major change in where power is located in the world. Globalization involves a change in how much states can control these flows of people, information, etc.

International institutions and regimes like WTO, EU, NAFTA, ILO, and other international organizations can, within limits, restrict the freedom of states. Globalization is a complex phenomenon, which is likely to lead to greater concentrations of power in some cases and, at the same time, empowering of some who are not yet empowered.

Relevant Vocabulary

Flexible – enabling use of different options

Regimes – rulers in power

Enables – allows or promotes

Transnational – across several nations

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Globalization and its challenges in the 21st Century
www.bisa.ac.uk/bisanews/0109/Globalization.htm

LESSON 38

THE GLOBAL DIVIDE

The difference in per capita income between the world's poorest and richest countries has more than doubled over the last 25 years.

According to UN estimates, merely 3% of the annual increase in the world's wealth is needed to eradicate poverty. Yet developed countries have been hesitating to meet pledges made two decades ago to devote 0.7% of the value of their annual GDP to aid for poorer nations.

World Social Forum

World Social Forum was formed in 2001 by a coalition of Brazilian trade unions, charities and left-wing political and environmental groups. Over the past four years, it has expanded into a loose coalition of such organizations from around the world. Instead of believing that big business can change the world for the better, the World Social Forum demands that both the corporations and the governments of rich countries must change the way that they deal with the people and nations of the developing world.

The World Social Form considers economic forces, if left unchecked, often contributes to the marginalization of the weakest. Often described as a 'Carnival of the Oppressed', the World Social Forum puts forth suggestions to fight poverty, disease and environmental damage and it hopes to replace the prevailing inequities of globalization by a fairer, healthier, cleaner version of global trade in which poorer countries have better opportunities to grow.

Can the Global Divide Be Bridged?

Conventional economic wisdom maintains that an average annual growth rate of about 7% is enough to alleviate poverty in developing countries.

But even if some countries like China or India can actually achieve such growth, it is unlikely that all developing countries would be able to grow this much without completely depleting the already strained natural resource reserves of the planet.

Even economically, the gap between worldwide savings and necessary investments is simply too wide to achieve so much global growth anytime in the near future. Of course, economic growth is important for reducing poverty, but growth itself does not guarantee equity. To ensure equity it is essential to look at how the benefits of growth are distributed not just within but also between countries.

Relevant Vocabulary

Equity – just or equal outcomes

Inequality – lack of equality or divide between the haves and have nots

Conventional – traditional

Coalition – alliance or union

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

The Digital Divide
www.**global**policy.org/**global**iz/define/davos.htm

Bridging the Global Divide
observer.guardian.co.uk/ global/story/0,10786,591598,00.html

FOCUS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Investing in poor countries

Many scholars agree that foreign investments can potentially help poor countries progress. Channeling foreign investments to improve the lives of the poor requires multidimensional efforts by a range of stakeholders to counterbalance the urge of profit maximization with the need to achieve more benevolent growth.

How Foreign Investments Aid Poor Countries

The conventional argument states that foreign investments can help poor countries acquire the technology, management skills and exposure to market mechanisms which are vital requirements to kick-start economic development.

Developing countries are encouraged by international financial institutions to provide the essential legal, institutional and physical infrastructure necessary to attract foreign investments. Yet the contribution of foreign direct investments and multinational activities in helping develop poor countries remains limited, except in some resource rich African and Asian countries, where too benefits are unevenly distributed.

Partnership with supranational agencies, like the World Bank or with the UN system, has inculcated a sense of social responsibility in multinational organizations.

Prominent initiatives including the UN's Global Compact which led to articulation of the Millennium Development Goals, as well as the proposed Marshall Plan for Africa, have explicitly aimed to collaborate closely with multinationals to help poor countries develop.

Contentions Concerning Foreign Investments

Conceding the utility of making capitalism more inclusive and pro-poor, it is also important to realize that foreign investment can also have seriously adverse impacts on industries where the very poor work.

Foreign investments in the informal economy including sectors like forestry, agriculture and textiles can be particularly problematic. When multinationals set up plants and factories or when smaller farms or companies enter into partnerships with large corporations, it often leads smaller businesses to shut down.

Multinational intrusion in the formal economy can lead to a loss of jobs which has compelled poor workers, including women, to enter the casual workforce. Poor people cannot upgrade their skills to meet requirements of working in an increasingly sophisticated marketplace.

Pro-poor Foreign Investments

If multinationals were to provide training within the informal sector, many marginalized workers could enter the formal economy and boost their incomes. Governments in developing countries need to also upgrade skills and invest in the infrastructure of the informal sector. NGOs are trying to fill this existing gap.

Relevant Vocabulary

Multinational – involving several nations

Counterbalance – to balance an uneven position by a countering move

Upgrade - improve

Infrastructure – structure of communications, road and rail, etc.

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

International Trade and Investment
www.iie.com/research/trade.htm

FDI: The Overstretched Myth
www.**foreign**affairs.org/20050301facomment84201/david-h-levey-stuart-s-brown/the-overstretch-myth.html

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CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Conflicts in IR

Conflict in the sense of visible incompatibility of policies and interests of different states is a permanent and continuous feature of IR.

A traditional and persistent issue causing conflict between states is territorial disputes. A crisis is the first stage of conflict and a crisis may erupt due to actions of citizens of one nation against another (hijacking) or due to hostile actions at the state level (border incursion).

Components of a Conflict

There are four distinct ways of categorizing conflicts:

1   *Number of parties involved*: Depending on the nature and/or gravity of a conflict it can involve two or more parties (WWI or Cold War for e.g.)

2   *Issues Field*: A range of issues can trigger conflicts including territorial, ideological or economic interests. Conflicts can also have multiple reasons

3   *Attitudes*: Different attitudes are important in conflict situations including the perception of threat, amount of suspicion concerning opponents intensions, symbolic interests involved in conflict, perception about available alternatives

4   *Actions*: denials, rejections, protests, and international pressure are actions which can defuse conflicts. On the other hand, actions like escalating steps like withdrawal of diplomatic staff, economic blockades, ban on travel and limited use of force instigate all out conflict.

Causes of Conflicts

Given the perpetual problem of conflict, what causes conflicts merits careful attention. Sometimes conflicts become the origin of conflicts, other times conflicts occur due to security concerns or religious or ideological reasons.

Some scholars categorize international conflicts in the following manner:

- Conflicts can be traced to individual reactions of decision makers

- Conflicts can also be caused by the prevailing world order, like the polarization witnessed during the Cold War

- Conflicts caused at the state level can include focus on national character, ideological beliefs, imperialist or hegemonic tendencies

Potential Outcomes of Conflict

Conflict outcomes can vary significantly:

- Avoidance of hostile action and adopting a compromising position is a common outcome of conflict

- Conquest: often implies overwhelming use of force and even then requires concessions by the victor to secure an end of resistance

- Surrender: the losing party withdraws from previously held position, value or interest

- Compromise: where both parties agree to a partial withdrawal from the initial stance that brought about the conflict

- Award: instead of mutual bargaining, acceptance of a binding decision by third part arbitration to end the conflict

- Passive Settlement: lingering conflicts which are not ended compel parties to accept the status quo instead

Relevant Vocabulary

Compel – to obligate

Status quo – the way things are

Lingering – ongoing

Gravity - seriousness

Partial – only in part, or not complete

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 17 in "'A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Centre for International Conflict Resolution
http://sipa.columbia.edu/cicr/

LESSON 41

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

What is the importance of Conflict Resolution in IR?

International conflict resolution is an interdisciplinary field of study that allows students and practitioners to examine and formulate effective approaches to deadly conflict.

Conflict Resolution is linked to development, human rights, security policy and social psychology. Conflict resolution requires understanding of root causes, conflict dynamics, and seizing opportunities for conflict transformation.

Issues concerning modern conflicts

Modern conflicts often involve intrastate rather than the more traditional interstate struggles, presenting new challenges to policymakers and peacemakers alike. The intended result of conflict resolution is a reduction of despair, an enrichment of alternatives, and the empowerment of all dimensions conducive to fair, sustainable, lasting and satisfactory agreements.

Some basic steps for resolving conflicts

1. The win/win approach
Identify attitude shifts to respect all parties' needs

2. Creative response
Transform problems into creative opportunities

3. Empathy
Develop communication tools to build rapport. Use listening to clarify understanding

4. Appropriate assertiveness
Apply strategies to attack the problem not the person

5. Co-operative power
Eliminate "power over" to build "power with" others

6. Managing emotions
Express fear, anger, hurt and frustration wisely to effect change

7. Willingness to Resolve
Name personal issues that cloud the picture

8. Mapping the conflict
Define the issues needed to chart common needs and concerns.

9. Development of options
Design creative solutions together

10. Introduction to negotiation

Plan and apply effective strategies to reach agreement

11. Introduction to mediation
Help conflicting parties to move towards solutions

12. Broadening perspectives
Evaluate the problem in its broader context

Relevant Vocabulary

Dimensions – various angles or factors

Empowerment – a process leading to increased ability

Conducive – something which proves to promote, support or encourage

Transformation - change

Dynamics – factors behind a phenomenon

Resolution – to resolve or solve a problem

Practitioners – those involved in the practice of

Intrastate – within a state

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following chapters to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Chapter 17 in '"A Study of International Relations" by Dr. Sultan Khan

Internet Resources

In addition to reading from the textbook, please visit the following web-pages for this lecture, which provide useful and interesting information:

Gateway on International Conflict Resolution
www.colorado.edu/**conflict**/

LESSON 42

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Population and the Environment

Today, there are over 6 billion people in the world, and by the year 2025, the global population would be at least 8.5 billion. The bulk of population growth is projected to be in the developing world.

The link between population growth and environmental degradation is complex, as reflected in the several competing theories. However, a larger population generally translates into greater demands on the Earth's resources.

Population size that exceeds local carrying capacity of the ecosystems can cause soil depletion, deforestation, and desertification. Agriculture demands have raised important environmental concerns. Irrigated crop land for food production is being eroded by water logging and made less productive by salinization (cumulative build-up of salts left by evaporation of irrigation water). Fresh water is a critical resource. Besides water-quality problems of surface waters, new concern has emerged concerning depleting groundwater resources. If we multiply projected population increases by the substantially higher standard of living that equity requires for impoverished communities today and for future populations, the potential demands on the environment are dramatic.

Global Concern for the Environment

Scientists and environmentalists have convinced world leaders that environmental protection is a global concern, dealing with which is beyond the scope of national governments. New international pacts, conventions and protocols rooted in a common commitment to sustainable development are the right response. Today, there are several hundred international environmental regimes. Yet many of these agreements are very recent.

History of Environmental Cooperation

International environmental law dates back to 1972, when countries gathered in Stockholm for UN's Conference on the Human Environment and United Nations Environment Program was formed.

At the turn of the 20th century there were hardly any multilateral or bilateral environmental agreements.

Prior international laws were based on the principles of unfettered national sovereignty over natural resources and absolute freedom of the seas beyond the three-mile territorial limit.

International agreements which dealt with the natural environment largely addressed issues concerning boundary waters, navigation, and fishing rights along shared waterways.

By the 1930s and 1940s, conservation and preservation had emerged as conceptual approaches to natural resource management. This led to agreements to protect fauna and flora like the 1933 London Convention on Preservation of Fauna and Flora in Their Natural State (focused primarily on Africa). During the 1950s

and early 1960s, agreements governing international liability for nuclear damage were negotiated, as was the 1954 International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

Relevant Vocabulary

Conservation - maintenance, upkeep

Natural Resources – resources of land, air and the sea

Prior – previous

Liability – responsibility or binding obligation

Depleting – diminishing or reducing

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Global Environment Facility
www.gefweb.org/

Global Environment Outlook
www.unep.org/geo/geo3/

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Current Scope of Environmental Cooperation

Since 1970, hundreds of international environmental instruments have been concluded. Including bilateral and multilateral instruments (binding & non-binding), there are almost 1,000 international legal instruments with one or more environmental provisions. Most countries are signatories to some or many of these agreements.

Relevant stakeholders concerning environmental laws include not only states but corporations, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. At the 'Earth Summit' in Rio in 1992, the international community affirmed that current patterns of economic and social development are not sustainable.

The subject-matter of international environmental agreements has expanded significantly from the focus in the first half of this century on facilitating navigation, guaranteeing fishing rights, and protecting particularly valued animal species. The duties have also become more comprehensive: from a focus on research and monitoring to provisions for reductions in pollutants.

The scope of international agreements has expanded greatly from transboundary to global pollution agreements; from preservation of designated species to that of ecosystems; from control of direct emissions into lakes to comprehensive river-basin-system regimes; from agreements taking effect   beyond national borders to ones that constrain activities within national borders, such as those for world heritages and wetlands.

Individual countries have also negotiated many global agreements. For e.g., the Vienna Convention on the Protection of the Ozone Layer provides a framework for ozone protection but also calls for research, monitoring, and exchange of information between countries.

The Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer; and Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change are other significant global climate protection agreements.

Then there is the Basel Convention on the Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal and the London Guidelines for the Exchange of Information on Chemicals in International Trade.

In Asia, ASEAN has concluded the Convention on the Conservation of Nature, which provides ecosystem protection and controls on trade in endangered species.

Environmental Concerns and IR

The relationship between economic development and environmental protection complicates the situation. National interest has traditionally meant the identification of interests of one country that are distinct from or even contrary to those of another.

Increasingly we recognize that the global environment has interests that are common to all countries. In the case of ozone depletion, for instance, at the most basic level the US interest is not contrary to that of England or Germany rather there is a common interest in controlling ozone depletion. For controlling marine pollution, the transport of hazardous waste, or the concentrations of greenhouse gases, global cooperation is vital.

Some Other Issues

There is ample evidence to suggest that it is more effective to prevent pollution and natural-resource degradation, such as eroded watersheds, than to compensate for damages caused. Often the damages are irreversible, or if reversible, they have high costs.

There is no way to calculate accurately damages to the natural environment to provide compensation. More recent international environmental instruments recognize the importance of including all relevant parties in the agreements.

Developing countries need economic incentives, such as technical assistance and financial support, and differentiated implementation schemes for developing countries.

It is well known that poverty is a primary form of ecological degradation. Thus, meeting the basic needs of peoples is essential to environmental conservation.

Thus, sustainable environmental protection requires cooperation between states and between different groups within states. The reconciliation and integration of environmental protection with economic growth, including environmental measures and trading practices is crucial.

Relevant Vocabulary

Provisions – supplies or necessities

Endangered – in fear of extinction

Compensation - payment for damages, or a reward for doing something

Degradation – dilapidation or ruin

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to visit the following websites to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

Centre for Health and Global Environment
www.med.harvard.edu/chge/

Beyond Kyoto
John Browne, "Beyond Kyoto," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2004

HOW IR DIFFER FROM DOMESTIC POLITICS?

Anarchy - no government

Self-help system: World politics as "struggle for power." Nations in "constant state of war:" not always at war, but threat of war constantly looms. Use of force is considered a legitimate means for settling disputes among nations

Law not enforceable in international system. Few rules and no enforcement

Governments have monopoly on legitimate use of force in domestic society but no equivalent in international society

Weaker sense of community and shared values, norms, standards of justice, views of authority, goals and aspirations

Strategies for altering state behavior

A. "Sticks:" Punishment and deterrence. Sanctions for violation of pollution rules

B. "Carrots:" Rewards and incentives. Ozone case and North Korea nuclear situation

C. "Locks:" Prevention and coercion. Oil pollution equipment requirements

D. "Labels:" Information. Acid rain for example

E. "Sermons:" Normative education. Human rights and democracy arguments

Observations concerning visible changes in IR

1. Capacity of governments to implement: financial, administrative, infrastructure requirements

2. Asymmetries in power determine whose behavior is changed: strong disobey, but weak obey

3. Interdependence - more is better: fear of disturbing spider's web of relationships, more options for reciprocity/retaliation

Relevant Vocabulary

Intellectual – concerning the intellect
Underpins – providing basis for
Reciprocity – same sort of reaction
Asymmetry – irregularity or unevenness

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

State of IR Today
www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/hafa3/stateofIR.htm

International Relations Centre
www.irc-online.org/content/ggn/0505ggn.exec.php

CHANGE AND IR

Military - end of cold war but lingering violence within Sri Lanka, Sudan) and between states (US coalition attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq)

Political - combining of certain countries (EC, NAFTA, South American Free Trade Area, China/HK) and disintegration of others (Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia)

Economic - most people know more about consumer products than about their neighboring countries

Environmental – a range of issues coming onto international agenda ranging from ozone depletion and deforestation, to that of desertification.

Human rights – Rights of prisoners of war, of political opponents (Aung San Suu

Kyi, Nelson Mandela), economic rights

Continuity in IR

a)   Its unlikely that we will achieve world government and disintegration of the nation state anytime in the near future

b)   Most powerful economic countries still exploiting poorest and rampantly depleting natural resources

c)   Poverty and degradation of human life remains a far too common sight around the world

Causality and counterfactuals

Ongoing tension between structure and agency, between constraints imposed by large, impersonal forces and the ability of:

i   Human choices to make a difference by producing different outcomes within existing structural constraints

        Human choices to make a difference by altering the structure itself like at the end of the Cold War. The growth of a global economy is also an aggregate result of many human choices, some conscious and some less than conscious. But human choices are constrained by large structural forces that make any single human choice unlikely to be determining of the outcomes, even if they can be influential. Because there are choices, and those choices have consequences, however probabilistically, that means that morality also matters.

iii   Theory provides basis for thinking about range of issues. Think about causality. What causes conflict for example? What causes *violent* conflict? Was WWII caused by Hitler, poor international management, or German nationalism?

IR in a nutshell

1.   Types of interaction: conflict, harmony, and cooperation

2.   Actors - states, IGOs, NGOs, MNCs, individuals

3.   Goals and issues: military, economic, social, environmental

4.   Means - war and force, economic power, treaties and diplomacy, environmental and development concerns, people power

5.   Levels of analysis: Individual, governmental, or international system level

6.   Theories of interaction: realism, liberalism, communism dependency theory, etc.

Relevant Vocabulary

Depletion – ending, finishing

Desertification – turning of fertile lands into deserted or barren land

Analysis – investigation, examination or scrutiny

Suggested Readings

Students are advised to read the following to develop a better understanding of the various principals highlighted in this hand-out:

The International Relations Website
http://www.international-relations.com/