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**In Lieu of Modern Indian Language
A Globalizing World**

Study Material : Unit 1-3



**SCHOOL OF OPEN LEARNING
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI**

Department of Political Science

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Graduate Course

**In Lieu of Modern Indian Language
A Globalising World**

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Contents

Unit-1 : Globalization

- (a) What is it? Vishal Kumar Gupta
Political Debates on Sovereignty and Territoriality Kirti Singh
Global Economy: Its Significance and Anchors as a Global
Political Economy: IMF, World Bank, TNCs Writer: Baby Tabassum
Translated by: Narayan Roy
- (b) Economic, Political, Technological and
Cultural Dimensions Junjun Sharma Pathak

Unit-2 : Contemporary World Actors

- (a) The United Nations Dr. Shakti Pradayani Rout
(b) The World Trade Organization
Writer: Baby Tabassum
Translated by: Narayan Roy

Unit-3 : Contemporary World Issues

- (a) Global Environmental Issues (Global Warming,
Bio-Diversity, Resource Scarcities) Dr. Hijam Liza Dallo Rihmo
(c) International Terrorism Ms Rumi Roy

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Unit-1 : Globalization

(a) What is it?

Vishal Kumar Gupta

Structure

- Introduction
 - Globalization: Meaning and Definition
 - Globalization: Historical Development
 - Globalization: Dissent and Protest
 - Globalization: Alternative Perspectives
 - Conclusion
 - References
-

Introduction

From the nineties of the 20th century to the second decade of the 21st century, globalization has been the most prominent idea which affecting not only International relations but also the internal policies of nations. This idea is no longer with only economic, political and social, but it can be understood only in totality. Its effects have been explained in economic, political, social and cultural fields. This idea has also influenced the idea of ‘Sovereignty of Nations’ mostly in international relations. Due to the increasing economic integration, there has been a massive degression in the boundaries of nations and their sphere of influence and on the other hand new ideas have emerged in the context of globalization. Which is explained in this chapter.

Globalization: Meaning and Definition

Globalization is a process, whereas the globalized world goal and which is to be achieved. Basically, it is an economic concept, but it has also political, cultural, technological dimensions. What is Globalization? What are its major elements? For this, there is no universal and fixed definition of globalization. Globalization can mean the absence of geographical boundaries and the end of geographical distances. Every nation establishes its relations with other nations by going outside its borders. Globalization is a process, where the market forces operating in the domestic market to come out of the national boundaries and perform their mechanism. In this process, the capitalists of any nation are in search of cheap labour and cheap raw materials for their expansion.

In the present era, globalization is not only happening through economic activities, but it is also increasing through the cultural and political scenario. Because of globalization, the distances between nations are getting narrower and the concept of world market is taking its shape. It has introduced the concept of ‘Global Village’ by uniting entire nations. In this

system of globalization, the neo-liberal system of an ideal capitalism gets encouragement and protection.

Globalization: Historical Development

There are many differences among scholars regarding the origin of globalization. Most of the scholars have the opinion that globalization results from the twentieth century, while some other scholars believe that globalization did not arise suddenly in the twentieth century like Aladdin's lamp, but it has been in existence since ancient times and it has developed over a period of time. Used to be Historians, sages and mahatmas, and kings then used to travel far and wide in search of alternative routes in pursuit of wealth, power and knowledge. For example, the Silk route, which stretched from China to Europe, connected a large part of the world and was economically affecting people's lives. It can be considered as the initial stage of globalization.

Even in the medieval period, the empires of Genghis Khan and Timur Lung added a large part of the world to what can be considered an undeveloped form of modern globalization. But the beginning of real globalization can be traced to the expansion of trade links between Europe and African countries in the modern period, especially after the Industrial Revolution. The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 changed the entire event. Later in the 18th century, Portuguese merchants established factories, expanding their trade on the African continent. The establishment of colonial rule in Asia, Africa and Latin America were resulted by this process. Globalization of the 19th century was mainly concerned with the processes of industrialization. With this, many household items were produced at affordable prices and the demand for these items were always maintained because of the continuous growth in population. The desire for '**Trade control**' of the great powers spread to Asia, Africa and Latin America as the expansion of imperialism and it caused many problems for the following years. Some scholars are of the opinion that before World War I, globalization was led by Britain and after World War II it was led by America.

The era of globalization that is talked about in the mid twentieth century is the expansion of Multinational companies that were established in Europe and America and was related to the technological development in the field of science, development of new knowledge and products on a global scale. Most of the scientific discoveries made at this time were related to western countries. The spread of Western culture was made possible through mass media, films, radio and television. The role of international transport and mass media proved decisive in the spread of globalization. Scholars are also of the opinion that the term globalization became common in the last two decades of the twentieth century, i.e., 1980s and 1990s, after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

In short, it can be said that the present form of globalization is the results from a long event.

Globalization: Disagreements and Protests

Globalization has been the most controversial phenomenon since the late 1990s to the present time. This controversy has divided the realms of thought, politics and economy between supporters and critics of globalization. All the critics of anti-globalization are of the opinion that in the last years of the twentieth century the big 'Ruling Elites' of the world created a network of capitalist globalization to spread the world market for their personal interests. The triangular confluence of Bretton Woods institutions, the developed capitalist countries of the West and the East, and Multinational corporations together have created global structures whose strategy is to impose globalization from above on a reluctant world. Critics of globalization oppose the uncontrolled authority of large multinational companies, implementing that authority through trade agreements and weakly regulated financial market. These critics alleged MNCs violate labour protection conditions and standards, labour hiring and compensation standards, environmental protection standards, national legislative authority, independence and sovereignty in order to maximize profits.

Under the pressures of globalization, the structure and size of capital markets in developing countries have transformed over the past thirty years. It's emphasis on deregulation of capital markets has been a major aim of the structural adjustment program supported by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. During this time, many developing countries implemented structural adjustment programs and deregulated the foreign currency exchange rate. They also facilitated international capital flows so that the domestic market could be connected with international capitals. Many international treaties and agreements also emphasized to opening up the capital markets of developing countries. The WTO agreement on financial services is a direct proof of this.

The struggle against capitalist globalization is being waged at two levels all over the world. Whereas the grassroots mobilizations are being carried out, while on the other hand, there have been decentralized the public campaigns of direct actions and civil disobedience at the global level. Some of the prominent grassroots organizations are as follows; Narmada Bachao Andolan in India, Landless People's Movement in South Africa, etc. At the global level, by the People's Global Action Network and the World Social Forum, various forces active against globalization are brought into mass protests and mass gatherings which showing solidarity. Internet and new media are also a major medium of anti-globalization movement. Anti-globalization movements are also known by several names like Global Justice Movement, Alter Globalization Movement, Anti-Corporate Globalization Movement.

The credit of providing a permanent platform to the anti-globalization struggles goes to the World Social Forum. Oded Grajew, Chico Whitaker and Bernard Cassen in 2001 for the 'World Social Forum', conceived with the aim of creating a counter-forum against the pro globalization 'World Economic Forum' in Davos started. It was supported by the Brazilian Workers' Party and the city council of Porto Alegre. The first meeting of World Social Forum was successfully held in Porto Alegre. Its slogan was 'Another world is

possible', after this it was again organized in Porto Alegre in 2002 and 2003. It played a major role in the mobilization against the US invasion of Iraq. In 2004, the World Social Forum was organized in Mumbai to increase the participation of Asia and Africa. It was attended by about 75,000 delegates. In this way, it can be said that gradually the world social forum is becoming a meeting place where forces fighting against neo-liberal globalization gather, share experiences and learn from each other's experiences. On the other hand, as soon as the critics of globalization go beyond criticism and present their views on the question of alternatives, the similarities between them ended and differences gets start. One of their streams is of a nationalist type, such as the French Nationalist Front. The proponents of this stream argue that the institution of nation-state should be created in alternative to globalization. Some of these groups are even seen making racist and fascist arguments. The second stream of critics of globalization is strongly against dividing the world into national boundaries instead of supporting nationalism or protectionism. They have established organizations like 'No Border Network'. These groups are supporters of such forms of global solidarity against capitalist globalization who imposed from above, which paves the way for the development of good democratic representation, progress of human rights and good public welfare. Many such works have emerged because of anti-globalization thinking which has given inspiration and momentum to this movement. One of such famous works in the book 'No Logo' by Canadian journalist Naomi Klein which criticizes the production strategies adopted by multinational corporations and brand-led marketing based on popular culture. This book has become like a manifesto of the critics of globalization. India's notable eco-feminist Vandana Shiva's work 'Biopiracy' depicts how the natural capital of the local people is converted into forms of intellectual property to make it one's business property.

Globalization: Alternative Perspectives

In the era of globalization, the imposition of free trade policies and the increasing privatization of social services, the worldwide environment and labour have facilitated the accumulation of wealth for the capitalists. Neo-liberal globalization, the highest level of capitalism, now dominates every major sector of the global economy. Over the past decades, international corporations in particular sectors have increased control over national governments and international organizations. The social and environmental values of neo-liberal globalization are prohibitive. Its major global trends are increasing inequality and poverty, political instability and global climate change. The neo-liberal globalization, which has adversely affected the lives of every citizen of the nation and the world has gathered and intensified all these. Considering these major trends and the current global economic crisis, we can conclude that the neo-liberal globalization ignored the interests of the vast majority of the people and is unstable and questionable in both economic and environmental terms.

In this context, they include the alternatives which are suggested by the supporters and thinkers of alternative globalization agendas of the global level. In this conflict of globalization, there is capitalist sovereignty, based on privilege and dominance, while on the other, there is the idea of alternative globalization which is based on values like freedom,

unity and social justice. This option suggests a sustainable strategy of action at the national and international levels.

Proponents of alternative globalization advocate to various forms of economic organizations in which the administration of the means of production and distribution of resources through direct ownership of the public or workers, and the creation of a society with equal access to resources for all individuals. Most scholars of this perspectives agreed that capitalism allows illegal access to power and wealth to a smaller section of society, who controls it, which they gain through exploitation and an unequal society can be created. It does not provide the opportunity for everyone to maximize their potential, nor the maximum potential of techniques and resources is used, which is also associated with the interests of the common people. According to them, the main aim of both developed and developing economies is the creation of a sustainable, democratic, diverse and genuinely free societies, capable of being self-sufficient in local and regional economy and maintaining harmonious relations with its environment and with each other. Can you make your country and societies to be empower, it is necessary that they should again control the local economy and diversify it according to local needs. This is in contrast to the current situation in which all economies compete with each other, in which the supply of goods and services is greater at the local level. It is an alternative to the free market and free trade policies that currently dominate the economic and political sphere. Supporters of alternative perspectives, which currently rejects the pessimistic view that there are no alternatives to the globalization. According to them, they give some alternative perspectives of globalization below.

- **The Local Economy:** The primary aim of local and regional economies would be to produce more and more primary products, manufactured goods and services from their regional resources. What they cannot provide, should be obtained from neighboring economies. Long distance trading should be done only as a last resort. For this, controls like tariff barriers and quotas should be introduced gradually.
- **Capital and Investment:** Access to capital at the local and regional levels should be in the form of investments that improved the social and environmental conditions of industries and communities and increase employment opportunities. According to the supporters of this perspective, it is not achieved by the free market as it encourages wider and longer distance institutional and capital flows. To bring this in the opposite direction, it is necessary both to encourage local activities and to bring the wider capital flows under democratic control. Organizations with financial institutions based on mutual principles must be encouraged. It also involves re-mutualisation in the making of society. It is also necessary to encourage local and regional financial institutions and for this large institution should be divided. Policies of Bank here to sell here should be encouraged. Community banks and credit unions can also play a major role in making of the local people resource-rich.

According to them national control over capital movements needs to be reintroduced and financial flows should also be regulated more comprehensively. The aim must be to

promote productive investment, especially community reinvestment. This application should be primarily received by shareholders at the local and regional level, supported by national regulation of corporate investments in a manner which involves the wishes of the affected communities.

- **Controlling the Speculators:** According to the supporters of alternative perspective, investment should be focused and not the gambling of speculation. Financial trading on the margins should be discouraged and strictly regulated. Credit should not be provided to the system which can be based on expectations and conditions. Taxes should be used to discourage short-term speculative transactions in particular currency speculation.
- **Transnational Corporations:** The opposite effect of encouraging a free market is that these corporations dominate the market in which they do business. This process has also crossed the limit in which such enterprises dominate the local community and region. Many of these are larger than the nations that exercise nominal control over them. According to them, this must be two-sided. In the short term, international corporations of similar size should be used to give primacy to common interests rather than corporate interests, however the only last resort is to convert such organizations into smaller management units with trade regulation, anti-trust legislation and fiscal policy. Breaking through trust legislation and fiscal policy should be encouraged. Its objective must be to encourage productive investment in goods and services. Access to the market should be based primarily on the principle of '**site here to sell here**'. For some sectors it must be related to the region or community within a country, for others to the whole country and for very large industries to more than one country.
- **Limited Market Access:** The market participation limit of a particular company should be fixed at the regional and national level. In a market where a particular company is dominant, new industries should be encouraged through grants, loans and subsidies. This will encourage production improvement, systematic use of resources and provision of choice. Communication and technology transfer should be encouraged to increase the efficiency of local industries. The benefits being reaped by very large organizations should be responded in the appropriately. These companies should be made more accountable to shareholders through public regulation, internal democracy and greater transparency. There should be proper control over the remittance of corporate and personal profits out of the country by corporation and accounting rules. Continuing efforts should be made to check tax evasion of corporations, offshore banking centers should be abolished on the basis of bank here to sell here policies.
- **Multinational Agreements:** According to alternative globalization, this approach is a hindrance to sustainable and equitable development, which has emerged in the form of existing and proposed international arrangements such as the World Trade Organization and the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment. They believe that all these actions at the cost of the rest of the world consider the interests of large multinational

corporations and capitalists, including the regions and communities in which they are located. Such systems should be removed by encouraging cooperation-based self-reliance. Financial aid policies and capital flows, technology transfer and residual international trade should be based on fair trade and not on free trade. These actions are essential for the sustainable development of the local economy. The goal of these works is to achieve local and regional self-reliance as well as growth through sustainable industrial development.

Conclusion

In this way we can say that globalization is a multidimensional process and because of globalization there have been vast changes in all spheres of human life. While some positive results are visible to human life, it has also some negative consequences. The revolutionary changes in governance, telecommunications, education, health sector by globalization have made human life easy and convenient, while on the other hand it has terrible negative effects on the poor countries and especially the weaker sections of different nations. There is a decline in the quality and fulfilment of their basic needs like employment, health, education, housing.

We can see the lack of controls in the internal policies of the states under the process of globalization in the last three decades. Globalization has resulted in a change in of state's nature and the effectiveness of its borders in the international politics. Not only this, there are questions which also can be raised about the concept of universalization of globalization. This controversy has divided the realms of thought, politics and economy among the supporters and criticizers of globalization. Some Critics accuse multinational corporations of violating labour protection conditions and standards, labour hiring and compensation standards, environmental protection principles, national legislative authority, independence and sovereignty in order to increase their profits. A permanent forum 'World Social Forum' emerges to counter the above exploitative tendencies of globalization. Gradually, the World Social Forum has become such a meeting place where forces fighting against neo-liberal globalization begin to gather, they share mutual experiences and take lessons from each other's experiences and present their views on the question of its alternatives.

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Political Debates on Sovereignty and Territoriality

Kirti Singh

Introduction

A globalised world marked by increased movement of people, goods, services and culture across the borders rapidly has led to debates over relevance of state borders and its territorial sovereign authority. The technological advancements that began with the advent of computers and internet along with growth of global financial markets have made the world a more interconnected place where states are not capable of acting alone but are interdependent upon each other. Globalisation is often defined as the “set of processes through which sovereign nation states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects for power, orientations, identities and networks” (Beck 2000). It is also defined as a “process or set of processes which embody the transformation of spatial organisation of social relations and transactions” (Held et al 1999). These processes have economic, cultural, social and political ramifications for nation states and have shaped the global order since Second World War. The following chapter explores the political dimension of the processes of globalisation and explores the argument if the modern development in a globalised era is leading to the prediction of “end of state sovereignty” or the “twilight of state”. The chapter is divided into five sections; the first section explores the concept of state and sovereignty. It is followed by second section that explores the three positions on globalisation and its relation to state sovereignty. The third section explains the concept of political globalisation where as the next section discusses the conflictual relations between processes of globalisation and state sovereignty. The fifth section explores the reasons why states continues to be relevant in a globalised world followed by conclusion.

Section One : State Sovereignty

The institution of state emerged in 15 and 16 century Europe as a system of centralised rule that subordinated all other forms of institutions. The modern notion of state was formalised by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which made states sovereign entities. International politics was thus understood as a ‘state system’. This state system firstly expanded from Europe into North America and during the nineteenth century, into South America and Japan, eventually becoming a truly global system in the twentieth century, due to the process of decolonization in Asia and Africa.

Defining state

The Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the State (1933) defines state in international law. Article 1 of this convention states that the state has four features:

- A defined territory
- A permanent population

- An effective government
- The capacity to enter into relations with other states

Max Weber (1948) defined the state in terms of its monopoly of the means of 'legitimate violence' whereas for Joseph Schumpeter (1954), the state also has a fiscal monopoly, reflected in its monopoly of the right to tax citizens. Thus, state has dual structure where on one hand, it is tasked with protecting its citizens against external aggression; on the other hand, it has to maintain internal order and do both the things simultaneously (Brenner 2004).

The main characteristic which defines a state authority is "sovereignty". States have sovereign authority and jurisdiction over defined territorial border which makes them autonomous and independent actors.

The first major theorist of sovereignty was the French political philosopher Jean Bodin who defined sovereignty as 'the absolute and perpetual power of a common wealth'. According to him, political and social stability can be ensured only if there is a sovereign with final law-making power. Thomas Hobbes, another political philosopher argued that the need for sovereignty arose from the self-seeking and power-interested nature of human beings. In the state of nature which is a state without any sovereign ruler, life is characterised by war of all against all, making it solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short. He therefore defined sovereignty as a monopoly of coercive power that must be vested in the hands of a single ruler. The Swiss political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau rejected monarchical rule in favour of popular sovereignty where the ultimate authority is vested in the people themselves, expressed through the idea of 'general will'. The doctrine of popular sovereignty has often been seen as the basis of democratic elections in modern world.

Sovereignty can be further divided into internal and external sovereignty.

Internal sovereignty is a notion of supreme power or authority within a state, located in a body whose decisions are binding on all the individuals, groups and institutions within the territorial borders of the state. For example, a monarch or a parliament

External sovereignty refers to the absolute and unlimited authority that a state has as an actor in world affairs. There is no higher authority which can dictate any state and state is independent in defining its relations to other states and international actors. In global politics, external sovereignty guarantees that territorial integrity and political independence of every state is respected and not violated.

For the purposes of understanding globalisation and analysing its effect on states, we have to explore the concept of external sovereignty and debates over its limitations and its relevance in a globalised world. External sovereignty allows states to treat their citizens however they want to, even subjecting them to abuse, torture and some states have even committed genocide against their own citizens. This brings principle of external sovereignty and the doctrine of human rights in conflict with each other and creates hurdles in the implementation of global principles of justice. The issue of humanitarian intervention is

another example of tension between external sovereignty and human rights. The practical significance of external sovereignty is also questioned because powerful states often infringe on the independence and autonomy of weaker states.

Section 2: Three Positions on Globalisation and Its Relation to State Sovereignty

The process of globalisation has led to a debate on role and relevance of state in a globalised world. The three schools skeptics, hyperglobalists and transformationalists have contrasting positions on this issue.

The skeptics argue that the process of globalisation has not really brought any change in the power and relevance of state. The skeptics consider state to be the primary actor in world politics, deciding external relations, as well as what happens within its territorial borders.

Conversely, the hyperglobalists argue that globalisation has led to a decline in state power and its significance. Few scholars go to the extreme of pronouncing that world has entered a post sovereign stage and state system has become redundant in a globalised world. The transformationalists take a middle position on this issue and agree that globalisation has brought qualitative changes in the nature of sovereignty and in the role and relevance of state but it has only transformed the state rather than increasing or decreasing its power.

The skeptics:

1. There is no integrated global economy and Majority of economic activity still takes place within states as opposed to amongst the states
2. There is nothing new about high levels of international trade and cross-border capital flows (Hirst and Thompson 1999).
3. The increasing concerns related to migration and terrorism have made state and its borders more relevant than before.

Hyperglobalists:

1. Globalisation is a novel set of shifts in economic, cultural, technological and political arenas which has only intensified since 1980s. For example, digital revolution in information and communications, the advent of an integrated global financial system.
2. The technological forces have created a single global economy.
3. There is rise in the notion of 'borderless world where states and its borders have become irrelevant and are dominated by transnational forces.

Transformationalists:

1. Inter-connectedness has stretched social, political, economic and cultural activities across national borders as well as across the globe.
2. Trans-border or Trans-world activities like migration , growth of international trade and spread of popular culture like movies and tv series have only depend the level of interconnectedness.

3. Currency and other financial markets react immediately to economic events elsewhere in the world. For example 2008 economic crisis which originated in America banking sector but spread to and impacted other economies of the world. This bears evidence to the fact that interconnectedness is deeper than skeptics would admit and never before the world has come close to becoming a single unit.

Section 3 : Political Globalisation

Political globalization refers to the growing importance of international organizations in a globalised world. These are organizations that are transnational in nature and they exert influence within an international area comprising several states. However, the nature of political globalization and its implications for the state varies depending on whether it is modelled on the principle of inter-governmentalism or supranationalism. Inter-governmental international organizations refers to the mechanism which enables states to take concerted action without sacrificing sovereignty. Supranational international organisations on the other hand, are able to impose their will on states (Haywood 2011).

International and regional organisations like the United Nations, the EU, NATO, NAFTA and the WTO have undermined the capacity of states to operate as self- governing units., For example, It is the task of European institutions and not individual member states to formulate policies regarding monetary, agricultural and fisheries, as well as make laws to regulate movement of goods and people within the EU. Similarly, one of the chief functions of WTO is to operate as the judge of global trade disputes and also in addition serve as a forum for negotiating trade deals between and among its members.

However, Political globalisation also helps states to expand their capacities and exert their influence in an interconnected world through international organisations and regimes. One example of it is the concept of pooled sovereignty where two or more states combine their sovereignties in order to gain access to greater power and influence than a single state could achieve. European Union exemplifies this very well where the member states of EU transfer some national power from governments to the organisation and thus achieving a more meaningful form of sovereignty empowering the regional organisation in the process to have a stronger influence in world politics than a single state.

These processes of globalisation have also led to transformation in the internal character of the state. Economic globalisation and organisations like W.T.O and I.M.F and World Bank and their regulations over years have led to the emergence of market-oriented competition states (Bob Jessop 2002). These states aim to achieve economic success by acquiring competitive advantage in world economy. Competition states put premium on training and education to achieve economic growth and are highly technology driven; example, economic growth of Asian Tigers.

Another example of how globalisation have impacted states and their functioning is given by Robert Cooper. According to him, states in a post cold war world could be divided into three categories, pre modern states, modern states and post modern states. The post-

modern states are the one which have rejected the use of force to settle disputes and have faith in rule of law and recourse to international organisations to resolve issues and operate peacefully. According to Cooper “Security in such a world is based on transparency, mutual openness, interdependence and, above all, a recognition of mutual vulnerability”. Rejection of balance of power and unwarlike character of states are hallmark of post modern world and European Union are a kind of post-modern proto state (Cooper 2004).

Section4 : Conflictual Relation between Processes of Globalisation and State Sovereignty

Some of the issue areas where processes of globalisation and state sovereignty comes into conflict are as follows–

1. The global financial market restricts states’ freedom to control its economic policies impacting adversely on the economic sovereignty of the state. Economic globalisation has also led to what is known as super territoriality that is reflected in the declining relevance of state borders and territorial locations. A high volume of economic activities occurs in this borderless super territorial world (Ohmae 1999)
2. Globalization has given rise to a cosmopolitan culture that focuses on the rights of individuals rather than of the states.
3. A global civil society that comprises of non-governmental organizations like Amnesty International and Greenpeace have emerged that has brought the issues concerning human rights violation committed by states on the centre stage. Even a strict principle of non intervention in the internal affairs of a state can be compromised if there is a humanitarian emergency requiring ‘humanitarian intervention’ by other states (Wheeler 2000).
4. The human rights instruments like universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) have been signed by most of the states but the interpretation of these human rights norms varies across societies making its implementation difficult, particularly in developing world, human rights instruments are often considered to be tools of western imperial imposition .
5. The challenges posed by issues of climate change , global poverty and global terrorism cannot be tackled by a sovereign state by itself requiring international legislations whose enforcement may constraint state’s authority and freedom .
6. The technological advancement reflected in use of satellites, mobile phones , internet along with cultural globalisation have only made it more difficult for states to control what crosses their borders making them more permeable.

Global economy and economic sovereignty of states¹

¹ **Economic sovereignty:** The absolute authority which the state exercises over economic life conducted within its borders, involving independent control of fiscal and monetary policies, and over trade and capital flows.

Governance has become post sovereign in the 21st century where state's borders have become permeable. In this backdrop, reconciling globalised economy with economic sovereignty is a challenge that most of the states are grappling with. The tendency of national economies to greater or lesser degree to be incorporated into a single globalized economy threatens to render economic sovereignty meaningless. As Susan Strange (1996) put it, 'where states were once masters of markets, now it is the markets which, on many issues, are the masters over the governments of states'. It is often seen that de-territorialised transnational corporations (TNC) have become much stronger than territorial states and can relocate production and investment from one state to another if the state's policies are not conducive to corporate interest. This has also led to the phenomenon, what Robert Cox refers to as "internationalisation of state" where national policies and institutions are not just aiming to restructure national economy but rather do it in line with the global capitalist economy (Cox 1994). However, critics argue that state has only been transformed by economic globalisation and not eclipsed (Sorensen 2004). States are still relevant as economic actors by providing legal and social order within which market led economic growth can successfully take place. Moreover, macro frameworks of economic regulation, as provided by the G-20, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) provides opportunity to states to control and regulate transnational economic activities and take appropriate steps when their economic interest is unmet.

Section 5 : Relevance of State and State Power in a Globalised World

State and state power in recent years have become more consolidated and strengthened. The reasons for the continued relevance of the state can be understood through the following points

1. The security challenges which emerged in past two decades, particularly the global threat of terrorism has re-invigorated state's power and there has been an increased emphasis on the basic function of state which is to maintain domestic order and protect its citizens from any act of external aggression. State is historically viewed as war making institution and the global war on terror re-established this basic fact. The rise in military expenditure to defend against any external attack alongside counter terrorism strategies such as tighter border control, increased surveillance and detention laws have led to formation of 'national security states'.
2. States have increasingly become important in a economically globalised market –driven world. Market economies are dubbed as the carrier of growth and economic success but it is due to the guarantee of legal and social order maintained by states that ensures smooth economic functioning. In the absence of rule of law and enforcement of property rights, there would be lawlessness and anarchy. Moreover, in a globalised world, states have also become agents of modernisation whereby they provide training and education to make its citizens productive and adopt economic strategies to promote more export oriented industries. Example, China and Russia.
3. The economic crisis of 2007-2009 brought the state to the centre stage of managing

economic affairs after three decades of neo liberal world order. The outcome was a coordinated response by the G20 countries at a global level but those fiscal packages and other interventions could only be implemented by the states. Commentators argue that this ushered the world into a new era of regulated globalisation where states through international organisations play a more active role.

The humanitarian interventions that began in 1990s necessitated states to take interest in development projects. The external powers undertook state building process to ensure that there is an effective leadership, army, police, judiciary, civil administration, transport, health and educational infrastructure in place. This process of state building became important because eventually these external powers realised that they cannot stay forever in a foreign land and eventually have to return powers to the indigenous leadership. Thus, state building has become a vital process through which strengthening of states have taken place. Example, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Conclusion

State borders, the traditional guarantee of territorial sovereignty, have become permeable in a globalised world where they are penetrated by external forces such as movement of knowledge and information via Internet, Global financial markets and transnational capital flows. States are no longer the only, or necessarily the dominant, actors on the world stage due to the rise of non state-actors like Transnational corporations (TNCs) which wield greater financial power than many states and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace and Amnesty International that can exert global influence. Regional trading blocks like European Union and NAFTA are considered important economic players giving rise to more such trading blocks across the world. It is recognised that in a globalised world there are collective dilemmas which are confronted by all the states and even the most powerful state cannot tackle them alone. Health pandemic, climate change, international terrorism, global poverty and issues of migration and refugees are some of the global problems which require global solutions. Thus, international and regional organisations like U.N. and W.H.O etc. acquire a bigger role in solving these issues which a single state cannot. Eventually, it is the state's responsibility to coordinate with other states and international organisations, formulate and implement policies and undertake effective monitoring thus confirming the relevance of states and its importance particularly in providing security to its citizens, undertaking state building activities and managing economic crisis.

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Global Economy: Its Significance and Anchors as a Global Political Economy: IMF, World Bank, TNCs

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The issue of global governance attracted the attention of intellectuals, especially since the 1990s. Rapid globalization prompted discussion about the relationship between trends in the world economy. There has been a general recognition that it is beyond the capacity of the states, especially individually, to tackle the worldwide growing problems. However, somewhere between the Westphalian world of sovereign states and the fictional idea of world government, analyzing and assessing global governance is very it is difficult. The field of economic policy-making is the most advanced area of global governance. It emerged from the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944, which sought to establish the architecture for the international economic system, later by creating three new bodies: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the GATT (later replaced by the World Trade Organization), collectively known as ‘Bretton Woods System’¹. However, this system has evolved over time, as it has adapted to the changing pressures generated by the world economy.

(Global Economic Governance: The Evolution of the Bretton Woods System)

The trend towards global governance has been particularly evident in the area of economic policy-making. This is because economics is the most obvious area of interdependence between states, and the failure of international cooperation in the region can also lead to losses. Since 1945, a system of global economic governance, multilateral agreements, formal institutions and informal networks have emerged through a dense web, with the most important institutions established by the Bretton Woods Agreement, Which was negotiated just before the end of the Second World War. The major factor behind the agreement was economic instability and the desire to return to anarchy at certain intervals of the war period. The main lesson of the Great Recession of the 1930s was Protectionism, the policies that were economically self-defeating and politically dangerous. However, such a trend can only be determined when norms, rules and a framework of understanding can be established which enables the states to cooperate in economic matters and avoid the pitfalls of welfare dilemma.

Making of the Bretton Woods System

In August 1944, the United States, Britain, and 42 other states met at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference in the small resort town of Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. The task of this monetary and financial conference was to create an institutional architecture for the post-war international financial and monetary system. The most important

¹ Heywood, Andrew. “Global Politics”. (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 460-461.

result of the Bretton Woods process was the establishment of three new bodies, collectively known as the ‘Bretton Woods system’¹. These bodies were:

- International Monetary Fund (**IMF**), which came into operation in 1947, whose main function was to maintain the smooth exchange of currency exchange.
- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (**IBRD**), known as the World Bank, came into operation in June 1946. It was intended to support the revival of member countries’ economies².
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (**GATT**), which was replaced in 1995 by the World Trade Organization (WTO). Although the GATT is commonly seen as part of the Bretton Woods system, it was created by the United Nations Convention for Trade and Employment and came into operation in January 1948. It was related to the operation and regulation of world trade.

The ‘Bretton Woods Agreement’ is a clear example of “multilateralism”, which became more important in the period after 1945. However, it would be a mistake to portray Bretton Woods as multilateralism and recognition of mutual interests. This would be to ignore the important role played by the United States, which emerged from World War II as the world’s major military and economic power. The conference took place on US soil and the United States was the active force in this dialogue as well as effectively directing some major results³.

At the heart of the ‘Bretton Woods system’ was a new monetary order overseen by the International Monetary Fund, which sought to maintain a stable exchange system. The World Bank and GATT supplemented the new international monetary order by establishing a new international financial order and a new international trade order, respectively⁴. The main responsibility of the World Bank was to provide loans to countries in need of reconstruction and development. Whereas GATT, which existed more as a multilateral agreement than as an international organization, sought to advance the cause of free trade by bringing tariff levels down⁵. Between them, these bodies established a form of proto-global economic governance, based on a framework of norms and rules that would guide future economic relations between states.

The International Financial Institutions

Today’s international financial structure can be depicted as a variety of international bodies that share responsibilities for the prevention of global financial instability. These bodies include international organizations such as International Financial Institutions, International

¹ Andrew, Global Politics, 460.

² Kumar, Shailendra. "World Trade Organization: In Perspective of India", (New Delhi: Rajkamal Publications, 2000), pages-15-16.

³ Heywood, Andrew. “Global Politics”. (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 460.

⁴ Andrew, Global Politics, 461.

⁵ Andrew, Global Politics, 462.

Monetary Fund and World Bank as well as inter-state bodies like G-7, G-10 and G-20 etc¹. In short, many international bodies contribute to the governance of international finance.

International Monetary Fund

The International Monetary Fund is an intergovernmental organization, which came into existence in 1945. It is headquartered in Washington². Presently 189 member countries of this organization represent the Executive Board of the International Monetary Fund³. The terms of its delegation as an intergovernmental organization were established by a formal international agreement, which was ratified by its member countries. The nature of the International Monetary Fund is reflected in its decision-making structure⁴. The International Monetary Fund is governed by a ‘Board of Governors’, which consists of a governor and an alternate governor from each member country. Its main functions include exchange rates, regulation, purchase of short-term foreign currency liabilities of all member countries of the world, allocation of Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) to member countries, etc. Its most important task is to assist member countries in the event of a balance of payments crisis.

The main functions of the International Monetary Fund⁵ are as follows:

- i. Encourage international monetary cooperation;
- ii. Balanced development of international trade and stabilization of exchange rates;
- iii. The abolition of exchange restrictions and the arrangement of multi-lateral payments;
- iv. Achievement of financial assistance to member countries in the event of balance of payment problem and settlement of crisis in international payment and reduction in their duration;

The International Monetary Fund was established by the ‘Bretton Woods Agreement’ to oversee the new financial order. Its main objective was to facilitate international cooperation in the financial sector by facilitating multilateral payment systems among member states, ensuring exchange rate stability, removing foreign exchange restrictions⁶. The member countries were committed to a fixed system of currency but an adaptable exchange rate. But the International Monetary Fund is acting as a type of buffer currency, giving loans to countries facing a temporary balance of payment deficit. The system of fixed exchange rates established by Bretton Woods was based on the gold exchange standard, with the US dollar acting as an anchor. Its advantage was that it was safe from the fear of currency fluctuations

¹ Manuela, Moschella. “International Finance”. In *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, ed. Jacob Katz Cogan, IAN Hurd, IAN Johnstone (United Kingdom : Oxford University Press, 2016), 365.

² Heywood, Andrew. “Global Politics”. (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 469.

³ International Monetary Fund (IMF) : A Global Standard setting body that supports economies, <https://www.corporatefinanceinstitute.com>.

⁴ Manuela, Moschella. “International Finance”. In *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, ed. Jacob Katz Cogan, IAN Hurd, IAN Johnstone (United Kingdom : Oxford University Press, 2016), 377.

⁵ Basic Facts About the United Nations (New York : United Nations, 2000), pp.55-137.

⁶ Heywood, Andrew. “Global Politics”. (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 465.

and International trade will thrive in conditions of stability, which, in turn, will change the value of imports and exports.

The transition from permanent to temporary exchange rates from the early 1970s fundamentally changed the functioning of the International Monetary Fund, under which it relinquished its role as a 'buffer currency'. Instead, it focused on lending to developing countries and, after the end of the Cold War, communist states or transitional countries. A special concern of the International Monetary Fund was to prevent financial crises, such as in Mexico in 1982, Brazil in 1987, East Asia in 1997–98, and spread in Russia in 1998 and had put the entire global financial and monetary system at risk. The most controversial aspect of the loans provided by the International Monetary Fund was the 'conditionalities' that were attached to them. From the 1980s onwards, these 'conditionalities' were in line with Washington's consensus thinking, which required the recipient countries to adopt a 'structural adjustment program' that was preoccupied with neoliberal policies¹. This includes control of inflation, immediate removal of trade barriers, and flow of capital, liberalization of the banking system, reductions in all government expenditure except debt repayment and privatization of assets that can be sold to foreign investors.

The International Monetary Fund reflects the widespread criticism of global economic governance that it is a powerful tool to meet the economic interests of Western economies. As in transnational bodies and international banking conglomerates, the United States in particular is dominated. The International Monetary Fund's close ties with the US government are portrayed not only in Washington, but also the fact that its deputy chief, deputy managing director, has always been an American. In addition, the allocation of voting rights on the 'Board of Governors' gives it an effective vet to the United States, consistent with the size of a country's economy, as most decisions require an 85 percent majority². In 2006, the International Monetary Fund changed its governance to increase the role of developing countries in their decision-making processes, which can be seen during the 2008 'global financial crisis'. At the same time, the crisis of 2007-09 has actually effectively improved the mission of the International Monetary Fund. So that it has become an intermediary for improving fiscal and macroeconomic in developing countries and a means of global financial monitoring, designed to prevent the crisis rather than stop them.

The World Bank

The World Bank is an international financial institution, which provides loans to all needy countries of the world for capital programs and projects. The World Bank is a kind of partner organization of the International Monetary Fund. Both organizations came into existence through the Bretton Woods Agreement³. The World Bank is also known as the 'International Bank for Reconstruction and Development' (International Bank for Reconstruction and

¹ Andrew, Global Politics, 467.

² Andrew, Global Politics, 467.

³ Andrew, Global Politics, 468.

Development - IBRD). Its headquarters are located in Washington DC, USA. The IBRD started functioning in June 1946. Its main objective is to provide financial assistance to member nations in the work of reconstruction and development, to integrate the economies of different countries into one comprehensive economy and to eradicate poverty in developing countries¹.

The Second World War caused major damage to the economies of the world, due to which the need to focus on rebuilding economies was felt. The IBRD was formed in December 1945 based on the recommendations of the Bretton Woods Conference with the International Monetary Fund. For this reason, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are also called Bretton Woods Twins².

The basic objectives of the World Bank are as follows:

- i. To provide long-term capital to member countries for economic reconstruction and development.
- ii. Encourage long-term capital investment to ensure a balanced 'balance of payments' and international trade.
- iii. Encourage international trade and raise the standard of living of the people of the member countries.

Where the International Monetary Fund provides short-term funding to states to deal with the balance of payments crisis, at the same time, long-term economic support is provided to the states by the World Bank for economic development. It has a uniform voting system, which takes into account the strength of countries in the global economy, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. In which he shared a neoliberal ideological orientation, shaped by the Washington Consensus³. While the International Monetary Fund and the GATT / WTO are primarily concerned with establishing a regulatory framework for international economic relations, the World Bank essentially has a redistributive function⁴. It initially focused on post-war rehabilitation in Europe, but since the 1960s, it is also focused on developing countries after the collapse of communism and transition countries.

However, the World Bank has been a promoter of the neoliberal paradigm, which underscore Washington's consensus. It acknowledged the need for reform since the 1990s. It has promoted greater awareness of industrialization, urbanization and environmental costs of major infrastructure projects, which has helped the World Bank transform the idea of sustainable development. The increasing emphasis on good governance and anti-corruption policies also reflects the vengeance of minimum government dogma, based on the recognition that the state plays an important role not only in ensuring civil order and

¹ <https://www.Ksgindia.com>. > Snapticle, accessed - april 4, 2021.

² Singh, Hemant. "World Bank: Work, Objectives and Relations with India", June 21, 2016, Accessed - April 4, 2021. <https://www.jagranjosh.com>.

³ Heywood, Andrew. "Global Politics". (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 468.

⁴ Andrew, Global Politics, 468.

preventing criminal violence but also in providing basic social security. Further, after the year 2002, the World Bank's 'Poverty Alleviation Program' has been prepared through dialogue with the recipient countries which accept the need for the high level of local control and accountability and emphasize the projects to be in tune with the betterment of local needs. The voting power of developing countries was also increased to 47 per cent, with the aim of increasing it to 50 per cent over time.

Reforming the Bretton Woods System?

Global Economic Governance and the 2007-09 Crisis

There is nothing to worry about the work of global economic governance. The institutional architecture was put in place to address the problems created by the economic turmoil of the 1930s. Even after this, financial and economic crises have occurred regularly since the 1960s and have actually become more serious since the 1980s. Following the 'Asian Financial Crisis' of the year 1997-98 and particularly the 'Dot Com Crisis' of the year 2000, there were criticisms about the failure of the global economic governance system to highlight major instabilities and the trend of the crisis¹. By some, it is stated that the International Monetary Fund's intervention in the Asian crisis has been made the issue more serious. In addition, concern has been expressed by many scholars about growing instabilities in the global economy. For example, Susan Strange has exposed these dangers, calling it 'Casino Capitalism'. Similarly, economic commentators such as Joseph Stiglitz, Paul Krugman and George Soros have highlighted the dangers inherent in the 'dogma of market fundamentalism', which underscores neoliberal globalization and helps shape the Washington Consensus².

However, the global financial crisis of 2007–09 has given rise to more challenging problems. First, this crisis was deeper than the previous crisis of modern global capitalism, which was the cause of the most severe decline in the world economy since the 1930s. . According to the World Bank, in 2009, a 1.7 per cent decline in global GDP was recorded as the first decline in world production, while world trade was only 6.1 per cent. Second, although its severity varied from country to country and region to region, its impact was genuinely global as it affected almost every country in the world. Third, rather than occur in emerging or transition economies, this crisis arose within the dominance of the financial capitalist country, the United States³. In this context, especially given the remarkable events of September 2008, when the stock market and global capitalism appeared on the verge of collapse. It is not surprising that the crisis of 2007–09 highlighted the need to reform the structure of global economic governance. From the very beginning, it marked the demand for a new 'Bretton Woods system'⁴.

¹ Andrew, Global Politics, 478.

² Andrew, Global Politics, 474-75.

³ Andrew, Global Politics, 475.

⁴ Andrew, Global Politics, 475.

Major Obstacles

There is no definitive response to the extent to which the structure of global economic governance is responsible for the 2007 global crisis. Finally, in the case of both the economic crisis of the 1930s and the inflation crisis of the 1970s, after nearly a decade before the institutional response, the ‘Bretton Woods’ and the ‘Washington Consensus’ emerged, respectively. In today’s time too, its dominance continues. How can it be understood? Early management of the crisis by the G-20, coordination on rapid action at the domestic level to usher in the banking system, and a leaning towards Keynesian-style redistribution policies were clearly visible. In particular, the action of the G-20 has managed to withstand the pressure on national protectionism¹. Another most important factor has been the changing balance of power within the world economy. The defining moment in the development of global economic governance mechanisms - the creation of Bretton Woods in 1944 and the transition to the Washington consensus in the mid-1980s - were both expressions of the United States’ supremacist power. However, under Obama, the United States Played a leading role in preparing the G-20’s response to the crisis. Any such development in the future will be greatly influenced by the ideas, interests and needs of the new powers, especially China, as well as India, Russia and Brazil², collectively known as the ‘BRICs Group’³. Emerging economic multipolarity is likely to ensure that any change in global economic governance will be gradual and incremental. Effectively ruling by the type of comprehensive and revolutionary restructuring that can only be brought about through the existence of a global hegemony.

Concluding Remarks

➤ Need for Appropriate and Democratic Global Governance

In order to have a favourable international environment in global financial institutions, it is important to democratize international relations and bodies to play an active role in decision making in the South. The role of the United Nations should be strengthened. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization should be made more accountable to the public. In the changing perspective, global governance structures have become a prerequisite for reforming democratization policies, which may result in a more equitable distribution of benefits and costs⁴. The operations of major global economic actors, corporations and financial institutions such as TNCs, International Banks, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization etc. should be made more accountable to the public. The decision-making process at Bretton Woods Institutes and the World Trade Organization is mainly controlled by industrialized countries. The procedural and legal aspects of decision-making should be democratized so that developing

¹ Andrew, Global Politics, 477.

² Andrew, Global Politics, 478.

³ Khor, Martin. “Global Governance and the Environment”. University of Hawai’I Press : 158. Accessed – January 31, 2021. <http://www.jstor.com/stable/j.ctv3zp081.18>.

⁴ Martin, Global Governance and the Environment, 158.

countries can also have fair participation. These institutions should be transparent and more open to public participation and micro-testing.

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(b) Economic, Political, Technological and Cultural Dimensions

Junjun Sharma Pathak

Introduction

The term globalisation is one of the most commonly used terms in today's context. This term denotes a process that indicates the growing interdependence of people around the world concerning the exchange of goods, services, values, and culture. However, the movement of people, cultural exchange, and trade has been an integral aspect of ancient cultures as well and therefore we may claim that transnational interactions are not exclusive to the modern world. In fact, in earlier times, we can observe that different civilisations conducted trade with each other and even shaped each other's culture. In that case, can we say that the world was global in pre-modern times as well? In fact, in ancient times there may have been a greater ease of movement for both people and goods since there were no defined borders or for that matter any visa requirements to travel from one country to the other. Can we say that the world was much global earlier? Then, what is so distinctive about the current nature of the movement of people, culture, and goods in the contemporary context?

Globalisation is considered a process that has led to the economic interconnectedness and integration of the world into one single market. It is also regarded as a process that is characterised by interconnectedness and movement of people across countries than ever before. It is the volume, scale, and speed of movement across borders that is specific to the contemporary nature of movements of goods, people, and ideas. The current nature of globalisation is characterised by the integration of the world financial system, extreme dependence on technology, and a heavy reliance on information technology. Nowadays, events in one place can impact the position of any other place or community both negatively and positively. For instance, the integration of financial markets is associated with shocks and risks, as much as with benefits of comparative advantage. We can observe during several instances that any economic shock in one country can impact the economy of other countries much adversely than ever before. Any war, change of regime, or change in economic policies can determine the economic conditions and policies of other countries. Therefore, people show their curiosity and interest social, economic and political developments in other countries, since events in a particular country has implications beyond its boundaries. It has the potential to impact the internal and external policies of other countries as well. Events such as the election of President in USA, the issue of Brexit, the politics of the oil-producing countries, China's One Belt and One Road Policy or the policies of World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are, for instance, some of the current trends that have been of concern for many countries, due to the kind of impact it may have on policymaking. Similarly, international financial institutions and agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), have become important players in determining the nature of economic relationships between nations. Any political event, regime change can impact the

rights, economic indicators, movement, and security of many people who may be residing in a country for various purposes such as opportunities for jobs, education, or tourism.

As we engage with the term globalisation we need to understand that globalisation is not an end in itself or a linear process but rather a non-linear multi-dimensional process that is responsible for complex socio, economic, political, and cultural changes in the world. Globalisation has impacted various socio, economic and cultural aspects of various communities in different ways. However as discussed earlier, even the pre-modern period was characterised by the movement of people. Factors such as trade, religion, and the quest for discoveries facilitated the transnational movement of people, cultural exchange, and flow of ideas. The modern era too was characterised by the transnational movement of people and culture, which was majorly facilitated by the emergence of nation-states, industrialisation, and colonialism. All these factors have been instrumental in facilitating discovery for new territories, markets which led to transnational trade and exchange of ideas, especially dissemination of western ideas and culture to the colonised territories. The contemporary nature of globalisation has been moulded by the implications of the world wars and most important developments in the financial market and revolution in Information Technology (IT).

Many scholars have attempted to investigate the nature and implications of globalisation on various aspects such as culture, politics, economics, and development in science and technology. Therefore, the study of globalisation constitutes insights from various disciplines such as economics, sociologist, scholars on politics, anthropologists, and scientists. One of the most useful discussions on globalisation constitutes the debate between the skeptics and the advocates of globalisation. The skeptics argue that the negative impact of globalisation is much more prevalent than the positive aspects of globalisation. The advocates of globalisation argue that economic deregulation and interconnectedness have been advantageous for various communities and nations across the world. They argue that globalisation would erase the significance of the nation-states and that nation-states would lose their powers since the world would become more interdependent and connected. For instance, hyper globalisers such as Kenichi Ohmae have expressed their views in their work such as, 'The Borderless World' and 'The End of the Nation State' (Giddens 1996).

Scholars like David Held and Anthony Mcgrew are of the view that globalisation is not a smooth and single-dimensional process but rather a process that is complex in nature with varying implications. David Held and Mcgrew (2003:3), writes that globalisation is characterised by enmeshment and accelerating interdependence among national economies, "For it suggests a growing magnitude or intensity of global flows such that states and societies become increasingly enmeshed in worldwide systems and networks of interaction" (ibid.)

Globalisation and Culture

In this chapter we will discuss the cultural and technological dimensions of globalisation. To grasp the cultural dimensions of globalisation let us discuss what we mean by culture?

First of all, we need to understand what we mean by the term culture? Culture is often defined as a way of life for a group of individuals or people, which comprises beliefs, attitudes, symbols, and the way people behave and think. It is a term that refers to social norms, social behaviour, and socially transmitted behaviour patterns, of art, culture, beliefs, and values. Most importantly, we need to look at culture as something which is not static but which changes with time and varying social, economic, and political conditions. We can see that no culture has ever remained static. The cultures that see around are always moulding, changing, and negotiating with various socio-economic and political elements. Similarly, culture has been shaped by recent trends in how people across the globe have interacted either due to development in technology, mode of transportation, or integration of the financial system. Therefore, globalisation as a process is also characterised by its cultural dimensions and we will examine the cultural dimension of globalisation in the next section.

The cultural dimensions of globalisation can be characterised as the expansion, movement, and intensification of diverse cultural influences over each other in the globe. However, we need to understand that globalisation and culture have interacted with each other in complex ways. The cultural dimension of globalisation involves the exchange of ideas, values, shared culture, and even shared consumption patterns across cultures. At one level, it is considered to be a process that involves the exchange and sharing of cultures, while on the other hand it is also looked upon with skepticism. Several implications of globalisation over culture have been considered as an aspect of new-age colonialism. New age colonialism, in which the developed and western nations have been able to sustain influence over the developing nations and post-colonial states not only through the market but also through culture. By moulding the cultural preferences, ideas, values, and even mode of thinking the west has been able to assure its dominance over the non-west or developing states. We can observe that it is not just through the presence of the military but also through other means a country can exert its influence over the rest of the world. Scholars argue that the popularisation of western media, eating preferences, music, television channels have all played an instrumental role in shaping cultural preferences across the world. For instance, we have often heard of the term Mc Donaldisation of society. This term was developed by sociologist George Ritzer in his book in 1993, which denotes the presence of fast food economic models and their influence over social institutions as well.

Appadurai (1996), a noted scholar who has contributed immensely towards the study of globalisation offers us a very useful theoretical tool to analyse the complex nature of the cultural dimension of globalisation. Appadurai mentions that globalisation is a complex process and so has been the cultural dimensions of globalisation. He states that the cultural aspects of globalisation cannot be explained in terms of a rigid binary between the developed versus the developing world, the west versus the non-west, or the North versus the south. The

implications of globalisation are rather complex and multi-faceted. According to him, there are different ways how cultures impact each other and he mentions five different ‘scapes’ to describe the nature and impact globalisation on cultures across the world. The five scapes are technoscapes, mediascapes, ethnoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes. Ethnoscapes, refers to the movement of people across the countries, as refugees, economic migrants, or for other purposes, and how these people may impact the policies of nations of the concerned nations. Technoscapes refer to how technology and its developments have facilitated the movements of people. Technology has made the movement of people across borders easier and has been a fundamental factor in contributing to the changing nature of interactions between various communities across the world. Finance space refers to the movement of finance and money across borders. Mediascape refers to the rapid flow of news and also to the presence of a very impactful and strong international media. Such media houses have been responsible for the dissemination of information and news across international boundaries. Ideoscapes refer to the spread of ideas, narratives, information, and symbols around the world. Events affecting one part of the world may affect another country or place. For instance, the events leading the Arab Spring, which began in 2011 was a movement for pro-democratic regimes. This movement, as we could see impacted many countries other than the country of its origin. It began in Tunisia, however, it gradually spread to many other countries in North Africa and the Middle East; such as Libya, Egypt. However, the impact of the Arab spring was not even for all countries affected by it. In certain places, this movement was co-opted by negative and opportunist forces and was not necessarily a movement towards democracy.

Glocalisation and Global Village

Glocalisation refers to the interaction of both the local and global cultures. It denotes a process in which both the local and global preferences have moulded the choices of the people. This word is a combination of two words which are ‘globalisation’ and ‘localisation’. This term denotes the development of a process in which many global products have been adjusted or changed to suit the demands of the local needs. Similarly, adjustments and changes are introduced in products that are locally distributed to suit a diverse audience or global trends. This strategy has been often used by multinational companies to market their products across different regions to suit the local needs yet have a global appeal and similarly local products are suited to keep pace with preference demands.

We see that it is not just the term mentioned above but other terms such as global village that have become a part of the vocabulary to characterise the nature of interactions across the economic, cultural and technological dimensions of the world. The concept of a global village refers to the existence of an interconnected and interdependent world with shared values, preferences, and ideas. The idea of a global village is indeed one of the fundamental characteristics of cultural globalisation. This concept of a global village has been accelerated by the lower cost of travel, information technology, and the media (Dalglish 2006).

Factors Facilitating Cultural Globalisation

The presence of media and social network groups has been an instrumental factor in promoting the flow of ideas and information across cultures. For instance, the Arab spring was majorly expedited through the use of social media platforms.

Technology and new developments in the IT sector have promoted the scale of interaction and reduced the time taken for communication across continents. As a result of which there is greater communication and exchange of ideas, values, and information.

The development of transportation and infrastructure facilitating the movement of people is another major factor that has promoted cross-cultural exchanges. The development of faster and efficient means of transportation has increased the scale and speed of movement for people, therefore there is more interaction and volume of movement.

The growing scale and pace of economic inter-dependence and movement of people looking for jobs and opportunities have also added to the movement of cross-cultural influences.

Apart from economic reasons the movement of people to different places for a place with political stability and a conducive environment contributing factor towards intermixing of cultural ideas.

An Analysis of the Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation

Many scholars argue that cultural globalisation is not a linear process but rather a complex process with various kinds of implications. Some of the implications of cultural globalisation have been considered to be hybridity of culture, cultural homogenisation, and even conflict of cultures. The views on cultural hybridity state that intermixing of different cultures has led to the formation of fluid cultures rather than rigid cultures.

On the other hand, views on cultural homogenisation interpret the world as integrating into one and assuming a standardised form, majorly stemming from the west and encouraging the process of westernisation. It is held that cultural globalisation has been responsible for dislocating local cultures and promoting western cultures, majorly through a homogenised consumer culture. For instance, the American culture is said to have penetrated every corner of the world and assert its dominance not only through the forces of the market but rather through the convergence of both economic and cultural forces. The fact that companies like McDonald's and Coco-Cola have been able to exert immeasurable influence over not only over the market but also the food habit and eating preferences of millions of people over the globe indicate a strong influence of the western culture

Globalisation has been also associated with the process of conflict escalation between cultures often found expression through Samuel Huntington's (1996) famous work on the Clash of Civilisations. He makes an argument that in the future, especially the post-cold war era the major source of conflict will be the cultural and religious identities of the people, and wars would be between cultures. Similarly, scholars maintain that globalisation may be a

cause of conflict escalation. It that argued that since globalisation will expose local cultures to various kinds of influences there will be a renewed sense of cultural consciousness and hence may be a catalyst for conflict between cultures.

As much as globalisation is said to have impacted the local cultures and is often considered to reorient and displace local cultures through the process of homogenisation, it has also been a catalyst responsible for the re-assertion of the local cultures.

Technological Dimensions of Globalisation

It would not be wrong to say that technology has been one of the most important dimensions of globalisation. Technology has been majorly responsible for introducing immense changes into the nature of the flow of goods, business transactions, movement of people, and ways in which information is shared and accessed. Technological globalisation is characterised by the diffusion of technology across borders. Technology has only impacted the economic aspects of society, but also social institutions, way of life, and the world view of people.

Technology has played a fundamental role in determining the scale and scope of business. The use of the online mode of transactions, progress in research and development, use of monetary instruments across national borders, interactions, and discussions through the online mode has changed the landscape on how economic activities are conducted in contemporary times. The proliferation of transnational organisations and multinational companies with sophisticated machinery, advanced methods of manufacturing have changed production and employment patterns. The advocates of globalisation argue, that technology in the era of globalisation, has been an important factor in promoting economic growth and competition among nations. However, on the other side, there is also an argument that the rapid rate of technological change and the inability of many developing states to keep up with advancements, and the inability to garner the prerequisite for participation have kept them away from reaping the benefits of technological globalisation as the developed nations have been able to. Moreover, with various trading barriers and intellectual property rights the actual and potential transfer of technological benefits for developing nations is still questioned.

In the cultural and social sphere technology has enabled people to regularly connect and be in touch. The development of faster means of transportation has enabled people for greater interaction, settlement in different parts of the world for job opportunities, family obligations, or even for leisure and tourism. The constant interaction and movement of people facilitated by technology and transportation have led to intermixing of cultures and values, even lifestyles. We can see the presence of cuisines from one part of the world available in another part of the world with its own regional and local adaptations. For stance, the Mc Aloo Tikki burger is an example of a multinational corporation that has moulded its business model to cater to local preferences. Also, we can find a host of food options when we travel to another country.

Technology has been able to shape social relations and impact cultures at the local level. At the global level consumption of a common culture diffused by technology, media and transportation is a major feature of the cultural and technological dimension of globalisation.

Apart from the economic and cultural aspects, technological globalisation has impacted the politics of a nation. One of the most significant examples has been the use of social media groups such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and other online platforms. People across the world continuously share their views and opinions on different issues that may impact the politics of their host country and the country. As discussed in the earlier sections the Jasmine revolution in Tunisia and the final culmination of events that led to the Arab Spring has been facilitated by the use of social media sites. The use of the internet and social media sites has become a very powerful means to influence public opinion these days. On the flip side, as much technology has been able to forge constructive solidarities across communities over the world, the constant bombardment of information and overflow of information have created challenges for accessing the right and correct information. Another issue that poses a great challenge is the problem of fake news that is often circulated to create fear, anxiety, and misinformation on various issues. Hence, one of the major challenges around access to information is the tussle between information versus disinformation.

Challenges of Technological Dimensions of Globalisation

Technological divide: It cannot be denied that although the use of technology has become rampant in almost every nation and community in the world, there also exists a wide technological divide between nations, communities, and between the rural and urban areas. The poor nations and communities often do not have access to technology for bringing about positive changes in the health care system, in the education sector, or other developmental sectors. Technology inaccessibility constitutes a major aspect and also an indicator of social and economic inequality.

Technology has been used more for extraction than the preservation of natural resources. Many scholars would argue on the exploitative nature of the economic relations between the nations. It is argued that many technologies which are majorly at the disposal of rich countries have utilised for resource extraction and exploitation of resources of the developing world. Such exploitation of resources has often been at the cost of the environment and welfare of the people of the host country. For instance, the presence of certain kinds of multinational companies have been associated with environmental damage and therefore often resisted by civil society groups or environmentalist in many countries.

The issue of privacy and security has been another concern about the technological dimensions of globalisation.

Therefore, we can summarise the important technological dimensions of globalisation, as the following:

The flow of information and technology across borders manifested through interconnectedness in economics, politics, and culture

Movement of people and greater connection between people across various communities leading to the creation of shared values and culture.

National borders turning into soft borders due to the movement of people, ideas, and business

The dominance of online social networking platforms and media emerging as a powerful media in influencing knowledge formation and dissemination.

The other dimensions may include the resurgence of protectionist policies especially in instances when the terms of trading are unequal or have been disadvantageous for certain nations.

The resurgence of local cultural identity may also constitute another dimension of globalisation often led by disruption of local identities as a result of over-exposure to western cultures, often equated with modern cultures and consumerist culture.

The technological divide between the developing and developed countries, the urban and the rural, the rich versus the poor is an implication of technological globalisation. Also, the overexploitation of natural resources and its harmful consequences on the planet is also an implication of a market oriented economic model in a globally competitive world.

Counter Globalisations Movements

As we have discussed the various dimensions of globalisation it is also necessary for us to focus on another dimension of globalisation, conceptualised as counter globalisation movements.

However, there is no exact definition of the term. The counter globalisation or anti-globalisation movements can be described as those social movements by the end of the twentieth century, which have expressed their opposition to the current nature of developments in the world. They are highly critical against the current market-driven economy, the globalised neo-liberal order majorly thriving on corporate power and influence. Such movements criticise the capitalist order and seek to explore alternate anti-capitalist globalised relationships (Eschle 20024: 61). These movements seek to endorse and uphold values like democracy, environmental sustainability, sustainable development, human rights, and promotion of social justice. One of the most striking examples of an anti-globalisation movements is the Battle of Seattle in 1999 when protestors took down to the streets, criticising the world financial institutions such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), for being unfair especially in the context of fair trade, human rights, and labour rights.

Summary

In this chapter, we have learnt how various factors have contributed to the cultural and technological dimensions of globalisation. We have discussed the factors that distinguish the contemporary nature of globalisation as opposed to the earlier forms of transnational

interactions in ancient and modern times. We have also discussed how there are different views on the nature of globalisation and its implications. The advocates and the skeptics of globalisation have argued on the different consequences and the contemporary nature of globalisation. However, despite the prevalence of different opinions on the nature of globalisation we can state that globalisation is not completely a recent phenomenon, the world, in fact, was connected in earlier times as well. However, it is the very scale, speed, intensity, and the integration of world markets, in which a sudden risk or shock can shake the faith of a nation or community is one of the most distinctive characteristics of the current nature of globalisation. The presence of big multinational companies, markets integrated with production and manufacturing chains, the presence of online modes of transaction, speedy air and sea routes have all contributed to a current nature of a globalised world.

Therefore, as a result of which globalisation has affected almost every aspect of our daily, community, and national life. Such developments have led to important consequences for different communities, and especially for developing countries. Under such circumstances, the states must act with a balanced approach and adequate focus on capacity building to reap the benefits of new developments in the world.

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Unit-2 : Contemporary World Actors

(a) The United Nations

Dr. Shakti Pradayani Rout

(a) An Historical Overview of United Nations

The United Nation was established after World War II in line with the League of Nations. The establishment of UN reflected an understanding that peace is the pressing need of the hour. The progress of mankind can possible by establishing an institution of Collective Security which will promote international cooperation and peace. The name was projected by former United States (USA) President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the declaration by United Nations on 1st of January 1942, during Second World War. During this time representative of 26 nations came collectively and pledged to fight a war against Axis power. UN has more than 193 States as its member. The mission and work of the United Nations are guided by the rationales and principles contained in its existing Charter as follows: a) to safe guard peace and security in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; b) to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights; c) to uphold respect for international law; d) to promote social progress and better standards of life (Haywood: 442).

United Nations formally came into existence on 24th of October 1945. United Nations Charter was being formulated at San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in presence of representatives of 50 states across the globe. They discussed on the ongoing situation of World War II and wanted to get rid of the scourge of it. India had also delegated in the founding conference. The UN officially took shape, when the Charter was being ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States along with other signatories. So we celebrate 24th of October as United Nations Day each year. However, the establishment of United Nations recognized the role of the major powers in maintaining peace and security.

The main features of the United Nation Organizations are a) They are composed of sovereign states; b) all members are treated as equal; c) the organization has a no binding authority over sovereign nation-states; d)the primary objective of the organization is to establish peace and engineer collaboration to eradicate conflict of any kind. Thus the principle and objective of the UN is designed to maintain global peace and enduring security. It simply reflects a firm faith on men and governments to have the common sense to find out solution of irreconcilable conflicts and problems.

(b) Principles and Objectives

The article 1 of the UN Charter talks about the purpose of the United Nations. Maintaining peace and security in the world became the main objective of UN. It was established to take valuable measures for the prevention and eliminate any threats to the peace. It was being created to end any kind of aggression that breaches world peace. It is an organization which

was created to resolve conflict in peaceful manner. Secondly, it was being created to establish democratic parity among nations. To maintain friendly relations among nations based on self-determination principle of equal rights and to obtain other appropriate measures to strengthen world peace. Thirdly, it was being created to solve international problems through mutual co-operation. The international problems are of any kind, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian in nature. However, UN would try to promote and encourage peace, human rights and brotherhood among free nations.

The objective of UN was very broad in scope. The manifestations of peace can be certainly possible by keeping firm faith in it and governments which are responsible to sustain relationship with each other; establish co operation to strengthen peace and security all over the world. At present the UN is standing on three pillars consist of Human rights, Sustainable Development and Collective Security aimed to establish world peace.

Principles of Work

The article 2 of UN Charter pronounces about the principle of United Nations. The organization is based on the principle of the democratic equality of all the member nations. It is being said that all the members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful mediation in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are to be strengthened. It is being expected that all the members shall refrain from using force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state. All the member states are supposed to give assistance to UN bodies in accordance with the existing Charter. This significantly does not give UN any right to intervene in matters which are basically within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The prime objective of UN is of non-interference in the internal matter of any states.

(c) Structures and Functions

General Assembly: (the main deliberative assembly)

Established in 1945 under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly has a central position to deliberate and formulate policy specified in the charter of UN. General Assembly (GA) comprised of all 193 members of the UN; it provides a unique forum for multilateral discussion forum for international issues covered by the Charter. It plays a significant role in codifying of international law and standard-setting of peace process.

The Assembly meets from twice in a year. In the main session commence in September to December each year. The second session began in from January to September. During those sessions Assembly discuss on issues of critical importance. For high-level thematic debates the president of General Assembly, consult with the members. Along with it the Assembly traditionally also conducts informal consultations on a wide range of substantive topics as mandated by its resolutions.

Power and Function of General assembly

- a. Approve the United Nations Budget of the year and look into the way to appropriate the contributions made by various members.
- b. Elect non-permanent members of the Security Council.
- c. Recommend General principles of Cooperation, development, codification of law and realization of human rights and freedom for all.
- d. Discuss any question related to international peace and security, including disarmament.
- e. Make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that may infringe friendly relationship with other countries.

It also, considers reports from the Security Council and other United Nations Organs.

The work of General assembly is carried on by various committees. Each Member State should be represented by one person on each Main Committee. There are six in total and on any other committee that may be established upon which all Member States have the right to be represented. Advisers, technical advisers, experts or persons of similar status are being assigned to Committees by Member states. The Rule 100, of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly talks about committees. The core Committees are

1. Committee on International Security and Disarmament
2. Committee on Economic & Finance
3. Committee on Social, Humanitarian & Cultural issues
4. Committee on Decolonization
5. Committee on Administrative & Budgetary needs
6. Committee on Legal needs.

The sub-Committees are also appointed to expedite the work of main committee. The General Assembly (GA) has used generously its authority under Article 22 of the Charter. The article empowers GA to establish any subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions. There are more than fifty subsidiary bodies created by GA till date.

General Assembly, work as world forum for debate and discussion. It also works as the only organ to which each body and organ report. It is the only organ where all the member states are considered as equal. Each one has one vote and decisions are made on the majority basis. All the third world countries considered this forum as major debating activities.

As a deliberative body GA is concerned mainly with aggregating interests and making democratic debates possible. The General Assembly, like any other international organizations, is one of the elements that influence the global politics by passing various resolutions. At present UNGA is working in Africa on various issues like eradicate, Polio, AIDs and epidemic like Swine Flu. The programme like 'the Roll Back Malaria' movement

helps prevent diseases and improves lives. It is being estimated that Malaria kills more than 3 million persons in year. Children who are of younger age of five are most vulnerable.

Since 2000s, General Assembly also took many initiatives to reach the goal of Millennium Development Goals which, would make the twenty first century a safer and peaceful place to live in. However, we can conclude that, UNGA is a multilateral forum for debate, discussion. It also works as a forum that codifies international law which set standard to propagate peace. It also gives informal space for consultation on high level policy matters.

The Security Council (decides on main resolutions for peace and security)

The Security Council has major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 Members, and each Member state has one vote. Under the Charter of the United Nations, all Member States are obligated to conform to Council decisions.

The Security Council has a leading voice to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression. It calls upon the parties in conflict to settle the issue by peaceful manners. It also recommends methods of adjustment or terms of settlement. In some cases, the Security Council can suggest imposing sanctions or even can authorize the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security. We can certainly say that this is the executive branch of the UN.

Permanent Member and Non-Permanent Members, play a vital role in Security Council. A decision on procedural matters could be reached by majority votes (9 out of 15). The granting of the veto power to the largest states could be said to represent merely recognition of the realities of power politics. The veto is being regarded as a safety valve measure served to prevent dissension among its leading members. Without it, the organization, if urged to take action against one of these powers, could have been paralyzed by different of opinion (Basu, 2020:65).

Powers and Functions of Security Council is to

- a. Maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations
- b. Investigate any dispute or situation this might lead to international friction
- c. Recommend way out to adjust with such disputes or enable terms of settlements
- d. Formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments
- e. Determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken
- f. Call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression
- g. Take military action against any aggressive state
- h. Recommend the admission of new states

- i. Exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in “trust areas”
- j. Recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General; together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

Thus, the main function of the UNSC is to find out the factors responsible for endangering international peace and security. It can call members to solve their conflict or mediate it.

Conceptualizing Collective Security in Security Council

The UN operates on the basis of collective security ideals. Collective Security concept states that world peace is collective responsibility of the member states of UN. Primarily, UNSC is entitled to keep the peace and have monopoly to enforce its action to strengthen cooperation amongst nation-states. The Security Council consists of 15 members and decides by unanimous vote of its permanent members as specified in the Article 27 of the Charter. It gives UNSC as sole enforcement capability. The General Assembly is an organ with universal representation, but lacks enforcement powers. The UN Secretary General mostly performed the role of implementing the decisions adopted by Council and the Assembly, and of interpreting the decisions on the ground. The Article 39 to 51 talks about the power and function of the Security Council are given underneath.

The article 39 illustrate that the Security Council shall decide the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security. Therefore, Security Council is sole and prime organization to determine the ‘breach of peace and act of aggression’ and prosecute the aggressor.

However, the article 40 of the UN charter says that, in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to observe with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. It gives the power to enforce peace negotiation. Such provisional measures shall be without any prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures. In this situation Security Council can propose trade embargo, sanctions etc. As article 41 illustrates, the Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and shutting of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the disconnection of diplomatic relations.

Likewise, the article 42 of UN charter gives the Security Council to consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate; it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such measures may include demonstrations, blockade, and

other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations. This is how UNSC is entitled with legitimate right to restore international peace and security.

The article 43 states about the cooperation required during implementation of UNSC resolution, that all Members of the United Nations, in order to maintain peace and security in international relations .And make them available for giving assistance, facilities, armed forces and including prerogative of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. These agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces to be used, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided during crisis. During ‘war on terror’ both India and Pakistan had given such assistance and passage to NATO led UN mandated initiatives. In the time of Balkans War, Russia also cooperated to UNSC decision and became part of NATO’s mission in Kosovo.

The Security Council takes various initiatives to negotiate and establish possible agreements among conflicting Members. The agreement or agreements shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and subject to ratification by the signatory states. They have to ratify the agreements in their respective parliaments.

The article 45 of UN charter enables UNSC, to take urgent military measures, where Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement actions. The strength and degree of readiness of these plans for their combined action shall be determined within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. The blueprint for the appliance of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee (Article 46).

However, the article 47, strengthen **Military Staff Committee (MSC)** as implementing agency to execute the UNSC resolution on military front. It is the highest authority to assess the ground situation of any conflict prone area and gives blueprint to sort out the situation. It has both advisory and implementing power and function. Its functions are: a) to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council’s military needs for the maintenance of international peace and security. It works as the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament. b) The MSC shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. There will not be any permanent membership of Member states, but shall represented when been invited by the Committee to be associated with it. The efficient discharge of the Committee’s responsibilities requires the participation of all permanent members. c) It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic course of its action. d) It has full authority to consult with regional agencies, may establish regional subcommittees to solve the conflict between warring states. Thus, UNSC is the main organ to implement measures of collective security through MSC. At last, article 50

and 51 also empowers UNSC to put economic sanction and give advisory help to states who are in need; restoring peace after got reporting etc.

However, the Security Council establishes a peace-keeping operation by adopting a Security Council resolution. The resolution sets out that mission's mandate and size. As we have discussed in Article 25, it obliges all UN members to agree to carry out any decision. Further, the Council may impose sanctions; arms embargoes, financial sanctions and travel bans—designed to eliminate or minimize unintended effects by focusing on those responsible for policies condemned by the international community, while leaving other parts of the population and international trade relations unaffected (Gupta and Kumar: 67).

The use of force and military actions against belligerent states is employed as the last resort for enforcement of peace by the Security Council. In all these measures undertaken by the Council the entire membership of United Nations is bound to assist the Council the entire membership of UN is to bind to assist then Council. Under article 2(4) all the members of the UN have been advised to refrain from the use of force against any other state. Refraining from aggressive action by states and entrusting their security in the hands of Security Council collective security system is the key to the maintenance of global peace under the aegis of the UN (ibid).

The most critical issue of Security Council is of veto system. The mechanism has been used in a selective manner in the time of Cold War. This mechanism restricted the efficient working of UN as independent and powerful entity over 'state sovereignty' or monopoly of superpowers.

Power of Veto: the search for consensus

The veto system was agreed upon in 1945 at Yalta Conference by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, and though it was hotly debated by small power as undemocratic mechanism. But it work as legitimate mechanism till date. The basic logic to adopt veto system is to bring consensus among powerful nations on any issue and action. The procedure of veto gives voice to the dissenting nation to disagree. Here, the permanent member can take up an independent course of action. In such a situation the possibility of another world war cannot be denied. Therefore, veto was seen as an 'inside room' solution to such dooming threats (ibid). In the beginning newly independent and developing or small nations complained against such discriminatory device. During cold war time both USA and USSR very often used this device.

However, according to Inis L. Claude "the veto is deliberately contrived circuit breaker in the decision making process of Security Council, designed to prevent the commitment of the Council to a position or a course of action in opposition to expressed will of a great power. The rationale is obvious: great power opposition is dangerous, and it is better for the Council to be reduced to inactivity than for risk a showdown by pressing ahead in the face of determined hostility on the part of major state. A stalemate is an in convenience; a showdown would be disaster". Thus, the veto was being misused by both the superpowers in the cold

war days. Hereafter, Security Council has brought unified decision in September 11 terrorist attack on World Trade Center in 2001.

After September 11, the USA led 'war on terror' had received unprecedented support from world community. Consequently, the Security Council had passed the resolution of 1373 against terrorism. Under this resolution, the council unanimously decided that all States should prevent and suppress the financing of terrorism. However, we can conclude that veto is a safety valve measure in UN which alerts permanent members and warring nation-states regarding the consequence of not resolving any issue peacefully may lead to unprecedented consequence.

UN and Disarmament

Since its inception, The UN is actively encouraging disarmament and regulation of armament regimes. In the post 1945 world scenario had seen the cold war, as both USA and USSR indulged in nuclear arms race mode. So, all the initiative under the banner of UN had shown only formal adherence to the disarmament regime. However, with all its limitations UN had taken various steps to control arms. In the year 1961 UNGA had adopted a resolution declaring the using of nuclear weapons or thermonuclear weapons to be against the international laws of humanity. The nuclear weapons Test-Ban Treaty was being signed on August 5 of 1963, in the presence of United Kingdom, the USA and USSR. This agreement has prohibited nuclear tests, explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater. In 1966 the General assembly unanimously approved a treaty which prohibited placement of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the orbit of Earth orbit, on the moon, or on other celestial bodies and recognizing the use of outer space.

In the year 1968 the UNGA approved the treaty on Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of nuclear weapons. This has banned the spreading of nuclear weapons from nuclear powered states to non-nucleated states. This treaty has also stated that signatory nonnuclear power not to develop or deploy nuclear weapons, in exchange for technical assistance in developing nuclear power for 'peaceful purposes' or of civilian uses. However, India has not yet signed the treaty saying as it is discriminatory. Time to time UN had discussed and created commissions on disarmament. In the year 1975, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The primary bodies which are working on disarmament are of:

- a. Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, (1997)
- b. The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR)(1980)
- c. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)(1975)
- d. The Disarmament Commission (1952)
- e. The United Nations Mine Action Service. (UNMAS)

In sum, we can assume that the UN has provided the institutional mechanism to facilitate disarmament all over world. But the rapid growing arms trade and proliferation of nuclear states showcase that UN as collective security regime to produce peace is partially successful.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

ECOSOC supports the General Assembly in promoting international economic and social cooperation and development. At present it has 54 member states. Under the UN Charter, ECOSOC is accountable for promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress; identifying solutions to international economic, social and health problems; facilitating international cultural and educational cooperation; and encouraging universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The president is elected for one-year term and chosen amongst the small or middle powers represented on ECOSOC. ECOSOC meets once a year in July for a four-week session. Since 1998, it has held another meeting each April with finance ministers heading key committees of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Viewed separate from the specialized bodies it coordinates, ECOSOC's functions include information gathering, advising member nations, and making recommendations. In addition, it is well placed to provide policy coherence and coordinate the overlapping functions of the UN's subsidiary bodies like ILO, UNESCO, WHO and World Bank.

The Economic and Social Council was established to co-ordinate the economic and social work of the UN and its specialized institutions. The council has 54 member states that are serving for three years. Eighteen members are elected each year for a three-year team to replace 18 members whose three-year term has expired. Voting procedure in the ECOSOC is by simple majority and each member has one vote. The power and functions are:

Functions and Powers

- a. It serve as the central forum for the discussion of international economic and social issues and formulation of policy recommendations on those issues and formulation of policy recommendations on those issues addressed to Member States and to the UN system as a whole.
- b. To make or initiate studies and reports, recommendations on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and to promote respect for and execution of human rights and elementary freedoms for all.
- c. To call international conferences and prepare draft conventions for submission to General Assembly on matters falling within its competence, to negotiate agreements with the specialized agencies defining their relationship with UN and to co-operate the activities of the specialized agencies; to carry out services, approved by Assembly, for members of the United Nations and upon request, for the specialized agencies (www.un.org/ecosoc).

Sessions: The Economic and Social Council generally meet twice; one is of an organizational session and a substantive session in each year, one in New York and other at Geneva. Throughout the year work of Council is carried out in its subsidiary bodies consist of commissions and committees, which meet at usual intervals and report back to Council. In carrying out its mandate, ECOSOC consults with academics, business representatives and more than 3,200 registered non-governmental bodies.

There are few functional Commissions to expatiate the advisory work of ECOSOC like : Commission for Social Development, Commission on Narcotics Drugs, Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, Commission on Science and Technology for Development, Commission on Sustainable Development, Commission on Status of Women, Commission on Population and Development, Statistical Commission, United Nations Forum on Forest, Regional Commissions etc.

The main thrust of the ECOSOC has become the economic and social development of the developing countries. ECOSOC discharges and gets its jurisdiction under the authority of General Assembly (Article 60). Through its policy recommendations, ECOSOC plays a vital role in fostering international cooperation for development and fulfilling the priorities of Millennium Development Goals and later Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Thus, ECOSOC plays a key role in strengthening international cooperation for sustainable development and cooperation for economic issues which are the core area to combat poverty and inequality in the globe.

The International Court of Justice

The international Court of Justice is the principal organ entitled to provide justice through the United Nations. Its statues are essential part of the UN charter. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council as well as the other UN organized specialized agencies can ask the Court for an advisory opinion on any legal question. The article 38 of UN charter says that

- a. international convention establishing rules recognized by the conflicting States;
- b. international custom as indication of general practice accepted by international law;
- c. the general principles of law recognized by nations; and
- d. Judicial decisions and teaching of the most highly qualified legal and continual experts of various nations, as a subsidiary means for determining the rule of law.

Membership

The International Court of Justice is composed of 15 judges elected to nine years terms of office by the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council. The Court suggests one nation to be represented as judge. The judges serve for a term of nine years and possibly reelected. They cannot hold in any other occupation during their term at The Hague, Netherlands. However, the Court as a whole must represent as the principal legal systems of the world. A candidate needs to receive an absolute majority of the votes in both bodies, then only can be considered as elected. It sometimes makes necessary for a number of rounds of

voting to be carried out. In order to ensure continuity, one third of the Court is elected every three years. Its official working languages are English and French.

ICJ has both contentious and advisory jurisdiction. It settles disputes submitted to it by the states. In this case countries can approach and appear before ICJ. Here, party to dispute should recognize the jurisdiction of the court. Then only court can have work as judge. The judgment would be final and binding upon the state afterwards. The court won't have binding effect on advisory jurisdiction of the judgment. Parties to the dispute have full right not to obey the advisory given by it. But it has many other political consequences. In 1992 Libya brought two cases against United Kingdom and USA. The case is still pending (Basu: 111). In 1993, Bosnia and Herzegovina brought a case against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of crime of genocide. The court had redefined the definition of genocide and established a Tribunal over it. But the case is still pending (ibid).

ICJ had given its advisory direction many times over various disputes. In 2003, the General Assembly had asked ICJ regarding the construction of a wall in the occupied Palestinian territory by Israel. The court had delivered the advisory opinion on 9th July 2004. The key point of the opinion was that the construction of the wall and its associated regime are contrary to the international law (Kumar & Gupta: 147).

Thus, the work and success of ICJ is of mixed outcome. It has partially successful to delivering on various international disputes. But the case brought before it gives rich experience of judicial discourses and set precedent for future judgments.

International Labor Organization (ILO)

The International Labor Organizations (ILO) was founded in 1919, in the post World War I, to bring about changes among various working classes in Europe. The ILO was the first specialized agency of United Nations to maintain the labor standard.

The objective of the ILO is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work and maintain a healthy working atmosphere with basic recreation time. The main function of the organization is to address a) Global Job Crisis; b) Promote social justice; c) Recognize human and labor rights around the globe; d) take initiatives to realize Millennium Development Goals. However, the main aims are to promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection of worker, and strengthen the relationship between workers and management.

In consequence, the ILO has four Strategic Objectives:

1. Promote and realize standards and fundamental principles and right at work.
2. Create greater opportunities for women and men to decent employment and income.
3. Enhance the coverage and effectiveness of social protection for all.
4. Strengthen tripartism and social dialogue (Kumar & Gupta : 446)

In support of this, the ILO offers unmatched expertise and knowledge about the world of work. It serves its tripartite constituents and society as a whole-in a verity of ways, including: a) formulation of international policies and programmes to promote basic human rights, improve working and living conditions, and enhance employment opportunities; b) creation of international labor standards backed by a unique system to supervise their application; c) an expensive program of international technical cooperation formulated and implemented in an active partnership with constituents', to help countries put these policies into practice in an effective manner; d) training, education and research activities to help advance all of these efforts (ibid). ILO had been given with Nobel Peace prize in the year 1969 for its contribution to strengthen labor laws across the world.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) took shape in 1945. UNESCO has 195 members and 8 associated members. This unit is governed by the General Conference and the Executive Board. The Secretariat, headed by the Director-General, implements the decisions of these two bodies. The organization has more than 50 field offices around the world and its headquarters are located in Paris.

The mission of UNESCO is to contribute to the building of a culture of peace. The main objective is to eradication of poverty, acknowledge sustainable development; reiterate intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information.

It works to create the conditions for exchange of ideas among civilizations, cultures and people, based upon respect for commonly shared values. It is through this dialogue that world can achieve global visions of sustainable development encompassing observance of human rights, mutual respects for commonly shared values. It also, spread the idea of pacifism and shared values based on mutual cooperation and empathy among nations. Presently, it focuses on development in Africa and Gender equality. These two areas are global priority. Main objectives are of:

- a. attaining quality educations for all and consider education as lifelong learning process
- b. mobilizing science knowledge and policy for sustainable development
- c. addressing various socio-ethical challenges
- d. fostering cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and a culture of peace
- e. building inclusive knowledge society

World Health Organization (WHO)

WHO was been established in 1948. It is an institution to UN in the field of health. Its objective is to attain and build a better, healthier future for people all over the world. It is working with 194 States across six regions. It has more than 150 offices, where WHO staff are united in a shared commitment to achieve better health for everyone. Together they strive

to combat diseases, like communicable diseases like influenza and HIV; and non communicable diseases like cancer and heart disease. They work on mothers and children morbidity and thrive have healthy maternity. They also, ensure the safety of the air people breathe, the food they eat, the water they drink along with supplying of the medicines and vaccines as needed. It was being created in 1948, 7th of April .Thus, 7th of April is now celebrated every year as World Health Day. There are now more than 7000 people working in 150 country offices, in six regional offices. Its headquarter is in Geneva, Switzerland.

The primary role of WHO is to direct and co-ordinate international health within the United Nations system. The main areas of work are to strengthen health systems of both developed and developing nations. It work to eradicate non communicable and communicable diseases; preparedness, surveillance and response of such; and also provide corporate services. The WHO works worldwide to promote safety and health. The goal is to ensure that more people have universal health coverage. It wants to protect, people from any kind of health emergencies like Polio, AIDs, Swine Flu, Malaria etc. The collective health coverage emphasizes on and works to

- a. improve access to essential services to strengthen primary health care all over the world
- b. work towards sustainable financing and financial protection for people
- c. improve access to health products and essential medicines
- d. train the health workforce and advise on labor policies
- e. support people's participation in national health policies and family welfare
- f. Improve monitoring, data and information all over the world.

During global pandemic, the WHO is directing every nation to cooperate and promising to provide vaccine available for all people across globe. Time to time it is issuing various directives to mange Covid 19 pandemic.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

UNICEF was established in the first session of the General Assembly in 1946. It works for the upliftment of children worldwide. It has extensive network around the globe. UNICEF works with governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and local communities. This program is now supporting various programs like sanitation, water, health, nutrition of children, education, environment to 'women as mother' and 'families as nurseries for children'. It places emphasis on need based programmes and has an extensive program for the training of personnel needed for these various services (Basu: 273).

More than the programmes, it also assists government with recommendations, personnel, materials and equipments. It has an extraordinary record in 1990s to uplift children's health and education. Thus in the year 1995 it has been awarded with Nobel peace prize for its monumental work. For instance, in 1991 more than a quarter of its total income of over US

\$800 million came in the form of voluntary donations. With this it supports programmes for children in 128 countries (ibid).

In the year 2000, UNICEF had decided to work on various goals like a) reduce the infant mortality rate and morbidity among the children who are less than five years; b) it also worked for the malnutrition among children under five and maternal health; c) it has also tried to improve drinking water to accessible to all; and it also co-sponsored with UNESCO on the program on 'education for all' since 1990s. However, India is deeply involved in all the programmes of UNICEF. With the leadership of UNICEF the Convention on the Rights of Child had been ratified universally amongst all the member nations. It works to assure equality for those who discriminate against girls or women. It also tries to fulfill the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promised by UN. It works to hold every government accountable for the growth and security of children.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

UNDP in its flagship program has a mission to eradicate poverty and inequality. They help countries to develop policies with the ethos and spirit of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). There are three thrust areas of its function a) sustainable development b) democratic government and peace building c) climate change and disaster management. The vision and mission of it is to end the poverty, build democratic and decentralized governance, advocate change in connection to establish rule of law and organize resources to build better life of people all over the world.

UNDP helps developing countries to generate and use aid carefully or prudently. In its activities it always wants protect human rights and tries to establish gender equality. Developing countries including India are working to create their own national strategies to eradicate poverty and help poor who have less income. Every year they publish Human Development Reports where they rank states according to the performance initiated to achieve SDGs (See more, www.undp.org).

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

UNEP was established by General Assembly in the year 1972, in Stockholm Conference. It was being created to give leadership and encourage partnership to inspire and enable nations to think sustainable development and initiate cooperation to strengthen ecological or environmental balance.

The main objective of UNEP is to a) Promote international cooperation to protect environment; b) give policy directives and coordinate environmental programmes with in UN system; c) receive and review periodical report of the Executive Director on implementation of various environmental projects; d) provide leadership to contribute and coordinate scientific knowledge on environment; give technical support to implement the same; e) suggest to tackle environmental disasters and conflicts.

With the leadership of UN, UNEP has initiated many Conventions to climate change. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) had organized a conference on environment and development, informally known as Earth Summit, held at Rio de Janeiro from 3rd to 14 June 1992 became a milestone. It had discussed to gather and share green house gas (GHG) emissions, national policies and strategies to eradicate it, providing financial and technological support to establish eco-friendly norms etc. UNFCCC had adopted another convention named Kyoto Protocol in 1997. This protocol has targeted 37 industrialized nations to reduce their carbon emission. The protocol had adopted the policy of reduce carbon emission, deforestation and green technology transfer to developing nations. Kyoto Protocol remains as redundant as many industrialized states have not signed it. In the year 2000, UN adopted its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which had targeted to give people access to safe water and sanitation by 2015.

UNEP also monitor various environmental issues like a) it maintains a catalog on GHG and its mitigation; b) it provide guidance of water management and waste management; c) it also shares knowledge to sustainable use of paper and paper usages; d) it also sensitize and bring awareness about biosafety and diversity; e) it works with the partnership with nongovernmental organizations, schools and institutions. (See more www.unep.org).

UN WOMEN

Since 1945, UN has actively engaged in empowering the women around the world. The preamble of UN tries to reaffirm faith that all Women's right are of human rights, and UN always tries to keep faith in the dignity of men and women both. UN has established many institutions and formulated many plan to foster gender equality. It had established, a Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The World Conference on Women in Beijing China in the year 1995 had identified 12 critical areas related to women. The concerns are as follows:

a) the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women; b) Unequal access to and inadequate educational opportunities; c) In equalities in health status, and unequal access to an inadequate health-care services; d) violence against women; e) effects of conflict on women; f) inequality in women's participation in the definition of economic structures and policies and in production process itself; g) inequality in the sharing of power and decision making; h) insufficient mechanisms to promote the advancement of women; i) lack of awareness of, and commitment to, internationally and nationally recognized women's human rights; j) insufficient mobilization of mass media to promote women's contribution to society; k) lack of adequate recognition and support for women's contribution to managing natural resources and safeguarding the environment; l) the protecting and saving life of girl child. (Basu: 272)

Afterwards, the special session of the General Assembly in 2000 to follow up on the conference, countries pledged additional initiatives such as strengthening legislation against all forms of domestic violence, and enacting laws and policies to eradicate practices such as early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation etc. Targets were set to ensure free compulsory primary education for both girls and boys, and to improve women's health through wider access to health care and prevention of maternal mortality rate etc. (ibid). However, gender equality remains the main thrust area of Millennium Development Goals and later remains the crux of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The UNHCR has objective to protect the rights of refugees, and asylum seekers across the globe. It ensures their human rights, and looks into the matters that force refugees to the countries they left in fear of prosecution and danger of life and liberty. Refugees like women and young children are easily being targeted and abused while crossing borders. The human trafficking remains the major issue of concern for them. So, UNHCR often provide them to live in camps and provide them with basic amenities like food, water and sanitization.

UNHCR has been working as leading humanitarian agency during various conflicts in Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq war. It had worked with other UN agencies like UNICEF, UNDP and other NGOs to repatriate refugees who had fled during Kosovo crisis to Europe. It has very recently worked for the upliftment of Rohingya who fled Myanmar and approached India and Bangladesh border.

UNHCR has been called to assist an estimated 4.6 million displaced persons in various regions. Increasingly in former Yugoslavia, East Timor, Cambodia and Chechnya and assisted them on humanitarian ground. Primarily helping refugees, UNHCR also work to provide them education, health and shelter. The refugees are being promoted to get employment and integrate to the culture of host countries. That means UNHCR works for the resettlement of refugees and provided with aid to sustain their life.

Critical Assessment of General Secretary

The secretariat is the one of the core institution of the United Nations. It is headed by the position of General Secretary. He is being considered as Chief Administrative Officer of the UN. He is being assisted by a group of talented international bureaucracy consist of economist, administrators, environmental experts, legal advisors, statisticians', media persons, ecologist etc. All the staffs are appointed by him in consultation with General Assembly. The staffs are directly responsible to United Nations and cannot receive any instruction from any government or authority outside the United Nations.

The staffs of the Secretariat are appointed from the member states considering their efficiency, competence and integrity. As UN has to serve different geographical location so they need expertise to particular field and location. In order to assist in such recruitment, the General Assembly established a United Nations Administrative Tribunal in 1949. Apart, from this, in 1974 it also established a fifteen member International Civil Service Commission to

make recommendations and decide on matters that affect the salary and personal system of the United Nations and other related agencies.

The methods of recruitment of staffs of Secretariat have changed significantly. For instance, in order to ensure uniformity and timely delivery of services, Dag Hammarskjold made the Office of Human Resource Management (OHRM) directly responsible to him. A new selection system was introduced by the Secretary-General in 2002. The responsibility of selection was given to the heads of the departments who were responsible for program delivery (Kumar & Gupta: 152).

If we read Article 7 along with Article 97 of the United Nations Charter, says that the Secretariat, with the Secretary General as its head, is a principal executive of the United Nations. The Secretary General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization (See UN Charter, Basu: 446). Looking in to the consensus required for the election of General Secretary (GS), a past GS, Boutros Boutros-Ghali- was fondly called him the “humble servant” of the member states (Goldstein & Pevehouse: 248).

The Secretary-General is nominated by the Security Council-requiring the consent of all five permanent members-and must be approved by the General Assembly. The term of the office is five years and may be renewed. Past secretaries-generals have come from various regions (Ban Ki-moon was from South Korea; U Thant was from Myanmar; Kofi Annan was from African continent). However, the Secretary-General is more than a bureaucratic manger. Along with administrative reforms, developmental work she has to use is office to serve as a neutral mediator in international conflicts- to bring hostile parties together to negotiations (ibid). Like any CEO of the company the GS of UN gives vision and mission to work and implement policies they adhere to. He/ or She work as the captain of the ship, direct and coordinate and implement the policy decisions during normal times and exigencies too.

(d) Peace Keeping, Peace Making and Enforcement, Peace Building and Responsibility to protect by UN

Peacekeeping activities of United Nations are created to establish long lasting peace in the world. It generally aimed at reduces the death of civilian and reduces the risk of renewed warfare among conflicting nations or ethnic groups. The peacekeeping activity is always scrutinized by Security Council and discussed in General Assembly as resolution. It is an extraordinary diplomatic act for using polices, soldiers not to fight a war and win but to prevent fight and, maintain cease-fire. Peacekeeping process is of a kind of mechanism which deescalates and pacifies things and act positively for humanitarian assistance.

Within the United Nations (UN) group of nation-state, governments and organizations, there is a general understanding that at the international level, peacekeepers especially monitor and observe peace processes in post-conflict areas. It assists ex-combatants in implementing peace agreement commitments that they have undertaken. Such assistance may

enter in many forms, including confidence-building measures, power-sharing arrangements, electoral support, strengthening the rule of law, and economic and social development.

Peacekeeping is associated with the name of Dag Hammarskjold, who extended enormous influence both refining and applying the concept. Peacekeeping as Hammarskjold envisaged it as “a matter of preventing engagement or facilitating disengagement on the part of the super powers when and where they are rational enough to see the advantage of mutually standing back or stepping aside. It proposes a preemptive and neutralizing collective intervention to forestall a unilateral intervention, designed to establish dominance, or a competitive intervention destined to raise the temperature of cold war”. Thus it is a mechanism of independent and impartial intervention to prevent any war or conflict.

Accordingly, the UN peacekeepers (often referred to as **Blue Helmets** because of their light blue helmets) can include soldiers, police officers, and civilian personnel. Every member nation contributes for the recruitment of these troops of UN. The major contributors of peacekeepers are India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The United Nations is not the only organization to implement peacekeeping missions. Some of the examples of non-UN peacekeeping forces include the NATO mission in Kosovo (with United Nations authorization) and the Multinational Force and Observers on the Sinai Peninsula or the ones organized by the European Union (like EUFOR RCA, with UN authorization) and the African Union (like the African Union Mission in Sudan). The Nonviolent Peace force is one NGO widely considered having expertise in general peacemaking by non-governmental volunteers or activists is being impartial agency of UN to promote peace keeping.

Peacekeeping forces are normally deployed with the consent of the parties to a conflict. It supports ceasefires and agreed upon to establish peace measures. Peace enforcement refers to the use of military assets to enforce a peace against the will of the parties to a conflict when, for instance, a ceasefire has failed. Thus, one can summarize that Peacekeeping activities are of neutral and impartial in nature. In this line it tries to take consent of both warring states and pursue them to resolve their conflict in peaceful manner.

The peacekeeping forces are to be financed by all the member states. They have not entitled to use any type of force for offensive manner. In case of violent situation they would use force for their self-defense. All operations of the force, including the questions of their stationing and the duration of its stay, are subject to the consent of the host country.

(e) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Millennium Development Goals are the UN approved eight international development goals that all 193 UN member countries have agreed to achieve by 2015. Now these goals are being converted and called as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which need to be achieved by 2030.

The MDGs was signed in 2000 in the objective to combat or overcome poverty, hunger, diseases, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women. The eight MDGs can be discussed below:

- a. Eradicate extreme poverty and Hunger
- b. Achieve universal primary education
- c. Promote gender equality and empower women
- d. Reduce child mortality
- e. Improve maternal health
- f. Combat HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases
- g. Ensure environmental sustainability
- h. Develop a Global Partnership for Development.

UN has decided to eradicate poverty and hunger by targeting people whose income is less than \$1.25 a day and suffering from hunger. Throughout the world including India UN has pursued to eradicate hunger. The program of mid day meal can be of such one type was being supported by UN. This policy has set to achieve the target to make students of primary education free from hunger and illiteracy. The goal to promote gender equality and empower women UN had given directives to all the member countries. Every government throughout the globe is taking of measures to achieve this. In case of India, the constitution has created and provided equal citizenship rights. However, the substantive equality has not been achieved yet. Thus, gender quotas, reservation policy in the Panchayati Raj Institutions are being given to women in India. The Directive Principle of State Policy also acknowledges equal payment for men and women for equal work.

The Global Monitoring Report 2011(GMR) on the MDGs, prepared jointly by World Bank and International Monetary Fund, makes it clear that, despite some progress, key targets will remain elusive when the 2015 deadline is reached. There are positive indicators that the goals relating to parity in primary and secondary education, completion of primary education, access to clean drinking water, and halving extreme poverty and hunger can be met. But there is cause for serious concern in the areas of child and maternal mortality and access to sanitation. We can also access the partial success of Swachh Bharat Mission in this regard. One reason for this uneven progress is that access-based goals, such as education, are easier to achieve than those that can be measured by specific outcomes, such as health care (Kumar and Gupta: 434). We can see the vital importance of health care in the present context of pandemic.

Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of UN, while evaluating MDGs point out that, the revitalizing the political will to achieve the MDGs, and scaling up proven interventions, is linchpin to achievement. He further asserts that primary responsibility, however, rests with

national leaders. Their challenge is to re-articulate a compelling case for global solidarity and equitable growth (ibid).

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(b) The World Trade Organization

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The World Trade Organization is the only organization in the world that has been formed for the operation and regulation of international trade. The WTO deals with the economic aspect in foreign policy, whose basic objective is to create an environment of fair competition for trade between member states by a multilateral trade system throughout the world¹. In 1994, 123 countries signed the agreement through the 'Caracas Agreement' and as a result of negotiations of the Uruguay cycle for 8 years, it was decided to convert the GATT into World Trade Organization. It was born on January 1, 1995, after GATT and Dunkel Proposal. This is in a way a new GATT agreement.

From GATT to WTO

The *General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs* developed from the ashes of the 'Havana Charter'. During the 1930s and World War II, trade was facing severe problems in the world. Therefore, the countries concerned thought of adopting a liberal world trade system after the Second World War. With this view, the International Conference on Trade and Employment was held in Havana in the winter of 1947-48, in which 53 countries participated and signed a charter to set up an international trade organization. But the US Congress never supported the Havana Charter As a result of which no international trade organization came into existence. In addition, 23 countries agreed to continue extensive tariff negotiations for trade concessions in Geneva, which were included in the 'GATT'. The agreement was signed on 30 October 1947. On 1 January 1948, the *General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs* (GATT) came into force. The World Trade Organization is the successor organization of GATT. GATT was a forum where member countries would gather from time to time to negotiate and resolve the problems of world trade. But the World Trade Organization is a well-organized and sustainable world trade body which has a legal status. Along with this, it is important at par with the World Bank and the International Money Fund. As of January 1995, it had only 77 members, the number of which has risen to 164 at present. In the year 2018, Libya has become its 163rd member country and Afghanistan 164th member country².

Where the two pillars of the Bretton woods system – the World Bank (1946) and the International Monetary Fund (1945) were successfully established and these two institutions started functioning well. At the same time, the International Trade Organization was facing problems. In fact, it was to be established as the third institution of Brettonwoods. It was also meant to serve as a special part of the United Nations. The draft charter of this organization

¹ Kumar, Shailendra. "World Trade Organization in India's Perspective" (New Delhi: Rajkamal Publications, 2000), 19.

² <https://www.org> > news_e > news 16

was very ambitious. Apart from trade, topics like employment, international investment, services were also included in this draft¹. A conference in Havana was to be held in March 1948 to agree on this charter. But in 1946, long before the approval of the Havana Charter, 23 countries had decided to reduce the tariffs and tie up on the basis of mutual negotiations. Also, the governments of some member countries in which the US was the chief did not ratify this charter. In 1950, when the US expressed its inability to accept this charter, the charter was formally declared 'dead'².

After this, the seventh round of GATT - Tokyo Round (1973 - 79) also expanded the content list to include GATT trade barriers (non-tariff trade barriers) and at the same time tried to bring the required reforms in GATT. Agreements in the Tokyo round led to mixed reactions. The subsidy code was implemented under the Tokyo Round (1973 - 79)³. In order to address GATT's deficiencies after the Tokyo round, member countries felt that a round should now be organized after which such visits would no longer be required. Later, the Uruguay Round was held. As a result, the World Trade Organization was established on 1 January 1995.

Objectives of WTO

The WTO has the following objectives:

1. To promote free trade by minimizing the barriers of world trade.
2. Effectively increase the standard of living of the whole world.
3. Increase in employment opportunities all over the world.
4. Encourage trade in goods internationally.
5. Encourage trade in services.
6. Strengthen the concept of sustainable development.

GATT and W.T.O

The World Trade Organization is not just an extension of GATT, but on the contrary, it completely replaces GATT. The main differences between these two are discussed below:

- GATT was a collection of rules and multilateral agreements that had no institutional basis. In contrast, the World Trade Organization is a permanent institution with its own secretariat.

¹ Kumar, Shailendra. "World Trade Organization in India's Perspective" (New Delhi: Rajkamal Publications, 2000),16.

² Kumar, Shailendra. "World Trade Organization in India's Perspective" (New Delhi: Rajkamal Publications, 2000),16.

³ Gangwal, Subhash. "W. T.O. And India: Challenges and Opportunities ", (Jaipur: Mangaldweep Publications, 2004)p-40.

- GATT was concerned with the regulation of matters arising out of international trade of goods on international borders. While the W.T.O's methodology and decision-making process of the agreement extends to the political level.
- Although the governments of the member countries were permanently committed to obeying the GATT, yet the GATT was implemented only on an ad-hoc basis. While the W.T.O. The commitments of member states are permanent.
- While the GATT rules were applicable only to the commodity trade, the W.T.O's rules also apply to services trade, trade-related intellectual property in addition to goods trade.
- The dispute resolution system of WTO, in comparison to GATT, is more intense, self and not going to be disrupted in any way, whereas this system could have been disrupted in the GATT era.

Critics of the World Trade Organization argue that there is considerable bias within decision-making structures that systematically favour the developed countries bypassing the interests of developing countries. They generally emphasize 'consensus' decision making. Such a situation is detrimental to developing countries, as they do not have stable representation at the World Trade Organization's Geneva headquarters. Their delegation is much smaller than the developed countries or they are excluded from the meetings, in which the dominance of the developed countries usually prevails. Similarly, developed countries are more likely to serve as 'Third Parties' capable of bringing issues before the Dispute Settlement Panel and influencing the Dispute Settlement process. Such unfair trade practices are done with developing countries. Due to such biased and general lack of transparency and accountability in decision-making processes, the World Trade Organization is called the 'rich man's club'¹. However, the economic rise of China and its becoming a member of the World Trade Organization in the year 2001, as well as the growing influence of the fast-emerging economies of countries like India, Brazil, Egypt and South Africa, affected the balance within the World Trade Organization and the organization has started changing. This was particularly demonstrated by the halting of the Doha Round of Talks, which began in 2001 but it was suspended in 2009 largely due to disagreements over agriculture and clothing, as the United States and the European Union were unwilling to give up 'protectionism'². Nevertheless, the main ideological debate focuses on its benefits and the philosophy of free trade. Some argue that free trade brings prosperity to all and in the process the chances of war are reduced. On the other hand, other critics view 'fair trade' as clearly unfair and a reason for structural inequality.

¹ Heywood, 473

² Heywood, Andrew. "Global Politics". (Palgrave Macmillan : Palgrave foundation, 2011), 473

Unit-3 : Contemporary World Issues

(a) Global Environmental Issues

(Global Warming, Bio-Diversity, Resource Scarcities)

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Introduction

Human-nature relationships have become complicated over the years. In this age of globalisation human economic activities have increased in its intensity and has become unsustainable. This anthropogenic activity has threatened our ecological environment. Understanding the importance of protecting the environment many scientific studies are undertaken and numerous campaigns, advocacy and activism are conducted. This has led states to commit themselves to environmental protection, most notably, towards climate change. Climate change is one of the major environmental issues in international politics. It refers to the shifting weather patterns, especially due to human induced global warming, which is threatening human security, food security, energy security and various life-forms on earth itself. Increased global temperature also takes place through the cycle of nature but human induced global warming can be controlled through mitigation and adaptation. It is in this background that various international environmental agreements are framed.

Global Environmentalism

The discourse on environmentalism got global attention following the work of Rachel Carson *Silent Spring* in 1962. She made a critical analysis of human activities' impact on the environment by examining the harmful effects of the use of pesticides (Carson 1962). Her controversial views made it to the media capturing the public imagination and policymakers alike. International bodies such as the United Nations (UN) also took keen interest and further the cause for environmental protection as well. The UN wanted to bring the government's attention and public opinion on the urgency of environmental questions (Vogler 2014: 343). Environmental movements for protecting natural resources and fighting against pollution are growing louder. To make a historical overview on the development of global environmentalism it is important to highlight that in the 1970s there were numerous environment related incidents that have strengthened the international environmental movement. There were cases of mercury poisoning in Minamata, hydrogen bomb testing, three mile island nuclear accident, ozone depletion, acid rain, global warming, genetically modified crops, etc exposed the importance for environmental movement in the public domain. However, the most controversial and highly politicised environmental issue is climate change. Climate change is a multifaceted problem affecting all sectors of human life in terms of food production, water availability, rising sea level, global warming, etc. Environmental problems like pollution and climate change do not respect national boundaries. These are global problems that need concerted multilateral efforts. And it is in

the sharing of climate responsibilities and carrying the burden where international cooperation has been having difficulties.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations recommended convening a “United Nations conference on problems of the human environment” in 1968 (The Economic and Social Council 1968). This was followed by the first world conference on environment “United Nations Conference on the Environment” in 1972 that took place at Stockholm which became a landmark in the history of global environmentalism. The Stockholm conference also adopted an Action Plan for the human environment (United Nations 1973) to assess, manage and take up measures for addressing environmental problems. It resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in 1972. Today UNEP is the leading global authority on the environment. The 1972 Stockholm conference heralded the beginning of international environmental debates and negotiation processes. The Stockholm Declaration put the protection of the global environment on the official agenda of international law and policies for time to come. It not only heightened the global debate for environmental protection but also exposed a rift between the industrialised global North countries and the developing global South (Chasek 2020). The developing countries, led by India, demanded the right to development and since then the concept of developmental rights has been a constant feature in environmental diplomacy. It segues into paving a way towards sustainable development. Environmentalists and policymakers alike were aware of the intricate link between development and environment. Environmental degradations are the consequences of developmental projects. Environmental policies cannot be successful without a well planned and a sound management of sustainable development.

Approaches: Ecocentrism and Anthropocentrism

Broadly, there are two approaches to addressing environmental problems - ecocentric policies and anthropocentric policies. Ecocentrism is when the environment is valued for its own sake and anthropocentrism is where the environment has value for its benefits to humans (Thompson and Barton 1994). Some environmental conventions like the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands (1971), Wildlife Protection (1975), Biological Diversity (1992) are examples of ecocentric approaches to environmental protection. While the concept of sustainable development is anthropogenic in nature as the idea is to bring about human development without bringing long term lasting effects on the environment.

The ecocentric environmental frameworks are scattered across international laws. Although, they are not necessarily environmental agreements or environmental laws per se but it does concern environmentalism. Some of the international laws that are framed in ecocentric terms are the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile use of Environment Modification Techniques (ENMOD) of 1977. It prohibits the destruction of the environment as a strategy to warfare. The underlying statement is that the environment is a silent victim of war. War and conflicts affect the climate system as it destroys forest, croplands, pollute water sources, burns the soil, etc. The Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Convention of 1949 (International Committee of the Red Cross 1977), in article 35(3) laid

down the prohibition of using means of warfare that will cause damage to the natural environment. Meanwhile, the most prominent anthropogenic environmental framework is the UNFCCC. Article 3(1) says, “the parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind” (United Nations 1992:4). This reflects the anthropogenic values in the convention.

The argument is not about which approach is right but the purpose is to expand our understanding of global environmentalism. Understanding the intentionality and the environmental attitudes of policy makers is important. The disposition of the prevailing attitudes of concerned lawmakers or policymakers, whether it is ecocentric or anthropogenic, can influence how they attach values to the environment leading to different environmental behaviour. The behaviour and perception of the policymakers can influence the direction of international negotiation process and environmental regimes.

Major Themes in Climate Change Debates

This section examines some of the major themes in environmental debates and negotiation processes. These themes are important as they shaped the nature of discourse on global environmentalism. And climate change is the most important environmental concern of this century as it impacts every aspect of lives. Climate change is an existential threat and much efforts are underway to address the situation. Numerous international climate agreements have come into existence to combat climate change. A series of negotiation processes took place but it is not without some struggles and contestations. This is global climate politics.

Global Commons: Usually negotiation processes are coherent in nature as parties at the negotiating table attempt to identify the gap in the climate change discourse as to why climate change response is inadequate and inequitable, examine the shifting power relations and provide possible outcome scenarios on how to best fight for climate justice and equality. But while conducting negotiation and climate diplomacy the proceedings should be guided with the idea of the “global commons”. Global commons referred to the shared earth resources like the atmosphere, oceans and space. The idea is that countries cannot indiscriminately pollute the air, water and soil. As such, the polluting countries are to be held responsible for their contributions and should bear the burden to address the problems.

Development: This has become central in global environmentalism since the Stockholm Conference 1972. During this period, developing countries and environmentalists across the globe debated and argued that industrialised nations were mainly responsible for the majority of the greenhouse gas in the atmosphere. But the developed countries also demanded the active participation of major emerging economies like India and China citing that their national emission is high due to their development projects. However, this demand was challenged by prominent environmentalists Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain arguing that national emissions should be based on “per capita basis” and not country-wise. Atmosphere is a global commons and every individual has an equal right to use it. Based on this premise, the per capita basis is a fair method for accounting and making national emission inventories. And since India has a huge population the national emission is relatively low.

Climate Justice and Equity: Developing countries made the least contribution to climate change so they shouldn't be brought to bear the same responsibilities. This is climate justice. It argues for making differentiated responsibilities. The principles of climate justice and equity is central to the North-South debate in the climate change discourse. There is a gap of wealth, vulnerability threshold, technology, historical contribution and climate responsibility between the global North and the South. Developing countries opposed the argument that emission cuts and climate responsibilities should be applied to all. But the struggle and contestation is not only between the global North and the South there is power dynamic even within the global South itself too which has not garnered more attention yet. There are different voices even within the global South which can be inferred from the fragmentation between the richer developing countries like India, China and Brazil and the poorer developing countries like Bolivia, Tuvalu, and Grenada. For an observer it presents itself as a crack in the solidarity of the South. Yet, the fact remains that these are different political positions in the international system which are constantly playing out in the climate change negotiations, producing and reinforcing climate inequality. Inequality does not exist only in the form of emission cuts but also in proportioning adaptation funds among the vulnerable states as well.

Power Relations: Another notable element in the international negotiation process is power politics. Powerful groups are able to diffuse radical challenges from the less powerful groups by aligning the public collective expectations with the elite's interests and strengthening the existing hegemonic structure. There is an interplay of power politics in the climate negotiation process; the consent from the vulnerable states are manufactured through adoption, co-option, and alignment of interests. This reflects how weaker states have to compromise during the negotiations (Ciplet et al. 2015:99). The international climate negotiation process is laden with power relationships. Although, there are different forces of power are at work in international environmental movement, for instance, material power in terms of national capacity which is visible in the North-South debate, normative power is reflected in the indigenous and women's struggle for their rights recognition in the climate regime, discursive power in terms of institutionalization of a specific environmental norms like how market mechanism is accepted as a standard climate response and others. There are different trajectories to climate change negotiations and its outcome. The Paris agreement accommodated much of the issues and interests of the non-state actors.

Gender: But what's challenging is the question of gender. Negotiation process needs better coordination and organisation in making the gender arguments. There are gender gaps and absence of indigenous voices in the texts of the UNFCCC and other international laws but over the years it has been reflected in the debates for future climate negotiations. Gradually those neglected issues have been given due space. Although, further research and better gender analysis can be explored. It will hold promising trends towards the role of women and indigenous societies in future climate politics. Representation of different voices is a democratic practice but it is also where power relations can threaten that space. The role of non-state actors is crucial for the successful implementation of environmental policies.

Rightly, it can be assumed that national states, civil societies, women, indigenous societies all occupy a certain political space or position in the climate change regime which gives them different capacities to negotiate and bargain in the climate regime. In fact, the Paris agreement that came out of the Conference of Parties meeting in December 2015 acknowledged their roles and rights as a stakeholder in the climate change negotiation.

Information: Understanding the nature of the climate negotiation process and how it transpires in a differentiated power relation opens up a critical political juncture where climate injustice and inequality can be challenged. In this regard, the role of cyberspace is significant as it plays as an enabler for fighting climate injustice. Information is a powerful tool to expose inequality and to fight for justice. Environmental organizations understand this informational power and use online advocacy for climate justice and some of those following the trend are 350.org and Avaaz. Information has a 'performative' power. The issue of modern technology is inseparable from climate talks. This is evident from the online advocacies and also in the willingness to deploy technology to fix climate change through geoengineering. Geo-engineering, in bringing about man-made favourable climatic changes, is an uncertain and underexplored area and being unequipped with extensive research and it raised a cause for its concern.

Actors: The discourse on global environmentalism involves multiple actors. Among others few of them are state actors, media and the non-state actors or the civil society. Their work has made crucial contributions.

States play an important role in environmental protection. It is the state actors who are members or parties to international environmental conventions. It is member-states that make debates and define future environmental policies and actions. Environmental protection needs comprehensive strategy and cooperation among the states. Civil societies and other non-state actors also play a crucial role in creating awareness, bringing out relevant issues, scientific data and also implementation of environmental policies at the grassroots level. They are mostly responsible for bringing in democratic practices in the negotiation processes as they represent different voices of the people in the public. Another crucial role is played by the media. The media informs the public and disseminates information to the public. Thus, it shapes the behaviour of the public in terms of risk communication, social acceptability, threat perception of climate change.

Major International Environmental Agreements

In examining the discourse on climate change the First Climate Conference took place in 1979 at Geneva under the sponsorship of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in collaboration with other international bodies. It was primarily a scientific conference but it did capture the attention of the international political community. It led to the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988 by the WMO and UNEP. The IPCC is an intergovernmental body responsible for producing scientific reports on climate change. The IPCC made its first assessment report in 1990. The Second Climate Conference

took place in 1990. This conference was more political in nature than the first conference as it envisioned a global climate treaty. Despite limited success, political leaders were gradually aware of the need for the conception of an overarching international body to combat climate change through a multilateral governance system. Thus, there was a transition from a scientific discussion on climate change to political debates on policy making for addressing environmental problems and making it a part of mainstream political agenda.

1) Montreal Protocol

In examining the history of global environmental policy the scientific discovery of the ozone hole in the 1980s was significant as it brought world leaders to come together to discuss, initiate and legislate to protect the ozone layer (Solomon 2019) which resulted in the establishment of the Montreal Protocol in 1987. It monitors and controls the use of Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) as it contributes to the depletion of the ozone layer. The Protocol has been lauded as one of the successful environmental policies. The significance of this discovery and the protocol is that it has broader impacts for climate science and actions as it inspired the scientific community to make rigorous research on environmental issues. Such scientific endeavours have contributed towards the collection of climate data, reports and monitoring of earth's climate system. The scientific findings are the basis on which climate policies are formulated. Needless, among all else climate change has become one of the most debated and contested environmental issues today. And it is climate science that can give direction to the right policies.

2) United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification

It was established in 1994. It focuses on sustainable land management and combat desertification. It strives “to improve the condition of affected ecosystems, combat desertification/land degradation, promote sustainable land management and contribute to land degradation neutrality” (United Nations 2017). Other objectives also include reducing vulnerability and increasing resilience of the environment thus, contributing to sustainable use of biodiversity and climate actions.

3) Convention on Biological Diversity

But the watershed moment in environmental history was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or the ‘Earth Summit’ held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. There were two outcomes to the summit which was the adoption of the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The CBD was a legally binding multilateral treaty for the protection of biodiversity and other natural resources. It is a regulatory framework which also outlined environmental impact assessment as tools for biodiversity protection and preservation.

4) United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

The other outcome of the Earth Summit was the adoption of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change which put the topic of climate change as one of the central focuses in international politics. The UNFCCC laid down guidelines for financial and

technical support, procedural process, climate measures, institutional development so that countries can meet their commitments to challenge climate change. The convention took into account the debate on the principle of historical responsibility and as such included in its framework the principles of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities and Respective Capabilities (CBDR-RC).

Under the aegis of the UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties (COP) became the ultimate authority on matters of the convention. COP meetings are conducted regularly among member states to review the progress and the development of climate change actions and make relevant policies. The COP meetings have produced landmark agreements such as the Berlin mandate, Kyoto Protocol, Paris agreement among others. All these have contributed towards the literature on climate change.

a) Berlin Mandate

The first COP meeting was held in 1995 at Berlin (United Nations 1995). It was observed that the UNFCCC was limited in its power to bring member states to reduce their greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. In order to strengthen the convention it outlined a possible protocol structure with legally binding targets and timetables for GHG emission cuts (UNFCCC 1995). This proposed legal binding agreement was directed towards the developed countries.

b) Kyoto Protocol

In the aftermath of the Berlin mandate, the Kyoto Protocol was introduced in 1997. It was a landmark agreement which established legally binding emission cuts for the developed countries as proposed in the Berlin mandate. In keeping with the principles of CBDR-RC the protocol divided climate responsibilities between the industrialised developed countries categorised as Annex I countries and non-Annex parties, developing countries, without binding targets for the developing countries. The most notable feature in the architecture of the Kyoto Protocol is the Clean Development Mechanism and the Joint implementation. They are provisions for earning carbon credits by the developed countries that can be utilised for emission trading. In simple words, it means that private and public entities from developed countries can fund projects in developing countries to meet their emission targets (Bodansky and Rajamani 2018:45).

c) Copenhagen Accord

The importance of the COP15 meetings held at Copenhagen in 2009 is that the nature of climate diplomacy started taking a different trajectory. Unlike Kyoto Protocol the Copenhagen accord was not legally binding. It was not able to endorse the continuation of the commitments in the Kyoto Protocol. However, greater commitment was made for financial assistance for the developing countries by the developed countries. Another major step taken in the conference was the conception of voluntary commitments to emission cuts by countries (UNFCCC 2010:31). It was met with lots of opposition from the developing countries for diluting the principles of equity and CBDR.

d) Paris Agreement

The concept of voluntary contributions towards emission cuts was firmly laid down in the Paris Agreement 2015. It was historic because developing countries also participated in making commitments towards voluntary emission cuts along with the developed countries (UNFCCC 2015:7). This was unprecedented in the history of international climate negotiation processes because since the beginning it was the developed countries which were to make the emission cuts. However, based on the observation that the developed countries have a major responsibility to raise the climate fund for their past contributions it is argued that the principles of equity and CBDR were weakly applied.

The Architecture of Climate Change Agreements

In examining the architecture of major international agreements on climate change there are some contested issue areas for effective climate actions. Some of these contested issue areas relate to the following course of actions:

Commitments to Mitigation: Different categories of commitments to mitigate GHG emissions can be observed across different climate change agreements. Commitments content in the UNFCCC and Paris agreement generally applies to all the parties. It established general commitments. The UNFCCC outlined that all parties should take measures to combat climate change. It should make national inventories of GHG emission sources and its removals as well. This commitment is applicable to all countries and encourages both developed and developing countries to undertake comprehensive and systematic review of relevant policies to implement their national programmes for addressing climate change. Majority of the provisions in the Paris agreement also apply to all parties. Although, different countries with different national capabilities can differ in their practices. However, Kyoto Protocol contains different commitments or differentiated responsibilities for different categories of countries. Developed countries had more climate responsibilities because of their historical contributions. They had specific targets to meet in their emission cuts but it didn't apply to developing countries.

Adaptation: The Bali Action Plan identified adaptation policy as one of the pillars for climate actions (UNFCCC 2007). The issue of adaptation policy has been neglected by many policymakers because of their central focus on mitigation. In order to enhance the efficacy of adaptation plans and international cooperation the COP16 Cancun meetings launched the "Cancun Adaptation Framework" and the "Work Programme on Loss and Damage" (UNFCCC 2011: 6) to address the adverse effects of climate change in developing countries. Developing countries are most vulnerable despite the fact that they have contributed the least to climate change.

Technical and Financial Assistance: Technical and financial assistance is important for mitigation and adaptation. The UNFCCC provisions on technology and finance are weak. Successive COP meetings have not taken concrete steps towards technology transfer until recently. The Cancun agreement created the Technology Mechanism recommending

developed countries to promote, facilitate, transfer of or access to green technologies. The Paris agreement also provided a technology framework to enable innovation, collaboration in research and development and access to technology. In matters of finance, the UNFCCC requires certain developed countries to provide financial assistance to developing countries but it doesn't specify the amount nor have mandatory assessment. Other mitigation programmes have to go through the Global Environment Facility (GEF) which is often limited to capacity building and demonstration projects (Bodansky and Rajamani 2018: 47). However, during the Copenhagen meeting an effort was made for greater funding and decided to establish the Green Climate Fund (GCF). Subsequently, it was incorporated into the Cancun Agreement and the outcome of the Cancun meeting led to the establishment of the GCF. Accordingly, developed countries agreed to mobilise US\$100 billion per year by 2020. The Paris agreement further encouraged the developed countries to provide financial assistance to developing countries and it also broadened the donor base to other non-developed countries as well but only on a voluntary basis (UNFCCC 2015).

Emission Trading: Another important topic in the global climate regime is emission trading which is prescribed in the Kyoto Protocol (UNFCCC 1998:15). The emission trading provisions were finalised in the 2001 Marrakesh Accords. The Kyoto Protocol's "flexibility mechanisms" represents the first application of market approach to environmental regulation. Under these mechanisms there is a facility for clean development projects and joint implementation where developed countries listed in Annex B can fund projects in developing countries to generate "certified emission reductions" (UNFCCC 1998:11) that can be used for meeting their emission targets.

Reporting and International Review: Under the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol for reporting and international review there is a provision requiring states to submit their annual GHG national inventories. The Cancun agreement also set rigorous national communications to the UNFCCC. Transparency of the reports is important to proceed to taking effective climate actions. It ensures clarity and tracking the progress towards achieving parties' mitigation and adaptation goals. The Paris agreement's transparency framework is robust and applies to both developing and developed countries. These reports and national communications are subject to international review. It is non-confrontational in nature but the purpose is to facilitate countries in meeting their climate objectives. After in-depth review compilation and aggregation of data takes place in the form of a synthesis report to determine their progress and promote their accountability.

Compliance system: In examining the framework on the compliance systems as instituted by some international environmental agreements there are some degree of differences in terms of its being forceful. For instance, the UNFCCC (1992) article 14 gave provisions for dispute settlement mechanism but it is weak as it attempts to facilitate rather than coerce states in their climate actions. However, the Kyoto Protocol has a strong compliance system put in place (UNFCCC 1998). In 2005, it established a Compliance Committee with two branches, facilitative branch and enforcement branch (UNFCCC 2005). However, the non-renewal of

the Kyoto Protocol has diluted whatever little success was achieved. In 2015, the Paris Agreement came up with its own compliance system but it was not as strong as the Kyoto Protocol design. This new mechanism provided minimal guidelines, article 15 states that “...facilitative in nature and function in a manner that is transparent, non-adversarial and non-punitive. The committee shall pay particular attention to the respective national capabilities and circumstances of Parties” (UNFCCC 2015).

Conclusion

Anthropogenic activities have been constantly changing the environmental landscape. And in this era of globalisation and intensified human economic activities there is a rapid deterioration of the environment. In the 1960s, environmental problems caught the international attention. Gradually, it was no longer a scientific discussion and debate but it has become an important agenda in national planning by the 1990s. The existing multilateral environmental agreements today are a product of this long history of environmental discourse. And among all the major environmental problems the most debated topic is climate change. Climate change impacts all aspects of lives. Thus, given the gravity of the significance of climate change this paper outlined the major themes and structure of international climate agreements in order to understand the subject matter.

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(c) International Terrorism

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- Introduction
- Objectives
- Genesis of International Terrorism
 - ❖ Nature of International Terrorism
 - ❖ Types of International Terrorism
 - ❖ Causes of International Terrorism
 - ❖ Ways to Combat Global Terrorism
- Non-State Actors and State terrorism
 - ❖ Who are non-state actors?
 - ❖ Status of Non-state actors in the Global world
 - ❖ Counter terrorist measures and United Nations
- Post 9/11 developments
 - ❖ Understanding 9/11
 - ❖ Post 9/11 and emerging threats
 - ❖ Global response to terrorism Post 9/11
- Let us sum up
- Check your progress
- Suggested Readings

Introduction

The term ‘terrorism’ is derived from Latin words “terrere” and “deterre”. The word “terrere” means to “tremble”, and the term “deterre” implies to “frighten”. Although there is no universally acceptable definition of the term, terrorism is understood as a strategy to achieve the avowed objectives through the systematic use of violent tactics undermining the legal authority of a state or government. In the past, the failure of the rulers to address the grievances of the people, infringement of their rights and perceived feeling of oppression at the hands of the rulers caused people to resort to violence. There is no global consensus regarding an definition of international terrorism. Since the 9/11 attacks by “Al-Qaeda, (the successor organisation of the Afghan Services Bureau)” the approach towards the prosecution of “terrorists” and condemning terrorism has hardened.

Post September 11, 2001 attacks, international terrorism underwent tactical changes and became more diffused and widespread. The terrorist acts were universally condemned. It marked a turning point in history with all nations together joining to formulate collective response in what in what came to be known as the “Global War on Terrorism”.

Objectives

This unit deals with the nature and pattern of international terrorism. The basic objective of the unit are as follows:

- define the term “international terrorism”.
- provide a brief overview of non-state actors and state sponsored terrorism and its implications for the world community.
- implication of 9/11 attacks and pattern of global terrorism.
- counter terrorist measures.
- emerging threats post 9/11 world order

Genesis of International Terrorism

In human history, terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It has been an integral part of human civilisation. However, no international consensus has been arrived at to as what constitutes “terrorism”. During the 18th century as claimed by David Rapport, “religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror.” The Muslim Hashshins, the Jewish Zealots, the Hindu Thugs are some of the recognised religious terrorist groups in the ancient times. Their modus operandi was mainly assassinations and sacrificing people. During the 18th century, French Revolution and 20th century anti-colonial movements terrorism was mainly confined to guerrilla tactics, political kidnappings, sabotage and causing mayhem.

Religious terrorism reemerged once again in the post-cold war era among the Islamist organisations. In the past decade, the threat of terrorism of intensified with the emergence of a more extreme form of international terrorism known as the “Global Jihad.”

Nature of International Terrorism

As terrorism is a world wide phenomenon which uses violence to perpetuate fear among a wider audience. Many justifications have been given for the use of violence by vested parties/organisations. The terrorist groups have established international linkages with other terrorist organisations and groups. These groups entails leadership and command hierarchy and engage in planning and decision making process. However, it is to be noted that what drives people to become terrorists is difficult to determine. What’s more, “one group's terrorist is another group's freedom fighter” captures the very essence of the problem in the study of terrorism. Most people interpret and justifies terrorism and the form of violence associated with it as a heroic act of self-defence, ethnic expression or self-determination.

It should be noted that an act can be defined as an act of terrorism if:

- The act is illegal.
- It relates to the use of force or violence or threat.
- Violence or force directed against individuals or property.
- Projected to increase pressure on a government or society.
- Promote political, ideological and religious objectives.

The nature of international terrorism underwent a paradigm shift marching towards an unpredictable world post 9/11. The attacks reawakened the threat of violence and shared perception of asymmetrical and unpredictable threats. The threat from an “unspecified enemy” loomed large in absence of the tactics to dispel the fears and means to protect the people from violent terrorist activities or adopt any suppressive or pre-emptive actions. The Bush administration’s perception on the disastrous 9/11 attacks received the consensus and massive support of the Americans for deposing and eliminating all acts of terror. The post 9/11 perception instilled a sense of solidarity and common perception to wage war against global terrorism which united nations across the world.

Types of International Terrorism

International terrorism is of varied types. Few of them listed below:

- **State-Sponsored terrorism:** In case of state-sponsored terrorism, the government supports non- state actors who are engaged in acts of violence and terrorist activities.
- **Right wing terrorism and Left wing Terrorism:** This kind of terrorism is rooted in differences in political ideologies both upholds. The right wing or the right first found prominence in the French National Assembly of 1789. The conservatives or the right and the radicals or the left positioned themselves on the left in the Assembly. In the contemporary world order, there is no single definition of right or left wing extremism. It is argued that the differentiation between Left from Right democracy, freedom, the role of Church and State, market economy, egalitarianism, pluralism, etc is no longer compatible with the current political environment and does not correspond to the left- right political dichotomy in the present century.
- **Religious terrorism:** “Religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by an absolute belief that an otherworldly power has sanctioned—and commanded—terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith”. In the name of faith, people are motivated to commit violent acts with a promise for pious afterlife by the otherworldly power. Religious terrorism considers violence as an expression of the deity’s will. The world view on religious terrorism has observed that its frequency and scale of violence expanded globally with a decline in secular principles and values.
- **Global Terrorism:** In the global world terrorism has surpassed the national boundaries. Today the globalised world is exemplified by technological advancement which has advanced the mobility and lethality of terrorist acts. The targets are easily reachable exposing them to fanatics who led them to resort to terrorism. The 9/11 attacks on World Trade Centre led USA to establish a new world order with focus on advancing the fight against Global terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Causes of International Terrorism

While ascertaining the possible causes of terrorism, scholars found that is not possible to state as to what causes people to engage in terrorist acts. It is practically impossible to identify the

causes of international terrorism. However, several research conducted in this regard have identified three causes of international terrorism- domestic political instability, failed state, ideological and psychological.

Domestic instability: International terrorism can be correlated to domestic political instability arising out of the outbreak of civil wars and inter- state wars. Low levels of political development and economic development causes greater domestic instability for propagation of international terrorist activities. Anti-government demonstrations, guerrilla warfare, armed revolutions conditions, general strikes contributes to escalation of state sponsored terrorism. Terrorism in this context is understood as a logical extension of the failure of the politics.

Failed state- The shortcomings in a failed or weak states affected by conflict, political stability, human rights abuses and conflict intensity, incidence of coups and territory exhibits the weakness of the states and their failure to contain terrorism. As per the Brookings Institution's Annual Report on Weak States: "Since September 11, 2001, the United States and other governments have frequently asserted that threats to international peace and security often come from the world's weakest states." The failure of the state to address the grievances of the people contributes to escalation of terrorist violence.

Ideological and Psychological

The moral values and ability to make sense of the world appears central to certain acts of militancy and large spectre of religious radicalisation stemming from particular beliefs. It plays a central role in creating a sense of community and instilling a sense of political purpose among the community. Individuals are impacted by radical Islamist propaganda and global events like USA's intervention in Middle-east have carried out terrorist attacks in their home countries despite having no linkages with nay terrorist groups or organisations. For instance, "a German national of Albanian descent had shot dead two US Air Force personnel and injured another two outside the Frankfurt airport on March 2, 2011. The Boston Marathon bombing on April 15, 2013 and the beheading of a British soldier who had served in Afghanistan by two African Muslims in London on May 22, 2013 is another instance to be cited this regard."

It is however to be noted that, post 9/11, ascertaining the causes of international terrorism has remained elusive.

Ways to Combat Global Terrorism

International Terrorism or any form of terrorist act poses a direct threat to the life, security of the people across nations and causes an impediment to the international peace, stability and prosperity. The threat of global terrorism transcends beyond any border , nationality or religion. It posits a great challenge to the international community. Many counter terrorism measures focusses on the combating the violent terrorists activities with full solidarity among nations. Some of the measures for combating terrorism is listed as follows:

Firstly, NATO invoked its collective defence clause (Article 5) for the first and only time in response to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on the United States.

Secondly, the adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), much of which has an impact on the enjoyment of human rights.

Thirdly, the adoption of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly in its resolution 60/288 whereby, the international community has ensured all measures to respect human rights for all and rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism.

Fourthly, in September 2011, a group of 29 States (including Spain) and the European Union, with the participation of the United Nations, decided to set up the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF) as an informal body with practical aims of debate, analysis, exchange of recommendations and good practices, the identification of priorities and the mobilisation of resources to provide technical assistance in countering terrorism.

Fifthly, in September 2013 the Madrid Memorandum was adopted to guarantee immediate and effective assistance to victims of terrorism from the time of the attack and throughout criminal proceedings, in order for them to cope with the damage suffered in the best possible manner.

Sixthly in 2006, the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, in which it stressed the importance of addressing the issues that can give rise to terrorism. These include unresolved conflicts, dehumanization of victims, discrimination, violations of human rights, and lack of good governance.

Seventhly, need for bilateral and multilateral agencies who can share their expertise with countries in need of technical assistance including drafting national laws, training prosecutors and judges, and linking national databases to border posts.

There is considerable need to enhance the capabilities of readiness and responses to any form of terrorist threats. The potential targets needs to be analysed in the light of possible risks and security measures to be beefed up in places which fall under the high risk zone. There should be training of special unites in tactical field combats (sniper courses, counterterrorist actions in the urban conditions, operations on destruction of terrorists camps, mountainous training courses, etc.). Co-ordination and their cooperation with neighbours will facilitate the process of brainstorming on good practices for combating terrorist activities globally. In this regard, the guidance and support of the United Nations must be provided to support the endeavours to adopt comprehensive national strategies that balance hard-end security measures with social, economic, and community-driven policies that are grounded in the rule of law.

Non-State Actors and State Terrorism

As mentioned above, state sponsored terrorism can direct any form of terrorist act at the state itself by encouraging, transporting, and providing necessary equipment and training to

terrorists to commit an act of terror. These activities are actively sponsored and controlled by the state. At times, the state may not be directly involved in sponsoring terrorism, however, providing base operations and allowing the use of the territory to for staging an attack or refusal to shut any operation by terrorist groups constitute state sponsored terrorism. It is seen as an unjustified and unlawful interference into the affairs of the state. Taliban in Afghanistan is one such example of state sponsored terrorism. Taliban have been supporting all forms of terrorist activities within the borders and their non-cooperative attitude in capturing Osama bin Laden appeared to be fall under the ambit of state sponsored terrorism. Asylum to hijackers of civilian aircraft also constitutes state sponsored terrorism.

State sponsored terrorism is form of surrogate warfare in which the alleged enemies of the state is attacked in relatively inexpensive tactical ways and involves less risks than conventional armed conflict. Post 9/11 USA recognised Iran, Cuba, Sudan and Syria as state sponsors of terrorism, and imposed a host of economic and military sanctions against them.

Who are Non-State Actors?

There is no accurate and acceptable definition to define a non-state actor. In technical terms, any actor on the international forum other than a sovereign state is considered as a non-state actor. The non-state actors are not members of the United Nations. They may include the inter-governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and individuals-natural and juridical. The law-abiding non-state actors such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Doctors Without Borders, CARE, and Human Rights Watch are typically designated non-state actors in contemporary international world order. The crime and terrorist groups such as the Mafia, the Colombian drug cartel, the Irish Republican Army, Hamas, Hezbollah ,Abu Sayyef, and Al-Qaeda can be classified as organised illegal non -state actors.

Status of Non-State Actors in the Global world

The public discourse on state sponsored terrorism often focusses its exclusively on non-State actors and destined perpetually to evoke terror and provide strategic advantage to the states . Although there are no clear patters of causation for the rise of non-state actors and state sponsored terrorism, state with less legitimacy and weakness failed to garner loyalty and allegiance of the people. The possibility of state agents extending direct or indirect support to perpetrate acts of terrorism is an enduring issue in this context. Further, the globalised world has facilitated the flow of arms, illicit drugs, weapons capabilities that allow them to challenge government forces. The non-state actors particularly the armed groups have assumed and multiplied in numbers in the past decade. For their survival and growth groups like Al-Qaeda, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and certain militia in Syria or Libya rely on paramilitary control of civilians, rudimentary governance (especially in security and justice). This is compounded by the transitional networks as supporters and facilitators. Very often, the alternative forms of terror tactics are provided by the state. Prior to 2001, Al-Qaeda was a concentric network with the leadership group in Afghanistan at the

core. At the periphery its transnational network were dispersed throughout Western Europe and Asia post 9/11.

It is to be noted that in the past decade, the non – state actors have been developing themselves. In the era of globalisation the most salient threat develops from the non- state actors. Apart from the state funded troops, these groups are supplied with extensive financial and technical assistance from other off shore accounts and untraceable organisations. For example “Hezbollah, is a non- state actor operating in Middle East”, which for some is a terrorist organization while for others it’s a party. It has a working structure and government capability. In 2004, after twenty four years of its formation, it grew as virtual state in the Southern part of Lebanon. Its activities have been expanding in parts of South America ,Africa Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Ecuador, Panama, and recently Venezuela. The most salient threat to peace and threat to security stems from strong non- state actors like the Al-Qaeda and its followers in the globalised world as they transcend all boundaries and state territories and not bounded by any form of approval from the state.

Counter Terrorist Measures and United Nations

The “United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy” was adopted by the General Assembly on 8th September 2006. For the first time a global strategic framework was adopted by the United Nations. In 2005, “Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force” was established to ensure overall coordination of counter terrorist measures. As many as Sixteen universal legal instruments “(13 instruments and three amendments)” were adopted by the United nations to “provide a legal framework for multilateral actions against terrorism and criminalize specific acts of terrorism, including hijacking, hostage-taking, terrorist bombings, financing of terrorism and nuclear terrorism. They are complemented by resolutions of the General Assembly (49/60, 51/210 and 60/288) and of the Security Council (1267 (1999), 1373 (2001), 1540 (2004), 1566 (2004) and 1624 (2005))”.

Post 9/11 Developments

September 11, 2001 attacks were a turning point history of world affairs which painfully demonstrated to the world that we have entered an era whereby even super powers remains challenged and their vulnerability was exposed to the world. The monstrosity of the attacks caused extensive death and destruction of the people on the American soil in the history of USA. The magnitude of the terrorist attacks were felt world-wide. President Bush defined the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as the “new war”. The shared perception of an unpredictable world posed by an unspecified enemy echoed among Nations.

Understanding 9/11

The September 11 terror attacks in New York, Pentagon towers, often referred to as 9/11 were “a series of four coordinated suicide attacks by the Islamist terrorist group Al-Qaeda under the leadership of Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian.” The hijackings and suicide attacks committed by the Islamic extremist group Al-Qaeda killed around “2750 people in New York, 184 at Pentagon, 40 in Pennsylvania (where one of the hijacked planes

crashed after the passengers attempted to retake the plane) leaving all 19 terrorist dead”. The bombings were a consequence of extreme radicalisation which escalated into suicide bombings. The magnitude of horror generated a universal wave and abhorrence for terrorism. The Bush administration expressed their objectives of evicting out the terrorist from Afghanistan. The “Axis of Evil” (Iraq, Iran and North -Korea) as the next declared enemies of the civilised world although it received outcry from most of European countries. War on Taliban and Afghanistan and against global terrorism improvised USA’s relation with Russia and China. The Bush administration clearly expressed its intention in eradicating potential threats involving the “weapons of mass destruction” and prosecute oppressive regimes engaged in terrorist activities. On 24th May, 2002 “US- Russia Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty” was signed in Moscow changing the relationship between USA and Russia from antagonism to cooperation. On 28th May, 2002, “NATO- Russia Relations: A New Quality (Rome Declaration)” was signed establishing the new “NATO- Russia Council” placing Russia on an equal footing in the decision making process including war on terrorism and crisis management. NATO invoked its “right of collective self-defence” mechanism for the first time since its inception.

”Global Jihad” began to give a new fillip to radicalization and precipitation of sectarian strife. Post 9/11 terrorists began to expand their networks and activities and theatre of violence targeting the westerners continued. Bali Bombings of 2002 and London tube bombings in 2005 were inflicted by individuals influenced by Al- Qaeda’s ideology. They also held loose affiliations with the organisation. With the delayed response by United Nations in passing the draft on “Comprehensive Convention on Terrorism” and failure of the international community to arrive at an universally accepted definition of terrorism, “Jihadi terrorism” became more pronounced as terror outfits across the globe. They began to align under the broad umbrella of Al – Qaeda and adopt their ideology and procure logistical support in targeting the common enemies and reigning terror. For instance, the “Laskhar-e-Taiba (LeT), the attacks in Mumbai in 2008” were ideologically similar to that of Al Qaeda. The documents retrieved from bin Laden’s Abbottabad hideout indicated it. LeT proxies in Pakistan have become breeding ground for expanding its activities. However, due to geopolitics, USA designated Pakistan as a rogue state but it remained as a front ally of the USA in the “Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)”.

In 2003, under the newly launched war on terrorism USA invaded Iraq and deposed President Saddam Hussein who was suspected of producing “weapons of mass destruction” under the leadership of President George W. Bush. Although in 2014, combat operations in Iraq and American troops were withdrawn from the Iraq’s soil, military involvement of USA in Afghanistan and Iraq still continues till today. USA began to view the problems related to Asia from the lens of terrorism menace. USA once again with the support of the American people donned the role of the “world policeman” which it had abandoned after the end of the Cold war to deal with rising threats of non- state actors like Al- Qaeda.

In 2011 commando raid under President Obama's administration killed bin Laden in Abbottabad. However, this did not end the threat of international terrorism. It became more pronounced with the Jihadists re-gaining their traditional safe havens in the Afghanistan - Pakistan border region. In Central and South Asia (with Jammu & Kashmir) the cradle of terrorism expanded and increased radicalisation in the Muslim world from the Middle East to Bangladesh in South Asia began to show casting an ominous shadow looming large on the prospects of peace in these regions.

Post 9/11 and emerging threats

The 9/11 act of terror gained unprecedented prominence. Post 9/11 Jihadi terrorism has been on an upward trajectory. It made USA and other nations rethink about the world order and the threat posed by an unspecified enemy. The worldwide response to the attacks were astounding and massive international support was extended for deposing Taliban from Afghanistan. The bombing of the twin towers and its destruction illustrated the dark side of globalisation-technological advancement, warfare through internet, hi- tech aeroplanes to carry out attacks sitting at the remote place or home. The appalling tragedy invoked the "war on terrorism" which received global consensus. The removal of Taliban government harbouring the Al- Qaeda, invasion in Afghanistan took place within less than a month after the attacks. After 9/11, USA began to incur maximum expenditure from the budget for defence related agencies and mechanism. It can be argued that post 9/11 international terrorism became more diffused and wide spread and the world underwent tactical changes.

Post 9/11 the pattern of terrorist attacks also underwent change with most attacks directed towards the civilians to create a greater impact and garner publicity. The scope of terrorist activities in identifying prospective targets of a particular community like in Jammu Kashmir, Pakistan or Afghanistan increased in frequency . The attempts to create a permanent state of fear psychosis leading to disruption of economic activity and discouraging foreign investments in the target countries have brought about a paradigm shift the nature of attacks post 9/11. Democratic values and tradition and western way of life is anathema to Jihadists. Therefore, often the western influencers have become the legitimate targets of violence by the terrorist groups.

In today's world, hijacking has also been replaced by more use of suicide bombers and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs).Cyberspace and use of satellite phones, GPS, night vision satellites for recruiting, training communicating, online propaganda have become prospective weapons.

With social media garnering greater attention among the current generation many social networking websites like "Facebook and on line messaging tools such as Google chat, Yahoo messenger", etc have become hub of sending coded communications and raise propaganda and online donations to fund their activities. In addition, Blackberry messenger, WhatsApp, etc have come to provide a reliable platform for conducting and communication activities among the terrorist groups. During bin Laden's arrest, it was discovered that pornographic sites was used for sending embedding messages by Al- Qaeda. In the Mumbai attacks or

26/11 attacks Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) which routes the located server to a third county was used by the attackers. Human bombs attacks like the attack in Lal Masjid in Islamabad in June 2007 by Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), LTTE in Sri Lanka, Vehicle-Borne IEDs (VBIEDs) in Iraq, Integrated Chips to detonate the IEDs, mass fire-assault by the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), phenomenon of free-lance terrorism in Mumbai have been wreaking havoc and causing casualties perpetuated by the terrorists in the contemporary world. Suicide bombings has precipitated post 9/11 due to increasing radicalised stance adopted by the Jihadist after witnessing USA's led invasions and air strikes and drone attacks on civilians whipping up the emotional passions of people. International terrorism have become diffused. The emerging global world stands challenged due to the growth of an unparallel risks for prosperity and peace co-existence and prospects for development in such a situation. The technological advancement and remarkable opportunities can be explored or exploited due to the existence of diversity of factor with benign or regressive intent and the variable that influences it.

Global response to terrorism Post 9/11

Till 9/11 attacks, global response to terrorism did not receive desired attention and was over casted by pervading notion that domestic acts like freedom struggle, insurgencies did not define international terrorism. Hence such acts of terrorism were legitimised by the state and no action was directed towards such acts. 9/11 brought a major shift in the terrain of international terrorism. The attacks were universally condemned by the world community as unacceptable 'tactics' to achieve political or ideological objectives. The principle position was to condemn such acts of terrorism irrespective of the underlying causes. USA laid emphasis on creating a strong united front against terrorism with the cooperation of the world community. The stance against terrorism led to cementing of an angst against such acts of terror and international opinion in favour to brutal crackdown and wiping such outfits.

Let us now examine some of the major collective counter-terrorism measures adopted after 9/11 by the international community–

- Operation Enduring Freedom: The US led military operation in Afghanistan in the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attacks ousted the Taliban government and decimated the Al Qaeda core. "Operation Enduring Freedom" coupled with US covert operations and drone strikes in Pakistan mounted severe operational losses on Al Qaeda.
- Counter-Terror legislations: the 9/11 attack to spur the World community to usher in "Resolution 1373 by the UN Security Council (as against the General Assembly)" as a right to self-defence. "UN Security Council Resolution 1373" adopted unanimously on September 28, 2001, calls upon member states to "implement a slew of measures intended to enhance their legal and institutional ability to counter terrorist activities". The Patriot Act (Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism on October 28, 2001), Homeland Security Act in the US and Anti-Terrorism

Act in the UK were some of the robust counter-terrorism legislations which strengthened the resolve and ability of some countries to combat terrorism.

- New Global Counter-Terror Institutions: Post 9/11, other than INTERPOL, new global institutions such as the UN Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC), CTC Executive Directorate, 1540 Committee, Al Qaeda and Taliban Sanctions Committee, Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) formed to criminalize terror financing, freeze terror related bank accounts, improve information sharing between governments and assist in terror investigations.
- Actions to Check Nuclear Proliferation: The nuclear non-proliferation regime led by the IAEA needs to be more proactive in monitoring proliferation of nuclear material by state as well as non-state actors. With increasing instability, the spectre of use of small nuclear devices in the form of ‘dirty bombs’ or even short range nuclear tipped warheads of a weak nation state by terrorists cannot be entirely ruled out.
- Policing the Cyber Space: Terrorists are increasingly making use of the cyber space to communicate among themselves. An international legislation which would enable states to legally detect and disrupt communication channels including through social media being used for terrorism purposes and book individuals who carry out these activities must be invoked.

Today we are living in a dangerous moment in history with the world currently fighting pandemic on the one hand and menace of international terrorism on the other hand. To combat the unspecified enemy spawning terrors by intimidating and creating fear psychosis and causing casualties by indiscriminating innocent civilians can be defeated by only by galvanising popular opinion against the terrorist groups. Counter terrorism measures against non- state actors who gain a strategic advantage in the states must be curbed. International treaties and instruments must be toned to strengthen the relationships among nations to fight the war on global terrorism. In the foreseeable future of USA, it is to be seen how the newly appointed President Biden’s administration exhibit strong steady and principled leadership effectively deals with the renewed threats of tough and deadly menace of terrorism and defend the vital interests of the people. The credibility of his administration will rest how he addresses the defining global challenges of our time.

”Safety from terror is the watch word”. The prospect for a peaceful co- existence of humankind can be safer only if the world is terror free. Currently the world is terror stricken with the ongoing pandemic. Nations have to come together to fight terrorism and pandemic by coming together. The wisdom and will of the people can go a long way in defending and protecting the lives and interests of humanity.

Let us sum up

In this unit, we have discussed about the what constitutes international terrorism. The task of defining terrorism is complicated due to complexity of factors in understanding the

phenomenon. There have been many interpretations regarding the term each having its own complexity suffering from vested interests.

We have found that defining international terrorism is difficult in absence of an acceptable definition. We have explored few causes of terrorism induced by unlawful violence or threat , coercion or fear inflicted upon people to with underlying psychological , ideological and strategic goals causes causing it with a growing reflection on the counter terrorist measures.

We have learned about non- state actors how state sponsored terrorism contributes to non- state actors in executing political violence.

We have learned about events of 9/11 attacks and the forces that led to it. We have also examined the various counter terrorist measures adopted by USA in response to it aftermath of the attacks.

We have examined the phenomena of international terrorism have undergone a paradigm shift in matters related to tactics and strategies in context of the technological advancement. We have further examined the trends in global response to terrorism post 9/11 reflecting on the war on terror.

We have learned about Al- Qaeda’s ideology and operational tactics and how it has led to radicalisation of violence. The vitality of the terrorist outfit has been examined with simultaneous rise of international terrorism.

Check Your Progress

- 1) What is international terrorism? Discuss its causes.
- 2) Enumerate on the counter terrorist measure.
- 3) Reflect on why 9/11 happened and how terrorism affects our world today.
- 4) Suggest measures how terrorism can be tackled in the current world order.

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