# M.A. (POLITICS)

## SEMESTER - I

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## SUBJECT CODE : 73546

**Prof. Suhas Pednekar**
Vice Chancellor
University of Mumbai, Mumbai.

| **Prof. Ravindra D. Kulkarni** | **Prof. Prakash Mahanwar** |
|---|---|
| Pro Vice-Chancellor, | Director |
| University of Mumbai. | IDOL, University of Mumbai. |

# CONTENT

*****

# CORE PAPER-IV
## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
## CREDITS: 6 (60HOURS)

**1.  Order**                                                                                                                  **(15hours)**

a)      Emerging world order

b)      Threats to security: terrorism, civil conflicts, failing states; changing nature of conflicts: from inter-state war to other types of conflicts

c)      Peace and conflict-resolution: collective security, peacekeeping, enforcement of peace.

**2. Role of Power**                                                                                                           **(15hours)**

a)      Concept of power

b)      Balance of power: unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity

c)      Nation-state, national interest, national power.

**3. Determinants**                                                                                                            **(15hours)**

a)      Diplomacy

b)      International law

c)      Non-state actors: multinational corporations, transnational corporations, intergovernmental organisations, global civil society.

**4. Arms Control and Disarmament Measures**                                                                                   **(15hours)**

a)      Conventional weapons

b)      Nuclear weapons

c)      Other weapons of mass destruction.

### Readings: International Relations

 1.      Baldwin, David, Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate, Columbia University Press, New York, 1993.

2.      Baylis, John and Smith, Steve, The Globalization of World Politics,Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005.

3.      Bell, Duncan, Political Thought and International Relation, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009

4.      Calvocoressi, Peter, World Politics Since 1945, Longman, London, 2000.

5.      Da Costa, Gerson, Nuclear Politics: Destruction and Disarmament in a Dangerous World, Kanishka, New Delhi, 2000.

6.      Deutsch, Karl, The Analysis of International Relations, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1968.

7.      Dunne, Tim, International Relations Theories, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.

8.      Ghosh, Peu,International Relations, PHI Learning, New Delhi, 2009

9.       Jackson, Robert, and Sorensen, Georg, Introduction to International Relations, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.

10.      पेंडसे, अरूणा आणि सहस्त्रबुद्धे, उत्तरा, आंतराष्ट्रीय संबंध, शीतयुद्धोत्तर आणि जागतिकीकरणाचे राजकारण, ओरिएंटलॉगमन, मुंबई 2008.

11      Waltz, Kenneth, Theory of International Politics, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1979.

*****

# Editorial Note

The purpose of this book is to give a deep understanding of wide ranging issues of contemporary world politics. The course writers are well known faculties teaching indifferent Universities and colleges in India. While framing the content of the book, it is taken into consideration that the students are from a distance education. Its language is so simple but it is very rich in content. This book is helpful to teachers, students and civil service aspirants too. The book gives vivid pictures of the contemporary emerging world orders, their role, contemporary conflicts, concept of power, its role, types, balance of power etc. The book also discusses the Unipolar, Bipolar and Multipolar system, Nation-State concept and National interests. The aspect of foreign policy determinants, diplomacy, MNCs, and global civil society role is examined in the book. The widely discussed issue of arms and arms control, weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons and its significance in contemporary world politics is also discussed in the book.

**Dr. Rohidas Mundhe**

# Unit I

# 1

# ORDER

**Unit Structure**

## 1.1 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we are going to see the emerging orders in the post second world war era. The causes of the emerging world orders, traditional and non-traditional threats, terrorism, civil conflicts and its causes with some case studies are going to be covered in this unit. The study of different forms of threats and its challenges to State security is also an objective of this unit. The maintenance of world peace and the methods of the conflicts resolutions is an important aspect of this unit.

## 1.2 INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, two dominant blocks appeared on the world map; American led Western European capitalist countries, and the then Soviet Union led Eastern European communist countries. At that time, international politics was dominated by these two blocks till the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This period is popularly known as the cold war period. Other countries or any forms of groups had no place to play any role in the world, for example, Non Alignment Movement (NAM). Under the visionary leadership of Joseph Broz Tito from

Yugoslavia, Gamal Abdel Nasser from Egypt, Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana and Sukarno from Indonesia were founding fathers of the NAM. It was established in 1961 in Belgrade during the cold war period to fight against colonial and imperialist power, racial discrimination, national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries. But neither of the blocks had been taken seriously to this group. This organisation is the biggest as compared to all other groups that existed during the cold war period as well as at present. It comprises 120 members from different continents of the world. India has played a very important role in it but after the 1970s its role became subject of the criticism due to India's inclination towards the Soviet Union. Small countries raised doubts over India's role in the NAM and shaking hands with Soviet Union. The world politics during this period was revolving around power politics of America and the Soviet Union to prove supremacy. All other issues like poverty, economic exploitation, political violence, social conflicts, civil conflicts, terrorism etc. remind out of the discussion. This led to the armament and arm race in the world. Many countries were compelled by the situation to divert economic resources to spend on building nuclear reactors, making nuclear bombs and achieving advanced military technology. The Soviet Union intervention in the Czechoslovakian early in 1948, the formation of NATO in 1949, and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, The Warsaw Treaty Organization 1955 popularly known as Warsaw Pact, The Central Treaty Organisation 1955 (CENTO) ensured that the superpower rivalry and confrontation. This challenged the traditional security of many States; few States got the assurance from either of the power blocs those were aligned with them.  But the rest of the members and the security of newly emerged States was in question

Since the existence of the State, its security is continuously under the threat from the traditional and non-traditional forces. The traditional forces like civil conflicts, terrorism, inter-state conflicts are still big challenge to the State security.  There is also qualitative change in the nature of traditional security that is Cyber-attacks, proxy war, digital, terrorism etc. To meet these challenges, the United Nations has brought some conflict resolution mechanism through its peacekeeping, peace observer and peace enforcement forces. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to maintain peace in the world and take necessary measures against the States or non-States actors that are responsible for the violation of State security and stability.

## 1.3 EMERGING WORLD ORDERS

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the USA remained the sole superpower in the world. During the cold war period Soviet Union confronted the USA every now and then. But the world was actually dominated by United State led alliance member countries. After the fall of Soviet Union, no power was willing or able to confront the USA.  Most of the countries particularly from the then Soviet Union group and NAM

understood the dominance of the USA in international politics, International economy such as United Nations, World Bank, IMF etc. Since the late 1990s, the world has witnessed emerging powers in the world and the dramatic rise of China along with other countries like India, Brazil, and South Africa changed the geopolitics and geo-economics of the world. The emergence of these economies affected the relations of many countries with each other. It also changed the pattern of regionalism and globalization. Earlier, regionalism or economic integration was seen only from European Union or Western perspectives only. Towards the end of the 1990s, Russian economy was back on track due to the rise of crude oil prices in the international market. So, the Western world has to take note of these emerging powers. Let's see some of the emerging orders in the world.

- **India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA):**

The IBSA is a group of likeminded countries for South-South cooperation. It was founded in 2003 in Brazil during the foreign ministers meeting. Three large democracies that are India, Brazil and South Africa came together for the common cause of the people in this region for well-being, inclusive and sustainable development of the people from the developing world. The IBSA has brought together three emerging economies of the South to explore the potential cooperation in the areas of economic, agriculture, and politics for a fair, equitable and inclusive global order. It also works in the areas like disarmament, non-proliferation, health, climate change, trade and development, intellectual property, education, human rights and tourism. IBSA emerged as a dynamic forum for the developing economies and role model for the world for sustainable development. This is an initiative taken by these countries to realize the multipolar and the multi institutional global order. Though, the IBSA countries have a long development journey for an inclusive global order. They have also created the IBSA fund for alleviation of poverty and hunger in 2004. For maritime security, IBSA regularly conducts naval exercises for defence cooperation, the latest naval exercise conducted at the coast of South Africa in October, 2018. This is an alternative to the asymmetric global economic governance, asymmetric global political governance and asymmetric global security governance. The total trade of IBSA with the rest of the world has increased around 4.5 times from US$259 in 2000to US$1,167 in 2015. India and Brazil always have taken similar stands at the WTO meetings whenever it has affected the interests of the developing countries.

- **Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa(BRICS):**

The term BRIC was coined in 2001 by the then chairman of Goldman Sachs Jim O'Neill, in his publication Building Better Global Economic BRICs. BRIC was founded in 2009. South Africa joined it in2010, thus it became BRICS. BRICS consist of India, Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa. It comprises over 3.20 billion people which are

42% of the world population, about 26.656% of the world land surface, 23% of the world GDP and over 16% share in world trade. BRICS is an important group that has brought together the major emerging economies of the world. The member country of the BRICS are also members of other political, economic and security organisations such as UN, G20, G77, NAM, Collective Security Treaty Organisation, Eurasian Economic Union, MTCR, NSG, WTO etc. through which these countries exert global influence in the decision making process on any issue of common interest. The BRICS countries have become the main engines of global economic growth. At the same time, BRICS has emerged as a major factor in a peaceful, prosperous and multi polar world. The BRICS also looks after the issues like global financial and security situation, terrorism, mechanism for counter terrorism, climate change, sustainable development, reforms for the multilateral global system, reform at WTO and institutions of world governance. For this, the member countries have established a New Development Bank in 2014 with initial capital of USD 100 billion, head quarter of the Bank is in Shanghai. It has funded 65 sustainable development and infrastructure projects across all BRICS countries worth $21 billion, in the areas of clean energy, transport, water resource management, urban development, environmental efficiency and social infrastructure. Many countries are in line to join the BRICS and make good use of the opportunity. Many Western countries also showed interest in it but America is not happy with the growing importance of the BRICS. Because, it has challenged the monopoly of the institutions like the World Bank and IMF over which America has great influence. Many developing countries are looking at the New Development Bank as an alternative to the already existing financial institutions. Many developing nations have to face oppressive terms and conditions while getting loans from the World Bank or International Monetary Fund. They want to get free from these institutions and hence they are looking at the New Development Bank as a solution to the problem. BRICS is diminishing the importance of America and forcefully emerging as an alternative world order to address the global issues and giving the solutions too. The BRICS is blessed with huge human skilled and unskilled resources, advanced technology, steady growing economies, diverse population in terms of race, religion, language, culture and rich civilizational history. In the coming years the organisation has a great future to play a global role in 21stcenturyin every aspect.

**Check your Progress**
What do you mean by emerging orders? Discuss it with suitable examples.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Do you think emerging orders help to balance the monopoly of single power?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 1.4 THREATS TO SECURITY

State security is always categorised as traditional and non-traditional security. Traditional security implies State sovereignty, territorial integrity and very existence of the State. This is dealt by the means of strong military, armaments and nuclear weapons. Non-traditional security implies alleviation of poverty, assured health facilities, good environment to breathe fresh air, sufficient hygiene food to sustain life, conflict free social conditions etc. Following are some of the aspects that have challenged the security of the State as well as the common people.

**a. Terrorism:**

Terrorism is commonly understood as an act of violence that target civilians and create fear among the people in the pursuit of political or ideological goals. In legal terms, the international community yet to adopt a comprehensive and accepted definition of terrorism, but the existing UN resolution defines that terrorism is "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes" In the last decade the average number of annual deaths was 21,000. However, numbers can vary from year-to-year. Over this decade the global death toll was lowest to 7,827 in 2010 and highest 44,490 in the year 2014. According to Our World Data, the number of deaths from terrorism in 2017, 95% occurred in the Middle East, Africa or South Asia. Less than 2% of deaths were from Europe, the America and Oceania countries. This means that developing countries are the most victims of terrorism. India has been facing this challenge for the last four decades. There hasn't been a single year since the last four decades where terrorist acts have not happened. The most heinous terrorist attack in the recent past was in 2008 in Mumbai. Around 166 people were killed and many more injured. In 2016, the Uri Army Base was targeted by terrorists. All the terrorists were killed, but we paid a heavy price, 18 Indian soldiers died and 19 wounded. Pulwama terror attack in J&K in 2019 killed 44 personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force and several injured when a car carrying 300kg of explosives rammed into a CRPF bus. All these terrorist acts, though claimed by different terrorist organisations, were carried out by Pakistan and its intelligence unit, ISI. World community has understood the threat of terrorism to the world peace and stability. Embassies of many countries have been targeted by the terrorist groups such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda,

Lashkar-e-Taiba etc. It has posed a challenge to global governance and security.

*Types of Terrorism:*

- **State-Sponsored Terrorism:** This type of terrorism secretly sponsored by a State as a tool of its policy. When a State is unable to directly fight with another State then such method is used. It consists of terrorist acts on a state or government by a state or government. Pakistan does this type of terrorism.

- **Separatists Terrorism:** It is terrorist group which has rebelled against its own government. In India many groups rebelled against the Indian government and resorted to violent methods. They have taken weapons in their hands.

- **Left and Right Wing Terrorism:** This type of terrorism is rooted in political ideology. Ideological differences lead to political violence and political killings. Civilians too become the victims of the ideological differences unnecessarily.

- **Religious Terrorism:** This sort of terrorism is very dangerous. People in developing countries and to some extent from developed countries are still under the influence of religion. They can go any extent to protect or propagate religious philosophy. They can become suicide bomber to attain the goal. They are extremely religiously motivated people.

**b) Civil Conflicts:**

Civil conflicts or civil wars is one of the most important aspects of security concerning to the world community in general and developing societies in particular Hence, it is necessary to understand what is civil war or civil conflicts? Civil conflicts are politically motivated organised violence against any particular group/s which is distinct in terms of race, religion, language, ethnicity, nationality etc. from the majority community. Civil war is large-scale physical violent conflict within a country. It is observed that continuous violence against such communities led to the demand of separate independent sovereign States as well as the demand for separate independent Sovereign States also lead to the conflicts against such groups. In some cases, States are also involved in sponsoring civil conflicts to suppress the demand of such small groups. Following are some of the cases of civil conflicts and its causes.

- **Sri Lanka:**

Sri Lanka has paid the huge cost of the civil war in terms of civilian deaths, deaths of security personnel, money, political killings, destruction of properties etc. The root cause of the Sri Lankan civil war

6

was the introduction of Sinhala only Bill in 1956 by S.W.R. D. Bandarnaike. This bill made Sinhalaas the only official language of Sri Lanka and Tamil language had no place in government offices, colleges and Universities. This created discontent among Tamil speaking people. As a result, this led to riots in Sri Lanka killing thousands of people and internal displacement of many more thousands. The 1956 Sinhala Only Act reduced the presence of Tamil minority in government jobs, schools, colleges and, higher educational institutions which led to discrimination and feelings of alienation. This gave birth to the separatist ideology and secessionist movement led by LTTE. The violent method of LTTE further escalated civil conflict in Sri Lanka. In the decade of the 1980s, it was at the peak. Finally, with the mediation of Indian government, a Peace Accord was concluded in 1987 between India and Sri Lanka.

As a result, the Sri Lanka government made the 13th constitutional amendment. The 13th constitutional amendment gives certain rights to the Sri Lankan Tamils such as creation of Provincial Council, power sharing arrangement, self-government, official status to the Tamil language, question of citizenship, subjects like education, health, agriculture, housing, land police would be with the Provincial Council. All the provisions mentioned in 13th Constitutional Amendment Act are not met by the government of Sri Lanka. So, the Civil War continued. Finally, the Sri Lankan government declared War on LTTE in 2009 in which the leader of the LTTE, Prabhakaran, was killed. But during the war on LTTE many civilians became internally displaced. Some study says 40000 Tamils died and 100000 people internally displaced. Incidents of Human Rights violation, sexual harassment also occurred.

- **Rohingya Crisis:**

The discriminatory policies of Myanmar's government against the Rohingya started late 1970s compelling hundreds of thousands of Muslim Rohingya to flee their own country. The Rohingya community is called one of the most persecuted communities in the world. For Rohingyas, Myanmar is an open prison and not a country because a country gives nationality and certain basic rights to live life with dignity. In the case of Rohingya, they are facing institutional discrimination. The Citizenship Act 1982 does not recognize Rohingya as one of the national races. This Act recognises 135 races but not the Rohingyas, and those are recognised they are eligible to get the full citizenship of Myanmar. Rohingya are excluded from full citizenship and given temporary residential status. According to the Myanmar government, the Rohingya ethnic community is not the original inhabitants of this land. The 1982 Citizenship Act set a date of 1823 for full citizenship status. Those settled in Myanmar prior to this date are the original inhabitants. Rohingya brought here by British as labourers over the period of time after this date so they cannot claim citizenship. As a result of it, Rohingya cannot move freely without the permission of the local authority within the country. They cannot visit or go from one city to another without permission. There are restrictions on marriages; they

cannot go to the city for higher education. If they want to visit the city for exam purposes or any medical emergency, they have to take permission from the local authorities. In most of the cases local authorities either deny or ask money for permission. They are also unable to take government jobs due to many restrictions and discriminatory policies. Physical atrocities are also committed on them. This led to the violence between the Rohingya and the government authorities. Due to this, millions of Rohingyas have been displaced. Half a million people have taken shelter in Bangladesh, around forty thousand in India, while others have taken to the sea to reach Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. Some of them died on voyage on the way to their destination. The military regime from1962 to 2011 committed so many atrocities on Rohingya. On February 1, 2021, the military again overthrew the elected government and arrested many political leaders. Due to this, Rohingya feel more violence against them in future.

**c) Failing State:**

A failed state is that which is unable to perform the basic responsibilities under the international as well as its national law. A State which is unable to protect its own people and lose the status of politically sovereign independent in the modern world system is called a failed State. Such a State cannot project authority over its territory and peoples, and it cannot protect its national boundaries. The citizens of such a State lose the faith that their government is legitimate, and the state becomes illegitimate in the eyes of the international community. Pakistan is always criticized on the ground of illegitimate activities carried out from its soil. A failed state is composed of weak institutions, the executive barely functions, the legislature occasionally legislates, the judiciary doesn't function independently, and bureaucracy, armed forces have lost their professional working. A failed state suffers from crumbling infrastructures. A failure of the State leads to collapse of State institutions and societal collapse. A strong state provides core guarantees to its citizens and others under its jurisdiction. A failed state cannot maintain a law and order; it fails to use the legitimate power to minimize internal conflict. Yet, many scholars say that States suffer from various degrees of weakness and there is no perfect State. Weak states are failing with increasing frequency, most of them in Africa but there are some examples in Asia and West Asia. For example, at the end of the 20th century, Somalia descended into state collapse under rival warlords. Pakistan under the civilian and military rule, it harboured and supported many terrorist groups. There are multiple power centres in Pakistan and they function independently. The legitimate authority is not flowing from a single source, for example Pakistan military plays so many roles in making of foreign as well as domestic policies. Actually, it is the work of the civilian government. Religious and fundamentalist organizations are out of control. Judiciary and civilian government seem mute spectators in Pakistan. There are five most fragile States in the world at present. They are Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar.

**Check your progress**

Explain the term threat and examine the traditional threats to the State security.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

What do you mean by terrorism? Discuss its various types with suitable examples.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

**d) Changing Nature of Conflicts:**

**1. Inter-State Conflict:**

Inter-state conflict means the conflict between two or more than two States. The causes for the inter-state conflicts or wars vary from State to State and situation to situation. Since the end of the Second World War, the world has witnessed many inter-state conflicts or wars in the last seven decades. Some inter-state wars were small but some caused so much of destruction in form of human casualties, destruction of properties, destruction of infrastructure, huge spending on armaments and so forth. Some root causes of inter-state conflicts are boundary issue, water sharing issue, issue of claim over natural resources on the land and under the sea water, trade issue and struggle for supremacy. Following are some the examples of inter-state conflicts.

**a) India and Pakistan:**

Since the partition, both countries have fought four wars. All these four wars were imposed by Pakistan on India but none of these was owned by Pakistan. The four wars include the war just after the India-Pakistan partition in 1948, the war during Lal Bahadur Shastri's time1965, the Bangladesh liberation war in1971 and the Kargil war in1999. Both countries have paid the heavy price of these wars and still there is no peace between the two. If we calculate the price paid by India since the independence in terms of deaths of the innocent civilians, soldiers, army officers, money that we spent on it, the time we spent on it and the defence budget that we have increased every year, and if we take into account the price that we are going to pay in future in the same forms, it is not less than a nuclear war. And the cause of the conflict is Pakistan's illegal claim over the Jammu and Kashmir state. Throughout history, inter-state wars

9

have killed tens of millions of people, displaced entire communities, caused trillions of dollars in destruction, and contributed to the spread of hunger, poverty, and disease.

**b) India and China:**

India and China fought a war in1962 over the boundary issue and subsequently there were border skirmishes and standoff between the two. But only the 1962 war is discussed and taught in India and outside India. We need to study, understand and analyse other incidences of conflicts on the border between India and China. In this war it is believed that India has lost around 1000 soldiers and 3000 soldiers had been taken as war prisoners. From Chinese side it is believed that less than 800 soldiers died. India was not well prepared for the war; Indian soldiers were not having winter clothes, arms and ammunition were not sufficient, Air and Naval force was not used in the war. Political decisions were also not clear, so we lost the war. It must be noted that the 1962war documents are classified so it is very difficult to verify all the facts and figures claimed from both sides. China claims around 90,000 sq. km. of Indian territory in the state of Arunachal Pradesh, in Ladak hit claims nearly 38,000 sq. km. and the so-called 'Boundary Agreement' between China and Pakistan on March 2, 1963, Pakistan has illegally ceded 5,180 sq. km. of Indian territory to China from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. An international institution such as the United Nations provides forums for countries to resolve disputes without resorting to war. But it also could not prevent many conflicts, it has too many limitations.

- **Border Skirmishes, 1967:**

Just after the India-Pakistan war of1965, border skirmishes occurred between India and China in 1967 in the Sikkim region at Nathu La. The Indian troops were removing old fences with new barbed wire fences. The Chinese PLA objected to it, hindered the work and started a physical fight, an incident of stone pelting also occurred injuring the troops from both sides. The Chinese government warned the Indian government through the embassy saying that for any kind of provocation by Indian troops, the Indian Government must be held responsible for all the grave consequences. Indian troops again started the fencing work, Chinese PLA open fired on Indian troops causing casualties. This time Indian soldiers were in a good position with well equipped. They gave a befitting reply to the Chinese PLA causing more than300 deaths of the PLA. Indian government says 400 PLA and more than 80 but less than 100 Indian soldiers died. This war boosted the morale of the Indian soldiers and brought Chinese leadership and PLA on ground which always reminded us of 1962.

- **Daulat Beg Oldi Issue, 2013:**

Almost three weeks of standoff between the Chinese and Indian soldiers  began in 2013 when Indian Patrolling team found that around 40

to 50 PLA had set up a tent in Raki Nula, around 30 km south of Daulat Beg Oldi near the Aksai Chin in India's Ladakh region. From Indian side ITBP soldiers set up their tents just 300 metres away from the Chinese troops. Earlier Ladakh was part of J&K state but now it is Union Territory. This region is strategically very important. India has a military base in this area as well as Siachen glacier is very close from here. Siachen glacier is under India's control and easy to keep an eye on Aksai Chin, Karakoram highway and Pakistan. China always claims that Ladakh is part of Tibet. Finally, the issue was solved through the diplomatic channel. The then Indian Ambassador to China S Jaishankar participated in the dialogue.

- **Doklam Issue, 2017:**

      Doklam is a tri-junction region between Bhutan, India and China. It is very near India's chicken neck region. The Doklam standoff happened in the year 2017 after Bhutan objected to road construction by China in the disputed region. The question is, how and why India entered into this issue? According to the India- Bhutan friendship treaty of 1949, India will take care of Bhutan's external security and foreign policy issues. In this issue Bhutan felt vulnerable against the Chinese PLA and Bhutan requested the Indian Army to look into the issue. On Bhutan's request, Indian troops reached the site of road construction and stopped the Chinese activity. The construction activities in the region worried India too because our chicken neck region is very close from there. Later it became an issue between India-China and Bhutan kept quiet. Bhutan did not want war between India-China for such an issue. This led to the punching, stone pelting, jolting and pushing back each other. This standoff remained for 70 days. While China kept demanding that India must withdraw the troops unconditionally from the region. India also launched diplomatic efforts to prevent escalation of the standoff. International support was growing in India's favour and the BRICS summit of 2017 was around the corner. So, Chinese side agreed to resolve the standoff. Both sides disengaged at Doklam by pulling back to the pre June status.

- **Galwan Valley Clash, 2020:**

      Since 1975, there has been no firing as well as there were no casualties from both the sides due to the clash or conflict. But almost after 45 years, both the country suffered from casualties as well as warning fire too. The clash happened on 15 and16 June, 2020 when few Indian soldiers went to see whether Chinese PLA were removing their tents as agreed earlier in the commander level talks on 6 June,2020. But as usual, they attacked the armless Indian soldiers with sticks, roads and fence wired roads. The clash took place at the height of 14,000 feet in which 20 Indian soldiers died including colonel B. Santosh Babu. As soon as other colleagues got the information of the conflict, they reached there and gave a reply to the Chinese PLA in the same method in which more than 40 PLA including Chinese commanding officer died. The clashing point was

patrolling point 14 which is very high and steep terrain. Some soldiers died due to falling into the flowing Galwan River with sub-zero temperatures. Some experts say China had a well prepared plan and it wanted to do the 1962 again. It started planning in the month of May. During this month China conducted a routine military exercise.  So it gathered a large number of heavy military vehicles and weapons including tanks. After the military exercise Chinese PLA did not take it back to the original location, rather it gradually marched towards the LAC that led to the Galwan valley clash. The post Galwan situation was so tense, mobilization of heavy and advanced weapons started from both sides. All forces; land Air and Naval were on high alert with heavy deployment of the weapons. On the other hand commander level talks were going on to disengage the soldiers.  This continued for almost nine months. China always wants to change its perception of LAC and try to grab the land inch by inch. India has realised this policy, and it won't succeed.

## 2. Cyber War:

There is continuous qualitative change in weapons and technology that is used in war. Cyber-attacks are a modern form of technological war. States can use such technology to attack an enemy's infrastructure and vital facilities including testing labs, energy grid, and communications facilities and banking infrastructure. Cyber-attacks are also made to hack the sites to steal the secret data related to national security. State can attack its opponents covertly from far away. Use of such a method of warfare is relatively of low risk. Therefore, many countries are using this sort of technology. Israel, for instance, has reportedly launched cyber-attacks on the nuclear enrichment facilities of its opponent Iran and shut down computer systems at a major Iranian port. The USA, China and Russia have been frequently doing cyber-attacks on its enemy countries.

## 3. Proxy War:

The word proxy itself implies to represent someone else. Proxy war denotes that the actors involved in war or conflict are not State actors but non State actors fighting against State or non-state actors on behalf of someone else.  States use proxy war for many reasons, for instance Pakistan is fighting proxy war against India because Pakistan knows that it can never win a traditional war against India. Pakistan always uses terrorist organizations such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e- Mohammed, Harkatul Mujahideen as non-state actors to fight against India as a proxy war. Proxy war is fought when there is a condition of asymmetric war in which either of the belligerent parties is relatively weak. Its military power differs significantly. It is a war between a standing, professional army and an insurgent or militant movement whose status is termed as unlawful combatant fighting on behalf of other State or State actors. Another reason for proxy war is human casualties and cost involved in the direct war. The USA also uses the proxy war method in many parts of the conflict zones. In Middle East and African countries,  the USA supports the local

rebellions or militants. For example, America had supported a moderate rebel group with military training and weapons against the government forces of Bashar Assad in Syria. Russia is supporting the government forces and extended diplomatic support to Syria in the UN. Turkey on other hand is fighting against Kurdish to prevent them from gaining any autonomy after the war. But neither party is fighting direct war against each other in Syria. Each one is fighting proxy war by supporting different groups to avoid their own loss in many ways.

**Check Your Progress**
What are the new threats to the State security? Examine it with suitable examples.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 1.5 PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Before we jump to peace and conflict resolution, we need to understand what peace is and what conflict is, Bubacarr Sambou, the President of Peace Ambassador, Gambia, defined peace and conflict in very simple words. According to him peace is not just absence of war rather it is a healthy environment, peace is a gift of relationships. Peace is beauty, it is a state of well-being with oneself, others and nature. Conflict is the struggle between two ideas fighting for achieving the same goal at the same space and time. Conflict can be inter-state, intra-state or extra-state. Conflict can be an opportunity for change and change for the better. Following are some methods of conflict resolution.

### a) Collective Security:

The basic principle of collective security is the introduction of legal bindings on the States to renounce war and collectively punish violators of the principle. The destruction of the war was largely attributed to the lack of an effective institutionalized forum to deal with international conflicts and issues. According to Morgenthau, collective security means, "one for all and all for one is the watchword of collective security." The core of the collective security is that the belligerent should be neutralized by an overwhelming force. Its chief merit of collective security is that the force may not be needed. Only the threat of collective action will be sufficient to deter the potential belligerent. The first modern organisation for collective security was the League of Nations which came into existence after the First World War. The core objective behind the creation of this organisation was to settle the disputes and to prevent war. The Members of the League undertook to respect and preserve against external aggression, territorial integrity and existing political

independence of all members.  In the case of any such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled. After the Second World War, the United Nation was created to preserve peace, maintain law and order and prevent war. The UN Charter, in its Chapter VII talks about the Security Council can take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Measures can be from economic, political sanctions to military action. Today, many such political or security organisations came into existence to deal with the security threats such as EU, CENTO, NATO, CSTO etc. For instance, NATO has played a very important role to protect the security of its member States during the cold war and after the cold war. The recent example is the 9/11 terrorist attack on WTO in 2001. The attack was carried out by Osama Bin Laden's organisation Al-Qaeda. In this attack over 3000 people of different nationals were killed and around 25000 injured. America declared war on terror and all NATO members supported it. Non NATO members like Russia, China and India also supported the American led war on terror. NATO had taken action in Afghanistan; the base of Al-Qaeda. Osama Bin Laden escaped from there but later on he was captured in Pakistan and killed in Abbottabad operation in 2011.

### b) Peacekeeping:

The general purpose of peace-keeping operations is to prepare the ground for long lasting solutions to conflicts, through discussion and negotiations between the parties to conflicts. Peacekeeping can be classified into two categories; peacekeeping and peace observers. Peacekeeping is an act of managing and settling disputes or conflicts through mediation, arbitration, conciliation or any other method of peaceful settlement. The personnel involved in peacekeeping do not carry weapons with them. The United Nations conducts peacekeeping missions in many countries on the request of concerned parties but it does not have power to use the force because its mission is peace keeping and not peace enforcement. It works under the mandate of the UN Charter, Chapter VI. It talks about the pacific settlement of disputes. Article 33 of the Charter says, "the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice". The peace observers on other hand do carry weapons but they don't use it, only in self-defence they use it. The UN peacekeeping is guided by three basic principles, consent of the parties, impartiality, and no use of force. Currently the United Nations has deployed peacekeeping forces in 13 places in different countries.  In respect of India and Pakistan, the Security Council adopted a resolution in1948 to recommend measures including the use of observers to stop the fighting. The first team of unarmed military observers, which is called the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), reached the mission area in

1949 to supervise the ceasefire in the State of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan. The task of UNMOGIP was to monitor the various agreements between the two on the cease fires, withdrawal of the troops on the border from both sides, investigate the allegations of the aggression and patrolling of the areas on ground, sea and space. But recently, Hardeep Singh Puri, India's Permanent Representative to the UN said," its role has been overtaken by the Shimla Agreement of 1972 between India and Pakistan". Therefore, the UNMOGIP has to wind up its mission in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

## c) Enforcement of Peace:

Unlike peacekeeping, the concept of peace enforcement refers to the use of military force to enforce a peace against the will of the parties to a conflict. When there is breach of the principles mentioned in the UN Charter, in its Chapter-I, Article 1 talks about the maintenance of international peace and security, or if the parties to conflicts fail to observe ceasefire then force can be used against the concerned State. Peace enforcement always uses the peacekeeping forces with heavy arms. They do use arms not only in self-defence but also as preventive measures to restore the peace and stability in the region. The UN has endowed power upon the Security Council to decide measures of action if there is any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or an act of aggression, Article 39, 41,42 of UN Charter, Chapter VII. For instance, the UN Security Council for the first time recommended the use of force against North Korea in 1950. The North Korean troops crossed the 38$^{th}$ parallel line into South Korea. Hence, the Security Council observed that an armed attack by North Korea on South Korea is a breach of the peace under Article 39 of the Chapter- VII. The Security Council can take peace enforcement measures on humanitarian grounds too. Humanitarian intervention is defined as the uninvited interference by a state, states, or international organization in the domestic affairs of another state to prevent and/or end human rights abuses. However, the UN Charter, in its Article 7 says, "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state". If there is mass violation of human rights in a particular region or State against any community or against whole community and State is unable or unwilling to control it, then the UN Secretary-General under Article 99 of the Charter can bring the issue to the notice of the Security Council which in his opinion is threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. But the Security Council cannot pass a resolution under Chapter VII because it has certain legal aspects under international law since it is an internal matter. But it gives space to other States to take appropriate measures to protect the rights of the people and provide them security. For example, in the East Pakistan now Bangladesh, there were confirmed cases of mass killings, torture, beatings, rape, disappearances, destruction of houses and other acts of violence which forced millions of people flee their homes and country. Indian government was requesting the UN and USA to take action against

Pakistan on humanitarian grounds but neither the UN nor the USA did anything to prevent the violence against the minorities in Bangladesh. Due to the selective humanitarian intervention by the UN, its role became subject of criticism. India took action in 1971 and liberated Bangladesh, though India received so much criticism from many Western countries including the USA. Humanitarian intervention is also subject to criticism from some scholars on the ground of sovereignty. According to them it is a violation of the principle of political equality and sovereignty in international politics. But, today, every State seems to comprise the principle of sovereignty on one or another ground. The emergence of the social, political and economic institutions including MNCs, NGOs and some bilateral and multilateral treaties led to the compromise of sovereignty by every State. Degree of comprise of sovereignty may vary from State to State but it is there. Hence, Post Second World War States are sovereign but everywhere they are in chains.

**Check your Progress**
Explain the term collective security and critical evaluate the role of UN to maintain peace in the world.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## REFERENCES

1.  Ministry of External Affairs, 2019, Role of BRICS in International Context, MEA, New Delhi

2.  RIS, 2019, Dynamics of IBSA Development Cooperation, RIS, New Delhi.

3.  Jim O'Neill, 2001, Building Better Global Economic BRICs, Goldman Sachs Research.

4.  Colin P. Clarke, 2015, Terrorism, Inc.: The Financing of Terrorism, Insurgency, and Irregular Warfare, ABC Publication.

5.  Kenneth Neal Waltz, 2010, Theory of International Politics, Waveland Press.

6.  Stefan Aleksovski and Oliver Bakreski, 2014, Collective Security – The Role of International Organizations: Implications in International Security Order, Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.5, No.27, MCSER Publishing, Rome.

*****

<div align="right">**2**</div>

# ROLE OF POWER

**Unit Structure**

## 2.0 OBJECTIVES

This Unit aims to make students understand the meaning, nature and dimensions of power. It is important to have a clear understanding of the core ideas of a subject because while reading and explaining the theories of international relations the idea of power needs to be elaborated through different perspectives. This paper chapter's primary objective is to explore the views and approaches put forward by the scholars in terms of power as a concept and the role of power in international politics.

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This Unit deals with the important concepts and theories of International relations. Certain basic concepts help to understand the diplomatic relations among the comity of the nations and the idea of power is one of them. The idea of sovereign nation-states is based on the concepts of power, national interest and so on. If one analyses the history of the world, especially the cold war era, balance of power was the trend and several power blocks came into existence as a result of this balance of power. The idea of power consists of many elements however if one sees it broadly; it illustrates hard power as identified by the realist thinkers and soft power that goes well beyond the military preparedness of a country. Today's sovereign states use hard and soft power considering their diplomatic needs and status. This unit discusses the idea of power,

elements of power and various faces of power that are playing a crucial role in developing and defining the international structure.

## 2.2 CONCEPT OF POWER

Power is one of the core concepts of international relations. Scholars have been actively involved in understanding the dynamics of power. From Hobbes to Foucault, philosophers have tried to comprehend the notion of power in terms of human nature. According to Berenskoetter and Williams (2007:03), 'Nietzsche suggests that the feeling of power [Gefuehl der Macht] has become both the greatest love of and a 'demon' to humans. Contemporary writings most frequently refer to Max Weber, whose insights influenced many important works on 'power', including those of Robert Dahl, Hans Morgenthau, Raymond Aron, and Michael Mann. Weber defined power, the German Macht, as the 'opportunity [Chance] to have one's will prevail [durchsetzen] within a social relationship, also against resistance, no matter what this opportunity is based on".Similarly, Lasswell and Kaplan further differentiate between 'power' and 'influence'. Whereas the former is understood as 'actual control' of shared value patterns under the threat of sanctions, influence is defined as a potential contained in a superior position and lacks the coercive character of 'power'(ibid:05).

There is one concept that is; 'the idea of power is capabilities and power as a relationship. As far as power as a relationship is concerned it is also known as the 'Weberian Concept of Power' where a person can make someone do the things that the person would not like to do otherwise. In political science, it was made particularly popular by Robert Dahl and his formulation that 'A can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do' (Dahl 1994: 290). Added to this, Morgenthau has included both relationships as well as capabilities while defining the notion of power in international relations. According to Morgenthau (1961: 110) power refers to 'elements' or 'components' of national power, which include geography, natural resources, industrial capacity, military preparedness, population, national character, national morale, quality of diplomacy, and quality of government. These elements of power are the capabilities and when exercised they turn into influence. Thus it can be argued that power consists of both relationships and capabilities. The 19th century British politician Lord Acton described power in a different way. For him, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Rohidas Munde, an Assistant Professor in the department of Civics and Poetics, University of Mumbai, doesn't agree with Lord Acton. According to Rohidas Munde, "Power doesn't corrupt, individual is corrupt, and corrupt individual corrupts absolutely". He is of the opinion that if an individual is powerless then he cannot take any decision, he always depends on others for advice or help. This makes an institution or State weak. If power itself is corrupt then every person who is holding any position as a Statesman, CEO of companies, heads of different institutes like Universities,

departments, organisations etc. should have been corrupt. But it is not the case, so power is not corrupt but an individual is corrupt whose intention is not good of all, says Rohidas Munde. This concept has evolved over some time and it has moved from purely military understanding to the idea of Soft Power where a country's culture, people and policies can attract the countries of the world and also affect foreign policymaking.

In nutshell, in international relations power has been broadly understood as Hard Power and Soft Power. Both types of power have their specific features and manifestations. Joseph S. Nye Jr. has tried to explain the differences between hard power and soft power. The following table

|  | **Hard** | **Soft** |
|---|---|---|
| Spectrum of Behaviours | Command ⟵ Coercion ⟵ Inducement | Agenda ~~Setting~~ Attraction Co-opt ⟶ |
| Most Likely Resources | Force Payments Sanctions Bribes | Institutions Values Cultures Policies |

illustrates the same;
**Source:** Joseph S. Nye Jr. (2004) Soft Power The Means to Success in World Politics ( Page:08)

This table demonstrates that hard power is based on inducement, coercion and command whereas, the foundation of soft power is based upon agenda setting in a meticulous manner, attracting the countries through good policies and its implementation and cooperation between the countries. The idea of power is at the heart of politics be it national or international. It has been one of the contested issues of international relations and often associated with the realist approach to international relations. This concept has been defined and redefined by scholars in several ways.

According to E.H. Carr, the importance of power stems from the "dual character of political society" which is based on two "conflicting aspects of human nature", namely self-assertion and solidarity (Schmitz and Long, 2018:34).

Morgenthau is another famous scholar who has worked extensively on the idea of power. Like Carr, Morgenthau's central anthropological assumption is based on human nature and their lust for power. Morgenthau's analysis of international politics is founded upon a definition of power as a form of "psychological relationship". Power can thus be defined as "control over the minds and actions" of others[i].

**Check Your Progress**

1. Explain the concept of Power

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) Write Morgenthau's understanding of Power

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.3 ELEMENTS OF POWER

Power, as defined in international relations, consists of several elements such as military, diplomatic, economic, cultural etc. In the contemporary world, non-state actors also wielded lots of power that influenced the dynamics of international relations. All these elements of power play a decisive role in defining the foreign policy of a country. As per the issues and context, one element may become more important at a particular point in time.

### 2.3.1 Military:

Military preparedness of a country has always been seen as the most important manifestation of power. Especially the realist approach of International relations has been emphasizing it. The idea of perception in international relations is also closely related to the military aspect of power. However, globalization and widespread science and technology have eroded the importance of military preparedness in the traditional sense of terms. Nowadays countries are heading towards nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and biological weapons. These forms of power based on the high level of research and development also tend to enhance the gap between the rich and poor countries.

### 2.3.2 Diplomacy:

It is an invisible form of power that plays a purposeful role. Because it's the diplomatic efficiency of a country that can avoid a war or the failure of diplomatic efforts may lead to war. There are several types of diplomacy like Track I, Track II etc. Track one diplomacy stands for formal negotiations between the professional/official diplomats of the sovereign nation-states; whereas, track two refers to the interactions

between unofficial members appointed by the state and it is an unstructured one.

### 2.3.3 Economic:

Economic factors have emerged as one of the most potent factors of power in this globalized world. The proponents of the liberal approach to international relations have emphasized the role of economic factors in the national power of a country. They have argued that the primacy of economic factors over the military promises peace and tranquility to the world, because democracies need economic prosperity and the absence of war.

### 2.3.4 Political Leadership and Quality of Governance:

If political leadership is visionary and strong the bargaining power of that country at the diplomatic level increases automatically. The countries of the world have witnessed the same be it Asia, Europe or the American continent. The quality of leadership and its decisiveness influences world leaders. For instance, during the Barack Obama, many treaties and conventions were signed among the countries like the Paris Agreement on climate change etc. Added to this, the quality of governance and the efficiency of the governing institutions also increase the strength and say of a country at the international level. For instance, the Scandinavian countries are seen as a model for good governance and human development.

### 2.3.5 Culture:

In the language of international relations, the power of culture has been defined as 'Soft Power". Countries become a center of attraction and earn a lot due to their vibrant political, social, spiritual or scientific culture. Diaspora is also playing a crucial role in contemporary international politics. Moreover, in this era of democracy, the political culture of a country that leads to political stability and subsequently empowers the polity and economy has emerged as an important aspect of soft power.

### 2.3.6 Media:

Media has emerged as one of the key players in the dynamics power at the national as well as international level. Media can build opinions for and against a country in a very short period. In his famous book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988) Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman has illustrated the power of the US media and its nexus with big business houses and the politics that follows 'propaganda model[ii]'.

**Check Your Progress**

1) Explain the elements of power.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) What is Soft Power? Explain.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.4 TYPES AND DIMENSIONS OF POWER

Based on the above-mentioned elements of power the scholars of International relations have identified the types of power. Although different, these powers are interlinked with each other as no country of this world can depend on only one type of power. According to Joseph Nye Jr. (2004, 31), there are three major types of power; Military Power, Economic Power and Soft Power.

| | Behaviors | Primary Currencies | Government Policies |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Military Power** | Coercion Deterrence Protection | Threats Force | Coercive Diplomacy War Alliance |
| **Economic Power** | Inducement Coercion | Payments Sanctions | Aid Bribes Sanctions |
| **Soft Power** | Attraction Agenda Setting | Values Culture Policies Institutions | Public Diplomacy Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomacy |

**Source:** Joseph Nye Jr. (2004)

In this globalized world, there is a strong need to develop a fine balance between military power, economic strength and Soft power. There is another important interpretation of power put forward by E. H. Carr, in his famous work _Twenty Years Crisis,_ he has explained _Three Facets of Power_ in international politics that is: Military Power, Economic Power and Power over Opinion. He further argued that power over opinion is not less important as compared to the first two. Similarly, in his book _Power_

*and World Politics* Berenskoetter and Williams (2007) have identified three dimensions of power in international relations;

***The first dimension:*** *winning conflicts*: It is the production of intended effects on other persons, more precisely as A affecting B through the shaping and distribution of values within a shared 'value pattern'.

***The second dimension: limiting alternatives***: It suggests that power analysis has to address the question of why some alternatives are not part of the debate and, consequently, who has the authority to exclude issues from the discussion. The answer lies in what has become known as agenda-setting power, namely, the ability of actors to create or reinforce barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts.

***The third dimension: shaping normality***: The third dimension revolves around the view that power is not only at work where there is a conflict of interests but also where there is (an apparent) consensus. Moving conceptually into the 'influence' terrain mentioned earlier, this dimension highlights the forces giving and controlling the meaning of 'normality.

**Check Your Progress**
1) Write about the types of power.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) Explain the dimensions of Power.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.5 ROLE OF POWER

Despite its limitations power has been at the center stage of the entire discussion in International Relations. Power, the balance of power and the control of power by a country determines the status of a nation-state among the comity of the nations. If one looks back into history, several wars have been fought to establish the dominance of a state over another. Sometimes, this fight is direct and sometimes it is shrouded in bigger narratives. For instance, whenever a powerful country intervenes into the territory of another sovereign state, the most cited argument is democracy was in danger or there were issues of gross violation of the human rights of the people.

Power is a mechanism to influence or control the events, actors and resources. There are many perspectives to look at the role of power. If one goes through the realist perspective, they consider it the foundation of every activity. Realists argue that states are constantly busy enhancing their power. The entire foreign policy of the state is based upon the enhancement of power because a country's very survival depends on its national power. Thus, the concept of power has been at the heart of the realist approach to international relations. This is true that realist thinkers provided a well-structured definition of power in international relations. Power dynamics are at the core of almost all the activities and policies in international politics. Countries try to mold the events for their national interests by using power. The level of conflict and cooperation among the countries depends upon the national power of the countries involved. However, it cannot be confined to the realist approach as many other scholars wrote extensively about the importance and role of power.

The perspective of world-system theory provides a historical interpretation of the present position of the states of the world. They have put forward the idea of *center and periphery* and argue that the center is strong and developed just because it has been able to exploit the periphery. Similarly, the feminist perspective of International relations also provides a different interpretation of the role of power. They put forward the logic that power is an element that functions from family to international politics. They say men have systematically sidelined women from the corridors of power and the women who are part of international dynamics are often put in an exploitative situation. In her famous work, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* Cynthia Enloe has tried to provide a feminist perspective to nationalism, militarism, tourism, diplomacy, multinational garment industry and domestic labor. All these concepts are very crucial to understand the dynamics of power in international relations.

The Marxist perspective of International Relations says those who control economics, control politics. They argue that power works in favor of those who hold economic resources. Therefore, economic inequality gives rise to social and political inequality at the international level as well.

Added to this, the fact cannot be denied that the countries superior in terms of military and economic power can influence the world. In the contemporary scenario, the USA is dominating international politics to a certain extent due to its strong national power. Though, there is competition among the countries to secure the dominant position, almost all the events of international politics are influenced by the USA. However, there is a debate among the scholars in terms of the level of dominance of the USA, but its prominent position is undisputed.

**Check Your Progress**

1) What is the role of power in international relations?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) Write about the feminist perspective on power in international relations.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.6 BALANCE OF POWER

The balance of power is a concept that is at the core of the neorealist approach to international relations however its roots can be traced back into history. It argues that when one sovereign state or alliance formed by it becomes more aggressive and gives rise to threat perceptions then threatened states also try to increase their power in response thus a counterbalancing system comes into existence. As a policy, it says that states always counter any threat to maintaining their security. While creating a balance of power it can be the involvement of multiple states or two states may also create a balance through their national power and strength. One of the most crucial aspects is that no one can measure the power of a country. So far, no such mechanism has been developed that can measure the power of a country. Power is a very complex phenomenon and involves tangible as well as intangible elements.

Balance of Power analysis revolves around the constantly changing alliances and patterns of power among the states. Due to the creation and recreation of power alliances among the mutually contesting and cooperating states, the balance of power keeps shifting from one block to another. The security drama among the states also gives rise to the balance of power. A vicious circle is created where securities and insecurities of the countries play a very crucial role. The idea of a security dilemma is very closely related to the balance of power and also enables us to explain the arms race among the countries. In his book, _Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics (1976)_, Robert Jervis talks about Game Theory to explain the inter linkages between war and co-operation. He says if war is costly and cooperation is beneficial, states may tend to break out of the security dilemma. Since wars are often very expensive and destructive sovereign states try to formulate policies that can reduce the conflict and tensions. In this process, efforts are made to balance the increasing hegemony of a particular country.

According to English School theorist Hedley Bull, the balance of power can be defined as a state of affairs such that no one power is in a position where it is preponderant and can lay down the law to others' (Bull 1977: 101). For Bull, the balance of power is one of the core institutions that maintain order in international society.

In the contemporary world, non-state actors like Big business giants, media houses and terrorist groups all play a very crucial role in developing the balance of power. Consequently, the traditional notion of balance of power has witnessed a paradigm shift because non-state actors are also playing a decisive role in developing the nature and trajectory of the balance of power.

**Check Your Progress**
1. What is the balance of power in international relations?

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. Write about the security dilemma.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.7 UNIPOLARITY, BIPOLARITY AND MULTIPOLARITY

The idea of a unipolar, bipolar and multipolar world has been witnessed by the world at varying stages of history. This is a systems approach to look at international relations.Merriam-Webster defines polarity as "the quality or condition inherent in a body that exhibits opposite properties or powers in opposite parts or directions or that exhibits contrasted properties or powers in contrasted parts or directions[iii]." However, in world politics pole means a centre of power, it can be one, two or more than two giving rise to a unipolar, bipolar and multipolar world.The chief proponent of this approach is Morton Kaplan. He has identified six models of the international system known as; The Balance of Power System, The Loose Bi-polar system, The Tight Bi-polar System, The Universal System, The Hierarchical System and The Unit Veto System.

There is a difference of opinion in terms of the stability of the system. Scholars like John Mearsheimer Kenneth Waltz argue that bipolarity is a relatively more stable system. Whereas, William Wohlforth

and John Ikenberry put forward the logic in favor of unipolarity. Added to this, Karl Deutsch and J.D. Singer consider multipolarity the most stable system.

### 2.7.1 Unipolar:

Since the demise of the Soviet Union (USSR), claims have been made that the world is moving towards unipolarity. A unipolar system is where one country dominates the entire horizon of international relations.Unipolar systems have only one great power and there is no competition to wield the power. Some scholars argue that in the Post Cold War-era United States(US) emerged as a leader making the world unipolar.

According to Mowle and Sacko ( 2007:16-17), Unipolarity in international politics has a strong intellectual tradition. It draws on the Roman imperial concept of politics instead of the classical Greek conception of the balance of power politics. The Romans sought to create, consolidate and maintain a large empire, incorporating other cities or nations as they were conquered. According to Samuel P. Huntington[iv], unipolarity is a situation in which the unipolar power can act at will even against the entire rest of the world, which takes the standard understanding of great power to a new extreme.

### 2.7.2 Bipolar:

In a bipolar system, two blocs are formed as was seen during the cold war era. In a Bipolar structure, two major powers influence the economy, military and cultural sphere at the global as well as regional level. It was evident during the cold war when the capitalist group was headed by the US and the Communist bloc was headed by the USSR. According to Waltz, the Bipolar system keeps an effective balance in the political system of the world and considers it relatively stable because superpowers take decisions independently and the rest of the allies follow their decisions and strategies. Thus, a balance comes into existence as neither side can accumulate more power.

According to Waltz[v]  'stationing of the arm in Europe, the establishment of bases in Japan and elsewhere, the waging of war in Korea and Vietnam and the 'quarantine' of Cuba' are the glaring examples of balancing against the Soviet Union. However, Dr Serfaty[vi], considers "bipolarity is potentially more dangerous because any regional conflict can escalate into an unwanted global confrontation". There are differing opinions in terms of bipolarity, its stability and instability in terms of the world system.

### 2.7.3 Multipolar:
In this type of system, many power blocs exist and all of them are capable enough to balance each other. In this system, more than two

sovereign states compete with each other in the area of economy, military dominance and culture. The scholars of classical realism like Hans J. Morgenthau and E.H. Carr consider the multipolar system more stable because their alliances provide the mechanism to avoid frequent conflicts. In a multipolar world, more than two poles can generate order as well as disorder. For instance, the contemporary world is said to be moving towards multipolarity. This can be observed through the representation of various countries in G-20, the voting share of the countries in the International Monetary Fund (IMF), permanent membership of the countries in United Nations (UN) security council, share in world trade and the expenditure of the countries on military preparedness are the indicators to assess the argument that world is moving towards multipolarity.

Despite the positive as well as negative interpretations of unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarity, it cannot be argued that a particular system is more stable. It all depends on the dynamics of the foreign policy of a country.

**Check Your Progress**
1) What is the difference between the unipolar and bipolar system?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) What is multipolarity?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.8 NATION -STATE

The nation-state is at the center of today's world politics. According to the traditional view, nation-states came into existence in 1648 after The Peace of Westphalia. From the middle of the seventeenth century, states were seen as the only legitimate political systems of Europe. This system is based on separate territory, their political subjects and independent government.

However, there is another view about the history of the emergence of nation-states. Revisionists have claimed the above-mentioned traditional view. They argue that the story of Westphalia was a myth(Jackson and Sorensen,2013).

Nation-state consists of population, territory, government and sovereignty as a state and common history, culture and shared symbols as a nation. Both together formulate a nation-state. Technically a state is a territorial concept whereas, the idea of the nation goes beyond the territory and includes diaspora and refugees who are not living in the territory but carry the feeling of togetherness. In the contemporary world, almost all sovereign states are nation-states. According to E.H. Carr(Schmidt and Long,2017), the evolution of nation-states can be broadly categorized into three periods;

*First Period*, in the first period modern nation-state, emerged from the medieval structure of the dominance of the Church and empire system. Political power was concentrated in the hands of the monarch and the economy was dominated by mercantilism. The sole motive was to augment the power of the state.

*The Second Period,* the second period started from the end of the Congress of Vienna and lasted until the outbreak of the Great War. It was characterized by a synthesis between political nationalism and economic internationalism.Political power passed to the middle classes and the tendency of the previous period "in asserting the claim of the nation to statehood" was further intensified. At the same time, laissez-faire economics associated with industrial production replaced mercantilism. In this period personification of the nation replaced the supremacy of the monarch.

*Third Period*, in this phase middle-class democracy, was transformed to mass democracy and the idea of social welfare gained currency. Thus, the third period was characterised by the alliance between nationalism and socialism which re-established the unity between politics and economics.

Thus the idea of self-determination that came into existence in Europe spread throughout the world. All the three periods mentioned here were overlapping with each other. There are certain cardinal features of a nation-state; firstly, it is a blend of the territorial notion of a sovereign state and the feeling of togetherness characterised as the nation, secondly, it is authoritative, thirdly, it promotes economic unity and develops a sense of togetherness among its citizens. However, in this globalised world due to the free flow of goods, services, ideas and culture and due to the emergence of non-traditional security threats such as challenges related to the climate, emergence of non-state actors like terrorist groups, cyber-attacks and weapons of mass destruction like nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons the importance of the boundary of the sovereign nation-state is getting eroded. In today's world, there is a need to develop more efficient institutions of global governance. For instance, the recent covid-19 crisis has reiterated the argument that no nation-state can claim to be secured merely by strengthening its territorial boundaries.

**Check Your Progress**

1) What are the important constituent parts of the nation-state?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2) Define nation-state?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 2.9 NATIONALINTEREST

Despite the difference in opinions, national interest has been defined as a state's core security interests and values (Viotti and Kauppi,20:185). It consists of the goals and targets of a country in terms of military, economy, technology etc. In the realist approach to international relations, Morgenthau has defined national interest in terms of national power. He further argues that national interest is dynamic and it keeps on changing with the changing situations. According to Heywood (2014:60), due to the key concern given to the national interest realism is commonly portrayed as essentially amoral because it considers the human being as a lustful power-seeking creature and emphasizes that ethical considerations should be strictly kept away from the foreign policy decision making. However, it also says that the well-being of its citizens should be taken care of while pursuing the national interest.

According to Heywood (2014:135), the national interest refers to foreign policy goals, objectives or policy preferences that benefit society as a whole (the foreign policy equivalent of the 'public interest'). The concept is often vague and contested, however, it is most widely used by realist theorists, for whom it is defined by the structural implications of international anarchy and so is closely linked to national security, survival and the pursuit of power. For decision making theorists, the national interest refers to the strategies and goals pursued by those responsible for the conduct of foreign policy. The issues and values of national interest are as follows:

### 2.9.1 Survival:

There is no disagreement among scholars and political leaders about considering the survival of a state as a national interest. In other

words, the survival of a nation-state depends upon its ability to maintain its sovereign position among the comity of the nations. According to Viotti and Kauppi (2013) '*The exercise of sovereignty is a right claimed by a state to exercise complete jurisdiction, power, or authority internally or within its territory and externally to act independently or autonomously in the conduct of its foreign affairs. For all their differences, leaders in the United States, Israel, Iran, and North Korea all are first and foremost concerned with national survival*'.

### 2.9.2 National Security:

National security has been one of the pressing issues of international relations. Since states compete with each other self-help becomes one of the most important aspects of national interest. Therefore, states enter into a security dilemma that promotes military counter moves. Realist emphasis on state-centric ideas of national security whereas liberals argue in favor of collective security where several states come together to resist the aggression. Due to economic interdependence and increasing democratization, the idea of security regimes is coming into existence. The UN is the glaring example of the same that came into existence after world war II. Apart from national security, the idea of human security is also being extended by the scholars of international relations in the context of non-military threats in the form of climate change, the refugee crisis, poverty etc.

### 2.9.3 Economic Vitality:

The economic prosperity of a country is demanded by both the people residing in the country and international relations. Economic vitality strengthens the survival of a country. The military preparedness of a country is also influenced by the economic well-being of that country. For instance, if the USA is considered a powerful country, one of the reasons is its economic dominance and prosperity.

### 2.9.4 Core Values:

Every society has certain basic values and the politics of that country depends on those values to a certain extent. For instance, in western countries, democratic values and human rights are the values that guide them. Similarly, Indian foreign policy is also guided by Buddhism, Gandhian values and Vasudhav Kutumbkam.

All of the factors mentioned above put together are known as the national interest that is pursued through the foreign policy of a country.

**Check Your Progress**
1) What is the national interest?

2) What are the components of national Interest?

## 2.10 NATIONAL POWER

The National Power of a country is a sum of all its capabilities and influences to fulfill its national interests. There are several elements of national power. Broadly, it is categorized as Tangible and Intangible National power. Tangible national power consists of Territory, population, natural resources, military and climate. Intangible elements of national power are, Leadership, diplomacy, political ideology and technological advancement etc.

### 2.10.1 Territory:

The geographical location or the geo-politics of a country plays a crucial role and contributes to national power. If a country's strategic location is important, countries tend to develop a good relationship with that country to fulfill their strategic needs. It is landlocked and depends on other countries then its importance is automatically reduced as it depends on the mercy of the neighboring countries.

### 2.10.2 Population:

The population of a country can be an asset or a liability both. If the country has better human development and people are well educated, healthy and enjoy a good standard of living, the population with its qualities contributes to the process of nation-building. The socio-economic development and political culture of a country are very much influenced by the quality of its citizenry.

### 2.10.3 Natural Resources:

Availability of natural resources adds to the power of a country. The abundance of natural resources enhances a country's bargaining power. The same can be seen in the case of oil-exporting West Asian countries.  However, if not appropriated properly or the leadership is not dynamic, natural resources may attract the interference of external forces as well. The system approach based on the idea of '*Center and Periphery'* provides a perspective to understand the exploitation of the countries that are weaker but bestowed with nature.

### 2.10.4 Military:

The military strength of a country and its updating are the crucial components of national power. According to classical realism, military power is the most important manifestation of the national power of a country. Even today when the importance of soft power is gaining currency due to the emergence of the diaspora as a powerful entity, countries are still investing a large amount to strengthen and modernize their military.

### 2.10.5 Geo-Strategic Location:

The geostrategic location of a country is one of the most important aspects of national power. For instance, if a country is surrounded by more powerful nations then broadly it can be in two positions, either the country is diplomatically able to get benefitted from all the neighboring countries or it suffers due to the rivalry between the powerful countries surrounding it.

Apart from these tangible sources of national power, intangible elements also play a decisive role. Sometimes intangible power can perform better than a tangible one. There are the following components of intangible national power;

### 2.10.6 Leadership:

The leadership of a country is an intangible form of national power. Leadership provides the vision to the country in terms of political alliances, economic development or while deciding major international issues in question that come up from time to time. For instance, during the time of Barack Obama USA was able to sign many crucial treaties regarding issues of global importance such as Climate change, nuclear non-proliferation etc.

### 2.10.7 Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is closely connected to the leadership aspect of national power. Countries with top-class diplomats are benefitted while using persuasive methods of power to fulfill their national interests. For instance, during the Doklam standoff and Galwan Valley issue India showed diplomatic maturity and avoided the war-like situation. At the same time, India was able to mobilize international support for her. India's active role in Quad is also an example of a diplomatic move by India to balance China.

### 2.10.8 Political Ideology:

If a country has an attractive political ideology other countries either get attracted to it or they become the supporter of the nation

concerned. For instance, during the cold war, two blocs were formed based on political narratives of communism and capitalism. Even after the cold war when the US gave a call for '*war on terror*' a strong ideology was working behind it. Apart from this, liberal ideology gained currency to a certain extent in this era of liberalization privatization and globalization.

### 2.10.9 Technical Advancement:

In this era of science and technology, countries that have technical advancement in the field of medicine, military or other kinds of technologies can manoeuvre the countries of the world to a certain extent. The US and other European countries always have enjoyed an edge in terms of new technology over Asian and African countries.

## 2.11 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the concept of power in international relations.
2. Briefly illustrate the role of power in determining the dynamics of international relations
3. Explain the concept and role of soft power.
4. Discuss the elements of power and their importance in the modern world.
5. Elaborate on the idea of the nation-state.

## 2.12 REFERENCES

- Berenskoetter, Felix and M.J. Williams (2007). Power in World Politics. Routledge: USA.

- Bull, Hedley (1977).The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics. Macmillan: Basingstoke. University of California: USA.

- Carr, E. H. (2016). The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939. Palgrave Macmillan: London.

- Dahl, Robert A. ( 1994). The New American Political (dis) order: An Essay. University of California: US.

- Enloe, Cynthia (1990). Bananas Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics. University of California Press: United States.

- Heywood, Andrew (2016). Global Politics. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

- Jackson, Robert & George Sorensen (2014). Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. (5th South Asia Edition), Oxford University Press: New Delhi.

- Jervis, Robert (1976).Perceptions and Misperceptions in International Politics. Princeton University Press: UK.

- Morgenthau, Hans J. (1961). Politics among Nations the Struggle for Power and Peace. NY Knopf: New York.

- Mowle, Thomas S. & David H. Sacko (2007). THE UNIPOLAR WORLD AN UNBALANCED FUTURE. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

- Nye Jr., Joseph S. (2004). Soft Power the Means to Success in World Politics. Public Affairs: USA.

- Schmitz, Brian and David Long (2017). Realist Thought and the Nation-State Power Politics in the Age of Nationalism. Palgrave Macmillan: Switzerland.

- Viotti, Paul R. & Mark V. Kauppi (2013) International Relations and World Politics. Pearson: New York

**Endnotes**

[i]Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, p. 28.

[ii]*Manufacturing Consent:  The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988) Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, Pantheon Books.

[iii]Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary.

[iv]Huntington, "Lonely Superpower."

[v]Kenneth N. Waltz. (1969). International Structure, National Force, and the Balance of World Power. In J. N. Rosenau, International Politics and Foreign Policy: a Reader in Research and Theory (pp. p304-314). New York: The Free Press, p.314

[vi] Simon Serfaty.(2008 Spring). A Bad War Gone Worse. The Washington Quarterly, 31:2, p.175.

*****

# Unit III

**3**

# DETERMINANTS

**Unit Structures**

## 3.1 OBJECTIVES

- To highlight the fundamental issues on determinants in international relations

- To make aware of diplomacy, international law, Non-State Actors particularly the study of Multinational Corporations (MNCs), Transnational Corporations (TNCs), Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGOs), Global Civil Society and the like,

- Examine the functioning of MNCs and Non- State Actors.

- Under the role of global civil society.

## 3.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit has designed to discuss the issues in details so that the students can get relevant information. This chapter has analyzed the origin, nature, purpose and types of diplomacy are discussed in a lucid manner. International law and its various sources, state and non-state actors in international law are also discussed. The growth of non-state actors, its various types and importance are also discussed. The MNCs, TNCs, their features,  types as well as their differences are also examined. The IGOs, its evolution, role, strengths and weaknesses are explained. The global civil society and its future prospects are also seen in details.

## 3.3 DETERMINANTS

The foundation of foreign policy is based on many factors. Several factors determine the foreign policy of a state. According to Khara, the important determinants having a bearing on foreign policy can be broadly classified into three categories, such as:

*A. General and Objective Determinants:* The general and objective factors determine the framework in which policy choices are to be made and operated. These are the factors that are common to all the countries in determining their foreign policy. These are of four types that play a role in determining the foreign policy of all the states:

**1. Sovereignty and Integrity of the State:** The first factor that every state keeps in mind while formulating foreign policy is safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is the state's main responsibility to safeguard the property of citizens and protect their interests whatsoever they are. This responsibility also involves the concept of security of national boundaries and, if necessary, to occupy other alien parts of the territory.

**2. Inter-dependence of States:** All the states, big or small, rich or poor, are dependent on one another for one or the other reasons. This inter-dependence may result in-conflict or cooperation, so the states under these stresses attempt to create a situation under which international behavior may not be broken completely. Foreign policy is formulated in such a way as to maintain a balance with bargaining.

**3. Promotion of National Interest:** It is the primary duty of all states to promote and further their national interests through their foreign policies. There may be a difference between one state's interests with that of another as they naturally vary according to time, place, location, and circumstances. Still, the interests as self-preservation, security, and well-being of its citizens are the common interests based on which foreign policy is generally made.

**4. Internal and External Conditions:** Certain internal and external factors condition the foreign policy of every state. Internal factors include geography, population, economic needs, ideology, history and culture, military capacity, social structure, personalities, public opinion, etc. External factors are the global environment, great power structure, alliances, international organizations, world public opinion, other states' reactions, etc. The degree of influence of these factors on foreign policy

may vary from country to country. That is why they are discussed in detail in subsequent headings.

*B. Specific, Subjective, or Internal Determinants:* Every state has its own specific interests that require specific decisions in foreign policymaking. A state may be facing certain problems and difficulties and, therefore, has to consider several internal factors while formulating its foreign policy. These internal factors are known as subjective or special factors and may differ from state to state. These particular or specific factors are discussed below:

**1. Geography:** A permanent and stable determinant of foreign policy is geography. It determines the temperature, resources, frontiers, and neighbors. The state's size, topography, shape, location, and climate are important components of geography. In the context of new technological developments, the importance of geography has suffered a setback. The coming of supersonic jets, inter-continental ballistic missiles, and rockets has made the mountains and seas vulnerable. Within a few hours, any distance can be covered, and heavy bombers can encircle the globe. The possibility of offensive defense against nuclear missiles is remote. While formulating its foreign policy, a state takes a distant country as seriously as it takes a neighboring country. Notwithstanding the above developments, the importance of geography is still intact as every state's foreign policy continues to be related to its geography, though partially.

**2. History:** Another guide to foreign policy is the history of the country. From history alone, the nation inherits a style and culture, which in turn influences foreign policymaking. History is the record of the doings of a community, of its failures and successes. The experience, failures, and successes guide policymakers to deal with present problems. If a specific policy had proved to be rewarding in the past, policy-makers would-like to try the same policy for tackling similar situations in the future. On the contrary, if a particular policy had proved to be a failure to deal with a situation, the policy-makers would try a different policy under an identical situation in the future.

**3. Population:** It, as a determinant of foreign policy, is relevant both in quantitative and qualitative terms. The political, economic, and military phases of a nation's foreign policy are also molded by the size, character, and distribution of its population. It is believed that the greater the number of population, the greater will be its power. Workforce determines the standard of living, values, way of life, and even a nation's expectations.

**4. Natural Resources:** Food, minerals, metal, coal, crude oil, and water resources constitute an important element of foreign policy's national power and consequences. The availability of these resources in plenty definitely enhances the importance of a country. For example, petroleum

has significantly strengthened the West Asian countries' position in international relations.

**5. Economic Factors:** Today, no state in the world can boast of economic self-sufficiency. Even the United States is greatly dependent upon world trade for economic prosperity. This mutual interdependence of the economies also works as a determinant of foreign policy. States are not equally gifted by nature with natural and economic resources, nor are they capable of utilizing available resources. Therefore, nations make their foreign policies so that the supply of war materials may not run short, and their trade may have a favorable balance. International economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign investment. All these economic factors have a bearing on foreign policy.

**6. Development:** Usually, a developed nation tends to follow an independent foreign policy, whereas a backward nation is inclined to pursue a dependency policy. Due to its poverty and military weakness, the latter would rely on developed nations for economic development and or for its protection against a powerful enemy. Such compulsions do not normally perturb strong and developed nations.

**7. National and Military Capacity:** It includes the military preparedness of a state, its technological advancement, and modem means of communication. The economic development and enlightened political institutions are also associated with the national capacity. States with adequate military capacity will have greater initiative and bargaining power in foreign policy matters. Only those states have adopted aggressive postures that feel militarily strong.

**8. Ideology:** There has been a great debate on whether ideology persecutes as a determinant of foreign policy. Some scholars say that democratic nations believe in peace while dictation regimes believe in war, but reality falsifies this hypothesis. America and Britain, by no means, are less war prone than Russia and China. At times, a leader uses ideology merely to justify his policy or behavior in familiar terms that are acceptable to his countrymen. But on the other occasions, a nation goes to war, not for national security but only to compel others to subscribe to its ideology.

**9. Public Opinion:** Especially in democratic countries, public opinion cannot be ignored as one of the foreign policy determinants. It is often vague, volatile, amenable to quick changes, and difficult to mobilize. But once on a particular problem, public opinion is mobilized and expressed in clear terms. It becomes difficult for the government to overlook it while deciding on the issue in question.

**10. Decision-Makers:** The attitude of policy and decision-makers is also carried weight. Leadership determines the strength and direction of a

foreign policy. The role that a country performs at a particular time and the foreign policy that will be pursued are the outcomes of the qualities of those who are in the position to make decisions. How decision-makers perceive national interest and their image of the external and global environment has much to do with foreign policymaking as the final decision regarding foreign matters lies in their hands. In fact, policy decisions in external matters can never be separated from the psychological traits, the personality, or the predisposition of the leaders. They, and not the abstract state or organization, take the most crucial decision concerning foreign policy.

**11. Domestic Instability:** Sometimes domestic instability also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Quincy Wright, an eminent scholar of international politics and war, has observed that a ruler prevents sedition by making external war. It is a common saying in India that Pakistan has been continuously following an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India as it has never been able to deal with numerous internal issues challenging its very legitimacy and existence.

*C. External Factors:* Some external factors and situations also influence a country's foreign policy and they clearly indicate that any simple determinant can satisfactorily explain foreign policy. These factors are as follows:

**1. International Organisations:** These include international law, the UN, and its activities, UNESCO, ILO, WHO, IMF, etc. The nations cannot completely ignore international law, treaties, and contracts so that their violations may not put in danger the policies. Almost all countries are also members of the UN. Its decisions and activities affect the foreign policy of many nations.

**2. World Public Opinion:** World public Opinion provides dynamism to the external environment. It is always changing. It is tough to know unless it becomes obvious and organized. Like a flicker of light, it influences foreign policy rarely. The characteristic of consistency is absolutely absent in it. Only if the domestic public opinion of many countries combines it becomes an effective world public opinion. Then it also serves as a determinant of foreign policy. No country, howsoever powerful, can go ever-challenging world public Opinion.

**3. Reaction of other States:** The states cannot always neglect the viewpoint of other states while making their foreign policies. Moreover, every state has some friendly nations or allies. Their reaction about a particular policy has to be given special attention States usually never attempting to pursue those interests that are totally opposed to another state's fundamental interests. If the police ignore the reaction of other states, it has little chance to succeed.

**4. Other External Factors:** The other external factors that have a bearing upon foreign policy are general world conditions, whether tense or relaxed, cold war like or detente like, war-prone or peace-oriented. General regional environment, whether surrounded by hostile or friendly neighbors.

**Check Your Progress**

What do you mean by determinants?

<br>
_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the three categories of determinants?

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 3.4 DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is the established method of influencing the decisions and behaviour of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence. Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-Renaissance European state system. Historically, diplomacy meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states.

The term *diplomacy* is derived via French from the ancient Greek *diploma*, composed of *diplo*, meaning 'folded in two', and the suffix-*ma*, meaning 'an object'. The folded document conferred a privilege - often a permit to travel - on the bearer, and the term came to denote documents through which princes granted such favors. Later it applied to all solemn documents issued by chancelleries, especially those containing agreements between sovereigns. Diplomacy later became identified with international relations, and the direct tie to documents lapsed.

### 3.4.a Nature and Purpose of Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is often confused with foreign policy, but the terms are not synonymous. Diplomacy is the chief, but not the only, instrument of foreign policy, which is set by political leaders, though diplomats (in addition to military and intelligence officers) may advise them. Foreign policy establishes goals, prescribes strategies, and sets the broad tactics to

be used in their accomplishment. It employs secret agents, subversion, war, or other forms of violence as well as diplomacy to achieve its objectives. Diplomacy is the principal substitute for the use of force or underhanded means in statecraft; it is how comprehensive national power is applied to the peaceful adjustment of differences between states. It may be coercive (i.e., backed by the threat to apply punitive measures or to use force) but is overtly nonviolent. Its primary tools are international dialogue and negotiation, primarily conducted by accredited envoys (a term derived from the French *envoye*, meaning 'one who is sent') and other political leaders. Unlike foreign policy, which generally is enunciated publicly, most diplomacy is conducted in confidence, though both the fact that it is in progress and its results are almost always made public in contemporary international relations.

Britannica highlights that the purpose of diplomacy is to strengthen the state, nation, or organization it serves in relation to others by advancing the interests in its charge. To this end, diplomatic activity endeavours to maximize a group's advantages without the risk and expense of using force and preferably without causing resentment. It habitually, but not invariably, strives to preserve peace; diplomacy is strongly inclined toward negotiation to achieve agreements and resolve issues between states. Even in times of peace, diplomacy may involve coercive threats of economic or other punitive measures or demonstrations of the capability to impose unilateral solutions to disputes by the application of military power. However, diplomacy normally seeks to develop goodwill toward the state it represents, nurturing relations with foreign states and peoples that will ensure their cooperation or - failing that - their neutrality.

When diplomacy fails, war may ensue; however, diplomacy is useful even during war. It conducts the passages from protest to menace, dialogue to negotiation, ultimatum to reprisal, and war to peace and reconciliation with other states. Diplomacy builds and tends the coalitions that deter or make war. It disrupts the alliances of enemies and sustains the passivity of potentially hostile powers. It contrives war's termination, and it forms, strengthens, and sustains the peace that follows conflict.

Diplomats are the primary - but far from the only - practitioners of diplomacy. They are specialists in carrying messages and negotiating adjustments in relations and the resolution of quarrels between states and peoples. Their weapons are words, backed by the power of the state or organization they represent. Diplomats help leaders to understand the attitudes and actions of foreigners and to develop strategies and tactics that will shape the behaviour of foreigners, especially foreign governments. The wise use of diplomats is a key to successful foreign policy.

### 3.4. b Types of Diplomacy:

There are a variety of diplomatic categories and diplomatic strategies employed by organizations and governments to achieve their aims, each with its own advantages and disadvantages. *Appeasement* is a policy of making concessions to an aggressor in order to avoid confrontation; because of its failure to prevent World War II, appeasement is not considered a legitimate tool of modern diplomacy. *Counterinsurgency diplomacy* or *Expeditionary diplomacy*, developed by diplomats deployed to civil-military stabilization efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, employs diplomats at tactical and operational levels, outside traditional embassy environments and often alongside military or peacekeeping forces. *Debt-trap diplomacy* is carried out in bilateral relations, with a powerful lending country seeking to saddle a borrowing nation with enormous debt so as to increase its leverage over it. *Economic diplomacy* is the use of aid or other types of economic policy as a means to achieve a diplomatic agenda. *Gunboat diplomacy* is the use of conspicuous displays of military power as a means of intimidation to influence others. Since it is inherently coercive, it typically lies near the edge between peace and war, and is usually exercised in the context of imperialism or hegemony. *Hostage diplomacy* is the taking of hostages by a state or quasi-state actor to fulfill diplomatic goals. It is a type of asymmetric diplomacy often used by weaker states to pressure stronger ones. Hostage diplomacy has been practiced from prehistory to the present day. *Humanitarian diplomacy* is the set of activities undertaken by various actors with governments, (Para) military organizations, or personalities in order to intervene or push intervention in a context where humanity is in danger. *Migration diplomacy* refers to the use of human migration in a state's foreign policy. *Nuclear diplomacy* is the area of diplomacy related to preventing nuclear proliferation and nuclear war. Para diplomacy is international relations conducted by sub-national or regional governments on their own, with a view to promoting their own interests. With globalisation, non-state regions play an increasingly influential international role.

### 3.4.c Modern Diplomatic Practice:

In 1961 the UN Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities adopted the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations to replace the 19th century rules of Vienna and Aix. According to the Vienna Convention, the functions of a diplomatic mission include: the representation of the sending state in the host state at a level beyond the merely social and ceremonial; the protection within the host state of the interests of the sending state and its nationals, including their property and shares in firms; the negotiation and signing of agreements with the host state when authorized; the reporting and gathering of information by all lawful means on conditions and developments in the host country for the sending government; and the promotion of friendly relations between the

two states and the furthering of their economic, commercial, cultural, and scientific relations.

**Check Your Progress**
What do you understand by diplomacy?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the various types of diplomacy?

_____

_____

_____

Explain the nature and purpose of diplomacy?

_____

_____

_____

## 3.5 INTERNATIONAL LAW

International law is the term used to refer to all legally binding rules that apply at the international level. International law, which concerns the way in which States behave towards one another, has a primarily regulatory function for the purpose of facilitating international cooperation and giving it a predictable pattern on the basis of binding rules. One of the main objectives of international law is to create the conditions for international peace and stability. International law, also called public international law or law of nations, the body of legal rules, norms, and standards that apply between sovereign states and other entities that are legally recognized as international actors. The term was coined by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832).

International law has acquired greater importance as a result of increasing globalisation. Since many of the problems which individual States face today cannot easily be solved at the national level, modern international law is of growing relevance in areas that were once the exclusive domain of national law. These include individual rights, environmental protection and efforts to combat crime. The range of norms and standards of international law extends from core peremptory rules (such as the prohibition of the use of force and the fundamental human rights guarantees), to basic institutional regulations (the law on treaties or the law on international organisations), operational norms for cooperation

(for example in the area of judicial assistance), and provisions of a technical-administrative nature (for example air travel safety, radio frequency allocations and food). The provisions of international law apply in a wide range of areas, as illustrated by the following[i]:

- *Prohibition of the use of force:* states must settle their disputes by peaceful means,

- *Human rights:* every individual may claim certain fundamental rights (right to life, physical integrity, individual freedom, freedom of opinion,

- *Protection of persons in armed conflicts:* international humanitarian law contains rules that apply in times of armed conflict, in particular for the protection of civilians, the wounded and prisoners of war,

- *Fight against terrorism and other serious crimes:* this can only be prosecuted effectively through international cooperation,

- *Environment:* regulations for the protection of the climate and the conservation of natural resources will be more effective if universally applied,

- *Telecommunications:* without international regulations it would be impossible to telephone abroad, and

- *Transport:* ensuring that train and airplane passengers arrive safely at their destinations requires international treaties.

International law is created by States and above all concerns the affairs of States. Thus, for a long time only States were the subjects of international law. In international law each State is sovereign and equal under the law - big and small, rich and poor. Other intergovernmental organisations such as non-governmental organisations, transnational companies and academic institutions are as a rule not subject to international law. The same can be said for individuals, although they too have increasingly come under the scrutiny of international law since the middle of the 20th century. A growing number of areas of international law concern the protection of individuals and the responsibility of individuals.

International law is a distinctive part of the general structure of international relations. In contemplating responses to a particular international situation, states usually consider relevant international laws. Although considerable attention is invariably focused on violations of international law, states generally are careful to ensure that their actions conform to the rules and principles of international law, because acting otherwise would be regarded negatively by the international community. The rules of international law are rarely enforced by military means or even by the use of economic sanctions. Instead, the system is sustained by reciprocity or a sense of enlightened self-interest.

### 3.5.a Sources of International Law:

Article 38 (1) of the International Court of Justice's (ICJ's) statute[ii] identifies three sources of international law, such as: (i) treaties, (ii) custom, and (iii) general principles. Because the system of international law is horizontal and decentralised, the creation of international laws is inevitably more complicated than the creation of laws in domestic systems.

*Treaties:* Treaties are known by a variety of terms - conventions, agreements, pacts, general acts, charters, and covenants - all of which signify written instruments in which the participants (usually but not always states) agree to be bound by the negotiated terms. Some agreements are governed by municipal law (e.g., commercial accords between states and international enterprises), in which case international law is inapplicable. Informal, nonbinding political statements or declarations are excluded from the category of treaties. These treaties may be bi-lateral or multi-lateral.

*Custom:* The ICJ's statute refers to 'international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law', as a second source of international law. Custom, whose importance reflects the decentralised nature of the international system, involves two fundamental elements: (i) the actual practice of states, and (ii) the acceptance by states of that practice as law. The actual practice of states (termed the 'material fact') covers various elements, including the duration, consistency, repetition, and generality of a particular kind of behaviour by states. All such elements are relevant in determining whether a practice may form the basis of a binding international custom.

*General principles of law:* A third source of international law identified by the ICJ's statute is 'the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations'. These principles essentially provide a mechanism to address international issues not already subject either to treaty provisions or to binding customary rules. Such general principles may arise either through municipal law or through international law, and many are in fact procedural or evidential principles or those that deal with the machinery of the judicial process.

Perhaps the most important principle of international law is that of good faith. It governs the creation and performance of legal obligations and is the foundation of treaty law. Another important general principle is that of equity, which permits international law to have a degree of flexibility in its application and enforcement.

### 3.5.b States in International Law:

Although states are not the only entities with international legal standing and are not the exclusive international actors, they are the primary subjects of international law and possess the greatest range of rights and obligations. Unlike states, which possess rights and obligations automatically, international organisations, individuals, and others derive their rights and duties in international law directly from particular instruments. Individuals may, for example, assert their rights under international law under the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both of which entered into force in 1976.

### 3.5.c Non-State Actors in International Law

Some international organisations are legally recognised as international actors - and thus are liable for breaches of international legal obligations - while others are not. Since the end of World War II, the leading international organisation has been the UN. Although the General Assembly may pass only nonbinding resolutions, the Security Council can authorize the use of force if there is a threat to or a breach of international peace and security or an act of aggression. Other international organisations have developed significant roles in international relations. They include the World Bank, which provides aid to promote economic development, the International Monetary Fund, which helps countries manage their balance-of-payments problems, and the WTO, which supervises and regulates international trade, regional organisations and agreements.

Historically, states were the only subjects of international law. During the 20th century, however, a growing body of international law was devoted to defining the rights and responsibilities of individuals. The rights of individuals under international law are detailed in various human rights instruments and agreements. Although references to the protection of human rights appear in the UN Charter, the principal engine of the process was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948; UDHR). The right to self-determination and the rights of persons belonging to minority groups are protected by the convention on civil and political rights. In addition, the UN has established a range of organs and mechanisms to protect human rights, including the Commission on Human Rights.

**Check Your Progress**
What do you mean by international law?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the various areas of international law?

What are the sources of international law?

## 3.6 NON-STATE ACTORS

The term non-state actors are non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political or social power and influence at a national and in some cases international level. There is no consensus on the members of this category and some definitions include trade unions, community organisations, religious institutions, ethnic groupings and universities.

The term non-state actors is widely used in development cooperation, particularly under the Cotonou Agreement[iii] between the European Union (EU) and African, Caribbean and Pacific ACP countries. The agreement uses the term to refer to a wide range of non-governmental development actors whose participation in ACP-EU development cooperation is now formally recognised. The non-state actors include: (i) civil society in all its diversity, according to national characteristics, (ii) economic and social partners, including trade union organisations, and (iii) the private sector.

### 3.6.a Types of Non-State Actors (NSAs):

The uniting element between non-state actors - individuals and entities such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations or fraternal orders - is that they are not endowed with full legal capacity. Non-State actors however possess great relevance not only in international relations theory and practice, but have emerged as important actors concerning the legality of conduct of participants on the international plane. Abstaining from the use of traditional law-creating mechanism in the form of treaty law by way of UN Security Council action in the fight against terrorism in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 is only one example. While it could be argued that the Security Council acted within its designated powers - albeit a contested assertion - other non-State actors without similar legal capacity have become influential in standard-setting procedures and, though to a lesser extent, in the fields of human rights or the environment. Practice indicates that the influence non-state actors exert in the development of traditional law-making instruments has been increasing, but also that the degree is still subject-

matter dependent. Some common and influential classes of NSAs are as follows[iv]:

- Business magnates are individuals who command large wealth, and who often seek to influence national and international affairs. Examples are Warren Buffett and Bill Gates,

- Corporations, which include multinational corporations (MNCs), are companies authorized to act as single entities (legally as persons) and are recognised as such in law,

- Decentralised autonomous organisations (DAO)s, sometimes known as decentralised autonomous corporations (DACs), operate according to rules encoded as computer programmes called smart contracts,

- International media agencies, which are also usually corporations, report on the social and political situation in countries worldwide, and may therefore be highly influential as NSAs. Examples of such agencies are AFP, EFE, and Reuters,

- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which include international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), are usually nonprofit organisations seeking to effect change in humanitarian, educational, ecological, healthcare, public policy, social, human rights, environmental, and other areas. Examples of NGOs are Red Cross, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and WWF etc.,

- People's movements are mass movements which become influential with size and longevity. Examples include the movements arising during the Arab Spring of 2011,

- Religious groups commonly engage in political affairs at an international level. For example, the Quakers, as a historic peace church, operate offices at the United Nations,

- Transnational diaspora communities are ethnic or national communities that commonly seek to bring social and political change to their originating countries and their adoptive countries. The Israeli diaspora is an example, and

- Violent non-state actors (VNSAs) are armed groups, including groups such as ISIS or criminal organizations, for example drug cartels.

### 3.6.b Importance of NSAs:

Non-state actors can aid in opinion building in international affairs, such as the Human Rights Council. Formal international organisations may also rely on non-state actors, particularly NGOs in the form of implementing partners in the national context.

Non-state actors are fundamental agents in helping to achieve both national and international development goals, such as those around climate change. Actions by non-state actors contribute significantly towards filling

the greenhouse gas emissions gap left by unambitious or poorly executed national climate policies, Intended Nationally Determined Contributions (INDCs)[v].

Non-state actors also have a role in governance. While NSAs are incredibly useful in advancing international peace, monitoring human rights violations, and lobbying for socio-political issues like climate change, they also play a role in non-traditional governance. Many fragile states rely on non-state actors for protection and administration[vi]. More traditional methods of governance include local courts and clans, on the other end, non-traditional NSA groups govern as paramilitaries or rebel groups. The importance of this is that in the last 20 years non-state actors have acquired legal recognition due to their heavy involvement in the international order. Their growing presence as an alternative governmental presence also holds them accountable to international law[vii].

**Check Your Progress**
Explain the various types of non-state actors.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Discuss the significance of non-state-actors.

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 3.6.1 MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The history of multinational corporations is closely intertwined with the history of colonialism, the first multinational corporations being founded to undertake colonial expeditions at the behest of their European monarchical patrons[viii]. One of the first multinational business organizations, the East India Company, was established in 1601[ix]. After the East India Company, came the Dutch East India Company, founded March 20, 1603, which would become the largest company in the world for nearly 200 years[x]. Many multinational enterprises are based in developed nations. Multinational advocates say they create high-paying jobs and technologically advanced goods in countries that otherwise would not have access to such opportunities or goods. However, critics of these enterprises believe these corporations have undue political influence over governments, exploit developing nations, and create job losses in their own home countries.

Multi means many and national means the state. Many states mean that these types of companies operate in more than one country at the same time. Multinational enterprise is strongly supported by the emergence of free liberalism and free market concepts. A company may start in one country, and may spread to other foreign countries, expanding their investments. Thus, a national industry becomes a multinational company. The significance of this type of companies is that though it spreads too many other countries, there will be a centralised management system, and the main decisions will always be taken by the home company. The other foreign corporations will be subsidiaries of the home company.

A multinational corporation (MNC) is usually a large corporation incorporated in one country which produces or sells goods or services in various countries.[15] Two common characteristics shared by MNCs are their large size and the fact that their worldwide activities are centrally controlled by the parent companies[xi]. Their activities include: (i) importing and exporting of goods and services, (ii) making significant investments in a foreign country, (iii) buying and selling licenses in foreign markets, (iv) engaging in contract manufacturing - permitting a local manufacturer in a foreign country to produce its products, and (v) opening manufacturing facilities or assembly operations in foreign countries.

### 3.6.1.a Types of Multinationals Corporations (MNCs):

There are four categories of multinationals that exist (Chen 2020). These include:

- A decentralized corporation with a strong presence in its home country,
- A global, centralized corporation that acquires cost advantage where cheap resources are available,
- A global company that builds on the parent corporation's R&D, and
- A transnational enterprise that uses all three categories

There are subtle differences between the different kinds of multinational corporations. For instance, a transnational - which is one type of multinational - may have its home in at least two nations and spread out its operations in many countries for a high level of local response. Nestle is an example of a transnational corporation that executes business and operational decisions in and outside of its headquarters. A multinational enterprise controls and manages plants in at least two countries. This type of multinational will take part in foreign investment as the company invests directly in host country plants in order to stake an ownership claim, thereby avoiding transaction costs. Apple Inc. is a great example of a multinational enterprise, as it tries to maximise cost advantages through foreign investments in international plants. According

to the Fortune Global 500 List, the top five multinational corporations in the world as of 2019 based on consolidated revenue were Walmart ($514 billion), Sinopec Group ($415 billion), Royal Dutch Shell ($397 billion), China National Petroleum ($393 billion), State Grid ($387 billion).

### 3.6.1.b Characteristics of MNCs:

The main characteristics of multinational corporations are:

- In general, there is a national strength of large companies as the main body, in the way of foreign direct investment or acquire local enterprises, established subsidiaries or branches in many countries,

- It usually has a complete decision-making system and the highest decision-making centre, each subsidiary or branch has its own decision-making body, according to their different features and operations to make decisions, but its decision must be subordinated to the highest decision-making centre,

- MNCs seek markets in worldwide and rational production layout, professional fixed-point production, fixed-point sales products, in order to achieve maximum profit,

- Due to strong economic and technical strength, with fast information transmission, as well as funding for rapid cross-border transfers, the multinational has stronger competitiveness in the world,

- Many large multinational companies have varying degrees of monopoly in some area, due to economic and technical strength or production advantages,

- When a corporation invests in the country which it is not domiciled, it is called foreign direct investment (FDI)[xii]. Countries may place restrictions on direct investment, and

- In addition, corporations may be prohibited from various business transactions by international sanctions or domestic laws.

### Check Your Progress

What do you mean by MNCs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the main characteristics of MNCs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Explain the types of MNCs.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Explain the activities of MNCS.

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 3.6.2 TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Greer and Singh said that Transnational Corporations (TNCs) are something similar to Multinational Corporations (MNCs), but there is a small difference. Transnational corporations also operate in many countries, and there isn't a centralised management system. These companies might start in one country, and later on they might expand to other nations as well. However, they do not have a home company to manage them and will start as a new company. So, a transnational company does not have subsidiaries. Since there isn't a centralised management system, a transnational company may take decisions suitable to the operating context. They also may not be loyal to the operating country's value system but only will look into their expansion of businesses, since they may have no connection with the particular country. Transnational companies are there all around the world, and they operate truly at the global level.

The Conference of United Nations on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 2016 in its World Investment Report provides a definition on TNCs saying that 'Transnational corporations are legal entities or entities without legal personality consisting of parent companies and their foreign affiliates. The parent company is defined as an enterprise that controls assets of other entities in countries other than the mother country, usually by owning a capital stake. Foreign affiliate is a legal entity or entity without legal personality in which an investor as a resident in other economy holds a share that allows a long-term interest in managing of this company'.

### 3.6.2.a Distinctions between MNCs and TNCs:

Both MNCs and TNCs are more or less similar in meaning, and some scholars use these two terms interchangeably. However, there is a small difference between multinational and transnational. Multinational, as the term suggests, operates in many countries. The main difference

between multinational and transnational enterprises is that multinational enterprises have a centralized management system which cannot be seen in transnational enterprise. Zak said that both multinational and transnational companies have foreign affiliates and operate around the world. A multinational company is considered to be a company that conducts research, production, sales respectively other activities in different countries, not just where it has its headquarters. At the same time, Zadrazilova said that the TNCs actively create relatively stable, internationally operating corporate networks with their suppliers, customers and cooperating partners. Let us look at the difference between multinational and transnational, in detail from various perspectives:

- *Definition:* MNCs operate in more than one country and have a centralised management system while TNCs have many companies around the world but do not have a centralised management system,

- *Operations:* MNCs own a home company and its subsidiaries while TNCs don't have subsidiaries but just many companies, and

- *Local Response:* Since MNCs have a centralised management system, there will be some barriers in decision making while TNCs are able to gain more interest in the local markets where they maintain their own systems.

### 3.6.2.b Advantages and Disadvantages of TNCs:

List of the Advantages of Transnational Corporations are mentioned below:
1. These companies are significant job creators: In the Netherlands, foreign-owned transnational companies created over 700,000 full-time equivalent employment positions in 2014. These organizations also contributed another 650,000 FTEs indirectly at other companies within the nation, with most of them involved in either trade or manufacturing.

2. It is a way to create a consistent, yet customized customer experience: When you work with a transnational corporation, then you have a reasonable expectation of what your transaction will look like. Even though these companies offer regional variations of their products or services, sometimes even under different brand names, there is still confidence in the quality of what you receive. These organisations are able to leverage their size to reduce costs.

3. Transnational corporations inspire innovation: About 6 per cent of the average budget for a transnational corporation is dedicated to research and development. Some companies contribute a little more, while others designate a little less. That creates billions of dollars (or local currency) for innovative studies that would not have been made available otherwise. When you look at the history of patents and

innovative product or service development since the 1950s, a majority of global standards were created because of the investments made by organizations like these.

4. This structure is a way to guarantee quality: Transnational corporations create opportunities to improve the quality of products or services offered at the local level. Suppliers, distributors, and other vendors seek out relationships with these companies because it gives them a way to expand into new markets. As this network of products, services, and relationships grows, the quality standards will rise too. That gives the average customer access to what they need without being charged an unfair price.

5. These corporations develop ethnic and cultural awareness: A transnational corporation defines success by its ability to be successful in multiple markets simultaneously. Instead of focusing on a centralized process, they let the local markets dictate how interactions occur with customers. They do not have a centralized management system. That allows them to gain more interest in a local market because they're able to maintain their own systems.

6. Corporations benefit from different regulatory regimes: As noted by the San Francisco Chronicle, a transnational corporation is able to benefit from different regulations. If an organization manufactures products that would be impractical to produce in the United States, then they can do so in other locations where compliance costs are lower. The company would then be able to export the completed product back to the United States. This benefit applies to products not approved for sale by regulators in one country, but it could be approved in others – like certain GMO foods.

7. Transnational corporations can benefit from favorable taxation policies: Before the tax cuts passed by the Republican Party in the first 2 years of the Trump Administration, the corporate income tax rate in the U.S. was 35 per cent. Under the structure of a transnational company, the profits could be earned through foreign subsidiaries which have a lower tax rate. The company could then shift their expenses back to the United States. Even though this process is one that sparks controversy, it is also legal when setup properly. That was one of the reasons why the corporate tax rate was reduced in that legislation.

List of the Disadvantages of Transnational Corporations are mentioned below:

**1. They can be a jobs killer:** Just as transnational corporations may add employment opportunities to some markets, they can reduce them in

others. It is often the foreign countries, not the home country, which receives the most benefits for open positions. That is because for most corporations of this structure, the standard cost of living requirements are much lower elsewhere. When you can pay someone $3 per hour to complete a job that offers a good quality of life instead of paying them $23 per hour, there is a strong chance that outsourcing will happen.

**2. It creates an opportunity to build monopolies:** Transnational corporations are unique because they eliminate the centralized structure that other multinational companies use. That means each market is treated as an independent entity. For the overall corporation, this structure creates more opportunities to monopolize markets in numerous countries. Whether the business operates under the same name or through different brands, it can drive the competition away. That limits customer choice, which then creates opportunities for the corporation to drive their profit numbers upward.

**3. Some companies may not pay enough for a good standard of living:** The garment industries of Bangladesh are a prime example of how transnational companies are able to exploit the costs of labor on a global scale. The minimum wage for workers in the industry is one of the lowest in the world. In July 2018, the current minimum was 5,300 taka per month, which is the equivalent of $63. Workers went on strike because they wanted to set a new minimum of 16,000 taka, or $191 per month, which would still be one of the lowest wages in the world.

**4. Transnational corporations act like local businesses, which can bankrupt local businesses:** Transnational corporations do create plenty of jobs, especially in foreign markets. There is no denying the positive financial impact that these companies provide for a country like the Netherlands. At the same time, however, these organizations change the structure of business ownership at the local level. Because they operate without a centralized location, many transnational corporations operate like a local business. Since they can keep prices lower because of their size, they can out price the true local businesses in the market. It is not unusual for these corporations to force local businesses into bankruptcy because they can compete on a different level.

**5. It is a structure which may limit consumer choices:** When there is the possibility of a monopoly, then there is a chance that consumer options will be limited. With less competition, a transnational company no longer has the requirement to stay focused on the quality of product or service they offer. Their customers are forced to work with them, which means they can do whatever they want. Some customers may not even realize that a monopoly is in place. Using the Coca-Cola Company as an example, there are more than 500 brands that are fully or partially-owned operating

in 200+ countries. Did you know Bacardi, Dasani, Enviga, Fresca, and Gold Peak Tea are all under the Coca-Cola umbrella?

**6. Transnational corporations offer hidden costs:** A company like Walmart might cost communities billions in supplemental assistance costs because of the low wages they provide, but that is nothing compared to the taxpayer cost of corporate welfare for the world's largest companies – even in the United States. In 2006, traditional social welfare programs cost the U.S. government $59 billion. The amount that the government spends on corporate subsidies was $92 billion. These transnational corporation advantages and disadvantages show us that the pricing structures we enjoy when shopping are often due to this structure. That helps out our budget, but it comes at the expense of what workers earn. To keep prices down, the size of these companies can be used to place pressure on worker wages. For some customers, that is why they shop at local stores which are not internationally owned to support the economy of their community.

### 3.6.2.c TNCs as Political Actors:

All companies that import or export are engaging in transnational economic activities. Often changes in health and safety standards, regulation of communication facilities or the general economic policy of foreign governments will affect their ability to trade. If this is beneficial, they will not necessarily respond, but, if they expect to lose financially, they may well decide to lobby the foreign government. Willetts has highlighted four common routes: (i) indirectly by the company asking its own government to put pressure on the foreign government, (ii) indirectly by raising a general policy question in an international organisation, (iii) directly at home via the diplomatic embassy, and (iv) directly in the other country via the government ministries. Several other routes to apply pressure, such as trade associations and more complex indirect routes can also be used. Thus even a company that is based in a single country may be a significant transnational political actor.

The TNCs are one of the driving forces of international production internationalisation, international trade liberalisation and ultimately world economy globalisation and also due to the development of scientific and technological revolution TNCs are becoming one of the most important and most dominant phenomena respectively subjects of current international economics turbulent processes. Transnational corporations are historically a new phase in the management of global enterprises, they are the 'muscles and brain' of a new global system in which their success is alternated with an enfeebled workforce and degrading role of national governments.

**Check Your Progress**
What do you mean by TNCs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the differences between MNCs and TNCs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the advantages and disadvantages of TNCs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 3.6.3 Inter Governmental Organisations:

According to Erturk an intergovernmental organisation (IGO) is an organisation composed primarily of sovereign states (referred to as *member states*), or of other intergovernmental organisations. The IGOs are established by a treaty that acts as a charter creating the group. Treaties are formed when lawful representatives (governments) of several states go through a ratification process, providing the IGO with an international legal personality.

In International Relations, traditionally, focuses on interactions between states conducted through their governments but, over time, has come also to focus on the role of *non-state actors* on the world stage. Non-state actor is a generic term covering any organisation other than a state with a role in international relations. There are two broad subcategories of non-state actors: intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). The IGOs are non-state actors essentially comprising governments as members. The INGOs, according to the UN, include 'any international organisation which is not established by inter-governmental agreement'.

### 3.6.3.a Evolution of Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs):

In the words of Langhorne, states, as the main decision makers within the international system, mostly prefer to maintain their sovereignty. Accordingly, although there are many coercive mechanisms that can regulate the behaviours of a state inside its borders, this is not so

readily implemented on a global scale. When states alone dominated the international system, the IGOs only took on cooperative action roles among states. For that reason, they were just called 'international organisations' a term which is still used to describe IGOs. However, the types of transnational organisations that existed previously have been greatly enlarged in the contemporary world. Today, IGOs can be distinguished from other transnational organisations by their state originated features. They have been categorised as 'global and regional organisations', 'supervisory systems for administering non-political international treaty regulation', and 'organisations designed to prevent political disputes from leading to war'.

The first IGOs were institutionalised with regard to certain activities such as postal services, although they had administrative and regulatory roles in the context of international activity. The Central Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine (1815) and International Telegraph Union (1865) were some examples of the first IGOs, also known as 'public international unions' at that time. Although states established these organisations to deal with the emerging problems created by the prevailing economic and technological changes, they restrained their functions and area of interests. The IGOs were used for gathering and exchanging information, providing coordination of national policies, and specifying basic standards in particular areas. The successful practices of these organisations in reducing cross-border problems led to the expansion of this trend. As a result, in the 20th century, particularly after the world wars, IGOs began to be established for purposes of managing their international activities.

### 3.6.3.b Strengths and Weaknesses of the IGOs:

The major strengths of the IGOs can be seen as: the IGOs hold state authority; their institutions are permanent; they provide a forum for discussion; they are issue-specific; they provide information; and they allow multilateral co-operation. On the other hand, the weaknesses of the IGOs can be seen as: the membership is limited. The IGOs' legal basis prohibits membership of private citizens, making them undemocratic. In addition, not all IGOs allow universal state membership; IGOs often overlap, resulting in an overly complex network; states have to give up part of their sovereignty, which weakens the states' ability to assert authority; inequality among state members creates biases and can lead powerful states to misuse these organisations; and they can be deemed unfair as countries with a higher percentage voting power have the right to veto any decision that is not in their favour, leaving the smaller countries powerless.

### 3.6.3.c Roles and Activities of IGOs:
The advancements in communication and transportation technologies have accelerated globalization processes since the 1990s. The

roles and activities of intergovernmental organisations have enlarged in this process. IGOs' supervisory and regulatory roles have evolved and are highly varied today. The IGOs contribute to cooperative endeavors among states, and by doing so, the socialization of states. According to Mingst some IGOs play a role in settling disputes, establishing procedures and forcing their members to obey their rules. Others perform operational activities to solve major global problems. Some IGOs contribute to international bargaining as a medium for negotiation activities. Other IGOs exist to establish transnational networks comprised of other state and non-state actors.

Langhorne highlights that the globalisation process created as a result of the rapid technological improvements in manufacturing, transportation, communications, and so on has led to the expansion of the international regulatory framework. In the contemporary world, there are thus a wide range of IGOs involving in activities related to security, economy, health, and environment.

The UN has also been viewed as important because of its evolving role in filling the global governance gaps in recent years. According to Erturk, globalisation has led to change in both the attitudes and structure of economic global institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF and they became global authorities considering the global community. The NATO, a regional security organisation, has changed its structure to deal with evolving global security problems. These recent changes in the role of IGOs show that IGOs will continue to be important actors in global arena.

**Check Your Progress**
What do you mean by IGOs?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Explain the evolution of IGOs.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of IGOs.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Discuss the role and activities of IGOs.

_____

_____

_____

_____

### 3.6.4 Global Civil Society:

The term 'Global civil society' refers to the vast assemblage of groups operating across borders and beyond the reach of governments. Whether such organisations constitute a new, increasingly autonomous realm or are merely artifacts of Western liberal society is widely debated. Keane (2003), in this sophisticated exploration of an ambiguous and politically contested phenomenon, argues that a global civil society is taking shape but that its character and implications for the older state system remain unclear. The sheer heterogeneity of groups, activities, and networks that make up global civil society - nonprofits, businesses, social movements, tourists, academics, artists, cultural performers, ethnic and linguistic groups, and so forth - threatens to make the term a description of everything and nothing. Keane (2003) nonetheless insists that this sprawling rumble does indeed function as a society - or a 'society of societies' - with rules and norms of conduct. He admits, however, that global civil society is still an evolving, open-ended civic sphere whose importance will depend on its ability to become more democratic, better integrated into governance institutions, and invested with universal values.

In the words of Scholte, global civil society has emerged as a major social force during the final decade of the Second Millennium to resist the assault on life and democracy by the institutions of corporate globalisation. Initially, the resistance centered on the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as the most visible and powerful of the institutional instruments advancing the neoliberal policy agenda of deregulation, the elimination of economic borders, social safety nets, and the privatisation of common property assets. Subsequently, global civil society directs its attention to global corporations and financial markets. The global civil society has three dimensions, such as:

- The empirical phenomena of globalised social relations and interconnections,
- The mobilizing, formative force of the project/vision, and
- Social actors (movements) on the global/transnational level

The first two dimensions taken together give the content of an ideal-typical connotation of the category of global civil society. Firstly, it strives to comprise the actual processes related to the expansion of social ties up to a worldwide level, mediated by the internationalisation of the

61

economic market, transport, culture, satellite communications, world-wide transparent media, and the internet. Secondly, the category of global civil society also strives to provide normative content and a mobilising force, a determination to embody the principle of democratic rule and a democratic way of life world-wide, and to identify criteria for evaluating events in individual countries, as well as in global tendencies, from the perspective of peace, tolerance, autonomy and control of society (societies), and in confrontation with the world centers - either formal or informal - of power and government.

According to Vujadinovic, the globalising practice of social, economic, cultural, political, legal interconnecting rests upon its empirical aspect, which cannot be recognized as being genuine manifestations of a global civil society without a normative-mobilising aspect that outlines a normative framework (principles of solidarity, justice, tolerance, peace, non-violence etc.) on the global scale. This is to be taken together with the principles of publicity, associativity and autonomous acting of the citizens on a global scale. In other words, the public acting of voluntarily and spontaneously forming associations of autonomous individuals at the transnational level and issues that have a global/transnational importance has been the field of global networking which bears the meaning and manifestations of the global civil society.

### 3.6.4.a Future Prospects of Global Civil Society:

Although its proportions can be overstated, global civil society has become an important feature of contemporary politics. As elaborated earlier, civic engagement with supra territorial spaces has figured in the emergence of multilayered governance, in some privatisation of regulation, and in redrawing the contours of collective identities, citizenship and democracy. In the process, civic associations have revealed significant potentials both to enhance and to undermine security and justice in the globalising world. According to Scholte, there are five general suggestions for enhancement of global civil society which can be enumerated as follows:

*First,* much attention needs to be given to *building capacity*, particularly in respect of global civic groups that represent underprivileged circles. Partly this is a question of increasing funds, in order to relieve the precarious position of many worthy civic associations. However, money is not by itself sufficient. After all, small budgets have not prevented, for example, women's groups from making a major impact on official agendas and public attitudes. Capacity building needs to be carefully targeted, *inter alia* at staff training in advocacy tactics, public speaking, cross-cultural communication, and leadership skills. In addition, civic associations need to develop modes of organisation that most effectively inform and mobilise their constituencies and at the same time most

successfully advance their policy goals *vis-a-vis* governance and market actors. Where civic groups currently lack global communications technologies, acquisition of these tools should have a high priority.

*Second,* increased efforts could be directed at *expanding involvement* in global civil society. Transborder civic activism would better realise the various potential benefits detailed earlier if the campaigns could attract larger followings and higher profiles than most associations have acquired thus far. Greater emphasis on outreach initiatives to the general public would help especially to advance the promise of global civil society in respect of civic education and the development of supraterritorial citizenship.

*Third,* the future development of global civil society should focus on *enhancing diversity*. As stressed at the close of the last section, transborder civic activism has to date been insufficiently representative. Existing efforts to expand access for women and people of colour should continue, and they should be supplemented by greater attempts to involve rural circles, under classes and non-western cultures. Otherwise global civil society runs grave dangers of serving as an instrument of social inequality.

*Fourth,* other potential shortfalls in democratic practice suggest a need for *increasing vigilance* in respect of global civil society. This is not to support intrusive police-state surveillance of transborder civic groups, though democratic governance institutions have as much right and duty to monitor civic associations as vice versa. In addition, civil society workers can be urged to nurture a more self critical attitude toward their practices, thereby catching and correcting their own democratic deficits. At present most civic associations lack a programme of regular and systematic evaluation, conducted either internally or by external assessors (other than financial auditors).

*Finally,* for political as well as intellectual reasons, the future development of global civil society would be advanced by further research. In part such investigations need to examine the general dynamics of globalisation, in order that transborder civic groups (and others) can better understand the context in which they are operating. In addition, much more research is required on global civil society itself, especially empirical studies that assess the experiences of concrete associations and campaigns. Particular attention could be given in this regard to providing more marginalised circles of civil society with resources to undertake or commission research that addresses their agendas.

These five suggestions reinforce the theme, expressed throughout this discussion, that global civil society can be a force for security and justice in the contemporary world if it is carefully moulded to serve those

ends. Transborder civic associations have great potential to help steer globalisation toward efficiency, equity, democracy and ecological sustainability.

**Check Your Progress**
What is a global civil society?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What are the three dimensions of global civil society?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Discuss the significance of global civil society.

_____

_____

_____

_____

## 3.7 REFERENCES

Britannica (2019), *International Law,* Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. URL: https://www.britannica.com/topic/international-law access on 11/2/2021

Britannica (2020), *Diplomacy,* Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.URL: https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy access on 10/2/2021

Chen, James (2020), *Multinational Corporation (MNC)*

Chong, Alan (2007), *Foreign Policy in Global Information Space Actualizing Soft Power*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Erturk, Esref (2015), Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and Their Roles and Activities in Security, Economy, Health and Environment *in Journal of International Social Research*

Greer, Jed and Kavaljit Singh (2000), A Brief History of Transnational Corporations

Keane, John (2003), Global Civil Society, URL = http://www.johnkeane.net/books/gcs/gcs.htm

Khara, Nabin Kumar (2018), Determinants of Foreign Policy: A Global Perspective, *International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews,* Vol. 5, Issue 3

Langhorne, R. (2006), *The Essentials of Global Politics.* London: Hodder Arnold

MIngst, K. A. (2008), *Essentials of International Relations*. New York – London: W.W. Norton & Company

Scholte, Jan Aart (1999), Global Civil Society: Changing the World?, CSGR Working Paper No. 31/99

UNCTAD (2016), Development and Globalization, retrieved from: http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/ accessed on 15/01/2021

Vujadinovic, Dragica (2008), Global Civil Society as Concept and Practice in the Processes of Globalization Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, Belgrade

Willetts, Peter (2001), "Transnational Actors and International Organizations in Global Politics", J. B. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalisation of World Politics*, (Oxford and New York: OUP), p.356-383

Zadrazilová, D. (2007). Mezinarodni Management, Praha: Oeconomica

Zak, S. (2012), International Marketing: Theory, Practices and New Trends. Prague economic papers, 2, p.251-254

[i] 'ABC of International Law', published by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA); www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/home/doc/publi/phumig.html , access on 11/02/2021

[ii] 'Statute of the International Court of Justice' Article 38, June 26, 1945, 59 Stat. 1055, 33 U.N.T.S. 993

[iii] 'Overview, the Cotonou Agreement'*,* the Cotonou Agreement, European Commission, 10 May 2012. Archived from *the original* on 14 February 2014, access on 11/02/2021

[iv] 'The Decentralized Autonomous Organization and Governance Issues', *Regulation of Financial Institutions Journal*: Social Science Research Network (SSRN), access on 05/02/2021

[v] 'Timeline of the international campaign to ban landmines', *The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL),* The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL). Access on 15/02/2021

vi   Cheng, Christine (2018-06-21), 'Extralegal Groups in Post-Conflict Liberia', Oxford Scholarship Online. doi:10.1093/oso/9780199673346.001.0001

vii  'Non-state actors as standard setters', Peters, Anne (1964), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2009. ISBN 978-0-511-63551-9. OCLC 667016755

viii Jeffrey, Alex, and Joe Painter, 'Imperialism and Post colonialism', Political Geography: An Introduction to Space and Power. London: SAGE, 2009, p.174-75

ix   'GlobalInc, An Atlas of The Multinational Corporation', Medard Gabel & Henry Bruner, New York: The New Press, 2004, access on 15/02/2021

x    http://www.kb.nl/themas/geschiedenis-en-cultuur/koloniaal-verleden/voc-1603-1800. access on 15/02/2021

xi   'Role of Multinational Corporations', T. Romana College, Archived from the original on 27 November 2016. access on 15/02/2021

xii  Chen, James, 'Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)', *Investopedia,* access on 12/02/2021

\*\*\*\*\*

# 4

# ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MEASURES

**Unit Structure**

## 4.1 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the meaning and concept of arms control and disarmament

- To highlights the significant differences between arms control and disarmament

- To learn the issues and efforts concerning the disarmament process of conventional weapons

- To explain the problems and concerns of nuclear disarmament and arms control
- To explore threats and challenges related to issues of controlling the other weapons of mass destruction

## 4.2 INTRODUCTION

Arms control and disarmament are regarded as significant perpetual topics of international relations. It is a well-established fact that massive armaments and wars are the greatest danger to international peace and security. The main objective of Arms control is directed towards limiting the amount of armaments or regulating the usage of arms and their future production and sale through reaching on different types of mutual agreements. Closely linked to the concept of arms control, disarmament refers to the comprehensive process of reduction and abolition of existing weaponries. Disarmament may mean anything from simple limitation of arms to complete abolition of armaments (Kumar, 1976, 368). The very meanings and objectives of these two concepts suggest that they are mutually complementary approaches to international peace and security .In recent years, despite the series of efforts of elimination, control and reduction of armaments ,the production and trade of arms have reached to its all-time high . There is a sharp rise in stockpiling of weapons and expansion of military forces throughout the world. There is also a considerable growth in investment for research and development in the area of weapon technology. These trends indicate the real danger for international peace and development. Now the world is witnessing a new age of weapon of mass destruction (WMD) challenges. Today, threats related to WMD which comprises three general types of weapons: nuclear, chemical and biological weapons are mounting and growing. Expiration of several arms control settlements and a nuclear nonproliferation agreement has raised the concerns of starting a new nuclear arm race. Despite the overall reduction in the number of nuclear weaponries, all nuclear armed states are continuing with their modernization schemes of nuclear warheads (Parthemore2019,7). Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which is a Sweden based think-tank research institute dedicated on collecting information and investigation about military expenditure, arms control, armaments and disarmament at global level, in its recent 2020 annual report highlights the fact that the global military spending has risen to $1917 billion in 2019which amounts 2.2 percent of world's total gross domestic product. The report also suggest that in recent years there is a rapid increase in military expenditure and it was 7.2 per cent higher in2019 than it was in 2010 (SIPRI 2020,10).This continued rise in military spending and focus on modernization of advanced weaponry system is sign of a revival of old-fashioned conception of national security which was supposedly considered to be declined by the end of Cold War rivalry. Given the context, both arms control and disarmament processes appear to be even more relevant in the current world as these are the ways through

which elimination and reduction of these dangerous weapons can be ensured. These initiatives can ultimately decrease the tension among the nations and promote peace and cooperation among the various state actors. However, it is also an interesting fact that the issue of disarmament is one of those phenomena of international relation which are coined as resolutions to the problems but later become problems themselves (Kumar 1976, 368).

### 4.2.1 Disarmament: Meaning and Definition:

Disarmament emerged as a way to resolve the problem of armament because it is being considered that war resulted from armaments. The disarmament approach finds armament as the only direct cause of war (Kumar,1976, 368). Other than as a source of violence and destruction , the meaning of armament involve three main processes-1st-Production of arms which constitutes research, development and manufacturing activities, 2nd-Stockpiling of arms which includes the process of  procurement by different ways like imports, production etc. and 3rd Transfer of arms by exporting the arms to other countries . In international relations it is the state which has the sole legal right to exercise all these three arms related activities either directly or indirectly. On the basis of the process of armaments there are two types states have emerged in the international arena-those who are having ability to produce, procure and develop the arms known as armed states and those who lack such capability they are being called non-armed states (Alolaimy 2017, 32-33). This difference between haves and haves not gives birth to the traditional problems of insecurities which results in the problem of arms race.  Just like the issue of disarmament which is very complex in nature, its meaning too offers a very difficult task to precisely explain it. As of now there is no commonly agreed meaning of disarmament as it has come to be known as everything from total abolition of all the weapons to reduction or control of some specific kinds of destructive weapons. It is being described and interpreted differently by different scholars. However, in a very generic sense it refers to the idea of limiting or controlling or reducing armaments. This limitation and control over the use of armament can be either qualitative or quantitative or both. Qualitative type of disarmament includes the process of imposing restriction on certain special types of arms whereas quantitative type of disarmament signifies the process of control over all types of weapons (Kumar 1976, 368).  In 2017, the United Nation General Assembly has adopted the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), or the Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty which seeks to totally eliminate all the nuclear weapons can be cited as one of the best example of disarmament process (UNODA). This meaning of disarmament is being highlighted in many definitions given by different scholars and institutions. For example Cambridge university dictionary defines disarmament as the process of getting rid of some types or all types of weapons by any country or group. Similarly, the United Nations General Assembly's first ever special session devoted on disarmament which was held in1978, defines disarmament as a gradual

but effective process of reduction in present level of armaments (Maslen and Vestner 2019). Morgenthau had also defined disarmament in terms of reduction or elimination of certain or all types of weapons. According to Vernon Van Dyke's disarmament deals with all types of regulations or limitations related to armed power (Khan 2012).On the basis of all these definitions following features of disarmament can be identified(Kumar 196, 368-69)-

(i)     Disarmament may mean anything from simple limitations of arms to complete elimination of armament.

(ii)    It obtains a specific meaning only when some adjective is added to it, such as unilateral disarmament or multilateral disarmament, general disarmament or local disarmament, total disarmament or partial disarmament etc.

(iii)   Disarmament only talks about the limitation and elimination of existing weapons and does not refer to control of future weapons.

(iv)   It attempts to control the armament.


**4.2.2 Arms Control: Meaning and Definition:**

          Now it is quite clear that the process of disarmament essentially talks about decreasing or eliminating the existing weapons and it does not cover the process of reduction or abolition of weapons likely to be developed in the future. At the same time it is also a fact that weapon technology is always on the move and such processes continuously develop new types of arms about which the process of disarmament cannot be applied. Here the term 'arms control' comes to denote the control of arms and armaments for the future. The concept of arms control encompasses the idea of controlling arms and arms race by nations. The basic thrust of the arms control is to enhance national security of states by regulating their armament capabilities. It is a kind of cooperative and multilateral approach regarding the arms policy of nations which involves the number and types of weapons, armed forces, deployment and armed force utilization in times of peace and conflict (Khan2012,128). As Jeffrey A. Larsen defines, it is any kind of settlement between the nations for regulating some aspects of their military power or potential. This sort of arrangement could be applicable on different militaristic aspects like its position, number, preparedness, types of military forces, weapons, and amenities. There may be different types of scope or terms of arms control agreements but one thing is a very much common in all arms control measures that they refer to the some kind of cooperation or joint action program about the military plans of participant states (Larsen 2005,1).In a similar way Hans Morgenthau defines arms control as process of seeking international peace through enhancing military stability (Khan 2012, 128). Harald Muller has also identified three main condition for successful arms control arrangement i.e. Treaty community coherence, leadership, and great power cooperation. Roach, Griffiths, and O'Callaghan have characterized arms control in many dimensions such as

-horizontal arms control which refers to non-proliferation process which means stopping transfer of arms to non-armed states, geographic arms control talks about the restriction of particular arms placement, numerical dimensions deals with limiting the number of arms by putting some sort of caps, technological dimension of arms control denotes to putting limit or ban on some specific technologies etc. In many cases arms control arrangements involve all such types of dimensions (Ventura 2018, 32).

Arms control is basically based on the idea that in an international order based on a sovereign state system no state can regulate another rival state's attempt to achieve military superiority. In international relations, there is always a trust deficit among the states. Each state tries to build their military capability in order to maintain balance of power and this is how the security dilemma appears. This security dilemma further leads to the problem of arms race which can culminate into political tension and sometimes becomes the cause of severe crisis or war itself. These negative effects of the security dilemma are basically addressed by arms control (Larsen 2005,2). On the basis of this description following basic characteristics of arms control can be drawn-

(i)   Arms control refers to control of arms and armaments for the future.(ii)   Arms control aimed at preventing arms race.(iii)  It tries to increase national security by adjusting the armament capabilities of the nations. In other words it's an approach to achieve national security through military strategy.(iv)  In its wider sense it encompasses all forms of military cooperation among the probable rival states in the interest of ensuring international stability.(v)   It tries to reduce the negative effects of the security dilemma emerging from a highly competitive international order.(vi)  According Thomas Schelling and Morton Halperin, arms control solves threefold objectives-first and foremost it reduces the possibility of war, second it reduces political and economic costs which used to be heavily invested in war preparedness (Larsen 2005,2).–

### 4.23 Difference between Disarmament and Arms Control:

Based on the above discussion it is evident that despite having the similar goals of establishing peace and security, both disarmament and arms control are having some subtle differences. The difference between both concepts can be sown in following ways

|   | Disarmament | Arms control |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Disarmament in any forms refers to the reduction of only existing weapons. | Arms control deals with the control of weapons of the future. |
| 2. | It tries to regulate armament. | It tries to control arms race. |
| 3. | There can be disarmament without arms control. | There can be arms control without having reduction in weapons. |
| 4 | The advocates of disarmament find | In some cases it may suggest |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | the clear cut objective of disarmament i.e. to downsize the extent of military, its budget and power etc. They firmly believe in the fact that armaments lead to war and conflicts among nations and reduction in numbers of arms of all the states is the only credible way to achieve world peace. | states to enhance some specific categories of weapons if that enhancement would lead to crisis stability and thus minimize the chance of conflict. |
| 5 | Critics find that it lacks accuracy and suffers from utopianism. | It is considered to be a more comprehensive term than the disarmament. It has clear cut objectives of enhancing national security through military strategy. |

**Source**-(Larsen 2005,3)

However, despite all these differences, from the perspectives of international peace and security both disarmament and arms control are complementary to each other. The elimination or abolition of arms would not solve the resolution of acquiring peace if states continue to go for new weapon technology. At the same time if existing weapons are not reduced, only arms control cannot ensure peace as given the fact that armament is a source of war (Kumar 1972, 369). In reality, the process of disarmament can be part of one state's arms control policy. For instance America and other nations have tried to reach on global conventions which aimed at removing the chemical and biological weapons from the earth. America has decided about both types of weapons that having such weapons would not be able to improve its security in the case if such types of weapons are retained by other countries. Thus it was professed that to enhance the security of all states, these types of weapons need to be removed. Likewise, the United States and Russia have decided to eradicate some specific types of strategic arms. Here Hedley Bull's observation is very much relevant as he stated that despite the fact that both disarmament and arms control are different approaches, they are still interconnected. While disarmament tries to remove or eliminate armaments, arms control focuses on putting international restrictions on armament policy to not only check the amount of weapons but also their nature, advancement and use-(Larsen2005,4). The concepts of arms control and disarmament apply to all types of weapons, whether conventional weapons, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In subsequent sections we will discuss each type of weapons and related disarmament and arms control measures.

## 4.3 CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS

Conventional weapons denote  various types of weapons which include battle helicopters, battle aircraft, battle warships, small arms and light weapons, landmines etc. These types of weapons are most commonly

found internationally. From the historical point of view too these are widely used in all types of conflicts (Encyclopedia of the Nations).

### 4.3.1 Meaning, Issues and Developments:

There are no mutually agreed definitions of conventional weapons and for convenience they are being defined on the basis of what they are not, such as weapons of mass destruction which includes atomic, chemical and biological weapons. Thus, other than the weapons of mass destruction, all weapons can be as assumed as conventional weapons. This definition was settled by the United Nations in 1948 and later endorsed by the United State Department of Defense (Maslen and Vestner 2019).UN Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA), a non-legally binding transparency mechanism of UN, which covers the report regarding transfer and production of arms globally, has classified seven categories of conventional arms which are as follows- first-Combat tanks, second -battle vehicles, third -large-caliber artillery system, fourth -battle aircraft and unmanned combat aerial vehicles (UCAV), fifth - Attack helicopters, sixth - warships and seventh -Missiles and missile launchers. Since the very establishment of this agency (UNROCA),it has been reported by more than 170 states and therefore it covers a considerable amount of legal transfer and production of arms. Very recently the reporting states have decided that small arms would also be covered by UNROCA (UNROCA) despite being not classified as WMD, the enhanced sophisticated technologies have made the conventional weapons more lethal and now several conventional weapons are having more killing ability. This can be cited by the historical data which suggests that more destruction took place through this advanced modern combat equipment such as jets and missiles. Given their destructive force and extensive use, in recent times conventional weapons have become a substitute to WMDs (Pash 2013). According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) which provides data about armed conflicts and violence, since 1989 due to the violent conflicts 2 523 676people have died. In the year of 2017, there was a high increase in the amount of deaths and around 589,000 people have died due to the armed conflict (UCDP2019).Each year armed violence occurred mostly through conventional weapons in approximately thirty places around the globe. These weapons constitutes about four-fifths of global military expenditures and for roughly eighty percent the world arms trade (Encyclopedia of the Nations).As per the SIPRI report the international trade of major arms has grown 5.5 percent between 2010-15 and2015-19(SIPRI 2020). After the Second World War, the world has seen more than 130 wars which were mainly fought by conventional weapons and low-cost weapons (Larsen2005, 164). In the post-Cold war era, the problem associated with Conventional weapons has become more widespread. During the Cold War period due to the block -politics respective allies were being shared weapons and technologies in order to reinforce their strategic purpose. After the Cold War ended such strategic alliances were declined and now private arms companies had to sell their weapons to the buyer who can pay high cost. Furthermore, after the

disintegration of the USSR, many newly independent countries have emerged with substantial conventional and nuclear arms capability. All these countries were facing a deep crisis of financial instability which made them sell their sophisticated weapons and arms technologies at high price to other state and on-state organizations. Consequently, the post-Cold-War era has witnessed the new challenge of proliferation of conventional weapons (Pash 2013).Furthermore; this era is also witnessing the unrestrained conventional arms transfer to certain type's non-state actors which resulted in the widespread conflict, homicides insecurity in many parts of the world. Small arms and light weapons are the main constitutions of this types of proliferation of conventional arms to non-state actors. Several terrorist organizations working in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Libya, and Sri Lanka etc. have received major conventional weapons (fighter helicopters, combat vehicles etc.) through transnational transfer in this post-Cold War period. Moreover, these militant organizations mostly depend on those countries where arms stocks are poorly protected. Trafficking of arms and secret government consignments are also on the rise in this era. So, only regulating the form alarms stockpile of the sovereign states is not enough and a serious attention is also needed on international transfer of arms to the non-state actors and violent groups (Holtom 2012).

## 4.3.2 Disarmament and Arms Control Measures for Conventional Weapons:

The existing measures for controlling conventional weapons are comparatively a new phenomenon as they have been started in the last 25 years. However, the informal control measures of arms have a century old history. The Hague conference of 1899 can be mentioned as an early measure of controlling conventional arms. In this conference108 member of 26 countries met to discuss the arms control, conflict resolution and rules of the war. Later in 1921 an international conference on naval limitation was organized to discuss naval disarmament. The conference also known as the Washington conference had created three major treaties-Five power treaty, four power treaty and nine power treaty (A brief history of conventional arms control, 1996). In the post Second World War era, the renewed efforts to pursue the serious attempts for conventional arms control began. In the prevailing situation of the Cold War, NATO countries and Japan initiated the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) to regulate the sensitive technology transfer to the Soviet bloc countries. Later in the post-Cold War era it was converted as the Wassenaar Arrangement. This arrangement was formed in 1996 which worked as a conventional arms control regime. 42 countries are part of this arrangement in which they share information related to conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies (Meijer 2011). Conventional Arms Transfer Talks (CATT) held between America and Russia during 1977-78 are also the most noteworthy initiatives of the post-Cold War era in the context of conventional arms control. In these talks, both major arms export countries negotiated to put mutual limits on arms

transfer (Anderson 1992,768). In 1980 ,the United Nations (UN) has adopted the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects which also popularly known as Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW).CCW with its five protocols is basically an international humanitarian law apparatus which stresses on limiting or banning the usage of weapons considered to be inhumane. CCW came into force in 1983 and it led to the forming of regular international law. The treaty is added with five protocols which bans following type's weapons-protocol1-Non-DetectableFragments, protocol 2-Restrictions on the Use of Mines, protocol 3-Booby-Trapsand Other Devices, protocol 4-Use of Incendiary Weapons and Protocol 5-Blinding Laser weapons, Protocol on Explosive Remnants of War. The convention has membership of 125 countries (Gillis 2017, 77-78).In the past few decades Land- mines both anti-personnel and anti-vehicle have produced grim challenges to human security. To tackle this issue, 'The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction' also known as Anti-personnel mine ban convention was adopted in1997.  It came into force in 1999 and currently 162 countries are its formal members. As the name suggests the convention seeks to take action for mine suffering people and preventing future suffering. The convention prohibits the all uses, storing, manufacturing and transfer of landmines (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade).  The United Nations is the leading global agency which continuously works for regulating conventional arms trade and their production. It established UNROCA in1991 which collects the reports from its member states regarding the arms transfer in production. On the part of small arms, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition to control illegal arms trade and trafficking in 2001. Commonly acknowledged as a firearm protocol, it supplements the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC). The protocol came into force in2005 and it is the first small arms control agreement which is legally obligatory at international level (UNDOC 2016). Another initiative taken by the UN in the year of 2001 to  control conventional arms trafficking and illegal trade of small arms and light weapons is the UN Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons (UN PoA) (UNRCPD). Among all the advanced conventional weapons, ballistic missile proliferation has gained a great prominence to the advocates of arms control. In this direction an attempt has been taken by G-7 states – America, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada, Italy, and Japan while establishing the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 1987. The main objective of MTCR was to check the spread of ballistic missiles, unmanned air vehicles, and linked technologies which can carry nuclear weapons of above 500kg for more than 300kms.Later in the year of 1992, MTCR objectives were further expanded to all types of WMDs. Currently in MTCR arrangements 35 states are involved. In 2016, India also joined it

as full member status. Other than the full members there are four "unilateral adherent members" – Israel, Macedonia, Romania, and Slovakia. Though a major nuclear power China is still not adhere to this regime but it also informally agreed to not to transfer missiles to other countries. A major problem of this arrangement is that it isstill not legally binding and there is no penalizing provision for on-adherence to the regime's guiding principles (NTI 2020). The most significant conventional arms control measure was taken recently in 2013 when the UN approved the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) , which was the first internationally binding treaty. It came into force in 2014 and provides a uniform international standard to countries to decide whether the arms transfer can be authorized or not. It encourages a cooperative, transparent and accountable action from the countries in affairs of convention arms trade. ATT covers all types of conventional arms (small weapons, combat tanks, fighter jet etc.) global trade. Till date, it has reached to the 92 states membership in which all the leading arms exporters are included. America has signed it but not ratified the treaty whereas Russia and China are still not part of the treaty (Gillis 2017,74-75).

### 4.3.3 Conclusion:

As of now, the experience of efforts to control the widespread phenomenon of conventional weapons is mixed at best. There are numerous challenges before the arms control measures of conventional weapons- First and foremost its utility and legitimacy. Unlike WMDs it has multiple uses ranging from national security to policing etc. Second, the economic factor of trade of such types of arms remains a huge number and day by day it is growing. It's very difficult for exporter countries to cut the production and transfer. Third point lies in the structure of the international system. In an anarchic world where the ultimate guarantor of one nation's security is that nation itself, such armaments support the cause of peace and stability. The final problem is the complex process of the conventional arms trade and production. There are numerous factors involved in the production, supply and transfer process of such weapons. It is really very difficult to reach and cover each factor and stop the global flow of arms trade. Illegal arms trafficking makes the situation more complicated (Stohl 2017, 6-7). Nevertheless, the arms control and disarmament process of conventional arms remains a very important factor for collective security goals. Post-Cold War era efforts towards controlling arms trade suggests that there is an enhanced attention regarding the issue and many relevant apparatus are developed to regulate the international arms transfer. Efforts like MTCR would be more effective to restrain over proliferation of particular technology.

## 4.4 NUCLEAR WEAPONS

In all kinds of arms available in the world, the most destructive form of weapon is nuclear weapons. The threat emanated from these types of weapons is so much that it can completely wipe out the entire humanity

from the earth. Different studies done on the destruction of nuclear arms suggest that even a limited regional nuclear war can lead to serious climate disturbance which can culminate into a widespread famine. Devastation brought by this nuclear famine can affect more than two billion people. Any use of nuclear weapons would certainly cause grave ecological loss and serious crisis for humankind and till now there is no way to avoid such irreparable destruction. So far now, the world has seen two times the use of nuclear bombs. Until the nuclear arms are not completely eliminated, the insecurity regarding their uses by certain states or non-state actors, either intentionally or unintentionally would remain exist(Gillis 2017, 23-24). Since the very inception of the nuclear bomb, the threat linked with it has always been a dominant agenda from the viewpoint of collective security and global peace. There are two leading perspectives that are primarily attached with the issue of nuclear proliferation- Realist approach and disarmament /arms control approach. As we all know that realism emphasizes attaining more power is necessary for national security of any state in the anarchic world. Thus, from the realist point of view nuclear arms are important for enhancing national security. The second perspective stresses on the fact that nuclear weapons create the problem of security dilemma and terror in the world. Thus, eradication of nuclear arms has utmost significance for global peace and security (Jindal 2018, 175). Here the famous coat of one of the greatest scientists Albert Einstein is very much pertinent" I know not with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones."

### 4.4.1 Meaning, Issues and Developments:

Just like conventional weapons, there is no commonly recognized definition of nuclear weapons. Even in some of the famous treaties of nuclear non-proliferation like Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) or recently concluded Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), any definitions of nuclear weapons are not mentioned. As per the common dictionary, nuclear weapons mean a-bomb or missile that uses nuclear energy to cause an explosion or any weapon that derives its destructive force from nuclear reaction. The Glossary of Key explained by permanent member of UN Security Council defines nuclear arms as a weapon assembly that is capable of producing an explosion and massive damage and destructions by the sudden release of energy instantaneously released from self-sustaining nuclear fission and/or fusion (Maslen and Vestner 2019). On the basis of these definitions we can say that nuclear weapons are a kind of explosive organism which produces a huge amount of energy released by nuclear fission(atomic bomb) or a mixture of fission and atomic fusion (hydrogen bomb) which can cause a great amount of destruction.

After the Second World War, given the great destruction caused by atom bombs in Japan, internationally various attempts were made, in order to control the proliferation of nuclear arms. These efforts were more or less proven successful as currently very few nations of the globe have

acquired nuclear arsenal. It is also true that without such serious efforts in an increasingly anarchic international system many states would have gone for the process of nuclearization. Moreover, it is also reality that the world is yet not free from nuclear weapons .As per the SIPRI report 2020 the total no nuclear armed states are now nine which include the US, Russia, UK , France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea. All these nine countries are having at least13400 nuclear arsenals as per the projection reported by SIPRI in its 2020report. One of the alarming facts of this report is that about 3720 nuclear arsenals are presently positioned with operational forces and out of which nearly 1800 nuclear arms are positioned in high operational alert. Although this report suggests that there will be a significant decrease in the number of nuclear weapons in 2020 (465 nuclear weapons) , all these nuclear states are continuing to work on advancement of their nuclear technology. The existing non-proliferation treaties are clearly one sided and protects the interest of the nuclear club of five countries i.e. the United States, Russia, UK, France and China. This phenomenon can be explained from the vertical (advancement of nuclear technologies by nuclear armed countries) and horizontal nuclear proliferation (spread of nuclear capability to the states who don't possess nuclear weapons). Though the recent data suggest that the vertical nuclear proliferation is more intense than the horizontal proliferation, there is another new dimension of nuclear threats growing in the form of non-state actors' continued efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. Therefore the issue of nuclear proliferation remains to be the greatest challenge for international peace and security (Jindal 2018, 175).

### 4.4.2 Disarmament and Arms Control Measures for Nuclear Weapons:

The history of nuclear disarmament is as old as the beginning of nuclearization. In this direction, efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons started immediately after the Second World War. The establishment of the UN Atomic Energy Commission in1946 was the first effort to tackle the challenges related to atom uses.  In the same year U.S. Ambassador Bernard Baruch proposed a plan for international control of nuclear resources which also has the facility of stockpiling of fissile material. It was produced in the UN but could not be approved due to the opposition of the USSR. The US proposal was to put international control over all the fissile material while having control on its nuclear arms on its own whereas the USSR wanted that first the US surrender its weapon for international control and afterwards other countries would give up their fissile material for international control. In this arrangement the US also proposed sanctions in the case of nonfulfillment of the treaty but the USSR opposed it. In 1946 the representative of the USSR in UN, Gromyko, brought another Plan known as Gromyko plan which had proposed for complete disarmament of all the nuclear arms and the provision of guideline of international checks. But it was rejected by the United States. Afterwards, both superpowers opted to choose a nuclear armed race and the competitive nuclear era started. In 1953 a new

proposal was introduced by US president Eisenhower which was known as 'the Atoms for Peace program'. In this plan the US reviewed its old policy of not transferring nuclear technology to any countries and this new plan had a proposal that US can transfer its nuclear technology to other countries provided that they only use this technology for peaceful purposes. The US Atomic Energy Act, which prohibited the transfer of nuclear technology to other countries, regardless of where their alliances lay, was revised in 1954 to allow US exports of nuclear technology and material provided the recipient country agreed not to use the technology for military purposes. The atom for peace proposal led to the series of talks and later in 1957, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established. The IAEA holds responsibility for promoting peaceful atom programs and ensuring non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (CTBTO).

Another important development in the direction of nuclear non-proliferation took place when the US, the USSR and UK signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty. This treaty is also called 'Limited Test Ban Treaty' and was signed in August 1963.Currently 125 states are signatory of this treaty. It is multilateral in nature and banns any types of nuclear tests in air, underwater or outer space. The underground tastings are being exempted in the treaty if it does not spread any kind of radioactive remains. The treaty was signed just after the Cuban crisis was resolved in which the US and the USSR were about to go for nuclear war. The treaty is one of the very significant breakthroughs as it limits the atmospheric radioactive contamination which has severe ecological and human implications (Center for Arms Control and non-proliferation 2017).Though the treaty was not able to successfully limit the nuclear test as there were disagreements between the US and the USSR over the number of issues like inspections of sites and authenticity of seismic stations, it set the precedent of nuclear non-proliferation treaties for future. Later in the coming year more advanced technologies for verification of nuclear tests were developed and these advancements lead to the reaching Threshold Ban Treaty (TTBT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) (Ibid).

In the year 1968 a landmark breakthrough in the area of nuclear non-proliferation took place when 'Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)' was signed. It is a multilateral treaty which has three main objectives-(1)-Non-proliferation i.e.to curbs the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear technology. (2) Nuclear disarmament and (3) Promoting peaceful use of nuclear technology. NPT is only treaty which has legal binding status through which obligates nuclear states to opt for nuclear disarmament. This treaty is being often coated as a "grand bargain" between the nuclear-weapon States and the non-nuclear-weapon States. The treaty obligates nuclear weapon states to stop their nuclear program but they can continue to possess nuclear weapons and in return non-nuclear states would not go for acquiring nuclear weapons. Further any country can go for peaceful uses of nuclear technology provided that they full fill certain conditions of NPT. In 1970 it has come into force and

in 1995 the timeline of treaty has been extended for indefinite period. As of now the number of states who have signed the treaty are 191 including the five nuclear club- the US, Soviet Union, France, UK and China. The number of signatory states is the testimony of the importance of the NPT. In way, the treaty has acquired a universal status and only five states haven't signed on it i.e. India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea and South Sudan (Gillis 2017, 36-37).

However, non-nuclear weapon states have found these treaties as structurally flawed and highly imbalanced. The treaty clearly discriminates between haves and haves not as it emphases on averting only horizontal proliferation while there is no boundary for vertical proliferation. As there is no clear compulsion on part of nuclear weapon states to decrease their weapons and they are continuing to expand their respective weapons without any restrictions. The treaty is also termed paradoxical as it has provision that nuclear weapon states can commercially use nuclear technology in the name of peaceful nuclear explosion (PNE) but still it restricts non-nuclear weapons states to make peaceful use of nuclear technology. India is also one of those five countries which have not signed the NPT (Jindal 2018, 182-83). From the very beginning India rejected the treaty on the ground that it is discriminatory. Although it was India which initially proposed such a treaty, the provisions adopted in NPT were completely different from India's proposal. India's position on NPT has always been that all the five nuclear states also need to be denuclearized. If not, then every nation should have the same right that nuclear weapon states have. Later in1974 India opted its nuclear option and in 1998 it acquired a nuclear posture. Nevertheless, India never deviated from the basic provisions of NPT and never indulged in nuclear proliferation. Some nuclear weapon states continue to encourage nuclear proliferation while utilizing it for political and commercial purposes (Ibid).

In 1996 another remarkable nuclear non-proliferation treaty was signed which is known as Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). The treaty prohibits each and every kind of nuclear test whether it is for military purposes or peaceful uses. Until now, the treaty has been signed by 185 countries out of which 170 countries have ratified it. The treaty has yet come into force as it has to be ratified by 44 specific states falling in annex -2 of the treaty. Out of this 8 countries still not ratified the treaty-the US, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, Israel, Iran and Egypt(Arms Control Association 2020).This treaty is also being criticized on many grounds as it does not ban non-traditional and non-explosive subcritical testing  and testing through computer simulation. It also does not cover the qualitative enhancement of nuclear technology by the nuclear armed states. Further it is also  not clear that the weather nuclear armed state can conduct a test. CTBT also does not ban the transfer of nuclear technology from nuclear armed states to non-nuclear armed states (Jindal 2018, 184). The very discriminatory character of the treaty also led India to not sign the treaty as it feels that like NPT, CTBT also favors the

nuclear five clubs. India does support the spirit of test-ban and self-imposed moratorium on tests but at the same time it criticized it on the ground that CTBT does not talk about complete elimination of nuclear arms (The Hindu Business Line 2019).

In 1987, two superpowers of the world (the US and Soviet Union) opted for signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. The treaty has provision that both countries would reduce their nuclear arms and conventional ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500to 5,500 kilometers. INF is considered to be a remarkable treaty as through this first time the superpowers decided to decrease their nuclear arms and employ extensive on-site examinations for verification. Since its implementation deadline i.e. 1991, both countries had eliminated a total number of 2,692 short-, medium-, and intermediate-range missiles. However, in 2019 the treaty was suspended by the US on the grounds of Russia's noncompliance and concerns about China's intermediate-range missile arsenal (Kimball 2019). After the end of Cold War era and disintegration of former USSR some new types of treaties were signed between the Us and Soviet Union to remove certain categories of nuclear weapons which were known as - The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START-1) Treaties signed in 1991, The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks -2(START-2) signed in 1993,The Strategic Arms Reduction Talks 3 (START-3) signed in 1997. START- I was the first ever non-proliferation treaty which talks about reducing the number of nuclear arms rather than just limiting the nuclear program of the US and Soviet Union. In 2002 both superpowers entered into another treaty known as Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty (SORT) which aimed at elimination of nuclear strategic systems of both the countries. However, SORT did not have any verification tools for the reduction of the strategic system. Even it does not stop both superpowers from deploying nuclear warheads (Jindal 2018, 185). Further in 2011 both the Us and Soviet Union entered into a new successor of START -1 treaty which expired in 2009 in the form of 'The New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START)'.The New START treaty has also outdated the SORT treaty which got suspended in 2012 when New START came into force. New START treaty includes the provision of verification of nuclear arms which was lacking in START 1. The treaty further reduces the number of nuclear weapons and seven years after it came into force the number of deployed strategic nuclear warheads and bombs is now 1,550. This number is almost 30 percent smaller than the 2,200 limit agreed by SORT and down 74 percent from the START which has the limit of 6,000 nuclear warheads. There was anxiety about the pro arms control organizations that New START will lapse in February 2021. However, on February3rd, 2021 both countries were agreed to extend it for further five years i.e. February, 2026 (Reif, 2021).

Another significant initiative towards nuclear non-proliferation is the formation of Nuclear Weapon Free Zones (NWFZs). This is the regional approach in which respective regions should avoid any type of use of nuclear weapons. The treaty is also cover the wider area of the

world and so far five treaties have signed - Africa (Treaty of Pelindaba 1996), Central Asia (Treaty on a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia-2006 ), Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco-1967), South-East Asia (Treaty of Bangkok-1997) and the South Pacific (Treaty of Rarotonga-1985). This treaty also bans the establishment of nuclear weapons in Antarctica, on the sea area, and on the moon or other space area. These treaties also include the provision that nuclear weapons countries would give guarantee to participant states that they will not use nuclear arms against the participant states of NWFZ. Until now among all the nuclear weapon free zones only two zones i.e. Latin America and the Caribbean countries got full support of the nuclear five groups. Mongolia is the first ever state who acquired the status of nuclear-weapon-free State and it has approved national legislation to strengthen its standing on NWFZ (Gillis 2017, 39-40).

India has not accepted the idea of NWFZs as it is also discriminatory in nature and does not include the provision of nuclear disarmament. India holds a firm stands that every country whether nuclear armed or non-nuclear armed should be free from nuclear weapons. Instead of the regional approach of nuclear arms control, a global approach should be adopted for nuclear non-proliferation. The NWFZs have a provision that nuclear five clubs can continue with nuclear arms which is simply unacceptable for India. India opposed the idea of NWFZ in the South Asia region because of the discriminatory nature of the treaty and China factor. China falls in the nuclear five club and thus it can continue with the nuclear program as per the NWFZ provisions (Jindal 2018, 187).

Apart from these treaties there are several arms control regimes which regulate the nuclear arms trade in which the NSG, the MTCR, the Australian Group and the Wassenaar are very much significant. The Nuclear Safeguards Group (NSG) sets the guidelines for nuclear governance and was established in 1975. The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is a multilateral missile and associated component export control mechanism which was signed in 1987. The Australian Group was formed in 1975 and it prohibits chemical and dual use technology. Signed in 1996, the Wassenaar treaty also bans transfer of nuclear arms to rogue states. In 1995, Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) was introduced to ban the production of fissile materials (mainly highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium) for nuclear devices. This treaty is also vague and does not explain whether it covers the existing nuclear materials only or new fissile materials. So, it also promotes hierarchy in terms of nuclear capability of the states and favors the interests of nuclear five groups (Jindal 2018, 186).

### 4.4.3 Conclusion:

As per the SIPRI report of 2020, the nine nuclear armed states are still holding an estimated 13400 nuclear weapons and approximately 3720 of the nuclear warheads are currently positioned with operational forces

out of which about 1800 weapons are kept in a state of high operational alert. The reports also highlight that the end of the INF Treaty in 2019 and logjam on the issue of New START treaty (though it has been extended for further five years) signifies that the era of bilateral nuclear arms control agreements between the two superpowers, who hold almost90 per cent of total nuclear weapon of the world, might be coming to an end. According to the report the recent trends suggest that there is a lack of communication between the US and Soviet Union over the issues of promoting transparency about their respective nuclear capabilities which may culminate into a new nuclear arms race. Both superpowers are uninterruptedly going ahead with advancement of their nuclear program. That signals the beginning of a new nuclear arms race which is quite contradictory to the trend of gradual reduction in nuclear arms in post-Cold War. Though other nuclear weapon states are having very little amount of nuclear arsenals, all these countries are also advancing their nuclear capability. China and North Korea appear to be more inclined towards the modernization of their nuclear weapons (SIPRI 2020, 14-15-16).There are also growing concerns that some non-state actors also have access to nuclear weapons, which further complicates the aspect of global security. In such conditions, the prospect of nuclear non-proliferation seems to be unmanageable. Initially, the main global concern regarding the nuclear weapon was how to be secured from nuclear weapons but now the main concern is how to keep nuclear weapons and related technology safe and secure. Thus, challenges of limiting nuclear weapons and managing its complications have become an urgent priority for the world. Now the issue of nuclear non-proliferation has gained even greater importance for international security.

## 4.5 OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

A weapon of Mass Destructions (WMD) constitutes three general categories of weapons i.e. nuclear weapons, chemical weapons and biological weapons. They are different from conventional weapons by their huge potential destructions capability, given their small size and relatively low cost and by their relative lack of discrimination to whom they kill. In the above section we have already discussed nuclear weapons. The current section would deal with other weapons of mass destruction i.e. chemical weapons and biological weapons.

In the First World War, the world had witnessed the devastation caused by chemical and biological weapons. As per the estimate more than one million people affected and around 90,000 people killed by use of such weapons. After the First World War the international community is continuously trying to curb the menace of chemical and biological weapons. In the Post-Cold War era the spread of WMDs has increased intensely because in this period many new nations emerged due to the disintegration of erstwhile USSR and all these new states have access to WMDs i.e. chemical, biological (Reynolds 2020.However,in this twenty first century, the world is facing the unprecedented challenges posed by

WMDs. Day by day these threats are mounting and growing in ways that they are putting strong challenge before the treaties, institutions and norms which deals with such threats. In recent times use of chemical weapons have become so common and in various ways. From using them in war or targeted king, these types of weapons are being utilized at both large and small scale. The terror associated with Biological weapons is growing and changing day by day. Though decades of effort have been devoted to eliminating such weapons, some states (like North Korea) are still indulged in developing large bioweapons programs. Additionally, the concern related to non-state actors like terrorist organizations which are eying on these lethal weapons for long as they can cause a huge destructions, making the international security concern grimmer (Parthmore 2019, 4-6).These both types of proliferation of Chemical and Biological weapons (CBWs) i.e. spread among the volatile states and concern emerged out of proliferation of CBWs among non-state actors like terror groups preset a clear global threat (Reynolds2020).

### 4.5.1 Meaning, Issues and Developments:

Chemical weapons are nonliving materials that can cause death or exhaustion by their chemical reaction when dispersed to cause such an effect. Biological weapons are made of living organisms, most commonly bacteria or viruses which cause death or disease when deliberately spread among humans, animals or plants. The CBWs are termed as weapons of mass destruction as they can have destroyed life on a scale which can only be surpassed by nuclear arms (Larsen 2005,144).There is no separate definition for Chemical –Biological Weapons (CBWs) as these categories of weapons fall under the greater category that is the WMDs. As far as the definition of WMD is concerned, despite its widespread use in the last two decades, there is no mutually agreed definition of it. However, WMDs term is considered to be a very important part of the international community's long-standing disarmament initiatives. Initially, "weapons capable of mass destruction," the term was used in the very first resolution accepted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1946. Later, by 1948, a substitute form, "weapons of mass destruction (WMD)," became the preferred usage. As WMDs was very much crucial for global arms control process, which is why the UN had formed a special committee to create an authoritative definition for it. That committee suggested following authoritative definition of WMDs.

"[WMD are] . . . atomic explosive weapons, radioactive material weapons, lethal chemical and biological weapons, and any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb or other weapons mentioned above"

Ever since this definition had been coined, it has been widely used by different disarmament diplomacy (Carus 2008, 5).

The usage of chemical and biological weapons (CBWs) dates to ancient times but in the modern era the practice of such weapons in the war started in World War. However, the use of chemical weapons during this period was not particularly developed or specialized. Between the two World Wars, two countries i.e. Italy and Japan, who have signed the Geneva protocol (which was against the use of CBWs) used chemical weapons in war. During the World War second, chemical gases were widely used, particularly by Nazi Germany. Poisons were also used in Asia. However those countries who haven't used chemical weapons in the war, were indulging in stockpiling such weapons. Throughout the Cold War period attempts of developing and stockpiling the chemical weapons become further intense. During 1970-80 around 25 States were involved in development of chemical weapons abilities. There is a dramatic shift that took place in the Post-Cold War era from the perspective of Chemical Weapons usage. For example during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s and freshly in Iraq and in Syria. In 2001, Further, as per the report of Amnesty International in Darfur chemical weapons were used in 2016. In 2017, more than 90 people were killed in an alleged nerve gas attack on the town of Khan Sheikhoun in the rebel-held Idlib province (Gillis 2017, 51).

As far as biological weapons are concerned, their use during World War First was relatively low. Japan used biological weapons in China, is one example. However, research over use of biological weapons was being conducted extensively. Later in the Post-Cold War period both super-powers considerably developed biological weapons like Anthrax, smallpox, plague and tularemia (Gillis 2017, 57). The spread of pandemics in some cases are considered to be the repercussions of biological weapons. The foot-and-mouth disease (FMD) contaminating cloven footed animals in Europe and bird flu virus became instantly global worries. The Ebola virus spread created havoc in African countries. Thousands of sheep imported from Australia in 2012were hurriedly discarded in Karachi for anxiety that these might be infected. The small island of Gruinard in Scotland became uninhabitable because of long experimentation on anthrax. In 2001, Anthrax was released through the mail system in the United States, Which killed 5 people and left thousands affected.

### 4.5.2Disarmament and Arms Control Measures for Other Weapons of Mass Destruction:

The history of arms control regarding CBWs is an old phenomenon. In Europe the first measure regarding such weapons was taken in 1675. This treaty was a bilateral treaty between France and Germany which was known as the Strasbourg Agreement. The treaty banned the use of poison bullets. The Brussels Declaration was the first multilateral agreement signed in 1874 which was pointing at banning CBWs. The Hague Gas Declaration of 1899 and the second Hague Conference organized in 1907were also aimed at prohibiting the poisonous gases. The 1919 Versailles Treaty also declared the restrictions over using chemical gases (Yamin 2013).

The historic Geneva Protocol which was signed in 1925 also prohibits the proliferation and use of CBWs in wars. It was one of the most comprehensive texts restricting the use of CBWs. Yet, the protocol does not cover the ban of development or possession of these weapons. It played a vital role in establishing the global norm that CBWs are improper tools of war. In the beginning, the treaty was signed by 41 countries and currently 133 countries are signatory of the treaty. The limitations of the treaty appeared in the course of time and it is being underlined that the treaty does not stop first use of BCWs. Even the treaty has no provisions of sanctioning, verification and enforcement facilities. The treaty carried more of a moral authority rather than rather than legal (Yamin 2013). The US declared the one-sided dismantling of its CBWs program in 1969. Later, after decades of long negotiations, the world reached on a new device to supplement the 1925 Geneva Protocol in the form of the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC). It was discussed in Geneva and was opened for signature in 1972. The BWC came into force in 1975. In 1992, Soviet Union which had developed a vast biological weapons program in 1990s unilaterally declared to terminate all of its n offensive biological weapons programs in 1992(Gillis 2017, 58). One of the important developments in the area of chemical weapon control appeared in the form of Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). It was signed in 1993 at Paris which led to the 130states approving the need for removal of chemical weapons. CWC also led the establishment of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).OPCW carries a main objective of ensuring the resolutions highlighted in the CWC should be fulfilled and for guaranteeing the application of the CWC provisions. The CWC came into force in the year of 1997 and on its 10th anniversary; the convention reached the 182-member states approval. Between the years of 1993 and 2007, around 25,000 metric tons of CWs were destroyed, with over 3000 international inspections conducted. The UN Security Council in2004 resolved the historic Resolution 1540 which mandates that WMD should be out of the hands of non-state actors (Reynolds 2019).

The prohibition of the acquisition, production and use of chemical weapons set in place by the CWC has mostly been a success. The CWC has been ratified by 192 States till now which represents 98 per cent of the total global chemical industry. Eight countries have declared that they possess chemical weapons and 90 per cent of the world's declared stockpiles of chemical weapons have been eliminated (Gillis 2017, 53).

After coming into force in 1975, The Biological Weapon Convention (BWC) has also expanded its mandate and in 2017, BWC had 178 countries as parties. However, the BWC has no implanting, monitoring and verifying agency like CWC. There is provision BWC, that the member state of convention can lodge a complaint in UN against the country who violated the norms of convention and UN may initiate an enquiry. For effective functioning of BWC, there is provision or annual of annual exchanges of information which are known as known as the confidence-building measures (CBM). It has been in process since 1987.In

2006, the sixth review conference of the BWC, held in Geneva in 2006 and subsequently eighth review conference of the convention held in 2016 extended the mandate of BWC until 2021. There is no official apparatus to examine the use of biological weapons. For this, there is the Secretary-General's Mechanism for Investigation of Alleged Use of Chemical, Biological and Toxin Weapons, This mechanism  was established at the request of the General Assembly in 1987 (Gillis 2017,60).

### 4.5.3 Conclusion:

Despite all such efforts to mitigate threats posed by CBWs, their uses in recent times are continuously increasing. Fresh cases of definite use prove that the mission of eradicating chemical weapon is not complete. Chemical weapons are once again being utilized in wars as terror weapons. The recent use of chemical weapons in Syria, Iraq and Darfur are fresh examples of using CBWs against the civilians. Furthermore, there is also concern that annihilation of huge chemical weapons by the US and the Soviet Union is quite slow. Given these challenges, there is no doubt that the conventions related to chemical and biological weapons must be strengthened. A universal membership of such conventions should be strongly pursued. Additionally, the role of civil society regarding the awareness about chemical and biological-warfare threats and how to respond in such emergencies is also crucial.

## 4.6 SUMMARY

Arms control and disarmament processes are considered to be the most significant issues of international relations. Both processes are surely a prerequisite for international peace and security. The process of disarmament essentially talks about decreasing or eliminating the existing weapons and it does not cover the process of reduction or abolition of weapons likely to be developed in the future. Whereas arms control refers to the control of arms and armaments for the future. It encompasses the idea of controlling arms and arms race by nations. From the perspectives of international peace and security both disarmament and arms control are complementary to each other. The elimination or abolition of arms would not solve the resolution of acquiring peace if states continued to go for new weapon technology. At the same time if existing weapons are not reduced; only arms control cannot ensure peace as given the fact that armaments are a source of war. The concepts of arms control and disarmament apply to all types of weapons, whether conventional weapons, nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

Conventional weapons refer to various types of weapons which include battle helicopters, battle aircraft, battle warships, small arms and light weapons, landmines etc. Apart from the weapons of mass destruction, all weapons are defined as conventional weapons. Despite being not classified as WMD, the enhanced sophisticated technologies have made the conventional weapons more lethal and now several

conventional weapons are having more killing ability. The existing measures for controlling conventional weapons are comparatively a new phenomenon as they have been started in the last 25 years. However, the informal control measures of arms have a century old history. The Hague conference of 1899 can be mentioned as an early measure of controlling conventional arms. In the post Second World War era, the renewed efforts to pursue the serious attempts for conventional arms control began which include- the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM), Conventional Arms Transfer Talks (CATT),Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), The Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, UN Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA),Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) etc. Recently concluded Arms Trade Treaty of 2013 is the most significant treaty in the context of conventional arms control. The experiences of efforts to control the widespread phenomenon of conventional weapons is mixed at best so far and there are numerous challenges before it  still exists such as economic aspects ,legitimacy, the structure of the international system, Illegal arms trafficking etc. Therefore, the arms control and disarmament process of conventional arms remains to be regarded as a very important factor for collective security goals.

Nuclear weapons constitute the most destructive form of weapon in the world which has the potential to eliminate humanity. Since the very inception of the nuclear bomb, the threat linked with it has always been a dominant agenda from the viewpoint of collective security and global peace. . As per the common dictionary, nuclear weapon means a bomb or missile that uses nuclear energy to cause an explosion or any weapon that derives its destructive force from nuclear reaction. The history of nuclear disarmament is as old as the beginning of nuclearization. In this direction, efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons started immediately after the Second World War. The establishment of the UN Atomic Energy Commission in 1946 was the first effort to tackle the challenges related to atom uses.  Subsequently, efforts such as the Baruch Plan, Gromyko plan, the Atoms for Peace program, establishment of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and Partial Test Ban Treaty were initiated. In the year 1968 a landmark breakthrough in the area of nuclear non-proliferation took place when 'Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)' was signed. In 1970 it came into force and in 1995 the timeline of the treaty was extended for an indefinite period. As of now the numbers of states who have signed the treaty are 191 including the five nuclear clubs- the US, Soviet Union, France, UK and China.

## 4.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1.  What do you understand by the terms Arms control and Disarmament? Explain the differences between arms control and disarmament.

2. How do you justify the need for arms control and disarmament measures for international peace and security?

3. What is Conventional Weapons? Explain the history of arms control and disarmaments measures for Conventional Weapons.

4. Briefly explain the efforts of nuclear-nonproliferation and examine their working in contemporary international relations.

5. Discuss the new nuclear proliferation challenges appeared in recent times.

6. What do you mean by Chemical and Biological Weapons? Why do they consider as weapons of mass destruction?

7. Trace the history of disarmament and arms control measures for Chemical and Biological Weapons.

## 4.8 REFERENCES

A brief history of conventional arms control.1996. The Adelphi Papers. 36(301):7-19, Accessed 15 January 2021. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/05679329508449353

Alolaimy, Mohamed.2017.'Disarmament: Evolution or Revolution' World Affairs: The Journal of International Issue 21(1):32-47. Accessed 10 January 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48531507.

Anderson, David G .1992 . 'The International Arms Trade: Regulating Conventional Arms Transfers in the Aftermath of the Gulf War'. American University International Law Review .7(4). Accessed 16 January 2020. https://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1529&context=auilr&sei

Arms Control Association.2021. 'New START at a Glance '. Kingston Reif. February 2021. 15 February 2021. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/NewSTART.

Arms Control Association.2020. Accessed 5 January 2020. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/test-ban-treaty-at-a-glance

Carus,W. Seth.2008.'Defining "Weapons of Mass Destruction":Occasional Paper 8'Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction.National Defense University.Accessed 5 February 2021. https://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/occasional/cswmd/CSWMD_OccationalPaper-8.pdf.

CBTO.n.d. Accessed 5 February 2021. https://www.ctbto.org/index.php?id=280&no_cache=1&letter=b#baruch-plan.

Center for arms control and non-proliferation .2017. Accessed 5 February 20221. https://armscontrolcenter.org/fact-sheet-limited-test-ban-treaty-ltbt/.

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. N.d.  Australian Government, Accessed 12 January 2021. https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/security/non-proliferation-disarmament-arms-control/conventional-weapons-missiles/Pages/convention-prohibition-use-stockpiling-production-transfer-anti-personnel-mines

Encyclopedia of the Nations. 'Arms Regulation and Disarmament - Conventional weapons' Accessed 20 January 2021. https://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/United-Nations/Arms-Regulation-and-Disarmament-CONVENTIONAL-WEAPONS.html.

Gillis,Melissa .2017.'Disarmament: A Basic Guide'.New York:Office for Disarmament Affairs. Accessed 10 January 2021. https://s3.amazonaws.com/unoda-web/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Basic-Guide-4th-Edition-web.pdf.

 Holtom, Paul.2012.'Prohibiting Arms Transfers to Non-State Actors and the Arms Trade Treaty'. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Accessed 15 January 2021. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265643292_Prohibiting_Arms_Transfers_to_Non-State_Actors_and_the_Arms_Trade_Treaty.
Jindal, Nirmal.2018.'Nuclear Proliferation' in Global Politics: Issues and Perspectives edited by Jindal Nirmal and Kamal Kumar.New Delhi:Sage.

Khan, M Muslim.2012.'Disarmament, Arms Control and Nuclear Proliferation ' in nternational Politics: Concepts, Theories and Issues edited by Rumki Basu. Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

Kimball ,Daryl. 2019. 'The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty at a Glance'. August 2019. Accessed 5 February 2021. https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/INFtreaty

Kumar, Mahendra.1976.Theoretical Aspects of International Politics, Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwal.

Larsen.Jeffrey A. eds.2005.Arms Control: Cooperative Security in a Changing Environment. New Delhi: Viva Book Private Limited.

Maslen,Stuart Casey and Tobias Vestner. 2019. A Guide to International Disarmament Law. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis. Accessed 20 January 2021. https://www.google.co.in/books/edition/A_Guide_to_International_Disarmament_Law/sAKaDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=disarmament+definition&printsec=frontcover

Meijer, Hugo.2011. Controlling the Uncontrollable? U.S. Dual-Use Export Controls in the Post-Cold War Era' Fiche de l'Irsem n° 10, December 2011. Accessed 5 January 2021. http://www.irsem.defense.gouv.fr

NTI. 2020. James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies, June 26, 2020, Accessed 5 February 2020. https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/missile-technology-control-regime-mtcr/

Parthemore, Christine.2019.'Wepons of Mass Destruction: The State Of Global Governance And Rising Threats and Emerging Opportunities'' Council On Strategic Risks, October 2019. Accessed 10 January 2021. https://globalchallenges.org/wp-content/uploads/Weapons-of-Mass-Destruction_The-State-of-Global-Governance_2019_10_20.pdf

SIPRI.2020.SIPRI Yearbook 2020: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security, Summary. Accessed 10 January, 2021. https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/yb20_summary_en_v2.pdf
 UCDP. 2019.'Uppsala Conflict Data Program' Accessed 20 January 2021. https://ucdp.uu.se/.
UNDC.2016. 'The Firearms Protocol and the Arms Trade Treaty: Divergence or Complementarity? Issue Paper.Vienna: United Nation. Accessed 24 January 2021.https://www.unodc.org/documents/firearms-protocol/SynergiesPaper.pdf

United Nation Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA).n.d. "Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons". Accessed 20 January 2021. https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/tpnw/.

UNROCA. n.d. ' United Nations Register of Conventional Arms' https://www.unroca.org/about
.
UNRCPD. n.d. 'Programme of Action The United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons. Accessed 20 January 2021. https://unrcpd.org/conventional-weapons/poa/#:~:text=The%20UN%20Programme%20of%20Action,Small%20Arms%20and%20Light%20Weapons.

Pash,Shannon. 2013.'The Proliferation of Conventional Weapons: A Post-Cold War Problem'E-International Relations. Accessed 20 January 2021. https://www.e-ir.info/2013/01/11/the-proliferation-of-conventional-weapons-a-prevalent-problem-since-the-end-of-the-cold-war/

Reynolds,Chris.2019.'Global Health Security and Weapons of Mass Destruction'.USA:College of Public Health, University of South Florida. Accessed                                                                    5February 2021.https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7122872/

Stohl, Rachel. 2017. 'Understanding the Conventional Arms Trade'. AIP Conference Proceedings. 15 November 2017.. Accessed 5 February 2021. https://doi.org/10.1063/1.5009220.

The Hindu Business Line .2019. 'Test Ban Treaty body want India to come on board as an observer'.Accessed 5 February2021. https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/world/test-ban-treaty-body-want-india-to-come-on-board-as-an-observer/article27118795.ece

Ventura,Milo R.2018.'Arms Control and Disarmament: Legitimacy, War, and Peace'Honors Thesis, Macalester College. Accessed 10 January 2021. https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=intlstudies_honors

Yamin, Tughral.2013.'Chemical & Biological Weapons: Positions, Prospects and Trends' Policy Perspectives.10 (1):147-159. Accessed 10 February 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42909302.pdf

*****