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The study guide contains up-to-date, integration and forward-looking aspects of international relations and world politics. It considers the main theoretical perspectives of world politics; place and role of the states and other actors of international relations in world political affairs; features of the dimension of power in world politics, key global challenges and the role of military, political, economic, and social factors in their resolution.

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, the formation of knowledge regarding the modern political picture of the world as an integrated space of interaction of key actors, which operate on international arena, current trends and future prospects of world politics development is a necessary condition for the training of qualified specialists in the international economic relations field.

The purpose of this study guide is to acquaint students with the basic and most relevant aspects of international relations and world politics, provide them with the historical and theoretical background of world affairs to understand their complexities.

The study guide briefly and consistently outlines the content of the basic concepts and approaches used by world science in studying political interactions on the international arena; the history of formation and development of international relations and world politics; key theories of world politics; place, role, and dominant interests of international relations actors; trends in the state transformation in the global age; features of the dimension of power in world politics; mechanisms and means of implementing world politics; problems of international security; main global challenges and the role of military, political, economic, and social factors in their addressing.

The study guide is intended for students of higher education institutions of speciality “International Economic Relations”, and anyone, who are interested in trends of development of international relations and world politics.

CHAPTER 1. UNDERSTANDING POLITICS

- 1.1 Politics as the art of government.
- 1.2 Politics as public affairs.
- 1.3 Politics as compromise and consensus.
- 1.4 Politics as power.
- 1.5 Politics as a discipline.

The term “politics” come from the Greek word “polis”, which means the city-state. In accordance with Greek philosophers, politics was a subject which dealt with all activities and affairs of the city-state, known as “polis”.

During the historical period, consideration of the meaning “politics” has been changed. The following evolutionary stages can be identified (Encyclopedia, 2018).

- philosophical: concerned with purposes and results;
- institutional: concerned with the political organization;
- behavioural: concerned with motivations and mechanism of human behaviour;
- pluralistic: concerned with the interaction among groups and organizations;
- structural: concerned with the connection between the individuals and the community;
- developmental: concerned with the process of growth.

As a result, there are many definitions of the category “politics”, according to which politics is (Cambridge, 2020; Heywood, 2002; Encyclopedia, 2018):

- the art to unite people;
- the activity of the government, members of law-making organizations or people who try to influence the governance of state;
- about making agreements between people so that they can live together in groups such as cities or countries;

- the activity through which people make and change the general rules under which they live;
- the practice to distribute power and resources within a given community or state;
- a possibility to influence decisions that have an impact on society or country.

Despite the plurality of definitions of “politics”, the considerable debate about approaches to its understanding continues to these days. One of the modern attempts to generalize these approaches was made by A. Heywood. Based on Heywood’s point of view it should be distinguished two main approaches to defining “politics”. Firstly, politics is associated with an arena or location; in this case behaviour becomes “political” due to where it takes place. Secondly, politics is considered as a process or a mechanism, in this case “political” behaviour is behaviour that has distinctive characteristics or qualities, and can take place in any social contexts. Each of the above approaches has spawned alternative definitions of “politics” (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 – Approaches to defining “politics” (Heywood, 2002)

Definitions of politics	Politics as an arena	Politics as a process
	The art of government	Compromise and consensus
	Public affairs	Power and the distribution of resources

Politics as the art of government. According to this point of view the art of government related to the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of collective decisions. This view of politics related to the State and is reflected in the everyday use of this term – people say to be “in politics” when they hold public office. In accordance with this view politics is practiced in legislative cabinets and

government departments and limited by specific groups of people such as politicians and civil servants who are involved in this process.

This point of view offers a restricted view of politics according to which politics is limited by activities of the state authorities, so most people, institutions and social activities are “outside” politics. That is businesses, educational institutions, community groups, families and so on are “non-political”, because they are not engaged in “governance of the country”.

At the same times this definition can be narrowed. It concerns the tendency to interpret politics as the equivalent of party politics. In other words, the “the political sphere” is limited to those state actors who have ideological beliefs and are the members of formal organizations such as political parties. So, in this sense politicians are considered as “political”, whereas civil servants are considered as “non-political” (Heywood, 2002).

Politics as public affairs. This view of politics based on traditional division between the public sphere and the private one that corresponds to the division between the state and civil society.

According to this point of view politics relates to “public affairs”. The institutions of the state (the apparatus of government, the courts, the police, the army, etc.) can be considered as “public” in the sense that they are responsible for the collective organization of community life and are financed by public funds. Therefore, institutions, which operate in public, can be considered as “political”.

In contrast, civil society consists of institutions such as the family, private businesses, community groups and so on, which are “private” in the sense that they are funded by individual citizens to satisfy their own interests, rather than interests of society in general.

On the basis of this “public/private” division, politics is limited by the activities of the state and the responsibilities that are exercised by public bodies. Those areas of life that people can manage themselves (the economic, social, domestic, personal, cultural, etc.) are “non-political” (Heywood, 2002).

Politics as compromise and consensus. This conception of politics relates not to the arena, where politics is conducted, but to the way in which decisions are made. Here politics is considered as a special means of resolving conflict: that is, by compromise, conciliation and negotiation. The description of a problem solution as a “political” implies peaceful debate, unlike what is often called a “military” solution.

This approach is based on belief in the efficiency of debate and discussion. In other words, society understands that disagreements cannot be resolved by violence and makes a choice in favour of consensus, rather than conflict.

This conception has a positive character. Compromise means that concessions are made by all sides, leaving no one completely satisfied), but it is undoubtedly better alternative of violence. In this sense, politics can be considered as a civilized force (Heywood, 2002).

Politics as power. This conception of politics is the broadest and does not limit politics to a particular sphere (the government, the state or the public sphere). According to this conception, politics underlies all collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private, in all human groups, institutions and societies. It can be found within families, among groups of friends, universities and so on as well as on the global stage.

Politics as power also is considered as the ability to achieve a desired result through whatever means. From this point of view, politics is conflict, the main component of which is shortage: the simple fact that, while human needs and desires are infinite, the resources available to satisfy them are limited.

Therefore, politics can be considered as a struggle for resources, and power as the means through which this struggle is carried out.

In turn, power can have different “faces” or can be considered in different dimensions:

1. Power as decision-making. This face of power consists of actions which in some way influence the decision-making. Such decisions can be influenced in various ways:

- use of force (the stick);
- productive exchanges involving mutual gain (the deal);
- the creation of obligations, loyalty and commitment (the kiss).

2. Power as agenda setting. This face of power is the ability to prevent decisions being made: that is, in effect, “non-decision-making”. This involves the ability to set or control the political agenda, thereby preventing issues or proposals from being aired in the first place. For instance, private businesses may exert power both by campaigning to defeat proposed consumer-protection legislation (first face) and by lobbying parties and politicians to prevent the question of consumer rights being publicly discussed (second face).

3. Power as thought control. This face of power is the ability to influence others by forming what he or she thinks, wants, or needs. An example of this can be the ability of advertisement to shape consumer tastes, often by forming associations with a “brand”. In political life, the usage of this form of power is carried out through the using propaganda or impact of ideology (Heywood, 2002).

According to another approach power can be exhibited in three dimensions: political, economic and ideological.

Political power belongs to the state and is manifested through the bodies of the government like legislature, executive, military, judiciary, police, bureaucracy, etc. Power is shared by political parties, pressure groups, elites, factions,

leaders etc. Power exists in all political processes; however democratic they may be.

Economic power finds its place in the form of ownership and control of national wealth, as well as means of production and distribution. Economic power and political power are mutually complementary.

Ideological power resides in the prevailing ideas acceptable to the people. Ideology means a set of ideas in which people have unquestionable faith and they also strive to put them into action. Some classes try to propagate and implement ideas that are congenial to their interests, whether economic or political. They may use all available media, elites, intellectuals, religious institutions, educational systems, associations and institutions to achieve this while oppressing counter ideologies.

It is necessary to clearly distinguish definitions “policy” and “politics”. The policy is a plan or course of government, political party, business etc., in order to achieve specific goals (e.g. American foreign policy, the company’s policy, etc.). Politics is science, discipline; it is more abstract term and concept that have broader meaning and sense, explained above.

Politics as a discipline. The study of politics is both humanistic and scientific. Aristotle called it the “queen of the sciences”.

Politics as a discipline deals with various aspects like (Encyclopedia, 2018):

1. Study of state and government. Politics is the science of state and government. It deals with the nature and formation of the state and tries to understand various forms and functions of the government. Politics makes a thorough investigation into the origin of the state. It also deals with the elements of the state, sovereignty and law, ends and functions of state, the rights and obligations of the individual, political institutions, forms of government, elections, political parties, public opinion, international bodies, etc.

2. Study of political theory. Political theory is a major branch of political science. On the basis of the political ideas or thoughts of political thinkers, political theory formulates definitions of the concepts like democracy, liberty, equality, etc.

3. Study of political institutions. The study of political institutions includes a study of constitutions and comparative governments. It deals with the nature of different political institutions, including government, explains their merits and demerits, their structure and working and arrives at different conclusions on comparative basis.

4. Study of political dynamics. It covers a wide range of and includes political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, lobbies etc. A scientific study of the working of these political dynamics helps us to explain the political behaviour of individuals and groups. The study in this field is often done in collaboration with other social sciences like sociology, anthropology, psychology, etc.

5. Study of adjustment of individual with the state. It includes study the nature of relationship between individual and state and to examine how man adjusts within the society. Man is the root of politics. The state guarantees certain rights and liberties to its citizens and also imposes certain reasonable restrictions on them.

6. Study of international relations and international law. It includes wide range of topics like diplomacy, international law, international organisations, modern world challenges (nuclear weapons proliferation and disarmament, international conflicts, terrorism, environmental problems, poverty, human rights violation etc. and the role of military, political, economic, social and cultural forces in their addressing.

7. Study of disagreements and their resolution. Disagreement is at the root of any political process on account of conflicting interests, contradictory view and opinions, social

and economic inequalities and scarce resource available to resolve these issues. Hence politics is all about making choices and arriving at policy decisions suitable to the broad demands and needs of people in the society.

Modern political research involves scientific and rigorous attempts to understand human behaviour and world events. Political scientists provide the frameworks from which journalists, special interest groups, politicians, and the electorate analyse issues.

End-of-chapter questions

1. How has the meaning of “politics” changed over the historical period?
2. How approaches to defining “politics” can be classified?
3. What approach to defining “politics” in the best way describes its essence?
4. What distinguishes “politics” from “policy”?
5. What aspects does politics as a discipline consider?

CHAPTER 2. INTRODUCTION TO WORLD POLITICS

- 2.1 Understanding international relations and world politics.
- 2.2 Actors of global politics.
- 2.3 Models of world politics.
- 2.4 Principles of world politics.
- 2.5 Political globalization.

International relations is combination of economic, political, legal, ideological, diplomatic, military, cultural and other relationships between actors operating on the world arena. The main feature of international relations is the absence of a single central core of power and government. They are built on the principle of poly-centrism (Economic, 2015).

International relations between states can take two forms:

1. Allied relations, when the states are partners and actively cooperate in different spheres. The main type of political process in given case is cooperation in the form of negotiations, diplomacy, integration, etc.

2. Conflict relations, when the states make territorial or other claims to each other and take active steps to satisfy them. The main type of political process in given case is conflicts, the highest form of which is war.

World politics is the core of international relations; it is the result of a profound transformation of international relations. Global politics is called making processes, making and implementing decisions that affect the lives of the world community.

The term “world” has two meanings, and these have quite different implications as far as global politics is concerned. In the first, “world” means worldwide, having planetary (not merely regional or national) significance. World politics, in this sense, refers to politics that is conducted at world rather than a

national or regional level. The worldwide dimension of politics has, in recent decades, become more significant. Recently there has been a growth of international organizations and a number of political issues have acquired a “world” character, in that they affect, actually or potentially, all parts of the world and so all people on the planet. For instance, today fewer and fewer countries remain outside the international trading system and are unaffected by external investment and the integration of financial markets.

Another example applies the environment, often seen as the paradigm example of a “world” issue, because nature operates as an interconnected whole, in which everything affects everything else. However, it is very difficult to image that global politics effectively absorbs regional, national and international politics or that we live in a “borderless world”, where state and sovereignty are irrelevant. This is why the second approach to understanding global politics is more appropriate. According to this approach “global” means comprehensive; it refers to all elements within a system, not just to the system as a whole. World politics thus takes place not just at a world level, but at and, crucially, across, all levels – worldwide, international, national, regional, etc.

As regards the “world” and “the international” politics, from this perspective, the advent of world politics does not imply that international politics ceases to exist. Rather, “the world” and “the international” coexist: they complement one another and should not be seen as rival or incompatible modes of understanding (Heywood, 2011).

In order to understand the reasons for world politics advent, some changes in the world arena should be considered. The most significant of them include:

- new actors at the world stage;
- increased interdependence and interconnectedness;
- trend towards global governance.

The conventional approach to world politics is considered as state-centric. In this field, states are seen as key actors in the world arena. However, the state-centric approach to world politics has become increasingly difficult to sustain, first of all, due to an appearance on the world stage of new non-state actors. So, the modern model of world politics can be considered as a mixed-actor model, where the states still remain the most important actors.

The actors of world politics include (International, 2017; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012; Heywood, 2011):

1. State actors. States are autonomous geopolitical entities inhabited by citizens having the same language, history and ethnicity. The states form a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders.

States are main actors of world politics, their course in the world arena is determined by national interests in social, political, economic, military, scientific and others spheres; their security, sovereignty and territorial integrity. A state takes the leading position in attempting to defend the physical security of the population, ensures the economic welfare of its citizens, provides a focus for loyalty and identity, and claims sovereignty. It means that its leaders claim to represent and exercise authority over all persons within the state's territory and claim a right to autonomy internationally.

At present, there are 195 independent states recognized in the world (compared with 50 in 1945). This total comprises 193 countries that are member states of the United Nations and the Holy See and the State of Palestine, which have observer state status in the United Nations (World, 2020).

At the same time there are a number of partially recognized and unrecognized states (e.g. Taiwan, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, etc.) (Buzard et al, 2017).

Observer status is a privilege given to non-members by some organizations in order to they had the opportunity to

participate in the organizations' activities. Observers have a limited opportunity to participate in international governmental organizations, they can speak at United Nations' General Assembly meetings, but do not have the right to vote or propose decisions.

According to above, it is reasonable to consider what a state is, and what the key features of statehood are.

The classic definition of the state in international law is found in the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the State (1933). According to Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention, the state has four features (Abdulrahim, 2020):

- defined territory. The existence of a particular territory over which a political authority operates is essential for the existence of a state. The size of the territory of a state and alterations to its extent, whether by increase or decrease, do not of themselves change the state's identity.

- permanent population. The existence of a permanent population is naturally required as an initial evidence of the existence of a state. This requirement suggests a stable community. Evidentially it is important, since in the absence of the physical basis for an organized community, it will be difficult to establish the existence of a state. The size of the population, however, is not relevant since international law does not specify the minimum number of inhabitants as a requirement of statehood;

- effective government. The existence of an effective government, with some sort of centralized administrative and legislative organs, assures the internal stability of the state, and of its ability to fulfil its international obligations;

- a capacity to enter into relations with other states. A state must have recognized capacity to maintain external relations with other States. Such capacity is essential for a sovereign state; lack of such capacity will avert the entity from being an independent state. Capacity distinguishes states from lesser

entities such as members of federation or protectorates, which do not manage their own foreign affairs, and are not recognized, by other states as full-members of the international community.

States have a dualistic structure. They have two faces, one looking outside and the other looking inside. The outside-looking face of the state deals with other states and its ability to provide protection against external attack. The inside-looking face of the state deals with the individuals and groups that live within its borders and its ability to maintain domestic order.

The underlying character of the state is established by single core characteristic – sovereignty. Sovereignty is the principle of absolute and unlimited power; the absence of a higher authority in either domestic or external affairs. States are states because they are capable of exercising sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders, and so are autonomous and independent actors.

In line with the dual structure of the state, sovereignty can be understood in internal or external senses. The concept of internal sovereignty refers to the location of power or authority within a state and has been crucial to the development of state structures and systems of rule. External sovereignty defines a state's relationship with other states and international actors. It establishes the state's capacity to act as an independent and autonomous entity in world affairs. As such, it is the form of sovereignty that is of crucial importance for global politics (Heywood, 2011).

2. Non-state actors:

2.1 International governmental organizations are military-political, political-economic and other alliances, blocs, coalitions created by agreement of the states based on the common interests to realize common goals. International governmental organizations can be bilateral (between two states), but most of them are multilateral (between three or

more states), e.g. the United Nations, the World Bank, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union, International Monetary Fund, etc.

2.2 International non-government organizations are non-profit organizations that are active in humanitarian, educational, healthcare, social, public policy, human rights, environmental, and other areas to effect changes according to their goals. Non-governmental organizations act across borders and have members in different states; their goals and interests sometimes differ from aims of the states, members of whom they are (e.g. CARE International, Amnesty International, the Red Cross, Greenpeace, Mercy Corps, Partners in Health, Cure Violence, etc.). International non-government organizations also include transnational diaspora communities, transnational organized crime, ethnic communities, religious groups, terrorist groups and so on.

2.3 Multinational corporations are for-profit organizations or corporations which are doing business globally, have plants or factories and pay taxes in more than one state (e.g. McDonald's, Coca-Cola, General Motors, Volkswagen, Amazon, Apple, etc.). Multinational corporations are major players on the world stage. They are the drivers of the globalization process, which is the integration of communication systems, transportation systems, ideas, cultures and economies into one world system.

3. Individuals. States and international organizations as main actors in world politics are made up by individuals. It should be noted that states and organizations do not make any decisions; it is made by people in governments, organizations or societies. Individuals can have a significant impact on the short and long-term course of world events (some examples of individuals who had considerable influence on political events: Mahatma Gandhi in India, Nelson Mandela in South Africa,

Osama bin Laden in al-Qaeda, Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, etc.).

Increased interdependence and interconnectedness. To study international politics traditionally meant to study the implications of the international system being divided into a collection of states. Thanks to sovereignty, these states were viewed as independent and autonomous entities.

This state-centric approach has often been illustrated through the so-called ‘billiard ball model’. This suggested that states, like billiard balls, are impermeable and self-contained units, which influence each other through external pressure. Sovereign states interacting within the state-system behave like a collection of billiard balls moving over the table and colliding with each other (Figure 2.1).

In this view, interactions between and amongst states, or “collisions”, are linked, in most cases to military and security matters. International politics is thus orientated mainly around issues of war and peace, with diplomacy and possibly military action being the principal forms of state interaction.

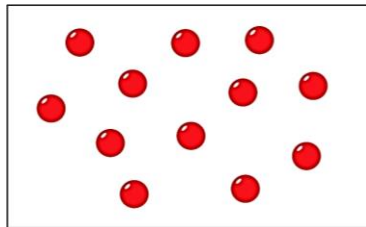


Figure 2.1 – Billiard ball model of world politics
(Heywood, 2011)

The billiard ball model of world politics has two key implications.

First, it suggests a clear distinction between domestic politics, which is concerned with the state’s role in maintaining

order and carrying out regulation within its own borders, and international politics, which is concerned with relations between and amongst states. In this sense, sovereignty is the hard shell of the billiard ball that divides the “outside” from the “inside”.

Second, it implies that character of conflicts and cooperation within the international system is largely determined by the distribution of power among states. Thus, although there is formal legal equality of states, some states are more powerful than others, and, indeed, that strong states may sometimes intervene in the affairs of weak ones.

In fact, not all billiard balls are the same size. That is why the study of global politics traditionally pays special attention to the interests and behaviour of the so-called “great powers” (Heywood, 2011).

The billiard ball model has nevertheless come under pressure as a result of recent trends and developments. Two of these have been particularly significant. The first is that there has been a substantial growth in cross-border (transnational) flows and transactions – movements of people, good, money, information and ideas, which were caused by globalization. The second development, linked to the first, is that relations among states have come to be characterized by growing interdependence and interconnectedness. Tasks such as promoting economic growth and prosperity, tackling global warming, halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction and coping with pandemic diseases are impossible for any state to accomplish on its own, however powerful it might be. States, in these circumstances, are forced to work together, relying on collective efforts and energies.

Such a web of relationships has created a condition of “complex interdependence”, in which states are drawn into cooperation and integration by forces such as closer trading and other economic relationships. This is illustrated by what

has been called the “cobweb model” of world politics (Figure 2.2).

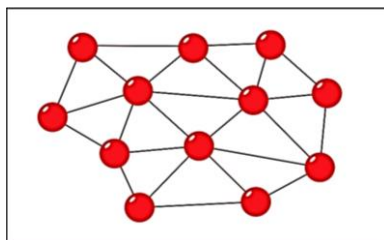


Figure 2.2 – Cobweb model of world politics
(Heywood, 2011)

However, interdependence is by no means always associated with trends towards peace, cooperation and integration; it can lead to conflicts as well.

The world politics is regulated by various norms. Its main political regulator is the emerging balance of power between states. International law also contributes to regulation of world political processes. In addition to it, there remains place for moral regulators – principles that must be respected by all actors of world politics.

The core principles of world politics are:

- non-interference in the internal and external affairs of other states;
- peaceful resolution of international disputes and conflicts;
- peaceful coexistence of states – recognition of the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity of the states;
- the sovereign equality of the states;
- respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- the refusal to use force, violence, terror, etc.;
- humanization and democratization of world politics.

Political globalization. Political globalization can be described as a unification of the political system, its growth both in size and complexity. Currently, such a political system, which is being spread around the world and has adapted by many countries is democracy.

The main causes of political globalization are: failed authoritarian regimes, major policy changes in the European community/the Soviet Union, the economic growth, increased living standards and educational growth leading to human development, the spreading of western democratic ideas across the world.

Pros of political globalization (Baylis et al, 2008; Heywood, 2011):

- improving the relationship between countries. It contributes to increasing trade and tourism, exchange knowledge, etc.;
- solving global problems. It contributes to resolving problems that require common efforts of states in order to be solved (e.g. global environmental problems, poverty, nuclear weapons proliferation, terrorism, etc.);
- providing international support. It allows to give support in various fields through international governmental, non-governmental organizations and social movements.

Cons of political globalization (Baylis et al, 2008; Heywood, 2011): reducing the capacity of national governments to manage their economies, in particular, the opportunity to confront changes under the influence of free markets. In addition to it more powerful states become dominant in political, military, culture and other aspects;

- political globalization can cause rejection when a country does not accept another culture, government system or policy conducted by globalized unions, alliances or organizations (e.g. withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union);

- spreading terrorism, especially such terroristic groups as ISIS, Al-Qaeda, etc., which oppose democracy and spreading westernization.

Thus, political globalization has several dimensions and lends itself to a number of interpretations. It has been discussed in the context of loss of state's autonomy, democratization of the world, creation of the global civil society, etc. However, the main question of the political globalization is related to the future of the nation-state, whether its importance is diminishing and what are the causes for those changes.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What does "global politics" mean?
2. Who are the actors of global politics?
3. What is the difference between billiard ball and cobweb models of world politics?
4. What a role of individuals in global politics?
5. What are advantages and disadvantages of political globalization?

CHAPTER 3. THEORIES OF GLOBAL POLITICS

- 3.1 Realism.
- 3.2 Liberalism.
- 3.3 Neo-Marxism.
- 3.4 Idealism.
- 3.5 Postcolonialism.
- 3.6 Feminism.
- 3.7 Green politics.

Theoretical perspectives are alternative interpretations of how international relations work, why actors do what they do, and what underlying factors govern relationships in global politics. They advocate a special view of international relations, give shape and structure to confusing international reality and help to explain all aspects of world politics. Each of the theories is based on different assumptions about humans, governments, and international relations and, therefore, can provide a different analysis of the same event in global politics.

The main theories that provide a conceptual framework to analyse international relations and world politics include realism, liberalism, neo-Marxism, idealism, feminism, postcolonialism, and green politics. Each of these theories advocates a special view of international reality and has own opinion to explain all aspects of international relations and world politics.

Realism is historically dominant theory through which world leaders and scientists understood global politics issues that emphasizes the role of the state, national interest, and military power in world politics

Realism is based on the following assumptions (Heywood, 2011; Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012).

- defining a feature of realism is that the international system exists as anarchy. Anarchy does not mean chaos or

confusion, but simply the lack of single political authority that can regulate the interaction between states;

- states are the most important actors in global politics. States are governments that exercise sovereign authority over a defined territory. Sovereignty means that states are legally the ultimate authority over their territory and no other actor in the international system has the legal right to interfere in states' internal affairs. For realists, it is states, and not their leaders, their citizens, business corporations or international organizations, determine what happens in the world;

- states protect self-interests, seek to preserve their political autonomy and their territorial integrity. Thus, everything a state does can be explained by its desire to maintain, protect, or increase its power in relation to other states. The desire to have power is separate from economic and other sphere of human activity (e.g. realists sometimes worry that their state's economic relations with other states, in the form of trade agreements and investment deals, make them dependent on others' states, even if the economic agreements are very beneficial for them);

- the use of force is the central issue in global politics, because states achieve their interests by maximizing their power, first of all military power. War is a means by which states compete for power, and, therefore, the key components of power are military forces, because the main goal of every state is to survive and to protect its territorial integrity. As a result, a conflict is an inherent part of world politics;

- non-state actors are considered as a threat to state sovereignty and state interests that have insignificant impact on state behaviour.

Liberalism emphasizes interdependence between states as the key characteristic of the international system.

According to liberalism states are connected to each other and are interdependent. What happens inside one state can have

significant effects on what happens inside another state, and the relations between two states can greatly affect the relations between other states. From the point of view of liberalism, complex interdependence became the dominant feature of global politics. Complex interdependence has three specific components (Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012):

1. Multiple channels. It means states are not the only important actors in global politics. There are a lot of non-state actors that share the world arena with states. With the correct international institutions and increasing interdependence, states have the opportunity to reduce conflict. Liberals believe that states actively promote the rise of international organizations, particularly intergovernmental organizations in which states are members, because international institutions provide an arena for communication and diplomatic negotiation, help states establish agreements and play a key role in cooperation among states.

2. Multiple issues. It means that there are a lot of issues, not only military security (as realism assumes) that are of interest to global actors. At present some economic, ecological, religious, cultural issues are part of the global agenda.

3. The decline in the use and effectiveness of military force. It means that military force is not as effective or frequently used as it was in the past. Many of the issues that are of concern to states and non-state actors do not lend themselves to military solutions. It is difficult to solve global environmental problems through military interventions or to conquer a trading partner through military force. So, according to liberalism states are constrained in using military power, because it harms the multiple interests of states and other actors.

Neo-Marxism is a theory that focuses on the historical development of the international system of capitalism, exploitation, and global competition among economic classes.

According to neo-Marxism, the world economy has always been divided into a core and periphery (Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012):

- the core is rich countries, where the most advanced economic activities take place and wealth is concentrated;
- periphery is poor countries, where the less advanced economic activities take place and wealth is limited.

Core areas are different from peripheral areas by concentration of capital, high wages and high-tech production. Therefore, core areas get benefit from technological innovation and high levels of investment. Over time, particular country economies may move from core to periphery or vice versa, but what is constant across history is that the globe is split into this core-periphery international division of labour and the economic conflict that is inherent in this divide. As a consequence, the core receives the most favourable proportion of the system's economic surplus through its exploitation of the periphery, which, in turn, is compelled to specialize in the supply of less well rewarded raw materials and labour.

It should be noted that this division of labour did not develop arbitrarily, but instead was a product of the historical expansion of the European powers that in the 16th century began colonizing the rest of the world. Colonization involved changing the conquered territories' economies to suit the needs of the European powers. In most parts of Latin America and Africa, for example, agricultural economies designed to feed the population for centuries were destroyed and replaced by luxury crops (largely goods exported for Europeans) such as bananas and sugar cane or raw materials such as gold. Even after the colonized areas became independent, the core continued to exploit the periphery through indirect domination, namely military interventions, control of international organizations, biased trading practices, etc.

Neo-Marxists criticize the multinational corporations for using the powers of states to support conditions that are profitable for them (e.g. wage controls, financial or environmental regulation).

In accordance with Neo-Marxism, there is exploitation, not only on the basis of class but also on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other social and cultural items. So, neo-Marxism seeks economic equality, justice and the emancipation of the global working class.

Idealism is a theoretical perspective that focuses on the importance of morality and values in international relations. According to idealism morals issues and values, not state interests, must form individual and state behaviour.

Idealism stands for improving the course of international relations by eliminating war, hunger, inequality, tyranny, force, and violence. Supporters of idealism believe that removing these evils is the main goal standing before humankind.

Idealists believe that human nature is good in fact and capable to do good actions in international relations. Bad human behaviour is the product of a bad environment and bad institutions. By reforming the environment and institutions, bad human behaviour can be eliminated.

For most idealists, war must be a last resort, because it takes away human life; that is why cooperation is desirable because it promotes a value – peace and avoids something morally questionable – war. Idealists support international organizations in world politics and see their role in solving moral issues of peace and human rights (Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012).

Feminism is a group of theories and political movements that advocates social, political and economic equality between men and women. Feminism focuses on the concept of patriarchy which can be described as a system of male authority which oppresses women through its social, political

and economic institutions. The key goal of feminism is achieving equality for women through the elimination of discrimination and unequal gender relations.

The main types of feminism include (Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012):

- differential feminism focuses on the role of women in world politics as a woman (underlining special features of the female nature – gender differences, which are biologically determined). Differential feminism points to the importance of interdependence among states, respect for human rights, the limitations of forceful methods, and emphasizes that women in politics can and should play a special role, in particular, be more involved in mediation in conflict situations since women less support military actions;

- liberal feminism focuses on the equality of men and women, underlining that differences between them are caused by stereotypes of perception. It is aimed at achieving gender equality by the elimination of existing differences between men and women, that is, the special features of the female nature are not taken into account here. According to liberal feminism, the problem is not that women look at the world differently, but because they are limited in their ability to be involved in world politics.

Postcolonialism is a theoretical perspective, which has tried to expose the cultural dimension of colonial rule, usually by establishing the legitimacy of non-western and sometimes anti-western ideas, cultures and traditions. Postcolonialism highlights the extent to which western cultural and political hegemony had been maintained through elaborate stereotypical fictions that belittled and demeaned non-western people and culture.

The cultural biases generated by colonialism have a continuing impact on western states, which assume the mantle of the “international community” in claiming the authority to

“sort out” less favoured parts of the world. In this view, humanitarian intervention can be seen as an example of Eurocentrism. Forcible intervention on allegedly humanitarian grounds and, for that matter, other forms of interference in the developing world, such as international aid, can, therefore, be viewed as a continuation of colonialism by other means (Heywood, 2011).

Green politics is a relatively recent political theory and the movement that has arisen in response to global environmental problems.

Although forms of green politics have always been, the environment was not significant national or international issue until the 1960s and 1970s. Focus on environment problem has been done since the appearance of environmental movements such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and green parties that seek to highlight the environmental costs of economic growth.

During 1970s, environmental politics focused on resource issues, particularly natural resources depletion, especially fossil fuels.

In the early 1980s environmental issues include impact of overpopulation, acid rains, ozone depletion, technological catastrophes such as Chernobyl nuclear disaster on environment etc.

From the 1990s environmental debate focused on the problem of climate change caused by global warming.

There are two types of green politics (Heywood, 2011):

1. Reformism. The key feature of reformism is recognition that there are “limits to growth”, since environment degradation (in the form of pollution, non-renewable resources depletion, climate change, etc.) threatens prosperity and economic development.

From the reformist theory, damage to the environment is an externality, or “social costs”. By taking account of such costs,

ecologists try to find a balance between economic growth and state of environment.

Reformist ecology proposes to take into account of long-term, not only short-term human interests (i.e., take into account of needs both the living and of people who have not be born yet).

2. Radicalism. Radicalism emphasizes the need of change of our thinking and assumptions about the world. It implies transition to ecocentrism (nature-centred, as opposed to human-centred (i.e. anthropocentric), system of values). Radicalism claims that human species is only part of nature, no more important and special, than any other parts.

The above theoretical perspectives present alternative explanations of the same events or facts and provide a basis for understanding global politics in the future.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the most important actors in world politics according to realism?

2. What is the dominant feature of global politics according to liberalism theory?

3. What are the main ideas of Neo-Marxism theory?

4. What distinguishes differential feminism from liberal one?

5. What are the key reasons for green politics growth?

CHAPTER 4. STATES AND NATIONAL INTEREST

- 4.1 Meaning national interest.
- 4.2 National interest functions.
- 4.3 Factors that influence the formation of national interest.
- 4.4 Classification of national interests.
- 4.5 Instruments and methods to secure national interests.

The term “national interest” has been used by statesman and scholars since the founding the nation-states to describe the aspiration and goals of sovereign entities in the international area.

National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations that provides the basis for foreign policy conduction. The purpose of foreign policy conduction is to achieve national interest to the maximum extent. Thus, national interest determines the behaviour of states at the global stage, their short and long-term efforts in foreign policy (Basu, 2012).

From time immemorial leaders of states justify their actions in the name of the national interest. For example, Adolf Hitler justified his expansionist policies, including a mindless multi front war, in the name of Germany’s national interest. Joseph Stalin destroyed or displaced anti-Soviet individuals in the name of the Soviet Union interest. George Bush was convinced that the interests of America were at stake in the Gulf War. Thus, national interest is the first step in making a foreign policy and in understanding, international politics (YAL, 2018).

National interest can be defined as:

- total amount of all national values;
- claims, goals, demands, which a state always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other states;

- something that a nation considers necessary for its security and well-being;
- values, desires and interests which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other.

National interest functions. National interests are a public declaration of a country's needs and intentions based on an assessment of the current situation. Such a declaration performs several key functions (Troitsky, 2015).

Firstly, it establishes a hierarchy of foreign policy priorities to avoid the ineffective use of resources and overextension.

Secondly, an official or semi-official statement of national interests puts reasonable constraints on the government, which often uses foreign policy to gain political advantage over the opposition. In addition, clearly stated national interests provide society with strict criteria for evaluating the policy conducted by those who make foreign policy decisions.

Thirdly, national interests ensure both continuity and timely adjustment of key aspects of the policy. It is particularly important that proper definitions contained in official documents prevent the state from turning foreign policy into a continuation of domestic policy. Regardless of how well democratic institutions are developed, in the majority of countries numerous actors with private interests seek to push them to the national level and garner government support. In this respect, national interests are a system of interconnected and logically coherent statements on what can be beneficial for a particular state in a given period of time.

Finally, a country pronounces national interests publicly in order to be more predictable to the outside world. The state largely restricts itself by declaring its interests and readiness to pursue them by all means, while pledging to refrain from actions that would clearly be at odds with such declarations. Such firmness in pursuing these interests is usually accompanied

by attempts to explain why they do not threaten other countries and can on the whole be acceptable to them.

Several factors both internal and external play role in the formulation of national interest. These determinants are: the qualities, personality, and ideals of decision makers; the interests of the most influential groups within the state, ideologies of the states, the forms of government; the geopolitical location of states; the capabilities of various countries; the types of challenges and pressures that each country faces from neighbouring countries, great powers and international organizations; the customs and cultural styles of societies; and finally the general nature of international society prevailing at a given time (YAL, 2018).

The national interests can be classified based on the following criteria (YAL, 2018; Marleku, 2013):

1. Importance:

- primary national interests (also known as core or vital interests, because these are essential for the survival of a nation). The states often decide to go to war for securing or protecting their vital interests. These include the preservation of physical, political and cultural identity of a state. Physical identity means territorial identity; political identity means belonging to a particular political position; cultural identity means historical values that are supported by a state as part of its cultural heritage;

- secondary national interests. They are less important than the first one and include the protection of the citizens abroad and ensuring of diplomatic immunizes for the diplomatic staff.

2. Duration:

- permanent national interests. They are related to the relatively constant and long-term interests of a state. These are subject to very slow changes (e.g. establishing friendly and cooperation relationships with its neighbouring countries);

- temporary or variable national interests. It is changeable interests that depend on certain circumstances, situations or events. These interests are mainly determined by the factors like personalities, public opinion, etc.

3. Specificity:

- general national interests. These refer to interests in such fields as economics, trade, diplomatic, etc. To maintain international peace is a general interest of all the nations. Similar is the case of disarmament and arms control;

- specific national interests. Through the logical outgrowth of the general interests, specific interests are defined in terms of time and space. For instance, US interest to support other nations in combating communist insurgencies during the Cold War.

Securing the national interests is the paramount right and duty of every state. The states secure their national interests in international relations by means of a number of instruments and methods.

The main instruments and methods to secure national interests include (YAL, 2018; Marleku, 2013):

1. Diplomacy. Diplomacy is a universally accepted means for securing national interests. It is through diplomacy that the foreign policy of a nation travels to other nations. Diplomats establish contacts with the decision-makers and diplomats of other states and conduct negotiation for achieving the desired goals of state's national interests.

The art of diplomacy involves the presentation of national interest in such a way as can persuade others to accept these as rightful demands of the state. Diplomats use persuasion, threats, rewards as the means for exercising power and securing national interest as defined by the foreign policy of their state.

Diplomatic negotiations constitute the most effective means of conflict-resolution and for reconciling the divergent interests

of the state. As an instrument of securing national interest, diplomacy is the main, universally recognized and most frequently used means. However, all national interests cannot be secured through diplomacy.

2. Alliances and treaties. Alliances and treaties are concluded by two or more states for securing their common national interests. These methods are mostly used for securing identical and complementary interests. However, even conflict interests may lead to alliances and treaties with like-minded states against the common rivals or opponents.

Alliances and treaties make it a legal obligation for the members of the alliances or signatories of the treaties to work for the promotion of agreed common interests. The alliances may be concluded for serving a particular specific interest or for securing a number of common interests.

The nature of an alliance depends on the nature of interest which is secured. Accordingly, the alliances are either military or economic in nature. The need for securing the security of capitalist democratic states against the expanding threat of communism led to the creation of military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the Central Treaty Organization, etc. Likewise, the need to meet the threat to socialism led to the conclusion of Warsaw Pact among the communist countries. The need for the economic reconstruction of Europe after the World War II led to the establishment of European Common Market (now the European Union) and several other economic agencies.

3. Propaganda. In the twentieth century propaganda has become a major instrument for the promotion of national interest. States have set up permanent agencies for the systematic exploitation of the possibilities of propaganda as an instrument of national policy.

Propaganda is the art of convincing others about the justness of the goals, which are desired to be secured. Propaganda is a

systematic attempt to affect the minds, emotions and actions of a given group for a specific public purpose.

Propaganda is directly addressed to the people of other states and its aim is always to secure the interests which are governed by the national interests of the propagandist.

The revolutionary development of the means of communications, especially the Internet, in recent times has increased the scope of propaganda as a means for securing support for goals of national interests.

4. Economic means. Control over economic activities is another instrument through which national interests can be secured. Moreover, in this era of globalization, international economic relations and policy become a key means to promote of national interests. Some of the major economic instruments used to promote national interests are tariffs, embargo, economic agreements, foreign aid, dumping, and so on.

However, these instruments have been used mostly by rich developed countries. The existence of a very wide gap between the rich and poor countries provides a big opportunity for the rich nations for promoting their interests before the poor nations. It carries out through the dependence of the poor, lowly- developed nations on the rich, developed nations in the part of the import of industrial goods, technological know-how, foreign aid, armaments, etc.

5. Coercive means. The role of power in international relations is a recognized fact. It is an unwritten law of international relations that nations can use force for securing their national interests. International Law also recognizes coercive means as the methods that can be used by states for fulfilling their desired goals. Intervention, boycotts, reprisals, retaliation, severance of relations are the popular coercive means which can be used to force others to accept a particular course of behaviour or to refrain from a course which is considered harmful by the state using coercive means.

War and aggression have been declared illegal means, but continue to be used by the states in modern international relations. Today, nations fully realize the importance of peaceful means of conflict-resolution like negotiations, and diplomacy as the ideal methods for promoting their national interests. At the same time, these continue to use coercive means, whenever they find it necessary. Military power is still regarded as a major part of national power and is often used by a state for securing its national interests.

All above means are used by all the states for securing their national interests. States have the right and duty to secure their national interests and they have the freedom to choose the requisite means for this purpose. They can use peaceful or coercive means as and when they may desire or consider it important.

However, in the interest of international peace, security and prosperity, nations are expected to refrain from using coercive means particular war and aggression. Peaceful coexistence, peaceful conflict resolution and purposeful mutual cooperation for development are the common interests of all the nations. As such, along with the promotion of national interests, the states must try to protect and promote common interests in the interest of the whole international community.

End-of-chapter questions

1. How national interests can be classified?
2. What are the main means to secure national interests?
3. Is diplomacy the best method for securing national interests?
4. What economic instruments are used to promote national interests?
5. What coercive means can be used to secure national interests?

CHAPTER 5. STATES AND POWER

- 5.1 Power as capability.
- 5.2 Power as a relationship.
- 5.3 Power as property of a structure.
- 5.4 Changing nature of power.

If states have traditionally been considered the most important kind of political organization in the global system, the power of states has been treated as the most important concept in the study of world politics.

Power, in a broad sense, is the ability to influence the results of events, in the sense “power to do something”. In global politics it also includes the ability of a country to conduct its own affairs without the interference of other countries. Politics as power is the ability to achieve desirable results through any means.

Power is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon, which can be understood as (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012): 1) the capability, that is, as an attribute, something that states “possess”; 2) the relationship, that is, as the exercise of influence over other actors; 3) the property of a structure, that is, as the ability to control the political agenda and shape how things are done.

Power as capability. The traditional approach to power in international politics is to treat it in terms of capabilities. Power is an attribute or possession. Such an approach is reflected in attempts to list the “elements” or “components” of national power. The most significant of these usually include (Kaarbo and Ray, 2010; Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012):

- Geography. Despite the technological development of modern transportation and communication, the geographical location of a state remains a fundamental factor that determines the power of state. Geographical factors such as the size of a

state, its geographical location, climate and weather, topography, land and maritime boundaries can considerable influence on state's foreign policy decisions.

Beneficial geographical features include access to the sea (for trading and military purposes); a temperate climate away from earthquake zones and areas where tropical storms are frequent; navigable rivers for transport and trade; land for farming; access to mineral and energy resources, etc. A separate branch of knowledge, known as Geopolitics, has developed, explaining the relationship between geography and politics.

- **Population.** A large population benefits a state, giving it workforce and the potential to develop large army. Nowadays level of literacy, education and skills of population pay important role. Economic development, and particularly industrialization, requires mass literacy and at least basic levels of work-related skills. As production, distribution and exchange are increasingly depend on modern technology, higher-level scientific skills have become necessary condition for economic success.

- **Military capabilities.** Military capacity enables a country to protect its territory and people from external aggression and to pursue its interests abroad through military intervention and expansion. Key factors of military capability are therefore the size of the armed forces, their effectiveness in terms of morale, training, discipline and leadership, and, crucially, their access to the most advanced weapon and equipment.

- **Economic capabilities.** There are many indicators of economic power. It is safe to say that the most powerful states are states with the greatest industrial capacity; and world wars have highlighted the role of industrial capacity in determining a state's power. Industrial capacity together with natural resources can contribute to a state's gross domestic product, which often is used as indicator of economic power. Gross

domestic product per capita shows a country's gross domestic product divided by its total population and indicates how strong an economy is relative to its population size.

- Political capabilities. Political power of states depends on how domestic and foreign policies are made, how these policies respond to national interests or goals, how policymakers to reach decisions, etc. The power of the state partially depends on population. In this respect, democracies get greater popular support than authoritarian regimes. They can be more sensitive to public opposition, changing course according to public opinion. In addition to it, the reputation and prestige of a state should not be underestimated as a capability. If a state has a good reputation of meeting its commitments other states are more likely will be willing to unite with it in unions, alliances, etc.

- Social and cultural capabilities. The social unity of a society has a direct impact on its power. States suffering from crises of authority, having ideological, religious, ethnic, racial, language, or other cultural differences can hardly allow policymakers to act effectively in the international arena. Culturally and socially homogeneous states (e.g. Japan, Scandinavian countries, etc.) are usually more effective in their international goals than countries with internal divisions.

The advantage of this approach, where power is considered as capability, is that it enables to analyse power on the basis of observable factors. It allows classifying states in the following way (Heywood, 2011):

1. Superpower is a term, which used to describe a state with a dominant position, which has ability to influence any processes anywhere in the world. It is done through economic, military, technological, cultural strength, diplomacy and so on. This term was applied for the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period, when these two states were considered as superpowers, dominating in world affairs. At the

end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, only the United States corresponded to the criteria of world superpower. So, the term “superpower” has more historical than conceptual meaning.

2. Great powers are states, which are the most powerful in a hierarchical state-system. Nations such as the United States, China, France, Russia and the United Kingdom are considered as great powers due to their military importance, their status as recognized nuclear powers and also their permanent seats on the United Nations Security Council. It also believes that Germany and Japan are great powers, due to their large advanced economies, strategic capabilities, and for their position in the G7.

3. Middling powers are sovereign states that are neither a superpowers nor great powers, but still have large influence and international recognition. The middle power states have some degree of influence globally, but do not dominate in any one area. (e.g. Austria, Greece, Croatia, Spain, Poland, Ukraine and others).

4. Regional powers are states that have power within a geographic region. The regional powers have capabilities which are important in the region, but do not have capabilities at a global scale (e.g. China, Japan, and South Korea in East Asia; India and Pakistan in South Asia; Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico in Latin America and the Caribbean).

5. Emerging powers or rising powers are terms are used as recognition of the rising, primarily economic influence of a nation (or union of nations), which has been increasing their presence in global affairs (e.g. China, India, the European Union).

The disadvantage of this approach is that it does not allow us to define potential or latent power. The often quoted example, which helps to illustrate this, is the Vietnam War (1959–1975). The United States could not prevail in Vietnam

despite its massive economic, technological and military advantages over North Vietnam.

At best, capabilities define potential or latent power rather than actual power, and translating a capability into a genuine political asset may be difficult and perhaps impossible. This applies for a number of reasons:

- The relative importance of the attributes of power is a matter of uncertainty and debate. Is a large population more significant than geographical size? Is economic power now more important than military power?

- Some elements of national power may be less beneficial than they at first appear. For example, a highly educated population may limit a state's ability to wage or sustain warfare, and natural resources may impair economic growth.

- Subjective factors may be as significant as quantifiable, objective factors. These include the will and resolve of the armed forces and what can be called national morale. Strategy and leadership may also be decisive, allowing, for instance, weaker actors to prevail over stronger ones in so-called asymmetrical wars. Terrorism and insurrection can thus be examples of "the strength of the weak".

- It may only be possible to translate resources or capacities into genuine political efficacy in particular circumstances. For example, the possession of nuclear weapons may be irrelevant when a state is confronting a terrorist threat or fighting a guerrilla war, and such weapons are "unusable" in most political circumstances.

- Power is dynamic and ever-changing, meaning that power relations are never fixed. Power may shift, for example, due to economic booms or slumps, financial crises, the discovery of new energy resources, the acquisition of new weapons, natural disaster, an upsurge in ethnic conflict, and so on.

Power as a relationship. If concern with capabilities equates power with “strength”, a concern with relationships equates power with “influence”. It is understood in terms of actions and outcomes – that is, the effect one actor has on another – rather than in terms of contrasting assessments of capabilities. This is particularly the case because power is about perception. States and other actors deal with one another on the basis of their calculations of relative power. This may mean, for example, that reputation can sustain national power despite its decline in “objective” terms. Foreign policy decisions may thus be based on under-estimates and over-estimates of the power of other actors, as well as various kinds of misinterpretation and misperception (Heywood, 2011).

Power as property of a structure. This approach to understanding power provides an alternative to state-centric one, underlining and emphasizes the important and growing role of international organizations. Structural power links the distribution of power to within the certain structures through which states can influence each other and make decisions.

There are four primary power structures (Heywood, 2011): 1) the knowledge structure, which influences state’s beliefs, and ideas; 2) the financial structure, which controls access to credit or investment; 3) the security structure, which forms military and strategic issues; 4) the production structure, which affects economic development and prosperity.

Ones states can same dominate in one of these structures, others in others, that is their structural power may vary within different structures.

Changing nature of power. Recent debates about the changing nature of power reflect less on the emergence of new forms of power, and more on the changing mechanisms through which power is exercised.

There are two main shifts in this respect (Heywood, 2011).

The first is a general shift from military power to economic power. Military force has become a less reliable and less important policy option. In the modern world, states compete through trade rather than through the use of force; growing trade links and increasing interdependence make inter-state war more costly and less likely.

The second shift relates declining significance both military power and economic power. Hard power is the ability of one state to influence another through the use of threats or rewards, typically involving military “sticks” or economic “carrots”. By contrast, there has been a growth in “soft” power. Soft power is the ability to influence other state by persuading them to follow or agree to norms that produce the desired behaviour. Whereas hard power includes such resources as force, sanctions, payments and bribes, soft power operates largely through culture, political ideals and foreign policies.

The key explanation of shift from hard to soft power is that the growth of interdependence means that people see more, hear more and know more about what happens around the world. Increasing cross-border flows of information and ideas make it easier for people to form opinion about the culture and values of other states as well as about the foreign and domestic policies of governments. This trend is also caused by generally improving literacy levels and spreading democracy.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are approaches to understand power?
2. What are the main components of national power?
3. What is the disadvantage of the approach, which considers power as capability?
4. What is a difference between hard and soft power?
5. How, and to what extent, has the nature of power changed?

CHAPTER 6. POLITICAL POWER INSIDE THE STATES

6.1 Forms of government.

6.2 Political regimes.

The positions of states on international stage, their political capabilities are directly depend on how political power is exercised within the states.

Political power inside the states is diverse in forms and means of manifestation. To reflect the various aspects of its functioning, such concepts as “form of government”, “political regime” and “political system” are used.

Forms of government are the set of legal and political institutions that regulate the relationships among members of a society and between the society and outsiders. These institutions have the authority to make decisions affecting the maintenance of domestic order and the achievement of certain goals.

However, not always the character of political power in society corresponds to the form of government. In this regard, there was a need to identify the means and methods by which the state authorities organize the relations between people and other spheres of society. This aspect of the power functioning reflects the concept of “political regime”. In European political science, this concept is basic, while in the US the category “political system” is preferred. At the same time, some scientists and politicians distinguish these concepts arguing that the terms “political regime” and “political system” characterize political life of different parties: the political regime determines the means and methods of implementation political power; the political system reflects the nature of the relationship of politics with the economy, social, cultural and other spheres of society (Heywood, 2002).

So, government refers to the institutional processes through which collective and usually binding decisions are made. A political regime or system, on the other hand, is a broader term that encompasses not only the mechanisms of government and the institutions of the state, but also the structures and processes through which these interact with the larger society. Classification of these political structures is an essential to understand politics.

There are many approaches to classify forms of government; one of the most well-known among them is classification according to “who rules”. According to this classification the following forms of government can be distinguished: democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, dictatorship, and anarchy (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 – Forms of government according to “who rules” (Heywood, 2002)

“Who rules”			
Many	Few	One	None
Democracy	Oligarchy	Monarchy Dictatorship	Anarchy

Democracy is a form of government in which citizens govern themselves directly or indirectly. In other words, democracy allows each individual to take part in the decisions that have impact on society or country.

U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) defined democracy as government of the people, by the people, for the people. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874-1965) said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time”. It means that there is no “perfect form of government”, but any other form of government provides less desirable results than democracy.

Key elements of democracy include (Klein, 2011):

- guarantee of basic human rights;
- separation of powers between the state institutions:
- government (executive power);
- parliament (legislative power);
- courts of law (judicative power);
- rule of law (it means that no individual, president or private citizen, stands above law);
- equality of citizens before the law;
- general and equal right to vote (one person – one vote);
- majority rule (it means that the decision is made by more than half the votes);
- minority rights (in means that the basic human rights are guaranteed for minorities in a result of ethnic background, religious belief, geographic location, income level, etc.).
- freedom of opinion, speech, debate, and mass media;
- religious liberty;
- values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise.

There are two main types of democracy: direct and representative (Boundless, 2019).

1. Direct (pure) democracy is a form of direct participation of citizens in decision making, that is, all laws are created or changed by a general vote of society.

The well-known example of direct democracy was ancient Athens. Although the Athenians excluded women, slaves, and foreigners from voting, the Athenian democratic system required that all the rest citizens to vote on major issues.

An example of such democracy at present is meetings of people in some regions of Switzerland in order to vote on budgetary and other issues. This makes Switzerland the most well-known modern democracy that uses elements of direct democracy.

The main disadvantage of direct democracy is that it is not appropriate when the number of people for voting is big enough.

2. Representative democracy is a form of indirect participation of citizens in decision making, when people elect officials to represent their interests.

Representative democracy is more practical than direct democracy in society of any significant size. In addition to it representative democracy allows to involve individuals who have appropriate talents, skills, and knowledge to governance of state.

In order to estimate the state of democracy in countries the Democracy Index is used. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories, measuring pluralism, civil liberties and political culture. In addition to a numeric score and a ranking, the index categorises each country in one of four regime types: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes (The Economist, 2019).

Full democracies are nations where civil liberties and basic political freedoms are not only respected but also reinforced by a political culture conducive to the thriving of democratic principles. These nations have a valid system of governmental checks and balances, an independent judiciary whose decisions are enforced, governments that function adequately, and diverse and independent media. These nations have only limited problems in democratic functioning.

Flawed democracies are nations where elections are fair and free and basic civil liberties are honoured but may have issues (e.g. media freedom infringement). These nations have significant faults in other democratic aspects, including underdeveloped political culture, low levels of participation in politics, and issues in the functioning of governance.

Hybrid regimes are nations with regular electoral frauds, preventing them from being fair and free democracy. These nations commonly have governments that apply pressure on political opponents, non-independent judiciaries, widespread corruption, harassment and pressure placed on the media, etc.

Authoritarian regimes are nations where political pluralism has vanished or is extremely limited. These nations are often absolute monarchies or dictatorships, may have some conventional institutions of democracy but infringements and abuses of civil liberties are commonplace, elections (if they take place) are not fair and free, the media is often state-owned or controlled by groups associated with the ruling regime, the judiciary is not independent, and there is omnipresent censorship and suppression of governmental criticism.

According to the Democracy Index as of 2019 top-5 full democracy countries included: Norway, Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand, Finland; bottom-5 countries with authoritarian regime included: North Korea, Syria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Chad (The Economist, 2019).

Oligarchy is a form of government in which power belongs to a small number of people. These people might be distinguished by nobility, wealth, family ties, education or corporate, religious or military control. Such states are often controlled by families who typically pass their influence from one generation to the next, but inheritance is not a necessary condition for the application of this term (Chiu, 2019).

Monarchy is a form of government in which power is concentrated in the hands of one person (monarch), who holds the position until death or abdication. The monarchical title is the transferred hereditarily.

Monarchies were the most common form of government until the 19th century, today Royal families are still, but their power has declined significantly (e.g. Elizabeth II, the Queen of the United Kingdom, holds a largely ceremonial position, but her predecessors on the throne had much more power).

The main types of monarchy include (New, 2019):

- 1) Absolute monarchy is a form of government in which the monarch has absolute power. Absolute monarchies were

common in ancient (Egypt) and medieval times (England and China), today Saudi Arabia is absolute monarchy.

2) Constitutional monarchy is a form of government in which power is shared between monarch and constitutionally organized government. In these monarchies, the royal family has a symbolic role (Denmark, the United Kingdom, Norway, Spain, Sweden, etc.).

3) Elective monarchy is a form of government, where leader is selected by voting (Vatican).

Dictatorship is a form of government characterized by the absolute governance of one person or a very small group of people who hold all political power.

The main features of dictatorship (Boundless, 2019):

- In dictatorship only one party is allowed to exist and it is the dictator's own party. Other political parties, associations, organizations and opposition movements are constantly oppressed and forbidden.

- Unimportance of people's liberty and rights. Maximum obedience to the laws is equal to the maximum liberty. In the words of Mussolini "people do not want liberty but they want law and order". Dictatorship always emphasizes duties of people towards the state "Nothing against the state, everything for the state, nothing outside the state" is the basic principle of dictatorship.

- Absence of independent mass media. All mass media (radio, press, TV, etc.) are controlled by the state.

- Glorification of the nation and war. Dictators glorify their nations to an illogical extreme and military force as the means for achieving national greatness. Sometimes dictator uses war and aggression in order to divert attention of the people from their domestic problems.

Anarchy is a situation, where there is no government. This can happen after a civil war in a country, when a government

has been destroyed and some political groups are fighting to take its place.

Anarchism as movement advocates self-governed societies based on voluntary institutions. Anarchism considers the state is undesirable, unnecessary, and harmful (Anarchy, 2019).

Political regime reflects a system of methods and ways to implement political power in society, the level of political freedom and the nature of political life in the state.

Political studies usually distinguish the three main types of political regimes: democratic, authoritarian, and totalitarian.

Democratic political regime is a regime in which the people are considered as the bearer of state power.

Democratic political regime has the same features as above mentioned form of government “democracy” (constitution guarantees basic personal and political rights, fair and free elections, independent courts, etc.) is contrasted the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

Authoritarian political regime is a regime in which all power is concentrated in the hands of one person or ruling group.

The main features of the authoritarian political regime are (Hans-Joachim, 2012):

- significant limitation of the open political process, political parties and elections;
- restriction of political rights of citizens, strict regulation of their activity;
- limited civil and personal rights and freedoms;
- control public opinion by propaganda, and the threat of repression.

Examples of the totalitarian states include: Cuba, Venezuela, and China.

Totalitarian political regime is a regime in which the state does not recognize the limits of own power and seeks to

regulate every aspect of the public and private life of people, without any respect for human rights.

The main features of the totalitarian political regime are (Longley, 2020):

- elaborate ideology, a set of ideas that gives meaning and direction to the whole society, often involving dictator and a personality cult;
- establishment of a one-party political system;
- mobilization of the whole population to achieve the state's goals;
- state control of the mass media, economy, culture, religion, etc.;
- dominant management methods are coercion, violence, and terror.

Examples of the totalitarian states include: Germany under Hitler, USSR under Stalin, and North Korea.

Political systems can be divided from the point of view of interaction states on the international arena on open and close.

Open political system refers to political systems that have the characteristics of open systems in general; they actively exchange resources, successfully absorb the advanced values of other systems. Open political systems are dynamic in nature in recognizing the need to be responsive to changes within the external environment and to adapt to those changes.

Closed political systems are isolated systems, where the feedback mechanisms between the political system and external environment are limited. They are not interested in the values of other systems, that is, resources for development they find within own systems.

In the face of increased complexity and global interconnectivity, at best close political systems have been made increasingly irrelevant. Such political systems that have remained closed would appear more threatened and less stable.

The boundaries and walls of closed political systems may hold out the rest of the world.

End-of-chapter questions

1. How forms of government can be classified?
2. Is direct democracy better than representative?
3. Is Ukraine the democratic state?
4. What are the main features of dictatorship?
5. Does totalitarian political regime have the future?

CHAPTER 7. BALANCE OF POWER AND WORLD ORDER

- 7.1 Understanding security dilemma.
- 7.2 Meaning “balance of power”.
- 7.3 The purposes of balance of power.
- 7.4. Assumptions underlie the balance of power.
- 7.5 Conditions of success for the balance of power.
- 7.6 World order.
- 7.7. Types of polarity.

Balance of power is an important principle in international politics that has crucial meaning in maintaining international peace and stability. Given anarchical structure of the international system, states have to make their own efforts to ensure their security and survival through a self-help system. However, when each state builds its own security apparatus, it poses a threat to the security of other states and gives rise to a phenomenon called “security dilemma”.

Security dilemma can be defined as (Tang, 2009):

- a situation when actions of state aimed at increasing its military security can lead other states to respond with similar measures, producing increased tensions that create conflict, even when no state really desires it.
- a situation in which actions taken by one state to increase its own security cause reactions from other states regarding increasing their security.
- a situation where a state’s desire to increase security becomes source of insecurity for another state.

In order to avoid this “security dilemma” states engage in the process of balance of power. The theory of balance of power is an integral part of the game of power politics and a fundamental principle of statecraft. States seek to increase their

power by balancing the relative power of one against that of other.

There is no agreement among scholars as to the precise meaning of “balance of power”. Some of them define this term as follows:

- balance of power is the distribution of military and economic power between the states that is equal enough that neither of them is too strong or dangerous;
- balance of power is when power is distributed among several nations with approximate equality;
- balance of power refers to a condition in which no one state predominates over others, tending to create general equilibrium and inhibit the hegemonic ambitions of states.

The purposes of balance of power. Security and peace are the main purposes of balancing power. The fundamental concern is ordinarily the protection of vital interests of states, such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, and so on, for which states are prepared to go to war if need be. Balancing is done with a desire for such a distribution of power that will deter attack or that will permit a state to avoid defeat, if not win victory, in war. The prime object of balancing of power is to establish or maintain such a distribution of power among states as will prevent any one of them from imposing its will upon another by threat or use of violence. Ordinarily, peace is also a purpose of balancing of power. To deter attack by maintaining balance is to preserve peace. However, security is paramount and more important than peace. Goal of balance of power, conceived as equilibrium, to maintain the stability as well as the preservation of component states of the international system. In that sense, balance of power is status quo oriented, not tending to allow any radical changes in the configuration of the international system (Mansbach and Rafferty, 2011; Basu, 2012).

The following assumptions underlie the balance of power (Basu, 2012):

- states are determined to protect their vital interests (such as independence, territorial integrity, security, and so on) by the means at their disposal, including war;

- vital interests of the states are or may be threatened. Otherwise, there would be no need for a state that wants to preserve the status quo to concern itself with power relationships;

- the relative power positions of states can be measured with a significant degree of accuracy and these power calculations can be projected onto the future;

- a situation of ‘balance’ will either deter the threatening state from launching an attack or permit the victim to avoid defeat if an attack should occur;

- statesmen can and will make foreign policy decisions intelligently on the basis of power considerations. If this were not possible, the deliberate balancing of power could not occur.

Conditions of success for the balance of power (Basu, 2012):

- power should be shared by a number of states, not highly concentrated;

- policy should be controlled by skilled professional players of the diplomatic game, free of ideological commitments and all other impediments to action on the basis of power considerations;

- the elements of power should be simple and stable; simple enough to permit accurate calculations and stable enough to permit a projection of the calculations into the future;

- the potential costs of the war should be sufficient to have deterrent value, but not so great that the threat of war becomes incredible;

- the challenges to the existing order should not be revolutionary. At least, the main protagonists in the state

system should limit themselves to demands that are compatible with the essential pluralism of the system;

Methods of establishing and maintaining balance of power (Basu, 2012):

1. The adjustment of power by domestic measures. A state that feels threatened by the growing power of another state may simply bring about a growth of its own power to safeguard its own position. It may build up its armaments, initiate or expand an economic programs designed to enhance its fighting capacity, or develop a domestic propaganda campaign designed to stimulate love of country and hatred of the potential enemy. When and if the other state ceases to be so powerful, these measures may be relaxed.

2. Alliances and counter-alliances. Building alliances and counter-alliances has been the most commonly employed method of maintaining balance of power. When two states, competing with each other, can add to their own power, the power of other states or if they can withhold the power of other states from the adversary, they can be said to be following a policy of alliances. Pursuing a policy of alliances is not a matter of principle but of expediency. A nation will shun alliances if it believes that it is strong enough to hold its own unaided or that the burden of commitments, resulting from the alliance, is likely to outweigh the advantages to be expected. Generally, alliances are formed with the objective of serving identical interests or complimentary interests. Alliances are often divided into two kinds, offensive and defensive. While an offensive alliance seeks to upset the balance in favor of its members, a defensive alliance aims at restoring the balance in its favour. The general conditions for success of alliances include factors such as common interests, common ideologies, common economic interests, geography, cultural similarities and so on.

3. Armaments and disarmament. The principal means by which a state endeavours with the power at its disposal to maintain or re-establish the balance of power are armaments. The armaments race in which one state tries to keep up with and then outdo the armaments of another, and vice versa, is the typical instrumentality of an unstable and dynamic balance of power. The inevitable result of arms race is a constantly increasing burden of military preparations, requiring huge national budgets and resulting in ever-deepening fear, suspicion and insecurity. It is with a view to avoid such situations of fear and insecurity and create a stable balance of power, if not permanent peace, that the technique of disarmament of competing states has been devised.

4. Intervention and non-intervention. Intervention and non-intervention devices have been employed by powerful countries which are in the position of a balancer. Intervention may range all the way from slight deviations from neutrality to full-scale military participation in a major war. Non-intervention suggests a kind of policy usually followed by small states and also by those great powers which are satisfied with the political order and can follow peaceful methods to preserve the balance.

5. Buffer states. Buffer states are small intermediary states which are used by great powers in their balancing game of power politics for their political military and strategic purposes. They are of great importance because of their cushioning effect between great powers. They may be neutral or neutralized states, satellite states or dependent territories or they may be actively associated with one of two or more aggregations of power in a relatively honourable role. Great powers usually compete with each other for winning the support of the buffer states by luring them with military and economic aid.

6. The structure of the balance of power. The balance of power is not one single system comprehending all states actively engaged in international politics. It is composed of a number of subsystems that are interrelated with each other, but that maintain within themselves a balance of power of their own. In other words, the global balance of power coexists with the regional or local balance of power. The relationship between these two is generally one of domination and subordination. If a local balance of power is connected more intimately with a dominant one, the lesser opportunity it has to operate autonomously.

7. The holder of the balance. The holder of the balance occupies the key position in balance of power system, since its position determines the outcome of the struggle for power. The holder of the balance is the 'arbiter' of the system, deciding who will win and who will lose. By making it impossible for any one state or combination of states to gain predominance over the others, the holder preserves its own independence as well as the independence of all the other states, resulting in the most powerful factor in international politics. The holder of the balance can use its determining power in three different ways. First, it can make its joining one or the other state or alliance dependent on certain conditions favorable to the maintenance or restoration of the balance. Second, it can make its support of the peace settlement dependent upon similar conditions and, third, it can in either situation see to it that the objectives of its own national policy, apart from the maintenance of the balance of power, are realized in the process of balancing the power of others.

World order is a term that means the distribution of power among states and other actors, affecting the level of stability within the global system (Heywood, 2011).

The various ways of power distribution within the international system can be described by means of term

“polarity” – the number of independent power centres, or poles, in the world. It describes the nature of the international system at a certain period of time.

There are three types of polarity (Heywood, 2011):

1. Unipolarity is a type of the world order in which power is concentrated in one centre, that is, one state has the enormous cultural, economic and military influence. Such a center is called a hegemony or “hyperpower”. The examples of historical hegemons include:

- The Persian Empire (550-330 BC);
- Roman Empire (1st century BC – 5th century AD);
- Mongol Empire (XIII – XIV century);
- The British Empire (XV– XX century);
- The USA (with the fall of the Soviet Union since 1991).

2. Bipolarity implies the division of the world into spheres of influence between two poles of power, two major power blocs (superpowers), the creation of military-political blocs, and sometimes the construction of ideological, religious, cultural barriers. The most famous historical example of the bipolar world order is the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. The second half of the 20th century was the only period in the history of mankind when absolutely the whole world was divided into two camps.

3) Multipolarity is the distribution of power, where more than two states have approximately equal economic, military, cultural potential.

World order, in the modern period, is being shaped by a number of multipolar trends. The most significant of these is the rise of emerging powers. These are the new great powers of the twenty-first century, some of which have already had a significant measure of regional influence – Brazil, and Argentina in Latin America; South Africa and Nigeria in Africa; Israel, Saudi Arabia in the Middle East; and South Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan and Australia in Asia and Oceania.

However, a range of other powers has acquired or is acquiring, wider, and possibly global, significance. These include, most obviously, China, Russia and India, but also Japan and the European Union. Among them, and together with the United States, these powers account for over half the world's population, about 75% of global gross domestic product and around 80% of global defence spending. Of all the powers that may rival, and even eclipse, the United States, the most significant is undoubtedly China. Indeed, many predict that the 21st century will become the “Chinese century”, just as the 20th century had been the “American century”.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What does “security dilemma” mean?
2. What is the main aim of balance of power?
3. What methods can be used to establish and maintain balance of power?
4. How can growing multipolarity affect global politics?
5. Does the USA remain a global hegemony?

CHAPTER 8. NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

- 8.1 Distinctive features of nuclear weapons.
- 8.2 The beginning of the nuclear era.
- 8.3 Vertical and horizontal nuclear weapons proliferation.
- 8.4 Proliferation of nuclear weapons during the Cold War.
- 8.5 Proliferation of nuclear weapons during the post-Cold War period.

Proliferation of nuclear weapons is one of the major challenges because such weapons are a real threat to international peace, security and stability.

Nuclear weapons are weapons that use nuclear fission to destroy certain targets, through the effect of blast, heat and radiation.

Nuclear bombs cause immediate devastation caused by a blast effect of huge force, which in combination with thermal radiation create a firestorm spreading at several hundred miles per hour with temperatures up to 1000° C. However, longer effects come from nuclear radiation, which is formed as a result of nuclear weapons detonation. Nuclear radiation causes radiation sickness and long-term diseases including a range of cancers.

Nuclear weapons differ from conventional weapons in three main ways:

- the use of nuclear weapons causes significant damage, which has destructive consequences for civilian populations and environment. Due to its massive destructive capacity nuclear weapons were recognized by the United Nations as weapons of mass destruction;
- mass impact of nuclear weapons raises important moral questions regarding the fact that these weapons are non-legitimate and inhuman form of warfare;

- nuclear weapons have powerful deterrent effect, making attacks on states, which possess such type of weapons, unthinkable (Heywood, 2011).

The beginning of the nuclear era. The first nuclear weapons were developed under the Manhattan Project under the scientific direction of the US physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, and first tested in the New Mexico desert on 16 July 1945.

The first and only nuclear weapons, used in warfare, were the atomic bombs, exploded over Japanese cities Hiroshima (on 6 August 1945) and Nagasaki (on 9 August 1945) by the USA. The Hiroshima bomb, known as “Little Boy”, devastated an area of 13 km² and destroyed more than 60% of the buildings in the city. The initial death toll was approximately 100000, rising by to 200000 by 1950 due to radiation poisoning, cancer and other long-term effects. The larger Nagasaki bomb, code-named “Fat Man”, destroyed about 30% of Nagasaki and left between 40000 and 75000 people dead. The result of those bombings was the announcement about the surrender of Japan in World War II by Emperor Hirohito (on August 12, 1945).

The atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were significant in three ways.

First of all, they have widely been seen as crucial in bringing about the speedy surrender of Japan and thus the final end of World War II. The use of atomic weapons against Japan has commonly been justified in terms of avoiding the huge casualties that would have occurred through an invasion of Japan.

Second, the use of atomic weapons played a crucial role in shaping the emergence and future direction of the Cold War. By establishing itself as a nuclear power, the USA was demonstrating its new military strength, possibly in the hope that the Soviet Union would consequently accept US

hegemony. However, instead of cowering the Soviet Union, the atomic bombs merely intensified the Soviet Union attempts to acquire similar weapons, helping to fuel a nuclear arms race.

Third, the birth of the nuclear age fundamentally altered the nature of war and transformed attitudes towards warfare. In this sense, nuclear weapons have had a powerful symbolic and philosophical impact, highlighting the ultimate horror of war through linking war to the possible extermination of humankind. On the other hand, there are those who argue that the impact of nuclear weapons on war and warfare has been greatly exaggerated. From this perspective, the main significance of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was that they are the only historical examples of the military use of nuclear weapons. So devastating is their potential impact, and so strong the moral, diplomatic and practical constraints on their use, that nuclear weapons may be sought more because of the prestige they bring than because of their political efficiency (Heywood, 2011).

Nuclear weapons proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear weapons and the technologies which are used to produce such weapons. There are two types of nuclear weapons proliferation (Sidel and Levy, 2007):

- vertical proliferation refers to states that possess nuclear weapons and are increasing their stocks, improve the technical sophistication and reliability of their weapons, or develop new weapons;
- horizontal proliferation refers to states or non-state actors that do not possess nuclear weapons but seek to obtain these weapons or develop materials for its production.

The main reasons why states seek to obtain nuclear weapons include (Smith, 2016):

- deterrent effect. From point of view of the destructive potential of nuclear weapons, an attack on a nuclear state is almost excluded;

- national prestige. Nuclear weapons quickly obtained huge symbolic significance, particularly in terms of the political prestige associated with its possession. Members of the so-called “nuclear club” are usually considered as states of the first order. During the Cold War, the “nuclear club” included all five of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, which conducted nuclear tests: the USA (1945), the USSR (1949), the UK (1952), France (1960) and China (1964).

Proliferation of nuclear weapons during the Cold War.

The Cold War period is considered as the “first nuclear age” and characterized vertical rather than horizontal nuclear proliferation. Greatest attention was given to restriction of nuclear weapons spread beyond the “big five” nuclear states, particularly through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (international agreement that prohibits non-nuclear states to develop nuclear weapons), which was introduced in 1968.

During Cold war period 98% of all the nuclear warheads were concentrated in the two states – the USA and the Soviet Union. By 1960s, both superpowers had enormous nuclear capabilities that led to a “balance of terror” that have considered as the most powerful evidence to maintain peace and security, because the beginning of nuclear war could have such environmental consequences, which created the possibility of the extinction of life on the Earth through a nuclear winter (a theory that the smoke and dust created by nuclear explosions can extinguish the sun’s rays and dramatically reduce temperatures on the earth) (Heywood, 2011).

Proliferation of nuclear weapons during the post-Cold War period. The end of the Cold War produced optimistic expectations that the issue of nuclear proliferation would be ended. However, such early optimism was not justified. The post-Cold War era is considered as the “second nuclear age”

and characterizes by new directions in nuclear weapons proliferation (Heywood, 2011):

1. Established nuclear states continued to use nuclear strategies. All countries, which had nuclear warheads, did not refuse from them after the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, there is evidence that established nuclear powers were keen to develop a new generation of weapons.

2. Non-nuclear states have been under increasing pressure to obtain nuclear weapons. Non-nuclear states came, in many cases, under growing pressure to acquire nuclear weapons. This occurred in a variety of ways. For example, the superpower era operated in part through a system of extended deterrents, based on the capacity of the United States and the Soviet Union to offer allied states a “nuclear umbrella” (protection afforded non-nuclear states or minor nuclear powers by guarantees made to them by major nuclear powers; a form of extended deterrent). Concern about the withdrawal of the United States and the Soviet Union nuclear umbrella was likely to encourage states to stand on their own two feet in nuclear terms. This was particularly the case where regional tensions were deepening, as in South Asia in the 1990s. In 1998, both India and Pakistan tested nuclear devices and joined the “nuclear club”. Regional tensions in the Middle East have also played a major role in encouraging Israel’s acquisition of nuclear weapons, as well as Iran’s quest for a nuclear capacity. Nevertheless, the greatest incentive to acquire nuclear weapons arises from their evident benefit in terms of discouraging intervention by much more powerful states.

3. The possibilities for other states to obtain nuclear weapons have increased. Obtaining or developing nuclear weapons has become much easier, because nuclear weapons and technologies have become more available. During the Cold War the fact the production of nuclear weapons required sophisticated technological knowledge and people with special

scientific skills. It helped significantly limit the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, because only a small number of states had such technologies, which allow to produce nuclear weapons. However, such technologies have become more diffuse by the 1990s; it is confirmed fact that such countries as India and Pakistan achieve full nuclear capability. Particular concern was raised about the implications of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the political and economic instability in Russia in the 1990s. This created fears that Russian nuclear technologies can flood on the open market. Whereas the scientific know-how to create nuclear weapons as well as the components of the weapons themselves was once controlled by tightly-disciplined military-industrial complexes, these, it seemed, had become available to the highest bidders.

4. Fears have heightened that nuclear weapons can get into the “wrong” hands. Concerns about nuclear proliferation have intensified due to anxieties about the nature of the states and other actors that may acquire nuclear capabilities. While the “nuclear club” consisted only of the five the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, it was possible to argue that they were in the hands of responsible states. In these circumstances, caution would always win out over recklessness and there was a strong tendency for nuclear weapons to form part of a deterrent system in which their significance would always be symbolic rather than practical. However, as the obstacles to horizontal proliferation have diminished, the chances of nuclear weapons getting into the hands of states or other actors that may use them have significantly increased. This particularly applies in the case of states with military-based dictatorial government combines with factors such as ethnic and social conflict and economic underdevelopment to dictate an aggressive foreign policy, particularly in the context of regional instability. In the post-Cold War era, US foreign policy has increasingly focused on

attempts to prevent such states from acquiring nuclear weapons, with particular concern focusing in 2002 on the states dubbed “axis of evil” by President Bush: Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and North Korea. More serious, though, is the prospect of nuclear weapons getting into the hands of non-state actors such as terrorist groups, especially ones motivated by radical politico-religious ideologies.

Currently, eight sovereign states have publicly announced that they possess nuclear weapons. Five are considered to be nuclear-weapon states under the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (the USA, Russia, France, China, The United Kingdom). Since the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons entered into force, three states that were not parties to the Treaty have conducted nuclear tests: India, Pakistan, and North Korea. In addition, Israel is also considered as nuclear state, but does not acknowledge it (Arms, 2019).

As of 2019, there are an estimated 13885 nuclear warheads in the hands of nine countries. The largest arsenals are concentrated in two countries – the Russian Federation and the USA (Figure 8.1).

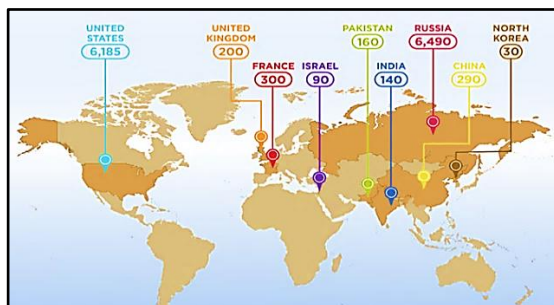


Figure 8.1 – The countries holding the world’s nuclear arsenal as of 2019 (Arms, 2019)

However, the image of a world in which all states, to say nothing of a collection of non-state actors, seek to acquire nuclear weapons is misleading. Indeed, the extent of proliferation is much less than we might otherwise have expected. A number of states with clear economic and technological potential to develop nuclear weapons have demonstrated a consistent determination not to do so. These include Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan and South Korea. The reasons for this level of unilateral self-policing or self-restraint are many and various. They include that states recognize that the costs of acquiring nuclear weapons may outweigh the benefits they bring, that the possession of nuclear weapons is widely viewed by the international community as illegitimate, and that non-proliferation is clearly favoured by established five nuclear powers.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the reasons for nuclear arms race?
2. What is vertical/horizontal nuclear weapons proliferation?
3. What are the main features of nuclear weapons proliferation during the Cold War period?
4. What are the key particularities of nuclear weapons proliferation during the post-Cold War period?
5. Which countries are members of the “nuclear club”?

CHAPTER 9. NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

9.1 Goals and means of nuclear arms control.

9.2 The main nuclear arms control and disarmament treaties.

9.3 Arguments in favour nuclear arms control and disarmament.

9.4 Progress towards nuclear disarmament.

9.5 Nuclear disarmament of Ukraine and the Budapest Memorandum.

Non-proliferation nuclear weapons and disarmament (reduction of nuclear weapons in order to achieve nuclear-weapons-free world, in which nuclear weapons are completely eliminated) are one of the key issues of the global politics agenda, which remain in the center of attention of diplomats and political leaders during a long time.

Nuclear arms control is a term for international restrictions upon the development, production, stockpiling, proliferation and usage of nuclear weapons. Nuclear arms control has been seen as a central means of containing conflicts and ensuring global security (Kolodkin, 2020).

There are some arguments in favour of nuclear arms control and disarmament.

First, prohibiting weapons of mass destruction ends mutually assured destruction. Mutually assured destruction is the concept that nuclear war has the potential to destroy the defender and the attacker in the case of retaliation. Without nuclear capabilities, nations have to rely on smaller scale attacks during armed conflicts, which can help limit casualties, particularly civilian ones. Additionally, without the threat of weapons, nations can rely on diplomacy instead of hard power.

Second, nuclear war has significant environmental and health consequences. In addition to the destruction of the point

of detonation, the radiation can wreck soil and groundwater in the surrounding areas, threatening food security. Additionally, extended exposure to high levels of radiation can cause cancers and other diseases.

Third, limiting nuclear spending can free up funds for other government operations. Each year, tens of billions of dollars are spent on the maintenance of nuclear weapons globally. These funds can be better spent on health care, education, infrastructure, and other methods to increase the standard of living around the world.

Despite the above arguments states in possession of nuclear weapons wish to maintain them for security purposes. Thus far, deterrence has been a successful method of security. Nuclear war has not occurred, regardless of the threats from the USA and Russia during the Cold War or North Korea more recently. By keeping a stock of nuclear weapons, states can ensure that they and their allies have the capacity to defend themselves from an imminent attack or retaliate with a second strike.

The goal of arms control is to regulate arms levels either by limiting their growth or by restricting how they can be used. Controlling proliferation of nuclear weapons involves national governments, intergovernmental organizations, and non-governmental organizations. The principal means through which nuclear arms control has been carried out by governments and intergovernmental organizations are bilateral and multilateral treaties, which attempt to establish security regimes to counter the uncertainty and fear that are generated by the security dilemma. Non-governmental organizations work to control proliferation through education and information dissemination about catastrophic consequences of using nuclear weapons for human health and the environment. Arms control is, nevertheless, a less ambitious goal than nuclear disarmament, which is aimed at reducing in number or completely eliminating a country's nuclear weapons.

The main treaties in the field of nuclear arms control and disarmament are shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 – The main nuclear arms control and disarmament treaties (Heywood, 2011; Viotti and Kauppi, 2012; United, 2018)

Year	Treaty
1959	Antarctic Treaty – prohibits weapons testing and deployment in Antarctica (multilateral)
1963	Partial Test Ban Treaty – bans atmospheric, underwater and outer-space nuclear tests (multilateral)
1967	Outer Space Treaty – bans the deployment of nuclear weapons in space
1968	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: 1) prohibits the acquisition of nuclear weapons by non-nuclear states; 2) commits the five recognized nuclear powers to the reduction and removal of their weapons over time (multilateral)
1972	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty 1 – limits strategic nuclear weapons and freezes intercontinental ballistic missiles at 1972 levels (USA/USSR)
1972	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty – limits the number of anti-ballistic missiles (USA/USSR)
1987	Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty – eliminates all intermediate range nuclear weapons in Europe (USA/USSR)
1991	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 1 – limits the number of nuclear warheads and delivery systems (USA/USSR)
1991	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 2 – further limits the number of nuclear warheads and eliminates certain categories of the warhead (USA/Russia)
1996	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty – bans the testing of weapons, but not ratified by the USA, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea (multilateral)
2002	Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty – limits the number of deployed nuclear warheads (USA/Russia)
2010	New START Treaty – limits both sides' nuclear warheads to 1550, a 30% reduction on Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty and a 74% reduction on Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 1 (USA/Russia)
2017	Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons – comprehensively prohibit nuclear weapons, with the goal of leading towards their total elimination (multilateral)

As regards the efficiency of nuclear arms control, on the one hand, there are some, if partial, undoubted successes. Some treaties have made a major contribution to slowing the pace of horizontal proliferation, especially among developed states that clearly possess the economic and technological capacity to acquire nuclear weapons. At the same times, nuclear treaties and conventions singularly failed to prevent the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons during the Cold War, as the United States and the Soviet Union each built up nuclear arsenals of staggering proportions.

There are some opinions on why it is so difficult to achieve nuclear arms control. The first answer is the fact that the security dilemma is an intractable problem, meaning that arms races are unavoidable. Second, there is a difference between national security, calculated on the basis of the interests of particular states, and the sense of collective or international security on which bilateral or multilateral agreements are based. In other words, states are always liable to view their build-up of arms as legitimate in terms of providing defence and ensuring deterrence, regardless of the international agreements that they are encouraged to join or have signed up to. Third, the greatest difficulty in ensuring effective and enforceable arms control is that it seeks to control the most heavily armed, and therefore the most powerful, of the world's states. Great powers, and especially superpowers, will only be prepared to be bound by security regimes if they calculate that it is in their national interests to do so.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is the main international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology, to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to further the goal of achieving nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament. The Treaty represents the only

binding commitment in a multilateral treaty to the goal of disarmament by the nuclear-weapon states. Opened for signature in 1968, the Treaty entered into force in 1970. On 11 May 1995, the Treaty was extended indefinitely. A total of 191 States have joined the Treaty, including the five nuclear-weapon states. More countries have ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty than any other arms limitation and disarmament agreement, a testament to the Treaty's significance.

The nuclear-weapon states are the five states – China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States – officially recognized as possessing nuclear weapons by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Treaty legitimizes these states' nuclear arsenals but establishes they do not develop and maintain such weapons in perpetuity. In addition, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty also prohibits nuclear weapon states to transfer nuclear weapons and assist in the development of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon states.

Three such countries as India, Israel, and Pakistan, which at present possess nuclear weapons, have not joined the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, but de facto are considered as nuclear weapon states. North Korea came out from the Treaty in 2003 and tested nuclear devices in 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 (United, 2018).

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons or the Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty is the first legally binding international agreement to comprehensively prohibit nuclear weapons, with the goal of leading towards its total elimination, passed on 7 July 2017.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons includes a comprehensive set of prohibitions on participating in any nuclear weapon activities. For those nations that are party to it, the treaty prohibits to develop, test, produce, acquire, possess, stockpile, use or threaten to use nuclear weapons. The Treaty

also prohibits the deployment of nuclear weapons on national territory and the provision of assistance to any State in the conduct of prohibited activities. The Treaty also obliges States parties to provide adequate assistance to individuals affected by the use or testing of nuclear weapons, as well as to take necessary and appropriate measure of environmental remediation in areas under its jurisdiction or control contaminated as a result of activities related to the testing or use of nuclear weapons (United, 2018).

For nuclear armed states joining the treaty, it provides for a time-bound framework for negotiations leading to the verified and irreversible elimination of its nuclear weapons programme.

In order to come into effect, signature and ratification by at least 50 countries is required. As of 1 October 2019, 33 states have ratified the Treaty.

Progress towards nuclear disarmament. The number of nuclear weapons in the world has declined significantly since the Cold War: down from a peak of approximately 70300 in 1986 to an estimated 13885 in 2019. These reductions have been carried out through 1) the unilateral agreements, when one country makes a promise to reduce nuclear weapons arsenal; 2) the bilateral agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union / the Russian Federation and 3) the multilateral agreements between three or more states.

The overwhelming portion of nuclear weapons reduction was made under bilateral agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union / the Russian Federation, the dynamics of which is shown in the Figure 9.1.

It should be noted that despite the significant reduction in nuclear warheads, at present world's combined stocks of nuclear warheads remains at a very high level. In addition, modern nuclear weapons are vastly more capable.

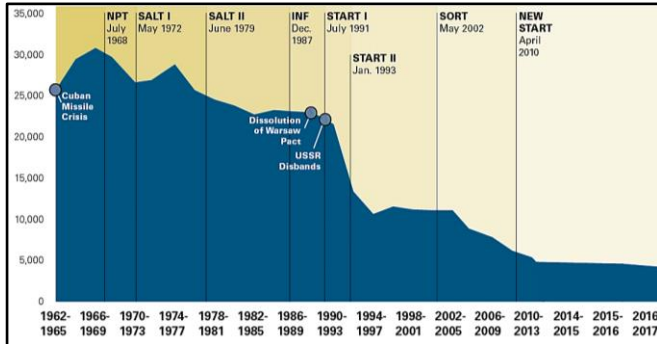


Figure 9.1 – Results of bilateral the United States – Soviet Union / the Russian Federation treaties regarding nuclear weapons reduction (Arms, 2019)

As of 2019 nuclear power states had such a number of nuclear warheads: Russia – 6490, the United States – 6185, France – 300, China – 290, the United Kingdom – 200, Pakistan – 150, India – 140, Israel – 90, North Korea – 30. Of these, approximately 9330 are in the military stockpiles (the rest are awaiting dismantlement), of which some 3600 warheads are deployed with operational forces, of which about 1800 United States, Russian, British and French warheads are on high alert, ready for use on short notice. Approximately 93% of all nuclear warheads are owned by Russia and the United States; no other nuclear-armed state sees a need for more than a few hundred nuclear weapons for national security (Kristensen and Korda, 2019).

Globally, the number of nuclear weapons is declining, but the pace of reduction is slowing compared with the past 25 years. The United States, Russia, and the United Kingdom are reducing their overall warhead inventories; France and Israel have relatively stable inventories, while China, Pakistan, India, and North Korea are increasing their warhead inventories.

All the nuclear weapon states continue to modernize their remaining nuclear forces, adding new types, increasing the role they serve, and appear committed to retaining nuclear weapons for the indefinite future.

Nuclear disarmament of Ukraine. At the time of Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine held the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world (it was bigger than the United Kingdom, France and China had together) as well as significant means of its design and production (Arms, 2017).

On the world political arena, the question arose of how the super-powerful nuclear arsenal will affect the development of the young Ukrainian state. The main world nuclear players – the United States and Russia opposed its preservation. In response to the adoption of nuclear-free status, Ukraine was promised to provide appropriate international security guarantees.

The main reasons that forced Ukraine to abandon nuclear weapons were following:

- lack of operational control over nuclear weapons Ukraine had only physical, not operational control over nuclear weapons. The use of the weapons depended on the Russian control system. The maximum that Ukraine could do was to block launches of nuclear warheads without its consent;
- poor technical condition of nuclear weapons. The warranty of most missiles was ending. If Ukrainian specialists could maintain the carriers of warheads, the situation with nuclear charges was more complicated. They were designed, manufactured and serviced by enterprises in Russia;
- costly maintenance of nuclear weapons. In the early 1990s, an economic crisis was in the country, there were not financial resources to service nuclear weapons.

Despite all above reasons, Ukraine was not in a hurry to renounce nuclear weapons that threatened complete

international isolation. Ukraine was positioned as a too young country, unable to reliably manage nuclear weapons. In addition, the big powers did not want to expand the nuclear club, which a little later all the same included some very unreliable players – India, Pakistan and North Korea.

In 1994 Ukraine agreed to transfer the nuclear warheads to Russia in exchange for security guarantees, which were described in the Budapest Memorandum and receiving fuel for nuclear power plants by Russia after the processing of missiles.

The Budapest Memorandum was signed in Budapest, Hungary on 5 December 1994, providing security guarantees for Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine as a result of their refusal from nuclear weapons and joining Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as non-nuclear weapon states. The Budapest Memorandum was signed by three nuclear powers, the Russian Federation, the United States, and the United Kingdom. China and France gave weaker individual guarantees in separate documents.

According to the Budapest Memorandum Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom confirmed (United, 1994):

- to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine;
- to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine, and that none of their weapons will ever be used against Ukraine except in self-defence or otherwise in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
- to provide assistance to Ukraine, as a non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, if Ukraine should become a victim of an act of aggression or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons are used;
- not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of

Nuclear Weapons, except in the case of an attack on themselves, their territories or dependent territories, their armed forces, or their allies, by such a state in association or alliance with a nuclear-weapon state.

However, on March 2014 Russia violated the security assurances of the Budapest Memorandum and annexed Crimea.

End-of-chapter questions

1. Why is so difficult to achieve nuclear arms control?
2. What are the main arguments in favor of nuclear arms control and disarmament?
3. Is the progress towards nuclear disarmament?
4. What are the main reasons that forced Ukraine to abandon nuclear weapons?
5. Is a nuclear-free world possible?

CHAPTER 10. TERRORISM

10.1 Causes of terrorism.

10.2 Types of terrorism.

10.3 9/11 terrorist attacks and global security.

10.4 Counterterrorism strategies.

The modern terrorism is a deeply controversial phenomenon, which had become the principal security threat in the 21st century.

Terrorism can be defined as (Heywood, 2011; Harmon, 2011):

- unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives;

- the deliberate, systematic murder, maiming, and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear in order to gain political ends;

- attempts to further political ends by using violence to create a climate of fear, apprehension and uncertainty;

- politically motivated violence directed against non-combatants and designed to instil fear in a target audience;

- a strategy used to achieve a specific aim in asymmetric conflict (asymmetric conflict takes place when military capabilities of opposing sides are not simply unequal but are so significantly different that they cannot make the same types of attacks on each other).

The central feature of terrorism is that it is a form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives by creating a climate of fear and apprehension. As such, it uses violence in a very particular way: not primarily to bring about death and destruction, but to create unease and anxiety about possible future acts of death and destruction. Terrorism attacks involve

an element of surprise and first of all, are directed against the civilian population without a specific individual target.

Causes of terrorism (Hamelin et al, 2010; Freeman, 2008):

1. Social and economic causes:

- Poverty and unemployment. The absence of financial resources, opportunities and poverty can create dissatisfaction, which can be expressed by terroristic actions.

- Illiteracy. It is significantly easy to persuade uneducated persons to commit the crime because they do not have a high ability of thinking.

- Globalization. Globalization and economic integration create access to information about opportunities available in other countries. Awareness about economic gaps between economic development of countries leads to dissatisfaction, increasing tension and terroristic actions. It allows terrorist organizations to attract the attention of societies that feel offended by social injustice.

- Economic sanctions. When economic sanctions take place, the economic conditions and living standards within the country are decreasing significantly. People, who at present are in worse condition than they were in the past, find a way to rebel against the government because the government actions caused such a condition.

2. Political causes:

- Human rights violation. Human rights violation and repression very often form the people's dissatisfaction. It should be noted that democratic countries and countries with authoritarian regimes are not countries, where terrorism is common. There are more terroristic incidents in the transition period – from authoritarian regimes to democratic ones.

- Political instability. Political instability in the country (internal political conflicts within the state, clash of political interests of two states in the region, aggression against another

state etc.) makes more likely the deployment of terrorist groups.

- The promotion of terrorism by governments. Some governments support violent terroristic actors to achieve specific goals (e.g. Libya, Iran, Iraq, etc.).

3. Religious, ethnic and ideological causes.

Terrorism uses religious, ethnic, ideological roots to legitimize violence, therefore a high level of ethnic, religious, and ideological tension in the country can cause the terroristic groups formation. One of the significant changes in the field of terrorism over the past years has been the increase in the number of groups declaring religious beliefs as a source of legitimacy for their actions. Religion is not a direct cause of terrorism, but people find justification for terrorism in religion. People who participate in religious terrorism believe that any acts they commit will be forgiven and rewarded in the afterlife.

Types of terrorism (Terrorism, 2013):

- domestic terrorism involves violence against the civilian population or infrastructure of a state – often but not always by citizens of this state and often with the aim to influence national policy;

- international or transnational terrorism is the use of violence by internationally-linked groups from different parts of the world. Transnational groups operate internationally, but are not connected with a particular country, or even region;

- state terrorism is the systematic use of terror by a government in order to control its population;

- state-supported terrorism is government support of violent non-state actors engaged in terrorism to achieve a certain goal of governments or groups holding power in a country;

- political terrorism refers to violent acts to influence public opinion regarding political issues or compete for political power;

- non-political terrorism is a terrorist's act aimed at achieving other than political goals (obtaining individual or collective gain);

- religious terrorism is motivated by extreme religious ideologies. Religious terrorism is particularly dangerous due to the fanaticism of those who practice it and their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the cause;

- ethnocentric terrorism is based on groups, who consider race as the defining characteristic of a society, and believe that a particular group is superior to another;

- separatist terrorism is aimed at obtaining independence, political autonomy of territories to establish a new state.

Terrorism, as politically motivated violence, aims at achieving a demoralizing effect on publics and governments. The very act of attacking innocents raises the shock value and sends a message that the government is unable to protect its own citizens. The concern is that, over time, terrorism eats away at the social-political fabric of many states, undermines democracy, provides a rationale for a government to delay democratic reforms, and can increase tension among states. The result is often the impression that the world is in a state of chaos, and international order and authority are collapsing.

It should be noted that until recently, terrorism was considered as a security problem of the second order. However, the events of 11 September 2001 changed this greatly and contributed to a reconsideration of the nature and significance of terrorism. "New" or "global" terrorism has become the main security threat in the 21st century.

9/11 terrorist attacks and global security. On the morning of 11 September 2001, a coordinated series of terrorist attacks were launched against the USA using four hijacked passenger jet airliners (the events subsequently became known as September 11, or 9/11). Two airliners crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre in New York, leading to the

collapse first of the North Tower and then the South Tower. The third airliner crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the Department of Defence in Arlington, Virginia, just outside Washington. The fourth airliner, believed to be heading towards the White House or the US Capitol, both in Washington, crashed in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania, after passengers on board tried to seize control of the plane. There were no survivors from any of the flights. A total of 2995 people were killed in these attacks, mainly in New York City. In a videotape released in October 2001, responsibility for the attacks was claimed by Osama bin Laden, head of the terroristic group al-Qaeda (Heywood, 2011).

September 11 has marked the beginning of the “war on terror” the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq) and a dramatic shift in global security, signalling the end of a period during which globalization and the cessation of superpower rivalry appeared to have been associated with a diminishing propensity for international conflict. Globalization, indeed, appeared to have ushered in new security threats and new forms of conflict. 9/11 demonstrated how fragile national borders had become in a technological age. If the world’s greatest power could be dealt such a devastating blow to its largest city and its national capital, what chance did other states have? Further, the external threat in this case came not from another state, but from a terrorist organization, and one, moreover, that operated more as a global network rather than a nationally-based organization. The motivations behind the attacks were also not conventional ones. Instead of seeking to conquer territory or acquire control over resources, the 9/11 attacks were carried out in the name of a religiously-inspired ideology, militant Islamism, and aimed at exerting a symbolic blow against the cultural, political and ideological domination of the West.

The modern form of terrorism is more radical. First of all, by its nature, terrorism is clandestine activity, often carried out

by small groups or even one individual. Such difficulties have been greatly complicated by new terrorist tactics – suicide terrorism (a form of terrorism in which a terrorist kills oneself in the process of carrying out the attack). So, with high probability, the terrorist attacks can be reduced, but the threat can never be eradicated. Secondly, the potential scale of terrorism has greatly increased as a result of modern technology and the possibility to use a weapon of mass destruction. A modern terrorist is less limited by moral or humanstarian principles than previous generations of terrorists (Heywood, 2011).

The main counterterrorism strategies (Heywood, 2011):

1. Strengthening state security. Some states, which had experience with terroristic attacks, implemented strict state security measures based on certain legislative norms. States have strengthened control over global financial and immigration flows, the monitoring and control of domestic populations (particularly of members of “extremist” groups or terrorist sympathizers), etc. For instance, the UK anti-terrorist measures allow to hold individuals suspected in terrorism up to 28 days without charge. In the USA the Patriot Act (2001) allows to hold immigrants for this reason indefinitely.

However, state security responses to terrorism have at least two key drawbacks. First, they endanger the liberal-democratic freedoms that have provoked debate in many democratic countries. Second, such measures may be ineffective because they are aimed at searching target groups (often young, male Muslims), who at the same time become more dissatisfied and therefore more likely to support terrorist activity.

2. Military repression. Military responses to terrorism have been based on two strategies. In the first, attempts have been made to forbid “sponsorship” for terrorists by regimes that have been given support them (e.g. the overthrow of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001). The second approach

is direct attacks on terrorist training camps and terrorist leaders (e.g. Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda's leadership were attacked in 2001 in their Tora Bora cave complex in Afghanistan).

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how terrorism can be eradicated by military approaches only. First of all, war against terrorist organizations and groups is war with terrorism manifestation, but not with its causes. Secondly, as experience shows the force-based approach to counter terrorist violence led to greater levels of terrorist violence.

3. Political deals. Most terrorist campaigns have political endings, in that their general ineffectiveness means that, over time, leading figures in terrorist movements tend to gravitate towards constitutional politics. Some governments have developed special strategies to encourage terrorists to abandon political violence by drawing them into a process of negotiation and diplomacy. Political approaches to counter-terrorism are aimed at convincing terrorists that they have more to gain by working within the political process than by working against it. Nevertheless, the idea of tackling terrorism by making political deals with terrorists, or by acceding to their demands, has also attracted criticism. It is sometimes seen as an example of appeasement, a moral retreat in the face of intimidation and violence, even an unwillingness to stand up for one's beliefs. Whereas military approaches to containing terrorism promise to weaken and possibly destroy terrorist groups, political approaches may strengthen or embolden them, by treating the group and the cause it pursues as legitimate.

Thus, terrorism today has emerged as one of the most potent threats to global peace and security. Easy access to sophisticated weapons and disruptive advances in technology, especially the cyber world masks the identity of the terrorists, facilitates real time secure communications, etc. These elements have collectively made terrorism the most preferred

means of waging war. Despite the grave threat, the international community is far from reaching a consensus on how to fight this menace collectively.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are the main causes of terrorism?
2. What impact did 9/11 terrorist attacks have on global security?
3. Has the nature of terrorism changed in recent years?
4. Why are military approaches to dealing with terrorism so often ineffective?
5. How should the threat of terrorism be countered?

CHAPTER 11. HUMAN RIGHTS

- 11.1 The basic features of human rights.
- 11.2 Classification of human rights.
- 11.3 Three generations of human rights.
- 11.4 Implications of human rights for global politics.
- 11.5 Human rights in a world of states.

Moral and ethical issues have always been important in global politics. However, in recent years matters of justice and morality are raised more and more often in order to emphasize that people everywhere must have the same moral status and entitlements.

Human rights are rights that belong to an individual or group of individuals simply for being human, or as a consequence of inherent human vulnerability, or because they are requisite to the possibility of a just society. Whatever their theoretical justification, human rights refer to a wide continuum of values or capabilities thought to enhance human agency or protect human interests and declared to be universal in character, in some sense equally claimed for all human beings, present and future.

The basic features of human rights (United, 2020):

1. Inherent – human rights are inherent because they are not granted by any person or authority. Human rights cannot be bought, earned or inherited; they belong to people simply because they are human. Human rights are inherent to each individual.

2. Fundamental – human rights are fundamental rights because, without them, the life and dignity of man will be meaningless.

3. Inalienable – human rights cannot be taken away; no one has the right to deprive another person of them for any reason.

4. Imprescriptible – human rights do not prescribe and cannot be lost even if a man fails to use or assert them, even by a long passage of time.

5. Indivisible – to live in dignity, all human beings are entitled to freedom, security and decent standards of living concurrently. Human rights are not capable of being divided. They cannot be denied even when other rights have already been enjoyed. Human rights are also indivisible in that sense that civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights are interrelated and co-equal in importance that is no right is more important than any other.

6. Universal – human rights are universal in application and they apply irrespective of status, race, religion, political or another opinion, national or social origin. All people are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

7. Interdependent – human rights are interdependent because the fulfilment or exercise of one cannot be had without the realization of the other.

Classification of human rights can be organized in different ways.

At an international level, the most common categorization of human rights has been to split them into (Wahab, 2020):

- Civil rights that include the ensuring of peoples' physical and mental integrity, life, and safety; protection from discrimination on grounds such as race, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, colour, age, political affiliation, ethnicity, religion, and disability; and individual rights such as privacy and the freedom of thought, speech, religion, press, assembly, movement, etc.

- Political rights that include freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, the right to take part in the government of one's country and the right to vote and stand for election at genuine periodic elections held by secret ballot, etc.

- Economic and social rights that provide the conditions necessary for prosperity and wellbeing. Economic rights refer to the right to property, the right to work, which one freely chooses or accepts, the right to a fair wage, a reasonable limitation of working hours, trade union rights, etc. Social rights include rights to health, shelter, food, social care, the right to education, etc.

- Cultural rights that include the right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community, the right to share in scientific advancement, intellectual property rights, author's rights, etc.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights includes civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights because it was based on the principle that the different rights could only successfully exist in combination. Without civil and political rights, the public cannot assert their economic, social and cultural rights. Similarly, without livelihoods and working society, the public cannot assert or make use of civil or political rights.

Three generations of human rights (Icelandic, 2018):

- The first-generation civil and political rights (these are “liberty-orientated” and include the rights to life, liberty and security of the individual, freedom from torture and slavery; political participation, freedom of opinion, expression, thought, conscience and religion, freedom of association and assembly).

- The second-generation economic, social and cultural rights (these are “security-orientated” rights, for example, the rights to work, education, a reasonable standard of living, food, shelter and health care).

- The third-generation solidarity rights (these include the rights to live in an environment that is clean and protected from destruction, rights to cultural, political and economic development, rights to self-determination, etc.).

The main duties deriving from human rights fall on states and their authorities or agents, not on individuals. States assume obligations and duties under international law to respect, to protect and to fulfil human rights. The obligation to respect means that States must refrain from interfering with or curtailing the enjoyment of human rights. The obligation to protect requires States to protect individuals and groups against human rights abuses. The obligation to fulfil means that states must take positive action to facilitate the enjoyment of basic human rights.

Implications of human rights for global politics. Human rights, by their nature, have profound implications for global politics. Being universal and fundamental, human rights invest governments with powerful obligations, affecting their foreign as well as domestic policies. The protection and realization of human rights is thus a key role of government. Interactions between states should, therefore, have, at least, a human rights dimension. This, in theory at least, imposes major constraints on the behaviour of national governments, both in terms of how they treat their domestic population and in their dealings with other peoples and countries. This affects matters ranging from the recourse to, and conduct of, war to foreign aid and trade policies. More radically and controversially, these obligations may extend to taking action, perhaps military action, to prevent or discourage other countries from violating human rights within their own borders, what has come to be called “humanitarian intervention” (Heywood, 2011).

The human rights regime. Since 1948, an elaborate international regime has developed to promote and protect human rights globally. At the heart of this regime continues to stand the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although the 1945 United Nations Charter urged the promotion of “universal respect for, and observation of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all”, it failed to specify

the human rights that states had to guarantee and respect. This defect was rectified by the United Nations' Declaration. Although the United Nations' Declaration is not a legally binding treaty, it is commonly seen as a form of customary international law that is used as a tool to apply diplomatic and moral pressure to governments that violate any of its articles. By establishing that states could no longer violate human rights without the risk that their actions would come onto the agenda of the principal organs of the United Nations, the Declaration challenged states' exclusive jurisdiction over their own citizens and weakened the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs (Heywood, 2011).

Until the mid-1960s, the United Nations concentrated almost exclusively on the generation of human rights norms and standards. Subsequently, it placed greater emphasis on their implementation. A major step in this direction was taken by the establishment of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the role of which is to promote worldwide respect for the human rights enshrined in international laws by supporting the bodies created by human rights treaties. However, the Office of the High Commissioner has proved to be more effective in highlighting human rights violations than in enforcing human rights law. As its main sanction remains the publication and denunciation of violations by individual states – that is, naming and shaming – the Office relies very largely on persuasion and observation to improve governments' human rights policies. The United Nations Human Rights Council, which replaced the much criticized United Nations Human Rights Commission, also addresses situations of human rights violations. However, it has no authority other than to make recommendations to the General Assembly which, in turn, can only advise the Security Council. It has also, like its predecessor, been criticized for being biased and inconsistent in the exposure of human rights abuses.

One of the main features of the human rights regime is the prominent role played within it by a wide range of non-governmental organizations. Operational non-governmental organizations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and Oxfam work directly in the field to relieve suffering but also campaign on behalf of those they treat to promote the observance of human rights treaties and humanitarian law. The most prominent advocacy non-governmental organizations are Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. They exert pressure by gaining media coverage, based, in part, on the high moral purpose that people customarily attach to their activities. In this way, non-governmental organizations have made a substantial contribution to the growth worldwide of a human rights culture, influencing not only governments but also transnational corporations, over matters such as pay and working conditions in overseas factories (Heywood, 2011).

Human rights in a world of states. The key dilemma of human rights protection is that states are the only actors powerful enough to advance human rights, while also being the greatest human rights abusers.

Virtually all states have signed the United Nations Declaration, with a large majority of them also having signed the two optional international covenants. Support for international human rights is merely an external expression of values and commitments that are basic to democratic states. In this view, foreign affairs can, and should, have a moral purpose; the pursuit of national interests should operate in tandem with the global promotion of freedom and democracy. A further reason for states to sign human rights conventions has been one of the preconditions for membership of the international community, bringing diplomatic and possibly trade and security benefits. Support for human rights is therefore one of the common norms that has transformed the international system into an international society. This,

nevertheless, allows for, at times, a significant gulf between the international standards that a state supposedly supports and how it behaves towards its own citizens and towards other states.

If the success of international human rights is judged in terms of whether they have served to improve the behaviour of states and other bodies and, in particular, helped to prevent acts of barbarism and systematic repression, the record is often unimpressive. When they conflict, as they often do, state sovereignty usually trumps human rights. This is particularly true in the case of powerful states, which may either simply be immune to human rights criticism, whether expressed internally or externally, or their transgressions are not forcefully exposed by other governments, for fear of damaging diplomatic relations and economic interests (Heywood, 2011).

Human rights have been particularly difficult to uphold in conflict situations. In part, this reflects the fact that power politics amongst the permanent members of the Security Council usually prevents the United Nations from taking a clear line on such matters. The world has therefore often appeared to stand by as gross violations of human rights have taken place.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What are nature and types of human rights?
2. Are all humans are born free and equal in rights?
3. How do human rights differ from other kinds of rights?
4. What is human rights regime?
5. How effectively have international human rights been protected?

CHAPTER 12. POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

- 12.1 Absolute and relative poverty.
- 12.2 Orthodox view of development.
- 12.3 Alternative view of development.
- 12.4 Global inequality.
- 12.5 Fight against global poverty and inequality.

Billions of people across the globe live in poverty, which represents one of the world's most pernicious scourges. One of the most powerful instruments to reduce poverty and to improve the quality of life in developing countries is economic growth. Therefore, fostering economic growth and sustaining economic development on a global scale are key tasks of global politics.

Poverty is a contested concept – there is little agreement on how it should be either defined or measured. On the face of it, poverty means being deprived of the necessities of life; that is, lacking food, fuel, shelter and clothing to maintain “physical efficiency”.

Absolute poverty is founded on the idea of “basic needs”, corresponding to physiological needs in Maslow's “hierarchy of needs” (McLeod, 2020). Absolute poverty refers to a condition where a person does not have the minimum amount of income needed to meet the minimum requirements for one or more basic living needs over an extended period of time. However, the idea of absolute poverty may miss an important dimension of poverty. People may feel that they are poor not because they suffer from material hardship and their basic needs are not met, but because they lack what others have got. They feel deprived in terms of the standards, conditions and pleasures enjoyed by the majority in their society. In this sense, poverty is a social, and not merely physiological, phenomenon: it is based on people's relative position in the social order.

Relative poverty defines the poor as the “less well off” rather than the “needy”. Relative poverty is the condition in which people lack the minimum amount of income needed in order to maintain the average standard of living in the society in which they live. Relative poverty is considered the easiest way to measure the level of poverty in an individual country. The concept of relative poverty raises important political questions because it establishes a link between poverty and inequality and in so doing suggests that reducing or eradicating poverty can only be achieved through the redistribution of wealth and the promotion of equality.

Whereas relative poverty is a subjective calculation, based on feelings of deprivation and disadvantage created by the gap between the poor and the rest of society, absolute poverty can surely be objectively defined. The World Bank, which has assumed growing responsibility for global poverty reduction, takes as a standard of extreme poverty an income level of 1.9 dollar a day, calculated at purchasing power parity (Brookings, 2018).

Debates about poverty focus not only on the nature of poverty, but also on how it can best be explained and therefore how it should be tackled; that is, how “development” can be brought about. Perspectives on development generally fall into two broad categories: orthodox and alternative.

Orthodox view of development. According to orthodox view of development, poverty is defined squarely in economic terms, as a failure, through a lack of income or resources, to satisfy basic material needs. The reduction or even elimination of poverty is therefore clearly linked to the ability to stimulate economic growth, traditionally calculated based on gross domestic product per head of population.

Development, in effect, is synonymous with economic growth. The central mechanism of economic growth stimulation, from this perspective, is the free-market system.

The virtues of the free market are that it gives full rein for individuals to pursue self-interest, providing incentives for people to work, engage in trade, set up business and so on, and that it ensures long-term economic equilibrium, helping to bring the forces of demand and supply into line with one another. The market is thus the only reliable means of generating wealth, providing, indeed, the possibility of unlimited economic growth. Under-developed societies are therefore destined to be transformed into modern or developed ones.

This view of development is reflected in modernization theory, which is evident in theory of the five stages of economic growth:

1. Traditional societies – such societies are characterized by rudimentary technology, pre-scientific values and norms and a subsistence economy.

2. Preconditions for take-off – at this stage societies exhibit a degree of capital mobilization and start to develop an entrepreneurial class.

3. Take-off – this happens when the norms of economic growth are well established, and sector-led growth becomes common.

4. Drive to maturity – this is characterized by growing economic diversification, greatly reduced poverty and rising living standards.

5. High mass consumption – at this stage the economy is increasingly orientated around the production of modern consumer goods, with affluence becoming widespread.

The expansion of the orthodox view led to the widespread introduction of market reforms in many countries of the world. Nevertheless, the pro-growth and pro-market view of development has attracted growing criticism in recent years. Opponents have argued that economic reforms that expose countries to the vagaries of the market and the international

trading system may be counter-productive, leading to economic dislocation rather than steady growth and the reduction of poverty (Heywood, 2011).

Alternative view of development. The alternative view of poverty and development has become more prominent as disillusionment has grown with technocratic, top-down, pro-growth strategies.

According to this point of view, the most important themes are as follows:

1. Humanistic view of poverty that emphasizes opportunity, freedom and empowerment (thus meeting material and non-material needs).

2. Self-reliance rather than reliance on wealthy states, international bodies or the market.

3. Ecological balance, sustainability and conservation of the “global commons” (water, land, air, forest).

4. Social and cultural inclusion through respect for cultural diversity and the interests of marginalized groups such as women and indigenous groups.

5. Local control achieved through community action and democratic participation.

6. The view that poverty has a structural character, stemming from disparities in the global trading system and elsewhere.

The alternative view rejects the idea of a linear transition from a traditional society to a developed society, in which Latin American, Asian and African states are destined, sooner or later, to go through the same process of modernization as developed states.

Some supporters of alternative view advocate separating developing world economies from the global economy. Instead, they seek to combine growth-orientated economic policies with sensitivity to local and regional needs and

interests, placing stress on cultural diversity, ecological balance and self-reliance (Heywood, 2011).

Global inequality. Questions about poverty are often linked to the issue of inequality. Indeed, from the perspective of relative poverty, the two concepts are intrinsically linked, in the sense that widening inequality effectively means increased poverty. There are some assertions, linked to criticisms of globalization and biases within the world trading system that the gap between the richest and poorest countries has been increasing in recent decades, even reaching enormous proportions. As the rich get richer the poor get poorer, in relative and perhaps also in absolute terms. At the same time some scientists have concluded that in recent years the world has generally become a more equal place.

The existence of different points of view is caused by certain difficulties regarding measuring inequality, which is much more complex than the simple idea of a gap between rich and poor. Some of these reasons are following:

- a lack of clarity about what is being measured: income, life expectancy, educational opportunities, access to clean water and so on;
- the data to measure inequality may be unreliable or contain biases;
 - different time spans highlight different trends;
 - there is confusion about who are “the rich” and who are “the poor”;
 - within-country trends may be as significant, or more significant, than between-country trends.

As a result, we can identify only overall contours of global inequality, which can be broken down into three key trends:

- equalizing trends, largely based on economic progress made by China and, to a lesser extent, India;
- disequalizing trends, largely reflecting continued and sometimes deepening poverty in sub-Saharan Africa;

- a general trend for within-country inequality to grow.

An unequal world is unjust and exploitative, meaning that global justice requires not just a reduction in absolute poverty but also a narrowing of the gap between the rich and the poor. The link between inequality and conflict is evident in the fact that social disparities breed resentment, hostility and strife. The combination of poverty and widening income disparities, perhaps one of the key consequences of globalization in the developing world, creates a breeding ground for ethnic conflicts and the general breakdown of civic order. In this sense, global inequality may have contributed not only to state failure and humanitarian crises but also to the growth of new wars and the rise in terrorism. The link between inequality and personal wellbeing arises because human security and happiness are affected by the fact that people perceive their social position in terms of what others have. If people feel excluded from the benefits and rewards that are customary in their society, they feel marginalized and disempowered.

However, others have questioned the importance of inequality, even arguing that efforts to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor are misplaced or doomed to failure. The first such argument places an emphasis on poverty over inequality. From this perspective, absolute poverty is the real issue. Social evils such as hunger, a lack of access to clean water and sanitation, and low life expectancy are much more serious threats to happiness and personal wellbeing than the gap between the rich and the poor. If this is the case, national, regional and global policy should be structured around the goal of reducing extreme poverty, regardless of its implications for so-called relative poverty. A second argument is that inequality has certain economic advantages since social leveling leads to economic stagnation, as it removes incentives for enterprise and hard work (Heywood, 2011).

Fight against global poverty and inequality. Global anti-poverty movement started through the establishment of the Millennium Development Goals, the main of them are to: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability, develop a global partnership for development (United, 2018).

The goals are focused not only on transferring wealth, but also on changing the rules of the global economy to remove structural inequalities. This is particularly emphasized by last goal, which encompasses the goals of establishing an open trading and financial system that is rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory.

International aid is the principal way in which countries discharge their development responsibilities and help to promote socio-economic development in other countries. Aid may consist of:

- grants, funds, resources and equipment, or staff and expertise;
- subsidized loans at concessionary rates (as well as debt forgiveness) by foreign governments, international and private banks;
- direct foreign investment (by multinational corporations and private investors) (Heywood, 2011).

Apart from international aid one of the main priorities within the antipoverty agenda is the global trading system. Anti-poverty campaigners have argued that free trade must be replaced by fair trade. This stems from the belief that structural disparities that operate within the global trading system systematically benefit the wealthiest and most developed countries at the expense of the poorest and least developed ones. These are often linked to inequalities in the terms of

trade, whereby primary goods, often produced in the developing world, are relatively cheap while manufactured goods, usually produced in the developed world, are relatively expensive. Attempts to promote development through the provision of international aid, but which ignore the global trading system, are therefore doomed to failure.

End-of-chapter questions

1. What is the difference between absolute and relative poverty?
2. What are the main ideas of alternative views of development?
3. How is poverty considered according to the orthodox view of development?
4. Has globalization increased or decreased global poverty?
5. What are the key directions of global anti-poverty movement?

GLOSSARY

Absolute monarchy is a form of government in which the monarch has absolute power.

Absolute poverty refers to a condition where a person does not have the minimum amount of income needed to meet the minimum requirements for one or more basic living needs over an extended period of time.

Anarchy is a situation, where there is no government.

Authoritarian political regime is a regime in which all power is concentrated in the hands of one person or ruling group and is characterized by significant limitation of the open political process, restriction of political rights of citizens, limited civil and personal rights and freedoms.

Balance of power is distribution of power among several nations with approximate equality.

Bipolarity implies the division of the world into spheres of influence between two poles of power, two major power blocs (superpowers), the creation of military-political blocs, and sometimes the construction of ideological, religious, cultural barriers.

Constitutional monarchy is a form of government in which power is shared between monarch and constitutionally organized government.

Democracy is a form of government in which citizens govern themselves directly or indirectly.

Democratic political regime is a regime in which the people are considered as the bearer of state power.

Dictatorship is a form of government characterized by the absolute governance of one person or a very small group of people who hold all political power.

Direct (pure) democracy is a form of direct participation of citizens in decision making, that is, all laws are created or changed by a general vote of society.

Domestic terrorism involves violence against the civilian population or infrastructure of a state – often but not always by citizens of this state and often with the aim to influence national policy.

Elective monarchy is a form of government in which leader is selected by voting.

Emerging powers or rising powers are terms are used as recognition of the rising, primarily economic influence of a nation (or union of nations), which has been increasing their presence in global affairs.

Ethnocentric terrorism is based on groups, who consider race as the defining characteristic of a society, and believe that a particular group is superior to another.

Feminism is a group of theories and political movements that advocates social, political and economic equality between men and women.

Great powers are states, which are the most powerful in a hierarchical state-system.

Green politics is a theoretical perspective aimed at solving global environmental issues.

Horizontal proliferation refers to states or non-state actors that do not possess nuclear weapons but seek to obtain these weapons or develop materials for its production.

Human rights are rights that belong to an individual or group of individuals simply for being human, or as a consequence of inherent human vulnerability, or because they are requisite to the possibility of a just society.

Idealism is a theoretical perspective that focuses on the importance of morality and values in international relations.

International governmental organizations are military-political, political-economic and other alliances, blocs, coalitions created by agreement of the states based on the common interests to realize common goals.

International non-government organizations are non-profit organizations, which are active in humanitarian, educational, healthcare, social, environmental, human rights and other areas to effect changes according to their goals.

International relations is combination of economic, political, legal, ideological, diplomatic, military, cultural and other relationships between actors operating on the world arena.

International terrorism is the use of violence by internationally-linked groups from different parts of the world.

Liberalism is a theoretical perspective that emphasizes interdependence between states as the key characteristic of the international system.

Middling powers are sovereign states that are neither a superpowers nor great powers, but still have large influence and international recognition.

Monarchy is a form of government in which power is concentrated in the hands of one person (monarch), who holds the position until death or abdication. The monarchical title is the transferred hereditarily.

Multinational corporations are for-profit organizations or corporations which are doing business globally, have plants or factories and pay taxes in more than one state.

Multipolarity is the distribution of power, where more than two states have approximately equal economic, military, and cultural potential.

National interest is claims, goals, demands, which a state always tries to preserve, protect, defend and secure in relations with other states.

Neo-Marxism is a theory that focuses on the historical development of the international system of capitalism, exploitation, and global competition among economic classes.

Non-political terrorism is a terrorist's act aimed at achieving other than political goals (obtaining individual or collective gain).

Nuclear arms control is a term for international restrictions upon the development, production, stockpiling, proliferation and usage of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons are weapons that use nuclear fission to destroy certain targets, through the effect of blast, heat and radiation.

Nuclear weapons proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear weapons and the technologies which are used to produce such weapons.

Oligarchy is a form of government, where power belongs to a small number of people.

Politics is the activity of the government, members of law-making organizations or people who try to influence the governance of the state.

Political regime reflects a system of methods and ways to implement political power in society, the level of political freedom and the nature of political life in the state.

Political terrorism refers to violent acts to influence public opinion regarding political issues or compete for political power.

Postcolonialism is a theoretical perspective, which has tried to expose the cultural dimension of colonial rule, usually by establishing the legitimacy of non-western and sometimes anti-western ideas, cultures and traditions.

Power is the ability to influence the results of events, in the sense "power to do something".

Realism is a theoretical perspective that emphasizes the role of the state, national interest, and military power in world politics.

Regional powers are states that have power within a geographic region.

Relative poverty is the condition in which people lack the minimum amount of income needed in order to maintain the average standard of living in the society in which they live.

Religious terrorism is motivated by extreme religious ideologies.

Representative democracy is form of indirect participation of citizens in decision making, when people elect officials to represent their interests.

Security dilemma is a situation where a state's desire to increase security becomes source of insecurity for another state.

Separatist terrorism is aimed at obtaining independence, political autonomy of territories to establish a new state.

State is an autonomous geopolitical entity inhabited by citizens having the same language, history, and ethnicity.

State terrorism is the systematic use of terror by a government in order to control its population.

State-supported terrorism is government support of violent non-state actors engaged in terrorism to achieve a certain goal of governments or groups holding power in a country.

Superpower is a term, which used to describe a state with a dominant position, which has ability to influence any processes anywhere in the world.

Terrorism is unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Totalitarian political regime is a regime in which the state does not recognize the limits of own power and seeks to regulate every aspect of the public and private life of people, without any respect for human rights.

Unipolarity is a type of the world order in which power is concentrated in one centre, that is, one state has the enormous cultural, economic and military influence.

Vertical proliferation refers to states that possess nuclear weapons and are increasing their stocks, improve the technical sophistication and reliability of their weapons, or develop new ones.

World order is a term that means the distribution of power among states and other actors of international relations, affecting the level of stability within the global system.

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