

## **Sino-Russian Role in Multipolar World Order**



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# **Sino-Russian Role in Multipolar World Order**

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## **DEDICATION**

*I dedicate this Ph.D. thesis to my treasured  
**Parents** (Late) for their inspiration,  
spiritual guidance and energy*

*to my beloved **wife** for her unparalleled  
and unwavering support throughout my  
studies;*

*to my much-loved **children** for their  
backing & all the sacrifices they swallowed  
during my industrious undertaking.*

*Thank you all for enabling me to this  
accomplishment*

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AEW&C	Airborne Early Warning and Control
AFVs	Armored Fighting Vehicles
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCE	before the Common Era or before the Current Era
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CNN	Cable News Network
CPEC	China–Pakistan Economic Corridor
CRA	Contingent Reserve Arrangement
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
EU	European Union
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HST	‘Hegemonic Stability Theory’
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOs	International Organizations
LoN	League of Nations
NDB	New Development Bank
N.D.	No Date
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OBOR	One Belt One Road

PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAAF	People's Liberation Army Air Force
RAF	Russian Air force
RAND	Research and Development
RMB	Renminbi
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SORT	Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USAF	United States Air Force
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
WW-I	World War I
WW-II	World War II

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## ***Abstract***

*Since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China and Russia have developed an understanding upon the transition of the contemporary US-led hegemonic world order. Both these emerging great powers are striving for a new multipolar world order; as the dynamics of international politics have been consistently changing. At the birth of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the global power politics was characterized by multi-polarity; since different major powers around the world, particularly in the West were contending for their domination against each other. Such a competing international system is unsurprisingly anarchic and decentralized due to the absence of any central authority. However, in the Post WW-II era, the United States and former Soviet Union emerged as the two super powers; and they relatively maintained a balance of power in the bipolar world. In early 1990s, at the end of the cold war; subsequent to the disintegration of the USSR, the bipolar world order also died out. In the succeeding unipolar system; the US emerged as the sole super power of the world and unwaveringly coined the idea of the “New World Order.” Washington also proclaimed an overriding leadership role for itself throughout the world, particularly in the transnational economic, political and security organizations. The US also started enjoying its unique status; as being the world’s largest economy and an unmatched military power to establish the uncontested hegemony in the global politics. The rest of the nations; neither alone nor collectively could challenge the American worldwide supremacy. However, at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the relative decline of the US as well as the emergence of new power centers, particularly the rise of China and the resurgence of Russia, clearly indicate that the unipolar world order shall no more exist. As a whole the dynamics of international politics are consistently heading towards the transition of the contemporary world system to a multipolar world order. Different variables of power also suggest that the future international system will consist of multiple power centers; where besides the US, China and Russia are also going to play their key role.*

## INTRODUCTION

China and Russia have developed an underlying empathy on transforming the American hegemonic world order. In the past few decades the two countries have strengthened their strategic alignment and they are striving for a new multipolar world order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since, the dynamics of international politics have always been under transition, making the rise and fall of various great powers as an eternal phenomenon. The unpredictable nature of global system and the rapidly occurring unprecedented incidents warrant the emerging great powers to demand the transformation of the overall world order. In the international system no state shall either remain perpetually powerful or weaker; and no setup of the global political structure could be everlasting.

In the unipolar system, the rude behavior and aggressive designs of the United States has erupted frustration among majority of other states in the world; where stability and peace have nose-dived. Various incidents of political and economic implication like; the First Gulf War, the “Global War on Terror”, the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the 2008 global recession have certainly provoked agony in most of other nations. The unilateralist offensive on Iraq was rejected by the American NATO<sup>1</sup> allies like: Germany and France (Mahbubani, 2009). Hence, a heated debate on the costs and benefits of Unipolar World Order started in academia and the political arenas. Joseph S Nye (1992) has argued in his publication “What New World Order?” that to avoid the deadly Iraq War, a strong Soviet Union in the bipolar world would have never allowed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

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<sup>1</sup> NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is an inter-governmental military alliance, consisting of 29 countries from Europe and North America, including the US. The concept of collective security was obviously the primary objective of the founding treaty of the NATO. This unique principle is a binding force between its member states, which are committed to protect each other against the aggression.

The rising great powers, particularly China and Russia sustained concerns over their repeated marginalization in several political issues of global implication; and they were getting disappointed with the developments taking place in the unipolar world system. The two Eurasian powers undertake that the sovereignty of other nations is vulnerable against the American policing conduct, asserting a self-proclaimed authority to encroach in the internal affairs of every other state. To counter balance the American intimidating behavior, China and Russia launched their bilateral strategic partnership in mid-1990s (Turner, 2009). Since then, Beijing and Moscow not only denounce the unipolarity but also continued to promote the transition of global system to Multipolar World Order.

The Sino-Russian declaration regarding a new multipolar world system in the coming decades has certainly echoed the sentiments of the two great powers, emphasizing upon reproving the US-led hegemonic world order and replacing it with multipolar system (Chen, 1999). Beijing and Moscow have also signed the treaty of “Good-Neighborliness, Friendship, and Cooperation” aiming to outline their common resolve towards promoting a just and fair kind of new world order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Cohen, 2001).

Despite unembellished concerns from the international community, the United Nations, and the US allies, Washington unilaterally decided to invade Iraq in 2003 on the plea of the so called weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). This unilateralist approach terrified all other nations; especially the emerging powers like China and Russia, to gauge the underlying dangers of the sole hegemonic power in the global system. Hereafter, Moscow stridently and Beijing somewhat consciously started to highlight the extortions of the US-led unipolar world order and emphasized on the transition of global system to a new multipolar or multicentric world order in the future decades.

A worldwide dominant perception prevails that the future world system would help weaker states to avoid intimidations of the global powers that will also serve to bring about a just and equitable order, ensuring global peace and harmony. The effects of soft power by Chinese initiated trillions of dollars worldwide investment in infrastructure, energy and locomotion projects is believed to support the under-developed nations in strengthening their economies and securities. Such massive investment plans will certainly unveil the new face of the sleeping giant, China (Scissors, 2018). Though the Chinese leadership consistently elucidate that it does not harbor any hegemonic agenda for global dominance; yet a worldwide perception prevails that in official assertions of Beijing's peaceful rise; it actually seeks a new international political and economic order. Majority of the states anticipate that this new world system could be materialised through shared interests of complex interdependence and by practicing the democratic norms of international relations (Bijan, 2005).

China and Russia have gradually but surely emerged on the global stage as new great powers, having their resolve of neutralizing the absolute dominance of the United States from all over the world. It is further anticipated that the strategic relations of the two Eurasian powers shall engender a kind of new hope for many other underdeveloped nations in the highly anarchic global political structure. Eventually, it is predictable that the rapid rise of China and the resurgence of Russia<sup>2</sup>; along with other emerging powers; would evolve the 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics into a new Multipolar World Order that far less intimidating even for the weaker nations.

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<sup>2</sup> The current Russian President Vladimir Putin has settled the goal of making his country great again, which is the pivot of Moscow's foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics. Since, resumption of office in 2012, Putin has taken up an assertive strategy of securing a leading position for his country in the international system.

## **1. Rationale of the Study**

In the unipolar world system, the United States ascertained its hegemonic position without addressing the serious concerns of even the other sizable powers. Washington has been maintaining a preeminent control over the global institutions dealing with economy, security, trade and political issues. However, since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, some of the major players; China, Russia and other rising powers have launched an enterprise to assert their position as the vital actors in the global system.

The US hegemony, for its overstretched worldwide commitments, is confronting significant external and internal challenges. At the external front the American influence over the global political system is declining; while internally Washington is facing economic Challenges, whose apprehensions are further appended by the growing strategic ties between Beijing and Moscow. The rapidly rising China and the renascent Russia along with their strategic relations<sup>3</sup> is a severe challenge to the American global supremacy. The American worldwide supremacy is evidently diminishing; and at the same time new centers of power are emerging. These developments are heading to figure-out the new multipolar world order in the coming decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is strongly believed that in the future international system; the underlying power would not rest mere with one or two major players; rather there will certainly be multiple power centers, looking to establish an evenly maintained balance of power in the world. Nonetheless, the main emphasis of this research work is to analyze the Sino-Russian role in the forthcoming new multipolar world order.

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<sup>3</sup> Regarding the Chinese President Xi Jinping visit to Russia for top-level talks with Russian President Vladimir Putin; the Asia Times reports on June 25, 2019 that Beijing-Moscow relations are at the 'highest level'. The report maintains that the Western animosity is pushing the two fellow travelers ever closer in trade, technology, infrastructure, energy and regional as well as global issues.

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

International politics is generally believed as an acronym to quest of power. States seek to gain, maximize and utilize power to ensure their survival and establish hegemony or imperial status. This tendency can ultimately threaten the world peace. In the post-cold war unipolar system; the US emerged as global hegemon; and its authoritarian practices agonized almost every other significant world player. The other rapidly rising powers especially, China and Russia are resolved to challenge the American worldwide hegemony; and they stridently demand the transition of contemporary chaotic unipolar system with a balanced and vibrant multipolar world order. The nature of engagement among the great powers will be the pivot of 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics.

## **3. Main Objectives of the Study**

- To explore the evolutionary phases of the overall world order.
- To evaluate the US-lead system that could not ensure global peace and stability.
- To examine the emergence of new power centers and their role in the global system.
- To assess the Sino-Russian power and possibilities for challenging the unipolar system and sustaining a multipolar world order.
- To analyze the US response towards any change in the contemporary global system.

## **4. Research Questions:**

1. What are the dynamics of international power politics that indicate the evolution of a new Multipolar World Order in the Twenty-first century?
2. What role China and Russia would play in the new Multipolar World Order?

3. What will be the response of the US to a change in the unipolar status-quo?

4. What will be the structure of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world system?

## **5. Significance of Study**

The study of world order is a highly significant phenomenon in international politics. Global peace and stability is the fundamental concern of every key player in the world particularly, the powerful states. This is perhaps the most important variable of the world system. This research work primarily aims to analyze the dynamics of global power politics that ultimately leads to the evolution of a new multipolar world order with multiple power centers. Wherein, along with other regional powers, China and Russia will certainly play their key roles. On the one hand, the American hegemony is weakening due to its shrinking economy; simultaneously, key players like China, Russia and others are stretching their muscles to be acknowledged as major power centers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century politics.

In such a critical situation the response of the US towards the other powers is highly significant; since, Washington is left with two probable options. First, relying on the notion of “complex interdependence” and allow rather welcome these great powers, more importantly, China and Russia to lodge their due status in the global system. Second, espousing the traditional realist course of rivalry among the powerful actors, to confront and craft new challenges for itself and the international politics. Here the most important question is; whether the impending multipolar world order would warrant peace and stability; or it will be the rerun of previous multipolar arrangements that had led the global system to the two catastrophic World Wars.

## **6. Delimitations of the Study**

The study of world order is thoroughly associated with the roles and mutual relationships of the great powers. Some of the emerging players like; India, Brazil, South Africa, Turkey, Korea and others are certainly significant actors; however, this study has to delimit the assessment of their comprehensive engagement, for it may deviate the pivot of the study from its centrality. The dynamics of world order are related to the complex decision making by the high-rank officials of the great powers. Collection of primary data from such officials is a challenging task for the researcher; therefore policy statements, media talks and opinions from the well-known analysts have to be relied in the study.

In the balance of power contrivance; the US has adopted the policy of China containment by supporting its rivals like India in economic and strategic terms. Detailed elaborations of the Indo-US strategic relations and their impact on the region are debarred from this study; since it may result into losing the focus from the core topic and also compromise the quality as well as objectivity of the research work. Therefore, it is intended that this research work will delimit the above mentioned subjects for concentrating thoroughly on the central theme of the future world order, its vital players and their engagement.

## **7. Literature Review**

Review of literature is one of the most significant aspects of a research work. It enlightens the researchers about the existing universe of knowledge available on the subject from highly learned specialists in the discipline. Literature review also inculcates new ideas in young scholars of the academic field; and it also enables the scholars to find research gap on the subject. World order is a wide-ranging and historically deep rooted

subject; therefore, its study obviously demands a comprehensive literature review. There is a universe of literature on this critical subject around the world.

Some of the most prominent and contemporary works on the world order are; '*The European Union in a Changing World Order*' edited by Antonina Bakardjieva Engelbrekt, Niklas Bremberg, Anna Michalski and Lars Oxelheim (2020). The book highlights that the global system is in a state of upheaval, especially since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Much of public and academic debate in international relations has been dedicated to global power shifts away from the transatlantic US-EU engagement towards the rapidly rising powers with huge economic growth or development potential in Asia. This new trend grew stronger in the wake of the financial crisis in 2008-2010. The relatively weak economic recovery in Eurozone has been discussed in detail in this book. The new security threats from acts of terrorism and violence by non-state actors shook the European fabric; the wars, instability, poor governance, climate change and massive inflow of immigrants along with their implications for the world order elaborately explained in this work.

The next book reviewed is '*Belt and Road: A Chinese World Order*' written by Bruno Macaes (2019). The writer explains that China's Belt and Road strategy could be one of the most ambitious geopolitical initiatives of the age. The BRI covers around 70 countries by land and sea, which will have deeper impacts on the global system. More importantly, the BRI symbolizes a new phase in China's ambitions as a superpower in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order and crown Beijing as the new center of globalization. Bruno Macaes maintains that BRI is about more than power projection and profit taking; rather it may herald a new set of universal political values to rival those of the West.

The study of world order is a highly comprehensive assignment that demands a range of publications to be reviewed. For better understanding and succinct appraisal; the overall literature review of this study can be divided into five different categories. The first category of literature deals with historical and evolutionary perspectives of the world order; particularly associated to the pre WW-I issues like the Peace of Westphalia and the Concert of Europe. The second category deals with crucial developments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century politics, starting from 1914 (the era of WW-I) to the 1989, the end of the Cold War. The third category of literature is related to the perilous aspects of the contemporary world system, where the US has been enjoying the eminence of hegemon; and the rising powers are anxious to challenge the status-quo. The fourth category of the literature reviews the underlying variables that are based on the quantitative and qualitative data that can guide us to figure-out the likely structure of the future world system. The last category of literature review is related to the official documents of some of the national and international organizations; policy statements by various heads of states and governments along with their speeches.

The first category of literature review covers the various evolutionary phases of the world order since 1648, the era of “Westphalian Peace Treaty.” Hedley Bull’s, ‘*The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*’ (2002), Henry Kissinger’s, ‘*World Order*’ (2014), Richard Anderson Falk’s ‘*The End of World Order: Essays on Normative International Relations*’ (1983) and B.S Murthy’s ‘*Studies in World Order*’ (1972) offer fascinating appraisals on the evolution of world order. Mark Jarrett in ‘*The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*’ (2014); Matthew Rendall in ‘*Defensive Realism and the Concert of Europe*’ (2006); Kal Holsti in

*'From States Systems to a Society of States: The Evolution of International Relations'* (2009); have presented the historical outlook of the world order.

Moreover, Kyle Lasurettes in *'The Concert of Europe and Great Power Governance Today: What Can the Order of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe Teach Policymakers about International Order in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'* (2017) and R. B. Elrod in *'The Concert of Europe: A Fresh Look at an International System'* (1976) have extended a detailed account of the chronological phases of the world order during the concert era.

The second category of literature is related to the 20<sup>th</sup> century international politics that can be characterized as the most significant era of the order. Gunther Kronenbitter's *'The Austro-Hungarian Experience of Coalition Warfare, 1914–18'* (1914); Conybeare and Sandler's *'The Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance 1880-1914: A Collective Goods Approach'* (1990); Samuel R. Williamson's *'The Origins of World War I'* (1988) as well as Hamilton and Herwig's *'The Origins of World War I'* (2003); have comprehensively elaborated the root causes of the WW-I, the first all-out war in human history.

As regards to the overall international political scenario *'A Global History of the Twentieth Century: Legacies and Lessons from Six National Perspectives'* (2017) written by J. J. Hamre; regarding the Versailles Peace Treaty, *'Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World'* (2007) transcribed by MacMillan and Dorsey' *'Woodrow Wilson's Fight for the League of Nations: A Reexamination'* (1999) are some of the highly significant publications on the early 20<sup>th</sup> century world order. The root-causes of failure of League of Nations have been elaborated by Eloranta in *'Why did the League of Nations fail'* (2011). Kindleberger in his book *"The World in Depression: 1929-1939"*

(1973) has also been reviewed that has thoroughly discussed the costs and causes of the great depression.

The third category of literature deals with the post-Cold War unipolar world system. Charles Krauthammer's '*The unipolar moment*' (1990); Lawrence Freedman's '*The Gulf War and the new world order*' (1991); Louise Kettle's '*A New World Order: The importance of the 1991 Gulf War*' (2016); and Sean D. Murphy's *United States Practice in International Law* (2006) are the extraordinary works from the eminent scholars. The American hegemonic position has been elaborated by eminent scholars like; Stephen Burman in his book '*America in the modern world: the transcendence of United States hegemony*' (1991) and Ashley J. Tellis in '*Assessing America's war on terror: Confronting insurgency, cementing primacy*' (2004).

John G. Ikenberry in; '*Liberal Internationalism: America and the Dilemmas of liberal World Order*' (2009) and '*The future of the liberal world order: internationalism after America*' (2011); has thoroughly explained the ebbs and cons of the unipolar system. In addition, *Unipolarity, state behavior, and systemic consequences* (2009); *Liberal Leviathan: The origins, crisis, and transformation of the American world order* (2011); are the publications reviewed. The writer has very intelligently highlighted the American uncontested supremacy in the unipolar system. Paul Kennedy's '*The rise and fall of the great power*' (1987) has expressed the rise and fall and the ultimate transition in the world order.

In '*Hegemony and decline: Reflections on recent American experience*' (2005) David Calleo has comprehensively discussed the fluctuations in the US foreign policy during

the past few decades. However, well reputed academician like William Wohlforth in his famous publication ‘*The stability of a unipolar world*’ (1999) seems to advocate the unipolar system for it contains the underlying subtleties of stability in the world. The deliberation of Amitav Acharya on the world order; in his several publications on the subject; particularly ‘*The end of American world order*’ has comprehensively discussed the dynamics of the American hegemonism as well as the futuristic construction of the world system in the coming decades.

The fourth category of literature reviews the 21<sup>st</sup> century world system. Prominent writers like Hampson and Heinbecker, in ‘*The new multilateralism of the twenty-first century*’ (2011); Fareed Zakaria in his famous book, ‘*The Post-American World*’ (2008); Amitav Acharya in ‘*Global governance in a multiplex world*’ (2017) and Robert Kagan in ‘*The World America Made*’ (2012) have tried to sketch the edifice of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global system. These scholars have emphasized that the emerging powers and the US have to play a constructive role in impending the contemporary international system; otherwise the overall world order may run into a chaos.

## **8. Original Contribution to the Knowledge**

The literature review of this study reveals that academic discussions on the world order and its changing nature in the global power politics are readily available in the archives of international politics. The misappropriations of the US dominated unipolar world order have also been deliberated by several commentators; besides, a fair number of articles on bipolar and multipolar world orders are also available. However, it can be categorically argued that all these publications provide fragments of knowledge about the international

political order. The existing stock of literature on global power politics originates a substantial room for a comprehensive study encompassing the all-inclusive; evolutionary, contemporary and futuristic; dynamics of the highly significant phenomena of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global system, the multipolar or multicentric world order.

The existing material on the subject exposes gape for the researchers to assess the edifice of transforming world order that demands a comprehensive study from the evolutionary phases to the complications of transition process; in addition to the significant roles played by the great powers. This research work aims to provide a detailed study of the multipolar world order along with the fundamental difference between the earlier orders and the 21<sup>st</sup> century global system. The study also offers the role of China and Russia as the key players of this upcoming world order in addition to the power potential of these rising great powers to transform and sustain the future multipolar world system. The likely response of the other emerging powers as well as the anticipated American reaction to the new international system is also part of the study.

## **9. Theoretical Framework**

The International Relations theories; ‘Realism’, ‘Complex Interdependence’ and the ‘Hegemonic Stability Theory’ are most relevant to the study of world order and the role of great powers in sustaining or transforming the global system. In this study different dimensions of Realist ideology like; classical realism, neo-realism and neo-classical realism are employed to understand the nature of engagements among the great powers; the US, China and Russia. Since, almost all the realist scholars approve that survival, security and self-help are the central consolidating features of interstate relations,

especially in the anarchical system of international politics. The realist school has categorically underlined the quest for ‘power’ as the central characteristic for regulating the behavior of state at the global level. Traditional realists such as Thucydides (N.D.), Machiavelli (1513) and Thomas Hobbes (1980) have indicated that the quest for power is basically rooted in human nature.

Realists argue that states expand their dominion on every pretext to ensure their survival. Classical realists like Hans Morgenthau (1978) and E. H. Carr (1946) believe that maximization of state power is a national security imperative that statesmen cannot afford to ignore at their own peril. Structural realists such as Kenneth Waltz (1979) and John J. Mearsheimer (1990) maintain that security is an exogenous compulsion for every state in the anarchical international system, grounded without any substantial mechanism of hierarchy. Neo-classical realists like; Johan G. Ikenberry (2011), William C. Wohlforth (2009) and Fareed Zakaria (2008) enunciate that the wide ranging endogenous and exogenous obligations certainly bound states to maintain the quest for preserving national security that ultimately ensures state survival.

According to the whole range of realists, states maximize their power to survive in the anarchical system of international politics. However, defensive realists portray that the incumbent hegemons necessarily seek to maintain their dominance over the potential rivals; while offensive realists hold that the emerging powers or rising hegemons persistently seek to magnify their power. This study aims to explore the interplay of engagement between the existing hegemon, the US and the Sino-Russian drive for a renewed structure of international system, where the two emerging powers are expected to play a key role. Simultaneously, despite their rivalry in the anarchical world system;

the relations of these great powers particularly China and the US have entailed complexity designed on the trade and economic ties, which also make theories of Complex Interdependence as highly relevant to the thesis.

The proponents of Complex Interdependence hold that multiple channels like; interstate, transnational and trans-governmental conduits connect the international societies. Since, no hierarchy can completely regulate state-to-state agendas; therefore, states have to engage with each other for the sake of their national interests. Statesmen cannot overwhelmingly manipulate interdependence on behalf of their policies on different transnational groups. Interdependence can flourish within the networks of rules, norms and procedures related to international regimes that modestly regularize the behavior of various actors and their influence within and upon the global system.

International regimes are the sets of arrangements that influence relationships among states and also govern measures through which the governments opt for interdependence. The triangle of relationships among; Russia–China–US, exhibit complexity that involves certain features of interdependence, centered around economic and trade relations; along with rivalry that is rooted in the quest or pursuit of power. Hence, interdependence, contentions and conflicts may exist side by side in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order.

Lastly, the ‘Hegemonic Stability Theory’ is also relevant to the world order and the balance of power mechanism in international politics. The proponents of this theory like; Kindleberger, Robert Gilpin and Robert Keohane (Snidal, 1985) have extensively discussed that the presence of a dominant actor in international politics leads to stability and order in the overall world system. The central idea of the theory expound that

stability of the global system entails that a hegemon can better help in articulating and administering the rules of engagement among the key stakeholders of the world system.

The hegemonic state must have the capability, will and commitment to the system which is perceived as mutually beneficial to almost all the major players. The capability rests upon the attributes of a huge and growing economy, dominance in leading technological or economic sector and political influence, all of them are backed by a projective military power. The HST maintains that there could be peace and stability in the world as long as the dominant nation and its powerful allies maintain firm control over the global system. The international system is always in flux, so is the great power status, primarily due to variations in the national power of different actors. The hegemonic world order is defied if one or more great powers in the system are dissatisfied with the existing international structure; and they decide to strive for a conclusive change in the overall world order.

According to this theory; the hegemonic position of the United States could not last for only few decades; since peace and harmony did not triumphed over the world order. The emerging powers, particularly China and Russia, already disgruntled in the US dominated hegemonic order, have launched an initiative of transforming the world system; for the commentators of international relations believe that Washington has mostly aimed to manipulate every situation in its own way, for its own interests.

However, the main argument of this theory expounds that the presence of hegemon guarantees peace and its absence causes destabilization. This notion can be easily refuted as a result of the emergence of the likely new multipolar world order; where the leading actor China has been consistently trying to assure the rest of the world that it does not

harbor any hegemonic agenda behind its rapid growth or exceptional rise. Beijing seems to demonstrate its desire for liberal international order, having brighter prospects of; win-win for all, collective security, shared economic interests and free trade across the world.

The proclamation of China for its peaceful rise and the HST present almost a conflicting scenario. Since, Beijing is maximizing its national power in multiple dimensions; correspondingly it is also challenging Washington on various strategic, economic and political fronts. It is now up to the existing hegemon that how does it react, to the rise of the new great powers, especially China. In case of conflict between the great powers, there will be a disaster in the world system. The United States may opt to accommodate the new great powers; for such cooperation among them may lead to a shared hegemony at the global level or at least a mechanism of regional hegemons (Prys, 2007).

## **10. Research Methodology**

One of the most significant features of research work is the methodology adopted by scholars to address the research questions and also to draw conclusions. Research methodology is an approach towards resolving the research problem in a systematic and scientific manner. Various steps are generally adopted by the researcher in the investigation process of the research problem.

Devising a comprehensive and workable plan of research, identifying relevant population or subject of analysis for the study along with the scheme of sampling and its instrumentation are highly significant features of the research methodology. The means of data collection and data analysis are also crucial. The research scholars generally implement two illustrious techniques in their investigation; the deductive or inductive

methods. In deductive approach, the researcher pursues inferences from the general to the particular narratives. The deductive approach also includes analyzing the data in theoretical perspectives.

In international politics researchers employing a deductive approach take their start with one or more international relation's theories that they believe are relevant and then test their implications with data. In this technique the research process moves from general to a more specific level. Generally this approach to research is associated to the investigations that are scientific in nature. The researcher studies the works of others; employ the existing theories that are compelling; and then tests the hypotheses that emerge from those theories.

**Theories/ Hypothesize → Analyse Data → Hypothesis Supported or not**

(General Focus)

(Analysis)

(Special Focus)

In inductive approach of the research work, the researcher usually begins the study by collecting data that is predominantly relevant to the chosen topic. After gathering a sizable amount of data, then the researcher generally looks for workable patterns to develop an applicable theory that could explain those significant patterns.

**Gathering of Data → Looking for Patterns → to Develop Theory/ Decision**

(Special Focus)

(Analysis)

(General Focus)

This research work has primarily adopted deductive methods for drawing a meaningful conclusion to the dynamics of world order. In deductive approach; the study begins with the world order in general; and then to the multipolarity and finally to the role of China and Russia in the newly evolving multipolar world order. The researcher aims to testify

the data and the corresponding variables in accordance with the international relations theories, as mentioned earlier. At the same time, this research work has also employed somewhat inductive technique in determining the world's great powers on the basis of data analysis method. These great powers like; the US, China and Russia are to ultimately play their significant role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics.

William Zikmund (1984) argues that research design is a master plan of specifying the methods and key procedures of collecting and analyzing the data. It is a systematically arranged plan or strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions. The world order is a highly complex subject and this research work has mainly employed qualitative method to evaluate the roles of great powers in future world system. However, statistical inquiry for quantifying the great power status also demands quantitative analysis.

The research is mostly analytical and based on secondary data with a detailed study of the dynamics and evolutionary phases of world order along with historical and contemporary perspectives. However, primary data comprising of certified statistics, key statements and speeches of high-rank officials have been incorporated in the thesis. For quantitative analysis, the study has to rely on the economic, military and other parameters of the great power centers including the US, China, Russia and the European Union. This study has also gathered primary data related to various speeches, policy statements and some of the other sources of statistics. These primary sources of data also include official documents of different national and international organizations like; budget documents of various countries, the statistics of United Nations, and various agreements like the Westphalia peace treaty and others.

## **11. Organization of the Study**

The research work starts with the introduction of the study. This section of the thesis comprises a brief account of introductory details like; rational of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions and significance of the study. Then there is a discussion of literature review and research methodology of the study.

Chapter one of this thesis is related to theoretical framework of the overall world order; primarily its transition from unipolar to multipolar power politics. There is a detailed discussion of the different theories of international relations that are associated to the in-depth study of entire world system and its most likely structure in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics. Chapter two of the study portrays a comprehensive account of the dynamics of world order along with its historical background. In this regard, the 1948 “Treaty of Westphalia” is considered to be of exceptional standing, as the order in international political structure is said to be started from this accord. After that there have been several twists and turns emerging on the global political arena. Following this treaty, there have been several other accords like Paris peace conference, Congress of Vienna and other settlements annotated and analyzed to understand the evolution of world order.

Chapter three of the research work covers the 20<sup>th</sup> century international politics and its role in the overall world order. This chapter deals with the critical developments from WW-I to the culmination of the Cold War. Certainly these three quarters of the past century have been the deadliest era of the human history. Starting from the First World War, the Paris Peace Treaty, and the formation of the League of Nations along with the Woodrow Wilson’s efforts for establishing this organization of worldwide peace and the

Great Depression are the significant enunciations of this chapter. There is a detailed account of the incidents that caused the eruption of WW-II and its calamities, followed by the developments like the formation of the United Nations Organization and its subordinate organs. This chapter also accounts for the major developments in the Bipolar World System, particularly during the Cold War and its after-effects, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union.

Chapter four is related to the detailed study of the contemporary unipolar world and its corresponding consequences, leading the global system to a disorder. There is a comprehensive discussion regarding the hegemonic role of the US along with its aggressive designs and an ultimate sense of insecurity and unrest among the rest of the nations of the world. How great powers like; China and Russia were marginalized by the hegemony of the US that eventually pushed these great powers to think about the reshaping of the global system. This future world system would preferably be multipolar or a system with multiple power centers in the world.

Chapter five of the research work is related to the evolutionary process or transition of new multipolar world order. This part of research work aims to explore the American declinism and its root causes along with probable features of the emerging situation in the international politics. It has been attempted to explore the nature of the future system that would be of hegemony without a hegemon or the new multilateral world system; particularly the phenomena of the rise of the “Rest” as compared to that of the “West.” This chapter also contains the analysis of different models of the future world system like; the global concert model, the regional world model, the post-hegemonic multiplex world order, ostensibly in an age of the US Decline. Moreover, the concepts of

nationalism, modernization and Westernization and the perplexed nature of future world system have also been discussed in detail.

Chapter six of the study comprises of the detailed analysis of the data that can deduce the ultimate index of the major powers. On the basis of economic and military variables of power; major players including the US, China and Russia are acknowledged as the great powers. Certainly these powerful actors have to play a crucial role in the upcoming international order. The role of global powers in the future world system has been analysed on the basis of their standing in the global GDPs, global trade and worldwide military clouts. This chapter also consists of the enquiry of the second tier of global powers. Lastly, it has been evaluated that whether the US is going to decline and if it does; then is it a relative or an absolute degeneration?

Chapter seven of the study explains the Sino- Russian role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order. This chapter comprises the analysis of declining Pax-Americana and its internal and external drivers; the Chinese rise and the prospects of its peaceful upswing; the likelihood of polarization through institutionalization. Next in this chapter is a debate on the China's strategic, economic, institutional and military challenges to the Pax-Americana in the Asia-Pacific region and worldwide through transnational institutions like; Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

The last part of the study is conclusion that encompasses major findings and some key recommendations.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Theoretical Framework of the World Order

Theoretical framework of the world order deals with the study of ever changing nature of the transnational politics. State, being the central actor of the global political structure, always seeks to maximize its power and ultimately place itself at an advantageous position against its competitors. This chapter portrays a detailed theoretical discussion about the role of great powers; the US, China and Russia along with their part in engineering the global political status-quo. Keeping in view the analytical perspective of IR theories; it is deliberated to evaluate the role of these major players in maintaining or otherwise distorting the world order, as explained by the international relations theorists.

The study of world order is a highly comprehensive and complex subject; therefore, no single theoretical paradigm of international relations could be inclusive enough to examine its entire variables and their multilateral impacts on the international order. The two most referred models of international relations; realism<sup>4</sup> and liberalism<sup>5</sup> could be employed to investigate the relationship between the existing hegemon and the rapidly emerging great powers, such as China and Russia. It is imperative to estimate that the emergent great players as well as the United States; either opt to go for traditional rivalry, as it always happened at the time of any transformation in the history of world order; or they prefer to collaborate and accommodate each other.

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<sup>4</sup> Realism is an IR theory that emphasizes the competitive and conflictual side of transnational politics; where the role of the state, national interest and military power are the driving forces in world politics that is primarily anarchic.

<sup>5</sup> Liberalism as a paradigm in IR displays the hope for rationality, reasons and universal ethics. It maintains that the transnational politics can lead to a more orderly, just, and cooperative world system. The liberalists assert that international anarchy and wars can certainly be policed with the help of institutional reforms and the international system can be strengthened by empowering the IOs through laws.

In the unipolar world system the US enjoyed its position of the uncontested hegemon in the world. However, since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the emerging great powers are aggressively challenging the status-quo; hence, the impending transition also demands to be investigated in light of “the hegemonic stability theory”. Certainly this theoretical paradigm would enlighten the study to understand the behavior and role of these major players in sustaining or subverting the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s multipolar world order.

Being the most significant international relations theory, the Realist perspective would help to explain the nature of power politics among the major international players. The proponents of this viewpoint certainly believe that the rise of great powers, particularly China herald the relative decline of the US, which would eventually result into a conflict. Structural realism or system theory would explain the behavior of states in terms of the anarchical structure of the international political system that induces states to work for maximizing their power in warrant of safeguarding the national interests. Since 1970s, the dynamics of global politics have predominantly been underpinned with the help of the famous work of Kenneth Waltz’s (1979), *‘The Theory of International Politics’*.

The study of Liberalism would lead the research work towards globalization, economic interdependence, and collective security as well as shared interests; as being the dominant features of 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics. Since, the exponents of this theoretical paradigm maintain that no single state in isolation, even a super power, is capable of addressing the challenges of this era independently. The liberal internationalists bid a vision of an open world system, which is primarily rule-based; and states can cooperate and trade with each other to achieve mutual gains and work for the common interests in establishing a cooperative world order. In this context the complex interdependence

approach would help in explaining the bilateral and multilateral relations among the contemporary great powers, especially the US, Russia and China.

In the post-cold war era; the US has the liberty to emerge as an unmatched hegemonic power, carrying the responsibility of maintaining the order in the entire international system. The phenomenon of world order in the global power politics is deeply associated to the ‘Hegemonic Stability Theory’ (Sachse, 1989). The theory explains that the presence of single hegemon symbolizes stability in international politics and maintaining the world order. A large number of analysts also trust that the American hegemony is in fact the primary source of order and stability; and any potential challenger to the contemporary system would dramatically destabilize the whole world in future.

Since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; the global political scenario has been so rapidly changing that masses from all walks of life are getting perplexed. The sleeping giant, China, has turned into a ‘leap forward’ with its double digit annual growth rate along with mounting political and strategic influences in different regions of the world. In the mean-time, Russia, under its present regime is also stretching mussels to regain the super power status that it had enjoyed in the bipolar world system. All the great powers including the US and even smaller players are anxious about the emerging global political order in the coming decades.

The debate regarding the new balance of power mechanism is too often, both in academia and the media, predominantly aiming at the prospects of conflict or compromise between the existing and the emerging superpowers; especially, the US and China. Not only political leaders and military front-runners but also the researchers and system theorists

of the world are earnestly trying to evaluate that the US led unipolar global political system will last for how long? If it changes, what kind of a new manifestation at the international level would replace the contemporary system? Some of the analysts anticipate the emergence of another unipolar system under the Chinese domination; while others foresee a bipolar system with shared responsibility and compromised interests between the two giants, the US and China. Perhaps there is another school of thought that prophesies a multipolar or a multilateral system, with an evenly balanced kind of power sharing among the global political, economic and military power centers.

The study of international political order is a highly complex theme; therefore, for the sake of better comprehension and systematic analysis a compound theoretical paradigm needs to be developed in the study. The same proposition has also been emphasized by Qianian Liu (2010), who maintains that some particular theory of international relations would fall short of exclusive interpretation of the behavior of great powers, particularly during their rise and fall paradigms in the coming decades.

## **1.1 Theories of International Relations Theories and the Global Politics**

Theories<sup>6</sup> are constructed to make the complex international political issues more explicable for the scholars of various disciplines. Theories also guide the policymakers in critical circumstances, with respect to their historical perspectives. Such theories in international relations arise from different paradigms, which are fundamentally the key assumptions of highly distinguished intellectuals about the international political issues.

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<sup>6</sup> In social sciences particularly IR, theory is a set of hypotheses that postulates the relationships across different variables. It aims to describe, explain, or predict a particular phenomenon. It makes prescriptions about how certain changes would evolve towards particular goals and ethical principles.

Basically, paradigm could be characterized as a dominant way of looking at some specific and critical issues over a period of time. A paradigm can influence the judgments of decision makers in choosing what kind of analytical criteria is adopted during the investigation process. The archives of international political history reveal that paradigms have been very frequently revised or even abandoned as they have quite regularly failed to reflect the predominant patterns of global political behavior.

A broader analysis of the international political paradigms suggest that the eruption of almost all the major wars has been one of the main causes of significant changes and ultimately a reassessment process in the theories of international relations. Robert Gilpin (1981) in his famous book; “*War and change in world politics*” also points out that in such circumstances what kind of debates, assumptions, values and ideas would dominate the ethos of international politics in the succeeding ages. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century; at the culmination of the two World Wars; and even after the Cold War; a handful amount of transformed as well as new theories of international relations were put forth by the political scientists. The main argument in most of these theories has been the issue of a sustainable peace and order in the global political system.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century politics and the transition of the contemporary world order from unipolar to multipolar or a multilateral system certainly demands a comprehensive theoretical analysis of the rising and declining great powers. Since it is a highly complex issue; and no theoretical model with a simplified assumption would inclusively review all the significant features of the exceedingly pertinent paradigms. It is certainly indispensable for a multi-faceted understanding of the overall world system and its trilateral engagements among the three great power; the US, China and Russia. In this context the

relationships of the US and China at the bilateral level; along with their involvement in East Asia will be a vital axis for the 21<sup>st</sup> century international system.

This segment of the study would present an analytical inquiry that has assimilated a blend of realist theory, complex interdependence and hegemonic stability framework. Certainly this integration would be useful to develop a better understanding of the complex dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics. Undoubtedly the key areas of emphasis are the Sino-Russian engagement with the US and the pattern of their involvement in the transition process of the international system. In such kind of a complex scenario; the theoretical cushioning delivered by realism, neorealism, complex interdependence and the hegemonic stability theory would furnish a rational understanding, deemed necessary, in grasping the complexities of relations among the three powerful players. Since, these critical engagements involve the features of competition and cooperation amid conflicts of interests along with their drastic implications for the entire world.

## **1.2 Realism and the World Order**

Realism is taken as the primogenital and the most cited theory in the prevailing schools of thoughts in international relations. Therefore, the famous British international political theorist, Tim Dunne (1998) has categorically characterized that the collection of the rest of the International Relations theories, is not more than just a kind of footnote to realism. In international politics the specific interpretation that fundamentally stresses upon the competitive and conflictual aspects is called realism or political realism.

Basically three aspects of realism solidify it as the most relevant theoretical framework for this study. One, realism is an exclusive paradigm incorporating a range of approaches

along with an extensive theoretical background. Two, in its practical manifestation realism, as an anti-thesis to idealism or liberalism, certainly have a great deal of influence on the diplomatic channels of international politics. Three, a thorough analysis of the global political affairs can reveal that the conduct of a state has always been indebted to realism; for the guidance of statecrafts, especially beyond the borders.

Realist school of thought, believe that at the global stage, the principal actors are the states, which are mostly apprehensive about their own security and national interests. In addition, states are also anxious about maximizing their national power, to guarantee their security and safeguard the national interests. Realists also maintain that ethical norms and values have very sporadic relevance in the establishment of relationships among states. For maintaining authority, preserving order and upholding justice at the national level, states constitute laws and institutions; whereas the domain of international politics lacks justice and legal authority. In such a vogue scenario of international politics the prospects of active or potential conflict among states are quite natural and this notion can be characterized as the central theme of realism.

In historical perspectives it can be certainly argued that the realist viewpoint is as old as the life of human being itself. However, the recorded account of realism can be traced back in the ancient Greeks era, where the realist perspective was highlighted by Thucydides<sup>7</sup>, in his writings about the history of “*Peloponnesian Wars*”<sup>8</sup> between Athens

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<sup>7</sup> Thucydides (460-400 BC) had been an Athenian historian and a famous general. His master piece, “History of the Peloponnesian War” has described the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC war fought between the then great powers, Sparta and Athens. Thucydides is revered as the father of "scientific history" by certain analysts who believe that he had categorically applied strict standards of impartiality and evidence-gathering as well as analysis of causes and effects. He has also been appreciated as the father of a certain school of thought, called political realism. The text of Thucydides' work is studied at universities as an understanding of the ill nature of human by explaining the behavior of men in crises such as plagues, massacres and civil wars.

and Sparta (431-404 BCE). The growing tensions between the two most powerful and leading city states eventually ended in the outbreak of a deadliest War between them. The battle started mainly due to the fact that the Spartans were frightened by the growing power and success of Athens. The Peloponnesian War was fought between the two powerful alliances; the Peloponnesian League, led by the Spartans; and the Delian League, headed by the Athens. Hence, the rise of another great power turned out to be a matter of serious concern and conflict for the existing super power (Tsoukalidis, N.D.).

In order to develop a better understanding of the realist theory, it is imperative to examine the three distinct stages of the overall evolutionary process of the paradigm separately. This would certainly help to appreciate how the classical realism has extended the most appropriate rationale to the realist school of thought and its significance in the study of international politics over the years. The distinction can be based on the principle of different periods in the history of realism and the international relations. The first, Classical or radical realism influenced the transnational politics up to the early decades of the 20th century. Second, would be modern realism from 1939-1979, while the third is structural or neo-realism that grew from 1979 onwards.

Among the founding fathers of realism, particularly the radical realism, besides Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) are the

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<sup>8</sup> The Peloponnesian War had been fought between the two famous Greek cities the Athens and the Sparta. The war between the two parties was one of the deadliest events in ancient Greek history. Numerous issues had caused the conflict; one of the most significant was the Spartans' fear of the growing power and success by the Athens. The earlier were particularly alarmed by the rapidly growing power of the later. The Athens grew as a fiercely strong power supported by its many allies. They continued relentless attacks on the Persian territories. After the Persians departed from Greece, Athens further enraged Sparta, for they had built large and tall walls around their empire state in the event of an attack, which was mostly thought to be launched from Sparta if it ever happened. Ultimately the Athens had come out on the top; since it was the most dominant power among the Greek states with a powerful and ever growing naval force.

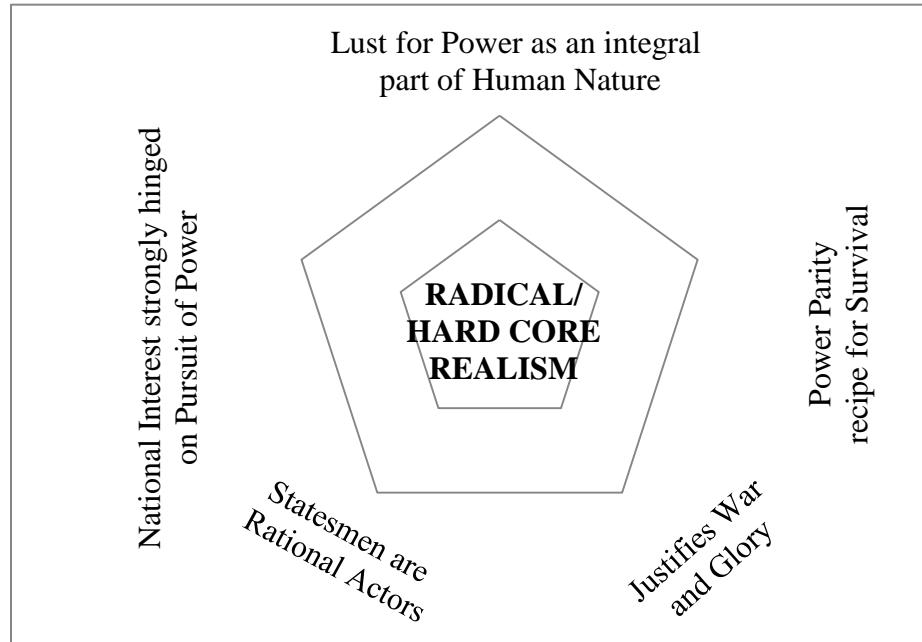
other notable scholars. Machiavelli was the 16<sup>th</sup> century Italian theorist, who expressed his viewpoint in his book, *The Prince* (1513). While, Thomas Hobbes, the 17<sup>th</sup> century English thinker, shared his philosophy on the dynamics of international politics in his book, *Leviathan* (1651); and Carl Clausewitz (1780-1831), the famous Prussian general and a theorist in his well reputed book ‘*On War*’ (1956) has expressed his viewpoints. These prominent thinkers reflected the international political dialogue of those eras in the contemporary and the historical perspectives. Realism deserves a comprehensive investigation; since its worldview has long been guiding the understanding of politicians and the scholars of international politics. The radical realists believed that the quest for power is always rooted in human nature and any imbalance in power, particularly among states, has been the root cause of conflict at the international level.

The Athenian historian and general, Thucydides saw politics as the demonstration of power. He firmly emphasized that the ultimate difference of power essentially warrants the stronger actor to dictate terms to the weak, which has no other alternatives except to tender its choices and interests. Eventually, the weak is left with the bleak options of, ‘either to submit and be subordinated or perish’ against the powerful player. Machiavelli has reoriented the realist point of view on further radical footings by stating that morality is irrelevant in politics. He openly justifies the use of corrupt means to attain political gains and he has courageously separated politics from ethics. He also promulgated the antithesis of Christian morality and idealistic norms that highlight man as a moral agent.

Machiavellian doctrine has also challenged the moral and political traditions of other ancient philosophers. Machiavelli believed that man can never do any ‘good’ without his personal interests or necessity. However, Machiavelli had emphasized upon the

attainment of glory and power, without making any distinction between moral virtues or vice. He had expressed diminutive confidence in the overall potential of human being for moral and spiritual development. Accordingly Machiavelli has painted an extremely distorted portrait of human nature (Riaz, 2016). The famous English philosopher, Hobbes has elaborated yet another facet of the weaker human nature that is deeply rooted in lust of power. He maintains that instead of being moral or social, the nature of human being is nasty, ruthless and short of sanity. Hobbes argues that human beings are always preoccupied with an impatient desire to maximize their power and control over the others. This attribute ultimately ends up in a state of war of all against all.

**Figure 1.1: Main Features of Hard Core Realism** (Burchill & Linklater, 2005)



Hobbes also believes that it was the same lust for capitalizing power that is deeply rooted in human nature, which ultimately used to induce the egoistic imperial monarchs to expand their dominions, even in the far off continents, on the pretense of endangerment

and fear of invasion. He has described that the pursuit of power is certainly an inherent phenomenon in the inter-states relations. Therefore, wars have always remained as the central element of these relationships and they can never be eliminated from the lives of human beings (Hobbes, Schuhmann & Rogers, 2003).

An in-depth appraisal of radical or hard core realism reveals that human preoccupation for the pursuit of power is indispensable feature. Its display in the relationships of individuals and the states is a highly nostalgic concept. Since, the gentle deeds like; piety, charity and forgiveness also dwells in human nature and they are equally compelling characteristics of the masses. It would be unfair to equally regard the entire human race as predominantly involved in an eternal lust for power; likewise, states cannot be labeled as always and absolutely power hungry; and the international system as a showcase of power alone. Universal norms and ethics do sometimes endow guidance and direction to states in their actions and transnational engagements under certain conditions.

The classical realist and famous English theoretician, E. H. Carr (1892–1982) in the ‘Twenty Years Crisis’ has portrayed a rational understanding of the transnational politics. Counter balancing Liberalism, Carr has stated that the theory has granted a teleological edifice to the international politics through mere wishful thinking. Carr has introduced the scientific model of realism. He has emphasized on the study of analyzing as well as accepting the facts in a manner as they actually existed in the world. He has anticipated that the paramount acumen of human being lies in the acceptance of irresistible strength associated to the existing forces. He believes that human being remains to be powerless in their efforts to alter the course of overall proceedings of the universal scheme. Carr argues that without the existence of an overarching regulatory authority in this system;

the propensity of conflict and the pursuit of national power among states will remain as a natural drive for the survival of every actor (Carr & Cox, 1946).

The proponents of classical realism proposed that the extinction of war from the world would be possible by understanding the fundamental root cause of conflict, which is the perpetual imbalance of power among states. He believes that instead of the liberal utopia of collective security; only the rightly maintained balance of power can avoid the outbreak of wars. In the international structure, the only legitimate mechanism of power shifting has so far been the instrument of war. The desire of peace and stability also aims at serving the interests of the global powers. Any road to the world order is cruised at the expense of weaker nations of the world. The foreign policy of majority of states is driven by the force of political prudence; rather than the commands of morality and ethics. Power, not justice and morality; sets the principles of international norms.

The famous realist from 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hans J. Morgenthau (1904–1980) was an American political scientist who highlighted that man is predominantly overwhelmed by his desire to dominate others. Similarly, Hans Morgenthau, in his celebrated book, ‘Politics among Nations’ (1978) argues that the same flaw is basically the root-cause of conflict at the international arena. He emphasized that the transnational politics has always been the manifestation of a continuous struggle for power and national interest.

### **1.3 A Critical Analysis of Realism**

Realism, in classical and contemporary terms, stands on three “Ss”; state, survival and security. The pillars of power, economics, political and strategic, of a state shape-out its position in the global system. Contrary to idealists; the realists guide the states to coexist

in the global system, though striving to maximize the national interests while confronting a completely hostile environment. Maximizing the national power and ensuring security and survival are the chief embodiments of this international system. At the same time, classical realism maintains that instead of ethical, moral or religious norms; political prudence has predominantly been the guiding principle of this international structure. The only window of opportunity to get the due share in the anarchical global system is the national power of a country, rather than any admirable scheme of justice.

According to the Realist World view state is certainly the most significant actor on the world stage. It is responsible to no other greater hierarchy or authority; since it is sovereign in nature and has an absolute supremacy over its territory and population. On the other hand, due to the nonexistence of a higher authority at the global level, the same absolute sovereignty on the part of states results into another issue of persistent conflict of interest among the autonomous entities.

In the absence of higher authority in the anarchic international system states have very meager options of seeking help for their protection. Similarly they are helpless in resolving their disputes with the other states, especially the powerful ones. Hence, realists describe the international politics as always in struggle for gaining power. In such an ambiguous situation, every state ultimately bears the responsibility of its own survival. It also feels uncertain about the intentions of other actors, particularly those of its competitors and the neighborly rivals. Realists also ascertain that the visionary political leadership always emphasizes on the need to maximize their national power through building strong militaries and striving to create more and more allies for enhancing their security and maximizing the national interests.

The realist paradigm also ascertains that the main objective of the statecraft is the survival of state in a highly hostile international political environment. Hence, the attainment and maximization of national power becomes the number one priority for every state not only to protect itself but also to deter its competitors or enemies; and hence no other principle is superior to the concept of self-help<sup>9</sup>. The notion of state's sovereignty in the worldwide anarchy renders a kind of liberty; and in some of the cases a responsibility; to the heads of states to do whatever is compulsory to guarantee the survival and to protect the national interests of their states.

Every state, bigger or smaller, is bound to exercise self-help, increase its military strength, widen political influence and opportunistically align itself with other states, particularly the global powers, to protect its national interests and also to deter the enemies. Realist theory, also emphasizes that cooperation among states shall be rare for they have the apprehension about the unequal distribution of benefits from cooperation or the relative gains<sup>10</sup>. States should never entrust the task of national security to any other external actor like; international security organizations or major powers. They must also resist any kind of policing efforts to regulate or limit the states' role in international activities through the guise of global governance.

The fundamental aspects of realist school of thought can be summarized through the following propositions. One, by nature, man is selfish and he is obsessed with a sense to compete with others for supremacy, self-interest and personal gains and therefore in

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<sup>9</sup> Self-help is the fundamental principle for the sovereignty of states. There is anarchy at the global level, as all actors are independent and not answerable to any other actor. All states have to rely on themselves in order to ensure their survival, security and well-being of the people.

<sup>10</sup> Relative gains in the international relations are referred to the situation where the participatory actors in cooperative geopolitical or economic engagements strive to get more benefit than the others, though allies.

relations among states morality cannot be expected to play any role (Rathbun, 2012). Machiavelli has also expounded the identical type of realist vision of human nature by stating; “men in general that they are ungrateful, fickle, dissembling, hypocritical” (Machiavelli & Bull, 2008, p. 271).

Two, the scholars of realist school do believe that the most important responsibility of each state is not only to seek but also to maximize its power. Since power is the most essential currency in international politics and it is vital for a country to promote its national interest; as they say might makes right. Classical realists also uphold that the standard of justice at the international level depends upon the equivalence of power to compel the rivals; rather than moral or Christian values. Moreover, the stronger players certainly do what they have the power to do; while the weaker player accepts what it has to accept (Thucydides, N.D.).

Three, realists maintain that international politics actually exhibits a persistent struggle for power. Thomas Hobbes (1651) has also described that in the global structure all men are at war against all. In such an uncertain state of affairs the possibility of eliminating the quest for power is mere a desperate ambition, rather a utopian desire. States, in the pursuit of power, must secure plenty of military capabilities not only to dissuade the attack by some potential enemy but also to exercise influence over others. Hence, states must always have the preparation of war if they want to maintain peace and stability in the world.

Four, the worldwide anarchic situation raises distrust among the states that perpetuates the fundamental principle of self-help that ultimately gives rise to the notion of security

dilemma<sup>11</sup>. The act of acquiring power by one state; though, may be necessary for the national security, it would certainly threatens the others; which are likely to respond in a kind of balancing situation. In such an anarchic system at the global level every state seeks to maximize its power and the mechanism of stability is maintained through a balance of power.

Thus, states might sought to increase allies, as alliances increase states' abilities to defend themselves; but at the same time the loyalty and reliability of allies should not be taken as guaranteed. Moreover, if such alliances are no longer in a state's national interests, commitments to such allies should be refuted. Realists believe that moral or ethical considerations have nothing to do with foreign policy deliberations. Actions that are driven by national interest<sup>12</sup> of a state must be carried out by the authorities, no matter how obnoxious they are in the light of private morality (Blanton & Kegley, 2016).

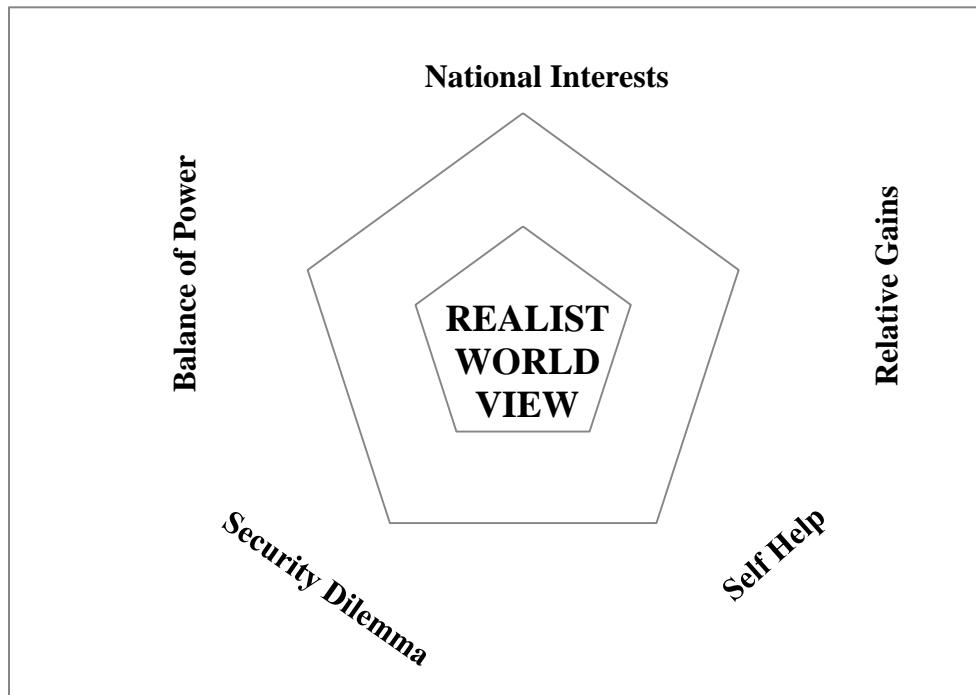
The history of realism reveals that the conflict among the hegemons and the other emerging power seems quite natural. In ancient Greek the rivalry between the then super power and the emerging one was due to the possession of status-quo. In the course of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, almost the same scenario was being repeated; when the emerging power, Germany was trying to make a room for itself in the international politics. The formerly existed European powers like; UK, France and the USSR were threatened by the German aggressive designs in the region.

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<sup>11</sup> Security dilemma is the predisposition prevailing among states to regard even the defensive arming of the rival states as a matter of threatening for their security. As a result the opposing party also seeks to arm itself and eventually the security of all other states decline.

<sup>12</sup> National interest of a state is the achievement of certain goals in a selfish manner. Actually the authorities of states pursue to maximize what they believe to be the best for their country at the external and internal levels.

**Figure 1.2: Main Features of the Realist World View** (Burchill & Linklater, 2005)



The rise of China, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, from the status of a regional player to the eminence of global power is considered to be the most critical development of international relations. The American status-quo, particularly the one Washington has enjoyed in the unipolar world, is being challenged by Chinese strive for the new dynamics of global politics, especially its efforts for new multipolar world order. Although, the Chinese leadership has repeatedly reiterated that Beijing have no intensions of conflict with any other power, particularly, against the Washington.

In accordance with the propositions of realist school, the US would not agreeably believe such rosy statements. Since, the two major players have a wide ranging conflict of interests in different regions around the world. The balance of trade between the two economic giants is heavily in favor of China; and the US authorities, especially the

present regime in the White House, have already demonstrated severe resentment against Beijing's international economic agenda.

Moreover, the two powers have strategic as well as political differences in several regions of the world. Among them, the more critical are; the South China Sea, South Asia, the Central Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the Latin America. The Chinese military expansion at the domestic and international level is also perplexing the American strategic thinkers. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) reports that from 2000 to 2017, the volume of Chinese arms exports rose by 275 percent; while its arms imports decreased by 56 per cent (Béraud-Sudreau & Nouwens, 2018).

At the same time, Russia, particularly under its present regime, is also vigorously trying to regain its prestige of the bipolar era. It is consistently increasing the political and military influence in various parts of the world, especially in the Central Asian and Eurasian regions along with the Middle East. Moscow is a very active player in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and it is also building deeper strategic and trade ties with Beijing. Russia is also trying to find new areas of engagements and cooperation in the region and beyond. Its ties are getting restructured with the developing nations like; Pakistan, Syria and the countries of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region. These developments are certainly matter of grave concern for the US.

According to Dr Khalil-ur-Rahman (2018), a political analyst, the bilateral relations between Russia and Pakistan have improved and Moscow has shown keen interest in joining the CPEC projects in Pakistan. Hence, the re-alignment in the region is shaping new areas of cooperation between the two countries (Rahman, 2018).

Keeping in view the main features of political realism, the nature of international relations is mainly a struggle of self-interest in an environment of global anarchy, by and large void of morality. Thucydides argues that international system is based on principle of balance of power, where justice has nothing to do significantly. The strong should rule the weak and all states are obsessed with the notion of security dilemma. Such type of anarchic situation demonstrates a war of every man against every man.

The question arises that whether the rise of an emerging power to the status of a global power will have a happy ending. Or will China's ascent to this new position will increase tension between Washington and Beijing; that ultimately may turn towards the probability of great-power wars, either cold or hot war? Will an era of US-Chinese global trade war and political tug of war be as flashing and flaring as that was amid the United States and Russia during the Cold War era?

One may argue that the situation could be even worse, because unlike the Soviet Union, China would not only be the geopolitical competitor; rather it is turning out to be a serious economic challenger. Famous newspapers like; the Washington Post, are frequently indicating that the Sino-American economic confrontation is going to get worse before it gets better (Rogin, 2018).

#### **1.4 Neorealism or Structural Realism: An Appraisal**

Generally it is argued that Neorealism has fundamentally originated from realism. However, its emphasis is mainly on the anarchical construction of the international political system. According to neorealist school of thought; for ensuring its security, state must always be prepared for conflict. It ought to maximize the economic and military

power constantly. Therefore, neorealism is usually also termed as structural realism or system theory that explains the behavior of states in the uncertain and conflicting transnational political environment.

Neorealists argue that such an anarchic situation on the world level undoubtedly push the states towards tension; as they have to take care of themselves and cannot rely on others. States are bound to follow the concepts of self-help, as relationships among them are characterized by uncertainty and suspicion that leads to the phenomena of security dilemma. Simultaneously, states are not only bound; to ensure the protection of their national interests; but they are also preoccupied with their quest of relative gains. This anxiety can also be observed even in the interaction with their allies.

The fundamental principles of neorealism in the international political structure are; the anarchy that emerges from such a vague construction and the distribution of power to safeguard the national interest. These notions are evoked by several neorealist scholars of international relations from around the world. However, Kenneth Waltz, Robert Keohane, John Mearsheimer and Barry Buzan are the most prominent intellectuals of the neorealism or structural realism theory.

Since 1970s the study of international system and its anarchic edifice are essentially evaluated under the famous work of: '*The Theory of International Politics*' a masterpiece of Kenneth Waltz's (1979). He maintains that the 'structure' of global political system is predominantly 'anarchic'. Nonetheless, he believes, 'the anarchy' may not necessarily infer to the presence of an all-out chaos or a complete disorder. Basically, it denotes the nonexistence of a world government, possessing the authority to regulate or

oversee the dynamics of transnational politics from a higher level. There is no formal hierarchy, which may exercise its authority at the world level to ensure security and stability in international relations.

Basically, neo-realism has materialized as a result of an endeavor to curtail the anti-positivist orientation of classical realism. The Neorealists School has attempted to introduce a kind of new dimension in international politics. This theory has directed the concentration of the study to a more scientific and methodologically rigorous approach. Waltz, being the icon of this school, has challenged the denunciation of liberalist on the realist theory on two distinct fronts. First, at the global arena; the absence of a distinctly evolved international system has caused the emergence of sub-national and transnational actors; secondly, the appearance of various multinational organizations.

Waltz has challenged not only the liberalists but also the realists. He has characterized liberalist theory as being reductionist for its failure to expound the international system as a whole; and also its incapacity to explain the true nature of interaction among states as being part of this system. The Realists' ideology is fundamentally grounded on the standing of faulty human nature. The Liberals accentuated their dogma on the democratic norms, better prospects of free trade among various nations and the constructive role of the IOs; since these are among the central pillars of Capitalism<sup>13</sup>. The Marxists challenged the capitalist system; but all of them ignored general structural constraints on the behavior of states as a whole in the international system.

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<sup>13</sup> Capitalism is one of the modern economic systems in which the key elements of production are owned by private entities. In this system the markets of capital goods are owned by private individuals. The overall production of these goods and services in the market are controlled by the mechanism of supply and demand or the principle of market economy. This system is not run by the central planning of the government or any other instrument.

In contrast to the well-established ‘hierarchy’ at the domestic level that is controlled by the local authorities as well as backed by the legislative and judiciary; the structure of global politics is characterized by ‘anarchy’. Thus the key features of an ‘anarchic structure’ are based on two main implications. Firstly, in the international system every state or actor is primarily responsible for taking care of its own survival and security. No one else will assure the state for her security in such an unpredictable and suspicious international political structure. Secondly, states are always haunted by the feelings of threats from an active use of force or at least by a potential attack from others. Kenneth Waltz has argued that in international system no one is bound to obey the commands of some other actor by virtue of his authority.

Since each state persistently feels insecure; both in terms of its ideological and geographical integrity as well as the national interest. States are to be capable of defending their sovereignty and also ensure their share of relative gains from the system. As per the assessment of neorealist; the phenomena of capability of state can be demonstrated by the volume of its natural resource, demographic location, financial capacity, military strength as well as scientific and industrial advancement.

The capabilities of states vary in terms of these features at different levels that ultimately render varied levels of status to all the nations in the global community. Some are classified as global powers, others as regional powers and many of them are ordinary states. Neorealist scholars thus try to paint a relational picture of the capabilities of states at the regional as well as international levels during some specific period of time. This could be referred to a mechanism of ‘relative gains’ due to ‘relative capabilities’ possessed by the states.

Like in realism, power is the central element of neorealist theory; but to neorealism, the quest for power is not an end rather it is considered to be a means to the end, which is survival for the states (Waltz, 1979). The notion ‘means’ can be drawn in two categories; internally it aims at increasing the economic capabilities, enhancing the military strength and striving to formulate effective strategies. While at the external level, nations are in constant efforts towards strengthening the nature and number of alliances and striving to shrink down those of the opposing actors (Waltz, 1979). The realists believe that, a strong sense of survival pushes states towards a kind of selfishness that they always seek to retain a balance of power mechanism at the regional and global stages.

Neorealists also maintain that the behavior of states generally becomes socialized as a result of the rationale for self-help that results from the inherent anarchy of global system. On the one hand, the anarchical system pushes states for maximizing their power and ensuring their security. On the other hand, states are also made bound to appropriately assess the capabilities of their own and those of the rivals. Since, a slight miscalculation may prove disastrous for any state, even a great power. It was perhaps the same apprehension and calculation exercise that kept the Soviet Union and the US; at the brink of war and yet too far away from each other throughout the Cold War era.

The Neorealists scholars, particularly Waltz has a different conception of power with respect to those of the classical realists. He points out that the presence of a perpetual drive for security and survival certainly necessitates every state to boost its overall national power in the international system. Consequently, accumulating the military paraphernalia and preparing for war is a functional resemblance that exists among the entire collection of international actors without any vital distinction.

Gilpin (1981) has pointed out that in the wake of intricate and uncertain intentions of all states; the security measures taken by one actor can generate a spiral effect on the insecurity of others. There is a kind of chain effect towards instigating mutual suspicions among states and the corresponding measures to counter the rivalry efforts in order to guarantee the national security of every player in the transnational system. Owing to these fears an all-inclusive series of illusions and fears is ensued that further erupts superfluous defense expenditures around the world. Eventually, the whole exercise of counter balancing makes security a zero sum game.

Neorealists also maintain that majority of states, if not all, aim for universal domination. After the constitution of a global political system, its structure becomes an unavoidable force for the states; and their behavior is controlled by this mechanism. Waltz argues that over the centuries, a kind of uniform behavior demonstrated by states can be elucidated by the constraints upon the intentions and actions imposed by this harder structure of the international system. Neorealists believe that in such a confining international political environment, the goals of almost all the states remained to be, by and large the same. However, owing to the domestic policies these goals may fluctuate, but generally not very exclusively.

Another prominent analyst of neorealism, John J. Mearsheimer (2001) in '*The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*' has maintained that states always tend to maximize their power relative to others. He has claimed that in response to the uncertain global anarchic system, states expand their national power whenever prospects are available. Every state is expansionist by nature; Mearsheimer maintains; and it is constantly challenging the system to find a place for its status-quo in international politics.

Fareed Zakaria (1998) has also argued that for the sake of maximizing control over the unreliable external environment; states certainly expand their political interests overseas. According to the neo-realists, the notion of ‘polarity’ in the international political system can also be described in light of the ‘distribution of capabilities’ among the global powers, through a specific period of time. The scholars of international politics generally differentiate the system within three possible categories of polarity mechanisms; the unipolarity, bipolarity and the multipolarity.

In the dynamics of international political structure; if a single state is powerful enough to demonstrate significant superiority in relative capabilities, the system is characterized as a unipolar one; like that in the post-cold war era. The US found itself in a position of maintaining the status of a sole super power, having an absolute supremacy over the entire world. On the other hand, if the international system is such that these capabilities are predominantly distributed between two conspicuous global actors; then the arrangement is said to be demonstrating bipolarity. Just like, during much of the Cold War era, when the US and USSR were leading the Capitalist and the Communist blocks respectively and the two super powers represented the two ‘poles’ of the world. Lastly, the third type of construction in the international system is multipolar. If three or more global actors are demonstrating relative magnitude of their capabilities at the world level the system of international politics is said to be multipolar. For example the multipolar structure lasted till the end of WW-II; and it is also expected to reemerge in the coming decades of 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics.

In the discourse of world order and its transition from unipolarity to multipolarity, and the balance of power in global politics, the theory of international politics presented by

Kenneth Waltz is obviously pertinent. He maintains that the structure of international political system is characterized by power; and states are predominantly bound to maximize the national power to guarantee their security and interests at the internal and external level. In the unipolar world system; the US certainly dominated the international political arena; but in the 21<sup>st</sup> century politics; powerful actors like; China and Russia are thriving for new paradigms in global politics.

The rapidly growing powers including China, Russia and some of the other rising players are obviously maximizing their economic, political and military powers. They may not demonstrate any reluctance to challenge the existing status-quo of the US lead unipolar world order. Beijing and Moscow are playing a kind of leadership role for other developing nations to emphasize upon the new dynamics of global politics, with multiple power centers. The two great powers are looking to chalk out manifold options to the weaker states for their security and survival.

‘National interest’ is generally an elusive and abstract conception. In their struggle for ensuring security and survival, states seek to expand their capabilities, particularly with respect to their rival states. Thus ensuring territorial integrity, economic supremacy and military security; constitute the calculus of the national interest of a state. Correspondingly, the volume of capabilities that a state enjoys in relation to other actors; either constrains or equips states to pursue and preserve such interests. Finally, the possibility and ambition of a country’s national interests are determined by the level of their overall capabilities. Thus, within the conceptual framework of the neorealist theory, the national interests of a state can be preeminently understood with reference to its ranking in relative capability.

## 1.5 Liberalism and the World Order

Prior to the elaboration of the phenomenon of complex interdependence the theory of Liberalism, needs to be briefly overviewed. As an international relations theory it is generally considered to be the most vigorous theoretical challenge to realist school. Some of the times, it is also argued that the liberal theory has surpassed realism and it now holds the position of “best in the show” (Sterling-Folker, 2015, p. 44). Just like its main contender, liberalism has a distinguished historical background and philosophical roots having political thought of English thinker, John Locke, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, and Scottish economist as well as philosopher, Adam Smith.

The main reasons of our attentions towards liberalism are the number of issues that are marginalized; or in many cases even ignored by the realist school of thought. Liberalism has highlighted the impacts of domestic politics on the behavior of states in their international undertakings. It has also emphasized on the role of international institutions, their laws and code of conducts; along with the global norms in promoting the prospects of transnational cooperation.

One of the most critical aspects of the liberalist theory infers to its shrewdness to point out the implications of economic interdependence among the states or even the non-state actors. This attribute has certainly developed to be the hallmark of the conception of globalization<sup>14</sup> in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The theory of Liberalism, like realism, is a wide

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<sup>14</sup> Globalization is a modern phenomenon, generally used for describing the growing interdependence of international actors upon each other. In the contemporary world; international societies along with their economies, cultures and values have been brought together by the cross-border trade in goods and services. Sharing of technology and information along with flows of investment and human capital are also the tools of globalization. Over the centuries, countries have established economic partnerships in order to facilitate the transnational movements. The term has gained extraordinary popularity since the end of the Cold War

ranging international political philosophy having a number of distinct schools of thought, and from such a diversified theory there is always a possibility of misrepresenting the true ideology of any single author in drawing the extensive conclusions. Nevertheless, to abstract some general themes from the theory, scholars may find an adequate number of commonalities. Liberals have not only differed from realists rather they have very intelligently countered the key pejorative shortfalls on the part of human beings and their social construction, primarily put-forth by realism.

Fundamentally, liberalism displays a belief in reason and the possibility of progress at the domestic as well as the international level. They also believe that the individual needs to be viewed as the seat of moral values. Liberals also assert on the fact that human beings should be treated as ends rather than means in international politics. Moreover, liberals accentuate ethical values over the quest of power and the role of institutions over military capabilities of the actors (Ikenberry, 2011).

Realists, in their pessimistic views of the world, anticipate that competition and conflict over the accumulation of power and resources is inevitable. However, liberalists enthusiastically believe in “increasing or potentially greater cooperation and progress in international affairs, generally defined in terms of increased peace and prosperity” (Rathbun, 2012, p. 612). Keeping in view the philosophy of liberalists; the international politics as a whole may turn to be more a struggle for consensus, cooperation, common objectives and communal gains; rather than a mere scuffle for power and pride among the states in the world.

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era, particularly in early 1990s. The wide-ranging effects of globalization are highly complex in nature and many a times politically charged too. Since, with major technological advancements globalization has certainly benefitted different sections of society; while it has also inflicted harms to certain groups.

A number of ideas or philosophies have rendered a comprehensive definition to liberal theory. For instance; one, the liberals have emphasized on the unity and mutual benefits of the entire human race rather than the narrow-minded national allegiances to the sovereign states. Second, they have given more importance to the individuals, their indispensable dignity and fundamental equality. They have also emphasized on the corresponding necessity to give priority to the protection and promotion of human rights and their freedom over the fortification of national interests and sovereignty of states. Third, liberals predominantly believe in utilizing the power of ideas to indoctrinate the masses through education and to arouse the overall public opinion of the world against the warfare.

Fourth, liberals argued that the prospects for peace could be further augmented by reforming those conditions under which people live since the inherent lust for power has proven to be as an underlying source of perpetual conflict at the international level. Fifth, liberals also emphasized on introducing political reforms to institute stable democracies around the world. For such democratic political cultures based on the principles of civil rights, tolerance and compromise are expected to shun the possibilities of using lethal force as a means of resolving the differences. Like, the US president, Woodrow Wilson, asserted: “democratic government will make wars less likely”; while, Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed: “the continued maintenance and improvement of democracy constitute the most important guarantee of world peace” (Kegley, 2017, p. 29).

Instead of using force, liberals argue that diplomatic means can provide far better opportunities for reaching to the mutually acceptable solutions to the common problems. These diplomatic channels also facilitate leaders and diplomats to negotiate in a peaceful

manner and compromise with each other for the sake of mutually suitable solutions. To liberals, international politics is not necessarily a zero-sum game<sup>15</sup>. Using the conflict-resolution practices at domestic level like; law enforcing agents and the judiciary; can also be effectively employed in the international disputes. Since persuasion is a far better instrument than coercion in grave conflicts.

Democratically socialized leaders may interpret the international issues as an extension of domestic politics and the same spirit of applicability of norms can be effectively adopted to regulate the buds of international rivalry. Another significant component of liberalism is an emphasis on the promotion of free trade among the states. Various Enlightened thinkers like; Immanuel Kant, Adam Smith, Jean-Jacque Rousseau have influentially expressed the idea that transnational trade can definitely reduce tension between the conflicting states.

The renowned liberal philosopher, David Hume (1817) has stated that nothing could be more advantageous for the establishment of friendly ties than mutual commerce amongst a number of neighboring and sovereign states. The same ideology can be observed in its practical manifestation between various international players in the contemporary world system. China has geo-economic and geopolitical rivalry or at least competitiveness with at least three other economic powers; the United States, Japan and India. Still, the three economic powers are the largest trade partners of Beijing (relevant data available in chapter six of the study).

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<sup>15</sup> In international politics a zero-sum game is the representation of a critical situation in which the gain or loss in terms of the utility of each participant is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the utility of the other participants. It can also be called as an exchange in a purely conflictual relationship; where what is gained or achieved by one competitor is lost by the other is called Zero-sum game.

Presently, some of the scholars believe that the significance of economic interconnectedness is higher than the democratic norms and values in fostering peace at the regional and global levels (Mousseau, 2013). A number of propositions support the principle that free trade necessarily helps to off-thwart differences from escalating up to the triggering of wars. The commercial ties among states generate material incentives to resolve disputes peacefully; the elites in multinational business benefit most from free trades comprised of powerful transnational interest groups that influence the political elites in avoiding wars. Similarly, the trade networks among the states can increase communication that not only reduces the national selfishness but also encourages conflicting sides to avoid catastrophic clashes.

Another important aspect of liberalism is its advocacy of international organizations. These theorists recommend the replacement of ruthless, balance-of-power politics with principle based institutions. Since the liberals believe that a threat to peace anywhere is a common threat everywhere (Kegley, 2017). Foreign policy, to liberalists, is an act of unfolding the differences in a promising global society whose members recognize the cost of battles. All the actors share significant interests, and in case of disputes they can use institutions as mediating organs to work seriously for the remedies of misconception, wounded sensibilities and endangered peaceful relations.

Liberal leaders like the former US President Woodrow Wilson; set out to reform the global system after watching the horrors of World War I. The international organizations like; the League of Nations<sup>16</sup> was a practical manifestation of dominant liberal thoughts

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<sup>16</sup> The League of Nations is considered to have been the largest diplomatic organization in the world constituted after WW-I. The main objective of the LON was to solve the disputes among different nations

in the world. A strong sense of hope prevailed among the founders that LON will thwart future wars by establishing a comprehensive system of collective security<sup>17</sup> that would mobilize the entire international community to avert the evil designs of the potential aggressors.

However, it is pertinent to mention the realists' point of view that neither international organizations nor globalization can enforce genuine restrictions on the radical decisions of world powers. It is simply because states have adequate authority to deduce their own interpretation of sovereignty (Ziegler, 2012). Realists also highlighted that global powers participate in international institutions only to the extent that the organizations suit or serve their own national interests.

Although, during the interwar period idealists, as they were labeled by realists, dominated the academic discussions and policy rhetoric, but the liberals' reform program could never be employed exclusively. Unfortunately, the League of Nations had failed in preventing the Japanese invasion in 1931 on Manchuria; and that of Ethiopia in 1935 by Italy. It was also unsuccessful to ward off the threats of war that began to crowd over Europe and Asia in the late 1930s. Eventually the enthusiasm for liberal idealism bitterly deteriorated in the world.

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before they had jumped into open warfare against each other. As a precursor to the United Nations, the League of Nations, achieved some success but not enough to make the world free of conflicts. The League of Nations was basically the outcome of the famous Fourteen Points of the American President Woodrow Wilson. In his January 1918 speech, Wilson outlined his ideas for global peace after the debacles of World War I. Wilson envisioned a broader organization, capable of resolving global conflicts before they had triggered the wars.

<sup>17</sup> Collective security is a phenomenon that sets rules for keeping peace in a region or at the world level. Basically it could be characterized as a regime agreed to by some great powers for the world peace. It is also guided by the principle that the aggression or attack against one state will be met by a collective response from the rest of the allied states.

However, decades later, another surge in liberal theorizing emerged especially after ‘the 1973 Oil Crisis’<sup>18</sup> which exposed that not only states but also the non-state actors could disrupt the entire course of transnational politics. This perception led the liberal idealist to the new understanding that the idea of complex interdependence<sup>19</sup> may bid a better account of international politics than realism, particularly on the issues of economics and environment at the world level (Walker, 2013).

The relations established between high-level government officials connect only states but multiple communication channels connect the corresponding transnational societies. The realist obsession with interstate relations at officials’ level ignored the multifarious networks of public and private interactions across the state borders.

Certainly interdependence among the states was not a new phenomenon. However, during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a sense of its true realization stimulated its evolution. The liberal theorists started to challenge the concept of anarchy as one of the most crucial notions from the realists’ school. Although the liberals acknowledge that the international system is anarchic; yet they maintained that it is essentially a kind of “ordered” anarchy.

Despite the absence of global hierarchical authority; majority of states certainly follow the commonly accredited normative principles. For upholding these normative codes

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<sup>18</sup> The Oil Crisis erupted in the last quarter of 1973 after the OPEC members announced an oil embargo to maintain the oil prices. By March 1974 the embargo ended but the price of oil had soared per barrel from Dollar 3 to 12 in the world.

<sup>19</sup> The phenomenon of complex interdependence is a kind of new model in the international politics. Fundamentally, it is based on the assumptions that; states are not the only important actors in the world, security is not the only dominant objective of states; and a strong military force is not the only notable instrument of states’ foreign policy. Complex interdependence also stresses upon crosscutting areas in which the growing ties established among international actors can push them vulnerable to one another’s actions and also make them sensitive to each other’s needs on regular basis.

international regimes<sup>20</sup> are functional at the world level. For if a body of norms promotes shared expectations, which lead to a standardized pattern of cooperation in order to look into a particular matter is said to be a regime. Such kind of regimes has been specifically formulated to administer the common resources, trade and monetary affairs at the international level.

### **1.6 The Complex Interdependence Theory and the World Order**

In international politics the Complex Interdependence became the part of debate since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However this model has gained significant recognition from the works of; Robert Keohane, an American philosopher; and Joseph Samuel Nye, a renowned political scientist. These two famous scholars have systematically introduced the theory of complex interdependence in late 1970s by dismissing the fundamental rulebooks of the classical and structural realism.

The realists had focused their emphasis on military and economic capabilities of a state to engage itself in the international system (Spindler, 2007). It is believed that Koheane and Nye posed one of the most challenging contests to the realist assumptions. The Complex Interdependence, contrary to the state centered realist model, has highlighted the advent of transnational actors, having their main focus on the rise of international regimes as well as organizations. The introduction of these entities has compensated the traditional military power with the new dynamics of global trade and economic interdependence, being the main instruments of foreign policy as compared to the status-quo and security

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<sup>20</sup> International regimes are bodies that work upholding certain set of norms, principles, rules and laws of various institutions around which the expectations of the global system unite to particularly address some specific international problems.

issues. The Complex Interdependence has essentially turned out to be the vital component of the neoliberal perspective.

The complex interdependence model has also been widely employed in the international politics to understand the readiness of states to cooperate with one another for establishing alliances in the circumstances of anarchy as well as dependence. This theory also categorically emphasized on the growing significance of transnational organizations and multinational corporations that ultimately lead the overall international system to Globalization.

The proponents of this model have contended that the very nature of international politics has certainly changed from mere conflict to greater cooperation and the world has become more interdependent in various arenas; particularly in economics. The main attribute of this theory is its efforts to synthesize both the realist and liberal perspectives. The complex interdependence has not altogether rejected the realist viewpoint; rather it has definitely highlighted that at times the realists' assumptions fell short of appropriate justification (Rana, 2015).

The scholars of this theory also maintain that interdependence, as contrary to the phenomenon of dependence, refers to a state of affairs of mutual dependence between states. Since, dependence involves the paraphernalia accomplished by the external forces; however in international politics interdependence refers to a situation that involves mutual effects among different actors or states (Spindler, 2007).

Keohane believes that the concept of interdependence does not essentially refer to a situation of squarely balanced nature of mutual dependence between the actors. The

dependence could largely be uneven and it is likely to influence the actors in their mutual relationships. On the other hand, the other extreme could be demonstrated by a pure reliance of one actor over the other. It is worth mention that in most of the cases the situation actually rests between the two extremes.

In case of complex interdependence between states; domestic, transnational as well as trans-governmental actors can certainly make use of their relative influence in order to limit any inadequate resistance. On the other hand, comprehensively established systems of rules, norms, and procedures from international regimes would also help in rationalizing the interdependence. Regimes can also play a role of the arbitrators in the global issues; since they can be attributed as the outcome of the power structure of the international system.

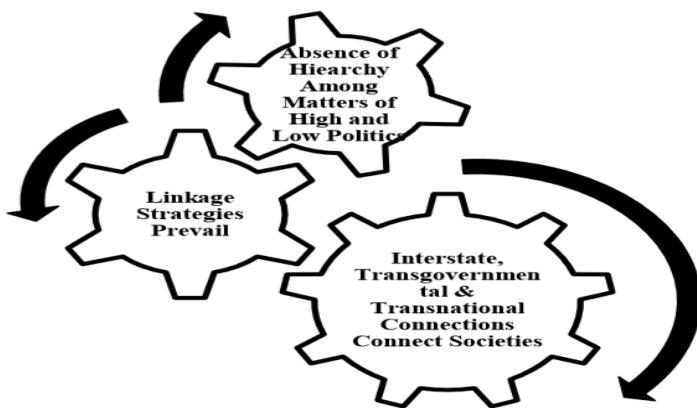
Robert Keohane believes that continuation of the hegemonic player is not indispensable for maintaining the institutionalized cooperation among states, even if they are possessing varied capabilities. Moreover, regimes are constituted to grant allowance to states for reaching to the collective agreements and reduce the prospects of uncertainty in the system. Though the acquisition of power and upholding the self-interests are necessary; but the philosophers of structural realism seem to have over-emphasized the intensity up to which the international system is depicted as chaotic.

The international politics, when characterized by complex interdependence; regimes also offer functional utilization for regulating the behavior of states in certain situations. In dispensing cooperation in the regimes, states also serve their national interest, despite there is some sort of change in the balance of power.

As a whole, the complex interdependence can have three main features. One, states are not the only dominant as well as the coherent entities in the global system. Multiple networks of connection, consisting of trans-governmental, transnational and inter-state affairs may link the international societies. Two, the agenda of inter-state linkage contains multiple challenges without the presence of hierarchical division amid military security and economic as well as social matters.

Third, in case of complex interdependence, military force would not be employed for the settlement of issues with other states (Spindler, 2007). According to Keohane, although military power may not be used to settle differences related to economic issues; yet it may have a significant role in maintaining economic as well as political relationships or balance of power with a competing alliance.

**Figure 1.3: Basic Features of the Complex Interdependence (Michalak, 1979)**



This figure demonstrates the kind of linkages among various actors that are engaged in the interdependence relationships. The arrows in the figure determine across the borders interconnectedness along with transnational, trans-governmental and inter-state relations. However, the biggest wheel reflects the transnational, interstate, and trans-governmental

affairs that are the main attributes of complex interdependence. This wheel is the main driver that further drives the other wheels.

The Neo-liberalist approach has emphasized upon the probability of mutual gains through cooperation at bilateral level or in multilateral organizations (Nye & Keohane, 1971). In the globalized world; with the growing sense of the irrelevance of the use of force, states have started to think for relying upon other means to employ power on the rivals and change their decisions. Nonetheless, states with a lesser amount of vulnerability can opt to make use of asymmetrical or disproportionate interdependence in certain cases as the means of power. Such an uneven interdependence is also likely to minimize the overall losses; because of the mutual gains of the parties. The growing expansion of transnational organizations can also influence the government policies and responsiveness to the other counterparts.

Simultaneously, the international institutions also help in determining the transnational agendas by exercising their role of catalysts for the construction of coalitions. These institutions offer platforms to the statesmen to achieve their foreign policy goals. It is worth mention that the transnational institutes can hardly indulge themselves in centralized enforcement of norms. However, they certainly work on the principle of mutual reciprocity that ultimately leads different states to respect their commitments they have promised to the international community (Michalak, 1979).

It can also be stated that the Complex interdependence theory is evenly incorporating both the realist and liberalist features by concentrating the focus on mutual gains. In interdependence the actors usually build linkages among issues of various natures. By

exercising impact on one issue the actors may offer concessions on another issue. Hence, in order to win objectives; even a weaker actor with a greater resilience on one issue can mark greater allowance over the other subjects. On the contrary; a great power, which is fully capable of reflecting its bargaining power, might not implement its overall influence on certain players in some of the issues. For, the great powers may have the underlying intentions to grant certain concessions on some of the issues that can ultimately dwarf the eventual gains of the superior powers (Nye & Keohane, 1971).

One of the most significant features of complex interdependence is the allowance in international politics to the realists' competitiveness and the neo-liberalist's large scale mutual gains resulted from cooperation. The theory has also been characterized as complex interdependence model; since it involves the complexity of maintaining competition as well as cooperation; or in other words, the price and the payoff. The scholars of Neo-liberalism have critiqued the neo-realists' notion that in foreign policy the main motive behind the decision making is the relative gains of a state. Rather they emphasized that relative gains are primarily the basis of developing the kind of relations, states are usually looking to build in different circumstances and also their involvement in various issues (Keohane & Hoffmann, 1991).

However, it can also be stated that generally states can compromise their obsession with relative gains in the non-security related issues like; health care, mutual trade and environment. Since, they focus more on their own advantages in the system. Nonetheless, due to the involvement of institutions in the international system the effects of anarchy can be neutralized by directing the focus on joint actions for minimizing the degree of complexity and uncertainty.

It is worth mention that the neo-liberal institutionalism has been criticized by analyst like John Mearsheimer. He maintains that Keohane has failed to establish the prominence of institutions in tumbling the prospects of triggering the wars between states (Mearsheimer, 1994). It can also be stated that in the study of transnational politics, Keohane has enticed a lot of criticism from different critical theorists, even from the liberalist scholars. Richard Leaver (1994), for instance, has questioned the joining of international political economy with hegemonic stability theory, regime analysis and rational choice models.

Some of the other scholars have also argued that the theory of complex interdependence has reduced the essential virtue of liberalism, by displaying it as an emancipator for only individuals. Hence, it can be asserted that in an ambitious attempt to associate the two opposing ideologies; the realists and liberals together; Keohane and Nye have actually alienated the two models from each other (Riaz, 2016).

The complex interdependence has also offered a synthesis of the neo-realists and neo-liberal ideologies. The theory has worked to integrate the key elements of the two models, the economic ties by the liberalists and the power politics from the realists. The leading philosophers of the interdependence theory, Keohane and Joseph Nye, have intelligently juxtaposed the two opposite yet complementary models of world politics for the in-depth study of the dynamics of international power politics, especially among the great powers.

Thus one can reasonably contend to argue that the international system has only been provisionally anarchic. As the notions of complex interdependence as well as the balance of power mechanism coexist in the modern system. Despite these are conflicting

ideologies, yet are shoulder to shoulder in the interstate relations of the contemporary world system.

Prior to the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a large number of liberal institutionalists have discovered the formulation and functioning of regimes. These recent developments suggest that the dynamics of international politics can change and that an improved level of interdependence can lead to higher degree of cooperation among various entities. The phenomena of neoliberalism have materialized to challenge the realist and the neorealist theories. Henceforth, several new branches in liberalism have emerged. For instance; “neoliberal institutionalism” (Grieco, 1988), “neoidealism” (Kegley, 1993), and “neo-Wilsonian idealism” (Fukuyama, 1992) are the key among them. There is a common factor in all these branches of neoliberals; that is their curiosity in exploring the conditions for convergence of interests resulting into an ultimate cooperation amongst the autonomous international actors.

Although, liberal institutionalism may seem quite compelling in the contemporary world; yet, many realists criticize that the theory has not risen above its idealist legacy. The realists charge that just like the LON and the PCIJ (Permanent Court of International Justice), even today institutions like the UN can exert at least marginal influence on the behavior of states or powerful actors. The International Organizations cannot effectively halt states from the intentions in accordance with their reasoning for balance of power.

These critics of liberalism assert that most the ideas of transnational institutions could never prove to be effective in the arena of national defense. However, it may be helpful in the arena of commercial, financial, and environmental matters. Another objection against

liberalism is its so-called tendency to look into the issues of foreign policy in moral perspective. While realists maintain that heads of state are driven by strategic necessities. Many liberalists believe that moral imperatives can guide and constrain leaders.

The politics of 21<sup>st</sup> century is characterized by; globalization, economic interdependence, collective security and shared interests. No single state, even a super power is capable of handling the challenges of this era, with its own yardstick. Therefore, some of the commentators believe that “Liberal Internationalism” can better serve to address the issues of this era (Heywood, 2011). Liberal international order is not essentially exemplified in a fixed set of principles or practices. Basically the liberal international ideas were championed in practical by Woodrow Wilson; where they were further drawn-out and reworked by Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Fundamentally, liberal internationalism offers a vision of an open, rule-based world system, in which states cooperate and trade with each other to ensure the achievement of mutual gains. Liberal internationalists undertake that masses and their governments have deeper common interests in establishing a cooperative world order. Such a system is based upon the principles of sovereign equality, restraint and reciprocity. In liberal internationalism, an optimist assumption lurks that states can certainly overcome restrictions. They also cooperate with each other to solve the issues of security dilemma; and pursue collective actions in order to create an open as well as stable world system.

A notion of strong hope also prevails that; powerful states will demonstrate restraint in their exercise of power for the sake of finding suitable ways to credibly undertake commitments made to other states of the world. Liberal internationalists have expressed

the point of view that free of hurdles trade and smooth exchange of commodities; do have a modernizing and civilizing effect on the behavior of states. Likewise, they have also shared the vision that transnational institutions and their rules obviously facilitate, rather reinforce the level of cooperation and degree of efforts for collectively solving the problems that have deeply rooted between states.

The ideas promulgated by this theory are strongly associated with notion of transition from a unipolar to the multipolar world system. The timeworn American-led hegemonic unipolar order is giving way to a new multicentric world system (Ikenberry, 2009). The rapidly shaping new multipolar world order is envisaged to be based on cooperation, mutual interests, collective gains and institutional collaboration. Both China and Russia are clearly denouncing the hegemonic role of the super power. Particularly, the Chinese leadership has been consistently announcing that Beijing has no hegemonic agenda behind its rapid development. The current Chinese governance is following the policy of internationalism; when it offers open participation to every other state in the mega projects like; CPEC and B&RI.

## **1.7 The Hegemonic Stability Theory and the World Order**

To develop a better understanding of the hegemonic stability theory, it is essential to know about the connotation of hegemonic. The term Hegemonic emerges from the Greek word "hegemon"<sup>21</sup>, meaning the leader. Therefore, a state which is powerful enough to influence all other actors or the events around the world is called a hegemon or the

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<sup>21</sup> Hegemony, in international politics is a situation where one state maintains political, economic, or military dominance or control of over the entire world system. In ancient Greece, hegemony demonstrated the political and military dominance of a city-state over the rest of the states. Such a dominant state in a world system is known as the hegemon.

hegemonic state. A hegemon in international relations is a state that has the capacity to lead and also the will to maintain leadership in the transnational arena, especially in the areas of economy, politics and the strategic issues (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2007). In historical perspectives, United Kingdom had been one of the most powerful hegemons before the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; and since then the United States took over the status of hegemon in the world system.

The central theme of HST is that in the international system stability requires a single dominant actor that is capable of articulating and enforcing the rules of interaction among the common as well as the most important members of the system. For this purpose the hegemon needs to possess at least three significant attributes; one, the capability to enforce the rules of the international system; two, the unshakable will to do so; three, a commitment to the system that is perceived as mutually beneficial for all the stakeholders, especially the major powers of the world.

It is also important to know about the attributes of capabilities that a hegemon must possess. It must have an enormous and growing economy; with having remarkable supremacy in technological advancement and a comprehensive political influence; all backed up by a resilient military power. The hegemon necessarily encourages or even intimidates other states to support the system. It pretentiously displays to the others as if the system possesses a collective good for all the actors indicating that it is predominantly overwhelmed by a "free rider" syndrome<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> The free rider syndrome is a state of affairs; where some individual actors consume higher than their actual share; or otherwise payoff less than their due stake for the charges or cost of common resources. It is a kind of failure in the market that happens when people take extra benefit of being able to use a common resource, or collective good, without properly paying for it. It can be witnessed in the case when the

The most notable proponents of hegemonic stability theory include a number of significant political and economic characters. Charles Kindle Berger, Robert Keohane, Robert Gilpin, Stephen Krasner, Abramo Fimo, Kenneth Organski and George Modelska are the most significant among them. The first two philosophers are considered as the fathers of HST. This theory has basically given birth from the perception that the international system can predominantly be stable only when it is headed by a hegemonic state or a dominant actor that is principally capable of manipulating the entire course of major events.

The roots of HST can be traced in disciplines like; political science, economics and history. However, as an international relations theory, it highlights that the prospects of stability in the global system are much higher if a single authoritative state is the most dominant world power, or hegemon. Therefore, in case of the decline of an existing hegemon or otherwise in a situation when there is no hegemon; the degree of stability and the dynamics of global political system can substantially shrink.

On the other hand, when a hegemonic power exercises its leadership role; either through mediation, intimidation, or persuasion; it is actually employing its show of power. This power exhibition is referred to as hegemony. In reality it is the capability of a state to single-handedly dictate its own terms in the international political and economic order (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2007).

The theory of hegemonic stability can certainly be advantageous in investigating the ascendance of great powers to the status of hegemon; or otherwise in analyzing the

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citizens of a country utilize the facilities of public goods without paying their fair share of taxes or levies to the authorities.

decline of the global powers. This theory can be helpful in understanding or estimating the future course of transnational politics through the dialogue and nature of interdependence between the deteriorating hegemon and the rising super power as its successor (Herrington, 2011).

Although Robert Keohane was the first scholar who named the theory of hegemonic stability; however, certain other key intellectuals in the development of the theory also played significant role. For instance Charles P. Kindleberger is regarded to be one of the most closely linked philosophers with the theory; perhaps some of the scholars viewed Kindleberger as the father of the HST (Milner, 1998).

In his renowned book, *The World in Depression: 1929-1939*, Kindleberger (1973) has also highlighted that the worst kind of economic turmoil in the post WW-I era led to the Great Depression<sup>23</sup>. It was partially due to the absence of a world economic frontrunner with a dominant economy. His argument of the hegemon seemed to be more appealing to other disciplines than the economic circles, especially to international political scholars. The very same proposition became the central idea behind hegemonic stability theory that the stability of the international political system depends upon the presence and the role played by the hegemon (Yazid, 2015).

Kindleberger, in his research, developed a hypothesis that for the hegemon it is inevitable to bid the public good; since, it is mandatory for its own stability as well as for the global

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<sup>23</sup> The Great Depression was the worst kind of economic recession in the modern history of the industrialized world. It occurred from 1929 to 1939. In fact the depression followed the stock market crash in the last quarter of 1929 that pushed the Wall Street into a grave panic. Consequently the depression wiped out millions of jobs and the investors. During the coming years, a huge drop was suffered by consumer spending and investments, resulting steep declines in industrial production and employment. For the failing companies had to lay off their labors. By 1933, due to the atrocities of Great Depression, around 15 million American workers were unemployed and nearly half the country's banks had failed to function.

political system. Keeping in view the realist perspective that the state is a rational actor, which constantly strives to pursue its own self-interest and keeps on aiming to achieve all that, is possible. Kindleberger also emphasizes that in a liberal economy, not only the presence of a hegemonic power is indispensable, but it must also be a compassionate advocate of the international regimes for a prolonged period of time. The hegemon must also be ardent to enforce its economic, political and military agendas and ensure its supremacy in order to strengthen the global norms.

The scholars of hegemonic stability theory substantiate that only the powerful states are capable of transforming the international system. This system remains stable until there is an unsatisfied state that is potent enough, not only to match but also to challenge the power of the existing hegemonic.

On the contrary, the serving hegemon must possess the strongest concentration of power, which is considered to be a dire need of the optimum level of stability at the global level. Otherwise, the unsatisfied and contestant states may try to override the hegemon; and consequently conflicts may take place in the world. As Robert Keohane (1984) maintains that the global hegemonic structure is dominated by a single powerful country that is capable of leading the strong international regimes. Keohane also believes that the decline of this structure can also herald the waning of corresponding international economic regimes.

Robert Gilpin (1981) is also figured a renowned philosopher of the hegemonic stability theory. However, his realist ideology was primarily in contrast with liberal concepts of Robert Keohane. Gilpin supported the idea that the presence of a hegemon in shape of a

liberal economic giant is mandatory for a well-ordered international economy. However, Gilpin was strongly in favor of the dominant role of a hegemonic state that is capable as well as eager to upholding the international order among all the other actors especially to whom the hegemon does provide the public goods. This exercise shall be helpful to enhance and ensure worldwide stability.

On the other hand, Keohane (1984) has listed a number of requirements that are indispensable for achieving the status of a hegemonic state. He argues that the hegemon must have; abundance of raw material, control over sources and their markets, and in the production of high value goods, it must be in a position of competitive advantages (Keohane, 1984). Moreover, the market size of the hegemonic power is particularly important; as it can exert major impact on the global economy, especially through its strong currency.

In short, it can be argued that a hegemon must be capable enough to maintain a stable international system of economy; just like after the World War II, the United States had the aura to establish itself as the recognized global Hegemon. Washington, successfully demonstrated its influence to institute international political and economic regimes, and subsequently, the US not only enforced its will but also benefited the most from these worldwide institutions.

During the last few decades; the dynamics of international politics have dramatically changed; and hence it is argued that the US, as the hegemon of the unipolar world may decline. Since, it is pointed out by some of the notable scholars that the US is on the way to lose its international economic power and prestige; mainly due its offshore military

overspendings and the rise of other states, primarily that of China (Weisbrot, 2014). As a result, the gap generated by the decline of a hegemon would ultimately be grasped by the other great powers.

The complex relationship between the US and its powerful competitors; mainly China, Russia and the EU; is one of the most debated issues in the contemporary international politics; where the hegemon seems to be under tremendous pressure from multiple sides. It seems quite likely that the American hegemonic role is facing a situation of decline. In such critical circumstances; the United States has to deal with the issues like; protectionism<sup>24</sup>, currency war<sup>25</sup>, trade deficit<sup>26</sup>. Above all, Washington may suffer from; unemployment and an internal discontent among the masses regarding the hegemonic role of the US in the world.

The experts of international relations believe that for decades, the United States has been an uncontested hegemon confronting with no substantial rival, demanding its due status in the global politics. However, today the situation is changing very rapidly, since strong challengers like; China, Russia and other players have started to stretch up their muscles and claim their due position in the global structure. Since, the dynamic of international

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<sup>24</sup> Protectionism is a policy of safeguarding the domestic industries against foreign competition with the help of tariffs, subsidies, import quotas, or other restrictions. These limits are placed on the imports of foreign competitors. Protectionist strategies have been adopted by many countries. However, majority of the famous economists agree that the world economy generally can benefit from free trade. By inflicting tariffs on the import goods, the prices of imported articles rise; and ultimately they become less attractive to the customer than domestic products. However, protectionism may stimulate the local industries in developing countries.

<sup>25</sup> Currency war is a phenomenon that is also known as competitive devaluations. In fact it is a situation at the international level, where countries seek to gain a trade advantage over other countries both in rivalry and cooperation. The countries of economic ambitions drop the exchange rate of their currency in relation to other currencies.

<sup>26</sup> In transnational trade; a deficit in trade is an amount by which the cost of a country's imports exceeds the cost of its exports. It is one way of measuring international trade, which is also called negative balance of trade. One can calculate trade deficit by excluding the total value of exports of a country from the total value of its imports.

politics are highly complex and intrusive. The European Union could be labeled more an economic and cultural union, primarily linked with the transatlantic trade and economy, than a strategic entity. In international politics the EU has not so far displayed any serious excitement of challenging the US for its hegemonic position. Egon Bahr (2007) argues that the EU does not threaten anyone; it is geared to stability; for Europe has no enemies nor it has territorial ambitions. An integrated EU could be a heavy-weight or a global power center, but as a whole it is still reluctant to accept the role of international player.

At the same time, some exception can also be noticed, as some of the experts in international political economy strongly believe that the Euro is one of the strongest and genuine rival currencies to the Dollar (Tooze & Odendahl, 2018). The EU, since the Iraq war, on the political and military fronts is on the way to detach itself from the conventional subordination or band-wagoning of the United States.

On the contrary, the Asian giant, China is multiplying its power, by maintaining the status of fastest growing economy in the world, since last four decades. China has also demonstrated substantial progress in military indigenization and industrial modernization. It has also facilitated the US in its trade deficit. The United States, no doubt, is a huge economy, but its lower and lower middle class people are heavily dependent upon the low cost imports from China. Owing to the increasing trade volume between the EU and China; the American Dollar (\$) is gradually but surely ceding its status to Euro (€). Obviously, the Euro is exerting a huge financial pressure on the Wall Street<sup>27</sup> and the

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<sup>27</sup> Wall Street is street in the New York City. However, it is employed as a metonym for the entire American financial markets. Because of the significance of the Wall Street, the New York City has been regarded as the leading financial center of the world. The NY city is also home to the world's largest stock exchanges.

Dollar. At the same time Russia is also trying to regain its position of the bipolar world, by resurrecting its economy and strengthening its military very rapidly.

The overall relationships between the existing hegemon, the US and the emerging China are uncertain. For the earlier player still have its ambitious designs of economic and military goals throughout the world. It is also trying hard to maintain its hegemonic position in the affairs of international politics. For this purpose the US has to constructively engage with China and the other global powers.

What is yet to be elucidated is; whether the United States will treat China as a partner and a co-leading power in the world or a competitor or contender. Hence, it may look for maximum cooperation from the new rival too. On the contrary, if the US behaves with China as being a competitor; thus exasperating to block or at least slow down its amazing economic growth and strategic influence.

It may be worth stating that any attempt from the US to engage China in a race like situation would definitely bring China closer to Russia. The two Eurasian giants have already devised strategic partnership at various levels. The third scenario of international politics or the last option for the US, as being neutral to these new dynamics could also be very interesting. That is, how the United States could adjust itself to the new situation and the emerging powers may offer it the status of at least a senior player in the international politics.

China has certainly transformed its internal and external edifice since 1980s. On the domestic front its communist ideology has today by some means given way to the idea of national harmony and rapid economic growth. However some of the analysts believe that

these measures, certainly, are not an idealistic preamble for an actor that is eying at the role of a future hegemon. Some of the experts of international politics believe that there is no warranty about the notion that in near future China will be fully capable of capitalizing the huge social and political gains that it has earned from the comprehensive economic reforms (Mearsheimer, 2001).

Mearsheimer highlights that it is certainly understandable for the scholars of international relations that in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century the most dangerous situation that the United States might face is one in which China occupies the position of a potential hegemon. Beijing may exercise this status at least in Northeast Asia, if not in the whole world. However, the scholar believes that, China has still long way to go up to the situation where it has gained ample power and prestige to start up a run for the status of even a regional hegemony (Mearsheimer, 2001).

One may also argue that it looks like that even though the US could still be characterized as the dominant power in the world. However, it will sooner or later step down from its hegemonic position. The real question is that of the performance and response of its other contenders; whether they are capable and curious to grasp the opportunity or not. According to Stephen Krasner (1983), the phenomenon of global free trade works only when there is a unipolar international system with a sole functioning hegemon.

The leadership role is assumed by the hegemon, who gets the maximum out of the world system; but it also absorbs the preliminary cost of the course. In fact, the hegemonic stability theory elucidates that the leadership offered by the hegemon should be unlike an imperialist power. Since, the hegemon cannot enforce its own set of rules and interests

without being strongly backed by some actors of the transnational status. Therefore, even being a hegemon, cooperation is promoted by the superpower; it is being like two way traffic, in order to ascertain its own world order.

To conclude this portion of the discussion; it can be stated that in these circumstance where the absolute power of hegemon is declining and no other potential competitor has yet effectively acquired the position to replace it. The experts of hegemonic stability theory have left grey area for the student of international politics to know that in similar state of affairs what will be the ultimate course of global politics.

This chapter has reviewed the contributions of realist philosophers; Thucydides, Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes in exploring the theoretical background of hard core or radical realism. There was a detailed overview of realism in classical perspective; with an outline of the ideologies of scholars like; E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau. The overall impact of works of Kenneth Waltz and Mearsheimer on the study of international politics; and their contribution to the neo-classical realist ideology has also been made part of the study.

To regard the realist theory as an all-encompassing model of the international relations would leave various critical aspects of the discipline in obscurity. Primarily, realism concentrates on the fundamentally competing nature of man and eventually the eternal rivalry among states. The neo-realistic theory has underlined the anarchical structure of international politics. It highlights that states have limited options except to look for their self-help, security and survival in such an uncertain domain. The scholars of Neo-liberal theory have essentially emphasized on the institutionalism and they have criticized the

neo-realists' for survival, pointing to interdependence as being the core of relations between states.

The proponents of complex interdependence have stressed upon the multiple channels, being capable of regulating transnational, trans-governmental ties. They have also highlighted the societal links as key factor in the modern inter-state relations. Complex interdependence has ascertained that in the globalized world, instead of observing the strict hierarchical codes amid the issues of high politics like military; the matters of low politics like commerce and trade are becoming the manifestation of the inter-state relations. The hegemonic stability theory concentrates on the fact that stability and order in international politics are subject to the hegemonic role of the super powers.

Nevertheless, the whole range of theoretical investigation would certainly furnish a broad understanding of the dynamics of world order and the corresponding engagement among the great powers. Since power is the pivot of the global system, in its all manifestations. Acquiring, maximizing and capitalizing of power have always been the central objectives of states. However, there are certain inferences, like the peaceful rise of China that to a certain degree indicates different scenario of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global political structure.

All these theoretical paradigms have been manifested in the study of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order and the Sino-Russian role in its construction. Certainly, an intermingling of the prominent theories: realism, neo-realism, complex interdependence and the HST would help in explaining the dynamics of conflict and cooperation among the 21<sup>st</sup> century great powers. The next Chapter of the thesis has focused on the significant evolutionary phases of the world order.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **The Dynamics of the World Order**

The establishment of order and stability in the world has always been an aspiring issue in the global political system. The modern history of international politics reveals that certainly nation states have always been looking for order and durable peace in the world; however, states have mostly preferred to serve their national interests. Therefore, majority of efforts for global peace and international political order could not last too long. Since, any kind of world order, if ever existed; either ceased or altered within a few decades by some other hegemonic power. The cycles of rapidly arising transitions in the international political system have been evolving from the course of rise and fall of the great powers or as a result of the deadliest wars.

‘World order’ is one of the most complex phenomena of international politics. In this context, it can be either employed analytically or prescriptively. In analytical perceptions, world order refers to the arrangement of power and authority among the major players of the global system that provides the framework for the conduct of diplomacy<sup>28</sup> and the underlying factors of international politics. On the other hand, prescriptively, world order can be characterized to talk of the preferred arrangements of power and authority at the global level, which are associated with the realization of principles. Commonly these values refer to the global peace and stability, democratic norms, justice and equity, human rights, rule of law, economic growth, environmental quality and sustainability.

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<sup>28</sup> Diplomacy can be explained as the peaceful means of communication and negotiation between states as well as the global actors. These negotiations are not dependent upon the use of force; and they seek cooperative solutions of the disputes.

Henry Kissinger (2015)<sup>29</sup> in his famous book ‘*World Order*’ has categorically maintained that there has never been a true “order” at the global level; because throughout the history most of the nations and civilizations have defined their own notions of order in the world. Almost, every actor has considered itself worthy of being at the center of the world and has envisioned its distinct principles as possessing universal significance. The Chinese comprehension of global order is related to cultural hierarchy with the Emperor at its peak. The European nations, in the post Medieval Era, refined the concept of evenness among the sovereign states and sought to export this ideology across the world.

On the other hand, in its early centuries, Islam reflected itself to be the world’s most exclusively legitimate political entity, predominantly destined to expand its philosophy all-around in anticipation of the global harmony through holy principles of religion. The United States of America was born of a conviction about the universal applicability of democracy, freedom, equality among nations and mankind. But the question arises that since then has that conviction predominantly been the guiding principle of the American worldwide policies.

In the contemporary system, intercontinental political issues are handled at the regional as well as global levels; where such type of key historical perceptions on account of the world order ultimately come across. However, the degree of consensus among the major international actors regarding the rules and limits of a true world order is in fact

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<sup>29</sup> Henry Kissinger was a German-born American bureaucrat, diplomat, and a Nobel Peace Prize winner of 1973. He served as National Security Advisor and Secretary of State in the Richard Nixon regime (January 1969 – August 1974). He also maintained his powerful position during the Gerald Ford administration (Aug 1974 to Jan 1977). Kissinger has also played a dominant role in the American foreign policy during these two administrations and has pioneered the détente policy. During the Nixon and Ford eras Kissinger emerged as an ostentatious figure, very often appearing at social occasions with many celebrities. Kissinger’s deep study of history and his personal experience of being the key figure of diplomacy his ‘*World Order*’ is considered as master piece of IR and political science.

extremely difficult to obtain. Eventually, the result is an ever mounting tension among the powerful players of the world.

## **2.1 The “Order”**

In the context of world order, the first striking question would be; what the order is. After that one would be able to understand that what it has to do with the global political system. Prior to the elaboration of order in the framework of transnational politics there is a need to apprehend the contextual meaning of the word, ‘order’. In fact, the term order has a wide ranging utilization in several disciplines like: media, arts, entertainment, culture, business, law and society, military, philosophy, religion and even science and technology. In English, the term “Order”, has basically taken its roots from the Latin word “Ordo” having a wide ranging connotations within various disciplines, since pre-historic times.

In Classical Latin, the word “order” was employed in various contextual implications (Orsi, 2012). They used it in terms of organized seating arrangements in the theatre or for a number of people in public gatherings. They also employed it for vehicles or even animals standing in rows to demonstrate certain discernible principle of arrangement or discipline. On the other hand, the Romans also to use this term exclusively. They used the word order in their military formations, for lining up of the soldiers for their armed drills or in the battlefields, in accordance with their ranks and status (Orsi, 2012). Hence, the very often quoted word “Order” remained associated to the perception of systematic arrangements of various objects, historical events and ideas that generally reflects the logical principle of progression.

However, in the modern English language, the term “order”<sup>30</sup> has inherited almost the same inferences as were projected by its Latin and Roman ancestors (Dictionary, O. E. 1989). It may refer to a well-organized class of people or even other objects; demonstrating their specific normative sequence; like a body of individuals belonging to the same professional class, occupation. It may also be used for the pursuit of an explicit arrangement in the ranks of various groups. Moreover, order may also refer to some specific hierarchy of men or their bodies under the common principles of conduct in different fields of life. For example, the construction of ecclesiastical bodies and the tribal structure in various parts of the world demonstrate such type of order.

In short the term order is extensively used for a number of determinants in various disciplines like; sociology, literature and international politics. It may indicate the occurrence of social or political events along with their sequence; dispositions of various objects; arrangements and successions of objects and events in space and time. Most commonly, it may be used for the condition in which everything at its proper place and a proper place for everything to ensure the smooth and efficient performance of various individuals, especially in well-reputed organizations. So order is extremely important in every field of life; and hence in the international politics as well.

This chapter has covered the introduction of the concept of order; first in its historical and then in the social perspectives. There is also a detailed discussion about the origin of the phenomenon of world order; from where and how did it was shaped out over the history.

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<sup>30</sup> The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (fifth edition) has extended the following definitions of the term, ‘Order.’ (a) The way in which people or things are placed or arranged in relation to each other. For example: names of people or things annotated in alphabetical order; the events in chorological order or otherwise arranged in respect of merit/ size/ importance etc. (b) The situation of being carefully and scrupulously arranged like: to put/leave/set one’s affairs/ papers/accounts in an order (c) The state of affairs that exists when people obey the national or international laws, rules or authority.

The concept of world order has certainly passed through an extended evolutionary process that comprises over centuries. Hence, for a better understanding of various associated issues, there is a need to have a detailed study of this entire process.

In this context; “The Treaty of Westphalia” and its significance in the archives of international politics have been made the part of discussion in the first segment of this chapter. In the next phase there is a detailed discussion on dynamics of world political order, especially in the imperial perspective of the European colonial powers. The next important issue that has been discussed is the evolutionary process of the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s European led world order, particularly ‘the Concert of Europe’ (it will be discussed latter in this research work) that occurred in the first half of the century.

## **2.2 Social Perspective of the ‘Order’**

It can be argued that the advent of the phenomena of ‘Order’ in the day to day life of human being was primarily associated with the social perspective. The phrase social order demands that a number of events, activities and things that are bound to happen in our surroundings need to follow some incredible sequence and principle in the course of their proceedings. Hedley Bull (2002) argues that to be more precise regarding social order, there must be a rationally configured pattern of these events, leading to a synthetically coherent and logically well- shaped conclusion. Otherwise, a well-crafted pattern may also be apparently evident among the parties or groups which are in violent conflict with each other, yet illustrating a social disorder. For example, the terrorist group may have a strong sense of order among themselves; but actually they are a great hazard to the social order of a region or even the entire world.

Therefore, in the case of sustainable social order, the provisions of events, indisputably promote certain underlying functional goals or values of social life. Otherwise failing to do so; the social fabric of cultures and civilizations may come across unrest and irreparable losses. Ultimately, most of the societies and their elements seek to ensure the achievement of these common objectives. In the following lines some remuneration are listed for the healthy objectives of some coherent social order.

First, as a result of some social measures, life will be somehow secure against physical violence that can ultimately result into damage of some precious limbs of human body or even the loss of life. Second, in day to day human life; social promises once made at the bilateral or otherwise at the community level, needs to be upheld categorically. Similarly mutual agreements among individuals, groups or societies and even nation states; once undertaken, are to be certainly indorsed in most of the cases. Third, the security of private possessions of individuals and that of society will remain stable and protected to some degree, and they will not be subject to severe challenges (Bull, 2002).

These three goals are generally acknowledged to be of the elementary, primary and universal nature in our social life. The nature of these goals is supposed to be highly significant as the construction of “society” would not be more than a mere fantasy without upholding these fundamental principles. Secondly, these goals are exceedingly crucial and natural for a coherent social structure as the other supplementary goals in a society also presuppose their realization at the individual and community levels. Third, the universality of these goals can be observed in the social construction of almost all enlightened civilizations. For example, none of the conducive social order in the world would openly promote or support human rights abuses and ethnic cleansing.

However, it is worth mentioning that even eminent scholars like; Hedley Bull (2002) has courageously maintained that such goals are not so obligatory that societies would not sustain or survive without putting them into practice. Nevertheless, there is a need of clarification between order in social life as general imperative principles of conduct; and the nature of obligatory rules and laws at the societal, national or global levels (P, 5). Since, the violation of general social norms is unethical that usually is not subject to chastisement. While neglecting the national or international laws is criminal that is subject to punishment.

In principle, some of the scholars are found to agree that laws are the products of societies and they essentially replicate the underlying complexities of their social affairs. Another group of intellectuals seem to disagree about the fact how far closely certain laws reflect the structure of societies. If the proposition, that laws have constructed the basic manifestations that are closely connected to the society, is acknowledged; then there is a need to bear in mind that almost every society in the world can be characterized as unique in its nature. Hence, laws may categorically conflict with each other at the domestic as well as the international levels. Although, the constituting indices of these societies may not all the times diverge unequivocally, but they unquestionably do vary to some degree.

A thorough analysis of various societies, characterized by typical features of their native structure, values and traditions along with the well-known institutional provisions are to definitely yield variations in the connotations and roles associated to the laws. Therefore, the construction of laws as a social phenomenon must, at least partially, depend on the explicit features of certain social fabric in its surroundings. Being an ecological as well as

an essential part of that fabric, this particular kind of laws will be diligently interwoven with the rest of the socially fabricated conceptions like; power, citizenship and trust. Once all these attributes have been pooled together in the construction of social order, they can definitely play a significant part in the edifice of society.

The Ancient human history can easily reveal that order in the social life was primarily introduced by the primeval tribal structure. However, that social order was not too much effective due the shortage of; resources and the lake of present day technological advancement in communication and transportation. The human life was fully exposed to the laws of Nature; and hence the degree of order in these primitive societies was predominantly dependent upon the barely acquired capability of mankind to deal with these absolute kinds of Heavenly laws.

However, in the next phase of the social life, particularly with the emergence of religions, some supplementary values were inculcated in the societal fabric of human being. These additional values included; mutual love and affection, communal non-violence, social justice, racial and ethnic harmony, and humanitarian criterions. Subsequently, some deeper prints of civilization appeared on the face of the earth; with tangible amount of contentment towards the attainment of social order in the world. On the other hand, as a result of modern day technological advancement and better health care facilities, the population of the planet has increased by manifold, while the natural resources seemed to be ever shrinking.

Owing to the inherited flaws; such as greed of possessions, enmity, competition and outrage towards other fellow beings in human nature and the conflicts among human

beings were predictable. These genetic shortcomings in human race and their connection with the order and stability among the nations have also been highlighted by the Realist School of thought. Correspondingly, the concept of empire, as a kind of superior authority for the implementation of social standards, also materialized. The whole edifice of empire tried to resolve the fundamental disputes among the socio-political entities under the parasol of the authorities of rulers. In the ancient history of mankind, this is how the premature order, first at societal and then at political and state level, was shaping out in the world.

### **2.3 The Political Array of ‘Order’**

Over the centuries; the life of human beings has sailed through various phases. As discussed above, it has passed through an evolution process from social to political vicissitudes. As regard to the study of order; this course leads us from the embryonic ‘Social Order’ to the next comparatively more developed and more complicated stage of ‘Political Order’. Generally, it is believed that in the medieval era, with the technological developments and scientific inventions, not only the human life profoundly changed; rather, it ultimately transformed the nature and concept of order in the world. However, during the next stage of transition, an era of ‘Industrial Revolution’<sup>31</sup> was marked in Europe and the US. The rapidly expanding industries of the European powers certainly required additional inputs or raw materials. Eventually they started to expand their

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<sup>31</sup> The Industrial Revolution uncovered an era of technological advancement in the second half of the 18th century. Mostly the rural and agricultural folks of Europe and America transformed into industrialized and urban societies. Since then the painstakingly handmade goods started to be massively manufacture by machines in the factories. The introduction of these new machines with efficient techniques in textile industry, iron making and other manufacturing units revolutionize the human life. The Industrial Revolution, driven by the use of steam engines, actually had started in the UK and later on spread to the rest of the world, including the US, by the first half of the 19th century.

territorial boundaries away from Europe to Asia and Africa by colonizing a number of weaker nations.

As a result of these developments the notion of order shifted from social arena to the political theater. Historically, the social outlook of order was associated to the local or regional issues. However, in the next phase, it expanded to the worldwide subjects like, international politics. For instance, the unbridled European monarchs, in their quest of wealth and land grabbing, were not liable to any kind of international laws or even the norms. The sovereignty<sup>32</sup> of almost every other weaker state was entirely at the mercy of these ambitious colonial powers that were ever ready to leap over the others.

Henceforward, it is generally believed that the sole driving force of that barbaric, ‘the World Order’ was the “power”. Therefore, the colonized population, especially in Asia and Africa, were bound to live under this forcefully architected peace and order. This compelling peace was primarily inflicted through the whims of the imperial western powers. So, this so called transnational order, though implicit in its edifice, can be characterized as ‘Imperial Political World Order’ (Bull, 2002).

However, some of the most reputed commentators of international relations, like Hennery Kissinger (2014) believes that the concept of global political order, especially in the Middle-Ages was not only associated to the European political theater. Simultaneously, China in the East; and Muslim world in the center of the East and the West; were also exercising themselves as the integral parts of this transnational political order.

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<sup>32</sup> Sovereignty is can be characterized as one of the ‘Key Concepts in International Relations’. It is taken to be as the supreme authority of a political entity, generally acknowledged as state, over its own affairs and frequently associated with a given territory. This ultimate authority is the source of all binding commands within the state, a right which is also recognized at the external level.

Henry Kissinger explains that the debate about order in the world is not totally new. Rather, in the archives of history, it can be traced back up to hundreds of years, though emerging in different perspectives from various parts of the world. Kissinger also argues that in real sense no comprehensive “world order” (p, 2) has ever existed throughout the history at the international level. However, in this regard, it is worth mention that substantial efforts from mankind can be observed from the era of antiquity. Since, humanity has predominantly been exposed to the horrors and woes of nature; along with the calamities of wars, warriors and ever growing number of catastrophic weapons.

Away from the Western Europe, that is considered to be the birth place of the phenomena of ‘World Order’, China was the center of a different kind of universal concept of order. The Chinese version of order was thoroughly interrelated to its own ideological and theoretical perspective, that system continued for centuries. It was primarily based on the limitless powers of the Emperor, who had held control over “All under Heaven” (P, 3). The Chinese emperor was believed to be the embodiment of all political and cultural hierarchies on the land.

However, Hennery Kissinger categorically points out that in the contemporary outlook of world order; the red dragon, China would exert to establish its own kind of order. For this purpose, China would predominantly try to adopt two different approaches of soft power. One, it may employ the pressure of its cultural grandeur on the other societies, especially that of the weaker nations of the third world. Two, by virtue of its economic boom, China would try to capitalize its investment along with financial and technical assistance as a bounty towards the developing nations in various regions of the world. These strategies

may be employed under the guise of making efforts towards maintaining “Harmony under the Heaven” (P, 4).

At the same time, in the middle of Europe and China, the Muslim world was potent enough to maintain its own universal concept of world order. Islam has held its own vision and version of global governance that was based on a single divinely sanctioned authority that mainly aims for uniting and pacifying the whole world. The ideological influence and subsequently the notion of territorial expansion of this Devine religion did not restricted itself only to its birth place, the Arabian Peninsula. Rather, with the help of an extraordinary wave of religious exhilaration, Islam was able to launch itself across the three continents; Asia, Europe and Africa; as early as in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. After the pacifying and unifying efforts in the Arabia and its adjacent territories, the boundaries of Islam expanded to the other regions. In the west it permeated into the fragments of the Roman Empire, and after incorporating the Persian Empire, it further pervaded to the Central and South Asian regions in the East and in its North East (Kissinger, 2014).

Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the European political structure was further transformed from the mediaeval imperial order into a new arrangement of state system<sup>33</sup>. This transnational setup was primarily based on the notion of complex multi-state arrangements. However, the then ‘Ottoman Empire’, for the most part was based in the Turkish and Gulf regions.

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<sup>33</sup> A system of states that can also be characterized as international system is said to be formed when two or more states have sufficient contact between them. They have enough impact on one another's decisions, to make on another to behave, at least up to a certain level, as parts of a whole. In the past it was very much likely for two or more states to exist without forming an international system. It was possible only in the sense when the independent political communities that existed all around. However, in the modern world states are in regular as well as ample contact with one another. Since, there is sufficient interaction among states to make the behavior of each as a necessary element in the calculations of the other. Then we may speak of forming a system within the states. The collaborations among states may be direct when they are neighbors, or competitors for the same object, or partners in the same enterprise. Otherwise, their interactions maybe indirect when the significance of the dealings is established through a third party, or their interaction makes a delicate impact on the system as a whole.

Islam had claimed to a single legitimate governance system that was grounded on the fundamental concept of “Khilafat”<sup>34</sup>. In that era Islam was able to successfully spread its supremacy from the Arab heartland up to thousands of miles further in all directions.

The Muslim rulers rightly estimated the power of embryonic inter-state order of Europe. Instead of considering it as a distinct model to be scrupulously followed; it was taken to be a source of stark division among the Europeans. This division was meticulously capitalized for further expansion of the Ottoman Empire towards the West. Henry Kissinger (2014) states that: “As Sultan Mehmud<sup>35</sup>, the conqueror admonished the Italian city-states practicing an early version of multipolarity in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, “You are 20 states … you are in disagreement among yourselves … There must be only one empire, One faith, and Sole sovereignty in the World” (P, 4).

## 2.4 The International Order

After social and political debates of order; the next significant phase of the global politics was the International order. Certainly it is a wider phenomenon, associated to the international society, where major actors are the states. In fact, it is the arrangement of

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<sup>34</sup>Caliphate or khilafat was the political as well as religious state of Islam. In the era of post- Prophet Muhammad, Peace Be Upon Him (632 CE) this governance system comprised the Muslim community and their lands under the Khalifa or Caliph (successor). The Caliph held a kind of progressive and sometimes even a degree of spiritual authority. The caliphate empire grew very rapidly through successive conquests by the Muslim Khalifas during its first two centuries. During this era, most of Southwest Asia, North Africa, and Spain were included in Muslim world. Later on the Dynastic struggles among Muslims brought about the decline of caliphate system. Eventually, it ceased to exist as a functioning political institution when the Mongol invaded and destructed Baghdad, the main city of Islamic khilafat in 1258. In The Modern Era, the concept of the Islamic caliphate was introduced by the Ottoman sultans; particularly in the 18th century. The declining Ottoman Empire was facing the military, political and territorial losses as a result of series of wars with European rivals. This Ottoman-cum-Islamic caliphate was eventually abolished in 1924, after the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire into several pieces and the rise of the contemporary Turkish Republic.

<sup>35</sup> Sultan Mehmud, the Conqueror (1432-1481) was a famous Turkish sultan who captured Constantinople. It is said that he ruthlessly consolidated and enlarged the Ottoman Empire with a kind of military crusade into Asia and Europe.

activities by the states at regional or international levels for a comprehensive mechanism of peace and harmony in the world. International political order also stands on the pillars of the elementary as well as primary goals of the society, as already mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Before the description of International Order, it seems necessary to elucidate few of the most important and closely related expressions like; states, system of states, society of states or international society. One, *State* is an independent political entity that can enjoy sovereignty over a particular portion of the earth. It also has its own domestic laws and an independent government to ensure the observance of such laws and a particular segment of the human population.

Two, *System of states*, usually also called international system, comprises of two or more states having direct or indirect interaction and adequate contacts between them. They are also capable of asserting sufficient positive or otherwise negative impacts on one another's decisions at the internal and external levels or even at both the levels. Such moves are usually adopted by the states, especially the powerful actors, to influence each other to behave as parts of a whole, if not entirely, at least in some measures.

Three, '*Society of states*', usually also entitled as the '*international society*' by the commentators of international relations. If a group of states willfully join together for the achievement of certain shared interests, common values and goals, they are said to have formed a society of states. Generally, these states establish corporate institutions to ensure the attainment of such goals. In majority of the issues, states obliged themselves to be bound by a common set of rules at the institutional levels. These states also maintain

certain degree of cooperation and shared interests in their bilateral as well as multilateral relationships (Bull, 2002).

Historical evaluation can obviously reveal that international societies were mostly initiated upon cultural and civilizational harmonies; such as language and religion, etc. Such kind of transnational societies among states are usually formed to achieve some specific short term as well as long term goals, depending upon the nature and the severity of the issues. Generally, international societies may target the following goals to be achieved while initiating transnational societies.

The *primary goal* of any society of states may be associated with the preservation of the system and society itself. *Second*, as the components of international society, states are the principal actors in world politics. To preserve their independence or to maintain their external sovereignty are also the most significant tasks ahead of them. Therefore, states usually constitute such societies to address the issue of “*security dilemma*” by adopting the notion of “*collective security*” as expounded by Realists school of thought (Burchill & Linklater, 2005).

*Third*, maintaining durable peace at the international level and also avoiding the deadly wars among member states is a paramount challenge for society of states. Escaping from catastrophic conflicts; generally at the global level and predominantly at regional levels; are also the parts of the elementary goals of international society. Whenever, there is a serious conflict or even a potential threat for the occurrence of any kind of conflict, the society of states turns out to be actively involved, in order to defuse tension among the conflicting actors. The ultimate goal is to avoid the fatal engagement between states.

*Fourth*, goals that are usually common to the social life of all human beings as mentioned earlier; are also taken as an integral part of the primary objectives of international society (Kissinger, 2014). It is pertinent to mention that though apparently these global societies are formed to serve the international community evenhandedly. However, at various occasions their integrity and impartiality is questioned by a number of states; particularly, the weaker ones. Moreover, the role of these societies is also criticized by a number of impartial and unprejudiced commentators in their publications.

## **2.5 The World Order**

The desire of order and stability had always been associated to human life since prehistoric times. With the introduction of political insinuations in human life; international political order appeared to have more significance at the national and global levels. However, with the advent of nation state; the aspiration of peace, stability and order pervaded from the local or national level to the regional and global levels. World Order is undoubtedly a broader phenomenon with a grand spectrum of global political theater. Fundamentally, it refers to those patterns of human life that sustain the elementary or primary goals of social order among the entire human race. As a result of the emergence of nation-state; maintaining the international order, among these sovereign entities was the ultimate goal of the global political disposition.

However, with the evolution process of international politics, some new dynamics like; globalization, liberal institutionalism, complex interdependence, non-state actors and multinational corporations also became the part of this discipline. Hence, some wider and deeper understanding of the perception of order at the global level for the whole mankind

was necessitated. Definitely this wide ranging engagement among the entire humanity, not only the states, refers to a comprehensive mechanism of the ‘World Order’. It is certainly broader and more inclusive than the concept of mere order at the international political stage.

World Order is a highly complex phenomenon; hence, a well-shaped and precisely crafted definition of the phrase is highly difficult to be materialized. Therefore a range of diversified descriptions of the World Order from different commentators can be found in the archives of international relations. One of the most profound and comprehensive explanation of the world order has been conceived by the well-known American professor Richard Falk<sup>36</sup> (1983). The writer explicitly defines world order as “that focuses on the manner in which mankind can significantly reduce the likelihood of international violence and create minimally acceptable conditions of worldwide economic well-being, social justice, ecological stability, and participation in decision-making processes” (Falk, 1983, p.44.).

On the other hand, B.S. Murthy (1972) maintains that the world order deals with “the maintenance of peace in the world and to the establishment of a condition in which wars do not pose a threat to the survival of civilization and mankind” (Murthy, 1972, p.1). The scholar believes that peace is meant to exist if nations of the world and their civilizations are not threatened by the evil designs of any aggressor. The world order, in Hedley Bull’s (1977) viewpoint is interrelated to the achievement of primary goals of the human society. Bull defines “world order” as “patterns or dispositions of human activities that

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<sup>36</sup> Richard Anderson Falk is a professor of International Law at Princeton University and Visiting Distinguished Professor in Global and International Studies at the University of California.

sustain the elementary or primary goals of social life among mankind as a whole" (Bull, 1977, pp.20-22).

On the contrary, Hennery Kissinger (2014) has too much different opinion. He maintains that no truly global world order has ever existed on the earth. Some of the other well-reputed analysts of the international politics indicate that the term is not only complex in its construction, but also "amorphous, ambiguous, elusive, and therefore, difficult to operationalize" (Vincent, 1979, p.35.). The phenomenon "World Order" has also been characterized as vague and a poly-semantic, having various implications.

These criticizing attributes on the part of world order are also understandable for the young scholars of international politics. Since, it can be observed that in a unipolar construction, the World Order refers to the will of the hegemon that has to be imposed upon the weaker nations. For instance; as in the case of Iraq War, the United States apparently demonstrated that changing the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussain was a terrible need of the World's peace and hence the 'World Order'. In the bipolar system, the same 'World Order, was interrelated to the 'balance of power, mechanism between the competing super powers at the transnational level.

It can be contended to say that indeed; the world order is a highly complex phenomenon. It has no single or simple explanation that can be straightforwardly agreed upon. Neither has it had the unified shape or construction. For a global power what the world order means, may be entirely opposite for a weaker nation. Even, for two opposing global powers, the world order may have different understandings like; for the US the Syrian crisis demands the regime change in the country, but for Russia continuation of the same

regime is the demand of world peace and stability. The experts of international politics do not agree upon some specific elucidation of the world order. Since, some of them argue that a multipolar world is better; others advocate for the bipolar world system; while the rest support a unipolar world order.

## **2.6 Evolution of the World Order**

In modern history, for the first time, the discourse of order was conceived in Western Europe at a peace conference in German region of Westphalia in 1648. In the archives of international politics; this famous event is attributed as “Westphalia Peace Treaty” (Croxton, 1999). This accord has been treated as the beginning of the global political order. The event has been exceedingly applauded in the annals of international relations as being the first serious effort towards the establishment of order in the anarchic world. However, factually it was conducted without the involvement or even the awareness of most of the other continents or civilizations (Kissinger, 2014).

The ‘Treaty of Westphalia’ is thought to be a milestone in the history of international relation, as it presents the elucidation of the concept of state, as a sovereign entity. This sovereign body has the rights of independent existence and autonomy over its land and masses. Since the inception of Westphalia Peace Treaty, the sovereignty of states has been the fundamental concern for those who believe that preserving the world’s political order is an inevitable task.

On the one hand, states are always lurking in quest of the so called national interest and lust for maximizing the national power. On the other hand, the territorial boundaries of various small states are forcibly violated and sometimes even altered by the powerful

states. Subsequently the horrors of insecurity and instability have not only further escalated; rather the numbers of conflicts and their vicious consequences in the world have also increased by manifold (Croxton, 1999).

A thorough analysis may easily explore that for sustainable peace, the world order needs to be associated with the two most important fragments. *First*, the rights of the states, which they are expecting from the other fellow nations; and *second*, the responsibilities of states, which they are, bound to pledge to the others. Since, in the contemporary globalized world, an international political system, solely based on the perception of respect for sovereignty has become increasingly inadequate. In the present day liberal international world, majority of internal affairs are no more domestic, rather human being and societies are thoroughly interconnected.

A large number of problems, though apparently seem purely local, like; from tourists to terrorists, pilgrims to refugees, dollars to diseases, fashion to education, e-mails to e-currency, culture to nature and severe effects of global warming on the earth. However, all these and many other issues are no longer the concerns of a single country or region in which they may take place. Rather all these critical matters have their transnational and spill over impacts; since they are highly significant subjects for every other state and its citizen on this planet.

Consequently, today's harsh realities demand for a restructured global operating system that is based on the notions of sovereign rights as well as obligation. This system demands from all the independent states; whether major or lessor, not only to claim for the autonomous rights but also fulfill their lawful obligations to others (Croxton, 1999).

In the succeeding eras several efforts were made to shape out the global politics in somehow an order. In this regards, other than the Westphalia Peace Treaty, some of the other major developments of international significance; particularly the ‘Treaty of Utrecht in 1713’, the ‘Paris Peace Treaty’, the ‘Congress of Vienna’ and the ‘Concert of Europe’; are deliberated to have greater importance. All these proceedings are considered to be the most significant developments, prior to the commencement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At all these critical junctures of history, the global actors seem to have been passionately putting their efforts to channelize the transnational political order. However, the degree of success certainly varied from time to time.

For any study of World Order, it would be highly significant to evaluate the role of these treaties along with the efforts from the key players and their implication in maintaining the global political order. Only then one might ultimately find out some clue to explore the fact that why maintaining the order and stability at the global arena is still the number one problem for the 21<sup>st</sup> century human being. Why the efforts in handling wars are much more comprehensive than those for the management of peace in the world. What are the new extents of conflict in the modern globalized world; where liberal internationalism and complex interdependence are taken to be the unavoidable phenomena?

## **2.7 “Westphalia Peace Treaty” and the Evolution of World Order**

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) was concluded at the end of the ‘Thirty Years War<sup>37</sup>’, (1618-48). The war was primarily fought as a result of political and religious disputes in

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<sup>37</sup> The Thirty Years' War is considered to be one of the greatest and longest armed battles of the early modern period. Some of the historians have claimed that instead of one coherent sequence of military campaigns, actually it was a series of separate wars that overlapped in time and space. It is also maintained that no clearly defined set of issues were at stake throughout the three decades.

Central Europe. The conflict continued among a number of small and politically autonomous units. None of them were powerful enough to defeat all other players and maintain some order under its hegemonic leadership in the region. The combatants were exhausted of the miseries of wars and tried to define a set of arrangements consisting of neutral rules to regulate their conduct and stop the bloodshed of millions of people. The 'Thirty Years War' was generally fought between various states which were religiously divided between Catholic and Protestant segments, while great powers like France played on both sides for their cynical gains (Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World).

Although, the Peace of Westphalia is stated to have only initially impacted the Western and the Central Europe; eventually it started to have global consequences. Since this treaty had marked some of the highly significant principles of the global political system. The fundamental features of the modern nation-state were constituted in these historical accords. The Westphalian Peace also highlighted the concepts of territorial sovereignty of states; where this dominion stood the sole responsible actor for the internal arrangements like; law and order, taxes and the managements of populations and territories. Moreover, the rights of every state to maintain order in the issues of religious and political activities were also recognized in the peace accords of Westphalia (Holsti, N.D.).

The Treaty of Westphalia primarily relied on the peace building system among Free states; that were ready to announce their commitment of refraining from interference in each other's domestic affairs. Every state was not only pleased with the attribute of its sovereign power over her territory, but it was also ready to grant the status of a sovereign entity to the other fellow states. Each one of these sovereign entities was ready to

acknowledge the autonomous rights of its sister states in their domestic issues. In principle, they also declared their willingness to refrain from challenging the same rights of the others. As a result of these significant transnational efforts; a balance of power and a kind of political order were perceived to exist; first in the region and then in the world; as natural and desirable phenomena (Kissinger, 2014).

On the contrary, it is also argued by some well-reputed analysts that the negotiators of 'Westphalia Peace Treaty' were predominantly oblivious of the fact that they were laying the foundations for a legendary and globally applicable system of international politics. In the archives of international politics, even no signs would be available regarding their efforts to have included the neighboring Russian empire in the process. However, Moscow was aggressively following the agenda of territorial expansion and also facing the issues of internal order and stability in the country.

Therefore, it can be argued that, owing to the lack of modern communication facilities, other important powers in the period of Westphalian settlement were almost heedless towards its relevance, particularly those in their respective regions. Moreover, the means of approximation that would measure the power possessed by the corresponding key players were not too much influential. Each region regarded its own order as unique in the world and unhesitatingly declared the others as "uncivilized" and "barbarians" (Kissinger, 2014, p. 3).

However, the fundamental principles laid down in Westphalian treaty have generally been acknowledged as the essence for the conception of a world order in the years to come. Historical analysis of the international politics would easily reveal that during the

course of expanding colonization by the European powers; the blueprints of Westphalian system spread around the globe. Subsequently, these outlines proved to the basis of a state-oriented worldwide system. Moreover, the Westphalian principles also functioned as useful instruments of connecting the various regions as well as bridging among different civilizations around the world.

Nonetheless, it can be observed that in most of the cases the European powers had been disregarding the fundamental principles of sovereignty to the colonized nations. Yet, these colonized peoples of the Third World began to meritoriously demand their independence on the plea of Westphalian philosophies. During their struggles for freedoms against the imperial powers; the colonized peoples effectively utilized the elementary principles of national independence, sovereign statehood, national interest, and noninterference. Moreover, the same fundamental codes of international political order were also beneficial for these nations even after the achievement of their independence from the colonizers (Kissinger, 2014).

## **2.8 Westphalian Treaty and the Contemporary World Order**

The world order has ever been an inconsistent phenomenon. With evolution of human life the dynamics of order in international politics have also been passing through an evolutionary process. It is taken to be an admitted fact in international relation that the Westphalian Treaty would remain a limelight for all efforts in maintaining peace and order in the world. However, it does not mean that its primary principles are binding for the politicians, policy makers and the academicians. Therefore, with the passage of time some of its highly crucial elements have been losing their primary significance.

In the contemporary perspectives, some of the key provisions of World Order have been poised by the famous American commentator, Hennery Kissinger (2014). He equates the World Order with the “World Community” (p, 12). Kissinger maintains that on the basis of a wide-ranging network of international organizations and an extensive setup of their legal structures; the proponents of the modern-day world order have been consistently endeavoring to curtail the evils of anarchical nature of the international system. At the same time, efforts are also being made to foster the mechanism of free trade among various nations and regions. This free trade stratagem is considered to be inevitable for a stabilized global financial system.

The proponents of this contemporary world order are also trying to introduce well established principles that are mainly acceptable to majority of other nations. This system also aims to resolve international political as well as financial differences. No region, religion or culture seems to be out of the boundaries of this modern global political system. Under the umbrella of this transnational structure; various societies have extraordinary opportunities to begin with deliberations and dialogue for the resolution of complicated issues of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics.

It is pertinent to argue that, though, the Westphalian principles have been considered as the bases of global political order; yet they have been forcefully challenged from multiple sides with different perspectives. The quest for balance of power that had largely emerged from the concept of nation state; has been diminishing as a result of liberalization and the ever growing sense of globalization in the contemporary world. In the past few decades, the European nations have readily departed from the strict concept of nation-state.

Since, these states were representative of the cordoned-off borders and the quest for balance-of-power, which were basically set forth by the Westphalian System. Majority of these European nations have decided to transform their autonomies into a model of 'pooled sovereignty', especially in the arrangement of EU. These nations have courageously decided to substitute the notion of national power by new concepts of power accredited to the regional or global institutions. Most of the Europeans have reduced their military bulk, and they are relying more on the use of soft power than the hard power (Bailes, 2006).

On the other hand, in various regions of the world; especially in the Middle East, the non-state actors; like the radicalized jihadi groups are trying to dismantle the state boundaries. They are violently involved in the pursuit of their fundamentalist ideologies of global revolutionary goals. In several countries these militias are openly questioning the sovereignties and the capabilities of states. Since, these non-state actors are reflected to be, in some cases, much stronger than the regular armed forces of the governments.

It is worth mention that, some of the experts of international relations, like Hennery Kissinger (2014), rightly argue that the states, as sovereign entities are facing a kind of jeopardy from different sides (P, 7). For example, in the modern liberal democratic world, there are slogans that are hitting hard at the legitimacy and acceptability of state-sponsored constraints against the liberties of human being. Therefore, in some the regional arrangements, like that of the EU, the restrictions of passport and visa entry are getting almost irrelevant. On the contrary, the radicalized non-state actors like, the ISIS and Al-Qaida are also bitterly jolting the ideological as well as the geopolitical boundaries of the states (Kissinger, 2014. p, 7).

Though, the Westphalian Principles are considered to be the foundations of almost every endeavor for the World Order. Following the designs of sovereign statehood, Asia seems to be different in certain ways; as in some of its regions these principles are successfully implemented, while regionalism in the Far-East, though yet premature, is also being visualized. However, paradoxically, the pioneers of the “Westphalia Peace Treaty” are validating mere negligible amount of respect to its basic principles than those who were totally unaware of this entire discourse that took place in Europe in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

It is a well-known fact that the concept of nation state has dwindled in the Western Europe that was the birth place of Westphalia Peace Treaty. However, China along with some other counterparts; is giving the traces of being as the strongest advocates of the sovereignty of states. The attitude of the US has continued to swap between defending the principles of Westphalian system and also scolding its premises of balance of power and non-interference.

In the last hundred years, Washington has entered into every war that it fought, with a lot of idealistic aspirations and a widespread public support. However, it has ended up almost all these battles in a kind of national trauma. Therefore, well reputed analysts and an American diplomats, like Kissinger (2014) could not restrict themselves from stating that the United States has been struggling to find itself in a complex situation (pp, 7-8). America has always had to establish a rationale between the two extreme points. On the one hand, quest for exercising its power that is still very vast; and on the other hand its fundamental principles, which are deliberated to be deep-rooted and archetypal for the rest of the world.

In short one would argue that almost all of the major power-hubs of the international politics; somehow practice certain features of the Westphalian order. Yet, hardly any one of them deliberates itself as the natural defender of this highly significant basis of the international political system. Now the question arises that can various states and regions, practicing so divergent cultures and philosophies of global political order, justify the validity of a common system? It is pertinent to mention that the act of preserving the order in the world certainly requires an approach that shows respect for both the diversity of the modern life and the deep-rooted quest and love of human being for freedom.

Today, order in the world cannot be imposed on the masses and also on the states. Even the most powerful actors like the super powers could not attain the required results by enforcing the order. For example, during the past four decades; neither the Soviet Union nor the US could maintain order and stability in Afghanistan (Byrd, 2012). Hence, it can be argued that genuine efforts are needed to cultivate order persuasively in any society of the world. Amid the super-fast means of communication in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, having a number of sources available for access to information; any shape of sustainable world order must not be acceptable only to the political leaders. Rather, any outline of peace, stability and order in the world ought to demonstrate the consent of the masses too.

It can be explicitly claimed that order at the cost of freedom, ultimately erupts its own ramification. Correspondingly, securing of sustainable freedoms is unlikely without tangible structure of order to maintain peace and stability. It would be unfair and unwise to place order and freedom at opposite poles; rather, they must be considered as supplementary to each other. The most crucial part of understanding and maintaining the world order can only be played by genuinely emerged visionary leadership.

## 2.9 Significance of the Westphalian Legacies

At the time of the composition of the Westphalian Peace Treaty; owing to the political and sectarian conflicts in Europe, a new kind of world order was being contemplated, far away from these regions. With the expansion of the European nations; as colonizers, the blueprints of this landmark agreement spread up to various other parts of the world. It also facilitated different political systems and civilizations across the world to proceed for a well-crafted charter of a state-based international order. However, in this regard quite a lot of efforts like; Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Paris Peace Treaty (1783), and the Congress of Vienna (1815) were deliberated to establish certain degree of maintained order in the world.

After the Westphalian Peace Treaty, during the course of centuries-stretched evolutionary process of world order, the next significant milestone towards peace and stability would certainly be the ‘Treaty of Utrecht’. It is again a matter of interest that the accord was also appeared in Europe. This treaty marked the termination of almost two hundred years of wars, predominantly instigated by religious conflicts in Europe. However, the battle-ground had also moved into the European colonies. Fundamentally this treaty was signed as a peace agreement in 1713 between the then super powers – France and the Great Britain (Lesaffer, N.D.).

Moreover, the Treaty of Utrecht also concluded a series of clashes, originated in Europe during the first few years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The main reason of contention behind these clashes that involved a number of states as the belligerent parties was the rights to the throne of Spain. The theater of war also expanded to various far-off regions. Therefore,

the archives of international politics may lead the researchers to mark this transnational war as the actual 'First World War' (Holsti, N.D.).

However, it is worth mention that paradoxically, many social, cultural and even historical aspects of this famous treaty are still comprehensively unexplored and need to be investigated further. Especially those aspects of the treaty related to the dialogues between various European kingdoms about their overseas colonies are more sizzling for the researchers of global political order. During the negotiations, United Kingdom was allowed to receive the status of *asiento*<sup>38</sup>. Fundamentally this status offered the rights to British slave-traders and smugglers to deliver slaves to the Spanish during the coming decades. Ultimately, these suppliers got access to the traditionally closed Spanish markets in the American continents.

In the evolutionary process of the world order, the next significant truce would be marked as the *Treaty of Paris* signed in 1783. This accord concluded the American Revolution<sup>39</sup> and was helpful in establishing the existence of the United States of America; and more importantly, it is still in effect. Generally, this treaty is considered to be the oldest agreement signed by the US and hence, it is one of the most consequential treaties in world history. Since *Treaty of Paris* has granted independence to the America on highly

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<sup>38</sup> Asiento was a kind of permit issued by the Spanish crown. With the help of this license some merchants were authorized to receive the monopoly on a various trade routes for supplying products as well as African slaves for the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Such types of deeds were included in some peace treaties as well. The contractor or the *asentista* used to agree for paying some money to the crown for the monopoly. In 1713, in the *Treaty of Utrecht* the British were granted the *asiento* rights that ultimately concluded the War of the Spanish Succession.

<sup>39</sup> The American Revolution between 1765 and 1783 was a mass political upheaval from the 13 Colonies of the US. These people rejected the authority of UK and ultimately demanded independence from Britain rule. This mass political development ended in the American Revolutionary War. This event also caused other European countries to get involved in the conflict. The American Revolution ended with the U.S. getting the independence.

favorable terms. The negotiating squad from the United States played their astounding role in securing advantageous position (Lee, 2018).

The European allies of Washington such as France and Spain were not in favor of the separate peace treaty between the US and the UK. However, Washington rightly estimated its actual position to get a better covenant by directly dealing with London. On the other hand; the British had the view that a strong and economically successful America would not only better serve their interests. Rather, they were of the view that it would be a challenge to the French interests in the region. Therefore, the British were agreeably convinced to give more concessions to the new state in terms of land acquiring as well as fishing rights in the region. The French were anticipating that the newly established USA would be a small and weak state, always looking towards Paris for its territorial integrity and economic stability. However, this was not the case and due to the intelligent decisions of its leaders; the US first became, a major continental power and then a global political and economic power (“Outline of US History”, 2011).

The next significant development in the evolutionary process of the world order could be characterized as the *Congress of Vienna*. It is factually a collection of several treaties ensued in 1814-15 at the end of the deadly Napoleonic Wars<sup>40</sup>. This treaty had dramatically reshaped the geopolitical structure of Europe. The Congress of Vienna is considered to be the first of its kind and the most comprehensive peace opportunity ever been concluded in the history of Europe (Rendall, 2006).

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<sup>40</sup> Napoleonic Wars are in fact a series of wars. They were fought between Napoleonic France and the constantly changing alliances of other European powers. These loosely connected alliances resulted into a brief French hegemony over most of Europe. Besides the French Revolutionary wars, the Napoleonic Wars comprised of a 23-year period of recurrent conflict that ultimately concluded in the Battle of Waterloo in addition to the second abdication Napoleon on June 22, 1815.

The central objective of this conference was to deliberate the future politics of the continent after the Napoleonic wars. The then four powers; Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Austria were primarily involved in a scheme that was intended to overthrow Napoleon<sup>41</sup>. For that purpose in March, 1814; they had concluded the *Treaty of Chaumont*<sup>42</sup>, a kind of special alliance among themselves (Jarrett, 2014). However, in the succeeding months; the four powers along with Sweden, Portugal and Spain agreed that all former belligerents should send delegates to a congress in Vienna. Hence almost all of the European nations sent their renowned statesmen to this one of the most reputed forums in the European political history (Jarrett, 2014).

The congress adopted the procedure of complexity and difficulty first, to solve the highly critical issues. Definitely the leading and perhaps the most crucial problem to be resolved was the organization of the congress itself. Since, at that moment, no such model was readily available to be followed as precedent. As a matter of fact the congress was summoned in hast; and as usual the “four powers” demonstrated their unyielding resolve to retain the management of the core issues exclusively under their control.

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<sup>41</sup> Napoleon I or Napoléon Bonaparte, a French ruler, was born on August 15, 1769 and died May 5, 1821. He was a French general, first consul (1799–1804), and emperor of the French (1804–1814/15). He was considered to be one of the most celebrated dignitaries in the history of the West. He revolutionized not only military organizations and their training; but also sponsored the Napoleonic Code, the prototype of later civil-law codes. He reorganized education; and established the long-lived Concordat of 1801, between himself and the clerical representatives in both Rome and Paris, aiming to define the status of the Roman Catholic Church in France. Napoleon’s numerous reforms left a lasting mark on the French institutions along with much of those in the Western Europe. However, his most powerful passion was the expansion of military presence in the French dominion. It is stated that though at his fall he could left France only a little larger than it had been at the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789. However, he was almost unanimously honored during his lifetime; rather, even after his death as one of history’s great heroes.

<sup>42</sup> The Treaty of Chaumont was signed in 1814 by Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain. The accord aimed to bind these four European powers to defeat Napoleon. During the process, the British foreign secretary played a leading role in negotiating the terms of the treaty. Owing to these efforts, the signatories undertook not to negotiate with France separately. Hence, they promised to continue the struggle until Napoleon was dethroned. The treaty strengthened unity among the allied and made provision for a durable settlement in Europe.

Therefore, the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Austria; first gathered for the preliminary discussions that were mainly related to the key territorial problems; and then they had to convey their agreed decisions to France and Spain. Eventually, the meeting of the full congress was to be summoned to deal with more-general problems of the conference (Jarrett, 2014).

Moreover, the borders related issues, the structure of regimes, and the approach towards the revolutionary ideas were also discussed in *Congress of Vienna*. The most important fragment of this congress was the *Treaty of Paris* which was also called the *Second Peace of Paris*, concluded in 1814. The Congress of Vienna was highly significant development not only for the Europe but also for the world; since it was considered to be one of the most successful treaties ever concluded before. For the next hundred years, though very surprisingly, it prevented the occurrence of a major war in European region (Lascurettes, 2017).

However, it is imperative to understand that how could the Treaty of Paris accomplish this almost unbelievable task of checking the war? Some of the major reasons behind this incredible agreement are elucidated in the succeeding lines. The first main factor was that all the actors, including the defeated France, were the participants of the dialogues.

The format of the Congress was informal; and it was allowing different parties, often led by brilliant diplomats to sit down and openly express their actual positions for deliberations till the time a settlement was reached. It is believed that perhaps the most interesting perspective of this remarkable accord was that it did not seem to look for making everyone cheerful.

However, it is worth mention that surely nobody was totally unhappy. Otherwise, these key actors would have been involved in intricate horse-trading. For instance, Sweden lost Finland to Russia, but gained Norway from Denmark. The second main reason for the success of the treaty was that the Congress of Vienna and the treaties resulting from it had restricted the degree of punishing schemes, usually imposed vigorously on the losing sides. For example, France lost the territory acquired by Napoleon but retained its pre-war boundaries. Moreover, the French allied states were allowed to preserve their independence (Slantchev, 2005).

In the meanwhile, no attempts were made; either to eliminate the existence of the entire countries or to completely change their internal political dynamics. The old ruling dynasties were to be restored; and to prevent the occurrence of more revolutions was the common objective of all the participants in the conference. Certainly, all these progressive developments taking place at the time of congress, contributed to the vast stability among the ever fighting European nations (Slantchev, 2005).

It is worth mention that the final act of the Congress of Vienna comprised of all the agreements in one great mechanism that was signed by almost all the European powers on June 9, 1815. Resultantly, the political boundaries laid down by this one of the most reputed settlements lasted, except for one or two changes, for more than four decades.

One of the most significant aspects of this historical congress was the fact that the principles of power balancing among the parties were magnificently worked out by the true statesmen from their respective countries. However, if a drawback was to be essentially highlighted; then it would be stated that the idea of nationality was almost

exclusively ignored. Territories were bartered without giving much reference to the wishes of their inhabitants.

## **2.10 The Concert of Europe and World Order in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Some of the analysts believe that in the era of post- Napoleon Wars; the balance of power was evenly maintained. It was deeply materialized by the Congress of Vienna. Therefore, the 19<sup>th</sup> century could be insistently affirmed as one of the most peaceful and politically stable periods in the modern political history of Europe. However, during the hundred years era from 1815 to 1914; a few cases of minor encounters might have unfolded in the continent. The measures taken during the settlement at the Congress of Vienna (1814-15) had given rise to the transnational political developments of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to shape up into a multipolar system in Europe.

All the major powers; UK, Germany, Russia, Austria and France; not only respected the Congress of Vienna but also upheld a ‘rightly designed and accommodating balance of power’ within themselves through self-enforcing mechanism of restraints. The useful debates of this treaty proved to be kind of checking on the eruption of any major war in Europe till the outbreak of the World War I in 1914. The first half of this century also constituted one of the most celebrated peaceful period that is generally entitled in the archives of international relation as the ‘*Concert of Europe*<sup>43</sup>’, (Lascurettes, 2017).

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<sup>43</sup>Concert of Europe was an age of peace, in the post-Napoleonic era. It demonstrated a vague consensus among the European monarchies favoring preservation of the territorial and political status-quo. The term assumed the responsibility and right of the great powers to intervene and impose their collective will on states threatened by internal rebellion. The powers notably suppressed uprisings in Italy (1820) and Spain (1822) but later condoned Belgium’s rebellion and proclamation of independence (1830). Made obsolete in its original form by the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and by the subsequent unifications of Italy and Germany, the Concert of Europe survived for most of the 19th century in the consultations of great powers.

The most important question regarding this European order could be that how did peace and ‘cooperative equilibrium, for around hundred years in general and forty years in particular, sustained in the entire Europe. The answer would be; the fear of uprising nations, mostly in the form of revolutions, and the great powers were coordinating with each other for acceptable territorial distribution. So this kind of arrangement could be a good example for the 21<sup>st</sup> century great powers; if they serious to maintain order and stability in the world.

It is believed that for the first time in the history of Europe; the great powers were demonstrating lenient attitude toward others; even on the issues of land sharing. It is interesting to highlight that the overall engagement among the states during the concert was neither exercised under a formal transnational organization like the International Court of Justice (ICJ)<sup>44</sup> especially for managing the disputes. Nor, they all were accommodated under the umbrella of a collective security system like that of the contemporary trans-Atlantic security body, the NATO.

The process of territorial settlement was designed in such a way that the cost and benefit of the incentives and enforcement were nicely integrated with each other. Even the major powers made themselves bound towards credible commitments and their enforcements. For the first time in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a cooperative equilibrium was preferred over a competitive equilibrium, which was prevalent in Europe over the centuries, especially during the preceding 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>44</sup> The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is one of the main organs of the UN. The main aim of this judicial organ was to settle the legal disputes between member states as well as the non-state actors. The court proceedings are connected to the consent of the parties. The ICJ also gives advisory opinions to the UN organs and specialized agencies. Its Headquarters is in The Hague, Netherland.

Some of the commentators believe that the two fundamental principles of mediation and intervention not only provided ways-out to internal and external challenges; but also guaranteed the success of the concert (Lascurlettes, 2017). The great powers of the era asserted to ensure the principle of mediation for overall peace and the resolution of disputes among the smaller states. However, it is also believed, especially by the ‘Realist school of thought’, that in global politics mediation is an underprivileged description. Since, it scarcely entails any kind of substantial threats to the belligerent states to push them toward the acceptance of any rational solution.

The five powers just followed their own precedent set by themselves at the Congress of Vienna, as they were keen in disallowing any move to upset the system, they themselves had shaped. On the other hand the smaller and fragile states were not capable to overturn it at their own. Secondly, these great powers had the special status to intervene in their spheres of influence to keep the others away from the periphery they were to shepherd for their interests. Accordingly, in a kind of self-enforcing arrangement, every state pragmatically observed the mandate of its intervention to ensure that it did not instigate the rest of the powers to do so (Slantchev, 2005).

On the contrary; some counter arguments may also demonstrate a kind of pessimistic assumption regarding the Congress of Vienna. It is maintained that a stable and peaceful international system, like that of the Vienna Congress, is quite unlikely to get materialized until the conclusion of a major war. The outcome of such war would offer some prospects of rearranging the territorial distribution, especially for the victorious powers and the rest of the interlocking states under the spheres of their influence. Since, no state would readily allow the partition of its possessions, mainly the territory. Hence,

the military demise of at least one great power seems to be essential for the successful occurrence of such a flimsy system.

## **2.11 The Demise of the Concert of Europe**

Traditionally it has been highlighted very often that some of the global powers have been so colossal that for the rest of the countries their management has always been a challenge. For example, in post WW- II era, the hegemonic position or the status-quo of the US has certainly been a question mark even on the power potential of the United Nations, the largest international organization in the world. Similarly, the greatest flaw on the part of ‘Congress of Vienna’ was that the congress required Russia more than it required the Congress. Since, Russia was more powerful than any other state in Europe or possibly than some of them even put together (Elrod, 1976).

The most terrifying issue for the congress was that on the one hand the Russian presence as an instrument of deterrence against other powerful actors like France was essential. On the other hand the presence of this gigantic power in the Concert itself was a potential threat for every other state. Therefore, the credibility of obligations to the settlement issues predominantly rested on Russian participation in the system. However, it is worth mention that surprisingly the other powers defeated her in the limited Crimean War<sup>45</sup>, and consequently Russia turned her back towards Europe (Lascurlettes, 2017).

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<sup>45</sup> The Crimean War (1853-1856) erupted from Russia’s threat to multiple European interests with its pressure of Turkey. After demanding Russian evacuation of the Danubian Principalities, the British and French forces laid siege to the city of Sevastopol in 1854. The campaign lasted for a full year, with the Battle of Balaclava and its “Charge of the Light Brigade” among its famous clashes. Eventually, after facing mounting losses and increased resistance from Austria, Russia was pushed to get agreed to the terms of the 1856 Treaty of Paris. Ultimately, the Crimean War reshaped the power structure of Europe.

On the other hand, the Great Britain also withdrew from the continental affairs. Austria was to depend more on Russia than it did ever before; whereas the ambitions of France were also tested mainly by the Anglo-Russian shared front. The absence of Russia gave the way to France to challenge the system openly. Paris had already done so in 1859 during its war on Austria in Italy. A kind of unrest started in Europe as a result of the two short-lived but crucial wars of Prussia against Austria in 1866 and also against France in 1871. Consequently the territorial distribution of the continent altered irrevocably (Lascurlettes, 2017).

As mentioned earlier that the Concert of Europe was commenced with a spirit of self-enforcement; and there was no specific transnational organization to implement it in accordance with some already laid down principles. The major Powers, themselves were keen to resolve their mutual conflicts, preserving transnational harmony by a series of nonviolent means of negotiations, sporadic meetings and unorthodox compromises.

However, it is believed that the Concert of Europe was virtually broken towards the end of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to various reasons. However, ideological differences among the major Powers could be illustrated as the central reason for this collapse. Eventually, these rifts among the major powers led to numerous armed clashes; and hence divided the great powers into different groups and finally led them to the demise of Concert of Europe (Elrod, 1976).

Moreover, the Concert of Europe was also considered as a reactionary settlement of the major powers. Majority of these European powers, with the exception of the United Kingdom, believed in the conventional 'status-quo' principle. They were not in favor of

allowing any substantial change in the dynamics of the overall European politics. Correspondingly, the revolutionary type of approaches like; liberty, equality and fraternity were also flourishing in most parts of the Europe (Lascurettes, 2017).

At the same time, the members of the alliance were resolute to dump these revolutionary feelings in the region. A lot of resolutions were passed against these extensive feelings; and the revolts of the peoples were forcefully suppressed with the help of military powers. Consequently, the people of European nations revolted against the stern policies of the Concert. These upheavals played a decisive role in the failure of this system. The last but not the least; and also one of the most significant sources of the fiasco of the Concert of Europe were the lack of unity among the major players. The fire was further fueled by the lack of confidence, cooperation and trust among the European countries (Lascurettes, 2017).

It is a well-known fact that the success of any institution is mere day-dream in the absence of mutual trust and confidence among the member of that entire community. On the part of the concert, undoubtedly major powers in the beginning showed their resolve in conducting the meetings; and they had passed so many valuable resolutions with a spirit of trust, cooperation and mutual benefits.

However, with the passage of time, they lost almost all these bonding mannerisms and began to waste their valuable time in the subsequent meetings of the concert by criticizing or condemning the other counterparts. Consequently, the organization and its associated remunerations failed to exist any longer. In the subsequent years not only Europe suffered but also the world order as a whole underwent irrecoverable losses.

## 2.12 Modern Concept of the World Order

The modern-day global concept of world order, certainly based on Westphalian system, is commonly known as the world community (Kissinger, 2014). However, with the passage of time, over the period of centuries, the dynamics of world order have indeed shifted from the basic Westphalian principles to the modern liberal codes of international politics. On the basis of a wide-ranging network of modern day transnational organizations and an extensive arrangement of their legal structures; the construction of the contemporary world order has certainly attempted to curtail the vices of anarchical nature of the global politics.

At the same efforts are also being made to foster the mechanism of free movements and open trades among various nations and regions that can further strengthen the global political and financial systems. The proponents of this order seem to demonstrate their resole in introducing the well-established principles that are mostly acceptable for majority of the actors. These measures may prove helpful in resolving the international political as well as financial issues. Although, it can be asserted that the overall performance of these transnational institutions has never been highly commendable; yet they have the credibility to provide the common and neutral stage for the interaction of a large number of independent as well as powerful actors of the world.

On the other, the contemporary world is insistently and at times rather almost desperately, in pursuit of an agreed concept of the world order. Since, our age is facing two extremes; on the one side chaos threatens the international system; and on the other side, there is unprecedented interdependence among the key actors. Moreover, the

spreading of weapons of mass destruction from a few to many, the growing cases of disintegration of states are still the upsetting issues of the world. Simultaneously; the worldwide impact of environmental depredations, the persistently erupting practices of genocide are certainly intimidating to drive the modern conflicts beyond human control or even their comprehension (Kissinger, 2014).

The spread of new technologies along with new methods of access to information and vast variety of means of communication are undoubtedly uniting various regions and eventually certain events are being projected globally. However, these modern tools of advancement and superfast connectivity have put the leaders into a kind of test that how do they register their instantaneous reactions to the newly emerging occurrences, that may disrupt the entire global system. If they failed to demonstrate adequate response then we may ask ourselves; are we passing through an era that is overwhelmed by the forces which are beyond the restraints of any order and are they absolutely free to determine the future of the whole world?

Therefore, genuine efforts from the leadership of the contemporary world are indispensable; for rejuvenation of the global structure, from absolute anarchy to a peaceful coexistence, is certainly the paramount challenge for them. With the growing inclinations towards regionalism in different parts of the world; the rising trends of tussle amid various cultures and regions may prove even more devastating than the brawl amongst the nations. The quest for order and stability in the contemporary world would demand a comprehensive and logical scheme of establishing a concept of order amid numerous regions. Ultimately, these regional orders need to relate rather compliment to one another.

It is worth mention that these objectives may not essentially be identical or self-reconciling. The accomplishment of a fundamentalist movement might fetch order to one region; but it may be setting the stage for turmoil in the rest of the world. Similarly, the military dominance of certain region by one powerful country may result into some glimpse of order; but it could yield a crisis in the rest of the world.

Hence, it can be argued that a reassessment of the concept of balance of power is in order. The notion of balance of power, in theory, ought to be relatively calculable; however, in practice, it would be extremely difficult to harmonize a country's calculations with those of the other states. Therefore, order in the modern world may at any time face convulsion and the entire international community may face the consequences. An adequate example may be the September 11, incident.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **The World Order and the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Global Politics**

Contrary to the preceding century; the 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order was more uncertain, destabilized, conflicting and devastating. As discussed in the previous chapter; there were no major wars in the world for about a hundred years; from 1815 to 1914. Although, the European powers were consistently involved in expanding their colonies in Asia and Africa during this era; but on the whole they were able to avoid large scale direct conflicts among themselves. As a result of the ‘Congress of Vienna’ and the subsequent ‘Concert of Europe’ the balance of power was fairly maintained that ultimately lead to a non-violent atmosphere in Europe, particularly during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

However, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century; owing to the demise of the ‘Concert of Europe’; the notions of collective security and just balance of power started to get shattered. Instead of looking for peace and stability of the entire continent, the European powers preferred to form alliances. Though the formation of these narrowed alliances was taken to be a symbol of guarantee to the survival of some states; but all together they were intimidating the existence of others.

The significant developments during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century not only distorted the international political environment but also lead it to the eruption of first global conflict, the World War I. The dynamics of this war were very much different from all other previous wars. Troops from European countries and their colonies, around the world, participated in this first ever “total war” on the planet.

Moreover, non-European powerful players like; Japan and the US also took part in the war that was primarily Eurocentric. For the first time in the history of mankind; large number of sophisticated machines, aircrafts and tanks were employed in the battlefield. The advanced industrialized powers were inflexible in perpetrating catastrophic losses to the opposing nations. Therefore, huge price of the war in shape of millions of troops and civilians' death tolls was paid in addition to devastating economic woes for decades.

However, some of the political leaders from different countries started to realize the need for an open and worldwide legitimate forum to negotiate the conflicting issues. A dire need was felt to say goodbye to such catastrophic encounters forever from the world. Thus, after preliminary debates, a comprehensive international organization, the League of Nations, was constituted to ensure peace, stability and collective security world over. Unfortunately, due to various reasons this world body could not perform effectively and within just two decades of its existence another deadliest war disturbed the entire world.

The most devastating incident of the century; rather that of the entire human history; was the WW-II. This deadliest global war ended with the use of the nuclear weapons, the most fatal weapons ever been invented by human being, that instantly eliminated millions of people. However, at the end of this disastrous war the international community and the world leaders showed their determination to establish the United Nations Organization to warrant peaceful settlement of disputes around the world. Unfortunately, the desire of perpetual peace at the global level was crippled down, too soon, with the advent of proxy warfare, the Cold War in the world. The two super powers, the US and the USSR, in the bipolar world system; lead the Capitalist and Communist blocks. Hence, as a whole, the 20<sup>th</sup> century's World Order continued to look for order and stability.

This chapter has covered the dynamics of international politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its impacts on the overall world order. The chapter starts with the discussion of the root causes of the WW-I and its significance in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century's European and global politics. Then there is a detailed analysis of the formulation of 'Versailles Peace Treaty, charted out in 1919, soon after the end of WW-I. There is also a debate on the significance of this treaty in the dynamics Post-World War I international politics. The next significant elucidation in the chapter is regarding the establishment of 'The League of Nations' and the challenges faced by this world's largest organization during the next couple of decades. Usually this era is termed as the Inter-Wars period, which was also highly notable in the 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order.

This chapter further explains thoroughly about the crucial developments like; the emergence of the fascist and dictatorial regimes in Europe, especially in Germany and Italy. There is an exclusive debate on the outbreak, devastations and the aftermaths of the World War II. Then there is a detailed discussion about the Post-War developments particularly regarding the establishment of the United Nations along with the roles and tasks of its principal organs. In the last portion of this chapter the dynamics of the Bi-Polar World Order have been deliberated in detail.

### **3.1 Root Causes of the World War I**

At the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century there were several critical incidents that eventually steered the global politics to the outbreak of WW-I. Generally it is believed that the expansionist policies of the European powers in common; and that of the Germans in particular; ultimately caused the eruption of this global conflict. On the other hand, the

formulation of alliances, especially in the European region, made the other states bound to jump into the war to support their respective allies. Moreover, large scale militarization and the territorial rivalries among various actors were also escalating the situation towards this catastrophic battle. Likewise, the growing trends of imperialism and nationalism among various peoples also heated the situation up to a degree that ultimately sparked the direct confrontation amid various powers. In the following lines there is a brief account of some specific developments that led the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order to the outbreak of the first total war in the entire human history.

The first critical incident that led the then transnational politics to the outbreak of the World War I is considered to be ‘Triple Alliance’<sup>46</sup> that was formed by Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy (Kronenbitter, 2014). Initially it was a two-party alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary, signed in 1879. However, subsequently it was transformed into the ‘Triple Alliance’ after this secret alliance was joined by Italy in May 1882 in the reign of Chancellor Bismarck (Kronenbitter, 2014). Later on, during the WW-I this alliance was renamed as the ‘Central Powers’<sup>47</sup>. It would be interesting to note that the Dual Alliance lasted till 1918; while ‘Triple Alliance’ remained intact only up to 1915; since by then Italy had declared war on the central powers.

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<sup>46</sup> Triple Alliance was a secret agreement between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy formed in May 1882 and renewed periodically until WW-I. Germany and Austria-Hungary had been closely allied since 1879; and Italy sought their support against France shortly after losing North African ambitions to the French forces. The treaty provided that Germany and Austria-Hungary were to assist Italy if it were attacked by France without Italian provocation. On the other hand, Italy would assist Germany if the later were attacked by France. On the other hand, in case of a war between Austria-Hungary and Russia, Italy promised to remain neutral. This abstention would have the effect of freeing the Austrian troops that would otherwise have been needed to guard the Austrian-Italian border.

<sup>47</sup> The Central Powers were a coalition in WW-I that primarily consisted of the Austria-Hungary and German Empire, being the central European states. They were at war from August 1914 against France and Britain on the Western Front; while against Russia on the Eastern Front. A few months later, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria also entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in October 1914.

The participation of Italy in the Triple Alliance had mostly been taken as doubtful, for her major territorial disputes with Austria. On the other hand; Italy was consistently trying to settle her differences with France and signed agreements with Paris for assuring her to remain neutral in the event of war against Paris. Moreover, in 1909, Italy had also signed entente with Russia (Conybeare & Sandler, 1990).

The second perilous alliance that pushed the international politics towards WW-I was the ‘Triple Entente’<sup>48</sup>, also called the “Allied Powers” (Conybeare & Sandler, 1990). This coalition was constituted by Britain, France and Russia in 1870 and formalized in 1894. The alliance was considered as a kind of reaction to the increasing German aggressive designs that led Britain and France to end up their bilateral colonial differences. There was an overriding opinion that the rivalry between Russia and Austria-Hungary in the Balkan region pressed the Russians to look into the alliance with France and the Great Britain. However, Russia was associated with the Triple Alliance until 1890.

In addition to these two major alliances; throughout the European region; there were many other smaller mutual defense pacts between different countries that also pulled them into this global conflict. These agreements aimed at mutual or collective security and marked that if one country was attacked; the allied were bound to support her in defending itself against the aggressor. Some of the key mutual alliances before the War were; Russia and Serbia; Germany and Austria-Hungary; France and Russia; Britain, France and Belgium; Japan and Britain (McCormick, N.D.).

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<sup>48</sup> The Triple Entente was an association between Great Britain, France, and Russia. It was the nucleus of the Allied Powers in World War I. The Triple Entente was basically developed from the Franco-Russian alliance and was formalized in 1894. The Anglo-French Entente Cordiale of 1904; and an Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907; brought the Triple Entente into existence.

There were also several other factors that led the global political scenario to the outbreak of the WW-I. In his famous essay, “The Interwar Period 1919-1939”; Juan Carlos Aybar has expounded the following features as the central elements that turned the course of action towards the eruption of this global war (Aybar, N.D.). The first reason was that most of the European powers were robustly following the policy of expansionism. However, the new transnational expansionist policy embarked by the German Emperor Wilhelm II<sup>49</sup> in 1890, substantiated as fuel on the fire.

The archives of international politics elucidate that Germany was considered to be a genuine threat by the rest of the European powers. A kind of new power struggle started from here onward till the outbreak of the war. The next main cause of the war was that as a result of the second industrial revolution in 1870s the German industrialized growth was enormously ascending (Mokyr, 1998). At the same time Berlin was highly keen to uplift and re-equip its naval fleet. Consequently, the Great Britain started feeling serious threats from the German initiatives at the economic and naval fronts.

The third root cause of the war can be characterised as the European industrial growth needed additional raw material that was readily obtainable only from their colonies in Asia and Africa. So the conflict zones among the colonizers also expanded to these colonies; which were turning out to be additional bones of contentions among the European powers. The fourth grounds of WW-I could be attributed to the stark territorial rivalries between France and Germany, particularly for the regions of Alsace<sup>50</sup> (a border

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<sup>49</sup> Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859–1941) ruled the Imperial Germany from his accession in 1888 to his enforced abdication from the office in 1918 at the end of the WW-I.

<sup>50</sup> Alsace is a historical region situated in the North Eastern France on the Rhine River plain. The region is sharing borders with Germany and Switzerland. Alsace region has been alternated between German and French control over the centuries. Therefore, this area reflects a mix of the two cultures.

and contentious town between the two European powers) and Lorraine<sup>51</sup> that had already been annexed in 1870s by the German Empire.

The fifth main reason of the war was the fact that the Balkans<sup>52</sup> region happened to be another major territorially contentious area between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Both these competing European players were anxious for the establishment of their hegemony in that constituency. Hence, the Balkans conflict is also thought to be one of the most critical reasons of the beginning of this global war. The next reason of the war was related to the psychological rivalries among the European nations that primarily erupted from all these stated grounds of engagements that were also escalating a kind of enmity among different peoples. It was mainly stimulated by the nationalist propaganda campaigns that brought about hatred among the neighboring states.

The subsequent part that is responsible for the eruption of WW-I was the rising power of the non- European countries such as Japan from the Far-East and the US from across the Atlantic in the West. The emergence of these great powers also enforced the continental political environment towards the devastating conflict among the European powers. The two nations were able to upsurge to the status of world powers and were also ready to support their respective allies, already contending each other in most of the Europe.

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<sup>51</sup> Lorraine was a former region in the Northeast France. It was sharing border with Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany. Much of it is rural, Mountainous and forests offering hiking and skiing opportunities.

<sup>52</sup> The Balkans also known as the Balkan Peninsula that predominantly constitutes the eastern-most of Europe's three great southern peninsulas. Generally there is no universal agreement on the region's entire components. The Balkans are usually considered to be comprising of; Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Slovenia. Moreover, some of the portions of Turkey and Greece are also situated within the geographical region that is generally defined as the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, in some of the descriptions of the Balkans also include these countries. It is worth mention that some illustrations define the region in cultural and historical terms and others in geographical ones. Moreover, for some of the observers, the "Balkans" is also a negatively attributed term associated with the divisiveness of its ethnic and political turmoil in the regions.

However, the final and the most terrible incident that straightaway triggered the first global war; took place on June 28, 1914 (Aybar, n.d.). In fact, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Serb Bosnian activist and a member of the Serbian nationalist organization, "Black Hand"<sup>53</sup> in Sarajevo. The already constituted military alliances in Europe, particularly among the Allied and the Central powers; started to be militarily operating against each other. Hence, a regional conflict got converted into a wide-ranging transnational war in Europe and eventually in the entire world.

### **3.2 The Roads to the World War I**

It is generally stated that the overall political environment in Europe during the whole of 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in its last couple of decades, were relatively non-violent. Owing to a number of political developments the European powers were able to avoid major encounters. However, the question arises that how could such a devastating conflict like the WW-I could materialized from such an unperturbed world?

During the Concert of Europe, balance of power was fairly maintained in a multipolar world system. Through this period, the overall situation remained comparatively peaceful; because various powerful players in the world like; Germany, Britain, Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Serbia, the Ottoman Empire, Japan and the United States were the chief supporters of the entire process of peace and stability (Danilovic, 2002).

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<sup>53</sup> The 'Black Hand' was actually a secret Serbian group in the early 20th century. This group, whose members were primarily army officers with some government officials, used terrorist methods to promote the cause of freedom of Serbs from outside Serbia; mainly from Habsburg or Ottoman rule. It was instrumental in planning the assassination of the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914, which ultimately precipitated the outbreak of the WW-I.

The situation mainly remained serene till the time that the European powers for the most part started to lineup against each other into two major alliances. The first of them was the “Triple Alliance” founded on the behest of Germany along with; Austria-Hungary, Italy and Turkey. The main objective of this coalition was to keep France isolated in Europe. The other alliance was “Triple Entente” constituted by; Britain, France and Russia to maintain a check on Germany and keep it away from its aggressive designs. However, emphatically, there were a number of other events that also augmented the outbreak of this one of the deadliest wars of the human history.

Williamson (1988) argues that after William-II took over as the new Kaiser (emperor) of Germany in 1888; the global political circumstances were dramatically changed. Once Chancellor Otto-von-Bismarck (1815–1898), the dominating Prussian statesman and then the first Chancellor of the German empire between 1871 and 1890, was sacked, Germany launched Weltpolitik<sup>54</sup> or world politics. It was a new international policy by the German empire with more ambitious and aggressive designs than those adopted by Bismarck. This development hastily triggered strong defensive reactions from other powers in the region who felt threatened from the new German foreign policy (Williamson, 1988).

The aggressive strategy of Wilhelm-II ultimately led to the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1893. This was a military pact between the two ideologically very different powers (Tsarist Russia and Republican France) to establish mutual security assistance program against Germany (Williamson, 1988). On the other hand, owing to its extensive

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<sup>54</sup> Weltpolitik was the imperialist foreign policy adopted by Germany during the reign of Wilhelm II from 1890 onwards. The aim of Weltpolitik was to transform Germany to a position of global power through aggressive diplomacy; through the acquisition of overseas colonies, and the development of a large navy. Though considered a logical consequence of the German unification, it marked a decisive break with the defensive Realpolitik of the Bismarck era.

economic, naval and colonial hegemonic position; the United Kingdom was first heedless towards signing coalition pacts with other European powers. However, the German threat was so disturbing for it that Britain was also forced to seek alliances against the Berlin's aggressive designs. In reaction to the German's aggressive enterprises that were promulgated in the world politics; a new political development "Entente Cordiale"<sup>55</sup> was materialized. Like many others, it was another one of the most perilous agreements in Europe that was signed in 1904 between the historic rivals, France and Great Britain (Hamilton & Herwig, 2003).

Apart from these intimidating kinds of agreements and alliances; there were a series of certain other crucial incidents that could also be labeled as the root causes of WW-I. The occurrence of all these developments was gradually but unquestionably pushing the international political environment to a chaotic situation. That eventually would hurl the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order towards one the deadliest conflicts ever in the history of mankind. Among the most sparkling incidents; the first Moroccan Crisis<sup>56</sup> (1905-1906) and the second Moroccan Crisis of Agadir incident<sup>57</sup> in 1911; were highly significant happenings. Then in 1907 the Anglo-Russian agreement that settled their colonial

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<sup>55</sup> Entente Cordiale, conclude on April 8, 1904. It was an Anglo-French agreement that settled a number of controversial matters and also ended antagonisms between UK and France. The agreement also paved the way for their diplomatic cooperation against German pressures in the decade preceding WW-I.

<sup>56</sup> The First Moroccan Crisis was an international issue between March 1905 and May 1906 over the status of Morocco. Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany had visited Tangiers to declare his support for the sultan of Morocco. Actually Germans wanted to challenge France's growing control over Morocco. The move provoked the annoyance of France and Britain, but the crisis was resolved by a conference of mostly European countries that affirmed French control. Eventually, the crisis situation worsened the relations of Germany with both France and Britain, and helped enhance the new Anglo-French Entente.

<sup>57</sup> The Second Moroccan Crisis or the Agadir Crisis was a brief transnational issue. It was sparked by the heavy deployment of French troops in Morocco in April 1911. Germany was a French contender in the region but it did not object to the move. In its quest for territorial compensation it threatened warfare and sent a gunboat to the area. Negotiations between France and Germany resolved the crisis. Eventually, France took over Morocco and gave territorial concessions to Germany in Congo. Spain was also given bounty in Morocco. The British cabinet denounced the German move as an intolerable humiliation. There were talks of war between Berlin and London and Germany had to back down.

differences in Central Asia; the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Turkey to Austria-Hungary in 1908<sup>58</sup>; were also extremely critical issues in the pre-war periods (Tomaszewski, 1992).

However, the two successive Balkan wars in 1912-1913 that involved; Turkey, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria that resulted a bitter swipe of political situations not only in that region but also in the entire Europe. The wars concluded in 1913 with the “Treaty of Bucharest”, a peace agreement that ended the Russo-Turkish War that had begun in 1806. Consequently; Turkey, being a powerful actor in the Balkans, was reduced to a small region around Istanbul. The deal allowed Serbia to consolidate as the leading player in the region; eventually Austria-Hungary was not only upset but held the assumption that only a preemptive war would thwart Serbia from leading a general uprising in the region (Tomaszewski, 1992). These provocations would definitely stimulated Russia, who eventually was resolute to intervene after the Austria-Hungary's attack on Serbia (Aybar, N.D.).

However, the murder of Austro-Hungarian prince, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, on June 28, 1914 in Sarajevo triggered a series of lethal events that subsequently led to the outbreak of WW-I (Tomaszewski, 1992). Austria-Hungary wanted to take revenge from the offender; therefore, with the support of Germany and Turkey, it launched an attack against Serbia. The assault of the Allied Powers against the Central Powers proved to be the final spark of the devastating conflict, WW-I.

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<sup>58</sup> Taking advantage of internal difficulties in Turkey, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina. As Germany strongly supported its ally, Russia was forced to yield to the Austrian aggression and did not face the Austrian-Hungarian challenge. At that time, neither France nor Britain was willing to support Russia in a possible conflict in the Balkans.

It is worth mention that in the beginning; Italy remained aloof from the War. However, in May 1915 it declared war on Austria and in August 1915 on Germany (McCormick, N.D.). Likewise, the American President Woodrow Wilson also declared that the US will remain neutral. However, as retaliation to the German all-out submarine warfare to control the North Atlantic; the US had to jump into the conflict as it declared war on Germany in April 1917 (European History/World War I, N.D.). In June 1917 American troops began to land in France. On the other hand, as a result of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in the country, Soviet Russia withdrew from the war and concluded a peace treaty with Germany (European History/World War I, N.D.).

The World War I is sometimes also attributed as the war to end all other wars (Coffman, 2014). However, instead of culminating all other wars, it turned out to be the primordial catastrophe of all the succeeding devastations of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The World War-I is believed to have paved the way for several subsequent conflicts on the globe. It also marked a new beginning in the history of wars as an all-out or total war (European History/World War-I, N.D.). Since, all walks of society were participating along with an unprecedented mobilization of all the technological, economic, and social resources possessed by different nations.

It can also be stated that, WW-I also transformed the nature of wars; from between kings, to wars between peoples; as Winston Churchill had identified in 1901 that, “the wars of peoples will be more terrible than those of kings” (Levy, 2015, p. 1). The war continued for around four years causing huge economic and infrastructure losses. According to the reports of EU, the total number of casualties in WW-I mounted up to around 40 million, including both military personnel and civilians. There were around 20 million deaths and

21 million injures; the total deaths toll included 9.7 million military and almost 10 million civilian; the Allied powers lost about 5.7 million soldiers; while the Central Powers lost around 4 million (Mougel, 2011). Moreover, the overall European political dynamics were perpetually changed as; the Russian, German and Austrian Royal families had been swept from the power and the United States had the privilege to have involved in the affairs of Europe. This devastating war continued till November 1918, when an Armistice was signed (Mougel, 2011).

### **3.3 The United States Enters the WW-I**

At the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the American president, Congressmen and majority of the people believed that the United States should stay away from the conflict and remain neutral. On the other hand the Allied Powers especially, France and Great Britain passionately entreated the US to intervene into the war against Germany. Through effective mediation and economic measures, President Wilson kept his country out of the battle for quite a long time. In the 1916 presidential election, Wilson was reelected predominantly for his well-known slogan “Peace and Prosperity” (Hassett, Berkeley, Gillingham, & Fain, 2007, p. 82).

However, in 1917 the British intelligence forces detected a secret telegram that aimed to communicate German’s war strategies to Mexico and asking her to become an ally of Germany in his attack on the US, which was a decisive incident in the era of WW-I as well as in the history of American Isolationist Doctrine<sup>59</sup>, since her independence. All at

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<sup>59</sup> American Isolationist Doctrine refers to longstanding reluctance of the US to become part of the European alliances and wars. Isolationists stressed that the American perspective on the world was dissimilar to that of European nations. They believed that the US could advance its cause of freedom and democracy by means other than wars.

once, the American ships were frequently targeted by the German submarines called the U-boats that undoubtedly infuriated Washington further (European History/World War I, N.D.). Moreover, these contentious developments were extremely significant for the European politics as well as the overall world order of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

The United States, being one of the most powerful political, economic and military players of the world was ready to respond to these occurrences in a befitting modus. Ultimately the US had to jump into the World War I on April 6, 1917 and joined its allies; Britain, France and Russia. The US along with its war partner mounted a large-scale military invasion against Germany and its allies, the Central Powers. More than two million American troops fought the war, predominantly in France, under the command of Major General John J. Pershing. Although, many Americans like; the congressmen, politicians, political thinkers; were not in favor of the US entering the war and wanted to remain neutral. However, the United States eventually entered the war for various reasons (The United States officially enters World War I, 2019).

The America entry into the war was a kind of turning point of the global conflict, because this development ultimately paved the way for the defeat of Germany. The Allied powers already had the expectation that if the United States joined the war, their military encounter against Germany would be sustained by the US supplies. Ultimately these hopes were thoroughly and decisively fulfilled. The latest American equipment was available for the US armed forces, as well as those of France and the Great Britain. Moreover, this critical situation also complimented the American economy and its decisive contribution to the United States' allies.

It is stated that by April 1917, the Allies had already exhausted their means of payments related to the essential supplies from the US arms production units (Hibberd, 1990). It can be simply argued that had the United States remained neutral in the war; how the European powers could have continued their war. From 1917 to the end of the war; the American loans to the Allies, worth US\$ 7 billion, maintained the U.S. arms and food supply across the Atlantic (The U.S. entry into the war, N.D.).

Nevertheless, after having been thoroughly enlightened by the reports from a group of political and economic experts in the international relations, Woodrow Wilson hewed a fresh plan for global peace and harmony. In his January 1918, address to Congress, he outlined his famous “Fourteen Points” (Throntveit, 2011). Woodrow Wilson, in his legendary speech urged the Congressmen and the American public that his 14 specific points should govern the entire process of negotiations at the upcoming Versailles Peace Conference (Throntveit, 2011).

The president of United States, Woodrow Wilson, being an ardent advocate of the world peace and stability, anticipated that this global war would “make the world safe for democracy” (Hassett et al., 2007, p.7). President Woodrow Wilson strongly hoped that the world peace could be achieved at the end of the World War I, as he categorically specified it the war that would end all other wars (Gavin, 1997). Woodrow Wilson’s efforts for the world peace and stability further expatiated. Hence, the United States’ entry into the WW-I, officially registered the emergence and active involvement of another great power in the global politics. For the United States, this development was the first step towards internationalism from neutralism or isolationism, Washington had been maintaining since in its independence on July 4, 1776.

### **3.4 Significance of the Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points**

The archives of international politics can easily reveal that some of the incidents are highly crucial, for their effects last up to centuries. Likewise some of the individuals, by virtue of their leadership and visionary capabilities, secure such an incredible position that their constructive role is honored by the subsequent generations for centuries. In the discourse of World Order, the single most apprised individual would be none other than the 28<sup>th</sup> US president, Woodrow Wilson,<sup>60</sup> for his exceptional services to the overall world order and global peace. During the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Wilson overwhelmed all the global diplomatic channels for his true spirit of statesmanship.

This was an era of frequently emerging new developments in the international politics. Such as; the stark polarization in Europe among multiple power centers, the formation of alliances, the outbreak of the WW-I and the American entrance from the 'New World' to the global world. In such a hyperactive international political environment, President Woodrow Wilson was successful in securing a kind of unique position for himself; not only in the United States but all around the world. Moreover, his dynamic and visionary character also helped the US to secure a leadership role in the global politics, particularly that of the Europe. Wilson was a great supporter of liberty, prosperity, democracy, global peace and harmony. Later these incredible values became the pillars of liberalist ideology in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In his statements, he has nicely expressed his heroic personality traits.

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<sup>60</sup> Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was the 28th president of the USA. He served in office from 1913 to 1921 and led America through WW I (1914-1918). Wilson was a stern advocate for democracy and peace in world. Therefore he is often ranked as one of the nation's greatest presidents and highly respected leader in the world. Wilson had been a professor, a university president and Democratic politician before winning the White House in 1912. Wilson tried to keep his country neutral in WWI but due to Germans adventurism ultimately declare war on Germany in 1917. His efforts for the peace treaty and a plan for the League of Nations were commendable. Although the US Senate rejected its membership in the LON; however Wilson was awarded with the Nobel Prize for his peacemaking efforts.

He maintained that friendship was the only cement that would ever hold the world together and the world must be made safe for democracy; and its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty (McKean, 1930).

One of the most exciting features of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order was its multipolar and also multi-dimensional structure. The transnational political engagements were radically polarized among various units of powers. Owing to centuries-stretched imperialism; ever growing militarism and nationalism; only a charismatic personality like Wilson could render some innovative facet to the global political theater. He held unprecedented objectives; on the one hand for jumping into the Great War, and on the other hand in joining the global peace conferences. He strongly upheld the philosophy of establishing durable peace throughout the world.

Woodrow Wilson was highly optimistic about ending the wars eternally. Since wars were mostly fought for territorial and imperial expansionism in the third world. Wilson demonstrated his true statesmanship when disapproved the humiliating treatment of the defeated Central Powers; and also held the vision to welcome Germany back into the comity of nations as an equal and respectable partner. He wanted to create a world where self-determination, peaceful coexistence and mutual respect were predominantly the core values. Hence, most of Wilson ideas and deliberations are unforgettable and unavoidable even in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century's World Order. However, his famous "Fourteen Points" that he articulated in his January 1918 address to the US Congress, could be deliberated as a landmark in the modern human history. He also vigorously worked for the leadership role of the United States in the world (Hamre, 2017).

Woodrow Wilson, in his legendary Fourteen Points expressed his desire for peace and also outlined some elementary principles for eternal peace in the world. These points can be disintegrated into various segments. In the first few points he addressed the rivals of war and projected the overall guidelines for their behavior. He rejected the secret diplomacy and called for open covenants of peace that are openly arrived. He argued for the freedom of the seas and free trade among nations. It can be stated that these ideas were the first step towards the Liberal Internationalism, one of the most important aspects of the contemporary world order.

Woodrow Wilson also proposed to reduce the arms and the armies, particularly among the major powers. He also addressed the colonial and territorial issues as being the major bone of contention among the warring parties. It is believed that Wilson's arguments were the last nail into the coffin of imperialism (Hamre, 2017). The fourteenth points were the most significant component of Wilson's historical speeches. Keeping in view the Post-World War dynamics, Wilson called for the establishment of a grand international organization, the LON. The body was meant to have a mandate to resolve the lasting disputes between states that mostly threatened the global peace and harmony.

### **3.5 The Treaty of Versailles: A Major Step towards World Peace**

After suffering from millions of causalities and wide spread devastations; the major powers of the world met at the Palace of Versailles in France to conclude the deadliest World War I. They were also aiming to accomplish a lawful peace treaty. At this critical juncture of history, one of the principal objectives of the most powerful players like; the United States, France, United Kingdom and Russia; was to set the future course of action

for a stable international political order in the world. However, the desired results were rarely found because of the fundamental flaws in the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. Hence, it is argued that the Treaty of Versailles<sup>61</sup> that ended the WW-I, but simultaneously, it also caused the outbreak of WW-II (Blakemore, 2019).

The horrors of the World War I were so extensive that even the victorious Allied Powers were exhausted from the war encumbrances. In principle they all, especially the United States, in principle agreed that the major aim of this vital Treaty would be to make sure that in future such fatal wars should never happen in the world again. The Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, was supposed to create peace and stability among the major European powers. It was also deemed to figure out the new dimensions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order (Blakemore, 2019).

However, paradoxically they could not agree on the indispensable scheme for the achievement of this inspiring mutual goal. The United States recommended that the losing countries of the Central Powers had to be treated with dignity but Britain and France had different views (Keele, N.D.). In pursuit of their vengeance; the European victors of war wanted to humiliate the loosing sides, especially Germany, up to a level that they would lose the ability to resurrect and fight a war again. It is also believed that instead of looking for the right balance of power in Europe, the Treaty of Versailles further emblazoned the status-quo.

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<sup>61</sup> The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, in the Palace of Versailles situated on the outskirts of Paris. Though this treaty formally ended World War I; but it is considered to one of the history's most hated treaties. The whole burden of responsibility was put on Germany and it was forced to pay off for the expenses of war. It is argued that though there was a real desire for peace in the wake of the disastrous war, but the treaty did not achieve its intended effects. The German politicians saw it as a harsh treaty with dictated peace, and used it as a nationalist rallying point. The huge reparations payments inflicted upon Germany reduced the country's industrial production, and Berlin pushed into hyperinflation in the 1920s. Ultimately, the West had to face the economic instability of the Great Depression.

Through this treaty, in June 1919, Germany was forced to sign the highly punitive conditions of the covenant. In the War Guilt Clause of the Treaty; it was indicated that Germany had to be blamed for the eruption of war. Next, in the Reparations Part of the Treaty, Germany was made bound to compensate to Great Britain, France and Belgium for the damage incurred to them by the war (Treaty of Versailles, 1919). Germany was also forced to quit all of its colonies in addition to loss of land to France and Poland (Veblen, 1920). Berlin was also made bound to keep its troops thirty miles away from the Rhine River<sup>62</sup>.

Prior to the World War I; the Allied Powers were scared of German Navy but as a result of Treaty of Versailles, Berlin was made bound not to accede its naval strength from 15,000 men. The treaty barred Germany to maintain its air force, armored equipment or submarines. Germany was allowed to have only a hundred thousand troops in its army (MacMillan, 2007). Majority of the clauses in the treaty were aimed to castigate Germany that was forced to lose territory and colonies and pay huge compensations to the victors of wars. All these punishing measures caused serious economic challenges to Germany and even the other European powers; which were further worsened by the Great Depression of the 1930s. Thousands of Germans were left to live outside their country. Subsequently, all of these issues aroused a great deal of resentment among the entire German nation towards the whole Western world, predominantly the victorious European powers of WW-I (MacMillan, 2007).

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<sup>62</sup> Rhine River is of the great rivers of Western Europe. It is also among the most important arteries of industrial transport in the world. It flows from the Alps of Switzerland to the North Sea through Germany and the Netherlands. It has been an international waterway since the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. The Rhine has been a typical example of the sporadic roles of great rivers as channels of political and cultural unification and as political and cultural boundary lines.

As the repercussions of the Versailles Treaty, the German government was destabilized that eventually allowed the rise of the fascist regime of Adolf Hitler<sup>63</sup> in Germany (Hughes & Seligmann, 2002). Hence, some of the analysts in international politics believe that the Treaty of Versailles, through its irrational features, was successful in making Germany as weak as possible. However, it also added up to the beginning of yet another horrible disaster of the human history, the World War II. It can be rightly said about this treaty that it was not a peace but an armistice for twenty years. In other words the Treaty of Versailles was a kind of futile effort for peace that further destabilized the world order of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hughes & Seligmann, 2002).

It can be argued that one of the greatest challenges to the World Order of the previous century was the refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. In this regard the biggest hindrance in approving the Treaty was posed by the opposition in the American House of Republicans. The US president, Woodrow Wilson has allegedly been held responsible for keeping the Congressmen in dark during his talks with the European powers regarding the treaty. The president himself refused to accept the treaty with any kind of amendments proposed by the American Senate. The last attempt to endorse the Treaty of Versailles by the US Senate was made on March 19, 1920; but it fell short of the two-thirds majority votes, essentially required for the approval. Later on

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<sup>63</sup> Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), was one of the most powerful and notorious dictators of the 20th century. He was born in Austria and his parents died at a time when he was at school. At the outbreak of WWI, Hitler joined the German army and was decorated three times for bravery. He was in hospital when Germany signed the Armistice in 1918. Returning to Germany he was employed as a Government spy in Munich. One of the groups he was sent to spy on was The National Socialist German Workers Party or the Nazi party. Hitler was attracted by their ideas and joined them and quickly became their leader. In 1923 led a failed Coup in Germany and was imprisoned for a year. Eventually, Hitler became the leader of Germany's Nazi Party. He capitalized on economic woes, popular discontent and political infighting to take absolute power in Germany in 1933. Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 led to the outbreak of World War II, and by 1941 Nazi forces had occupied much of Europe. Hitler's virulent anti-Semitism and obsessive pursuit of Aryan supremacy fueled the murder of some 6 million Jews, along with other victims of the Holocaust. After the tide of war turned against him, Hitler committed suicide in a Berlin bunker in April 1945.

the United States signed a separate peace treaty with Germany and its allied nations (Dorsey, 1999).

### **3.6 Significance of the League of Nations in Global Peace**

It is stated that the most suitable strategy of resolving political conflicts without fighting wars is through dialogue, which certainly needs common forums. The last and perhaps the most crucial element of the Wilson's famous 'Fourteen Points' speech was the idea of establishing the League of Nations, an international forum for dialogue and settlement of disputes. He proposed a transnational organization for the official representatives of all member nations to collectively resolve their mutual as well as international disputes peacefully. The LON would offer a common forum to the member states for dialogue to protect their own freedom along with those of the other nations whose sovereignties were threatened by the aggressors (Hirst, 1984).

The same idea was presented by the US President, Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles Peace Conference to help all other states in taking measures for resolving their future conflicts without fighting catastrophic battles. This could be acknowledged as being the first positive step towards peaceful coexistence in the world. Therefore, the idea of discourse that emerged from Wilson's speech and materialized in the shape of League of Nations can be accredited as the foundation-stone of all endeavors towards peace building in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order. This was the beginning of a new chapter in the international politics for aiming towards global peace through talks at a grand stage.

The ideas of Woodrow Wilson, promulgated in his Fourteen Points, ultimately prevailed at the Peace Conference held at Versailles. His exceptional concept for establishing the

League of Nations was successfully contemplated and eventually implemented by numerous other international players. Despite his determination and commitment; Wilson failed to convince the Americans, especially the US Congress, to join the League and to remain actively involved in international political engagements. As Congress believed that by joining the LON; the US had to commit its troops to the future offshore conflicts, particularly those in the European region.

Under the American Constitution, only the US Congress held the powers to declare war; and after joining the League of Nations, the US troops might get influenced by the League to get involved in offshore conflicts without the approval of Congress. Such an unusual precedent would eventually violate the essence of the American constitution. However, Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of peace through dialogue undoubtedly enlightened the establishment of the United Nations, in the post WW-II era, and had a powerful influence on American foreign policy ever since then.

The League of Nations as a comprehensive worldwide intergovernmental organization aiming at the collective security mechanism was formally founded on January 10, 1920. Its headquarters was in the Geneva, Switzerland. The architect of the League of Nations, the US President Woodrow Wilson, envisioned it as a kind of 'world parliament'.

At the Dawn of the Twentieth Century the main obstacles to the overall World Order were transnational conflicts, hunger, unemployment, illiteracy and suppression. Therefore, the fundamental objective of establishing this extraordinary world body was to encourage the international community to work for the elimination of these menaces. The LON was also expected to make efforts for curtailing arms race among the world powers.

It was anticipated that the League would help to improve people's lives by getting better job opportunities, public health facilities and to wipe out the menace of slavery from the whole world.

Moreover, one of the prime responsibilities of the League of Nations was to implement the Treaty of Versailles, and influence the member states to uphold their commitments, to the League and also the whole world. Generally it is believed that the LON was a fairly decent organization in resolving upheavals amid smaller states. However its ability to engage the great powers has been questioned by the analysts and other states. As a result of this inability and the in and out practice of the larger states; the League of Nations could not function according to the expectations of the world; and failed to perform her fundamental role of global peace and stability (Eloranta, 2011).

As far as the success and failure of the League of Nations is concerned; the first issue was the number of states who joined the newly formed world body. The interest or the association to LON by the world community could be estimated by the fact that in its early days; 42 nations joined the League; and by 1930s the members were about 60. However, it was a highly disturbing issue for the multipolar world system of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and also for the League that the most powerful players in the then international politics were not the members of this first ever and the most substantial transnational body.

On the one hand, the Congress of United States did not allow the authorities in Washington to join the League of Nations. The American legislators did not want their country to get indulged into the affairs of other nations, especially the constantly

belligerent European powers. On the other hand, the communist Russia also refused to join the League of Nations until 1934, due to its unembellished hatred for Britain and France. Lastly, the war defeated Germany was not permitted by the victors of WW-I to join the League of Nations (Eloranta, 2011). In the absence of these three great powers, the LON could not effectively outline a strong impact on its members and non-member states as well as on the then multipolar World Order.

Great Britain and France were the two full time and most authoritative members of LON; and they were also supported by two other quite powerful nations, Italy and Japan. In the presence of these dominant members; the League had decent opportunity to influence other countries to work for the ultimate goals of this international organization. It is believed that on papers, the LON had the license to use military power against those who tried to disrupt the World Order. However, ironically one of this largest international organization on the earth at that time did not have its own troops; nor it had some on its inventory. Hence, the League could not ensure anything substantial against the aggressors, who used to threaten the weaker nations and the world's peace.

Although, the League got its strength from the Treaty of Versailles as it was agreed upon by each member state present at the conference. However, its main fragility was the absence of a comprehensively worked out organizational structure; and ultimately it was presenting to be a muddle. Eventually, a perception was build that the League of Nations could not set the course for the international political order, due to its weak and disjointed structure. The issues of the international politics in the post-World War I era were highly complicated as well as gigantic, while this newly constituted world organization was too weak to respond appropriately to these intricate issues.

A thorough analysis of the performance of League of Nations would easily identify that it could not stop wars; since, to end the wars from the world was one of its fundamental goals. There were numerous small conflicts between various countries even just after few years of its existence. In the 1923 dispute of Corfu<sup>64</sup> (a Greek Island) between Italy and Greece, the Italian government under Mussolini refused to accept the League's decision. Then the League told Greece to apologize to Mussolini, and also to compensate Italy. The Greeks followed the League's suggestion and Mussolini returned Corfu back to Greece. However, in the mid-1920s, during the Bulgaria and Greece dispute the League of Nations demonstrated its ability to play a successful role in pacifying the conflicting parties (Eloranta, 2011).

A broad overview of the LON elucidates that in some of the areas it remained successful while in others it could not perform well or even face complete failure. The League successfully freed some 200,000 slaves in Africa and some half a million prisoners of wars, from different regions, were taken home. However, at the same time it failed in the areas of disarmament, especially in regards to Germany who wanted the same amount of weapons as were held by the other great powers. The League of Nations also failed in resolving the issues of reparations in early 1920s between France, the United Kingdom and the war defeated Germany. Berlin was attacked by the earlier two to force her paying the money.

The League of Nations could not assist the international community in resolving economic troubles and the issues of job opportunities. Though, the League could

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<sup>64</sup> An Italian general was killed while he was doing some work for the League of Nations in Greece. The Italian leader Mussolini was angry at the Greeks; therefore he invaded the Greek island of Corfu.

effectively perform its role in resolving the limited and small wars, particularly during the 1920s. Nonetheless, it was unsuccessful in Manchurian crisis<sup>65</sup> in early 1930s and Abyssinian conflict in 1935<sup>66</sup>. The outbreak of the WW-II, just within two decades of the formulation of the LON was a clear manifestation of its overall failure; which was indeed a matter of great concern for its originators as well as the entire international community (Eloranta, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued that the eruption of numerous conflicts and the non-cooperative behavior of the great powers during the inter-wars period did not allow the League of Nations to play its vital role for a stable and peaceful political system in the world.

### **3.7 Major Developments of the Inter-Wars Period**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order, though the Inter-Wars period was relatively short; yet it was an era of highly significant developments on the international political theater that ultimately influenced the future world system. The first Great War was over; and owing to the emergence of League of Nations; the minor political conflicts among the smaller nations were settled in a reasonably peaceful environment. Therefore, as a result of socio-economic reforms in different parts of the world, by and large the first decade of the Inter-Wars Period was relatively steady. However, the critical challenges like; the rise of

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<sup>65</sup> In 1932, the Japanese army invaded Manchuria, large overlapping historical and geographic regions in Northeast Asia. Japan threw out the Chinese from there and set up their government in the region. China asked the League to help, who asked Japan to leave Manchuria. But Japan refused to accept the demand and ultimately the LON had failed to resolve the issue amicably.

<sup>66</sup> Mussolini displayed his intentions to invade Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Abyssinia asked the League for help. Ultimately, the LON talked to Mussolini, but he sent his army to Africa. The League suggested a plan to give part of Abyssinia to Italy. Mussolini ignored the League's arbitrations and invaded Abyssinia. The League could do nothing except to ban the sale of weapons to it. In fact Britain and France secretly agreed to handover Abyssinia into the control of Italy; and Italian troops conquered Abyssinia. Once again, the League had failed to function substantially.

Communism, the implementation of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the Mandate System<sup>67</sup>, the disarmament, the aggressive designs of Japan, the Great Depression and the rise of fascist regimes; were the roots of a yet another disastrous conflict, the WW-II.

The Post-World War I era witnessed some far-reaching changes in political, cultural, economic, and social areas across the world; particularly in Europe, Asia and Africa. The collapse of prewar major empires like; Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russian and the Ottoman Empire were a great destabilizing factor for the post war global political order. However, the disintegration of these colossal empires resulted into new developments like; the emergence of new states, the issues of their boundaries and management particularly under the mandate system were also challenging. Eventually, new ideologies and new political dynamics were introduced.

In many parts of the world electoral democracies were anxiously swapping the centuries long imperial political systems; such as the German federal election in 1919 (Henig, 2002) and the 1923 general election in Turkey (Kocak, 2005). The peasants and lower middle class in Russia were vigorously trying to replace autocratic regime through a revolution in the county, during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the following paragraph there is a brief account of these significant developments, happened during the inter-wars period that eventually affected the dynamics of global peace and the overall 20<sup>th</sup> century world order.

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<sup>67</sup> The Mandate System was introduced by the League of Nations. Primarily it was established by the treaties ending WWI. Under the Mandate System the victors of World War I were given responsibility for governing the former German and Ottoman territories as mandates from the LON. The ultimate goal of the system was the development of each mandate toward eventual liberation. However, it is argued that this goal was tempered; since, the respective mandates were ostensibly awarded with full consideration of both public and secret agreements made during the war.

### 3.7.1 The Rise of Communism and its Consequences

The colossal Russian empire was ruled by an autocratic Tsarist regime till the commencement of the past century. The Russian publics were treated with an iron hand by Tsarist regime and no political rights were offered to the citizens (Berkman, 1922). The dynamics of this typical dictatorial rule by an absolute monarchy was very much different from the imperial system of the western European nations. The economic and social aspects of Russia were also obsolete and almost dysfunctional with stark differences between the few wealthy elites and majority of the poor population.

Consequently a deeper sense of discontent was growing day by day and eventually it burst out in 1905, when a kind of revolutionary attempt bitterly shattered the tyrannical Tsarist regime (Treadgold, 2018). However, by introducing some slight reforms in the country; the autocratic regime of Tsar Russia survived till the next and result oriented drive of the revolutionaries all across the country. This radical incident proved to be one of the most critical developments in the political history of Russia as well as the entire world system.

In the already perturbed 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order; the occurrence of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution<sup>68</sup> in 1917 heralded a new juncture in the international political construction (Berkman, 1922). As a result of this revolution an extensive civil war broke out in Russia in October 1917. The combatants were comprised of; the Red armies, fighting for the Lenin's Bolshevik government; and the Whites, representing a large

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<sup>68</sup> The Russian Revolution was one of the most explosive political events of the 20<sup>th</sup> century world order. It took place in 1917 when the peasants and poor working class public of Russia revolted against the Tsarist regime of Nicholas II. The violent revolution marked the end of centuries of Russian Imperial rule. The revolutionaries were led by Vladimir Lenin and a group of people called the Bolsheviks. The new communist government laid the foundation of the Soviet Union.

group of loosely allied forces of monarchists, capitalists and democratic socialists (Berkman, 1922). The Civil War continued for few years till the victory of Lenin's Red Army, who emerged as the leader to establish the new Soviet Union.

The experts of international politics also believe that right from its inception the Communist ideology has postured severe challenges to the overall world order of the last century. It is stated that the ideology was particularly targeting the means and mechanisms of the distribution of power and prosperity by launching severe criticism on the then prevailing Capitalist structure. All together, the communist thinkers were able to offer a distinct alternative system against the already existing status quo of capitalist culture. The Communist philosophy, with its vision of equality, social justice, harmony and co-operation as a "specter" has been haunting the world in general and the West in particular (Treadgold, 2018).

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, especially since French revolution till the Bolshevik revolt, socialism and communism began to gain grounds particularly in the Eastern European society (Retish & Rendle, 2018). However, hardly the intellectuals had ever thought that it would seriously threaten the status quo and seize power in such a huge country like Russia. Paradoxically, during the year 1917, this unprecedented development altered the entire scenario of international politics and surprised everyone in the world. The act like seizing of power by the Bolsheviks even bewildered the Western great powers. It is stated that the Western capitalist powers were highly keen to make use of all their resources and energies to overturn the new regime right at its birth. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks after consolidating themselves in the power, not only established their survival but also set out to expand the Communist ideology to the whole

world (Retish & Rendle, 2018). Thus for the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order the uprising as well as the expansion of Communism was a great challenge.

The presence of a huge Communist state, like Russia, shockingly troubled majority of the Western nations. The communist facet of Soviet Union turned out to be a new epicenter for the world's revolutionaries in practical, political, and organizational manifestations. Simultaneously, the Communist Russia was ready to oversee all such up-roaring movements by offering financial and ideological supports to them. It was considered to be an inspiration for the colonized peoples in Asia and Africa; who could get rid-off their colonial rulers by the moral, political and physical assistance of the Leninist Russia.

It is also believed that during the inter-wars period; Communism happened to be the most intimidating challenge to the capitalist system, generally in the world and particularly in the West. Simultaneously the communist ideology was also described as a critical threat to fascism. In the West, the people of antifascist philosophy were drawn to Communism as the paramount hope to curtail the fascist doctrine. On the other hand Communism was deliberated to be as a collaborator in the struggle for independence by nationalist leaders in the Western colonized regions of Asia and Africa (Retish & Rendle, 2018).

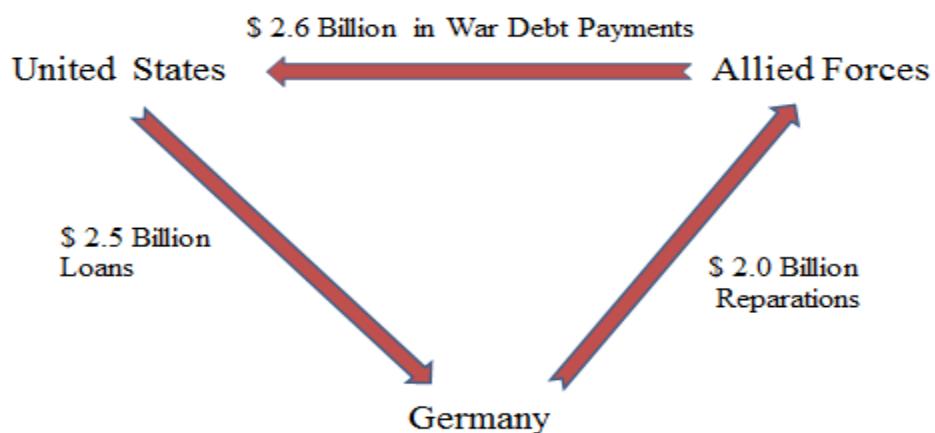
### **3.7.2 The Great Depression**

Systematic economic integration at the international level; particularly among the major economies was another highly significant aspect of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order. It can be argued that the notion of economic interdependence was practically implemented in the early 1920s. Since, in the post-WW-I era, the US came forward to help in resurrection of the war affected European economies. Especially the American assistance to Germany

under the Weimar reign in the mid-1920s pulled Berlin back from the brink of an all-out economic collapse (Schuker, 1988). As discussed earlier in this chapter; that in accordance with the implementation of Versailles Peace Treaty; Germany had to pay huge amount to the Allied forces every year as reparations. The German government and its people had to face a great deal of difficulty in paying these heavy reparations. By 1923, after her failure to continue the payments; French and Belgian troops invaded and occupied the Ruhr, the largest urban area of Germany (Schuker, 1988).

The United States was the largest economy of the world in post-World War I era and it wanted to assist Germany to solve the problem of reparations. Actually the inability of Berlin to overcome this problem had not only bedeviled the implementation of the Treaty of Versailles but eventually the World Order due to the highly troubled international political environment. On the one hand, the Allied powers were heavily indebted to the United States for their war time loans and armed supplies.

**Figure 3-1: The Dawes Economic Assistance Plan (1923-24)**



Source: (Ashwita, <https://subjectoftorment.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/dawes-plan.pdf>).

On the other hand, Washington was too much apprehensive about their ability of payments. In chorus, the Allies, especially France and Great Britain, were economically relying on the German reparations. Hence, the United States felt the need to timely intervene and rescue; first the German economy and eventually those of the European powers; through its 1923-24 Dawes Plan. The Committee under Charles Dawes<sup>69</sup> helped to resolve this most disturbing issue of era. The plan ended the Allied occupation, and provided a staggered payment plan for Germany's war reparations (Schuker, 1988).

At the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Great War had bitterly affected the major economies of the world in general and the European's in particular. However, at the end of the war, owing to the emergence of modern technologies, mainly in the automobiles and petroleum sectors; there was a kind of economic boom in the middle class societies of Europe, America and many other parts of the world in early 1920s. As a result of this economic flourishing achieved by some of the circles; the decades was labeled as the Roaring Twenties (Margulies, 2004).

On the other hand, as a result of the Great Depression that started in October 1929 after the dramatic crash of the stock market on "Black Thursday"<sup>70</sup>. Eventually, there was an unprecedented international economic recession which bitterly affected almost the entire world including a number of world's major economies. In the history of modern Western

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<sup>69</sup> Charles Gates Dawes (1865-1951) pursued two different careers during his lifetime. One in business and finance while the other in public service. He was at the peak of his fame in both the fields by mid-1920s. In 1925, Dawes was also awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He served as the vice-president of the US and had achieved worldwide recognition for his exclusive report on German reparations in 1924.

<sup>70</sup> The Wall Street Crash of 1929 is also called as Black Tuesday. The Great Crash or the Stock Market Crash; actually began on October 24, 1929 ("Black Thursday"). It was perhaps the most devastating stock market crises in the American history. While taking into consideration the full extent and duration of its after effects it was the beginning of the 12-year Great Depression that bitterly affected all the Western industrialized countries.

industrialization, it was labeled as the longest and most severe economic depression. Although this financial downturn, initially started in the United States; but its adverse effects shifted to almost every other country of the world. However, Japan and the Soviet Union could escape from its after effects due various reasons.

In the rest of the world; the degree of severity and volume of losses inflicted by this menace were too relentless; however with some sort of varied intensity among different countries and regions. It is stated that in the United States; no new homes were constructed, no mortgages were available, local governments at the state level were bankrupt. Consequently homelessness and hunger increased by manifold throughout the country. By 1933 the overall impacts of the Great Depression were drastic not only in the US but throughout the world (Lopez, 2011).

Certainly such a colossal economic crisis at the international level always had significant political consequences and many a times it would disturb the World Order as a whole. The Great Depression in the 1930s led to the political realignments in the United States and Sweden on the one hand; while on the other hand the Great Depression instigated the breakdown of democracy in Germany and Austria-hungry. Moreover, this grave economic recession also led to the dominance of National Socialism and Austro-fascism in Germany and Austria (Lindvall, 2012).

Moreover, to divert the attention from economic crisis Mussolini wanted to enlarge the Italian empire in Africa. Since, Italy had lost over 40% of its imports and 30 % of its exports because of the Wall Street Crash. Mussolini wanted to expand its empire and to gain coal, iron and steel by occupying Abyssinia. As an independent country and part of

the League; to protect Abyssinia in case of such problems was the responsibility of the LON. Ultimately, Italy left the League and allied with Germany. This development weakened the League as others started to undermine it. Being one of the biggest countries in the League of Nations; Italy's abandonment was a great loss to the League (Lindvall, 2012). Ultimately, all these issues related to the Great Depression were the parts of the subjects that were setting the course of events leading the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order towards another deadliest worldwide conflict, the World War II.

### **3.7.3 The Mandate System**

The end of World War I and the Versailles armistice in 1918 significantly changed the dynamics of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century's international politics. The world faced a great deal of trepidation due to millions of casualties and the catastrophic demolition of infrastructure in cities and towns. However, the terms of the peace agreements and various treaties altered the global balance of power and eventually the World Order. Germany being one of the largest European powers was crippled down as a result of these settlements. While on the behest of the Allie, the largest Muslim state, the Ottoman Empire was also demolished and disseminated into several pieces. The victors distributed the land of this colossal empire among themselves as a bounty of war that ultimately changed the nature of global politics (Hossack, 2016).

Nevertheless, the emergence of the United States of America as a powerful global player and the Liberal Internationalist ideology of its president, Woodrow Wilson also influenced the attitude of the European powers toward dismantling the Ottoman Empire. The Covenant of the League of Nations in its Article XXII called for the execution of a

Mandate System (Potter, 1922). Through the Mandate scheme, those colonies and territories were marked that ceased to be under the control of the states which previously governed them and they were yet not capable to survive independently. Several other states, which were formerly under the Ottoman Empire, were also made part of the Mandate system (Hossack, 2016).

The colonial powers like Britain and others were involved in newly emerging international political system as a Mandatory power; and they also integrated these new arrangements into their colonies. Hence, the Mandate System itself raised problems for the European colonial powers and also for the entire global political structure. Consequently, security and stability along with maintaining the balance of interests among the Mandates and the Mandatories pertaining to economic and political issues were highly complicated problems. These issues, emerging from the mandate system, also affected the overall world order by severely convoluting the relationships between European powers and the rest of the world (Hossack, 2016).

One of the major issues of the era was the incoherence and multiplicity of objectives, set forth by the victorious powers amid these new developments. The aims of the victors were not simply straightforward and the Mandate System was presenting disarrayed kind of scheme. The Allies were focusing on a variety of goals in Europe as well as in the Near East. In order to address the concerns of the major powers like; the Great Britain, France, and the United States, the Mandate System was introduced, primarily to govern the areas of Near East along with other non-European regions. Addressing these conflicting aims from various powers in different regions; ultimately became a highly

challenging task to undertake a harmonized approach in distributing the parts of the former Ottoman Empire.

Great Britain aimed at establishing the British supremacy in the Near East and reducing the competitive position of France in the region (Meyer, 2009). The ambition of France was to focus on the European settlement. Paris had claimed for the terms that would perpetually incapacitate Germany to assure military and economic supremacy of France on the continent (Meyer, 2009). The United States had no self-interested goals like those of the British and the French, particularly in the Near East; since it had never declared direct war on the Ottoman Empire even in the Great War.

The Mandate System was so complicated that even academically its comprehension has been a challenge for the scholars of international politics. On the other hand its long-term political effects have been destabilizing the world order and demoralizing for those who aimed political stability and transnational harmony around the world.

### **3.7.4 The Rise of Fascism**

The Twentieth Century World Order faced yet another highly complicated challenge after the rise of fascist regimes in some of the countries, especially in Germany and Italy. The Germans were already annoyed with the Treaty of Versailles as they thought that its conditions were too harsh and unfair. At the same time, the German economy was bitterly suffering due to the huge amount of war reparations to the Allies. Ultimately political circumstances in the country were perfect for someone like Adolf Hitler to exploit the situation and get to the power.

On the other hand, Italy had entered to Versailles expecting to get huge money and territory from Austria. However, things did not happen according to its expectations and due to excessive unemployment the Italian government was very much unpopular among the masses in the early 1920's. Thus, the democratic governments in both these European countries became very unpopular among the masses. Eventually, "Dictatorship<sup>71</sup>" as a new form of government appeared in Europe particularly that of Adolf Hitler in Germany, Benito Mussolini in Italy and Francisco Franco in Spain (Griffin, 2013).

In Italy, Mussolini (1883–1945) assumed that his country had been badly treated at peace talks in Versailles. In addition to severe economic challenges like recession and unemployment; political riots and clashes with law enforcement agencies were common in Italy. Mussolini founded the Fascist Party in 1919 and proposed some new political ideas. He worked for strong leadership, restoration of law and order; regain the Italian grandeur as it had at the time of the Roman Empire and to destroy Communism in the country. The Fascists ideology got strengthened in the country over the next few years (Blinkhorn, 2006).

Mussolini was strongly supported by the rich community that saw him as the only savior against the spread of Communism. As a result of his threat to march on Rome and seize of power; Mussolini was invited by the Italian King Victor Emmanuel in October 1922 to become Prime Minister. On getting to the power, Mussolini started to establish a strong dictatorship in Italy. However, despite being a dictator, he became popular in the country.

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<sup>71</sup> The Encyclopedia Britannica defines dictatorship as a form of government in which one person or a small group of people possess absolute powers without effective constitutional limitations. The term dictatorship comes from the Latin title dictator, which was a temporary magistrate in the Roman Republic who was granted extraordinary powers in order to deal with state crises.

Since, he was comparatively successful in getting things done in somewhat better style. Mussolini was also successful in establishing the relevance of Italy on the global political platform again (Blinkhorn, 2006).

In his quest of power and splendor; in 1935 Mussolini decided to attack Abyssinia to restructure the Roman Empire. However, this act proved to be the first step towards the disaster of the country and its Fascist regime. This act of aggression was severely responded by Britain and France. In reaction Mussolini also got annoyed and the next year it made an alliance with Hitler's Germany and they signed the Rome-Berlin Axis.

Mussolini also endorsed the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia to Germany in 1938. The dictatorial regime of Italy took the catastrophic decision of entering into the war in Hitler's support in 1940. The Italian forces had to suffer massive losses at various fronts even before Italy was attacked by the Allied Powers in 1943. During the last months of the World War II; Mussolini was apprehended and finally exterminated. His body was hung in Milan, a famous square of Italy (Blinkhorn, 2006).

On the other hand; during the Inter-Wars period; there was another renowned fascist regime of Adolf Hitler in Germany. At the end of the WW-I, the German government collapsed; and the leading politicians of the country decided to declare the new state as the Weimar Republic.<sup>72</sup> Their first action of accepting the Treaty of Versailles was never

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<sup>72</sup> The Weimar Republic was the democratically elected government founded in Germany. It followed the Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication near the end of WWI. Apparently it continued in the same title until 1945, but actually, the republic ended with Hitler's seizure of powers in 1933. Actually, right from the beginning, the Weimar Republic suffered from a lot of financial and psychological effects of the Treaty of Versailles, and heavy payments as reparations to the victors, France and England. Moreover, it also suffered from several military occupations, and its famously crippling inflation. Owing to controversy surrounding the treaty; and the manner of Germany's defeat in WWI; ultimately led to an increased support for the extremist

forgiven by the German people. During the first few years in the 1920s; the economy of Germany declined, unemployment soared and due to heavy payments of reparations the authorities did not have enough money to run the country. By 1929, after the collapse of Wall Street in the United States; the German economy also degenerated bitterly; as millions of jobs were lost, inflation was very high and most of the families were unable to pay for their eatables (Henig, 2002).

The grave socio, economic and political situation of Germany was highly suitable for the fascist regime of Hitler, who would offer a number of daring solutions to the serious problems of the nation. Eventually, owing to the highly critical circumstances in the country; majority of the German people had no other suitable option except turning to the Hitler's Nazi Party<sup>73</sup>. The number of her seats in German parliament rose from twelve in 1928 to two hundred and thirty within next four years. Eventually, in January 1933, Hitler was appointed as the Chancellor of Germany. The Weimar republic was replaced by Hitler who presented himself up as a dictator (Henig, 2002).

Adolf Hitler was determined to smashup the Treaty of Versailles; since he believed in the grandeur and supremacy of his nation. Hitler was filled with hatred of Jews as he accused them for Germany's defeat in the Great War. He was also against the Communism and had declared it as a great threat to Germany. Hitler believed that the Germans were the Master Race, destined to rule over the world. He also wanted to unite all segments of Germans under his own leadership. Under the dictatorship of Hitler; thousands of

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nationalist groups, like the Nazi party. The Nazi Party won the largest majority in the German parliament in 1932 but very soon it established a dictatorial regime in the country.

<sup>73</sup> The National Socialist German Workers' Party commonly referred to as the Nazi Party. It was a far-right political party in Germany, remained active between 1920 and 1945. It supported the ideology of Nazism.

workers from other parties were arrested; trade unions and political events were banned. German youth were forced not only to join Hitler but also to swear loyalty to Hitler not Germany. Police were asked to ensure that Germans did only what they were told by the fascist regime (Spielvogel, 2016).

It is argued that apart from various challenges during the Inter-War period; the real defiance to the 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order was the Hitler's foreign policy initiatives. At this front Hitler had some specific aims like; to make Germany great, to abolish the Versailles Treaty, to unite all Germans and to expand Germany eastwards and enslave all Slavic peoples (Dyck, 1958). As soon as; Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany, he announced not to pay the reparations to France any longer.

Moreover, in 1935 Adolf Hitler announced to re-establish the German navy and air force; and very soon raised his army up to two million men. In 1936, Hitler marched his troops into the Rhineland region, a loosely defined area of Western Germany, to recapture it. Likewise, in 1938 Hitler took over Austria. After that he demanded that Germany must be returned the land it had lost to Czechoslovakia as a result of the 1919 Armistice. In March 1939, Hitler finally took over the country and later this year, Germany and Russia shocked the entire world by signing the Non-Aggression Pact<sup>74</sup> (Dyck, 1958).

The final stroke to shatter off the 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order was the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. This act of aggression was an intolerable step for France and the United Kingdom. The two European super powers declared war against Germany

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<sup>74</sup> Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and Russia was signed in August 1939 prior to outbreak of WW-II. It actually surprised the world as the two conflicting countries agreed not to take any military action against each other for the next 10 years. It also had a secret agreement on mechanism of the divide up Eastern Europe. The Pact broke down in June 1941, when the Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

on September 3, 1939. This was the beginning of yet another worldwide deadliest conflict, the WW-II. In the meanwhile, as part of its secret agreement with the Nazis, the Soviet Union also invaded East Poland on September 17, 1939. This was a kind of consent for Germany to take over the remaining majority of Polish areas (Dyck, 1958).

### **3.8. The Outbreak of World War-II**

The overall devastations and the number of casualties during the WW-I were so horrifying that the war was called as the war to end all other wars. However, the agreement to conclude the WW-I failed to resolve the transnational problems in a just manner; and hence it could not guarantee lasting peace and stability in the world. Rather some of the historians believe that actually the post war mechanism triggered the eruption of new challenges that lead directly to the next catastrophe: World War II. A number of issues as mentioned above are considered to be the major causes of yet another upheaval to the 20<sup>th</sup> century World Order. Moreover, there were numerous other regional as well as global issues that steered the international political scenario towards a situation where the world was plunged into a total war.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter that throughout the Inter-Wars period; the Germans could never forget the humiliating treatment of the Allied Powers in signing the Treaty of Versailles. They forced Germany to pay billions of dollars as reparations; the German lands were awarded to the victors of War as bounty. In these highly critical conditions the gallantry slogans and daring steps of Hitler and his Nazi party were tenderly embraced by the German nation. Right from the start of Hitler's reign in Germany, it had aggressive designs against the German foes. Towards the end of the 1930s Germany had resurrected

its armed forces in addition to innovative military strategies like the Blitzkrieg Tactic<sup>75</sup> or Lightening War. By utilizing its new military doctrine, Germany was able to capture Poland within just three weeks.

The next significant development further ablaze the World War II was the German attack on Denmark and Norway in April 1940; whom were defeated by the Hitler's forces (Miller & Commager, 2001). After that the German offensives against the European states were nonstop; as in May that year, it invaded Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and France; and crushed them all within just a few weeks. By June 1940, the next severe dent was caused to the Great Britain by forcing her troops from Dunkirk region, leaving the all of their equipment behind. By then Germany was controlling almost all the key areas of Europe and it was expected that Britain would ask for peace with Hitler; as some signs were shown by the French (Miller & Commager, 2001).

However, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1940) thought the other way. While addressing the nation he said: "We shall fight them on the beaches, we shall fight them on the hills, and we shall fight them in the streets we shall never surrender" (Maguire, 2014, pp. 255-286). Hitler came up with new plans to invade Britain in his Operation Sea-Lion<sup>76</sup> in the summer of 1940 (McKinstry, 2014). Thousands of German

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<sup>75</sup> The Encyclopedia Britannica defines Blitzkrieg; (German: "lightning war") as a military tactic calculated to create psychological shock and resultant disorganization in enemy forces. The goals were aimed to achieve through the employment of surprise, speed, and superiority in materiel or firepower. The Blitzkrieg strategy is most commonly associated with Nazi Germany during WWII; even though numerous other combatants used its techniques in the war. Though, the origins of Blitzkrieg can be traced in the 19th century; but its elements have been employed in present-day conflicts. By adopting this strategy; first aircraft bombed cities to destroy the infrastructure, particularly that of strategic nature. Then, this act is followed by huge mobilization of ground troops that are mostly equipped with tanks and artilleries. Ultimately, take control of territory and capture prisoners is ensure.

<sup>76</sup> Operation Sea Lion was Nazi Germany's code name for invasion on the United Kingdom during the WWII. After the Fall of France, Hitler hoped that the Britain would also seek a peace agreement. He reluctantly considered invasion only as a last resort if all other options failed. As a prerequisite, he had

fighter jets crossed the English Channel to bomb the towns and cities of Britain. Churchill and his forces responded in a befitting manner to resist Hitler's invasion, which could not get the required results of the so called operation (McKinstry, 2014).

Simultaneously, the war tactics were so stanchly altered by Hitler and forces that highly significant developments were emerging within every few months. In the spring of 1941, Germany occupied Greece and Yugoslavia first and then advanced towards the Suez Canal to cut off the British oil supply (Morewood, 2013). However, Hitler committed a kind of suicidal blunder in June; when he breached the Nazi-Soviet Pact and attacked on the Soviet Union from three different sides. His troops moved from the North towards St. Petersburg; from the south to the wheat rich Ukraine; and from the center towards the capital Moscow (Kokoshin, 2016).

The Germans assault was extremely rapid and quite successful as they captured vast areas of Soviet territory. On the other hand the Russians adopted the Scorched Earth policy.<sup>77</sup> Joseph Stalin ordered his troops to burn everything coming in the way of the advancing Germans. After gaining sufficient time in the winter; the Russian troops were able to stop the German advancement just outside of Moscow. The Red Army launched a successful counterattack and pushed the Germans away from the Russian capital, Moscow (Kokoshin, 2016).

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indicated the achievement of both air and naval superiority over the English Channel; but the German forces could not achieve the targets. Nevertheless both the German Army and Navy undertook a major program of preparations for an invasion and gathered a large number of river barges and transport ships on the Channel coast. However, after disappointment for no signs of the Royal Air Force had been defeated, Hitler had to postpone the Sea Lion indefinitely on September 17, 1940 and it was never put into action.

<sup>77</sup> A scorched-earth policy is a military strategy that aims to destroy anything that might be useful to the enemy while it is advancing through or withdrawing from a location. Therefore any kind of useful assets for the enemy may be targeted. For instance; the food sources or stores, water supplies, transportation, communications and industrial resources; are demolished before the enemy could make use of it. The strategy can be adopted by the military in its own or in the enemy territory.

In the meanwhile, on December 7, 1941 one of the most heated incidents of the World War II took place; when the Japanese Navy attacked the American fleet anchored at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii. Right the next day the United States, being the greatest power in the world and till then neutral, declared war on Japan. Once again Hitler made another great mistake; when he declared war on the US. These critical developments turned the war from just Europe on to the global theater, with its lasting aftereffects. In the summer of 1942, once again Hitler ordered his troops to invade Russia from the south in order to capture Stalingrad, a famous Soviet city, which they could not (Hazuka, 1993).

On the other hand, Hitler's forces faced defeat from the British Army in Africa, which was considered to be first major setback to German troops. In early 1943 all the Hitler's troops surrendered to the Russian Army who had launched a massive attack on the Germans at Stalingrad (Dingle, 2014). In the mid of 1943, the British and Americans launched a massive attack against Italy from its south and defeated the Italian forces and their German partners.

However, June 6, 1944 was highly significant; which is usually called the Deliverance Day or the D-Day<sup>78</sup>. The Allied under the command of General Eisenhower, an American general, later on the president; launched a huge attack on Hitler's so-called Fortress of Europe (Festung Europa), to release France from the German occupation. During the last weeks of the year the Allied Powers were prepared to invade Germany. In December

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<sup>78</sup> D-Day or Deliverance Day was June 6 1944; the date that marked the start of the Allied forces landings in Normandy in France during the WWII. More than 150,000 troops consisting from the US, British and Canada landed on five beaches of Normandy's fortified coast that day. The attack is considered to be the largest seaborne invasion in history; that eventually led to the liberation of north-west Europe from the control of Nazis.

1944 Hitler launched the last desperate but an unsuccessful attack on the Americans in France (Shirer, 1991).

After several futile attempts at various fronts, Germany itself was invaded by the Allies from three different sides in January 1945. Within next few weeks Hitler had to retreat to his underground bunker in Berlin. In April the Russian troops entered into Berlin and reportedly on April 30, Hitler committed suicide and then the Germans had no other option except to surrender before the Allies (Shirer, 1991). Finally on May 8, 1945; the Victory in Europe Day (VE Day)<sup>79</sup> marked the end of the European Chapter of World War II, after millions of deaths and overwhelming devastations across the continent.

However, the war continued in the Pacific between the Japanese and the America forces in the region. After the occurrence of Pearl Harbor incidence, the theater of war was expanded to almost the entire Pacific region. Japan had to pay heavy price of the war as it had lost most of her warships and aircraft carriers. There were deadliest clashes between Japan and the USA with horrific losses of lives to both sides. Being too tired of the war; the Americans were in a hurry to conclude the war as quickly as possible. Eventually, on August 6, 1945 American war Plan dropped an Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima (Elmendorf, 2011). The entire city turned into ashes with around eighty thousand people perished instantly; while in the following weeks tens of thousands more died from radiation. After a few days another nuclear bomb was dropped on the Japanese city, Nagasaki that was entirely demolished with more than 60,000 deaths and a lot of catastrophes (Elmendorf, 2011). Eventually Japan had to surrender, and the World War II was over.

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<sup>79</sup> On the 8 May 1945 the armed forces of Nazi Germany unconditionally surrendered before the Allies of WW II. Therefore; this day is celebrated as Victory in Europe Day, commonly known as VE Day in Britain or V-E Day in North America. Most European nations celebrate the end of WW II on 8 May every year.

The archives of international relations can certainly maintain that this was the most destructive war in human history that inflicted the deaths of around 60 million people, and many more injured. The worldwide total casualties of WW II are estimated to be 61 million people (Research Starters: Worldwide Deaths in World War II). The Japanese government decided to accept the Potsdam Declaration<sup>80</sup>, which was signed by the United States, China, and Great Britain. On August 15, 1945, the surrender was announced officially that eventually ended the World War II (Elmendorf, 2011).

The occurrence of WW-II and its catastrophic end could be marked as one of the most critical issues in the history of mankind. This was the first all-out war, stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific with countless number of casualties, injuries and complete demolition of infrastructure, particularly in Europe and Japan. Moreover, this war had far reaching effects on the overall world order of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The ever conflicting European powers dwarfed each other and allowed the US to emerge as superpower in the world. However, the Soviet Union also got the position of a leading role in the communist world.

### **3.9 The Aftermaths of WW-II**

It can be stated without any doubt that the WW-II was one of the most critical incidents of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order. Millions of military personnel as well as civilians lost their lives all across the world. The economy of the world in general and that of the Europe in particular bitterly suffered. The infrastructure in majority of European

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<sup>80</sup> Potsdam Declaration is related to an ultimatum issued by the US, Britain, and China on July 26, 1945, calling for the unconditional surrender of Japan. The announcement was made at the Potsdam Conference just before the end of WW II. The declaration claimed that “unintelligent calculations” by Japan’s military advisers had brought the country to the threshold of annihilation.

countries was ruined to the ashes. The unceasing ground battles for six years and heavy bombing destroyed enormous volumes of physical capital as well.

Hundreds of thousands of individuals were forced to abandon their property without compensation. Millions of people had to refuge into new lands without appropriate shelters. Periods of hunger become more common even in relatively prosperous Western Europe. Horrendous crimes against humanity were committed. However, the Aftermaths of WW-II were not only disastrous; rather this war permanently transformed the economic and political dynamics in majority of the regions in the world. The Multipolar World Order in pre-war situation was replaced by the Bi-Polar World in the post-World War II era. International Organization like United Nations and the World Bank were constituted to settle down the global political and economic issues.

### **3.9.1 Emergence of the United Nations**

Apart from the devastating atrocities, some of the outcomes of World War II were relatively optimistic. The rise of two superpowers played a vital role in the balance of power mechanism in the Bi-polar World. This war gave birth to a highly comprehensive international organization like the UN along with its sub-organs that also played effective role in maintaining order and stability in the world during the post-World War II era.

The United Nations Organization has played a very constructive role in maintaining the overall World Order after the end of WW-II. It is a kind of unique transnational society of independent states desiring to work for the world peace as well as international social development. The Organization was formally constituted on 24 October 1945, with fifty-one nations as founding Members. Five out of its six organs are based at United Nations

Headquarters in New York while the International Court of Justice (ICJ) is situated at The Hague, Netherlands. There are fifteen autonomous and specialized agencies that work in coordination with the UN. All these independent agencies work in diverse areas like; telecommunications, health, agriculture and weather etc. Moreover, there are twenty-four programs, funds and other bodies with specific responsibilities in different fields. All these sub and sub-sub organizations compose the comprehensive system of the United Nations (The United Nations System...).

The United Nations performs its role in almost all parts of the world principally by its six main organs. The first main organ is the UN General Assembly where all members (currently around two hundreds) are represented equally with a single vote. Decisions on issues like global peace and security, addition of new members and the budgetary matters of the UN are decided by a two thirds majority system; while rest of the issues are decided by simple majority. However, in recent years efforts have been made for unanimous decisions. The regular sessions of General Assembly are held every year that starts in September. The main functions of the UNGA are to discuss and make recommendations on the issues of military conflicts and arms race. Debates are also made on means to improve the state of children, youth, women, human rights and sustainable development (The United Nations System...).

One of the most important and powerful organ of the United Nations is the Security Council whose primary responsibility is to ensure peace and security. It has fifteen members; out of them five are permanent while the other ten are non-permanent. These non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly on the basis of

geographical representation for a term of two years. The main Functions of UNSC are to examine the causes and nature of disputes that might ultimately disrupt the World Order.

This organ tries to explore the means and methods of settlement along with the actions against any threat. It nominates the Secretary General and forwards his name to the General Assembly for approval. This organ has always played a vital role in establishing world order by adopting resolutions and even initiated military actions against those who threatened the world peace. In later part of this research there is a detailed discussion about how the UNSC launched military action against Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait.

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is also one of the main UN organs. It was established in 1946 for looking into legal matters among the nations; and not individuals. The Court's decision is binding only once the parties or states agree with the court to act on a case. Other organs of the UN may seek advisory opinion from the ICJ. The court has delivered numerous judgments on inter states disputes. The Court sits in The Hague, Netherlands. Its fifteen judges are elected by the UNSC and General Assembly, keeping in view that no two judges could be co-citizen. All the Nine judges have to make a unanimous decision, as the Judgment is final and without appeal.

The other organs of the UN; the Secretariat, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council have also played significant role in social, cultural, economic and trade related issues. However, their functional relevance in the areas of World Order may not be too much decisive. Although the Secretariat administers the peacekeeping operations in troubled areas around the world but these missions are too much different from those of the UNSC sanctioned. As for the UN Specialized Agencies, Funds and

Programs like; UNDP, UNICEF, UNEP, UNFPA, UNHCR, ILO, IMF, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, WFP are concerned their roles and tasks are also important. But the dynamics of World Order do not hinge upon these issues of low politics at the international arena (United Nations, 2015).

### **3.9.2 The Bipolar World Order**

Keeping in view the enormous devastations of World War II on the one hand and the emergence of the United Nations as a world forum for negotiations on the other hand; a viable peace was expected at the global level. However, this hope of the peace lover was very soon marred by the division of international community in two blocks, the Capitalist and the Communist, ideologically distant from each other.

In the Post-World War II era, the dynamics of international politics were precisely bipolar; where two super powers were consistently aiming to maintain a right balance of power. The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were much more powerful than the rest of the countries. The two super-powers lead two different blocks with diverse ideologies. The Western Block, under the USA was working for liberty, democracy and capitalist system of private ownership in business and property. The Communist Block under the USSR raised the slogan for; state controlled media, religion, property, business and communist ideology.

Right at the end of the WW II; the two superpowers in their Cold War struggle started to established control over Europe. Both the Superpowers were equipped with Nuclear weapons and they had to avoid a direct military encounter among themselves as well as their allies. Hence the two most powerful players in the international politics were to

compete against each other on other fronts. They used to support the opposing parties in their conflicts around the world. The main areas of rivalry were; nuclear arms race, spying and the space race.

The division of Germany into four zones of occupation between the USA, the USSR, Britain and France also amplified the tension between the two camps. The Soviet President, Stalin was adamant to instate communist regimes in almost all the countries Moscow had liberated from the Nazi's control (Gibianskii, 2006). He did not allow these countries to conduct elections and they were made part of the Warsaw Pact<sup>81</sup>. Moreover, large numbers of Red Army troops were deployed to ensure that the peoples of these states would not rebel.

On the other hand, to counter balance these Russian moves the USA responded with the following steps. In 1947, the US President proclaimed his famous Truman Doctrine<sup>82</sup>, which pronounced that the USA would offer help to any state wishing to defend itself against Soviet threats. The European countries were offered US\$ 13 billion as economic assistance in the Marshall Plan<sup>83</sup> (Chourchoulis, 2014). Moreover, the Western European

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<sup>81</sup> The Warsaw Pact, which is also known as the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Basically it was a collective defense treaty signed in May 1955 at Warsaw, Poland. The first signatories were the Soviet Union and seven other states of Eastern Bloc from Central and Eastern Europe. The treaty was shaped in the Cold War context.

<sup>82</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica explains Truman Doctrine as the pronouncement by the American President Harry S. Truman on March 12, 1947. He declared immediate economic and military assistance to the governments of Greece and Turkey. The first was threatened by Communist insurrection and the second was under pressure from the Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean region. The US and the Soviet Union struggled to reach a balance of power during the Cold War. The West feared the danger of the two countries falling under Soviet influence. The U.S. Congress responded to call of Truman by promptly sanctioned US\$ 400 million for this purpose.

<sup>83</sup> Marshall Plan, or formally European Recovery Program (ERP) was a program sponsored by the US in 1948, worth US\$ 12 billion. It was designed to rehabilitate the economies of 17 western European countries; aiming to stabilize their economic and political conditions. In fact the US feared that the poverty, unemployment, and dislocation of the post-WW II era would reinforce the appeal of communist parties to the people in Western Europe. The idea was presented by the Secretary of State George C. Marshall on June 5, 1947, in an address at Harvard University. The U.S. Congress authorized the execution of ERP

nations and the United States constituted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to ensure the security measures against the Warsaw Pact. All of these measures from both the Superpowers elevated the level of distrust and tension between the two rival camps.

At the beginning of the 1950s; both the super powers had the amount of nuclear arsenals which were enough to extinguish all signs of life on the earth. During the Cold War, on several occasions; the circumstances became so tense between the two blocks that the threats of a direct war looked quite evident. Especially, during the; 1948-49 Berlin Airlift, the 1950-53 Korean War and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis; the situations were highly tense and the clouds of conventional as well as nuclear war were hovering to disrupt the overall World Order (Kelly, 2014).

The incident of 1948 Berlin Airlift was the first real challenge to the world order in the Post WW-II era. The level of tension was at the highest in Germany where troops of the two superpowers, the US and the USSR were stationed. The United States, Great Britain and France, in 1948, decided to merge their occupied zones and constituted the new state called West Germany.

Stalin considered this move as a threat to Russia and decided to respond severely to the Western Allies. Since, the Soviet zone of occupation was in the center and Stalin blocked the entire road and rail links to Berlin, except the air routes. Hence, the allies were so helpless to feed around two and half million citizens in their zone of occupation. They decided to arrange supply of millions of tons of goods to West Berlin by air.

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which was signed by President Truman on April 3, 1948. The ERP plan was primarily offered to all the European countries, including those under military occupation by the Soviet Union. However, Russia withdrew from the plan, and was followed by the other eastern European nations under its influence.

However, after failing to reach to the required results up to a year, Stalin lifted the blockade in May 1949, and hence tension decreased. The Soviets Union announced that its zone of occupation would become an independent state called German Democratic Republic and in 1961 the Soviets built the Berlin Wall. During the Blockade period the Western powers also constituted the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military alliance to protect Western Europe. The NATO also played a crucial role to maintain the balance of power and the overall world order in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kelly, 2014).

The next severe challenge to the Bi-polar system and the 20<sup>th</sup> Century World Order was the 1950-53 Korean War. During the World War II, Korea was occupied by Japan and with her defeat it was occupied by the United States and Soviet Union. In the Soviets occupied region a single party state under Kim-II-Sung was setup and the territory was named as North Korea. On the other hand; in the US controlled area a pro- American government was instated and this region was titled as South Korea. The border line between the two Korean states is called the 38<sup>th</sup> Parallel<sup>84</sup>. North Korea invaded and overcame the South Korea in summer 1950. The US responded to the incident and sent its troops to drive back the North Koreans.

In the meanwhile the United Nations Security Council also sent troops to support the Americans and hence the North Korean forces were pushed back into the Chinese territory. On the other hand; Mao Ze Dung, the Communist Chinese leader, sent some

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<sup>84</sup> The 38th parallel is a popular name given to latitude 38° N that lies in the East Asia. It roughly demarcates the border between the North Korea and South Korea. Basically, the line was identified by the US military planners at the July 1945 Potsdam Conference, just before the end of WW II. It was an army boundary in Korea; north of which the Soviet Union was to accept the Japanese surrender, while south of which the US were to accept the Japanese surrender. Initially the line was intended as a temporary division of the country, but after the start of the Cold War, it led to the establishment of a separate pro American regime in South Korea and a communist regime in North Korea.

200,000 troops to support the North Koreans; that turned the situation in their favor (Jervis, 1980). The American troops, under General Macarthur, were defeated and pushed back to the 38 Parallel. General Macarthur warned China to retreat into its own territory; otherwise he would use nuclear weapons against them. The US President Truman thought that the American general had overstepped his authority; therefore he summoned Macarthur back and sacked him (Jervis, 1980). The next commander in the area negotiated a ceasefire between the two Korean states, who agreed to move back to the pre-war positions. This Armistice is still valid; neither side gained anything from the conflict except the dead bodies of millions of people.

The next burning issue of the Cold War era was the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. In 1959 the communist leader of Cuba, Fidel Castro, toppled the pro-American regime in the country. In reaction to this move, the US put a trade embargo on Cuban products such as sugar and tobacco. The Communist regime in a country; which is less than ninety miles from the coast of Florida, in the United States; was not only apprehensive but it also organized the militia of Cuban refugees to attack the island state, Cuba in 1961. This invasion was considered to be a terrible action, since it provided an opportunity to the Soviet Union to establish trade and military links with Cuba (Norris, 2012).

On the other hand, in October 1962, the American President Kennedy announced that the US spy planes had detected the Russians Missile launching sites in Cuba. This Russian move proved to be highly instigating for the United States; since, it had certainly granted a massive tactical advantage to Moscow in the event of any nuclear conflict in the region. Every major city of the US would have been abolished by these Russian Missiles before the US could even plan its missiles launch.

The United States categorically demanded that the Soviet Union must dismantle and take away the missile bases from Cuba without beating about the bush. Simultaneously the US navy launched a blockade in the region to maintain a check on the Russian ships bound for Cuba. This move turned out to be a severe risk of nuclear war between the two Superpowers; as the Russian war ships and missile carriers were sailing towards Cuba through the Atlantic. The nail biting conflict lasted within a week after the Russian president Khrushchev ordered his naval ships to return back to their bases. It is argued that the event, being one of the most critical issues of cold war era, marked a kind of victory for the United States and its leadership over its opponent, Russia (Norris, 2012).

Despite posturing severe challenges to the World Order and pushing the world into a chaos of nuclear war; the Cuban crisis had another significant outcome. Both the Superpowers, equipped with the deadliest weapons, had a chance to realize that how much close they had come to destroy not only each other but also the entire world. Therefore, they started dialogue with each other to bilaterally control the production and accumulation of nuclear weapons through the well-known Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Bull, 1973). During the 1970's two SALT Treaties (1972 and 1979) were signed to quantify the permissible amount of nuclear arms for each side to maintain the right balance of power between the two super powers (Bull, 1973).

Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century some other significant issues also took place that ultimately changed the course of international political system. It is worth mention that these developments may not have greatly influenced the overall world order of the last century. However, the same events have played a vital role in the next phase of the world system, the unipolar world order. For instance; after getting into power in 1984, the

Russian president Mikhail Gorbachev introduced some reforms in the country. First, he sanctioned the citizens' right of criticism upon the government; and second to earn money for themselves and their families (Cummings, 2014).

Nevertheless, in 1989 Gorbachev announced the withdrawal of all Russian Troops from Warsaw Pact countries (Cummings, 2014). This announcement gave an opportunity to the people of Eastern Europe to foster the demand of their rights which were denied to them throughout the Cold War era, since the end of WW II. The people in majority of these states threw away the shackles of Communist regimes. In November 1989 the people of Berlin dismantled the Berlin Wall, an emblem of Cold War between the two blocks and finally the countries of European Union agreed upon the unification of East and West Germany (Hofmeister, 2009).

In 1990, for the first time in the history of Russia; the people were given an opportunity to vote in the free elections. Eventually, Boris Yeltsin was elected as the new President in the country. At the same time almost all the Russian Republics decided to demand independence from the Soviet Union. Finally, December 31, 1991 was marked as the disintegration day of the former USSR and the road to the independence of the Central Asian republics (Haran, 1995). Communism as a dominant political ideology, and a great challenge to the Western Capitalist System, ceased to exist. The Cold War was over and the Bi-Polar World Order was replaced by the US led Unipolar World system. The United States of America became the uncontested sole Superpower of the world.

To conclude the debate on the 20<sup>th</sup> century world order, the phrase "A Beastly Century" employed by the British novelist Margaret Drabble (2001) seem to be true (p, 160).

Illustrious historian like Eric Hobsbawm, (1995) also calls it, “An Age of Extremism” (pp. 237-248). He maintains that in only seven and half decades (1914-1991: from the outbreak of WW-I to the end of Cold War) of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; around 187 million people were either killed or allowed to die as a result of human choices (Hobsbawm, 1995).

Indeed these are alarming figures, for the readers in general and for the leaders in particular. However, during the era some of the vital decisions, as mentioned in this chapter, have also been taken; which have also played positive role in the 20<sup>th</sup> century world order and the global peace and stability.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **The Unipolar World Order and the American Hegemony**

At the end of the decades-long Cold War, the United States emerged as the sole superpower in the unipolar world order; where Washington found a unique opportunity to demonstrate its uncontested hegemony over the entire global system. The US President George W H Bush categorically proclaimed his intentions of launching the “New World Order” to dictate the American terms and also introduce the new norms to the entire international community. It is a well-known fact that right from the early 1990s, potentially no other great power or even an alliance of such powerful nations had been somewhere closer to the dominance of the United States in the affairs of global power politics. Majority of the key international players undeniably acknowledged the overwhelming supremacy of the US and its incontestable status of being the sole superpower of the world.

The overall national power of the United States; comprising of its colossal economic potential, worldwide military supremacy, uncontested political influence, along with tremendous technological advancement backed by the power of its soft-culture; predisposed every other player in the world. By and large the international community started to believe that nothing significant would occur in the world without being of certain importance to the American interests. A worldwide perception dominantly prevailed that the United States would never feel reluctance to engage any other smaller or even major power; either politically or militarily. In the overall international political environment the US had a free hand to decide that if and when it had to take any crucial

decision of global significance. In the early days of the Unipolar World Order, the overall support or approval of the wider international community was not substantially demanded by the US; rather it claimed or even commanded in some of the cases. Hence, the overall American supremacy in the Unipolar World system was not only unchallenged but also unquestionable (Krauthammer, 1990/91).

The occurrence of some of the most extraordinary events in the late 1980s and early 1990s like; the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the former USSR; were among main causes of a new international political arrangement in the post-cold war world system. Some of the commentators argue that an overall consensus may not exist among the analysts of international politics about the nature and number of fundamental reasons of the conclusion of Cold War (Owens, 2001). No one would categorically undertake that; was it due to the gravity of American pressure or the internal weaknesses of the Soviet system that it could not survive anymore? Since, the structure of bipolar world order was based on two distinct ideologies, i.e. the Communist and the Capitalist.

However, it can be argued that the generally agreed perception regarding the unipolar world for the edifice of the global political scenario was totally transformed would not be endorsed as completely true (Owens, 2001). Since the United States continued to be the exceptionally powerful player on the global political theater; the political and economic integration process of the European nation persisted; wars and conflicts in various regions were still upsetting the overall construction of the international politics. Above all the major transnational economic and political organizations continued to execute their performance as usual. Nevertheless, at the end of the cold war, unlike the post-world

wars scenarios; there were no certified losers and winners. The USSR painfully went through a process of disintegration that resulted into the offspring of various Central Asian states. Subsequently the collapse of communist ideology paved the way for the Western capitalist agenda to be implemented throughout the world.

On the other hand, the dawn of this new era encountered some different kind of challenges that further complicated the overall geopolitical construction of the world. As a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait the eruption of Gulf War not only affected the region but also the whole world. Similarly, the issues of nuclear proliferation particularly connected with the so called “less responsible states” also proved to be a burning subject of the worldwide politics. The continued unrest and a civil war in Afghanistan embedded into highly thorny developments in the years to come. Above all, the September 11 incident and the subsequent global “War on terror<sup>85</sup>” jolted the region as well as the entire planet. Moreover, the US invasion of Iraq, the non-state terrorist groups and the emergence of new rising power centers also disturbed the world system.

The overall structure of international politics and the American intentions in the unipolar world order were vividly expressed right from the early months of its inception. The tone

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<sup>85</sup> The War on terror was the American-led global counterterrorism campaign against the terror groups. It was launched in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the US. In its overall dynamics like; its wider scope, expenditure, and impact on international; the War on Terror would resemble the Cold War. Since, it was intended to represent a new phase in global political construction; that has had vital consequences for transnational security, human rights, international norms and laws, worldwide cooperation, and the global governance. Actually the war on terror was a multifaceted campaign carrying almost limitless scope. Its military dimension involved full-fledged major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, in addition to covert operations in various parts of the world. It also involved billions of dollars military-assistance programs for the supporting regimes. Another vital aspect of this war was its intelligence based activities comprised of transnational institutions to help in capturing terrorist suspects and their financing elements from all over the world. Finally, the diplomatic dimension included an extensive program of constructing and maintaining a kind of global coalition of various actors to launch a comprehensive campaign against the terrorist groups like Al-Qaida across the globe.

of the US president in his statement when he says; “By the grace of God, America won the Cold War” (Bush, 1992) was clearly indicating that no other power on the face of the earth would dare to check the sole super power of the world from achieving its goals. The US authorities started to present their new global political agenda in which almost every other state had to adjust itself. Hence, the end of cold war marked the beginning of a new era of the unilateral and hegemonic role of the United States at the global level.

#### **4.1 Rhetoric of the "New World Order"**

The archives of international politics would reveal a number of assumptions regarding the origin of one of the most catching phenomena of the unipolar construction; the "New World Order"<sup>86</sup>. Several commentators of the international relations believe that since the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it certainly was one of the most catching phrases of the academic as well as political debates at the transnational level. In many references, this idiom could be associated with the historical Latin phrase “NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM” that also appears on the official “Great Seal” of the United States of America (Hunt, 1892). Moreover, the phrase is also printed on the back of one dollar bill of the United States. In some of the references the New World Order is also connected with the seal of Yale University, the alma mater of the President George W H Bush<sup>87</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> The New World Order is a global political situation in which the countries of the world are no longer divided because of their support for; either the United States or the Soviet Union; as they did in the Bipolar world system. Instead they all are to work together to support the international system which is primarily unipolar in its edifice. The era of the new world order came into existence in the post-cold war era. On the one hand, the communist ideology no more existed and the Soviet Union went through a disintegration process. Eventually, US became the sole super power of the world; where every other nation had to survive under the American hegemony.

<sup>87</sup> George Herbert Walker Bush or commonly known George H.W. Bush (1924-2018) was a famous politician and a businessman. He was elected as the 43<sup>rd</sup> vice president of the United States (1981- 89) and the 41<sup>st</sup> president of the US (1989-93). In his presidency, Bush launched a multinational assault against the Iraqi attack on Kuwait. The US lead coalition compelled the occupying Iraqi forces to unconditionally withdraw from the tiny state, Kuwait, in the Persian Gulf War.

There is another group of the analysts in international relation who have pointed out the comparison of this complex phrase to the 20<sup>th</sup> century German dictator Adolph Hitler's "Neue Ordnung - new order," (Sloan, 1991).

However, it is interesting to highlight that in the modern international political structure; the idea of the "New World Order" was primarily coined by the former Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev<sup>88</sup>. He first used this phrase in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly session, in December 1988 (Gorbachev, 1988). Latter on Gorbachev used this catching phrase again in another of his speech in 1990 (Safire, 1991). Nevertheless, the worldwide publicity to this one of the most striking and highly debated phenomena of the 1990s was ultimately solidified by the US President, George W Bush's speech to the Congress on September 11, 1990 (Bush, 1990). The principal subject of this famous address was the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the issue that eventually proved to be the first step towards the beginning of a paradigm shift in the international politics.

There could be an interesting debate on the above mentioned two famous speeches put forth by the heads of the two leading powers of the cold war rivalry. A brief comparison of the discussions put forth by the two heads of states would certainly clarify the phenomena of the "New World Order." President Gorbachev, in his speech to the UN General Assembly session, acknowledged that the genuine progress and development at the global level would be possible only through the existence of harmony and mutual assistance.

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<sup>88</sup> Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born on March 2, 1931 in Russia. Mikhail Gorbachev was the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) from 1985 to 1991. He remained the president of the Soviet Union in 1990–91. He made efforts to democratize his country's political system and decentralize its economy that ultimately led to the demise of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. In 1990 Mikhail Gorbachev was also awarded with the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Bush stressed upon the need of serious efforts for the achievement of consensus among all nations and the entire human race. In his discourse, Gorbachev in decent way tried to urge the international players for initiating a kind of serious drive towards the attainment of “New World Order” (Gorbachev, 1990). He also emphasized upon the fact that the international community must learn to shape and direct the course of events in such a way that the modern civilization is scrupulously preserved. He also underscored to make this civilization more pleasant and safer for the existence and elevated standard of life for all mankind. Gorbachev stressed upon the significance of maintaining cooperation, shared values and the common interests among the entire international community.

For the purpose of achieving these common goals, Gorbachev stressed upon the demand of a more profound collaboration; and he declared it to be inevitable. Since, it would certainly result into the course of co-development and co-creation. The prescription of obtaining progress by one nation at the expense of others was declared as outdated. Gorbachev also asserted that in light of the contemporary realities, only by infringing upon the rights and liberties of weaker nations and downtrodden people, candid advancement was impossible. He continued to emphasize that the modern day human life was hard to survive only at the expense of nature.

More interestingly, Gorbachev was the first to articulate the vibrant sketch of a new era that was surely heading towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, it is worth mention that paradoxically, the cold war-trodden Soviet Union had neither the military strength and political credibility nor the economic resources to lead the world towards a new international order. Nonetheless, the arguments of Gorbachev were logical, forceful and also practicable.

On the other hand, the US president, Bush in his Congress speech in April 1990, upheld that war in the Persian Gulf was factually an opportunity for the practical implementation of the “New World Order” on the earth (Roberts, 1991). He also identified that crisis in the Gulf region was a rare opportunity; for the entire world in general and the US along with its allies, in particular; to move towards an historic era of deep-rooted cooperation. The president anticipated that disturbance in the Persian Gulf would enhance cooperation that ultimately might transpire into a “New World Order”. He stressed upon the fact that eventually the entire international community would have the opportunity to live in harmony and prosperity. However, the most interesting part of President Bush’s address could be the fragment in which he stated: “Today the new world order is struggling to be born” (Bush, 1990).

In this famous speech, President G W Bush announced the beginning of a completely new era. He had also painted a detailed picture of the American designs in this new international order. The president also anticipated that the new age would predominantly be free from the intimidations of oppressions, terror, hunger, human right abuses and racisms. In chorus, it was diligently portrayed to the world that henceforth; the international system would be categorically based on the pursuit of justice; much more peaceful and secure than ever before in the history of mankind. However, it can be argued that the worldwide developments during the era of this new world order remained quite far away from the pledge that is apparent outpouring from the speech of the US president.

A relatively detailed analysis of the US President George H W Bush’s speeches regarding the “New World Order” predominantly reveals the following key components of the

upcoming international political structure. First, an enduring cooperation between Washington and Moscow was anticipated, particularly to the highest levels as experienced during the Persian Gulf crisis. Second, it was projected that the promotion of Western democratic values and the free market trade at the global level, would be exercised. Since the agenda of "New Europe" was primarily based upon the execution of these two elements. Perhaps the impression of "new world" was envisioned by the Bush administration from such notions.

Third, it was indicated that just like in the democratic systems; in order to ensure law and order in societies, the local authorities require police and other law enforcing agencies. In the same manner, an orderly international political system would require both a set of rules of international conduct and the corresponding ways of deterrence to keep a check on the aggressors and their evil designs. These steps would certainly ensure to punish those who violate the rules and create disturbance within their respective regions or otherwise at the global level. Fourth, in order to resolve the international political, economic or ideological disputes, effective diplomacy had to be exercised to minimize the necessity of use of force.

Fifth, in order to ensure a more orderly international system, it was asserted that more and more development programs had to be initiated. Since, these progressive measures are essential to win a kind of heightened support of the public and also further enhance the stakes of common people and poor nations. Sixth, President G W Bush seems to have had the realization that a degree of cooperation with the Soviet Union was indispensable to avoid the likelihood of re-polarization at the international level.

Last, the Bush administration aspired that in order to ensure global consensus building and viable conflict resolution mechanisms, a more effective role of the United Nations and other transnational organizations was crucial. However, along with fundamental role of these international organizations, a kind of strong leadership role of the United States was envisioned as mandatory (Bush, 1990).

It is pertinent to mention that since the end of the Cold War, one of the most frequently asked questions by various analysts like; Stanley R. Sloan (1991) was “is there a new world order?” (p. 6). The scholar moves on say that the answer to this question was categorically “no”; because, he maintains that the new world order was a goal not a reality (p. 6). This goal was first propounded by the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in his 1988 speech to the UN General Assembly. Later on, after the famous speech of President G W Bush to joint session of the US congress in September 1990; the eventual implementation of the “New World Order” became the ultimate goal or a kind of vision for the Bush administration. Hence, the American global agenda behind the new world order turned out to be the most debated issue in the 1990s (Sloan, 1991).

To conclude this segment of the debate; it can be stated that a number of parallels may be drawn between the two narratives articulated by the two very different leaders. However, the matter of interest for the scholars was the tone of deliberations and the nature of demands; from the two presidents. Obviously it was quite natural to be too far away from each other. On the one hand, Russia was placed to be at the level of its lowest prestige during the past few decades. On the other hand, the United States was heading towards the enthronement of being the sole super power in the unipolar world.

Therefore, the Soviet president seems to be soft spoken, submissive and emphasizing more upon the norms and values of international politics. Whereas; in his speech, the tone of the US president, G W Bush was more overriding, adamant, resolute and demanding. Hence, the intellectuals of international power politics may quite understandably differentiate between tones and temperaments demonstrated by the two heads of states at this critical juncture of global order.

#### **4.2 The Unipolar Drive of the United States**

Before the commencement of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were two highly critical deliberations going on in the international political circles. The first debate of this nature was certainly the fate of the bipolar world order, that lasted for almost half a century and without any doubt it was taking its last breaths. Second, perhaps the more interesting and open for further debates and speculations, that what kind of new system would be succeeding this bipolar structure. However, some intelligent analysts like; Charles Krauthammer (2002) courageously anticipated that the international political system had already entered into an era of the “unipolar moment” (p. 5).

Besides prophesying the commencement of unipolar construction, Krauthammer also presented logical footings of the upcoming system. Obviously, the major reason behind the phenomena of unipolarity had to be the presence of huge gap between the power of the leading nation, the United States; and that of all the other nations individually or even collectively. There were no glimpses of doubt among the political leaders, policy makers and strategic thinkers that the United States had emerged as an absolutely unparalleled hegemonic power in the world. No other player in the world had the capability or the

courage to challenge the American supremacy. Hence, there was no other option for the rest of the players except to yield the global political structure to unipolar system (Krauthammer, 2002, pp. 5-10).

In the post-Cold War scenario, the connotations of the foreign policy of the United States were primarily framed in accordance with a number of already practiced customary international traditions. It was predominantly assumed that the global political theater would transform from bipolar structure to a multipolar world system. Keeping in view the dynamics of the post-cold war power politics; the experts of international relations expected that the new centers of power would be; the European community, Germany, Japan, China and Russia. However, it was implicitly understandable that the already disintegrated Russia was in a highly debilitated status (Krauthammer, 1990).

Ever since the era of the early 1990s, the United States found itself in a position to exercise some new options in its foreign policy choices. As the fear of communism was no more existent in the national debate; and therefore, it was believed that Washington had not to come across severe challenges at the global level. Thus, by and large; an overriding perception was projected that at the domestic level a substantial degree of consensus for an internationalist foreign policy would certainly be achieved. Some of the politicians and commentators from the liberalist school of thought also expected that in the new global geostrategic circumstances the threat of war would be substantially vanished (Krauthammer, 1990).

However, an in-depth study of the proceedings of international order during the last decade of the past century easily reveals that almost all these assumptions proved to be

erroneous. It is worth mention that, against all the modest expectations, the post-Cold War global political scenario; instead of a multipolar world system had turned out to the unipolar construction. Likewise, the means of power, as anticipated by a number of analysts, could not get divide among the multiple centers present in different regions of the world. Instead, they briskly concentrated into the command of an unopposed superpower, the United States. Moreover, the hegemony of the US was agreeably recognized; rather, supported and fortified by its so called Western cronies.

Unlike the situation persisted during the Cold War era; the newly characterized global strategic environment was not marked by the dark clouds of stark polarization. Since, no other global player had the potential to stretch his mussels against the hegemony of the US. However, as a result of the arms race initiated and also fueled in the bipolar structure, a number of actors, comprising both state and non-state were equipped with highly lethal weapons. The presence of these players was considered to be a chief source of threats for the world order and peace. In this context, soon after the end of cold war, the existence of some belligerent characters and their aggressive designs, as allegedly demonstrated by the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, certainly endangered the world as more subject to threats of wars.

At the same, obviously the United States, in its pursuit of the quest for a new role in the international politics, also started to gain more fortification. Since it was becoming crystal clear that, owing to military and economic encumbrances, an exhausted Soviet Union was looking to call off the Cold War. In this regard the experts of international relations maintain that the international roles are not designated in the metaphysical or abstract form. Rather they are a certain kind of reactions from the key players to the

highly significant developments ever taking place in the global political structure. So the United States, being the largest economy and the most powerful military power in the world, was well prepared for new hegemonic role in the international power politics (Krauthammer, 1990).

On the other hand, an antithesis may also be drawn. Since, despite all the rosy suppositions and miscalculations, the most prominent feature of the post-Cold War world system was its unipolar structure under the hegemonic role of the United States. The supremacy of this sole superpower was based on its worldwide colossal military presence as well as uncontested diplomatic, political and economic strength. The US was capable to materialize and certify itself as to be the most powerful and decisive player in all sort of international affairs. Moreover, almost all the key stakeholders demonstrating international significance; including the cold war rival, Russia; were ready to play a subordinate role in this era of the “New World Order”.

The first trail of the American preeminence emerged in the War of the Persian Gulf, where it took control over the entire situation with an extraordinary swiftness. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait raised an opportunity for the United States to ascertain itself, may be inadvertently, as the unopposed hegemonic power in unipolar structure of the global political system. Baghdad, like the other client states of the bipolar edifice, looked towards the Soviet support; but Moscow could add nothing in practical to the words for negotiation and peaceful resolution of the conflict. Since, Russia itself was aiming to get readily aligned with the drive of the unipolar moment from the United States and its Western allies.

#### **4.3 The Iraq War and the Unipolar World System**

It is believed that the first and undoubtedly one of the most significant developments of Post-Cold War era was the eruption of the First Iraq War in early 1990s. The Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990 and captured the tiny state without any substantial resistance from the opposition. The invasion and annexation of Kuwait by the Iraqi forces was strongly condemned by the international community at the public and institutional levels. This worldwide formal censure was immediately followed by the severe economic sanctions against Iraq.

The US and other members of the United Nations Security Council were highly inflexible in their stance to punish the aggressor. As mentioned earlier that initially, the United States and its allies advised Saddam Hussein from the platform of the United Nations to ensure immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the tiny Gulf state, Kuwait (Freedman, 1991). However, the obstinate behavior of Saddam Hussein further complicated the issue. The dictatorial regime of Iraq could not rightly estimate the unembellished response of the US and the international community. Consequently, the entire region was pushed into a devastating turmoil.

During the coming weeks it was becoming crystal clear that the Iraqi dictator had no intentions to show veneration to the sovereignty of its fellow state. Moreover, Saddam failed to pay attention towards the aspirations of the international community, to solve the issue through diplomatic means. The frustration of the international community was getting deeper and deeper with every passing day. On the one hand, all diplomatic channels were being utilized by the Arab world, the UN as well as the global community.

On the other hand, a huge military buildup by the United States and its allies were exercised in the region. Subsequently, as a final warning, in November 1990, a period of six weeks was offered to Saddam Hussain to pull out all his troops from the besieged Kuwait (Ehrlich, 1992). This cautionary advice was officially communicated to the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussain, by the United Nations Security Council through its well-known 678 resolution<sup>89</sup> (Weston, 1991).

Subsequently, the President of the United States, George H. W. Bush sent the American forces to Saudi Arabia. An aerial assault was launched by the US led collation forces against Iraq on January 17, 1991 (Cordesman, 2013). This aerial attack was followed by a ground battle that was started on 23<sup>rd</sup> of February, to push the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. The coalition armed forces got a decisive victory over Iraqi troops in liberating Kuwait from their siege in just a few weeks. Although, the Iraqi troops tried to pose some resistance, but it was not enough to defuse such a massive assault launched by the highly advanced armies from thirty-nine countries which were comprehensively equipped with the most lethal kind of weapons (Ehrlich, 1992).

The war in the Persian Gulf was highly significant due to a number of specific as well as general attributes. The geopolitical worth of the region can be easily indicated by the fact that the US, as a hegemonic power of the world, was prepared to actively involve its thousands of ground troops in the area. However, to a number of commentators, the most

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<sup>89</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 678 was adopted on November 29, 1990. This resolution was passed after reaffirming a number of resolutions (660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 667, 669, 670, 674 and 677; all in 1990). The SC noted that despite all the UN efforts, Iraq continued to defy the Security Council. By invoking Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the UNSC also offered Iraq one final chance to implement Resolution 660 (1990) which demanded that Iraq must withdraw its forces unconditionally from Kuwait to the positions of August 1, 1990. In its 678 Resolution, the SC gave time to Iraq until January 15, 1991 to withdraw from Kuwait. Otherwise 678 empowered coalition states to use "all necessary means" to force Iraq out of Kuwait after the deadline. This was the first legal authorization by the UNSC for a War.

important aspect of this battle was the timings in terms of the critical occurrences on the global political theater (Kettle, 2016). The Iraq war was highly momentous in the history of international political order; since the bipolar drama was over and United States found itself in a position to establish its hegemonic role in the entire world.

Moreover, the Iraq war also provided a remarkable opportunity to the sole super power of the world to demonstrate its first practical manifestation of diplomatic, political and military exhibition of the US lead Unipolar World Order. The next vital feature of this war could be characterized as it was the first international battle that was waged with the duly sanctioned approval of the UN. It was the first war that started to show the live coverage from the front lines of the battle field. In this regard the American media took the leading position; since its news channel, CNN<sup>90</sup> being one of the most prominent networks to mark the US dominance in electronic media warfare (Cordesman, 2013).

The war in the Persian Gulf was equally significant for the European nations. In the post-Cold War scenario, they found themselves in a totally different international political environment. Those from the Eastern tire of the continent, after their decade's long affiliation with communism, had to realign themselves with the liberal hegemonic order of the United States. The Western European states were also passing through a kind of muddle regarding the future world system. Since the Cold War was over and its arms race of devastating nuclear weapons and Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) was being replaced by the new kind of military doctrines. Even powerful countries like the

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<sup>90</sup> CNN (Cable News Network) is an American news-based television channel owned by Turner Broadcasting System. CNN was founded in 1980 by American media proprietor Ted Turner as a 24-hour cable news channel. Upon its launch, CNN was the first television channel to provide round the clock news coverage, and was the first all-news television channel in the United States.

UK seemed to adopt the dogma of “smaller but better” forces (Kettle, 2016). This notion was predominantly intended to be implemented in the context of the Eastern Europe.

At the same time, voices were also raised about the fate as well as future role and task of the NATO, as in the absence of Soviet bloc, to some, such an enormous military alliance seemed to be of no vital use. Hence, it is argued that in terms of their post-Cold War military doctrines; the outbreak of Iraq War brought about few challenges and more prospects for the European powers to adjust themselves in line with the new orientation of the global power politics. It can also be maintained that the United Kingdom; in this context, sent around 45,000 troops to Iraq which was the largest deployment of its personnel since the end of WW-II (Kettle, 2016).

It is worth mention that Iraq had been a close partner of the Russian alliance during much of the Cold War era. Therefore, it was quite natural that Baghdad had a history of unpromising relations with Washington. The main reason behind thesees soar relations was due to the staunch Iraqi position on Israeli–Palestinian conflict and its criticism on the Egypt and Israel peace process (Cole, 2009). In addition, the US also had the allegations against Iraq that it was supporting the militant groups in the region.

However, in the course of the Iran and Iraq conflict during the 1980s; Washington, first covertly and then somewhat openly, started to support Baghdad against Tehran (Borer, 2003). The US not only announced to establish its full diplomatic relations with Iraq, but it also removed Baghdad from the Washington’s list of State Sponsors of Terrorism. A former US Assistant Secretary of Defense, Noel Koch, later on indisputably accepted that without any doubt Iraq had been consistently involved in terrorism (Gugliotta, Babcock,

Weisner & Shackleford, 1990). Despite these critical observations and serious grievances, the main reason for Iraqi assistance from the US was just to enhance its capability to succeed in the war against its neighboring rival Iran (Borer, 2003).

Besides the above mentioned facts; another one of the most important aspects of the Gulf War was the reshaped response of the Soviet Union to the post-Cold War emerging situation. The renewed behavior of Moscow towards Washington was highly significant; generally at the global level and particularly in respect of the Middle East. However, owing to the proxies of the Cold War era, this redesigned policy of Russia towards the US was looked with suspicious eyes from various circles (Simmons, 2008). Therefore, the so called skepticism of the Soviet Union along with the role it might have played in adaptation of the “New World Order” was an essential part of the debate in the American camp. Moreover, unambiguously its part in the Persian Gulf crisis had also been one of the main themes of dialogues at several forums (Simmons, 2008).

Likewise, the Chairman of the US Senate Intelligence Committee, Senator David Boren<sup>91</sup> expressed his concerns about the Soviet’s role in the Middle East by saying that in the waning hours of the Persian Gulf crises there may be a long-term regional agenda behind the peace gambit of the Soviet President Gorbachev (Reich & Gotowicki, 1994). This clandestine plan may severely hamper the goals and interests of multinational coalition under the leadership of United States in the region. Senator David Boren also emphatically described the submissive behavior of Soviet Union for extending full

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<sup>91</sup> David Lyle Boren, a famous American politician who served as the 21st governor of Oklahoma from 1975 to 1979. He also remained the 13th president of the University of Oklahoma. Moreover, David Lyle Boren was also an active member of the Democratic Party of the US. He served as a senator of the United States for three terms from 1979 to 1994.

support to the US; as "mischievous" and as constituting a "diplomatic end run" (Reich & Gotowicki, 1994).

According to some of the experts of international relation, the Gulf Crisis of early 1990s was highly significant in terms of bilateral relations between Russia and the United States. The first manifestation of these reshaped ties came in the form of a joint statement, released by the two nations on January 29, 1991 in which both sides reiterated their commitments to the United Nations resolutions for the peaceful settlement of disputes. They also validated their unanimity upon supporting the efforts of coalition to end Iraqi occupation of Kuwait (Antelmi, 2014). In this regard the Soviet president, Gorbachev was facing a strong opposition for his allegedly pro-US policy. In response to such allegations, Gorbachev decided to launch diplomatic offensives by sending his envoy and Middle East adviser twice to Baghdad to lobby for a conciliatory solution of the issue at the earliest.

On the other hand the ambassadors of Soviet Union in the capitals of Gulf States were reportedly conveying the messages to Moscow that the Soviet reputation in the Arab world was at an all-times lowest level in the region (Antelmi, 2014). There was a dominant perception that to save Iraq from the impending disaster was the only way to restore the Soviet's prestige in the Arab world. However, the already under pressure Gorbachev knew that neither he himself nor his country, in that critical situation, had the capability to do any such thing of great substance. Hence, the entire diplomatic efforts regarding the Iraq Crisis proved to be useless; and the coalition forces were ultimately given a go ahead to launch military operation against Iraq.

Addressing the concerns of some key players in the region, several justifications were given by the US, UK and the United Nations for their involvement in the Gulf conflict (Gray, 2002). The most significant of these validations were; the violation of territorial integrity of Kuwait by the Iraqi dictator. Moreover, as a close ally and a key oil supplier to the US; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) had a great geopolitical importance for the American interests in the region (Reich & Gotowicki, 1994).

During his speech to the joint session of the Congress on September 11, 1990; the American President George H.W. Bush; while giving the reasons for the assault on Iraq, claimed that within just a couple of days, Iraq had captured Kuwait. Moreover, 120,000 Iraqi troops backed by heavy artillery and 850 tanks, had also moved towards the south to threaten Saudi Arabia. Therefore, it had become an unavoidable task for the United States and its allies to respond in a befitting manner to check that aggression; since, Saudi Arabia was a key strategic partner of the US in the Gulf (Bush, 1990).

On the other hand, the intelligence and military sources of the US had proclaimed that through satellite pictures they had observed a dense military buildup of Iraqi forces along the Iraq-Saudi border (Watson, 1991). However, it is worth mention that later the authenticity of most of this information were bitterly criticized and declared as highly questionable. In addition, the Iraqi history of human rights abuses under President Saddam Hussein was also declared as one of the strongest justifications for foreign involvement in the conflict. During the Iran–Iraq War; the Iraqi act of using biological and chemical weapons against Iranian troops and also against its own Kurdish population

in the Al-Anfal Campaign<sup>92</sup> was also framed as a plea for the American intervention (Kettle, 2016). Above all, it was claimed that Iraq had a nuclear weapons program, which was totally unacceptable for the United States and its key allies in the region as well as in the world.

Although the Operation against the Iraqi forces was concluded in just 43 days after the offensive was launched. By 28<sup>th</sup> of February 1991, almost all the major military objectives were completely achieved (Kettle, 2016). However, the crucial decisions of not to capture Baghdad, and to arrest or kill the Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein, were left inconclusive. Since, these decisions had significant ramifications for the coming years. It can be argued that the main objectives behind this critical move of sticking only to the restrictions of the UN mandate in resolution 678 were connected to the US goals for implementing the “New World Order” of liberal institutionalism.

It can be contended to state that if the coalition partners, who themselves went to the war on the plea of upholding the international law, had captured Baghdad or killed Saddam; they would have been instantly blamed for breaking the same law. Hence the future of the newly born global political order would have been seriously at stake and also subject to severe criticism from various circles (Kettle, 2016).

However, the high sounding slogans of so the called liberty and equality at the global level could not last more than just a decade or so. The claims for building the cohesive

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<sup>92</sup> In 1988 the Iraqi government, under the regime of Saddam Hussein launched a military campaign against the Kurdish population residing in northern Iraq. In a number of operations from February to September that year, the Iraqi forces used both conventional and chemical weapons against the citizens of Kurdish villages. As a result hundreds of thousands of people died or faced injuries. Others were executed in the raids, transported to prison camps, their homes were looted and entire villages were burned to the ground. Many of the people were starved and detained in inhumane conditions.

international approach, and respect for international law and transnational institutions, were themselves undone by the United States and its partner the United Kingdom in the next Iraq War in 2003. The two Western powers attacked Iraq without acquiring the mandate of the UNSC. They also ignored the concerns of closer NATO allies like, France and Germany. Nor they bothered to win the regional support for this highly controversial operation that severely damaged the reputations of the two powers, particularly that of the United States in the region and all across the world (Murphy, 2006).

#### **4.4 The American Imperialist Designs in the Unipolar World**

It is argued that Imperialism<sup>93</sup> is very much foundational to the origins, form, and normative basis of international relations. Since, as a result of the usual inequalities of power among the states; hence, their respective positions remain subject to the highly uneven and exploitative international system. Famous scholars like, Branwen Gruffydd Jones (2006) maintains that imperialism is inextricable from the very foundations of modern international relations and also from the dynamics of world order (Jones, 2006).

On the other hand, Julian Saurin (2006) also asserts that the world order continues to be determined largely by imperialism. If imperialism, predominantly communicated as colonialism, was the foundation of world order in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or even earlier; so international or interstate relations became the foundation of world order in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Saurin, 2006). According to him the history of international power politics

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<sup>93</sup> Imperialism is generally a state policy or practice of extending its power and dominion. This expansionist strategy can be executed by direct territorial acquisition or by gaining political and economic control over the policies or natural resources of other states. Quite clearly it always involves the use of power, whether in soft or hard form. Imperialism has often been considered as unacceptable, since it is frequently employed in international propaganda against the foreign policy of an opponent state.

obviously indicate that most of world powers attempted to implement their imperial designs in their respective regions or even in entire world. During the past couple of centuries, the powerful players like; the United Kingdom, France, Russia and Japan; all have tried to implement their offshore imperial designs (Saurin, 2006).

Therefore, it can be stated that for United States it was quite natural to follow the same lines and it may work for the instrumentation of its own imperial agenda, particularly during the unipolar world order. However, in a critical discourse of the American imperialist designs; the primary focus needs to be aimed at the role of the US it has been playing in the modern world. This critical role is not related only to the academic analysis of its foreign policy in a conventional sense; rather it needs to assert special efforts for attaining a deeper understanding of that role in practical terms. In this regard the first problem is that of definition of the phenomena of Imperialism. The term can be employed with a wide range of meanings that can certainly be upsetting for the scholars of the discipline (Burman, 1991).

At the first stage; in transnational politics there is always some connotation of one state having been overwhelmingly dominated by another powerful state. On the other hand, the term can be confined to those perplexed situations which are characterized by the complete possession, formally declared as the colony of the dominant state. However, broadly speaking; away from involving in the formal domination of states, as it was in the classical perspective; the manipulations of free market by the great powers may also be characterized as a new form of dominance. Hence, in the modern world; imperialism can encompass wide ranging traditional and contemporary forms of exploitations. Therefore, prior to discussing the worldwide hegemonic role of the United States in the unipolar

world; it is certainly imperative to understand that the term, imperialism, is highly inclusive and open to a number of interpretations.

Thus, the scholars of international politics need to be additionally watchful in their pronouncement to whether the US role in the global political affairs, especially in the post-cold war era, is described as imperialist or not. It should not be the case that America's role in the global political affairs ought to necessarily be described as that of an imperialist power. Perhaps some of the scholars; like Stephan Burman (1991) believe that it does not matter a great deal that either the United States is declared as an imperialist power or not. Since it is a highly critical question; and the act of labeling the sole super power in the unipolar world as an imperial power may be guided by a sense of manipulating the meaning of the term to produce the desired answer. Therefore, it may be advisable that primarily the issue of imperialism is addressed from the angle of an historical perspective.

In the debate about imperialism in a literal sense; that of predominantly making the other nations as colonies; the history of international politics does not illustrate adequate evidence regarding the United States to qualify it as a substantial imperial power. It is pertinent to mention that the existence of the US itself was the result of an anti-colonial revolution that came to symbolize the idea of freedom as emancipation from the colonialism of the medieval era (Burman, 1991, pp. 24). Therefore, since the Post- World War II era; after acquiring a dominant role in global politics, with all its potential for transnational dominance that would have amounted to imperialism; the United States did not choose to follow the conventional imperialist enterprises. In this context Burman

argues that the US might have also faced some serious dilemmas, by following the expansionist and imperialist designs (Burman, 1991).

On the contrary, Appleman Williams (1972) has categorically claimed that the US has always been an expansionist as well as an imperialist power. He argues that during the first phase of its history, expansionism by the United States was in the form of extending the frontier within North American continent, mostly through the use of violence against the weaker nations. Later on, the same impulse was evident in the American expansionist designs of the overseas frontiers.

However, in this phase instead of grabbing the foreign lands and the formal acquisition of colonies; generally, the method of an informal extension of the use of power and influence over other countries was exercised by the US. Hence, both these periods could be referred to as the display of two unlike yet the defining characteristics of the same impulse of the American aspirations of empire building. It can be argued that the heart of these imperial ambitions and the basis of the continuity of American policy is its capitalist economic system. With the help of this system the policy-makers around the world are subjected to its imperative for growth if stability was to be preserved (Williams & Gardner, 1986).

The most important question arises that on the basis of its highly dominant role, whether the USA justifies to be labeled as imperialist power; and the international system be characterized as imperialist order. Once again, analytical perspective demands that the issue must not be steered towards the literal meaning of the term. Rather, the subject must be addressed by keeping in view the level of coercion involved in maintaining the sphere

of influence in various regional issues and the internal matters of other countries all over the world. Analyzing the role by this parameter, it can be asserted that yes the USA is certainly an imperial power (Aron, 1982).

However, it is pertinent to mention that while interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries; the sphere of influence and sway demonstrated by the US; surely not in all but in many cases, has been maintained through a degree of consensus and legitimacy (Aron, 1982). The policy makers of the US, along with so many scholars of international repute, believe that in the case of absolute independence with complete equality involved, inter-states relations would imply a degree of disorder, eventually amounting to the situation of global anarchy (Burman, 1991).

On the other hand, there would be a situation of hegemony in international system; whereby the most powerful state, having achieved supremacy but is trying to maintain stability through a degree of consensus, particularly among some of the regional powers. In this context the status of the United States in the unipolar world system, surely comes closest to that of a hegemonic power. However, the term 'Hegemony' may sometimes be easily used as a synonym for imperialism.

#### **4.5 The American Global Strategy of the “War on Terror”**

During the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the United States and its partners were able to enjoy a highly desirable period of prosperity and tranquility. The Cold War rivalry between the Capitalist and Communist blocks was over; and practically there were potential competitors or adversaries to the US led liberal hegemonic order. However, during this era some non-state actors and terrorist groups were taking strong roots around

the world. The most challenging of these radical extremist groups that threaten the world peace was Al-Qaeda<sup>94</sup>, having vicious anti-American designs, and had its footholds in dozens of countries around the world.

Consequently, the nasty intentions of these global terrorist networks culminated in the devastating September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington, D.C. These terrorist attacks jolted the entire international political order. However, it is believed that in reaction to this catastrophic incident; the US caught the opportunity of new prospects; on the one hand to defy the radical terrorist groups, on the other hand to establish and further strengthening its supremacy all over the world, particularly in Asia (Tellis, 2004).

The US president, Bush had already entered the White House with a resolve to secure the American supremacy upon the emerging major power centers, like China (Bush, 2002). However, very soon the administration found itself in a confronting situation against a worldwide insurgency. In the months following the September 11 attacks, the United States and its allies were able to vehemently expel the Taliban regime and its Al-Qaeda sponsors from Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Hence, the US, for the first time, marked its success in expanding the geopolitical footholds and military cooperation, in Central and South Asia.

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<sup>94</sup> Al-Qaeda, in the beginning, emerged as a logistic network to support jihadist (Muslim fighters) against the Soviet Union during the Afghan War. It recruited members from all over the Muslim world for the Afghan Jihad. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, the organization dispersed. However, it continued its basic cause to oppose the allegedly corrupt regimes in the Islamic world. Al-Qaeda also opposed the foreign presence, particularly that of the US in Muslim countries. In early 1990s, the group operated from Sudan, but eventually reestablished its command and control in Afghanistan after the establishment of Taliban regime in Kabul in 1996. With the passage of time a number of other sister organizations also merged in Al-Qaeda and it established training camps for the militants from all over the world. Its leaders had declared holy war against the US and destroyed its embassies in different countries. On September 11 2001, the Al-Qaeda militants attacked the World Trade Center in the US. The U.S. lead coalition forces launched attacks on Taliban and the al-Qaeda networks in Afghanistan. Since then thousands of terrorists have been captured or killed by the American forces all over the world.

However, in the next phase of “war on terror”, after being unsuccessful in seeking the United Nations mandate, the US and its ally, the UK; attacked and hastily defeated Saddam Hussein and his armed forces in Iraq. Unlike the operation in Afghanistan no other major power; including the United Nations, neither approved nor supported the attack on Iraq. Instead millions of people in more than sixty countries and 600 cities, protested against this attack with placards displaying “Say no to War” (Jeffery, 2003). Even, more than one and a half million people came on the London streets to join the biggest anti-war public rally in the British history (Jeffery, 2003).

However, on the plea of the so called “weapons of mass destruction” the United States, without bothering the world opinion, unilaterally decided to inflict war on Iraq. It is worth mention that only the Great Britain was at the back of this attack. The Bush administration also blamed Saddam to have close contacts with Al-Qaeda (Pfiffner, 2018). However, the American attack on Iraq in 2003 has been marked, by many analysts, as the demonstration of Unilateralism by the United States in the modern world (Kramer & Michalowski, 2005).

Beyond the challenges postured by terrorist networks like Al-Qaeda and its cooperatives; there were some added dangers to the evolving world order in the post 9/11 era. The upshots of weaker and failed states were the source of disturbance for the geopolitical environment of Asia in general and the Middle East in particular. In unison the news regarding proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) were consistently aired by the Western media, to malign those who were not fully aligned with the sole super power of the world. A kind of environment was constructed in which the nexus of terrorist networks, rouge elements and WMDs were displayed as the terrible challenge to

the world peace and stability. It is pertinent to mention that some of the commentators believed that perhaps the United States waged the “war on terror” against the backdrop of more traditional geo-political concerns, than the evidently publicized goals (Tellis, 2004).

The United States had the realization, since long ago, about the strategic importance of Asia for global stability and economic growth. However, the continuously evolving political, economic, and military developments in the region were posing new as well as critical kind of challenges to the authorities in the United States (Scalapino, 1990). The rise of China, as a regional power and the ever growing struggle of Russia to regain its prestige and ultimately to resume a leading global role; were indicative of tectonic shifts in geopolitical structure of Asia. In this context, the emergence of terrorist groups in the region, as significant actors, further convoluted the dynamics of international power politics; especially for the US which was already eyeing at several critical issues in Asia.

However, scholars like Ashley J. Tellis (2004) argued that transnational terrorism did not essentially swapped or even transformed the traditional concerns of international politics. Rather, terrorist groups have been more or less successful in establishing their relevance in the international politics; and terrorism as phenomena equally subsists on the global political theater. It is generally believed that Washington has been able to manage these complicated challenges with partial success. Nonetheless, the US needed to pay greater attention towards seeking legitimacy for its role at the global level along with larger efforts for protecting the economic foundations of its power. The kind of challenges that the US has been facing since last decade were anticipated by Tellis (2004) the following words. He says:

“Failing to do so or waging a poorly defined war against all, carries the risk of far-reaching economic and political reverberations that may, in the not-too-distant future, enervate the United States, undermine its legitimacy as the sole superpower, and gradually erode continued American dominance in the world order” (2004: p.5).

Basically, during the “war on terror” the United States had to confront some typical experimentation at the foreign policy level. It had to face the intersection of two interlocking but highly critical challenges. On the one hand, the US has to demonstrate its resilience in the prosecution of the war against terrorism. On the other hand, it has to establish the preeminence of its power throughout the world.

It is worth mention that the Bush administration entered the office with a manifesto and commitment to more explicitly manage the rise of potential adversaries and competitors in Asia (Juhasz, 2014). However, the administration would only be rated partially effective in its conduct of the war on terrorism. Since, it was considered to be unsuccessful in reducing the sympathizers of worldwide terrorist groups and in avoiding the damaging effects on America’s long-term position particularly in Asia and generally in other parts of the world.

The US strategy of “war on terror” can be questioned in multiple perspectives. First, whether the United States has been successful in accurately identifying the terrorist threat in Asia? Second, whether the Bush administration was able to craft an effective policy of response, not only to confront but also to address the root causes of the radical Islamist elements. A deeper analysis of the core issues may result in negative. Therefore, for any successful and grand strategy to defeat terrorism; the United States ought to have

re-examined its policy in the Middle East. Moreover, Washington needed to have paid special attention to the political issues in rest of the turbulent regions of the world in general but particularly in Asia (Tellis, 2004).

#### **4.6 The United States as Hegemonic or a Hyper-Power**

The expert of international politics like; David Calleo (2005) predominantly believe that during the past few decades, the US foreign policy has been repeatedly fluctuating between the declinism and the hegemonic triumphalism (p, 1). The latter phenomenon is certainly associated with the underlying belief that owing to the ever increasing trends of integration, the world has headed towards a unipolar system. The existence of this kind of unipolar construction entails that the global structure is oriented to and led by a single military, political, socio-cultural and economic superpower that is none other than the United States. In other words the very phenomenon of triumphalism infers to the American hegemonic role of the world (Calleo, 2005).

On the contrary, there are those who look at the United States with an eye of declinism. Generally they refer to an already acknowledged fact that being the superpower of the world, the US is militarily, politically, economically and also morally overstretched. Hence, in some of the references it may be characterized as even overburdened. The opinion regarding the US of being an overstretched player largely indicates to its wide ranging exertions in attempting to play the role of the world hegemonic power or otherwise a hyper-power (Nossal, 1999).

The association of hegemony and decline has always been a subject of deeper interest for the scholars of international politics. However, the philosophy of declinist school of

thought is chiefly based on the conception of, heading from hegemony to the decline. This idea has indeed been abundantly deliberated in the contemporary world. In the modern day international politics, the subject matter of numerous studies has been to illuminate the unavoidable linkage between the hegemony and the decline of the worldwide super powers.

A leading analyst of the international politics, Paul Kennedy (1987) has extensively elaborated the bond between hegemony and decline. In his well reputed book, 'The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers' Kennedy has argued that surely "decline" has always been the destiny of the hegemon. Since the decline has been the fate of the Napoleonic France, the imperial Britain and many other super powers in the history. Therefore, it may be straightforwardly conceived that the same kind of fate is waiting for the United States in the decades to come (Kennedy, 1987). A broad analysis of the prominent conceptions regarding the "rise" and "fall" of the great powers exposes that the elementary reasons are analogous in almost each case.

The hegemonic powers, obviously are burdened by the heavy military spending, due to their domestic as well as offshore liabilities, subsequently they push themselves to the unavoidable situation of being overstretched. These obligations may be listed too long. Usually the hegemons neglect, then distort themselves and thereby weaken their economies and finally the societies. Generally, the armed forces of hegemons are fatigued by the inconclusive challenges and eventually, all these dents push their militaries to suffer from the receding tides. In such type of crunch situations the societies bitterly suffer from dissatisfaction and distrust upon their institutions. Finally, these great powers may undergo disintegration, as in the case of the former USSR (Kennedy, 1987).

Another very distinguished scholar, Charles Kindleberger, (1986) in his famous work; '*The World in Depression: 1929-1939*', has expressed similar kind of views regarding the weakening hegemons. He maintains that the declining hegemon mostly remains as a victim of a kind of freeriding. For Kindleberger, the act of exercising hegemony means providing public goods to the global political system (Kindleberger, 1986). In Military perspective, the hegemon ultimately holds the responsibility of being as the guardian of security or in other words, maintaining the law and order all over the world.

On the other hand, the hegemon endeavors to maintain the world's economic stability to ensure that the public goods are proportionately shared by all actors throughout the world. However, it is inevitably believed that; over the passage of time, due to the free-riding of hegemon, the beneficiaries of the system grow relatively stronger. In the meanwhile, the overburdened hegemon shrink itself to a relatively weaker position. Sooner or later the hegemon, in comparison to the other rising powers, remains no longer powerful enough to maintain its long-standing supremacy.

On the other hand, in due course of time, the beneficiaries of hegemonic structure ultimately challenge the system, thereby further increasing the burden of hegemony, and eventually hastening its decline. As soon as the hegemony of the super power reaches to the brink of collapse, an era of intermission follows, that is very often a time of troubles and disorder for the whole world (Calleo, 2005). It is suggested that the colossal troubles of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; like the two World Wars and the era of the Great Depression, may perhaps be viewed in the same manner. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century world order, owing to its Imperial immensity and strong economic position the Great Britain had established the

worldwide British hegemonic Empire or the Pax-Britannica.<sup>95</sup> However, in quest of its power maximization and superfluous military engagements in Europe and across the world; eventually Britain had to face the universal phenomena of declinism.

However, at the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Germany introduced itself as the new great powers in the world. It is interesting to note that Berlin had also been extensively benefiting from Britain's liberal world system. By the time Germany had reached to the stage of being capable to challenge the hegemonic power of the Britain; the global giant no longer had the power or resources to firmly suppress those challenges. Eventually, Pax Britannica had to face the declinism.

The World War I had left Great Britain as seriously debilitated. The ever conflicting European powers bitterly incapacitated each other. On the other hand, the United States was ready to occupy the position of a natural beneficiary of the international political environment. The US president, Woodrow Wilson sought to pledge a new era of American hegemony. However, in the pursuit of its isolationist disposition instead of exclusively welcoming the new dynamics; the United States displayed its resistance to hold the flagship hegemonic status. The period of interregnum, as mentioned above, continued for a few decades, particularly till the end of WW-II.

The eras of great depression and World War II were the natural outcomes of declining process of the hegemon. However, under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and in

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<sup>95</sup> Pax Britannica refers to a period of relative peace between the Great Powers during which the British Empire emerged as the global hegemonic power and adopted the role of a "global policeman". This was an era from 1815 to 1914. It is also referred to as Britain's "imperial century". The British stretched to around 10 million square miles. After the defeat of France by the British Empire; it was left without any substantial rival except Russia in the central Asian region. Britain's Royal Navy controlled most of the key maritime trade routes and enjoyed unchallenged sea power.

accordance to the course of international political history; the United States, after playing a key role in the World War II, resumed its natural and benevolent position. Finally, after a reasonable delay, the Pax-Americana<sup>96</sup> flourished substantially to replace the shattering Pax-Britannica that lasted for about a century (Calleo, 2005).

#### **4.7 The Costs of Pax-Americana?**

A number of famous authors from the declinist school of thought have attempted to conscientiously analyze the overridden expenses of America's role in the Cold War. Since, the United States, in the post-World War II era aimed to lift the war trodden Western Europe to promote the Capitalist agenda unto the entire world. The ultimate goal of all these efforts was meant to defeat the Communist ideology. David Calleo (2005) has tried to explore the strategic and political absurdities by the United States during the Cold War military arrangements.

In this regard he has paid special attention to the extended American engagements for both nuclear and conventional deterrence particularly in reference to the Western Europe (Calleo, 2005). Since the early 1950's, United States ought to have lifted the encumbrances of a huge transatlantic military alliance like; the NATO, to adapt to the excessive political, economic and strategic changes in Europe. All these developments are considered to have been the main reason for the excessive American role in Europe.

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<sup>96</sup> Pax-Americana is a Latin phrase used for "American Peace". Historically it modeled after Pax-Romana, Pax Britannica, and Pax-Mongolica. Basically this is a term applied to the impression of relative peace, during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, first in the Western Hemisphere and later in almost the entire world. In its modern inferences; the term Pax-Americana is predominantly used to speak of the era of relative peace among great powers. This period was commenced after the end of World War II in 1945. It is also called the era of Long Peace.

On the other hand, the deep rooted nationalist identities and wide ranging divergences among the European nations, proved to be an obstacle to the ultimate objective of the European integration. Therefore, the exclusive military arrangements in the region were inefficient and somewhat outrageous for the United States. For example, in mid 1980s, the US military spending for the NATO commitment were consuming roughly half of its total defense budget (Calleo, 2005). Hence, the devolution of hegemonic responsibilities of the United States, particularly in Europe, to the Europeans nations, was becoming an urgent as well as unavoidable necessity.

During this era, the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, were not only overstretched in almost all the dynamics of power. Moreover, both of them were also facing severe economic deterioration. Chiefly as a result of their competitive decadence between the two super powers; even well before the end of the Cold War, the Soviet Union was evidently ceasing to be a great economic power. In unison the economic growth and productivity of the United States were also lagging well behind the Western Europe and that of Japan (Calleo, 2005).

These critical developments were quite clearly indicating that the economic status of the United States was facing decline as compared to its own allies. It was a strong indication to describe that the hegemon was facing the decline. Moreover, the fiscal deficit of the US was rapidly ballooning; therefore the American debts graph was also worsening. During the Cold War period the gross American national debts had surged from around US\$ 1 trillion to roughly about US\$ 4 trillion; and they were escalating at the rate of a trillion dollars every four years (Calleo, 2005). It is believed that no other variable can better indicate the economic incompetence of a state than its ever mounting debts.

On the other hand, the American public was unwilling to pay more taxes, because they were essentially getting smaller benefits from the American public sector services as compared to the other rich and developed Western countries. Apart from the lower returns on taxation; the comparatively large defense budget was also one of the major reasons of American economic deterioration. This can be labeled as the nasty link between geopolitics and economic declinism. In other words, actually it was the strong link between the decline of the United States and that of the dire need for devolution of hegemonic responsibilities throughout the world, but particularly in the NATO region.

It is estimated that, during the cold war era, almost half the American defense budget was consumed on maintaining the armed forces which were meant to be looked after for mere sustaining the hegemonic role of the United States in Europe. The act of reorganizing the US role in NATO would have conserved a fair amount of money for the Americans; apart from pushing the European nations toward further integration. This strategy would have been equally fruitful for the Europeans as well as the United States (Higgs, 1988).

It is pertinent to mention that the deficit of American federal budget could not be blamed entirely on the defense expenditure. In other words, it could be improved merely by cutting the defense payments. Rather American fiscal deficits are closely linked to some other causes of transnational geopolitics. One of these chief reasons could be the nature of constitutional incoherence that has allowed a kind of Imperial Presidency, whose strength has generally been tied to external role of the US. It is argued that for the sake of such an Imperial Presidency to get embellished, the authorities in the United States essentially have to look for external threats, and hence a global role. The international engagements like that of the Cold War had been providing such threat perceptions. All

these variables necessarily bid for the Imperial Presidency, external role and ultimately the “overstretched” US obligations (Rudalevige, 2005).

Finally, there was another main reason responsible for the large budget and trade deficits, and ultimately the declinism of the United States. Owing to the hegemonic role throughout the world, the US has been able to shift a good part of the cost to the other states, but as a measure in the short-run. Moreover, the US, over the years has also been trying to work out the various plans of manipulating the dollar which had helped to ease the burden of its external as well as internal fiscal deficits. The practice has proved to be convenient as a short-term remedy, but not a useful solution as a long-term strategy. It also worked as a further twist in the connection between the hegemony and decline. Subsequently, instead of using American political and economic strength to sustain the world system, it was using the world to sustain the United States; which earned the title of an exploitative hegemon in decline (Calleo, 2005).

#### **4.8 The American Hegemonic Triumphalism**

It can be argued that undoubtedly, the US faced severe trade and economic challenges in the era of bipolar world order. However, during the early 1990s, owing to the collapse of Communism and disintegration of the Soviet Union; the declinist arguments for the US were getting overtaken by the American triumphalism. One of the most shaking earthquakes at the global political theater ie the collapse of Soviet Union brought about the US to emerge as the prodigious winner of the Cold War and the sole super power of the world. The US got the prestige of being the world’s greatest military power; and it started to enjoy the delights of an extraordinary turn around in its off-colored economy.

It is quite understandable that in those unprecedented situations of the 1990's, the American triumphalism was reasonably natural. These exceptional circumstances of American triumphalism provided the opportunity to its elites to start articulating their vision of unipolarity for the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order. The key characteristic of this vision was the presence of an all-out integrated system at the global level, ready to support the United States as being the sole hegemonic power of the world.

It can also be argued that the post-Soviet American unipolar enterprises have surfaced, since the early 1990's, in two distinct types of models. The first model was associated to the US designs of being an economic superpower, as forwarded by the Bill Clinton administration. The second model was that of being the military superpower of the world, as promoted by the Bush regime (Calleo, 2005). It is worth mention that despite the apparent strength of the United States, each model has revealed stark vulnerabilities of its hegemony. President Clinton aimed to make the United States as the global economic champion of advanced industries and best social services. However, he could actually manage to balance the federal budget primarily by radical cuts in the defense expenditure; and that too was possible mainly due to the end of the Cold War. Statistics can simply reveal that the cuts in American defense budget were actually initiated by the George H W Bush administration (Henderson, 2015).

It is worth mention that the Bill Clinton's economic boom, instead of securing appreciation, was still marked by the traditional attributes of degradation from an exploiting hegemon, already in decline. Therefore, despite the fact of recording a huge drop in defense budget due to the favorable conclusion of the Cold War; the United States continued its customary practices of absorbing the global economy; or in other

words consuming more than it was actually producing. Hence, the oversized current account deficit of the United States had to look for the massive infusions from the offshore credit financing means.

At the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there was another substantial turn in the domestic and foreign policies of the US. There came the era of Bush (junior) administration (2001-2008), whose taxation and budgetary policies pushed America back in the familiar declinist posture. The overall volume of current account deficit and entire need for foreign credit turned out to be greater than ever before (Calleo, 2005). A general perception prevailed that in effect, the Chinese and the Japanese, started to manipulate the fate of dollar instead of the US itself. This was perhaps a strong sense of apprehension for a unipolar superpower due to its fragile economic foundation. However, by this time the traditional declinist warnings, as in the era of the Cold War, had to face some new challenges; since the euro was posing tough rivalry to the dollar.

Among all these declinist and triumphalist debates; during the post 9/11 world system, the Bush (junior) administration, in a highly aggressive mode, redefined the American global assignment in military terms. George W Bush not only demonstrated to be a “wartime president” setting the goal for him; but he also expressed resilience of his country to fight the “global war on terrorism”. It can be argued that the main motive behind this war on terror strategy was to get a kind of legitimacy for the American interference at anytime and anywhere against anyone in the world.

The additional vigorous stance of this scheme was further bolstered by an even more aggressive doctrine of “preemptive” strikes (Tellis, 2004, p.59) or the “preventive war”

(Tellis, 2004, p. 79)<sup>97</sup> against any actor. Apparently the doctrine of preventive strike was aimed to seek a kind of license against those who wanted to acquire the so called weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). In other words, such strikes would also be the fate of those who were trying to grow as potential threats to the American interests. Such strikes also aimed to target, the American internal and external security challenges, and above all its global political agenda of predominance. The same kind of unilateral privileges were also readily offered to the closer allies of the United States around the world (Tellis, 2004).

Generally it is believed that the American stance of redefining the notions of its security was highly expensive as well as inexplicit for the US itself and also its allies. The American agenda of “global war on terror”; in its hegemonic mode, seemed all right till it was directed to the punishment of Al-Qaida and its sponsors, the Taliban in Afghanistan. However, the closer NATO allies like France and Germany demonstrated that they were exhausted of the American inconclusive agenda of global dominance. Particularly, subsequent to the decision of the United States and its closer ally the United Kingdom; to invade Iraq in 2003, in order to punish it on the plea of so called “Weapons of Mass Destruction”. All at once, the situation was further augmented by a kind of radical transformation in America's approach toward its closer allies and the long standing alliances (Gordon, 2003).

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<sup>97</sup> Preventive war occurs when a state launches a military conflict to prevent another state or other international actor from becoming a threat. This type of war differs from the more typical situation in which states go to war after a period of crisis or as a reaction to a particular event. Preventive wars are not in response to a specific crisis or direct threat to security, but rather to a perception of a potential change in the future balance of power between a state and its likely adversaries. Preventive war differs as well from preemptive war, in which a state attacks in order to disrupt an enemy about to attack first. The difference between prevention and preemption is often a blurred one, but preemption always occurs just before the outbreak of hostilities and is directed against an enemy clearly in the process of preparing an attack, whereas prevention can occur during times of relative peace.

The US administration seriously started to think upon the fact that its traditional partners were emerging as elements of hindrance to the American global political designs. Instead of supporting the American manifesto in enhancing its national power at the global level; these allies were discouraging the US in achieving its transnational goals. Therefore, the Bush government proclaimed that such partners can and should be ignored, particularly in highly critical decisions. Hence, the United States ignored the resentment of its NATO allies while attacking Iraq in a quest for forcefully de-seating its regime (Gordon, 2003).

At the same time the American preoccupation with its own unipolar fantasy and the European grand vision have correspondingly crowded out the interests of the two major players; particularly that of the United States. It is argued that the US has hardly ever appreciated the progress of Europe for the prodigious opportunities it has been offering to the overall advancement of the West. Rather, some of the scholars believe that it is resented by the US (Calleo, 2005). This conflict of interests can lead to a situation of grave danger for the United States as well as Europe. Since the dreams of Europe and America may end up in a struggle for defeating each other; that could surely be a fatal tragedy for the West in particular and for the world in general.

Scholars of international politics may find the liberty to appraise that behind the American defiance, particularly while attacking Iraq in 2003, was its belief of establishing worldwide military omnipotence. It is pertinent to mention that owing to the Soviet military deterrence such an ambitious phenomenon hardly ever existed during the Cold War period. Although, defeating Iraq and eliminating its dictatorial regime could not posture any substantial challenge to the American hegemonic muscle; even then the dispute has helped to be as an eye opener for the political thinkers and the US itself.

From the mid-2000s; the dynamics of global politics turned so extensively that all the key players including the United States have to realize that things have evolved in different attire. Perhaps, for the United States, the most important lesson from the Iraq war could be the realization that Washington needed allies and, more broadly, the consent and sanctification of the world community. It is argued that in effect, from the Iraq war the considerably arrogant US has learned an expensive lesson about the complexities of the real world, predominantly in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the post-Cold War scenario, for the first time, the United States ought to have understood that “a real world that is plural rather than unipolar” (Calleo, 2005, p. 8).

The United States, in the post Iraq War period, had to deal with a number of restless Muslim societies from the Fareast to the coast of Atlantic, Indonesia to Morocco. These societies have a number of decades-long unresolved political disputes like; Rohingya, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Palestine, Syria etc. Majority of the people in all these regions look toward the United States to play a decisive role for the solution of these long standing issues; and ultimately the mitigation of their enormous miseries. However, unfortunately in all these areas of unrest; the US is considered as more a part of the problem; rather than a part of the solution.

On the other hand United States has to face the challenge of the rapidly rising economic and military powers like; China, the EU, Japan and Russia. Eventually, the hallucination of the American led unipolar hegemonic world cultivated to be increasingly implausible and also comparatively dysfunctional. All together apprehensions were shown that unipolar consensus in the world, which has triumphed since the disintegration of Soviet Union, was destined to crumble. It can be stated that the attack on Iraq has brought back

the United States and Europe to a kind of competing if not conflicting environment, heralding for the ideals of hegemony from one side and the pursuit for balance of power from the other side.

Since long a number of voices have been very frequently hovering that the imbalance nature of the unipolar world order categorically demands the rebalancing act of the global system. The rapidly rising players are stretching muscles to achieve their due course of share in the dynamics of international power politics. The actors meant for the balance of power, particularly the friendly balancer like EU, are also definitely needed. Their presence is not only desirable to check and redefine the exercise of power by the hegemonic player in the world; but also to protect the international system from total disorder. Such a catastrophic disorder may result from a terrible conflict between the existing and the emerging super powers, especially the US and China. Perhaps such kind of awareness regarding the American limits could be the essence of declinism.

#### **4.9 The Unipolar System on the Go?**

As already mentioned in this research that the term, “unipolar moment” was introduced by the media soon after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. However, it gained substantial popularity in the aftermath of decisive victory of the US lead coalition forces, over the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein and the expulsion of his occupying forces from Kuwait in early 1991. Subsequently, the US President George H. W. Bush toned up the American supremacy in the entire world and further announced the beginning of an era of “New World Order”.

It was categorically proclaimed that the upcoming era of NWO would be based on multilateralism along with social, political and economic cooperation to yield prosperity and harmony at the international level. However, the sanctity of these high sounding pledges remained questionable during the years to come. Some of the scholars, in the post-Cold war era, had initially anticipated that the upcoming world would be multipolar. Even some impartial American analysts, like Krauthammer (1990), were careful not to take unipolarity for granted.

There was another prominent assessment regarding the unipolarity, which declared it as an “illusion.” As in international politics it is generally acknowledged that the quest for balance of power, or in other words the propensity of states to band together for the sake of challenging the supremacy of a hegemon, is quite natural as well as inevitable. It is therefore, argued that, unipolarity is proving to be rather short lived; though, one may not precisely assess that when it might end. However, the definition of unipolarity from William Wohlforth (2009) is highly significant; since he described it as a decisive superiority in all the underlying components of power particularly that of geopolitical, economic, military and technological (Ikenberry, Mastanduno & Wohlforth, 2009).

It is pertinent to mention that the most crucial word in the Wohlforth’s definition has to be “decisive.” Amitav Acharya (2018) also maintains that the United States is likely to remain as the most powerful military player in the world for quite some time. However, the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the kind of resistance to the US from its NATO allies, have categorically illustrated that the superior military power does not necessarily translate to absolute geopolitical influence. Besides, superior military power is considered as one of the most significant requirements for unipolar stability in the

world. On the other hand, the picture of the US economy is stated to be even less rosy than its geopolitical influence in the world.

Various analysts have categorically expressed their stance that unipolarity would not face the most severe challenge from the competing actors like China, Russia and others. Rather the American unipolar fantasy would be marred by the old-fashioned isolationism of traditional conservatives in the United States. During the reign of George W. Bush administration they were the neo-cons who dominated the foreign policy in quest of their intentions for pushing towards an aggressive agenda of Pax-Americana. Some of the well-known analysts believe that paradoxically their unilateralist approach has hastened the course of American actions and eventually the international politics towards a situation where the unipolar moment seems to be on the go (Krauthammer, 2002). It is also stated that as a result of the George W. Bush articulated policies, predominantly comprising of the lethal combination between the hegemonic unipolarity and nonstop unilateralism, which have played a key role in hustling the end of highly cherished unipolar moment of the United States (Acharya, 2018).

It is also believed that the fear regarding the perception that the real challenge to unipolarity might be America's failure to do enough, hardly remained visionary. The real threat to the American lead unipolar world order has not been categorically erupting from the notion of doing too little for the world by the hegemon, but doing too much, and that too unilaterally across the globe. Therefore, it can be stated that the main reason for the end of unipolarity would not be resulted just from the upsurge of other rising powers like; China, Russia and EU.

On the contrary, the real threats to the American unipolar triumph have equally emerged from within as it has from without. Hence, towards the end of the second decade of the present century, the United States found itself confronting with; not just a relative decline, but to an absolute decline. This hegemonic declinism was fueled not only by the American global designs like; war on terror and invasion of Iraq in 2003; but also by its domestic weaknesses and mismanagement in social sector, political atmosphere and economic performance (Acharya, 2018).

In the discussion on the contemporary international politics; unsurprisingly two very significant perspectives transpire for further debate. One is the “unipolar illusion” and the other is “unipolar stability.” Although, both are fairly different from each other, even then at least three things in common may be identified in them. First, both these viewpoints seem to have a consent that the dynamics of the international power politics at the global level are shaped primarily by structural factors. Therefore it can be argued that whatever mechanism of power distribution exists in the international politics (the unipolar, bipolar or multipolar); ultimately the key to understanding the prospects for global peace and stability rests in the phenomena of polarity (Waltz, 1979).

However, it is worth mention that most of the times the structuralists are labeled to overlook the nature and role of domestic politics; particularly those of the key international players. In this regard the mechanism, role and task of international institutions, and the normative forces; along with their engagement with the powerful actors is also equally vital in shaping out the world order - peace and stability. Therefore, the rise of other great powers does not always necessarily change the fortune of the unipolar moment and hence the change in balance of power at the global level.

Rather, the transformation of world order also depends upon a number of other associated forces. Unipolarity, in some cases, may confront resistance on the basis of international norms, like what we have witnessed in the case of America's attack on Iraq in 2003. This unilateral act from a super power in the unipolar world was bitterly responded by majority of the international community. Worldwide anti-American demonstrations with hundreds of thousands of protesters holding placards against the war were broadcasted as live by dozens of news channels around the world (Kaplan, Kristol & Whitfield, 2003).

Second, it is argued that the structuralists in their viewpoints usually narrow down the interpretation of international stability. In this regard, one of the most conspicuous structural theorists, Kenneth Waltz, is often quoted for his argument regarding the deep rooted connection between bipolarity and international stability, particularly during the cold war period. Waltz is also mentioned for his viewpoint regarding multipolarity with instability and conflict; like what we can refer to the era of pre-World War II international political systems (Acharya, 2018).

Scholars of international relation can observe that Waltz believed in the conception that the bipolar world order was able to reduce the possibility of misunderstanding and misperception between the United States and the former Soviet Union. Ultimately the two superpowers were capable of comparatively reducing the level of uncertainty among themselves and also among their respective blocks. They also had the candid opportunity to rightly calculate each other's strength and to estimate the after effects of direct encounter against each other.

Moreover, John Lewis Gaddis (1986) has also elaborated his concept of bipolar stability in detail. He has pointed out the tendency of a kind self-regulation in the bipolar system of international politics. He has also underlined the aptitude and inclination of the two superpowers towards peaceful accomplishment of a number of major international issues during the cold war period. In this regard the argument of Gaddis, in his famous article “The Long Peace,” is highly thought-provoking when he says that the most convincing petition for ‘stability’ in the bipolar world is that another World War i.e. the Third World War has not happened so far on the planet (Gaddis, 1986).

However, it is interesting to mention that the views of Waltz and Gaddis regarding the cold war stability as a phenomenon of “long peace” were primarily applicable only to the Western Europe. Otherwise, throughout the third world, several bilateral as well as regional conflicts erupted mainly because of the interventionism as well as proxies of the superpowers. it can also be argued that in the third world such type of regional conflicts were not only more “permissible,” rather they might have served as a necessary “safety valves” to ease out the tension between the two superpowers. Since these local encounters were meant to keep the bipolar giants away from their direct belligerence against each other (Ayoob, 1986).

Moreover, it is also believed that across the third world, instead of decreasing the projections of conflicts, the rivalry of the superpowers actually contributed to the escalation of such regional issues. Ultimately, these local or regional clashes, especially between the client nations, led to the internationalization of civil wars and internalization of superpower competition (Acharya, 2018). The debates about the post-cold war stability are predominantly highlighting the overall serenity of the international political

system; where peace is equated exclusively with the absence of major wars among the global powers. Hence, the two perspectives overlook the regional and internal conflicts, along with the devastations of the War on Terror.

Therefore, it can be argued that by equating unipolarity with peace, the hypothesis of unipolar stability leads the students of international politics to a relatively narrow view of the phenomena of global stability. Well reputed researcher, Amitav Acharya (2018) believes that the so called unipolar stability theory has ignored the horrendous regional conflicts that ravaged a number of regions and countries like; the Balkans region, the Great Lakes region of Africa<sup>98</sup>, East Timor, Iraq and Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks, and the War on Terror around the world (Acharya, 2018).

By projecting the idea hegemonic stability; all of these devastating regional as well as domestic conflicts and their immeasurable social, political and economic losses, in addition to the collateral damages across the world, were predominantly ignored. They were taken to be too meager to get labeled as threats to global peace. By embracing the realist viewpoint of international relations; both these perspectives – the unipolar stability and the unipolar illusion – indorse that the culmination of unipolar global political system would ultimately for an intensified instability, injustice and eventually an overall worldwide disorder (Acharya, 2018).

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<sup>98</sup> Great Lakes also refer to the region that includes Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda as well as portions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, and Kenya. It consists of one of the most densely populated regions of the world, with an estimated population of over hundred million people. Because of the density of population and the agricultural surplus in the region the area became highly organized into a number of small states. The area has been subject to European colonization. In recent years the region has been marred by civil war and dreadful violence, leaving it in great poverty zone with the exception only Kenya and Tanzania.

On the other hand, it can be observed more interestingly that the liberal school of thought also maintains a similar kind of equation between peace and the uncontested unipolar superiority of the United States. Some of the well reputed American liberal theorists are found to claim that the American-led hegemonic order has been largely the chief source of prompting global peace. However, they acknowledged the fact that the nexus has got reinforcement from the multifaceted transnational institutions, though they continued to be American-inspired. These liberal scholars also believe that the end of this US dominated unipolar world order would definitely mean the outburst of instability and disorder in the international political system (Wohlforth, 1999).

The third prominent viewpoint on world order is related to the structuralists' perspectives that are often based on Eurocentric evidences. The main substance for "unipolar illusion," that lies on perceptions of the brevity of unipolarity due to the rise of challengers, also has its roots in the European political history. This phenomenon is primarily based on the response to the rise of powerful players like France and the Great Britain in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> eighteenth centuries respectively.

While analyzing the prospects of unipolar stability, some of the arguments are characterized to describe that how the current unipolar derive under the US hegemony is distinct from those of the past. Some of the prominent commentators maintain that the contemporary unipolarity is much more genuine and hence this time around the prospects of durable peace and stability are more likely than ever before (Wohlforth, Ikenberry & Mastanduno, 2009).

#### 4.10 The Decline of the US or its Unipolar Hegemonism

It is imperative to understand that the decline of the United States and the decline of the American lead World Order are not one and the same. However, it can be argued that American dominated World Order is approaching to an ultimate conclusion; while it is yet to be assessed that whether or not the United States itself is declining. Some of the well reputed scholars like, John King Fairbank (1968) maintain that the “American World Order” or the “American-led liberal hegemonic order” is quite analogous to “Chinese World Order<sup>99</sup>” (Fairbank, 1968).

In both these systems the abiding sense of superiority and hierarchy is a shared feature; as the notions of order and unity to the system are rendered by the presence of worldwide leading power. He moves on to uphold that the Chinese World Order was a kind of benevolent hegemony, centered on and dominated by China until it was destroyed by the Western powers (Fairbank, 1968).

On the other hand, Acharya (2018) antithetically argues that the narrative of the American World order also relies heavily on the hegemonic magnanimity extending the global public goods to the associated states (Acharya, 2018). All the actors primarily seek benevolence as in the form of trade, security, and multilateral cooperation, maintained horizontally among the like-minded states and vertically between the hegemon and the other weaker states. By drawing a comparison between the Chinese and American World Orders, commentators may plainly deny the fact that the two orders were global in nature.

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<sup>99</sup> Paul Evans explains that Classical Chinese World Order was built around “a sense of superiority and hierarchy without the concepts of sovereignty, territorially bounded nation states, or a balance of power. Rather, it was given order and unity by the universal presence of the Son of Heaven.”

Historically, the earlier was certainly comprised of a group of states gathered around China mainly in East Asia. In the same way the latter also involved a kind of association among a cluster of like-minded sovereign states mostly from the West, predominantly influenced by the United States. Moreover, it is also argued that neither of these orders was as benevolent as presented by their architects and supporters (Acharya, 2018). Those who seem to prophesy the decline of American led hegemonic World Order, are actually pointing to the very significant phenomenon. Actually they try to explain that the prospects of global dominance for a too long period by any single powerful actor are highly grim. For instance, the hegemony of Great Britain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, till the outbreak of World War I, and that of the US in the post-Cold War era; faced similar providence.

There is another highly thought provoking narrative that warns about the aftershocks which are certainly expected to trail down the decline of American lead World Order. The proponents of this philosophy demand for the reinforcement of the current unipolar system. Most of the American analysts think that the waning out of the contemporary system would not be a beneficial prospect for anyone around the world. They believe that the world may face the challenge of a multipolar rivalry.

At the end of the American led global system; the world, as an epilogue may come across the bitter experience of fragmentation into a number of competing regional blocs. The supporters of this notion give the examples of such happenings in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. But these apprehensions can be refuted by arguing that no one can perfectly envisage the future. On the contrary, a number of arguments could be presented in favor of the hypothesis that the decline of the American dominated World Order may

prove as benevolent; not only for the rest of the world but also for the out-dating hegemon, the United States itself.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **The Era of Transition: From Unipolar Hegemony to a New Multipolar World Order**

The commencement of 20<sup>th</sup> century was noticeably characterized by a multipolar world system. However, as a result of the two world wars, the great depression and a large number of regional conflicts; the dynamics of global politics ultimately turned into a bipolar world system. One of the most significant aspects of this bipolar system was its relatively maintained balance of power mechanism between the two superpowers, the US and the former USSR. At the end of highly apprehensive era of the Cold War; and the subsequent disintegration of the former Soviet Union; bipolarity died down and gave way to the US lead unipolar world system.

United States, as one of the super powers in the bipolar world, emerged as the sole hegemonic power of the world. Practically the entire global political system revolved around the strengthening of American supremacy and protecting its interests. However, since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the dynamics of international power politics have started to come across some dramatic changes. Eventually, these vital changes have laid the foundations of transformation from the contemporary unipolar world system into an un-elucidated new world order. Hence, the evolution of this under transition international system is one of the most deliberated subjects of contemporary global power politics.

It is interesting to mention that the experts of international relations, political analysts and policymakers can be found in showing their curiosity to describe or forecast the

evolutionary structure of the new world order. Some of them call it a multipolar world order, while others a polycentric world system. This impending world order is also attributed with the titles like; “non-polar,” “neo-polar,” “a-polar,” “post-American,” as well as “no one’s world” (Acharya, 2014, p. 1).

It is perhaps a highly exciting debate for the scholars of international relations to know about the dynamics of this under-transition world order. Since, this forthcoming global political system raises a number of relevant and highly significant questions like; how this multipolarity or non-polarity would be different from its preceding unipolar world order? How and why would it happen at the international arena? Which of the key international actors are capable of playing their substantial role in the course of this transformation? What are the likely consequences of this new age for the whole world? And perhaps the most critical aspect of this upcoming era would be to substantiate that how would the present hegemon, the United States respond to these newly emerging and highly significant developments?

On the other hand so many scholars are elucidating that the unipolar world is rapidly giving way to multipolar world order or multilateralism; since new political and economic centers of power are emerging. Every now and then it is reiterated by various analysts that the unipolar world is passing into history. Since, the global economic center of gravity is shifting eastward and southward; and new centers of power have started to emerge (Hampson & Heinbeker, 2011). These intellectuals also believe that during the post-WW-II era; the global governance system and its corresponding international institutions have been gradually exposed for their inabilities and impartialities to deal the global social, economic, political, security and environmental issues meritoriously.

There is a dominant perception around the world that the prominent international, security, political and economic institutions like; the UN, the UNSC, the World Bank, the IMF; along with dozens of other transnational organizations could not amicably resolve the critical challenges of contemporary world order. Although the issues like; terrorism, drugs and human trafficking, food and energy security, nuclear proliferation, global warming; and above all the decades-long unresolved political disputes are severely disturbing the world's peace and stability. Ultimately, the presence of an underlying resentment, particularly among the developing world, against the inefficiency of the contemporary system is quite natural. Eventually, the world is looking for a new multipolar system that is grounded on the pillars of an evenly balanced power structure among the states.

### **5.1 The Nature of Transition**

At the center of this impassioned debate regarding the future world order; the next significant issue is the nature of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global political system. Therefore, numerous philosophers of international eminence try to sketch out their manifestations of this under transition system. Some of the analysts foresee the renewed worth of pooling up the national sovereignties into some kind of transnational cooperative institutional arrangements. Such an unconventional engagement or settlement may be attributed as the new multilateralism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Hampson & Heinbeker, 2011).

Being the most dominant power in the global system, the United States is well deservedly expected to put greater stock in such a multilateral cooperation and new arenas of partnership. However, owing to its internal and external encumbrances like; huge debts,

trade deficits, overstretched military commitments in worldwide operations and eventually budgetary overspendings; the US itself is under enormous pressure, both from within and the outsides. In response to these unprecedented developments with extraordinary room and demands for change; the already existing institutions are being challenged from various angles and new forms of international collaboration are considered to be the needs of the hours.

Ever since the start of the present century, the archives of international politics categorically herald the transition of unipolarity to multipolarity. It is also contended to say that this process of shift-over is likely to continue for at least decades, if not for the entire 21<sup>st</sup> century. Moreover, the course of this paradigm-shift is described with a number of variables of power along with its multiple dimensions. The observers of international politics are left in a completely overwhelmed situation; while they endeavor to solidify all these forthcoming changes. Hence, most of the experts have to direct their concentration just upon one or at least not more than a couple of factors, because of the diversity of areas and the limited specialization of the experts in certain fields.

Likewise, as mentioned above that the international politics is unsurprisingly heading towards multilateralism; therefore, numerous global actors ought to get ready for stepping into a new era to explore the imminent opportunities and escape the impending challenges. Moreover, some key players like; China and Russia along with many other regional actors; would certainly endeavor to rightly maintain the of balance of power mechanism in the world. Finally, all these emerging powers would undoubtedly strive for maintaining a check on the abusive behaviors of some hegemonic powers at the global or at least regional levels (Acharya, 2014).

It is also worth mention that a multipolar world order is analogous to the federating units; which are mostly possessing decentralized or polycentric political systems. In such countries provinces and cities do share the power and resources, though differently but in a fairly maintained manner; particularly in the developed countries than in the less developed ones. However, many a times the more centralized nations would be suffering from the issues of concentration of resources, services and governance into some specific metropolitans, more commonly their capital cities. Perhaps one of the best models of developed polycentric countries is the United States, with a substantial diversity but relative equality among its states (Haass, 2008).

Nonetheless, one would argue that it is a paradoxical display from the United States that something its leaders thoroughly apply at home is deserted; rather aggressively resisted; at the world level. The essence of democracy is the devolution of powers; but once this world's leading republics acquire the hegemonic position at the international level; they start denying the democratic norms. This skeptical attitude is per say guided by the desire to remain the most dominant player at world level. The ultimate aim of these great powers is to maximize their; economic resources, strategic power, worldwide political influence, technological advancement and monopoly of media, to institute and further strengthen their hegemony (Destradi, 2010).

Among all these unprecedented developments across the globe; one of the most debated chapters is the rise of China, which is aggressively maximizing the economic, political and even military power and challenging the American led hegemonic order. At the same time, the strategic partnership between China, being an economic super power; and Russia, ascending to the status of a military super power; are challenging the contemporary world

system. Moreover, their shared interests and mutual efforts for new alignment in the region as well as in the entire world may be taken as fuel to the fire. It is a well-known fact that China is rapidly transforming itself from the status of a regional power to that of a world power. Analysts, political thinkers, politicians and writers are trying to evaluate the implications of Chinese vision of world order, or even the Chinese branded world order.

It is very frequently highlighted by the historians of international politics that the classical notion of “tianxia”<sup>100</sup>, literally meaning “all under heaven,” has once again turned to limelight. The main focus of the debate is not restricted only to the academics; but it is also deliberated in the public discourse, media talks and political circles at the global level. The phenomenon ‘tianxia’ speaks of a structure of transnational governance that is held together by a regime of culture and values that certainly goes beyond racial precincts as well as geographical boundaries.

## **5.2        The Era of Hegemony without a Hegemon**

The debates over the unipolar moment have mostly revolved around the lessons drawn from the history and geopolitics of the Western world, particularly that of Europe. However, the dynamics of world order in terms of geo-economics and geo-politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, particularly with the attributes of globalization, are extensively different from those of the history. In the contemporary global political system the world is firmly heading towards a situation with no historical precedent. The emergence of a number of rising powers from different geographical regions of the world; having numerous grounds

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<sup>100</sup> Tianxia is a Chinese term that means “all under Heaven”. In ancient China it was a cultural concept that essentially indicated either the entire geographical world or in other words the metaphysical realm of mortals. Later on the term became associated with political sovereignty of the ancient Chinese empire.

of convergence, is an entirely new phenomenon in the contemporary global political order. Simultaneously in the modern globalized world these rising powers have a lot of opportunities of communication and forums of interaction readily available on regular and sustained basis. As a result, they can easily figure out common voice and shared response to the global issues.

Although, throughout the history, individual great powers always existed in different regions of the world; but more importantly they had always been relatively isolated from each other. Therefore, the act of challenging the hegemon for these secluded regional powers has never been an easy task. However, owing to the modern trends of globalization particularly in the fields of transport, telecommunication and state of the art power projection technologies the world has shrunk into a global village. The emergence of transnational institutions and their norms, along with the ever increasing number of global actors are making it more likely, rather imperative, for the rising powers to interact with each other persistently. Hence they would certainly acquire the courage to influence the course of the global order, towards a fair balance of power mechanism. It is worth mention that the nature and objectives of these emerging global actors could be either positively charged or otherwise malicious.

It would be unfair to directly equate the traditional Eurocentric developments of polarity with the dynamics of contemporary world order. One of the most striking elements of the present day international politics is the narrative of the “Rise of the Rest,” where a number of powers are vigorously challenging the global order (Amsden, 2001). It is interesting to note that at times these emerging players like; China and India are found competing with each other in different areas; yet they are collectively endeavoring for the

adaptation of the contemporary world order. In unison, another very important feature of this world order is the introduction of an unconventional discourse of hegemony from the United States. This phenomenon could be referred to a modern theory of the liberal hegemonic order; or more appropriately, the presence of hegemony without the hegemon (Acharya, 2018).

It is worth mention that the number of great powers and their effect on the global system has always been the part of debate in the international politics. Some of the commentators seem to be in favor of bipolarity for its likelihood of stability. While others approve multipolarity, since they believe that an increase in the number of major powers enhances the options of constructive engagement. They also proclaim that multipolarity does not essentially spell chaos and disorder in the international system. Just like the frequent alterations in the course of world order due to rapidly evolving development, international relation theorists also have lots of variations in their views.

Well reputed neorealist commentator like Kenneth Waltz (1979) has categorically appreciated the stability provoking aspects of bipolarity as compared to the dangers inherently associated with a multipolar world system. Waltz argues that in multipolar world it is often unclear that which of the players at what time could be a real danger to some other actor or even to the entire global order (Waltz 1979). Likewise, another prominent offensive neorealist, Mearsheimer (1990) also maintains that a world system comprising of bipolar structure has only one dyad<sup>101</sup> that can potentially turn into a war between the two qualified major powers. Moreover, Mearsheimer also holds that the

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<sup>101</sup> Dyad has a number of inferences in sociology, genetics and mathematics. In sociology it referred to a particular kind of pair. It specifically consists of two individuals such as employee and employer or husband and wife maintaining a sociologically significant and well established relationship.

nature of a multipolar international system is much more uncertain and indeed contains a number of dyads, with much more dangers of breaking wars among the key players of the world (Mearsheimer, 1990).

There are very strong opposing arguments from very reputed analysts. From a realist viewpoint the presence of several powers in the international system could certainly impede the endangerments of conflict among the great powers. Copeland (2010) advocates that a multipolar world system may contain lesser chances of war; since, it would be extremely difficult for the aggressor to estimate the response of its countervailing power alone or a coalition of such powers (Copeland, 2010).

In the contemporary world system, keeping this argument in view; China could be the only Asian power with a sizable potential for undertaking substantial territorial expansion in the region. However, not only the US itself seems to be determined in maintaining a watch on the Chinese power; but it also encourages Japan and India to follow the same footprints to contain China (Frost, Przystup & Saunders, 2008). Therefore, deterrence may be considered as easier in multipolar world system; since, there is more number of powerful players for whom the disturbance of global order is unaffordable. Hence, it would be more likely that they join together to counter the aggressive designs of a single powerful player.

It is also held that the multipolar world system may help to have a dampening effect upon the arms races, a highly startling phenomenon of the cold war era. The entire human race has witnessed rather suffered up to a great deal from the horrors of arms race between the US and the USSR in the bipolar world system. Moreover, the presence of multiple power

centers in the global system may also induce the prospects of greater transnational cooperation among the key players. In this regard the argument of Deutsch and Singer (1964) are very thought-provoking for the scholars of international relations. They maintain that due to the existence of various great powers on the global political theatre, it is more likely that the prospects of collaborations and flexibility are increased in the international system (Deutsch and Singer, 1964).

These better opportunities for interaction among the key players are considered to generate pressures on the strategically aggressive designs of the hegemonic powers. Therefore, in the contemporary globalized world, the presence of these powerful international players may lead to the materialization of mutual interest and cooperation rather than conflict. If the members of a strategic coalition face hostility of a rival power; it may also be balanced by positive feelings toward other members of that same coalition. It is therefore argued that Multipolarity may also encourage pluralistic common interests among the great powers and their partners. Ultimately, the dynamics of global politics may lead to a stronger sense of cooperation, as it was experienced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century international politics, which was predominantly achieved as a result of the Concert of Europe (Deutsch and Singer, 1964).

It is worth pointing out that prominent commentators like; Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003) also believe that the advocates of the unipolar moment seem to be unaware of the fact that there might be a considerable disjuncture between the nature of power distribution at the global and regional levels (Buzan & Waever, 2003). There seems to be a kind of consensus among the scholars of international relations that the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics shall not continue in the unipolar construction. There might be different

forms of power distribution in different regions of the world. Prominent analyst of international relations like, Amitav Acharya also believes that even if the hegemony of the United States; or in other words the “unipolar moment”, persist in the global politics, certainly a multipolar or even a bipolar regional order will also coexist, at least in Asia if not all over the world (Acharya, 2018).

### **5.3 The New Multilateral World System**

The phrase “world order” is a highly complex phenomenon based on ever changing dynamics. As mentioned above that since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; analysts, politicians and policymakers have all been trying to figure out the structure of the upcoming new multipolar world order. At the heart of these divergent and many a times conflicting views; there are frequently emerging uncertain theories regarding the position and role the US in this future world system. On the contrary, the emerging powers; particularly China, Russia and EU; are also uncertain about their own roles. It is pertinent to mention that these potential challengers of the current system may either play their role in isolation or even collectively. Hence, it can be argued that so far nothing is completely certain about this new multipolar world order (Upadhyay, 2015).

Some of the scholars express their views on the issue of America’s “decline.” No doubt it remains to be a matter of highly intense and yet an indecisive debate. The hypothesis of American decline, in the context of transforming multilateralism, seems to be indigestible for so many Americans and some of the outsiders whom vigorously contest this thesis. Since, these individuals or groups of individuals are enthusiastically hopeful in arguing that the order established by the United States and its allies has been broadly accepted

and deeply rooted. Moreover, this world system has the very special attribute of worldwide legitimacy.

These supporters of current system also believe that the US lead global order is so vibrant that it will further continue for decades. In addition it will also be helpful in defining the nature of 21<sup>st</sup> century's global politics. These advocates further argue that this world order might even co-opt its potential challengers. They also try to prompt their caution about the unexpected hazards that may emerge after the culmination of the so called outdated order. Eventually the world may face the leadership crises, multipolar rivalry, disintegration of regional blocks etc.

Additionally, it can also be argued that the anticipated degeneration of American lead "World Order" does not necessarily mean absolute transformation of the entire global system. The "emerging powers" may neither in isolation nor even collectively step-in to utterly breach down or otherwise completely takeover over the whole responsibility of smoothly running the international system. However, it is a fact that certainly they have critical role in outlining the dynamics of the future world order (Ikenberry, 2011).

The discussion about the outgoing and the upcoming world orders can also be steered towards a highly significant but underlying notion. It is a well acknowledged fact that the construction of liberal hegemonic order is based on an embellished projection of the "shadow of the West" (Acharya, 2014, p. 4). However, it might be emphatically suggested that the edifice of the emerging world order would be unfolding on the idea of the "hype of the rest" (Acharya, 2014, p. 5). This antithetical assessment refers to the fact that the unipolar world order is primarily dominated by the United States and

Europe; while the anticipated World system would be influenced by the emerging powers, mostly from Asia.

It can be argued that the role of these emerging powers lies primarily in preventing or otherwise even in frustrating the continuation of the US led hegemonic World Order. They are expected to ensure the availability of a comparatively different form of alternative global governance system that has to be established on the notions of; shared interests, win-win situation for all and peaceful coexistence. Correspondingly, it is also suspected that the scarcity of unity and will, lack of vision, and the shortage of resources can identify that the construction of a completely indigenous and alternate global order is unlikely from the emerging powers. Therefore, for the future of global governance; mutual cooperation between the established and the emerging power centers is highly significant. There ought to be an understanding between the “West” and the rising “Rest” upon the key issues of transition, if it ever takes place. Otherwise, there might be a risk of conflict and ultimately devastation, that is undesirable.

#### **5.4 The Rise of the “Rest”**

In the discourse of 21<sup>st</sup> century’s global politics, the renowned contemporary analyst, Fareed Zakaria (2008) in his masterpiece ‘*The Post-American World*’ coins a very interesting phenomenon. He maintains that it is a natural phenomenon that the process of change takes place gradually not abruptly. He identifies that during the last five hundred years there have been only three tectonic shifts having introduced major changes in power distribution mechanisms of the world (Zakaria, 2008, p. 1). These significant changes have reshaped the nature of politics, economics, and culture at the global level.

The first of these major changes is considered to be the rise of the Western world from the Dark Ages. Actually this process started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; and later on, as a result of 'industrial revolutions<sup>102</sup>', it got rapidly accelerated during the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This transition not only restructured the protracted Western political dominance; but it also gave birth to the economic agenda of the West in the form of Capitalism. The second major shift in the historical course of World Order was introduced by the rise of the United States. This change took place during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Owing to its rapid industrialization process, the United States gradually became the most powerful nation on the earth. Neither, any single nation nor a likely combination or collaboration among many of them could practically challenge the supremacy of the US. During most part of the twentieth century, particularly since the end of Cold War, Washington dominated the entire world. Its security, economic, political and technological as well as cultural institutions remained uncontested (Zakaria, 2008).

The world is currently passing through the third great phase of power shift of the history. The above mentioned unparalleled dominance of the United States is gradually being challenged by the rising powers of the world. This period of international politics has been labeled as the era of "the hype of the rest" (Acharya, 2014, p. 5) or in other words "the rise of the rest" (Zakaria, 2008, p. 1). During the past few decades, some of the developing countries from different regions of the world have been able to achieve such tremendous rates of economic growth that were considered unthinkable in the modern

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<sup>102</sup> The Industrial Revolution occurred in Europe and the United States from about 1760 to around 1840. Actually it was a transition process to new manufacturing methods that included shifting from hand made products to the machines production. New type of chemical and iron manufacturing was the main feature of this production processes. It also consisted of the application of steam power, the development and utilization of machine tools and the rise of the factory system. The Industrial Revolution led to an unprecedented rise in the life standard as well as the rate of population growth in the Western World.

history. Although, most of these magnificent economic performances have been achieved in Asia; but it is no longer confined to it in totality. Therefore, one may very simply deny that this vital change should be attributed as the rise of Asia only.

In the debate on the rise of the rest; the terms “rising powers” and “emerging powers” actually distinguish the rapidly growing economic, political and strategic influences of a group of nations. A very important characteristic of these nations is the fact that most of them, if not all, have been once, rather in some of the references still are regarded as part of the “third world<sup>103</sup>” or that of the primitive “Global South<sup>104</sup>. ” Both these terms; “emerging powers” and “rising powers”; are generally used for countries like; China, Russia, India, Brazil, South Africa, Indonesia, Mexico, Argentina, Australia, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, and Turkey.

Generally the two phrases are considered to be identical in meaning. However, in international politics, “rising powers” is usually related to the countries that have a strong potential to become great powers, such as China (Zakaria, 2008, p. 36). It is pertinent to mention that in some of the references countries like; India, Brazil and Russia are also listed in the group of rising powers, having potential of ultimately becoming great powers.

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<sup>103</sup> The phrase Third World is a frequently used to describe the developing nations. It arose during the era of the Cold War for the Non-aligned countries. These countries neither supported NATO block and its capitalist ideology nor the Soviet bloc and its communist ideology. The First World consisted of the countries whose views were associated with NATO and capitalism. The Second World comprised of the countries that supported the Soviet Union and its communist agenda. These were comparatively poor and underdeveloped nations of the world.

<sup>104</sup> Global South is generally attributed to the regions of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. This phrase also refers to the group of terms used for the “Third World”. Generally terms denote the regions outside Europe and North America. In these regions most of the countries are low-income and often politically or culturally marginalized. Majority of countries in these regions have been the part European colonial expansion.

On the other hand the term “emerging powers”; (Zakaria, 2008, p. 37) specifies the developing countries like; Turkey, Indonesia, South Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, and South Africa which are not supposed to be striving for the status great powers. It is pertinent to mention that the presence of Russia in both these clubs is kind of an odd phenomenon, since it has been a Eurasian great power with a tremendous military potential, especially during the cold war era. Therefore, some of the commentators regard Russia as an “outdated great power” (Acharya, 1992). However, it is a very well acknowledged fact that Russia is vigorously trying to regain its prestige by rebuilding its military strength and resurrecting its economy.

The phrase “regional powers” is certainly another distinguished term that also further complicates the structure of international power politics. Basically, it is stated to be a category that relies predominantly on physical, material, economic, military and geographical aspects of a country in relation to its immediate neighboring states. It is indispensable to understand the fact that all the emerging powers are not projected to be essentially regional powers. In this scenario South Korea and Argentina are good examples; since, both of them are recognized as emerging powers, but should they be counted as regional powers, is objectively a relevant question.

Thus, it can be argued that these uncertain and kind of undecided categorizations of significant international actors are substantial and yet undetermined. The abovementioned attributes can also upset the debate of world order or global governance. It is also likely that young scholars of the discipline are muddled in evaluating the role and task of these key international actors in global power politics (Acharya, 2014). In the center of all these discussions, still there could be another highly pertinent question regarding the

correlation between the phenomena of “the rising powers” and “the growing economies” particularly from the third world regions. Since, it is an alarming issue; despite the fact that of displaying highly encouraging statistics on growing trends in prosperity; the World Bank, in her report, has identified that almost 1.3 billion desperate people are still living their distressed lives in various parts of the world, mainly in Africa and Asia (Alexander, 2012).

However, statistics has also helped to acknowledge the fact that, the ratio of people breathing on a dollar a day or in some cases even less than that has dropped from 31 per cent in 1990 to around 14 per cent in 2008 (Alexander, 2012). It is also expected that these figures may further improve in the coming years due to the foreign investment plans from the multinational companies and the Millennium Development Goals set by the World Bank. In the same process, the president of the World Bank admits that since 1990, China alone has been able to lift her more than 800 million people out of the poverty zone (Jim, 2017).

It can also be observed that in a large number of developing countries like; China, India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Turkey and many others; genuine efforts are being made for the poverty reduction and upbringing the living standard of common people. A great number of the poor people are slowly but surely being absorbed into the middle class of the growing economies. Moreover, indicators regarding the genuinely projected global growth are being witnessed much more rigidly than ever before in the history.

It can be stated that all these mentioned facts and figures point towards the construction of a new international system that will allow nations from all parts of the world to be part

of the real business. It is anticipated that they will no longer be either objects or otherwise observers of the changing process. Rather, all the members of the entire international community would be welcomed to play their parts as an active player for their own rights. In this context, some exceedingly optimistic intellectuals of international relation like; Fareed Zakaria has undoubtedly proclaimed that it would certainly be the birth of a truly global order (Zakaria, 2008).

### **5.5 The Evolving International System**

Regarding the structure of the emerging international political system, obviously one may argue that it is yet to be decided. However, in their cautious statements scholars, policymakers and experts of public affairs; identify that this new era is primarily the diffusion of power from states to the other actors, particularly the non-state actors. Since, among the “rising rest” there are a number of highly significant non-state actors. In the contemporary world some distinct multinationals or in some cases groups of them have been so empowered that they can easily undermine the domestic or international hierarchy, centralization and control.

Many of the key functions that were once regulated by the governments are currently being pooled into the dominion of transnational organizations like; the European Union and the World Trade Organization. In the meanwhile the number and scope of non-governmental organizations are expanding every day in every region of the world. The transnational movements of corporations and capital; from one part of the world to the other in search of the best locations and the most profitable business is a common phenomenon (Ruggie, 2004).

Apart from these rosy pictures of globalization, the dark images of the same portrait are also need to be thoroughly visualized. On the contrary side, the terrorists' organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS<sup>105</sup> have got the opportunity to spillover their influence from specific countries and regions to the entire world. The human and drug trafficking lobbies, all kinds of militias and insurgent groups have been able to find worldwide space to operate in the international system. Nation-states are giving away their powers and in many cases sovereignties to either the domestic or international non-state actors; or in some of the cases even to both of them. Hence, in such kind of atmosphere, the normative applications of national power, both in economic and military perspectives, have substantially reduced.

Amitav Acharya (2014) points out that since the end of bipolar world, the archives of international relations have unfolded some varying mixture of speculations about the future of 21<sup>st</sup> century's global politics. In their early predictions, a number of analysts proclaimed that it was a multipolar world, analogous to the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries' European system, having multiple power centers. On the contrary some of them also pointed out the underlying dangers of major powers rivalry which is generally considered to be one of the most horrifying elements of multipolar world order. Some other scholars could not even hold themselves from expressing their nostalgia of bipolar stability, ignoring the catastrophic regional conflicts and human sufferings that have been consistently happening in the rest of the world during the cold war era (Acharya, 2014).

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<sup>105</sup> ISIS, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria; or ISIL, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant; or officially known as IS, the Islamic State is also known by its Arabic language abbreviation Daesh. Generally it is known for its militant and fundamentalist ideology. Initially it gained global eminence in early 2014 after their encounter with the Iraqi forces which were expelled from the key cities of Western Iraq. The UN and many individual countries have declared it as a terrorist organization. It is widely known for its brutal executions of both soldiers and civilians, including journalists and aid workers.

Among numerous speculative arguments about the future world order; the one and perhaps the most appropriate is that, it is unlikely to be an American-led liberal hegemonic order. However, it is quite possible that the US remains to be one of the most powerful players in the future world order. There is a dominant perspective that the prospects of American dominance over the world system will decline, even though the United States itself may not face declinism. Moreover, it is also likely that the US recover from its current legitimacy crisis as well as the present economic downturn.

Some of the critics believe that the impending order would be neither American lead nor absolutely hegemonic. Then the question arise that what might replace the contemporary US lead World Order or the unipolar system? A thorough analysis of the contemporary international political environment may lead to the judgment that there could be two possible approaches for responding to this inquiry. The first may be branded as a “global concert model”; while the second as a “regional world model” (Acharya, 2014, p. 108).

### **5.5.1 The Global Concert Model**

It is a very well-known fact that the great powers have the greater responsibility of maintaining the global peace and security. In the execution of this demanding obligation; the phenomenon of “global concert model” refers to a concept that the great powers ought to play their role of collectively responsibility for rightly managing the dynamics of international order. Although, relations among the global powers remain usually competitive, yet they have to develop certain areas of common interests and cooperation in order to preserve the order and stability at the international level. Therefore, they need

to endeavor to formulate; the international norms, rules and laws along with transnational institutions to maintain peace and stability at the global level.

The underlying objectives these substantial steps are to reduce the dangers of rivalry and unnecessary competition among themselves. Moreover, these efforts also help to manage conflicts in other regions, that can potentially affect the international order, as a whole or otherwise partially. Thus, the global concert model is comparatively different from the all-out dominance of a single hegemonic power, as in the unipolar world system. It is worth mention that such type of arrangements in the real essence, may also lead to a “combined hegemony” or “pooled hegemony” or in other words a kind of “institutionalized hegemony” (Bailin, 2001). Again it would be a matter of vital interest that such a desirable provision may only result from the display of greater commitment and foresightedness by the community of great powers.

Keeping in view the main features of the global concert model; being the sole superpower of the unipolar world, the United States will certainly have to share its hegemonic power and authority with the emerging powers. Moreover, in order to make the system effectively working, this would entail the act of giving up some special privileges towards the emerging powers. Such type of unusual steps might be extremely helpful for the trust building and enhanced level of cooperation from these powers. Since, the relationship between the US and these rising powers is a critical aspect of any effective and credible concert system.

It is also believed that though the concert model would not be necessarily unproblematic. However, it might be projected that its manifestation is more likely and even plausible

than some of the overhyped schemes anticipated about the “rise of the rest.” Those who are overoptimistic about the rising powers hold the views that during the post American or Western dominated world order, these powers would automatically take over the leadership positions in the affairs of global governance. On the other hand, the opposing school of thought believes that the emerging powers are yet not so mature, motivated and monumental to move to such a massive position.

These emerging powers may hold the growing amount of economic and military power. At the same moment, perhaps some of these powers may also face the issues of their own legitimacy deficits both at home and abroad. In addition, they can also come across the limitation problems of their authority in various areas. For example; China is facing the human rights freedom issues (Piccone, 2018). The Russian economy is too short of being called as that of a great power (Rogoff, 2017). On the other hand India, eyeing at the status of rising power, is also confronting the legitimacy issues in some of its domestic areas, like Kashmir, and in the region as well (Scott, 2008). Therefore, the capacity of these powers to lead global governance is constrained by a number of domestic as well as regional or even global issues of unpredictability and legitimacy.

Nonetheless, it can be argued that the whole clusters of these emerging powers neither represent nor dissipate the prospects of an entirely transformed and substitute of the contemporary hegemonic international governance system. It is also essential to know that which of the emerging powers are capable enough to be brought forward for assigning the responsibilities of a highly challenging task of leading the global governance system. In this context the entire international community in general and the United States, as a contemporary hegemon, in particular have to be extraordinarily

cautious. Only the generalization of some statistics or a body like BRICS would not be enough to put the whole weight behind these countries or some of them (Brown, 2017).

It is worth mention that the notion of a global concert among the traditional and emerging powers may provoke three major challenges. First, the emerging powers like India and China are also suffering from bilateral or regional conflicts among themselves and the other countries in their regions. Hence, they certainly lack the overall cohesiveness and unity of objectives. They also maintain some kind of disparity over reforms programs of global institutions; primarily on the expansion of the United Nations Security Council (Jabeen, 2010).

Second, the existence of a global concert is unlikely till the time there is a degree of ideological convergence between the emerging powers on the one hand; and between them and the already established powers; on the other hand. Everyone knows that this component is absent in both the cases. Third, the projected concert model would primarily be a kind of elite club of great powers (Mills & Wolfe, 2000). Then the weaker countries are likely to be marginalized, or in the best case scenario they may be allowed only to play a secondary kind of role.

The debate around concerts is often based on the comparative analysis of the 19<sup>th</sup> century concert of powers established by the European and the impeding global concert in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Generally it is acknowledged that European concert worked well initially but later on the degree of its effectiveness declined and ultimately it collapsed as a result of the 1854 Crimean War (Slantchev, 2005). Contrary to the international politics of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the contemporary world clearly demands a far greater amount of accountability,

transparency, responsibility as well as democratic norms. It would be an unwise practice to draw the conclusion by equating the 21<sup>st</sup> century developments with that of the issues occurring at least 200 years earlier and old-fashioned concert model (Acharya, 2014).

### **5.5.2 The Regional World Model**

In the post American world order the second projected arrangement of international politics could be the regional world model. Nonetheless, it is believed that such type of regionalism need not to be essentially an alternative to the universalism. Perhaps the existence of mechanism could only be a kind of stepping stones to the global order. The United States, during the cold war, adopted a selective kind of approach for promoting the regional support from Europe towards the ultimate multilateralism.

On the contrary, the US decided to have a preference for adopting the policy of bilateralism with majority of countries in Asia. The end of the American world order might not only generate the prospects of opening space for regionalisms around the world. Rather, it may also lead towards the development of more autonomous regions as well as few of the regional orders. Then the questions also arise that what would be the shape of such an order as a whole or even in fragments. More importantly, how these diverse kinds of regionalisms would correlate with each other in the global political order (Acharya, 2014).

The originators of the US led liberal order did not approve the concept of regionalism. They compare it with the competing geopolitical blocs and the same apprehension seems to be evident in the viewpoints of some of the contemporary exponents of a liberal world order (Fawcett, 2004). However, in the modern world; not only the nature but also the

purpose of regional orders as well as regionalism has profoundly altered, especially since the end of World War II. Owing to the instrument of globalization, the contemporary concepts of regionalism are comparatively broader, open for all, inclusive and highly interactive. Therefore, the United States has the handful opportunity to engage more closely and meaningfully with prominent regional players and corresponding transnational bodies.

During the last few decades new forms of regionalism have emerged all over the world. However, some of these regional arrangements are formal and based on the concept of institutionalization, like the EU; while others are comparatively informal and void of legal compulsions, like the ASEAN. In the modern world the regional bodies, far away from their traditional functions, have taken up a range of new roles like; free trades, climate change, disaster management, humanitarian assistance, educational millennium goals and conflict control etc. At the same time, it expected that there would be some fundamental changes in the emerging world order. Such as; the proponent of regional orders will be less inclined to serve the purpose of the hegemonic power like, the United States. On the contrary, they would be more reflective of serving the interests and identities of the local or regional actors.

From the above discussion, one can easily deduce that it is not imperative to say that there would be the advent of regional hegemonies, as an alternative to global hegemon. The likelihood of regionalism without the hegemon is more probable; but certainly the emergence of such arrangements would not be capable of resolving all the global or even the regional issues. Undoubtedly, no major issue of critical nature can be plainly resolved without meaningful actions and highly committed response at the regional level, or even

at the world level. The existence of a number of regional worlds could definitely make available the highly significant foundation for a global world order (Acharya, 2014).

The introduction of regionalism or regional worlds does not necessarily mean the degradation or degeneration of the existing global institutions like the United Nations. Rather the developments like regionalism are expected to further strengthen the global institutions like, the UN by exerting more pressure for its reforms programs and effectiveness. At the same instant, larger regional engagement can help the contemporary hegemon in burden-sharing of its global commitments.

The goals of the US; primarily away from Europe; that it has to achieve through formal alliances like, NATO or the bilateral agreements; would indeed be largely shifted to the regional bodies or the regional players. It is a matter of great concern for the world that the international community and the hegemon ought to have a judicious approach to the regional issues, particularly those of critical nature. For any kind of preoccupation, favoritism or miscalculation can result into grave consequences (Brown, 2017).

As a result of regional order-building approach; there would certainly be a bigger support for the US in its larger engagement of the emerging powers; since many of them are primarily regional powers. The rising powers and the US would have the opportunity to encourage or even practically support these regional players to play their positive role in promoting regional peace and stability. Owing to better regional engagement, they can also check the aggressive attitudes of those who try to intimidate their neighbors; and eventually the entire world order. In fact, the US has been adopting such type of approach in some of the regions particularly in East Asia and the Gulf region.

On the contrary, a completely regional approach can also generate limitations and risks to the overall global order. The edifice of such kind of regional groups certainly have wide ranging issues in terms of their institutional arrangement, legalistic endorsement, and capacity building to resolve the problems that demand collective actions. Therefore, regionalism ought to be complemented by a comprehensive reforms agenda of global institutions like the United Nations. Failing to introduce reforms and lack of democratic norms, global institutions are likely to get severely destabilized. This might encourage a form of regionalism that eventually becomes an alternative to universalism, rather than supplementing the global order (Patomaki & Teivainen, 2004).

### **5.5.3 The Post- Hegemonic Multiplex World Order**

Keeping in view the pros and cons of both global concert and regional world models; it may be argued that certainly a third and hybrid form of arrangements has to be worked out by all the key stake holders. That would be based precisely on the idea of a multiplex world. For that reason, not only the United States but also the emerging powers along with the eminent regional actors will have to rethink and reorganize their roles to work out a post-hegemonic multiplex world order (Acharya, 2017).

In this regards the United States, will have to readily share its hegemonic power with the other emerging great powers. Instead of exploiting the international system, the United States needs to emphasize on democratizing the multilateral institutions that it has dominated for decades. On the other hand, the emerging powers should demand their recognition only after they have practically offered their due share of contribution to global system.

Hence, both the parties are expected to support the larger cause of ‘world order-building.’

The United States shall have to demonstrate a great deal of restraint. However, the emerging powers have to accept their greater roles in worldwide peacekeeping missions and in the development assistance programs. They should also express their greater restraint in their regional issues particularly towards their neighbors.

Moreover, the regional organizations are to be necessarily more empowered in terms of resources, legalization and the adaptation of best practices. These objectives would be better achieved by the emerging powers while remaining within the framework of an open regional approach and a larger cooperative security mechanism. In this regard, the regional groups like; the European Union, the African Union and the ASEAN shall have to take their leading roles. However, for better results the UN Security Council ought to cede more authority to these regional organizations (Acharya, 2014).

A multiplex world order would certainly appreciate the development of far better understanding between the already established and the emerging powers. In regional context of the emerging powers, the existence of such a strong association eventually results into closer relationships within the key actors and the institutions in the region. These objectives may be achieved through a number of ways. Both the established and rising powers must strive for holding the top level consultative meetings and dialogues among the various regional groups.

The already established powers must provide support for capacity building of the rising powers by offering some of their bilateral aid to regional groups. The traditional powers need to seek membership or at least the observer status in regional groups around the

world primarily where it is appropriate. They also need to take into account the complexity of situation where regional actors are sensitive to the outside interference, particularly from the global powers.

Moreover, it can be anticipated that such a multiplex world order would not be analogous to the classical European concert model. One can hope that the multiplex world order is more comprehensive and better responsive to the necessities of weaker countries. These attributes of multiplex world will certainly grant it more prospects of enjoying greater legitimacy. Contrary to the concert model, a multiplex world order will indeed have very meager chances of marginalizing the weaker actors (Acharya, 2017). Rather, in this model the powerful players are expected to pay greater respect to the freedom and sovereignty of the weaker states. These constructive engagements will help the two sides to work for a better and well managed world order.

The multiplex order is essentially a political order emerging from a culturally diverse world. Basically, its structure rests on the political and economic inter-connectedness, as well as wider institutional arrangements. It is worth mention that the edifice of multiplex world depends upon the power and purpose or mechanism of a number of actors and not on the wishes of a single actor. This phenomenon surely leads to another more significant and highly relevant enquiry. The question is would the end of the US lead World Order introduce a kind of better prospects for any actor in the international politics?

## **5.6 The World in an Age of the United States' Decline**

At the heart of a hot debate over the transition of world from unipolar to multipolar system perhaps the most significant issue is how does the world look in an age of

American decline? The answer of a well-known commentator Zbigniew Brzezinski (2012) is that it will be dangerously unstable. Similarly, most of the commentators either from Realists or Liberal schools believe that the US decline will undoubtedly lead the world into a dangerous era. One of the key indications of this deep-rooted faith about the inevitability of American preeminence is the dexterity of American policymakers how to reverse the nation's crisis and sustain or strengthen its supremacy as compared to the rising powers of the world (Acharya, 2014).

In this regard the contemplations Fareed Zakaria (2008) about a “post-American World,” are extremely vital. In his opening lines Zakaria states that this is a book not about the decline of America but rather the rise of everyone else. It means that this intellectual mind does not foresee the American decline at least in the near future. On the other hand there could be another less rosy account of the American hegemony along with recognizing the involvement of other key actors like; the EU, China and Russia in the making of world order; would not bid disrespect from others. Rather it might essentially prompt better prospects of admiration and greater legitimacy for the future of American power in international politics.

On the other hand the presence of other powers; either established or rising; and the emergence of different regional groups of the world; will certainly have their notions and approaches towards the regional and international orders. At the same time, the growing significance of regionalism all over the world along with representing a variety of models and approaches certainly heralds the end of the US lead World Order. These different models of world systems will certainly have powerful incentives to ultimately collude, not just collide (Acharya, 2014).

There is another very strong argument that emphasizes on the fact that the decline of the American-led hegemonic order would be good for the United States itself. The first obvious benefit of the decline of liberal hegemonic order is that there will be a lesser chance of repeating a hyper unilateralism; as it was demonstrated by the George W. Bush administration. In this era, the US bitterly suffered from the damage to its international reputation and domestic economy.

On account of the necessity of burden-sharing, not only for the sake of benevolence; the United States will certainly seek to go far multilateralism. Keeping aside the liabilities of the hegemon, the US will have the opportunity to devise more modest and multilateral foreign policy to earn greater respect, wider support and more legitimacy at the global level. Eventually, the US would be more willing to accept and accommodate the emergence of rising powers to address global challenges effectively.

There is another very strong perception about the future world order. The structure of future world order does not necessarily depend upon the American perceptions and its attitude to the rest. Rather it equally rests on how the rising rest perceives and interacts with the existing hegemon, the United States. Most of the emerging powers and the regional institutions essentially look for the fact that the United States' policy toward them does not result into destabilizing effects; rather it should be more conducive to regional and global peace and stability.

The edifice of the world order may also be shaped by the notion that how the emerging powers deal with a hegemon, particularly at the time of decline; predominantly, in their institutions that are aiming at promoting peace and stability in the world.

## 5.7 Nationalism and the Future World Order

Perhaps the most important aspect of the modern world is that almost all the internal complications spill over the precincts of nation states. The contemporary major issues like; economic crisis, human rights abuses, threats of terrorism, unemployment, nuclear proliferation, environmental degradation, energy or water scarcity; can never be addressed without substantial cooperation and coordination among the international community or the collective efforts of various nations.

However, despite the globalized trends in economics, information, education and even culture; the sense of formal political clout remains resolutely attached to the concept of nation-state. Even in many cases, a number of the nation-state would not be able to solve most of these problems unilaterally, nor would they be completely willing to come together and collectively solve such kind of common problems.

Hence, with the growing number of governmental and nongovernmental players in international politics; along with their increasing power and confidence; the prospects for joint actions would diminish up to a great level. Many renowned scholars like Fareed Zakaria (2008) are exceedingly pessimistic about this issue. He believes that the central challenge emerging from the rise of the rest is to stop the powers of global economic growth from turning into the engines of international political disorder and subsequently disintegration. Some of the major emerging nations like China are not only demonstrating the rise with a great deal of pride and confidence; but they are also trying to show off their superiority to each other and the neighboring states. In the events of recent past China has been highly egoistic in its stance towards Japan and Taiwan (Nakano, 2016).

With the rise of economic fortunes, the sense of nationalism deepens in many cases; but at the same time it is considered as understandable. When nations strive to turn their fortunes; definitely they wish to be seen and appraised. And this desire for recognition and veneration is not confined to some region or race; rather it is surging throughout the world. It may seem illogical or even contradictory at time, that political nationalism is the byproduct of rapid economic growth and globalization. But it would primarily be ensued if nationalism is viewed as a backward ideology that needs to be expunged by the rapid human progress.

It can be stated that due to the emotions of nationalism, foreign interventions, though apparently conducted for some noble cause; like humanitarian assistance; have rarely been welcomed by the natives. The United States has always been perplexed by the same situation; because after its every overseas involvement, the locals responded in a surprisingly hostile manner to its efforts. The same experimentation was observed after the American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, in its global war on terror drive. Paradoxically, the Americans themselves take pride in the elevation of their own country, and yet are bitterly hurt when found the other nations in pride, especially those from the developing world (Zakaria, 2008).

Some other scholars like; Zbigniew Brzezinski (2005), also pointed out that in the process of "global political awakening," passions of the people mount and it is also powered by their success or better results in their economy, education, information, transparency, sports and even memories of the past (Brzezinski, 2005). However, pointing towards the dark side of the picture, this attribute of the masses is found to be many times disruptive.

As the common people from majority of the developing world are politically thrilling and many a times feel excited in unrest. They are acutely mindful to the social or political injustice and their sentiments and envy can be very easily galvanized and channelized by the emotional sermons from political or religious trailblazers. In the globalized world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; these drives can transcend the sovereign borders and pose serious challenges to existing states as well as to the existing global order. It is crystal clear that the contemporary world order, up to a large extent, is still shepherded or directed by the United States (Brzezinski, 2005).

On the other hand, the ideology or concept of nationalism may change dramatically among the different regions, states or nations. The Indians believe that for Britain and the United States, World War II was a heroic struggle for freedom that ultimately triumphs over evil. However, for them it was a battle to which the United Kingdom committed the Indian forces and resources without even bothering to their consultation. Britain asked the people of India to die for an idea of freedom that was ironically denied by the same power to the native Indians.

Therefore, it can be unquestionably stated that such kind of divergent perspectives on nationalism have existed throughout the history. However, owing to the greater opportunities of modern education, unrestricted access to the information and the ever growing self-confidence, such critical notions are extensively debated on electronic, print as well as social media broadcasted in the “West” and that of the “rest.” Many countries and their public private media, from the emerging world, try to counter and neutralize the West in their narratives, arguments, and assumptions with different views and reviews (Zakaria, 2008).

It can be observed that the West is still thinking that the rest have two options to fit in the modern world. One, rising powers must integrate into the Western order; two, reject it and get ready to be labeled as a rogue nation and face the penalties of expulsion. However, the rising powers look as if following the third way of entering the Western order but following their own wavelength on their own terms. Hence, they would be driving the system to reshape itself slowly and steadily. Therefore, it can be argued that in the post-American world, the actors may not find an epicenter of the system to get assimilated into it.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order, the focus would be shifted too far away from the West. Countries, especially from the global south are increasingly interested in their own rise and pay far less attention to the West and the United States, as compared to that in the past. On the other hand, the anti-immigrants drives from the Western world, especially from the United States and its current regime, have encouraged the people to listen to more voices like, “Go East Young man” (Douglas, 1974). Even commentators from the West are undoubtedly highlighting that the world is moving from anger to indifference and ultimately from anti-Americanism to post-Americanism (Zakaria, 2008).

In fact the rising powers are asserting their interests more strongly; and this is perhaps one of the most obvious realities of the post-American world order. Currently, in a new world of many actors, both state and non-state, the achievement of international political objectives is not so simple for the West and even the US. As in the preceding model; the US or any among a few of its Western allies used to be the directors of the entire show. The Third World, either played along or stayed outside the theater would be irrelevant. The actors from nongovernmental sides were too few and too weak to bother.

However, balance of power mechanism is shifting in the new world; one can observe in something like trade or even strategic negotiations that the players from the developing world act with greater and greater force. While in the past, they might have accepted any deal offered by the West. But now players like; China, Brazil and India are taken to be very tough negotiators and they get the deal of their choice. A good example could be Indo-US Nuclear Deal<sup>106</sup> during Obama administration; while India as a recipient of this extraordinary deal was much harder in negotiation than the donor, the United States (Chari, 2014). Therefore, it is now a reality that these powerful players will not follow along with a Western-led course of action without their genuine representation, active participation and ultimately relative gains.

In a globalized, democratized, and decentralized world the traditional mechanisms of international cooperation are the relics of another era. The system of United Nations is considered to be representing an obsolete structure of international power politics; while the P-5 or five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council were the victors of a global war that ended seven decades earlier. The group of traditional 5 Ps<sup>107</sup> does not include the economic giants like; Japan, Germany and other rising powers from Asia, Africa and Latin America (Mahmood, 2013). On the other hand in its traditional

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<sup>106</sup> Dr. Sunil Kumar Jangir is the head of department of political science in JJT University, (Rajasthan), INDIA' He narrates that the process of Indo-US nuclear deal started on July 18, 2005, as a result of the joint statement by the India Prime Minister and the US President. This deal marked the beginning of an era of special relationship between India and the US. However, it took five years for the official start of first Indo-US strategic dialogue which took place at Washington during June 2010.

<sup>107</sup> The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is an elite club of countries, holding the primary responsibility, under the Charter of the UN, for maintaining the international peace and security. It consists of five permanent member states (5Ps) and 10 non-permanent members, which are elected for two years by member states of the UN. Any member of the 5Ps enjoys the exclusive rights of veto powers that can singlehandedly block any resolution of the UNSC. The manner of exercising veto powers is the main reason of criticism on the working of UNSC. It is believed that the Veto power is used as a tool of economic and political power display at the global level. It has little to do with the global peace and security.

practices, the International Monetary Fund has mostly been headed by a European and the World Bank by an American.

As a matter of further complication; the rise of nationalism, also refers to a broader phenomenon regarding the proclamation of identity. Since, the emergence of nation-states as a conception is a relatively new introduction in the international politics. However, traditionally much older and stronger bonds among the peoples were formed by the religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups. It is also believed that these connections have stayed much stronger and mature with the deepening of economic interdependence (Zakaria, 2008). In many parts of the world, these basic identities are considered to be deeper than the nation-states and they are taken to be as the defining features of life. Even in the modern world the people not only vote for them rather in many cases they are willing to give away their lives for the sake of these identities.

It can be argued stalwartly that even in modern democracies; as a result of their unity, these groups have gained greater and greater strength and influence. The same kind of preeminence mostly interrelated to the identity; means that Chinese and Indian nationalism grow stronger when they are placed in the context of United States, the United Nations or the world at large. However, it is more interesting to be acquainted with the fact that sub-nationalism is also growing rapidly within these major countries. What is happening dramatically on the international stage; the rise of identity in the midst of economic growth; is also happening on the local stage. The present government in India, despite its claim of being the largest democracy in the world, in its recent elections has reportedly adopted the slogan of Hindutva, Hindu nationalism, to attract the Hindu majority voters (Chacko, 2019).

Therefore, among such critical conditions the bottom line could be that purposeful national action has become far more difficult. As the power becomes diversified and consequently diffused; hence, legitimacy becomes even more imperative, for it is the only way to appeal to all the disparate actors on the world stage. It can be argued that in the contemporary world; no solution is taken to be sensible or sustainable until its legitimacy is questionable. Implementation of such decisions will not be result oriented if they are seen as the product of one country's power and preferences. No matter how powerful that country is, its unilateral act will certainly backfire and give the impression of "imperialism." In the 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics unilateral or even joint actions with the help of very few allies against any country certainly face the issue of legitimacy. In this regard the US and its partner UK's invasion of Iraq in 2003 may be a classic example of these complexities.

## **5.8 The Notions of Modernization vs the Westernization**

One of the key characteristics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century world order was that a large number of colonized nations in Asia and Africa were struggling for their freedom against the Western colonial empires. At the same time, it was an interesting phenomena that most of these freedom movements were led by some of the highly famous leaders in like; Muhammad Ali Jinnah<sup>108</sup> and Jawaharlal Nehru<sup>109</sup>; who were educated and raised or

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<sup>108</sup> Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876 –1948) was a lawyer, politician and the founder of Pakistan. In early 1890s Jinnah went to England for higher studies. In England, like many other freedom leaders of the Subcontinent Jinnah was also influenced by the 19th-century British liberalism,. This political education included exposure to the idea of the democratic nation, and progressive politics; Jinnah served as the leader of the All-India Muslim League from 1913 until independence of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. He was the first Governor-General of Pakistan until his death. He is greatly esteemed in Pakistan. Jinnah was given the titles of Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) and Baba-i-Qaum (the Father of the Nation).

<sup>109</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was the first Prime Minister of India till his death in 1964. He was a freedom fighter and a central figure in Indian politics before and after the independence. Nehru went to

otherwise impressed by the western political thoughts. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century's transnational politics the central question is: can you be modern without being Western? There is a growing sense of investigation among the scholars that being modern and being Western are the same or two distinct phenomena (Mansbach, 2010).

There are some highly significant questions regarding the future world order. The first of these is; will the structure of international life be substantially different in a global system where the non-Western powers have massive weight and influence? Second, will the new rising powers have different values and standards in social, political and cultural arenas? Or otherwise is it only the process of becoming rich and it will make us all the same? Commentators in international politics believe that these are not just the idle opinions; since in the next few decades, out of the four biggest economies in the world, three - Japan, China, and India - would be the non-Western (Hawksworth & Chan, 2015).

Some notable scholars like Samuel P. Huntington (1996) have also categorically proclaimed that modernization and Westernization are two completely distinct phenomena. He argues that the people from the West were far earlier Western than being modern, only around in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since modernization of a society is linked with increasing industrialization, urbanization, high rates of literacy, better quality of life, education, infrastructure and health facilities. While to be Western, is primarily related to the classical legacy of Christian traditions and the subsequent split roles of church and state, etc. Huntington undoubtedly declares that the exquisiteness of Western civilization is not due to its universal recognition but because of its uniqueness (Huntington, 1996).

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Cambridge in 1907 and graduated in natural science in 1910. During this period, he also studied politics, economics, history and literature. Nehru emerged as a key leader of the independence movement of India under Mahatma Gandhi. He is considered to be the architect of the modern Indian.

It is worth mention that there are various states in the world like; Japan, China, and Saudi Arabia that are rightly called as modern but not completely westernized. Therefore, the future world; in which Chinese, Indians, Brazilians, and Russians will be richer and technologically advanced; would be certainly modern but not an overwhelming westernized. Perhaps the future world will be more confident in the adaptation as well as repudiation and also culturally diversified. However, it does not mean that the Western civilization will be completely diminished too soon.

At the same time it would be extremely difficult for the analysts to imagine what the modern world, particularly in the “Rest” would look like without the impression of the “West” (Zakaria, 2008). Some other intellectuals and admirers of the performance of the rising powers also believe that in the new evolving multipolar world order, non-Western powers would maintain their distinctive ways despite the fact that they are richer and technologically advanced (Mahbubani, 2006).

It is also argued that westernization is not merely about appearances. Business deals, the applicable standard business practices and even the government institutions along with their ways of functioning have substantially changed over the past two hundred years, especially during the last three decades. Parliamentary democracies, regulatory bodies, traveling laws and banking channels; almost all over the world have also turned out to be more alike. Fareed Zakaria states that if someone walks around a street anywhere in the industrialized world; one can clearly observe the same variants of development like; ATM machines, coffee shops, McDonalds, seasonal clothing stores, people of migrant communities and huge electronic billboards (Zakaria, 2008). Therefore, it can be contended to state that the old cultural symbols of traditional order in the developing

countries are vanishing. These dramatic changes are often linked with Westernization; since, what replaces the old order is visualized as Western, and specifically American.

Along with other traditional emblems of culture, language, especially the English has also established its roots deeply around the world through the Western order. Indeed it sounds young and modern today and also has become the universal business and communication mean. In the contemporary world, the British Council (2013) says that more than one fourth of the planet's population (around 1.75 billion people) can understand and speak some English, and these statistics may improve further (Council, 2013).

It is a well-known fact that globalization brings the people closer and worldwide social and commercial contacts create incentives for an easy means of interaction. Therefore, with growing number of players worldwide; the need for the common standards rises. According to David Graddol, a linguist and researcher; around 80 % of the electronically stored information in the world is available in English (Mydans, 2007). Therefore, the common usage vocabulary around the world is by and large the same. Everyone on the earth calls computer, internet, nuclear, tennis, bomb and car etc. Hence, with the rising of new power centers around the world these widely used jargons will also remain the same. Therefore, it can be argued that though the world is rapidly modernizing but on the already established pillars of the old order. Modernity may not be declared as an entirely new entity; rather it is a continuous process.

## **5.9 The Perplexed Nature of Future World System**

It is a highly important question for the scholars of international relations to know about what exactly the future world will look like; particularly in the presence of the rising rest

and the waning west. Though, it is a well-known fact that no one can precisely portray the future; even then it can be claimed that the future world will be perplexed. It means that it will be presenting a mixed up scenario of the West and the Rest. In other words, the world we are entering into will be thoroughly modern and predominantly shaped out by the West; however, it will surely retain the vital elements of the local culture and traditions in different regions of the world (Zakaria, 2008).

In the course of modernization, obviously a music rock star from China uses the same kind of instruments and beats as being used by the one from the west. However, their literary themes, lyrics, and vocals are very much different from those of the West. One of the most significant attributes of modernity is the fact that people around the world are trying to put their own indigenous and local shades on the prints of western modernism. In the past every glimpse of modernity; from science to fashion, from music to culture and from sports to industrialization were emerging from the West; but today that is no longer a complete true.

A number of empirical evidence can easily prove that today in most of the areas, the rest have superseded the west. The Chinese film industry and the Bollywood are seriously challenging to excel the Hollywood either in quality or quantity; while in some of the cases, in both. Now unlike the past; the best and most advanced buildings are not only built in Europe and America, but these great buildings are being built everywhere in the world; like in China, Japan, the Middle East and the Latin America. The aerospace industry of Europe and America dominated the rest of the world for decades; but now the rising powers like; China and Brazil along with so many other smaller countries are at the verge of competition with the west.

The real essence of globalization has become the combining effect of the local and modern. English, as a language of the west, is no more only spoken by the Americans and the British. Rather, according to the report of the Guardians; the number of English-speaking people in India, with the local accent, has surpassed the two natives, the United Kingdom and United States (Crystal, 2004). Similarly, at the early stage of globalization, those who were obsessed with modernity preferred to watch CNN and the BBC<sup>110</sup>; but now they are joined by a number of local versions of CNN like; Al Jazeera<sup>111</sup>, Al Arabia<sup>112</sup> and the CGTN<sup>113</sup> etc. These news channels are part of powerful trends not only in the regions of rising powers but also in the entire world to express their narratives.

Today, apart from the traditional sources; there are numerous newspapers and channels that symbolize different perspectives on the world issues in a more analytical style. Unlike the Western media, Al Jazeera presents very different views of the Syrian crises and the Palestine-Israeli conflict. Now the question is; will these variances and difference of opinions make "the rest" to behave in a different way to deal with the variables of international politics; such as; transnational business, foreign policy and human rights.

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<sup>110</sup> BBC News is an operational business division of the British Broadcasting Corporation. It gathers and broadcast news and current affairs around the world. BBC is the world's largest broadcast news organization that generates about 120 hours of radio and television output each day. It also works as online news coverage. The service maintains 50 foreign news bureaus with more than 250 correspondents around the world.

<sup>111</sup> Al Jazeera is a state-funded broadcaster in Doha, Qatar. It is also known as JSC (Jazeera Satellite Channel). The news Channel is owned by the Al Jazeera Media Network. Initially it was launched as an Arabic news and current-affairs satellite TV channel. Later on, Al Jazeera has expanded into a network with several outlets in multiple languages.

<sup>112</sup> Al Arabiya is a Saudi-owned pan-Arab television news channel. It broadcasts in Modern Standard Arabic. The channel is based in Dubai and is regarded as a competitor to Al Jazeera.

<sup>113</sup> CGTN (China Global Television Network) is based in Beijing. Formerly it was known as CCTV-9 and CCTV News. It is a Chinese international English-language news channel of the State-owned China Global Television Network group. The channel was launched on 25 September 2000. The CGTN coverage includes news, reports, and commentaries, as well as feature presentations. Its free-to-air satellite signal can be received by more than 85 million viewers, in over 100 countries and regions. It is focused towards the Chinese diaspora and English-speaking audience on the international ground.

Since, it is believed that certainly these differences will further multiply in the future world order.

There is general perception about the future world that just like in the issues of; transnational trade, foreign policy certain other global issues; some kind of convergence may be achieved. However, beyond that, there might be a number of areas of real divergence. For example, the issues of human rights may be viewed in an entirely different perspective by the Chinese and Indians than the Western people. The two emerging economic giants are more concerned about their growth and wealth collection than the issues of human rights.

At the same time a mixture of the East and the West or that of the West and the Rest can be clearly observed in cultural and civilizational paradigms. Since, it is said that no culture or civilization can develop in a hermetic box (Assadourian, 2013). Even observing the worldview of religion, a large number of countries have mixed-up credentials with an overlapping of local elements. For example, in the past, the Subcontinent was a Hindu majority country that was ruled by the Muslim dynasties for around four hundred years, and then by a Protestant power. Therefore, today a blend of the holy celebrations of the three religions like; Diwali, Eids and Christmas are commemorated in a parallel fashion.

On the other hand, as a huge Eurasian power, Russia has been struggling with its Western and non-Western identities for centuries. Therefore, it can be argued that in much of the world the presence of the West would be found as a part of the fabric of different type of local civilizations (Zakaria, 2008).

It is a fact that modernity in the lives of the peoples all around the world has emanated with the rise of the West, and therefore the face of modernity, particularly in the past few centuries, is seen to be dressed up in the Western outfits. However, with the expansion of the modern world in all directions of the globe, the keen observers of modernity also seem to confirm that “the cup has runneth over” (Zakaria, 2008, pp. 6-48). As a result of; the global trade and travel; traditional imperial designs, transnational immigration trends, and worldwide missionary work; things have reached to a stage of all mixed up.

Throughout the world; every culture has its own distinct traditional elements, yet some of them are closely connected with the universal trends of modernization. With the rapid expansion of capitalism throughout the world; the formal, feudal and hierarchical customs continue to disappear up to a great deal, as they did in the West. However, at the same time the roots of neo-imperialism<sup>114</sup> started to get strengthened every day. This attribute is not only circumscribed to the phenomenon of western industrialization; rather it is very much there in the rest of the world like in the rapidly growing economies like; China and India.

Now, addressing or understanding the inquiry that would the future world order be modern or Western? It can be plainly argued that yes it seems to be more perplexed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century than it used to be in the earlier global systems. In other words, more investigation needs to be exercised to fathom that is it more intricate than it might seem

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<sup>114</sup> International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences explains that imperialism was typically characterized by conquest and rule or colonizing the conquered territory. Neo-imperialism is the domination and sometimes even hegemony over others, their economic, political, strategic power and even culture. Many times such influences are established by formal and free agreements. Such as, the U.S. marked its political power and economic domination in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after World War II. Neo-imperialism is a name with serious faults. It is also analogous to the phrases like; the informal empire, imperialism without empire and Pax-Americana etc.

to be? The only and the simple answer could be in positive. Since, the real challenge that would be faced in the coming decades is not an inexplicit one; that is based on contradictory attitudes; but it is a concrete one, based on divergent history, geography, national interests, and capabilities of states.

Some commentators argue that in the debate on "rise of Asia" we miss the point that there is no such thing as Asia, which is really a construct of the West. Some of the countries with very different attributes are challenging the hegemony of the west with their rapid growth; but at the same time they harbor differences and suspicions about one another, too. Therefore, the great shift taking place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order might substantiate to be less about the creeks of culture and civilization, but more about huge straits and traits of power politics.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **The 21<sup>st</sup> Century World Order and the Multiple Global Power Centers**

At the end of the Cold War one of the most debated arguments of the international politics was the relationship between unipolarity and the global stability in an era of the “New World Order”. Since the United States had already acquired the status of global hegemonic power; therefore, any serious calculation about its potential contestants in the international system was almost an irrelevant discussion. The vigorously erupted “unipolar moment” had eclipsed the Paul Kennedy’s (1987) famous argument about the American decline that he presented in his book *‘The Rise and fall of the Great Powers’*. His prominent statement about the American “imperial overstretch” was perhaps buried in the rubbles of the Berlin Wall (p. 515). The term “emerging powers” had not even materialized till then.

During the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the United States enjoyed the fruits of unipolar moment without any substantial challenges. On the global front the American hegemony was acknowledged throughout the world; rather in some cases it was welcomed even by its traditional rivals. According to James Pethokoukis (2015), the editor of *American Enterprise Institute*; the US economy, on the domestic front grew by around four per cent during the 1990s. He maintains that during this decade on average of about 1.7 million jobs per year were added to the overall work force of the US; unemployment rate dropped from nearly 8 percent in 1992 to 4 percent, which could be called as effectively zero percent at the end of the decade; poverty rate that peaked at over 15 per cent in 1993, fell to nearly 11 percent in 2000 (Pethokoukis, 2015). Hence, one more renowned

commentator, Kurt Andersen (2015) also maintains that obviously the best decade ever was the 1990s.

At the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, United States in its quest for “unipolar moment” or “hyper unilateralist approach” gave way to the other international players to rise and challenge the American hegemony. Predominantly, since the American attack on Iraq in 2003, the dynamics of international politics started shifting from unipolar to multipolar world system. Rather, the focus of traditional discussion about the American power and world order has concentrated more on the fate and future of the US hegemonic position than the world order. Hence, it can be argued that after the American invasion of Iraq the debate is much more about the rise of declinism and fall of hegemonism.

At the same time the corresponding statistics also help to understand the phenomenon of the rise of decline or the fall of hegemon. Contrary to the 1990s; since 2001, the US economy has never grown by as much as 4 percent; rather from 2005 onward not even by 3 percent throughout the year. After 2001, the American work force shrank up to 850,000 jobs a year which is around half of what it was during the 1990s decade. The average American household income also dropped significantly since 2000 (Andersen, 2015). The contemporary debate about the decline of the United States could be expanded up to a variety of possible causes. These probable reasons may be domestic as well as external motives for the American decline: such as the current account deficits along with the growing doubts over the ability of the US to pay off its debts.

The growing costs of healthcare, cuts in overall tax collection, global challenges to the dollar as reserve currency, debt/GDP ratio; are certainly the indicators of the US decline

as a whole. Moreover, the American adventures in the Afghan and Iraq wars; which are labeled as being the most expensive wars in the US history, also exerted pressure on its internal and external obligations. The argument Paul Kennedy about the American overstretched worldwide role seems to be extremely significant; since, the wars have a total price tag of over US\$ 6 trillion directly or indirectly to American economy. According to the estimates, only the Iraq war inflicted a cost of US\$ 2 trillion in direct government expenditures (Acharya, 2014).

It is worth mention that there is a extensive variance between the two debates regarding the ‘American decline.’ The first was triggered by the Paul Kennedy’s thesis about the overstretched American role; while the second, which is the contemporary debate. The debate of American decline after the Cold War was mainly based on the reparations of America’s geopolitical over extension. The current debate is more linked with both the internal and external forces of competition which are believed to challenge the US more aggressively on the two fronts. In the contemporary system the main competitor are not only economic powers like, Japan and Germany; rather the rivals are more polygonal in number as well as in nature. Today, the main challenger of American hegemony is the emerging power China accompanied by the resurging military power Russia.

It can be argued that some of the currently competing international players which are usually categorized as the rising powers were not even in the limelight of global politics when Paul Kennedy’s theory of ‘American decline’ emerged on the horizon. China, only as the third world country was looking for a takeoff. Since its economic reforms agenda was less than a decade old. At that time the total volume of China’s GDP was only around US\$ 0.6 trillion, only at number nine in the world. Whereas, by 2018 according to

the data of the World Bank, China's GDP has crossed the volume of 13.6 trillion dollar, standing at number two in the world (World Bank, 2018).

It would be fascinating to observe that the debate of American decline during the late 1980s was short-lived. By 1991, as result of the collapse of the cold war rival, Soviet Union and the Gulf War victory over Saddam Hussein, the United States was able to establish its unipolar hegemony over the whole world. However, ironically the new debate of decline started after the early and over-optimistic "mission accomplished"<sup>115</sup> address of the US president George W. Bush. Obviously, by then the prime objectives of the sole superpower of the world were profoundly visible. In reaction to the highly aggressive foreign policy compounded with an absolute unilateralist approach; the wave of anti-Americanism triggered in many regions of the world. However, the decline debate has lingered on due to various reasons.

In this chapter there is a comprehensive detail of different variables pertaining to title of great power politics that ultimately influence the dynamics world order as a whole. Efforts have been made to draw the comparison of three leading elements; economic, military and political influence; of power potentials possessed by different power centers in the world. The great powers essentially assert themselves, on the basis of these features of power in the global system.

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<sup>115</sup> On May 1, 2003 the United States President George W. Bush delivered his famous speech "The Mission Accomplished". It was speech was a televised address from the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln. The president was standing under a "Mission Accomplished" banner. George W. Bush declared that in the battle of Iraq, the US and our allies have prevailed. The speech of Bush that claimed victory, what is commonly known as the "Mission Accomplished" address drew a lot of criticism as the war in Iraq continued for several years to come. According to CNN, in 2008, Bush expressed his regret by saying that he wished he had not spoken in front of a banner displaying "Mission Accomplished" just a month after the deployment of U.S. troops in Iraq.

## **6.1 The Role of Global Economic Powers in the Future World System**

At the end of the Cold War and the demise of communism, some of the commentators in international power politics proclaimed that “geo-economics” had completely overturned the geopolitics. A dominant perception prevailed that economic power would remain the key to the triumph in international politics; and many people believed that the future world would be dominated by economic powers like; Japan and Germany. However, in the contemporary system, a number of experts deduce that the rise of China’s share of the global economy signifies the ultimate shift in the balance of global power politics. They maintain that an overriding economic power ultimately becomes a leading military power, as the US had been the largest economy of the world for seven decades before it turned out to be a military superpower (Nye, 2011).

The following section shows a comprehensive analysis of various great powers in their economic parameters like; GDP, growth rates, share in global trade. Certainly these details would support the study in investigating and building of a hypothesis that which of the countries are capable of establishing different power centers in global system.

### **6.1.1 An Analysis of the Global GDPs**

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the indicator of an all-inclusive scorecard of the general economic health of a country. It is the measure of the total monetary or market value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country in a specific time period. Though GDP of a country is generally calculated on an annual basis; however, it can also be calculated on a quarterly basis. For instance, the US government issues an annualized GDP estimation for each quarter as well as for an entire year.

According to the statistics of the World Bank, by the end of the year 2018 United States remains to be the world's largest economy in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) with a volume of US\$ 20,494.1 billion. The United States is followed by China, the second largest with US\$ 13,608.2 billion; and Japan, the third largest economy having US\$ 4,970.9 billion. Though Germany is the world's fourth largest economy with a GDP of US\$ 3,996.8 billion; however, in this study the European Union is acknowledged as a unified economic entity.

**Table 5-1: The World Bank's Gross Domestic Product Chart (2018)**

Ranking	Country	(Volume of the GDP in billions)
1	United States	US\$ 20,494.1
2	China	US\$ 13,608.2
3	Japan	US\$ 4,970.9
4	Germany	US\$ 3,996.8
5	United Kingdom	US\$ 2,825.2
6	France	US\$ 2,777.5
7	India	US\$ 2,726.3
8	Italy	US\$ 2,073.9
9	Brazil	US\$ 1,868.6
10	Canada	US\$ 1,709.3

Source: World Bank Report, 2018

Therefore, according to the World Bank data the collective GDP of the European Union is US\$ 18,749 billion. Hence, the EU stands second in ranking and ahead of China and Japan in GDPs. So in terms of economy, the United States, the European Union, China, Japan and India are among the leading economic players or the economic power centers at the global level. The current ranking of global GDPs may alter substantially in the coming decades. Keeping the view the current economic indicators and the growth rates various countries; the projected economies by another five to ten years are likely to

shuffle substantially. The emerging economies like; China, India and others are expected to even crossover the American economic position in the world.

According to the statistics World Economic Outlook (October - 2018) of the IMF; the top five economic giants, during the years 2019 and 2023, in nominal terms would be: the United States, the European Union, China, Japan, and India. However, in terms of Purchasing Power Parity<sup>116</sup> (PPP) China would be far ahead of the US and similarly India would jump into the top three economies in the world. The likely list of the top ten international economic actors would be: United States, India, Japan, Germany, Russia, Indonesia, Brazil, United Kingdom and France.

**Table 5-2: GDP in Purchasing Power Parity (Billions of US\$)**

Country	Current Global Rank	A Comparison of GDPs in 2019 and 2023				Growth Rate
		2019 (BUS\$)	% Share in Global GDP	Projected in 2023 (BUS\$)	Projected Rank	
China	1	27,449.05	19.2	37,198	1	6.18 %
USA	2	21,482.41	15	24,671	2	2.54 %
India	3	11,412.97	7.98	16,575	3	7.44 %
Japan	4	5,806.72	4.06	6,380	4	0.94 %
Germany	5	4,555.47	3.18	5,184	5	1.86 %
Russia	6	4,345.36	3.04	4,966	7	1.8 %
Indonesia	7	3,753.20	2.62	4,969	6	5.12 %
Brazil	8	3,524.06	2.46	4,149	8	2.37 %
UK	9	3,144.55	2.2	3,609	9	1.49 %
France	10	3,081.00	2.15	3,541	10	1.62 %

Source: IMF, 2019

<sup>116</sup> PPP is a popular macro-economic analysis of the countries to equate economic productivity and standards of living among them. It is a kind of economic theory that compares the currencies of various countries through a "basket of goods" approach. According to PPP, two currencies are at par if a basket of goods have the same worth in both countries, taking into account their exchange rates.

By measuring in both these methods of GDP, the nominal and the PPP, by and large majority of the international economic players are the same. Particularly, in both these methodologies, the United States and China would occupy the positions of G-2 or top two economies in the world. The United States would be the world's largest economy on nominal basis; while on the basis of PPP, China would be the largest economic actor in the world. In nominal GDP the US is ahead of China by US\$B 7310 in 2019; whereas, on the basis of Purchasing Power Parity, China has overtaken the US way back in 2014.

Therefore, it is certainly believed that over the next few decades China will remain the world's largest economy on PPP basis; since the second placed US is growing significantly slow and third ranked India is too far behind.

**Table 5-3: An Assessment of Nominal GDPs (in Billions of US \$)**

Country	Current Global Ranking	A Comparison of GDPs in 2019 and 2023				Growth Rate
		2019	% Share in Global GDP	Projected in 2023	Projected Ranking	
USA	1	21,482.41	24.4	24,671	1	2.54 %
China	2	14,172.20	16.1	19,581	2	6.18 %
Japan	3	5,220.57	5.93	5,908	3	0.94 %
Germany	4	4,117.07	4.67	4,937	4	1.86 %
India	5	2,957.72	3.36	4,330	5	7.44 %
France	6	2,844.70	3.23	3,364	6	1.62 %
UK	7	2,809.91	3.19	3,257	7	1.49 %
Italy	8	2,112.80	2.4	2,396	8	1.03 %
Brazil	9	1,929.71	2.19	2,351	9	2.37 %
Canada	10	1,820.36	2.07	2,322	10	2.05 %

Source: IMF, 2019

Growth rate<sup>117</sup> is also a highly significant aspect of the economy of a country. Keeping an eye on the current economic growth of various rapidly rising economies; it can be estimated that in the coming decades these countries will certainly have a greater role in their respective regions as well as at the international level.

The growth rates of China and India in the past few decades have been remarkable, which are further projected to be by 2030 as 6.7% in the case of earlier and 6.2% in that of the later. With these growth rates; the two rising powers would become the top two economies of the world by end of the next decade (Gros & Alcidi, 2013). On the other hand, experts of international political economy believe that the already developed economic power centers; the US, EU and Japan will be facing the challenge of stagnant economic growths. They all will hardly grow by 2 just percent (Gros & Alcidi, 2013).

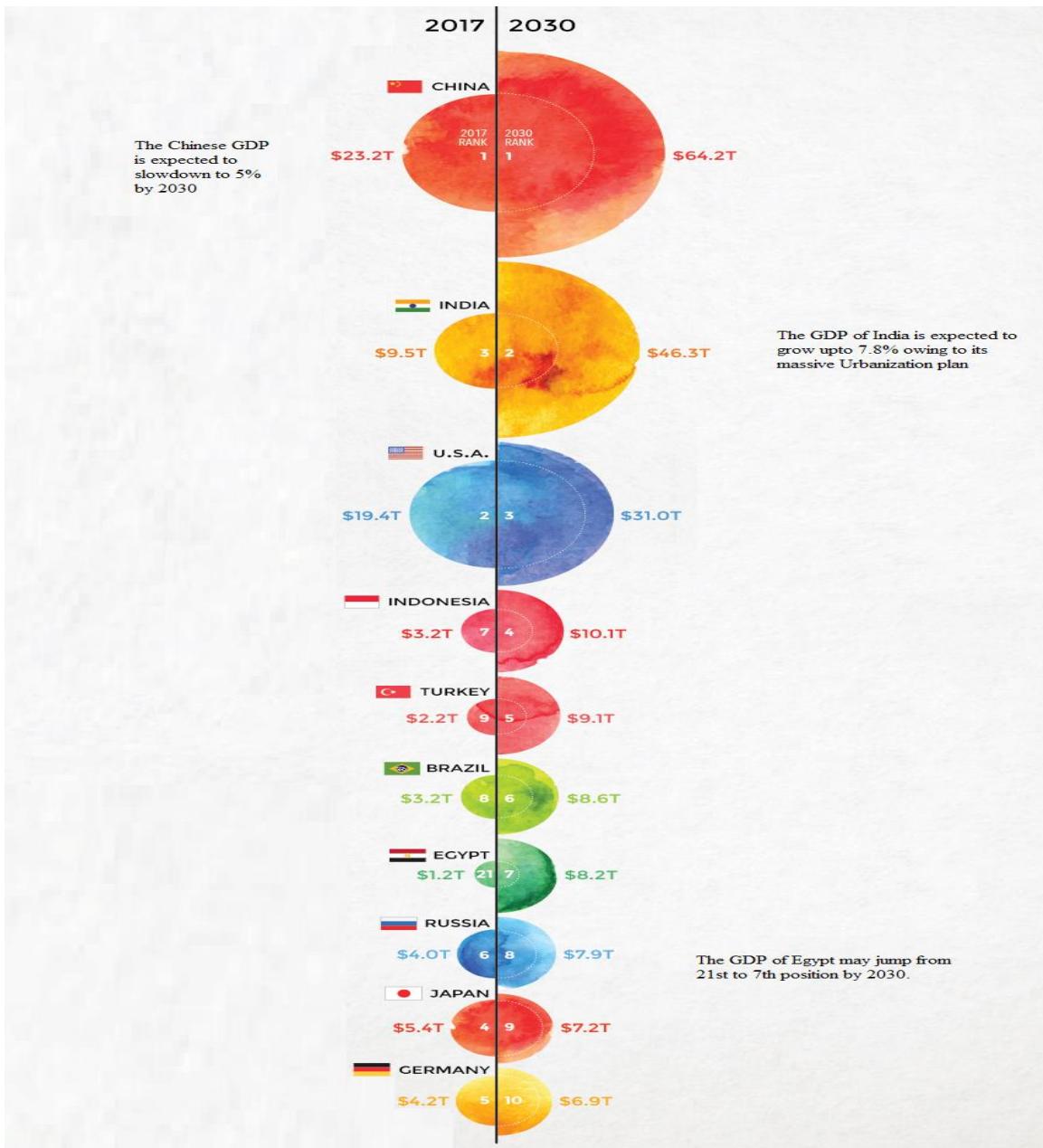
**Table 5-4: A Comparison of Ten Largest GDPs (in PPP) 2017 and 2030**

Country	GDP in PPP (2017)	Projected GDP in PPP by (2030)	Projected Ranking	Change Ratio in Percent
China	US \$ 23.2 Trillion	US \$ 64.2 trillion	1st	177 %
India	US \$ 9.5 Trillion	US \$ 46.3 trillion	2nd	387 %
USA	US \$ 19.4 Trillion	US \$ 31.0 trillion	3rd	60 %
Indonesia	US \$ 3.2 Trillion	US \$ 10.1 trillion	4th	216 %
Turkey	US \$ 2.2 Trillion	US \$ 9.1 trillion	5th	314 %
Brazil	US \$ 3.2 Trillion	US \$ 8.6 trillion	6th	169 %
Egypt	US \$ 1.2 Trillion	US \$ 8.2 trillion	7th	583 %
Russia	US \$ 4.0 Trillion	US \$ 7.9 trillion	8th	98 %
Japan	US \$ 5.4 Trillion	US \$ 7.2 trillion	9th	33 %
Germany	US \$ 4.2 Trillion	US \$ 6.9 trillion	10th	64 %

Source: IMF, 2017

<sup>117</sup> Growth rate of a country is the change in percentage of a specific variable within a particular time period. For example the investors' growth rates typically represent the overall annual rate of growth of a company's revenues, earnings, dividends or even macro concepts like GDP and retail sales. There are two main kinds of growth rates; one is the expected forward-looking and the other is trailing growth rate.

**Figure 5-1: Comparison of the World 10 Largest Economies 2017 - 2030 in PPP**



Source: (Desjardins, 2019)

At the same time, another key international player, Russia is also making serious efforts to develop its economy; and the likelihood of its success in the coming decades is too promising. Under its current regime, Russia has been consistently improving its ties with

the important actors like, China, EU, Turkey and many others to regain its historical prestige. Currently Russia is the 12th-largest economy in the world with a nominal GDP of US\$ 1.52 trillion. Its GDP holds the status of being the sixth largest economy based on PPP with US\$ 4.01 trillion. According to the IMF data, by 2030, the Russian GDP in terms of PPP would be around 7.9 trillion US dollars. By then Russia would be able to hold the status of being the 8<sup>th</sup> largest economy of the world.

Keeping in view the share of percentage by the key actors in the total volume of the Global GDP, United States is still at the top by maintaining around one-fourth or 24.4 per cent of the world. It is worth mentioning that by the end of 2018, the collective GDP of EU was 18748.6 billion UD dollars (World Bank, 2018). After United States the two most colossal economies are; the EU and China by holding 16.3 % and 16.1 % of the global GDP, while Japan stands at fourth position as it shares around 6 % in the world.

Therefore, the broad analysis of the leading economies in the world indicates that in the coming decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; there will be three major economic power centers in the world. These world economic powers; United States, European Union and China are the epicenters of global economy.

### **6.1.2 The Global Trade**

The volume of international trade plays a highly significant role in the economy of a country. Primarily, global trade is the exchange of goods and services between various international actors. It not only allows fulfilling the domestic needs of the country but also stimulates the process of its development in relative terms. Foreign trade also leads to an increase of exports and eventually the income of the producing country. In the

modern globalized world, international relations are basically aimed to enhance the trade ties between various countries. Even the terrible political issues like; border conflicts, ideological variances as well as cultural and civilizational differences are overcome by the trade ties among various competing nations. China has a lot of issues with India, Japan and the US; but it has developed massive trade partnerships with all these key international players.

### **The United States' Global Trade**

The United States is obviously the world's largest economy and a leading player of global trade. It constitutes less than 5 % of the world's population, but the US generates and earns more than 20 % (one fifth) of the overall income of the world (Amadeo, 2019). Actually, it was the United States that initiated the process of opening world markets and ultimately expanding transnational trade in the mid-1930s. However, since the end World War II, it has unswervingly pursued this strategy that has played a key role in the development and prosperity of the US. The Peterson Institute for International Economics claims that a result of such kind of trade liberalizing efforts; the US has been able to earn 9% higher than it would otherwise have made. According to the Office of the US Trade Department by converting this 9% income into substance, the US has made an additional 1.5 trillion US dollars in 2013 (Amadeo, 2019).

Owing to its massive size of economy, certainly the United States has a significant impact on the overall trade of the world. As a result of expansion in the American economy, the growth in other countries is also promptly boosted. Correspondingly, the negativity of American economy usually affects a large number of other countries and

similar declines are observed in their growths. The nature of free market economy has helped the United States in earning revenue by exporting its goods and services; while the imports of foreign goods have also helped keep the commodity prices low and easily meet the demands of consumers in the country.

According to the statistics of a famous American financial group '*The Balance*' the total trade of the United States with other countries in 2018 was 5.6 trillion US dollars. The share of exports in the American global trade was 2.5 trillion dollars; while 3.1 trillion dollars' worth was imports. Currently, the US is the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest exporter in the world after China and the EU; while it is the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest importer of the global trade after the European Union only. Two third of the US Exports contributes goods worth US\$ 1.7 trillion. Out of these exporting goods from the United States about one-third are the capital goods (goods that are used in producing other goods). The share of these goods amounts up to about 562 billion US dollars. Moreover, the US is a major exporter of commercial and military aircrafts, and goods related industrial machinery, electronics, telecommunications, chemicals, petroleum products, electric machines and medical equipment (Amadeo, 2019).

In addition the US is also a leading exporter of the fuel, gold, consumer goods, pharmaceuticals, cell phones, automobiles, gems and diamonds. It also exports consumer item related to feeds, foods and beverages like; soybeans, meat, poultry, corn and many other commodities. Moreover, one third of the American exports are related to the services sector that worth around 828 billion dollars. It is pertinent to mention that the largest category in the services group is associated to the traveling that earns more than 300 billion dollars.

The Balance on the other hand also maintains that the US is also one of the world's largest Importers of goods. More than 80 per cent of the American imports are goods that worth around 2.6 trillion US dollars. These imports include; capital goods, computers, telecommunications, consumer goods, pharmaceuticals, garments and footwear. It is worth mention that the majority of the American imports are related to consumers is the low cast items.

**Table 6-1: A Comparison of the US Imports and Exports 1995 to 2017 (US\$ Billion)**



Source: OEC, 2017

Moreover, almost one-fourth of the US imports (\$576 billion) include; industrial machinery, petroleum and oil products. The United States has also to import automotive vehicles, their engines and other parts, foods and beverages. In the category of services the US imports are around 18 percent of the total imports that amounts up to 558 billion US dollars. This category also includes travel, computer, banking, insurances and government services.

According to the statistics of the Observatory of Economic Complexity<sup>118</sup> (OEC) the US trade balance has been negative since the mid of 1990s. In 1995 its trade deficit had been US\$ 124 Billion in net imports; while the American trade balance in 2017 was US\$ 910 billion in deficit. Although the economy of United States has expanded since the end of the cold war in early 1990s; but throughout this period the American global trade has been negatively balanced in its net imports.

More than one-fourth of the US exports are meant for the two neighboring North American countries. Another quarter of it exports go across the Atlantic to the EU region. Similarly, more than a quarter of the American exports reach to the Asian countries, particularly to Far-East. The highest ranking five export destinations of the American trade are; Mexico 15%, Canada 12 %, China 11 % and Japan 5.3 % and Germany 5 per cent (OEC Report, 2017).

### **China's Global Trade**

In the past three decades China has not only maintained a high growth rate of its economy but it has also aggressively asserted itself in the global trade. One of the key indicators of Beijing's economic boom is the progressively rising volume of exports to every region of the world. According to the statistics of OEC, China is the largest export economy in the world. In 2017, the Chinese exports were touching to around US\$ 2.4 T; while its imports were 1.54 Trillion US dollars, making it the second largest importer in the world. Hence, the economy of China earned positive trade balance of US\$ 873

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<sup>118</sup> The Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC) is an American based world's leading visualization or analyzing engine for the collection, assessment and depiction of the worldwide trade data. The OEC is a kind of tool that allows its users to quickly compose a visual narrative about countries and the products they exchange with rest of the world.

Billion. The total GDP of China in 2017 was 12.2 Trillion US Dollars ranked at number two after the United States (OEC Report, 2017).

The main items of the Chinese exports are related to the broadcasting equipment, computers and parts, office machine parts, electronics ICs (integrated circuits) and telephone sets. On the other hand, the top ranking Chinese imports are electronics ICs, Petroleum and its products, iron ore, automobile, cars and gold (OEC Report, 2017). The major destinations of the Chinese export goods are the United States with a worth of US\$ 476 billion a year. Moreover, the Chinese exports are also sent to the Far- Eastern countries like; Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea and Europe, particularly to Germany.

**Table 6-2: A Comparison of Chinese Exports and Imports 1995 - 2017 (US\$ Billion)**



Source: OEC, 2017

### **The Global Trade of European Union**

The next significant player in the global trade is European Union. However, a substantial amount of variations could be observed in the data regarding the global trade of EU. It is

worth mention that in EU the major export economy is Germany. According to the statistics of the '*World's top Exports*' (an online source of international trade), in 2018, the worth of collective shipments of exports goods from EU countries was 6.445 trillion US\$ around the globe. It is considered as the world's most powerful trade partner of almost every other notable trading nation. The EU is responsible for over one third (36.7%) of globally exported goods valued at \$17.546 trillion in 2018 (Workman, 2019).

According to the statistics of 'Eurostat'<sup>119</sup>, EU is the second largest trade player in terms of exports and imports of goods in the world. In 2017 the EU's share of global exports was around 15.8 per cent; whereas its imports were just above 15 %. The EU faced a minor trade deficit of EUR 25 billion in 2018, after a five years journey of its surplus trade since 2013 (Eurostat, 2019). By 2018, the worth of both imports and exports of EU remained just below the level of EUR 2000 billion (Eurostat, 2019). Among the EU member nations, Germany has had the highest share of EU trade in 2018, contributing 28.0 % of the EU's exports of goods to non-member countries. Germany also accounts for around one fifth of EU's imports that is 19 per cent.

The largest trading partner of EU during the last decade (2008- 2018) has been the US, China, Switzerland, Russia, Turkey, Norway, Japan and South Korea. The exports of EU to China have almost trebled (from around EUR 80 billion to EUR 220 billion) during the

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<sup>119</sup> Basically Eurostat is the statistical office of the European Union situated in Luxembourg. The primary mission of Eurostat is to provide high quality statistics for the European countries. Initially it was established in 1953 to fulfill the requirements of the European Coal and Steel Community. In 1958 with the existence of the European Community, Eurostat was given the status of a Directorate-General (DG) of the European Commission. The key role Eurostat's is to supply statistics to other DGs and also to supply the Commission and other European Institutions with data so that they can define, implement and analyse Community policies. Therefore, the Eurostat offers a wide range of significant and interesting data to the government institutions, businesses forums, the education institutes, journalists and their bodies, and the public sector that can use the data for their work and daily life.

era; while they have almost doubled to South Korea during this period. The most common destination for exported goods from the EU in 2018 remained the United States. The EU's share of exports to the US in 2018 remained 21% and it was more than that of the combined exports to the next two countries (China and Switzerland). The second most significant destination market for the surplus goods of EU in 2018 was China with 10.7 % of the EU's total exports. It was followed by Switzerland with 8 % share (Eurostat, 2019).

The main trading goods for both imports and exports of EU are the machinery and vehicles, manufactured goods, chemicals and their byproducts, energy substances, food and drinks and raw materials. The trade of the European Union has remained almost balanced in terms of its imports and exports during the last decade. Similarly, the countries of exports and imports in respect of EU are also the same.

According to the statistics of the World Trade Organization<sup>120</sup> the EU as a whole is entitled to be the largest exporter of manufactured goods in the world. In 2017 the worth of its exports crossed the figures of US\$ 4.67 trillion with an almost 39 per cent share of global exports of manufactured goods. The next is China's exports that have reached to the value of US\$ 2.13 trillion by representing almost 18 per cent share of the global exports. On the third place stands the United States maintaining the value of US\$ 1.13 trillion and a share of about 9 per cent of the global exports volume. At fourth position is Japan that continues to have the exports of US\$ 0.604 trillion with a share of about 5 per cent of the worldwide exports (WTO, 2018).

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<sup>120</sup> The WTO (World Trade Organization) is a transnational body that deals with the global rules and procedures of trade between different countries and various international actors. The main function of this body is to make sure that the trade between various nations can flow as smoothly and freely as possible.

## **Japan's Global Trade**

As mentioned above that Japan is also a major economic power in the world. Its economy was growing very rapidly until recent years and her growth was mainly resulted from increase in the worker productivity. This greater production was chiefly due to the increased capital of machines in place of workers; technological advancement; better policies of the government; highly skilled, educated and committed labor force; and a better environment for trade at the global level. However, the economic boom that Japan demonstrated during the 1960s and 1970s is the part of history; since then the country is facing the issues of poorer growth.

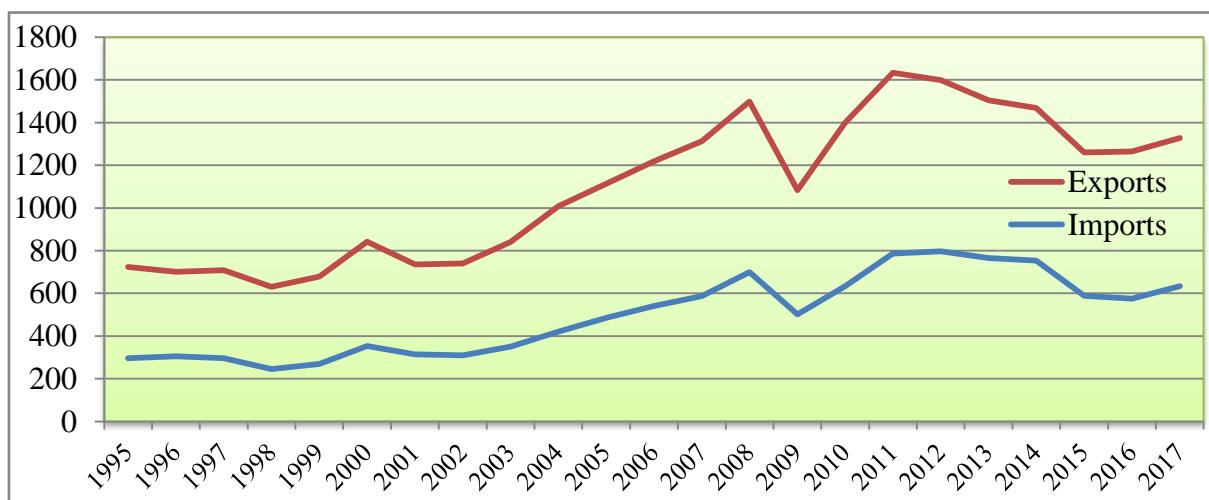
Despite the fact that Japan is confronting some economic challenges; yet it is the 4th largest export economy in the world. According to the statistics of OEC the volume of Japanese exports in 2017 was US\$ 694 Billion; while her imports worth US\$ 632 Billion. Hence, Japan was able to maintain a positive trade balance of US\$ 62 Billion. The total volume of Japanese GDP in 2017 was US\$ 4.87 Trillion with its per capita GDP of US\$ 43300 per year (OEC Report, 2017).

Japan is the fourth largest exporter and importer of goods in the world. Most of its imports are the manufactured goods; while its imports related energy like crude petroleum and gas. The largest exporting element of Japan is her cars with a value of over US\$ 100 Billion and about 15 % of its exports. The next is parts of vehicles having an export value of US\$ 35 Billion and around 5% of its exports. The third largest exports goods of Japan are the integrated circuits with a value of around US\$ 27 Billion and almost 4 % of its total exports (OEC Report, 2017).

The top imports of Japan are crude petroleum with a value of around US\$ 58 Billion demonstrating over 9 % of its total imports. The second largest import of Japan is the petroleum gas amounting up to US\$ 37 Billion and almost 6 % of the overall imports volume. Moreover, Japan also imports the broadcasting equipment and integrated circuits, each with a worth of more than US\$ 22 Billion and coal that of US\$ 20 Billion a year (OEC Report, 2017).

The top trading partners of Japan are more or less the same. Its top export destinations are China with a worth of US\$ 136 Billion. China consumes about 20 % of Japanese exports. The second largest export destination of Japanese good is the United States with US\$ 125 Billion and 18 % of its total exports. Whereas the third largest exports destination of Japan is South Korea with exports of over US\$ 54 Billion and almost 8 % of Japan overall exports. Other Asian nations particularly Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore and Germany are also among the major destinations of Japanese export goods.

**Table 6-3: Comparison of the Japan's Imports and Exports 1995-2017 (US\$ Billion)**



Source: OEC, 2017

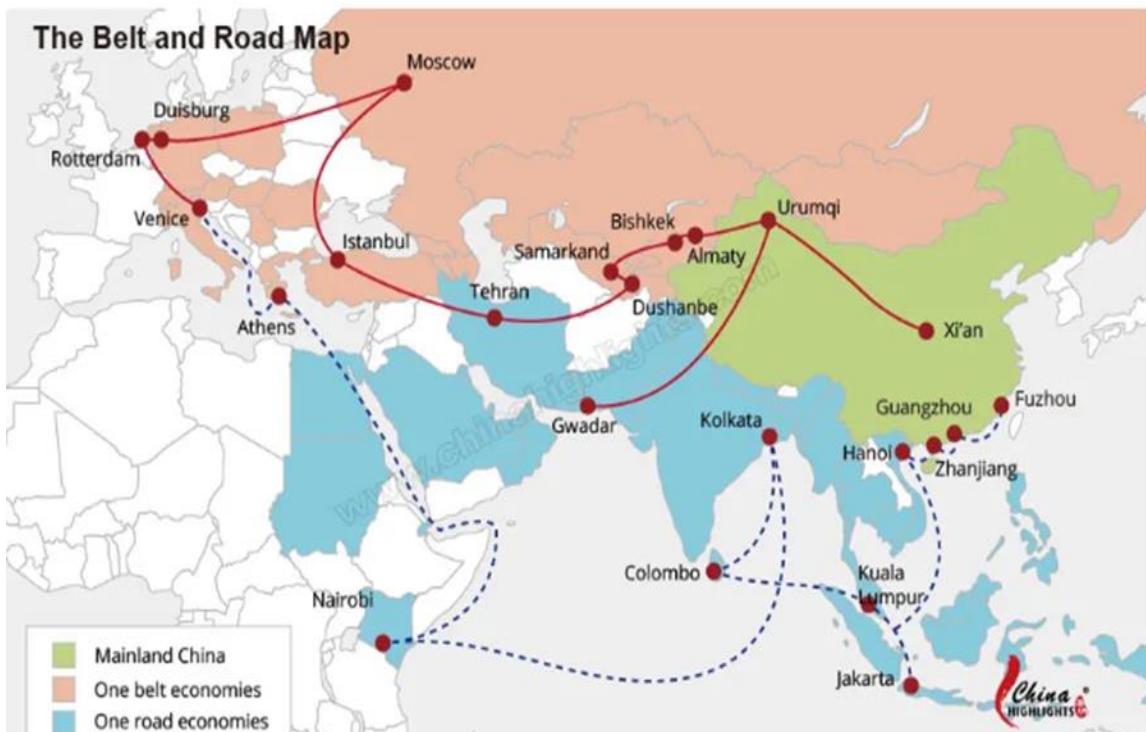
The top import origin for Japan is China with a value of US\$ 157 Billion and about 25 % of its imports are arriving from China. The second biggest origin is the US with an import bill of US\$ 67 Billion and 11 % of the total Japanese requirements. The third largest import volume of Japan arrives from Australia having US\$ 35 Billion imports with a ratio of 5.5 % of the country's imports. Japan has to import substantially from South Korea and Saudi Arabia with about over US\$ 25 Billion each. The trade balance of Japan has been negative from 2012 to 2014; but since 2015 Tokyo has maintained a trend of surplus trade. However, its trade balance has halved from US \$ 131 Billion in 1995 to US \$ 62.4 Billion in 2017 (OEC Report, 2017).

To conclude this portion of discussion, it is obvious that in the contemporary world or in the coming decades, there are at least four global economic powers. Although, the hegemony of the US is in decline; but even then it is a decisive global economic power. On the other hand China is aggressively challenging the supremacy of American economic status quo, by achieving the title of the second largest economy and the largest export economy of the world. Beijing is also exporting its trillions of dollars reserves as investment in various parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. Certainly with growing economic performance China is also strengthening its overall power and influence in the world.

The volume of collective economy of EU, certainly have deeper impact on the global trade and economic activities. The major economic players of EU especially Germany, France and Italy are more heavily dependent upon the trans-Atlantic trade with the US. They have also established deeper economic ties with China and the rest of the world in

the past few decades. The Chinese vision of the Belt and Road Initiative<sup>121</sup> (BRI) or the “New Silk Roots” in the practical form can also be considered as a symbol of China-EU economic interdependence.

**Figure 6-1: The Belt and Road Initiative Map**



Source: [www.chinahighlight.com](http://www.chinahighlight.com)

<sup>121</sup> The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has a historical significance of around 2,000 years. During the Han Dynasty, numerous Chinese merchants started trade with people of West following the ‘Silk Road’, connecting the countries of the Eurasian region by land and sea. This Silk Road also helped the ancient China to make cultural exchanges with the West. Over the years, the Silk Road and its supplementary route, the Maritime Silk Road has promoted the friendly connections between people of the two regions. These routes strengthened the intermingling prospects of civilizations of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Today in the age of complex interdependence, regional cooperation is going to play a vital role in the expansion of the world economy. The Chinese President Xi Jinping, during his visit to central Asia and South East Asia in 2013, proposed a plan for redeveloping the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road (Belt and Road Initiative’ or BRI). This idea immediately attracted global attention; since, it also supports the contemporary international and regional development trends and the initiative will help countries to collaborate and co-develop in an environment of open economic system that will further strengthen the global free trade system. The BRI has deeper strategic, economic and cultural significance. Broadly speaking, the BRI has five major features; the policy coordination, connecting infrastructure, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people links.

Lastly, it is beyond doubt that the economy of Japan is not as strong as it has been in the past. However, Japan still is the fourth largest economy in the world. China and Japan have certain level of confrontation on geopolitical issues; yet their bilateral trade and economic linkages are strong enough.

**Figure 6-2: The Four Dominant Global Currencies**

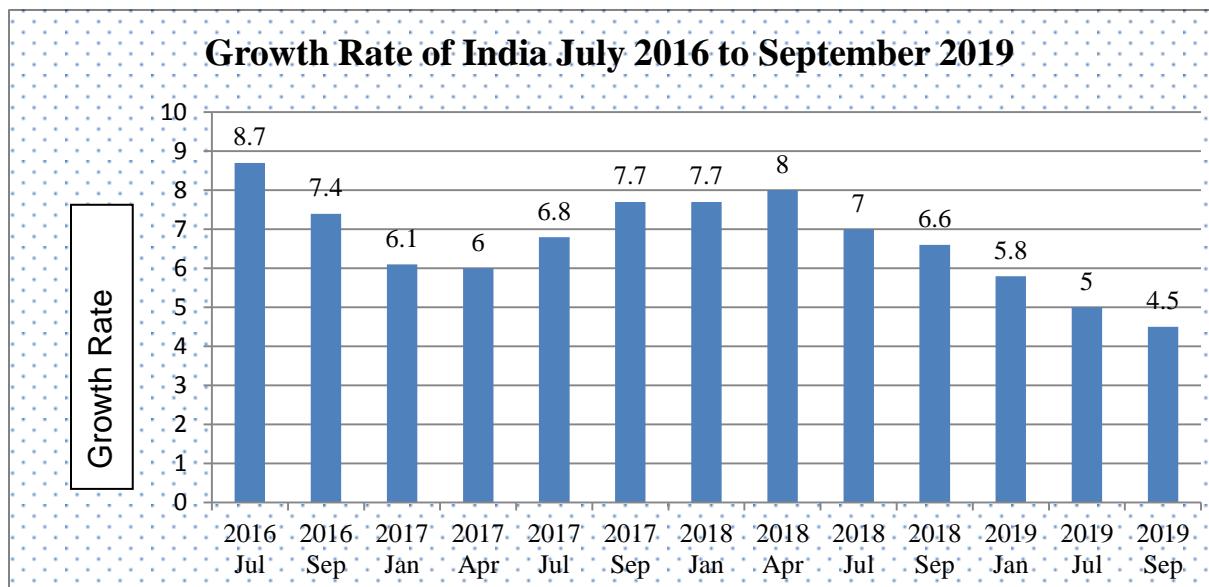


Source <https://www.thenational.ae/business/money/which-currency-will-come-out-on-top-in-2018-1.692468>

There is certainly a second tier of emerging economies in the world that are also asserting themselves as key international players. These include the BRICS nation; India, Brazil, Russia and South Africa; along with Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and others. Nonetheless, in the contemporary world system, these players may not be capable of crossing over the G-3 (the US, EU and China) economies of the world. In the recent past the economic growth of India remained highly encouraging and it was estimated that very soon India would overturned the economy of Japan; rather that of the US by 2030. However, according to the latest reports the Indian economy is facing severe challenges. It has demonstrated the sharp decline from just below 9 percent in July 2016 to 4.5

percent in last quarter of 2019; and the overall lowest since the first quarter of 2013. The same issue has also been identified by Abhijit Banerjee, an Indian-American and the winner of 2019 Nobel Prize for Economics. He says: "In the last five to six years, at least we could witness some growth, but now that assurance is also gone," (Banerjee, 2019).

**Table 6-4: Indian GDP Growth Rate (July 2016- September 2019)**



Source: Trading Economics: Ministry of Statistics and Program implementation

## 6.2 Global Military powers

In the contemporary world military strength of a country is one of the most significant aspects of power. It is believed that; for a common observer out of all the forms of power which are helpful in defining the supremacy of a country, none is more recognizable than its military power. At the same time, due to a number of reasons; such notions are also relevant in the archives of academics and even in the international politics. Since, a country with strong military muscles can certainly enjoy a higher security and stability.

On the contrary, a militarily weaker state is always at the mercy of its powerful neighbors and potential rivals. Similarly, a state that is enjoying an advantageous position in terms of military power has the ability to neutralize the aggressive designs of its contenders. Moreover, a militarily powerful state can seize or reduce the power of another opponent state in many other areas like; economics, international politics or even resource-based potential.

Historically, it has been a well-known fact that for many states, it was the expansion and improvement of their military power that demonstrated to be the true substance for their rise to the status of a great power at the regional or world level. At the same time, for many other states, the lack of military power substantiated to be one of the main reasons of the ruination of states that either had been the great powers or otherwise had the capability to rise to the position of a great power.

It is worth mention that in the past, military power was taken to be the most dominant or even the only parameter of a country's power. However, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalized world, the phenomenon of balance of power has overtaken the traditional idea of just accumulating the military arsenal. The same ideology has been provoked by the neo-realist school of thought that states try to acquire, maximize and utilize power to neutralize the power of its rivals.

Another highly significant aspect of power could be the presence of certain other factors that collectively determine the overall potential of the military power of a country. Secondly, the volume of military powers of different countries is commonly estimated in a comparative analysis against one another. The factors that generally constitute the

military power of a country include; the Offensive Military Power<sup>122</sup>, the defensive military power<sup>123</sup>, the land power, the sea power, the air power, the advanced military power, the nature and number of alliances established by the state, the demography, the geo-strategic location of the country, the technological advancement and the amount of natural resources of a country. In addition, the military power is also profoundly related to the economic, political, cultural and environmental cohesion of a nation.

Throughout the history several states have used the advantages of their military power for raising themselves to status of great powers. Like, Prussia was considered as a backward country by other European and German states; however, its expansion as a strong military power allowed it to fuse Germany and it was subsequently able to emerge as the most powerful state in the Continental Europe. Similarly, according to *International Strategic Analysis* (2018); the status of a great power attained by the Soviet Union was instituted on the basis of its sturdy military power. Eventually, this attribute allowed Russia to emerge as the superpower particularly in the post-world War II bipolar world order (ISA, 2018).

It is worth mention that by acquiring military power some of the states were capable of becoming the great powers; but at the same time the other great powers were also destabilized by their quest of extravagant power. Some of the states directed their resources excessively towards their militaries and subsequently undermined other aspects of their national power; like more recently we have witnessed the disintegration of the

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<sup>122</sup> The offensive military power is actually the ability of a country to project its military power beyond its borders in an aggressive manner to influence the others. It is considered one of the most prominent features of a country's overall power.

<sup>123</sup> The defensive military power of a country is the measure of her ability to use military power to safeguard its territory against any aggression. The defensive power may be applied against the aggressive designs of any other rival country, an alliance of countries or even the non-state actors.

former Soviet Union. On the other hand, some great powers failed to invest adequately in building their military power, and thus they undermined their capability to confront their rival powers. For example, during the 19th and 20th centuries France remained unable to counter or balance out the German military power and lost its leadership position in continental Europe.

In the following section of this chapter there is a detailed quantitative analysis of the militaries of the world leading Armed forces. For this comprehensive analysis we need to know about the numbers of their combat troops, the ground artillery, the air power, the naval ships etc.

### **6.2.1 The United States' Military Power**

Indeed the United States is a global military power having wide ranging global political and economic interests. The primary objective of its armed forces is to defend America from any internal or external security threat. In addition they are also meant to protect Americans and the American interests abroad along with extending support to the allies. The US military has to make sure the freedom of using international waters, air and space. They also have the ability to simultaneously engage in more than one major contingency in different parts of the world. The US military must be able not only to defend its territory, citizens and its interests, but also to deter enemies comprising of both the state and non-state actors.

It is generally acknowledged that United States has been one of the most decisive military powers of the world throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Anyone who wanted to breach the American security and challenge its interests or tried to destabilize the global order had to

face the furiousness of US military forces. However, since the dawn of the current century, the US hegemony as well as its military supremacy has no more been simply unchallengeable as it was in the past. The additional engagements due to a kind of self-imposed commitment by the US authorities to curb the so-called terrorist groups from Afghanistan and Iraq; eventually put the American forces into a degree of distress.

Subsequently, the American military might has to confront a major competition from the emerging power, China and the cold war rival of the US, Russia. The growing military influence of China and the resurrection of Russian armed forces, particularly under the Putin regime, are putting the United States under immense pressure to spend, modernize, and advance its military power; otherwise loose the supremacy in East Asia.

According to the statistics of the *Global Fire Power*<sup>124</sup>2019 report, out of 137 countries, United States is ranked as the number one military power in the world. It has the world's largest defense budget; which is US\$ 716 billion for the year 2019 (GFP, 2019). This amount is higher than three times that of the Chinese defense budget, second largest in the world and seven times more than the Russian defense budget.

The population of the US is around 330 million, while its total personnel are more than 2.14 million which is around 0.7 percent of the total American population. The number of active personnel is around 1.28 million (0.4 % of the overall population). The United States has also maintained a reserve force, which is around 0.86 million (GFP, 2019).

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<sup>124</sup> The Global Fire Power uses over 55 factors to determine a country's Power Index score. The Global Firepower in its 2019 ranking has listed the most powerful military nations in the world. In the said list a total of 137 advanced and lesser developed nations have been included. The parameters consist of the geographical location, the amount of natural resources and their reliance, the manpower and current economic strength of these countries. However, it is worth mention that the nuclear capability and the role of current political and military leadership are not taken into account for this ranking. Moreover, the land-locked countries are also not included, since they don't have their standing navies.

The United States has the largest airpower in the world, with around 13,400 aircrafts, excluding the UAVs<sup>125</sup>. According to the data of Armed Forces.com (an online source of military statistics); the US is holding more than one quarter of the world's total military aircrafts. It is worth mention that according to the statistics of this source, the main competitors, China and Russia collectively are far behind than the US in number of military aircrafts, which indicates the American air power. In addition, the US has more than 13,500 airports. It is worth mention that despite closing hundreds of bases in Iraq and Afghanistan in the recent past, the United States still maintains about 800 military bases in more than 70 countries and territories around the world. On the other hand, the number of foreign bases maintained by Russia, Britain and France are just about 30 in combined (Vine, 2015).

The United States has also maintained one of the largest navies in the world. According to the statistics of Global Fire Power; the US has 415 naval ships. Out of them 68 are submarines (both conventional and nuclear), 24 aircraft carriers in almost every region of the world. In addition, the United States has 22 frigates<sup>126</sup>, 68 destroyers, and 13 patrol vessels. Moreover, the US has a huge coastline of around 20,000 kilometer; and 33 major ports. The United States is also blessed for having more than 41,000 kilo-meter usable waterways available for the use of military and merchant purposes (GFP, 2019).

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<sup>125</sup> UAVs (Unarmed Aerial Vehicles) are also called drones or Remotely Piloted Vehicles (RPVs); employed by the militaries of many countries in the world. They were started to be used in the post-World War II era. However, the modern UAVs were deputed as a key weapon in the early 1980s, particularly by Israel for launching laser- guided munitions. The UAVs proved to be undetectable and effective for surveillance and target detection mainly due to their small size and noiseless engines. Then they were used by the United States as one of the most important tactical weapons. The UAVs have been effectively used by the American forces in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iran, particularly against the Al-Qaeda network. They have also been purchased by several allies of the US. However, some other countries are also indigenously developing these most modern and effective aerial machines.

<sup>126</sup> Frigates are different types of small and fast warships. In modern navies they are mostly used to protect other huge warships and merchant ships. Frigates are also used as anti-submarine warfare equipment.

The United States has a unique kind of geography between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It has an area of 9,826,675 square kilometers, with more than 12,000 km borders and around 20,000 km coastline. Therefore, the US has to maintain one of the largest land forces in the world. These ground troops are also equipped with highly sophisticated weapons like; combat tanks, APVs (Armored Personnel Vehicles) or AFVs (Armored Fighting Vehicles), self- propelled and towed artilleries, rockets and missiles etc.

The US army has maintained 1st ranking by holding 6,417 attack helicopters, which are four times more than Russia. It has 8,725 main battle tanks. As one of the recognized nuclear weapons states the United States maintains a substantial store of nuclear weapons, including around 10,350 intact warheads. Out of these nukes, 5300 are believed to be active or in other words operational.

Besides its domestic assignments, the US has more than 800 military bases (Vine, 2015) in around 80 or more countries and territories around the world. The largest numbers of these foreign military bases are in Germany with 181 base sites; followed by Japan with 122; South Korea 83 and Italy 50 in addition to so many in other regions of the world (Vine, 2015). The most notable of these bases are in countries like; Afghanistan, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Cuba, Norway, Philippines, Romania, Spain, Tunisia, UK and others.

These statistics certainly indicate that the United States has to lift the encumbrance of a huge military setup in almost every region of the world. On the other hand its competitors such as Russia, UK and France each have only 10-20; while China has only one foreign military base (Vine, 2015).

According to the statistics of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)<sup>127</sup>; the US has also been the top arms exporter of the world during the last decade. Its exports of major arms grew by 29 per cent in the period 2014–18 than that of 2009–13. Its share of total global exports rose from 30 per cent to 36 per cent between the two periods. During the second period, the Middle East received more than 50 % of the overall American arms exports. The arms exports from United States to the Middle East escalated by 134 % during the past ten years. The American arms exports hiked by around 26 % to Africa; whereas there were substantial cuts in weaponries consignments to Asia, Europe and the Americas (Fleurant, Perlo-Freeman, Wezeman, 2019).

The United States supplied major arms to at least 98 countries from 2014 to 18; which is much greater figure of export destinations as compared to other arms sellers in the world. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia remained to be chief recipient of these major arms and accounted for around 22 per cent of the American arms exports. Among the major US arms exports, aircraft accounted for 53 per cent, which comprised of the delivery of around 250 advanced combat aircraft to more than a dozen countries around the world. Keeping in view the amount of existing orders, it can be concluded that fighter aircrafts shall remain as the leading US arms export entity in coming decades too. For instance, till the completion of 2018, the order of around 900 advanced fighter jets were placed to the US from various countries of the world (Fleurant, Perlo-Freeman, Wezeman, 2019).

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<sup>127</sup> SIPRI is a Stockholm based autonomous transnational research institute which is dedicated to the study of conflicts, armaments, arms control and disarmament related issues at the world level. It was established in 1966. SIPRI offers data, analysis and recommendations, primarily to policymakers, researchers and media groups in addition to the interested community. SIPRI has been regularly ranked as one of the most respected think tanks at the international level. Its vision is the existence of a world in which sources of insecurity are identified and understood and conflicts are barred or amicably resolved, and durable peace is sustained for all times.

It can be argued that despite very frequent talk of American decline in various circles, the United States still might be easily declared as the world's only superpower; while looking at its strongest military footprints throughout the world. The US is the largest military spender with the highest number of inland and offshore military bases. No other power or even a group of powers in the world is even near to the American military might. It can be stated that in the United States, it is far easier to list the countries where its military is not present than those where the Americans troops are present.

### **6.2.2 The Russian Military Power**

Russia has been one of the most dominant military powers in the world, particularly in the past two centuries. It is geographically, the largest country in the world. Russia has an area of 17,098,242 square kilometers by covering almost the entire Northern Asian region and most part of the Eastern Europe. Russia is sharing 22,408 kilometers of borders with 14 neighboring countries; a coastline of 37,653 kilometers and more than 100,000 kilometers of usable waterways. It also has huge networks of roads and railways with around 982,000 and 87,000 kilometers respectively (GFP, 2019). All these gigantic attributes of a country certainly necessitate having a vast security setup.

The former Soviet Union, along with other Allied Nations, emerged as a victor of the WW-II. However, during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; Russia was economically suffering due to its arms race and other cold war compulsions. Eventually, in early 1990s, the Soviet Union faced disintegration into several independent states. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, currently it is one of the ten largest economies in the world. The main impetus to the Russian economic revival is sustained with the help of its

extensive amount of natural resources, particularly crude oil and gas in the country. Predominantly, in the fields of crude oil production and natural gas reserves; it holds the position of a world leader. The energy resources of Russia are also exported to the European countries. Russia is also maintaining its top position in the world in several other metrics.

The total population of Russia is more than 142 million; out of them around 50 per cent are available as manpower of the country. The number of its military personnel is around 3.6 million, about 2.5 per cent of the population (GFP, 2019). Since, Russia is the permanent member of the UN Security Council; it has certainly maintained one of the most powerful armed forces in the world. It is worth mention that Russia is home to the biggest stockpile of nuclear weapons in the world. Despite its various agreements with the US on arms control like; Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty<sup>128</sup> (SORT or Moscow Treaty) and New START<sup>129</sup>, Russia has around 6,500 nuclear warheads at its inventory (Nuclear Weapons: Who Has What at a Glance, July 2019). Accord

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<sup>128</sup> The American President George W. Bush and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin signed an agreement named as the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT or Moscow Treaty) on May 24, 2002. Under the accord the US and Russia decided to significantly curtail their respective strategic weapons. The two sides could not reach to a consensus on mechanism of the counting rules. President Bush stressed that his side would reduce mere “operationally deployed” warheads or the weapons which are deployed on strategic delivery vehicles. His administration declared that the warheads taken away from active service and stored in depots or under repair would not count. The limitations of the treaty were analogous to the ones of START III, but this accord did not ask for the demolition of delivery vehicles or the warheads, as had been demanded in START III. The treaty of SORT entered into force on 1<sup>st</sup> June 2003 after it was approved by the US Senate and Russian Duma. Latter SORT was replaced by New START.

<sup>129</sup> The US and Russia signed the treaty of New START on 8<sup>th</sup> April 2010. Under this verifiable agreement it was legally binding for the two sides for putting limits on their nuclear warheads up to only 1,550. These weapons were deployed on 700 strategic delivery systems (ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers). The accord also put limits on the deployed as well as non-deployed launchers to 800. Under the treaty, the measures included on-site inspections and exhibitions, data exchanges and notifications related to strategic offensive arms. The New START was officially sanctioned by the American Senate on 22<sup>nd</sup> December, 2010; while Russian parliament sanctioned it on January 26, 2011. The New START treaty entered into effect on February 5, 2011. The initial term of the treat will expire in 2021; however, the two parties may decide to extend it for another five years period.

It is important to highlight that one of the most significant aspects of the Russian defense is its military spending. According to a recent proclamation published by SIPRI; the Russian military spending in 2018 were US \$ 61.4 billion and it remained to be at the sixth highest place in the world. However, according to Michael Kofman (a senior research scientist at the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute) the Russian defense spending is several times higher than the said amount.

Michael Kofman (2019) proclaims that the Russian defense budget remains to be the third largest in the world which is enough to dwarf the collective defense expenditures of most European states. He has categorically asserted that in reality, the effective military budget of Russia is higher in the range of US \$ 150-180 billion a year. Out of this amount, he points out; Moscow allocates a much higher percentage to procurement as well as research and development programs than the defense budgets of the Western Nations (Kofman, 2019).

A glance at the Russian military overview reveals that since returning to power in 2012, the Russian President Vladimir Putin has categorically sought to reassert his country as a great power on the global stage. According to Vladimir Frolov (a Russian political analyst and columnist) Putin also aims to restructure the international order which is believed to be tilted too heavily in favor of the United States (Frolov, 2015). Moscow in collaboration with Beijing is striving to promote a multipolar world order established on the evenly balance of power principles.

The Russian regime seems to make consistent efforts for the preeminence of the United Nations, and a watchful balance of power that sought to prevent one state or group of

states from dominating the entire international order. On the other hand, to support these ambitions for the status of a great power, Moscow has also sought to build a robust military that must be able to project its power. Its armed forces are also aimed to add a substantial amount of credibility to the Russian diplomacy. They are meant to ensure that Russian national interests could no longer be precipitously sacked without facing grave consequences (Trenin, 2016).

In the following paragraphs there is detail of the core Russian Military Capabilities. The Russian ground forces consist of several divisions, which are geographically distributed across four military divisions. They are composed of the ground troops, airborne troops, Infantry, coastal troops, coastal missile artillery troops, and national guards. Each one of them is assigned with some kind of specific responsibilities.

Russia is the top nation in terms of having combat tanks with a huge numbers of 21,932, more than three times that of the United States' total inventory. Russian military is also equipped with more than 50,000 armored fighting vehicles in addition to 6,083 self-propelled artilleries. In the military statistics, for every other comparative domain, Russia holds either 2nd or 3rd place in the world (GFP, 2019). Russia has also maintained one of the strongest air forces in the world. RAF operates under the Russian Aerospace Command in Moscow.

According to Defense Intelligence Agency<sup>130</sup> report 2019, the overall manpower for the Russian Aerospace Forces consists of around 148,000 personnel, including the recruiting

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<sup>130</sup> The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) is the US government's external intelligence body for specializing in defense and military intelligence. Being a key component of the US Department of Defense and the US Intelligence Community, the DIA has the responsibility to apprise the national policymakers;

staff (DIA, 2019). It has 4,078 aircrafts on its inventory. Out of them; 869 (more than 21 per cent) are the fighter jets; around 400 (slightly less than 10 per cent) are transport; and 494 (almost 12 per cent) are the training aircrafts. In addition the Russian Air Force is also fortified with around 1500 helicopters, with 514 as the attack helicopters. Moreover, Russia also has 1,218 usable airports (GFP, 2019).

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the country faced an unavoidable economic stagnation that also led to a severe downsizing for the Navy. The construction and development of naval force grounded to a halt, and almost the entire fleet fell into shabbiness and obsolescence. However, under the Vladimir Putin reign, the military capabilities of Russian, including its Navy, has undergone significant improvement.

As mentioned earlier, Russia has a huge coastline and it also maintains a very strong navy. The Russian Navy has approximately 130,000 personnel .It naval force consists of a total of 352 assets; that includes; one aircraft carrier, frigates and destroyers 13 each, 82 corvettes, 56 submarines, 45 patrol vessels and 47 mine warfare ships. The Russian Navy operates nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines that put its Navy in the top tier of international naval forces (DIA, 2017).

It would be highly significant to mention that with the resurrection of Russian economy as well as military, it is also successfully increasing its arms sale. Moscow, being the second largest arms supplier, exported military products of US \$14.5 billion (21 per cent of global arms sale) in 2015 (Connolly & Sendstad, 2017). Russia exports almost every category of conventional military equipment. It includes small arms, long-range air

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both from civilian and defense organization about the military objectives and capabilities of other countries as well as the non-state actors across the world.

defense systems, fighter aircrafts, attack helicopters, T-90 tanks, BMP-3 infantry fighting vehicles, frigates, patrol boats and submarines (DIA, 2019).

The Russian operation for the annexation of Crimea in early 2014 and the political mobilization and combat operations in Eastern Ukraine latter that can be considered highly significant manifestations of Moscow's future intentions. The experts of international relations maintain that the likelihood of such approaches may be used by Russia again elsewhere. A thorough analysis of Russia's operation to annex Crimea easily characterized a decisive and proficient use of military force in pursuit of political objectives. The operation also highlights that there could be many unknowns features of Russian military capabilities, particularly after its reforms and modernization program of the military.

On the other hand, according to the report of the RAND Corporation the campaign in Eastern Ukraine was an inadequately executed and perhaps miscalculated effort to achieve political fragmentation of Ukraine via federalization and retain Russian influence. Though, Russia achieved its primary objectives to stop initially Ukraine from joining the NATO; but at a much higher cost than desired. Since Moscow faced sanctions of various nature from the West (Kofman, et.al. n.d.). Moreover, in 2018 Ukraine became a NATO aspiring member; and in February 2019, the Ukrainian parliament voted to change their constitution in order to join NATO and the EU (Ukraine Amends Constitution to Cement EU, NATO Course, 2019).

Russia also launched a military intervention in Syria in September 2015, in response to an official request from the Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad. The international

community surprised by the revanchist Russia, with the pace of attack and will to put up with the operation. In this context the Russian military stratagem, its objectives, goals, and operational tactics, are highly significant for the rest of the world; particularly the US and EU; since the geopolitical dynamics of Europe and Asia are changing rapidly. Some of the scholars believe that with the intensified security dilemma in Eastern Europe, as American forces returning to Poland, the Cold War part 2 would start to take a proper shape (Maitra, 2017). It can be argued that such a critical situation may be highly upsetting for the entire world order.

This segment of the debate can be concluded by stating that today; the Russian military power is on the rise. It is not similar to the Soviet military force that faced the West in the Cold War, dependent on large units with heavy equipment. Rather, by now, it consists of smaller but better, more mobile and highly balanced force that has been rapidly becoming proficient in conducting the full range of modern warfare. It is a military that not only can intervene in the countries lying along the Russian periphery; rather it is capable of getting involved as far away as the Middle East. This modern Russian military is a kind of instrument that can be capitalized to reinforce the stated ambitions of Moscow to become a leading force in the 21<sup>st</sup> century multipolar world order.

### **6.2.3 China's Military Power on the Rise**

People's Republic of China is the most populous country with around 1,385 million people. It is the second largest economy in the world, just behind the United States. During the last three decades its economy has rapidly grown and it is considered to be very much probable that China could overtake the American economy in the near feature.

China is also the world leader in exports, maintaining a positive trade balance with a number of other states, including the United States, Japan and several EU member states. Modernization, in every field, particularly in its military has been a core policy of the Chinese development during the past few decades.

China has history of around 5,000 years; throughout which its armies, though under numerous dynasties, have credited for their incredible achievements like building the Great Wall to protect the main land China from the foreign aggressors. However, in the modern history (consists of less than 100 years) the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has initially been referred to as the “Red Army” under Mao Zedong. In October 1949, the Mao's Red Army registered victory over the Nationalists and the PLA was expanded to include the Navy and the Air Force in it. During its early decades, the PLA remained technologically poorer; however, after the Deng Xiaoping's assumption of power in 1978, the PLA was put on path of rebuilding when national defense was included in the China's four “modernizations” (DIA, 2019).

While entering the 21st century, the Chinese leadership acknowledged the necessity of expanding the scope and fostered the pace of Peoples Liberation Army development. The Chinese leaders also decided to observe a “period of strategic opportunity” during which the country most probably would not be involved in a major military conflict before 2020. This strategy would allow the country to have time for economic and military developments. In this regard, Beijing raised the defense budget by an average of 10 per cent a year from 2000 to 2016 to accelerate the PLA's modernization comprehensively (DIA, 2019). It is worth mention that the precise figures of Chinese defense budget have mostly been a matter of debate for the rest of the world. For example, the officially

declared Chinese defense budget for the year 2018 was US \$ 170.4 billion. On the other hand, according to the estimates of SIPRI, Beijing has a military spending of more than US \$ 239 billion during 2018; with around 4 per cent of its GDP (China Power, n.d.).

Before starting the debate of Chinese military power, let's have a glance at the demography of China. Out of its total population (1,385 million) around 807 million people are the Chinese labor force. The Country is covering an area of 9.6 million square kilometers. It shares around 22,457 kilometers of land borders with 14 neighboring countries. China has a coastline of 14,500 kilometers and 110,000 kilometers long usable waterways. Moreover, China has more than 500 usable airports; 3.9 million kilometers roads and 86,000 kilometers railway coverage (GFP, 2019).

To deal with the largest population of the world and to handle with such a colossal infrastructure, China certainly needs to have comprehensive network of armed forces. Today, China has the largest standing military in the world with touching to 2.7 million personnel. The Chinese Army consists of these type and size of units; Army Groups 13, Combined-Arms Brigades 78, Artillery Brigades 15, Army Aviation/Air Assault Brigades 13, Mechanized Infantry Division just one (DIA, 2019). In addition, the Chinese Army is equipped with more than 13,000 tanks (ranking second in the world after Russia) with type 96 and type 99 being the most remarkable weapon. The PLA also has 40,000 AFVs; 4,000 self-propelled artillery; some 6,250 towed artillery and more than 2,000 rocket projectors (GFP, 2019).

China has also developed one of the largest navies in the world. The Chinese navy is growing faster than any other major fleet in the world. It now maintains control over the

seas off its coast. Therefore, the United States, once completely dominant in the region now sails cautiously in these yellow waters. According to a former officer of the US Navy the China's advances have caught America napping (Lague & Kang, 2019). It can be argued that in a short period of just over two decades, China has successfully congregated one of the mightiest navies in the world.

This amplified firepower of China in the waters is also complemented by a robust missile force. It has not only outclassed the US in some areas but also has changed the dynamics of the game in the Pacific. It can be stated that the rapidly expanding Chinese naval force is the core of President Xi Jinping's bold submission to make the country as the dominant military power in the region. Some of the experts believe that the PLA navy now has grabbed the status of being one of the largest fleets in the world. Moreover, it is also growing faster than any other major navy in the world (Lague & Kang, 2019).

The PLA navy has a comprehensive network of command and control system. It comprises of three main fleets; the North Sea Fleet, the East Sea Fleet and the West Sea Fleet. The PLA navy also consists of; the surface force, the submarine force, the aviation, the coast guard, maritime security troops etc. As for equipment is concerned; the Chinese navy is armed with the 714 naval ships (second largest numbers in the world after North Korea). These assets includes; only 1 aircraft carrier, 52 frigates, 33 destroyers, 76 submarines, 192 patrol vessels, and 33 mine warfare (GFP, 2019).

In short the PLA navy is being aggressively modernized to safeguard the Chinese interests in the region as well as to meet the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international power politics. The PLA air force is the largest air force in the region and the third largest

aerospace power in the world. The People Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF) is equipped with a range of multirole fighter jets, transport aircrafts, bombers, airborne early warning and control (AEW&C) aircrafts. On the inventory of PLAAF there is wide ranging multirole and multifunctional state of the art aerospace equipment. The PLAAF operates both the fourth generation and fifth generation aircrafts to protect its aerospace borders (DIA, 2019).

The total number of aircrafts with the Chinese air force is 3,187, making it the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest in the world. The PLAAF fleet includes; 1,222 fighter jets, 1,564 attack aircrafts, 193 for transport, 368 trainers, and more than 1,000 helicopters including 281 attack helicopters (GFP, 2019). In the past, the Chinese aviation industry was dependent upon Russia and the advanced Western countries. However, with the rapidly rising course of the country, the PLAAF is also robustly moving forward toward modernization and indigenization. China is not only fulfilling its own aerospace requirements but also exporting equipment to other developing nations like, Pakistan.

In the contemporary world, a great deal of disparity can be found in the level of military powers among the leading nations of the world. In majority of the arenas of military power, the United States can be found to have a dominant position. The US military is spending higher than that of the combined military budgets of the next eight-largest armed forces of the world (SIPRI, 2019). However, China has rapidly emerged as a new rival to the US military, particularly in the Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions. China has certainly acceded to the status of the world's second most dominant military power. Though, in some of the areas the Chinese military is considered too far below than that of the US. However, China has increased its defense spending by manifold in

the past few decades and it has been consistently amplifying it further; since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Apart from the US and China, Russia is also considered among the world's leading military powers. Being the largest country in the world in terms of area, Russia ought to have a substantial military power. Its territorial boundaries have covered the bulk of Northern Asia as well as most parts of Eastern Europe. At the same time Russia also stands among the ten largest economies in the world. Moscow is also blessed to have the extensive reserves of natural resources. Russia is among the world's leading oil and natural gas exploring countries.

Being a permanent member of the UN Security Council, Russia is one of the most dominant military powers in the world. It is stated that Russia holds the stockpile of nuclear weapons. In recent years, under the leadership of president Putin, Russia has quite successfully regained its military power and prestige. Russia has modernized its military and has efficaciously demonstrated its military muscles in Ukraine and Syria without paying too much attention to the criticism of the US and the West.

The debate about the global military powers can be concluded by stating that even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalized world where the significance of geo-economics is believed to have dominated over the geostrategic and geopolitics among the nations. However, majority of the world powers are successively increasing their defense expenditure every year and the overall global defense in 2018 has represented an increase of 2.6 percent from 2017, amounting the total volume up to US\$ 1822 billion. Moreover, during the past three decades (1988 – 2018) the global defense budget has increased by 76 percent

(SIPRI, 2019). The world's largest two economies are also the world largest military spenders.

The statistics in the above paragraphs indicate that the US, China and Russia are the three largest military powers of the world. On the one hand, both China and Russia have been strengthening their strategic alignment since the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On various regional and international issues they either have shared or common views. On the other hand the two Eurasian powers have their differences with US; the earlier in the Far East while the latter in the Eastern Europe and in the Middle East.

It is also worth mention that Beijing and Moscow seem having built an underlying understanding on challenging the hegemony of the US in the world. On the contrary Washington is confronting so many internal issues and under President Trump it is more focused on the domestic arena than the global one. At the same time the signals from Brussels, the NATO headquarters, are so encouraging for the US; since it has developed conflicts with Turkey, a NATO member, on the issue of Syrian crisis. The other key players in the NATO, Germany and France have also variances with the US on various international issues. Apart from their integration issues in the EU; they are believed to be no more simple bandwagons of the American hegemony in the world.

### **6.3 Second Tier of the Global Powers and their Significance**

In addition to the above mentioned three military giants the military powers of France, UK and Germany, are also listed among the most modern and dominant military as well as economic powers. Their clouts get further eminence as they are, though sometimes labeled as loosely integrated, as the part of the European Union. They also collaborate

with each other in the defense and security component, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is worth mention that the armed forces of these European nations may not be as huge in numbers as that of the US, China, Russia or India. However, qualitatively these countries certainly have the most lethal kind of armed forces which are equipped with highly state of the art equipment. Moreover, their powers once pooled together surely have the deterrence to keep any aggressor away from the boundaries of Europe. It is worth mention that on the economic and cultural fronts the EU may present a unitary organ but on the defense and security side, a key component of power, it is facing challenges.

In addition to the above mentioned military powers, a number of countries from different regions are also exerting themselves as to be the key players in the global power politics. These second tier of military powers include; India, Brazil, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and even Japan. However, statistically none of these countries in isolation would be capable enough to be internationally declared as a global power; or in some of the cases, even the regional power. It is because of the fact that these countries may be stronger in one instrument of power but too far behind in the other.

For example, in some of the circles India is projected as to be the emerging global power in near future, but the qualitative dimension of the Indian military is facing obsolescence. The Indian military equipment has been declared as “out-of-date” by *The New York Times* in its report after the Indian jets were shot down by Pakistan in the last week of February 2019. The paper starts it article by stating about the Indian military that 68 % of the army’s equipment is so old that it is officially called as “vintage” (Abi-Habib, 2019).

The Indian military may be displaying healthy statistics when it is observed quantitatively, but qualitatively it is facing terrible challenges. The same issue has been highlighted in the NYT by stating that the grave challenges being faced by the Indian armed forces are no more secret. The loss of a fighter plane “to a country whose military is about half the size and receives a quarter of the funding” demonstrated that the Indian armed forces are in alarming shape (Abi-Habib, 2019). Moreover, the same issue has been acknowledged by the high ranking Indian officials. An Indian lawmaker who is a member of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Defense, Gaurav Gogoi, states: “Our troops lack modern equipment” (Abi-Habib, 2019). The professional skills of Indian forces are also sometimes questioned from within (Bhalla, 2019).

On the other hand India is also facing regional as well as domestic issues. India proclaims itself to be the largest democracy in the world, but there is a vast ethnic diversity in the country. Clashes between the radical Hindus and the minorities on various issues are every now and then reported in the news. Rather, it has been reported by some renowned analysts that in some of the cases violence against minorities by Hindu extremists and their political wings are supported in India (Marshall, 2004). Such vicious activities can particularly be observed during the reign of the current regime of Narendra Damodardas Modi and his BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party). The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, in its 2019 Annual Report has also highlighted the cases of forced conversion, hate crimes and incitement to violence against religious minorities. The report has indicated:

*“Over the last decade, conditions for religious minorities in India have deteriorated. A multifaceted campaign by Hindu nationalist groups like RSS, Sangh Parivar, and Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) to alienate non-Hindus or lower-caste Hindus is a*

*significant contributor to the rise of religious violence and persecution. Those targeted by this campaign—including Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, and lower-caste Hindus—face challenges ranging from acts of violence or intimidation, to the loss of political power, increasing feelings of disenfranchisement, and limits on access to education, housing, and employment” (USCIRF, 2019).*

Owing to these violent clashes, some freedom moments are also going on throughout the country with varying degree of intensity. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, in Indian held territory, are struggling for their right of self-determination, since the partition of the Subcontinent. Some of the special rights of the Kashmiri people, which were guaranteed by the Indian constitution through its Articles 370<sup>131</sup> and 35A<sup>132</sup>, have been abrogated by the Modi government in August 2019 and the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been kept under military control for months. The Sikhs community in the country; particularly in the Indian Punjab have also been raising their voices for their fundamental rights. They have also started movement for an independent territory, since 1980s, which they visualize to be as Khalistan (Chawla, 2017).

On the other hand, India is also facing acceptability issues in the region. It is a major player in South Asia, but New Delhi could not establish its leadership role in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)<sup>133</sup>, the only notable organization in the region. For example, Saudi Arabia has been playing the role of a key state in the

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<sup>131</sup> Article 370 in the Constitution of India was actually the basis of Jammu and Kashmir's joining the Indian state. In 1947 the princely states in Subcontinent were offered the choice to either opt to join India or Pakistan after they had acquired liberation from the British rule. Actually article 370 was employed in 1949 that had exempted the state of J&K from the Indian constitution. It also allowed this region to make its own laws in all matters except finance, defense, foreign affairs and communications.

<sup>132</sup> In Indian-administered Kashmir, Article 35A was promulgated in 1954 through a presidential order to continue the old provisions of the territory regulations under Article 370 of the Indian constitution. Under this article the local legislature in the Indian-administered Kashmir was granted permission to define permanent residents of the region. It also forbids outsiders to get permanently settled, buy land, hold local government jobs or attain education scholarships in this region.

<sup>133</sup> SAARC is the inter-governmental regional organization of South Asia. It was established in 1985 with its headquarters in Dhaka. The member states of SAARC are: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

GCC, and it has earned a good deal of acceptability in the region. India has a lot of issues with almost every other country in the region. China and India have geographical as well as ideological differences; Pakistan and India have fought wars on Kashmir and have some other border issues. India and Bangladesh have bilateral ties but they also have issues on water management across the border (Parven & Hasan, 2018).

The debate about the emerging global powers can be further expanded by analyzing the status of France, Germany and the UK. If their collective military power is evaluated under the title of 'Europe as military power'; then they, along with other EU members may constitute the robust armed forces, capable of being awarded the title of global military power. However, these European nations have already formed the NATO, which is usually dominated by the US, a super power as discussed earlier in this chapter.

In another scenario, if the European nations withdraw from the NATO, a military alliance, and establish their new EU military component, like the European Parliament, there might be the issue of command and control among them. Since, the EU is already facing the issue of Brexit<sup>134</sup>; as the UK has announced its withdrawal from EU by 31<sup>st</sup> January 2020 (BBC, 2019).

It can be argued that all these countries may fall short of being characterized as global powers. States, as huge as India are blessed to have quantum but facing dearth of quality, modernization and indigenization in its defense forces. On the other hand countries like

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<sup>134</sup> Brexit is a combination of "British" and "exit". It is related to the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union. In the June 2016 referendum 51.9 % of British people voted to leave the UE. Subsequently, the English government officially announced the withdrawal of the UK in March 2017. Since then, a process started that has to be concluded prior to the 31st January 2020. Brexit has got special significance after the December 2019 UK's Elections; for the ruling Conservative Party has won majority for its stance on this deal.

France, being a permanent member of the UNSC and having a veto power is certainly influential in the global power politics. It is among the world's largest military equipment producer, but may not be looking for the status of being called the global power. Germany is also one of the key players in the international power politics; yet again it might not be exerting herself as being entitled as the global power.

#### **6.4 The Contemporary Global Political Powers**

Global political powers or in other words simply the great powers can be characterized as state actors which stand among the most influential international players in terms of economic position as well as security strategy. It means that countries with huge economic size and overriding military muscles are certainly capable of exerting their political or diplomatic position. However, there is at least one more instrument of internal power politics that is highly significant in the global political affairs, which is the possession of permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. In this regard one can argue that the United States, China, Russia and the European Union (by virtue of France and UK) are the global political powers (Putten, Rood & Meijnders, 2016).

Out of these four powers, the United States undoubtedly holds a distinct position. Since, it is the only global power which plays a dominant role in every region of the world to ensure security and stability at the international level. The other three global powers certainly try to play their role in streamlining the international political order according to their own interests. However, none of them may be potent enough to override the American influence in the global politics, at least in the near future (Putten, Rood & Meijnders, 2016). Nonetheless, China is making efforts to expand its sway; not only in

the Eurasian region but also in Africa and the Latin America. In this regard China is utilizing its trade and investment as an instrument of political influence, particularly after Beijing's "Go Out" policy that was unveiled in 1999 (Maru, 2019).

It is worth mention that the relationships between these great powers or the axes of powers are expected to have the greatest influence on global political order and international stability in the coming decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since the end of the Cold War, the transatlantic axis primarily between the United States and the European Union has been the most dominant pillar of the global political system. However, there is a growing consensus among the scholars that the core of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order primarily lies in the nature of engagement between the existing and the emerging super powers; the United States and China, (Putten, Rood & Meijnders, 2016).

Apart from this highly critical engagement, the axis of China and Russia against the US may be characterized as another crucial aspect of the 21<sup>st</sup> century multipolar world order. Since, China and Russia have been consistently trying to establish their strategic relations or even partnership to challenge the unipolar status quo. China, economically and Russia militarily; are advancing their influence in various international issues.

They are also collectively engaged with each other at different forums to effectively contest the American unilateralism and ultimately looking for the areas of multilateralism which is going to be the central issue during the forthcoming decades. It can be argued that, perhaps the most interesting angle of the above stated axis would be the presence of cooperation and conflict running side by side. Like; China and the US have a number of conflicts over several strategic and economic issues, but even then US is the largest

destination of Chinese export goods i.e. US\$ 476 billion a year, as mentioned earlier in this chapter (OEC Report, 2017).

It is highly significant to identify that the future world order would primarily be governed by the degree of cooperation and conflict between the great powers. Since, the relationships between the global political powers have a great deal of influence on international stability. The more they cooperate with each other, at the bilateral as well as multilateral forums, the more the international organizations would be able to handle with the destabilizing factors, prevalent in the form of state as well as non-state actors.

This segment of the debate can be concluded by narrating that the international power politics is predominantly based on the economic and military muscles of the great powers. In the unipolar system, United States was the sole super power of the world; as it was the largest economy and the strongest military clout of the world. However, since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the US economy has been consistently challenged by the rapid economic growth of China and other emerging economies. But militarily, the US remains to be the strongest force in the world, with very rare chances for any other power to compete the American armed forces.

## **6.5 The United States in Decline?**

The contemporary proposition of decline has initiated an enthusiastic deliberation among the American politicians and analysts; since this debate primarily revolves around three subjects. The first of them could be based on the notion of the “crying wolf” symptoms. The second would be constructed on the “bionic man” syndrome, and the third may be founded by drawing a kind of analogy to classical “Roman Empire” (Acharya, 2014).

The first and perhaps the most critical thesis of decline in these hypotheses, the “crying wolf” certainly disturbs those who negate the notion of decline. Since, they believe that they have heard it all before. On the other hand, there are those who strongly believe that this time around the “wolf” has definitely arrived. They undoubtedly proclaim that the ‘crying wolf’, China, has certainly made its flamboyant entrance on the theater of global political system.

As for the theory of “bionic man<sup>135</sup>” is concerned; the debate is also divided between the two opposing arguments. On the one hand there are those who are optimistic about the position of the United States in international politics; since its military supremacy is beyond doubt even in the coming decades. On the other hand statistics suggest that the American economy is again on the rising side, particularly under the present administration (Kessler, 2018). Hence, they believe that it will certainly recover too soon and United States will continue as a super power in the world at least for decades. This notion is confronted by those who claim that as result of better economic performances from the competitors of America; principally the decline phase of the contemporary liberal hegemonic system has already made its start.

The rapidly rising powers will certainly catch up faster and ultimately crossover the US in rallying for their positions of great powers eventually to establish multiple power centers in the global system. This argument is certainly based on the relative capability and the nature of engagement between the US; and the rising powers, China and Russia.

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<sup>135</sup> A science fiction and action television series, “The Six Million Dollar Man”, is about Colonel Steve Austin, a former astronaut of the USAF. Austin has the strength of a superhuman being due to bionic (electronic) implants. He is employed as a secret agent by a fictional U.S. government office titled OSI (Office of Scientific Intelligence). The series was based on a novel by Martin Caidin Cyborg.

The last vista of the American decline which is the analogy of Roman Empire has been presented by one of the leading figures in the anti-declinist camp, Joseph S. Nye (2012). He maintains that the probability of the US decline would be like that of the classical Roman Empire. Indeed it will not be a radically occurring decline; rather it will be happening in a slow and steady motion. The profound counter-argument in this case would be that the Roman Empire had no genuinely gifted imperial power to oppose it substantively.

The advocates of this argument definitely give the example of Great Britain which did not take much longer to decline from the position of a superpower in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, unlike the Roman Empire; but very much like the British imperial supremacy, the United States as the leading but at the same time a weakening hegemon is facing some serious challengers like China, EU and Russia. Thus the impending waning phase of the United States may not take as long as two or more centuries to decline and ultimately degenerate like that of the Roman Empire.

It is worth mention that, just like the complications of the global power politics; the rise and fall of the hegemon is also a highly multifarious subject. There might be nothing entirely new in the decline syndrome of the United States. It can be considered as an indication of the highly obsessed super power, predominantly responsible for order and stability in the unipolar world (Urban, 2012). As a counter argument; the American decline may not be as smooth as it is perceived by some politicians and political scientists. Despite the debate of the US decline; even then its share of the world's GDP during the last five decades has remained at around 25 percent. For the period of 2013-14, it has been at around 22 percent (Patton, 2016).

However, some of the analysts believe that the United States, in the contemporary world, has definitely experienced one of the most significant declines of any state since the mid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This argument is also supported by the statistics; since, from 2000 to 2008 the United States' share of the world GDP fell by around 8 percent, from 31 percent to 23.1 percent (Acharya, 2014). On the contrary, during the same period, China's share of the world GDP has jumped from 2 to 7 percent (Pape, 2009). These figures certainly give evidence of the fact that the "crying wolf," has eventually arrived on the scene and the rapidly rising China is the wolf.

Some of the anti-declinists observers also maintain that the real decline has not occurred in the United States; rather Europe and Japan are the actors that are really facing the decline. In support of their argument these analysts uphold that actually, the American share of the world GDP was mainly sustained due to the substantial drop in Western Europe and Japan. Hence, it is not only the American power; rather, this trilateral engagement that is also in decline today (Mead, 2012). Since, the collective aspect to the American hegemony is thoroughly founded on this trilateral system of Europe Japan and US. In this context it can be argued that even a better performance by the American economy as compared to Europe and Japan would never be a matter of respite for the United States; and their predicament can hardly be good for contemporary hegemon.

Some other very interesting arguments against the thesis for the American decline maintain that even if the rising powers secure wealth in form of federal reserves or growth rates as compared to the US, it does not necessarily mean that they have acquired the status of a greater power or the adequate influence in the world. Just like, Robert Kagan (2012) has mentioned that despite as one of the rapidly growing economies, India

could not establish its relative international influence as compared to the 1950s and 1960s. During the Cold War, though India was a much poorer country yet it was one of the leading nations of the non-aligned movement and it had enjoyed a great deal of international prestige as compared to its desire in the contemporary world (Kagan, 2012).

According to some of the optimistic views regarding the US position in future world order, it can also be argued that the rise of the economy or military strength of other nations would certainly demand for a greater role of American leadership. Joseph S. Nye (2012) has also argued that with the rising of some key players like India and Japan along with their endeavors to balance the Chinese power in the region; in the coming decades they would indeed welcome the American lasting presence on the global stage in a more increasingly manner (Nye, 2012).

Some of the inferences may also be observed as evidence in Asia, where a number of states in China's neighborhood like; India, Hong Kong and others have the desire to strengthen their political and security relations with the United States. This is one of the major reasons that Washington, during the Obama Administration, has to coin "pivot to Asia" strategy as a key element of its foreign policy. However, a large number of Asian countries in the region do not support an intensified Sino – US rivalry or excavated competition. Since, for them too much containment or rebalancing of China may be as bad as too little (Acharya, 2014).

## **6.6 Relative vs Absolute Decline of the United States?**

It is beyond doubt that as a result of various internal and external challenges the American hegemony is passing through an era of decline. On the domestic front, United

States is facing the burden of huge budgetary deficits, unemployment, and infrastructure and healthcare facilities. Therefore, it can be argued that owing to the Americans' inward looking; the 2016 candidate for White House, Donald J. Trump choose, "America First" as a slogan of his presidential campaign (Curran, 2018). At the external front; the rapidly rising powers are consistently challenging the unipolar and unilateral supremacy of the United States. Hence, these new great powers are stretching their muscles to redraw the dynamics of existing world order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

However, these emerging players are also confronting their own economic, military, and political limitations which are indeed indirectly influencing the course of American declinism towards a relative and not an absolute decline. The highly perilous challenges to the rising powers may include the probability of catching the middle-income trap,<sup>136</sup> generally confronted by the rapidly emerging economies (Sharma, 2012). Moreover, these fast track developing countries such as China and India are also facing some critical domestic and regional issues like; internal instability due to ethnic disintegration and embroilment in conflicts with their neighbors.

On the contrary, it is also believed that the United States may still enjoy the fruits of fundamental strengths that it has been maintaining at the national and international levels. For example, its universities are among the best in the world; its leading role in science,

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<sup>136</sup> The middle income trap is a socioeconomic phenomenon that exists in countries which achieve significant growth rates and reduce the extreme poverty level due to some structural changes. However, at certain level they find it difficult to shift from being a middle-income country to the status of a high-income and fully-developed country. The GDP growth rates of such countries slow down and they struggle to face the transnational competitive environment. According to the World Bank from 1960 to 2011; out of around 100, only 13 countries could shift themselves from the middle-income to the high-income levels. This 'Middle Income Trap' could be avoided by adopting effective strategies. For each country the key to evading this trap is to maintain the right kind of mix between demands and supplies. In this way, they would be able to continue a further rise in their per capita incomes. They would achieve balance in growth that can be obtained through domestic as well as overseas markets. Owing the specific dynamics of every country, no exclusive policy could be offered to avoid the complications of 'Middle Income Trap'.

technology and innovation; the research and development programs; its openness to diversity; the number and nature of its alliances around the world; and its commitment to maintaining order and stability in the world; are matchless inferences of American worldwide influence. In addition the United States always had a leading role in launching and strengthening the international organizations. All these attributes are the emblems of American power and prestige around the world.

Just like the phenomenon of world order, the rise and fall of the hegemon is also a highly complicated issue. Differentiating the relative decline of the United States from the anticipated absolute decline; Joseph S. Nye also points out that its economy has been highly prolific and based on some sound footings. The country is first in the world in total research and development spending, first in the Nobel Prize winners, and first on indices of entrepreneurship (Nye, 2012). Indeed these foundations take time to get on the top but also for the reversal too. Hence, these signs hardly indicate a picture of absolute declinism of the United States.

At the same time it can also be stated that the overall picture of the American supremacy is not all that rosy on the absolute declinist front. Since the United States is also confronting with the rising income inequality, deteriorating infrastructure, and its transformation from the status of being the world's largest creditor nation to the largest debtor (Sharma, 2010).

However, it is worth mention that despite economic challenges the US military strength has not substantially suffered, particularly in terms of its defense expenditure. The military spending of the United States grew from being 170 percent higher than the

military spending by all other NATO members excluding the US, in 2000; to being more than 200 percent in 2010. Moreover, during this period its defense budget ascended from being seven times to nine times higher than Chinese defense spending (Acharya, 2014).

As discussed above that the American decline is going to happen relative to the other emerging great powers. Contrary to the US, the Chinese economy has been rapidly growing during the last two or three decades, even some times higher than 10 % growth rate. Its military expenditure is also growing speedily in accordance to the vision of Chinese leadership. Beijing is making efforts for the professional enhancement, modernization and indigenization of vital defense capabilities of PLA.

In relative terms, the GDP of the United States as compared to that of China has declined from being eight times higher in 2000 to less than three times higher in 2010. Moreover, despite the growth of American economy during the first decade of the current century, in relative terms to the overall G-20 countries, the economy of the United States has faced an overall decline of 19 percent (Wolf, 2011).

The debate regarding both the relative and absolute declines of the United States along with the rise of other great powers like China, European Union as well as the other key players seems to be too much cosmic. Since, all the international players may not possess a dominant status at every index of the global power parameter. There are certain players which are among the world's top ranks in one domain of power, but not in the other. For example; Japan is certainly an economic giant, while Russia is not, but military muscles of Tokyo are far behind than Moscow.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### **The Sino- Russian Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century World Order**

The dynamics of international power politics have always been consistently changing. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the centers of global politics have been rotating among different players, as discussed earlier in this study. In post WW II era, the West under the influence of United States tried to shape out the liberal-international order that ultimately overpowered Communism. As a result, the decade's long Cold War Theater ended into an era of the American dominated hegemonic world order. However, the unilateral approach of the US in various international political issues was ensuing insecurity and even annoyance in some of the regional powers like; China and Russia.

Since the dawn of the current century, the American hyper-supremacy of the unipolar world order is in decline. The transatlantic axis between the United States and the European Union, actually the driving engine of this unusual international arrangement, has started to lose its overall capacity of controlling the entire mechanism of the hegemonic world order. In the contemporary world system, the likelihood of a single most dominant epicenter of international politics is beyond imagination. The emerging power centers like; China and Russia are striving for a new multipolar world order. Even the EU, a very close partner of the US during the past several decades, is irking away from the American influence to be recognized as a new center of power in the world.

The most critical aspect of the 21<sup>st</sup> century international politics could be characterized by the existence of conflict as well as cooperation among the great powers. There are

several examples of this complex relationship between the world powers. Since, the US and China have started a trade war against each other; but at the same time both the economic super powers are also the largest trading partners of each other. China is also having territorial conflicts with Japan and India; but it also has strong economic ties with the two neighboring countries. So conflict and cooperation may run side by side in the coming decades. However, the great powers like; the US, China, EU and Russia need to be extremely cautious about the escalation of conflict to avoid the destabilization of the entire global system.

The United States' position of being a hegemonic power in the world is in decline. There are growing number voices proclaiming that the unipolar world order is over, or at least about to take its last breaths. This situation in the international politics heralds the end of American hegemony and consequently that of Pax-Americana. Certainly the question arises that what are the key reasons for this transition. The key elements of this shift are; the rise of China to status of a superpower, on the one hand; and internal challenges to the United States itself, on the other hand.

Scholars of international relations have distinguished at least three scenarios of a hegemonic declinism. First, the appearance of a coalition of emerging players; whose ultimate aim is to become counterhegemonic power. Second, the overextension or imperial overstretch of the existing hegemon. Third the rise of a new power which ultimately challenges the status-quo in the existing world order. Keeping in view the American hegemony; the latter two cases seem obviously applicable. Although, the American hegemonic decline is indigestible for many American nationals; however,

several scholars like; Paul Kennedy and Christopher Layne, have courageously shown views by accepting the reality.

The history of international politics, especially during the past 500 years, demonstrates that the rise and fall of powers is a consistent phenomenon. Hence, it is widely acknowledged that the decline can also happen to the United States. Although, at the end of the Cold War; highly renowned scholars like; Francis Fukuyama (1989) were fascinated by the American triumphalism and deliberated 'the end of history'. However, it is said that the only constant in politics is change. Therefore, it would not be an unusual dilemma; if the US led liberal hegemonic order passes through a change.

### **7.1        The Pax- Americana on the Go?**

At end of WW-II, by means of its overpowering military and economic supremacy; the US emerged as an incontestable and undoubtedly the most dominant player in the global system. It is stated that actually it was in 1945, when the US launched its first unipolar moment. By virtue of its superiority and hegemonic status; the United States aimed to establish the new transnational order or the Pax-American.

However, for the period of the Cold War period, outside the Russian domain, the United States successfully established its dominance in various regions of the world; predominantly in the Transatlantic World, Far East and the Gulf. Fundamentally, the Pax-American was built on the basis of its worldwide military ascendancy and a comprehensive economic governance system introduced by the United States. This world system was further strengthened by two associated pillars of American ideological

appeal, the soft power; and a wide-ranging structure of transnational organizations, founded under the leadership of the US, in the post-World War II era (Layne, 2012).

A number of scholars in international politics believe that the Pax-Americana in the post-Cold War era was in fact the second unipolar moment of the US to consolidate its hegemony by expanding its geopolitical as well as ideological goals across the world. However, on account of the Great Recession, the economic footing of the Pax-Americana has crumbled up to a great deal subsequently its ideological and institutional pillars have also suffered. Although, it is generally acknowledged that the US remains to be a dominant military power in the world for decades. However, the rise of China as a new significant world player, coupled with the American fiscal and economic limitations, means that the US, as a military hegemon, will be challenged over the next few decades.

The US decline certainly leads to a significant transition in world politics that will obviously demonstrate new a kind of arrangements among the world powers. Owing to the demise of hard power, military and economic predominance as being the main pillars of hegemony, the Pax-Americana is destined to decline in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Commentators of internal politics maintain that the American unipolar moment, based on the pillars of Economic supremacy, worldwide military dominance, the American dominated global institutions and the soft power has already started to wither.

It is worth mention that the climax of economic supremacy is reached when the hegemonic power is capable of deciding the rules of the game for the entire world; by providing the worlds reserve currency and retaining the ability to solve the critical economic crises. In case of the US; all these factors are under severe stress. It can be

categorically stated that China has either equated or even surpassed the United States in numerous fields like; global exports and foreign direct investment (see Chapter six).

However, with regard to military dominance, undoubtedly the US is still the most commanding player of the world. Nonetheless, both China and Russia are aggressively stretching their muscles to mark their peripheral influences. Therefore, the US can face numerous complications in various regions around the world. In the coming decades, ultimately the US would not be capable of sustaining its dominant position in dealing with all of these at the same time with the same superciliousness as it has seized for the last seven decades.

At the same time, the growing concerns from the Americans on its huge defense budget, due to its overstretched worldwide engagements, may also act as if fuel on the fire. Ultimately, the world's largest defense budget would not be any more sustainable for the already under pressure US economy. Therefore, it is very much likely that the American defense spending may face substantial cuts in the years to come (Altman & Haass, 2010).

One of the key elements of the American led liberal hegemonic order is the comprehensive system of international political, security and economic institutions; including the United Nations, the UN Security Council, NATO, the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and others. A number of analysts categorically assert that the US has established its supremacy by utilizing these multinational organizations as instruments of global dominance (Foot, MacFarlane & Mastanduno, 2003). These transnational organizations are being challenged by their Chinese counterparts, like; the (SCO), the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) etc.

On the other hand, the American soft power has also come under massive pressure. The growing trends of globalization have further increased the competitiveness among the major state owned or non-state actors around the world. Hence, questions have arisen about the sustainability of American neoliberal economic model. Once again the Chinese model, or the Beijing Consensus, is not only offering the alternative hope but it is also gaining substantial popularity. The prominence of the dollar, as the principal reserve currency, is also in decline that will further add up to the breaking of American hegemonic aspirations (Norrlöf, 2014).

Therefore, rising of China, obviously has its severe repercussions for the United States. It is a highly interesting phenomenon that generally the Chinese have a particular distaste for the West; yet, they have capitalized the liberal internationalist order of the West to get to the position of overturning the same global system. Furthermore, it is worth mention that the Chinese leadership repeatedly ascertains its peaceful rise; but the scholars of international politics can easily understand that the rising powers follow certain historical patterns. They usually adopt the strategy to go hand in hand with the expansion to and protection of far-out regions, and then war.

A number of analysts ascertain that there is a process of power transition going on in the world, with the US in decline phase and China on the rise. When the two giants reach approximately to the same level, there might be trouble (Freud, 2015). Moreover, it is also maintained that China is aiming for its own hegemony in the East-Asian region; and two hegemons in the same constituency is certainly impossible (Layne, 2012). One of the two has to depart from the theatre, more probably the US. Otherwise, there will be a

confrontation; and the American economy may not sustain a conflict with the world's economic super power for too long.

Moreover, there is a general perception regarding the US defense spending, which is taken to be unsustainable and even self-defeating. Since, such an enormous defense budget; more than three times that of China and larger than the ten succeeding budgets, as already discussed in the previous chapter of this study. It can be promptly argued that such a massive defense spending can certainly undermine the complete American economy (Freud, 2015).

Finally, the general impression among the Americans that unlike many Europeans, the United States does not mind going to war may prove to be a fatal experience for the entire world order. Moreover, the American wish to hold on to hegemony in East-Asia may also make the war a probable outcome in the region. A large number of intellectuals maintain that certainly the United States will have to make some hard choices; the greatest could be to accommodate China's rise. However, this would be indeed an improbable scenario (Freud, 2015).

To strengthen this argument the former deputy assistant for national security affairs Aaron Friedberg (2011) can be quoted for his statement that the rise of authoritarian, illiberal China is “an affront” (p. 44) to the US. Therefore, the existing situation between the US and China can be best compared to the one in 1914, when there happened to be a stark antagonism between Great-Britain and Germany. The same blatant competition between the then super powers helped international politics to spark the First World War (Layne, N.D.).

It is generally believed that the US decline will certainly have profound effects on the future of transnational politics. The proponents of HST maintain that an open intercontinental economic arrangement necessitates the presence of a single hegemonic power in the world to handle serious military, political and monetary challenges. At the one end, by virtue of its military muscles the hegemon takes the responsibility of ensuring stability in strategic regions and for defending the international commons (Posen, 2003).

On the other hand, in economic field, the hegemon offers public goods to the international community by opening its internal market to other nations. The hegemon also tries to make sure the supply of liquidity to the worldwide economy without any hindrance. It is also the responsibility of hegemon to provide a reserve currency to the global economy (Kindelberger, 1986).

During the coming decades, with the declining clout of the United States, gradually it will become impotent to perform the responsibilities of a hegemonic power. Although, the US still exercises to be the strongest military power; however, the impending economic predicament will also constrain it to shrink strategically. With the shrinking of American military power, its capability to perform the role of a hegemonic stabilizer and sustain the command of the commons might be compromised. Nonetheless, some of the analysts believe that the culmination of the American part as being a martial hegemonic giant of the world is still prevailing over the horizon (Layne, 2012).

On the other hand, the Great Recession of 2008 has obviously made it clear that the US has virtually lost the position of an economic hegemon of the liberal world order. Since,

the economic hegemon, instead of triggering, must play a leadership role in resolving the global economic crises. The hegemon ought to be the lender of last resort; instead of the borrower of first resort in the universal economy. It is too much obvious that the US has become more a part of the problem than being the part of the solution by holding the title of the biggest debtor of the world (Layne, 2012). By the time, the overall economy of the world dwindle; the economic superpower is required to take the responsibility of initiating the kick-start measures. Hence, the hegemon can instigate the recovery process by purchasing the products of other nations; as the United States did in the post-World Wars periods by helping the European economies in their resurrection.

However, in the economic crises of 2008, the US economy demonstrated to be too sickening to lead the world economy to recover to its health. Instead the rising China had to step up in order to perform this colossal task. The American inability to galvanize the global economic recovery revealed that the US was no longer proficient to continue its role of being the economic superpower. The same reality was also conceded by the US President Barak Obama at the London's G-20 Summit in 2009. Obama openly admitted that the US is no longer capable to withstand its role of being the world's consumer of last resort. He asserted that the international community must look towards the growing economies, especially China to become the engines of global economic recovery run-through (Layne, 2012).

It can be argued that there are two main drivers of the US declinism; one is external and the other is domestic or internal. At the external front the US is facing the advent of new emerging powers within the global political system. It is also supplemented by the unusual phenomena of shifting the center of the international economic power from the

trans-Atlantic to the Asia-pacific region. On the domestic level, the driver of change is the deterioration of American economic power interrelated to the fiscal crisis and subsequently increasing suspicions regarding the long-term reserve currency status of the American dollar. A broad analysis of the two different, yet interconnected challenges certainly herald that the Pax-Americana's days are numbered. The following paragraphs show a detailed discussion on both the internal and external drivers of the US decline.

## **7.2 Domestic Drivers of the US Decline**

At the domestic level; doubts, debt, deficits, and depreciation of dollar are the drivers of decline. It means that mounting doubts among the masses and investors regarding the US economy; the ever soaring amount of debts, uncontrolled budgetary deficits and deepening fears regarding the future role of dollar as the single largest currency of international economy; are the grave issues that obviously indicate the decline of American hegemony.

Eventually, in the coming years these domestic difficulties will coerce the US authorities to reduce their strategic role and to rethink about the overseas American military commitments. These domestic obligations that are ultimately translating to be the drivers of decline and the transnational military commitments are definitely a kind of guns-butter tradeoff (Dombrowski, 2005).

Since the end of WW-II, the US continued to avoid making the challenging choices of "guns vs butter." It was possible only for its ability to exercise the role of hegemon in the world. In the meantime the role dollar as being the most valued currency in the international system has categorically allowed the US to survive beyond its means. As

long as the other key actors believe that the US will pay back its debts, and that the dollar could maintain its position, Washington can finance its offshore ambitions of “the guns”; along with its internal socioeconomic programs of “butter” with the help of foreign borrowing. Since, majority of the American debt is owed to the foreigners, and China is the largest creditor of the US (Sharma, 2010).

There could be a number of causes for the mounting American indebtedness. The economic downturn of 2008 pressed the Obama administration to introduce a bail-out program by injecting billions of dollars into the American economy. Another key factor of the American economic decline was the price of highly expensive battles in Iraq and Afghanistan. More importantly, instead of raising internal taxes, the money for these wars was borrowed from the foreign creditors. Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmess maintain that the ultimate costs of the Iraq war have amounted up to US\$ 3 trillion (Stiglitz & Bilmess, 2008).

On the other hand, the US has to spend up to about US\$ 120 billion, a year to fight the Afghan war. It was due to the fiscal concerns that President Obama had to announce a drawdown of the American forces from Afghanistan (Woodward, 2010). At the same time, owing to the combined expenditures of the Iraq and Afghan wars; the US have to decide for an unsanctionable annual budget shortfalls of US\$ 1 trillion.

The Congressional Budget Office in its 2010 report identified that if the US could even maintain its downturn trajectory; by 2020 the ratio of the US debt to GDP will touch the figure of being 100 per cent (CBO, 2010). Economists believe that a debt-to-GDP ratio with these figures is a highly critical sign of the fact that a state cannot sustain this

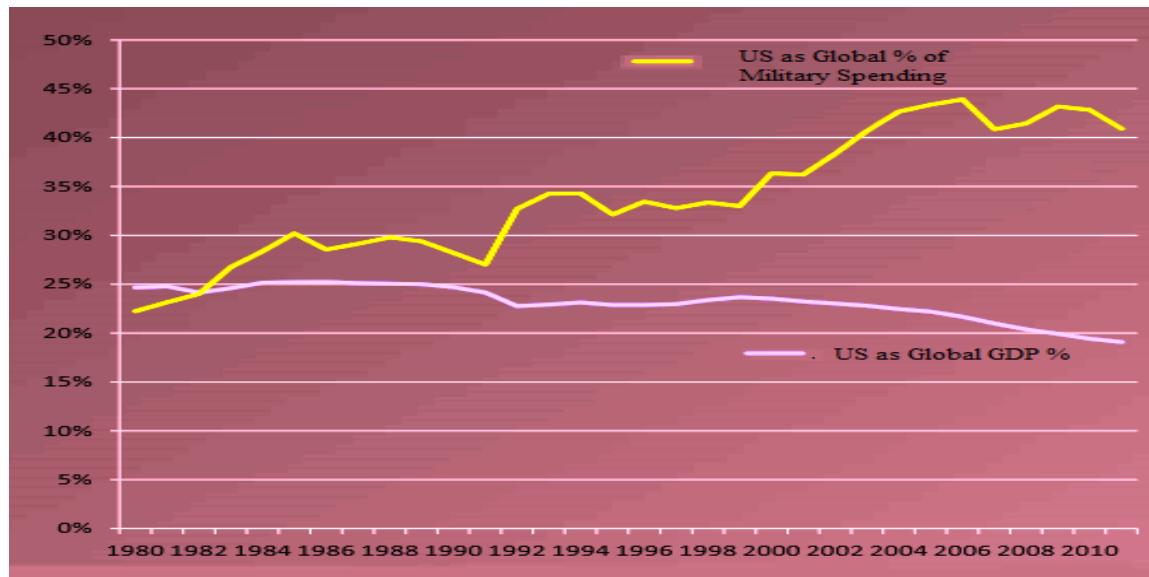
tendency. Certainly the country shall default on its financial obligations. Eventually it will undermine the confidence of overseas investors in the capability of the US to pay back its debts and keep inflation under control.

Generally it is believed that the worldwide American geopolitical supremacy centers on the reserve currency role of the dollar. If the dollar could not sustain that status, surely the US hegemonic standing will be unaffordable. It has been a kind of credit exceptional card for Washington. The specialty of Dollar rendered an allowance to the US that it does not have to earn the money necessarily in order to pay its bills. Conversely the US can lavishly borrow money from overseas creditors or just prints Dollars to repay its debts.

It can be argued that the Americans can get away with all these lucrative means and the US can preserve its military dominance, till the time the foreign lenders are ready to offer the debt money. Without the dollar's status of reserve currency or "credit card" position, the US ought to raise taxes and interest rates for the extravagant domestic and internal desires. Eventually, Washington has to learn the art of living within the means. It has to work out strategies of lesser spending and greater saving. In other words the US must tighten its belt by profoundly dipping its offshore military and internal expenses.

The dollar, as a credit card has been facing some critical challenges since the Great Recession in 2008; for in the global economy, the other big players are either geopolitical rivals like China or the ambiguous allies like Europe. The two have their own ambitions; the first aims to overturn the Wall Street; the second no longer requires the US protection from the Soviet threat like it did in the past. The second problem that the dollar faces is its uncertain future for the concerns that its worldwide value will diminish over time.

**Table 7-1: Disproportionate Military Spending of the US (1980-2010)**



Source: The Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University

China, being the largest holder of more than US\$ 3 trillion reserves, is also worried that America's fiscal slump will leave Beijing holding the bag with huge amounts of depreciated dollars (Babones, 2018). The Chinese vote of no confidence in the future of dollar would be reflected in its calls to create a new reserve currency to replace the dollar with Renminbi, the official currency of China. On the other hand, Beijing is trying to gradually internationalize its currency by encouraging its closer partners like; Pakistan to switch over the bilateral trade to Renminbi (RMB). Once this tendency has taken off, then the RMB will certainly establish a separate economic block; that will lead to economic multipolarity of the world (Campanella, 2014).

Several global monetary institutions have shown their concerns about the American debts and deficits by warning the US to get its fiscal house in order. Alarm bells about the dollar's uncertain future status have been ringing since the Great Recession. By 2011, the

World Bank had identified that the dollar probably will lose its status as the primary reserve currency by 2025; as the Euro and the RMB would establish themselves as the alternate in a new “multi-currency” monetary system (Politi, 2011). The US will certainly require opting for some combination of budget cuts, tax increases, and interest-rate hikes, meaningful cuts in federal expenses and defense expenditures (Layne, 2012).

It is worth mention that currently the US defense spending is at such high levels, that it faces domestic political pressures to make steep cuts in defense budget. On the other hand big defense cuts mean that in the coming years, the US will be obviously compelled to reassess and redraw its overseas military commitments. Eventually it will have at least two serious consequences.

First, the gap between the United States defense spending and that of its strongest competitor, China will be condensed and ultimately the American preeminence will be compromised. Second, the American position of being a regional stabilizer and a guardian of the global commons will significantly shrink. Thus, the American fiscal crisis and the interconnected uncertain future of dollar are essential drivers of its decline.

### **7.3        External Drivers of the US Decline**

The external driver of the American decline is associated with the rise of new great powers, especially China and Russia. It is also worth mention that in some respects the emergence of these new great powers is less about their rise than their restoration. Since, the two giants have been placed at the position of super powers in the past; China till the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (Jacques, 2012) and Russia till the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It can be stated that from their perspective, or in the eyes of some other actors, Beijing and

Moscow may be merely asserting themselves to regain what they view as their natural, or rightful, place in the hierarchy of great powers.

On the platform of international politics the ascension of new great powers is the sturdiest evidence of the end of unipolar moment. The most significant signs of rising of great powers, particularly that of China are the relative growth rate and its share of world GDP as explained in Chapter six of the study. The evidence of the fact that the US dominated international system is rapidly winding up and the American relative power is declining at the world level has certainly become an undeniable fact. At the same time China is ambitious to get at the center of the world's economic and geopolitical gravity. China is giving a unique illustration of how, since the end of Cold War, the aspiring great power has been positioning itself to challenge the hegemony of United States.

China, since the era of Deng Xiaoping<sup>137</sup> has been striving to spur its economic growth, by demonstrating its low profile in international politics and avoiding direct confrontation with the US and other regional powers in its neighbor. On the other hand, to ensure its modernization, China first integrated itself in the American-led world order and now it aims to set the rules of the game. The Chinese self-described rhetoric of "peaceful rise" is basically the following script of Deng Xiaoping, to hide your capabilities and bide your time (Layne, 2012). The Chinese agenda for the liberal international economic order was not only to earn money; rather, it aimed to be prosperous enough to acquire the military skill required to compete with the US for at least a regional hegemony in East Asia.

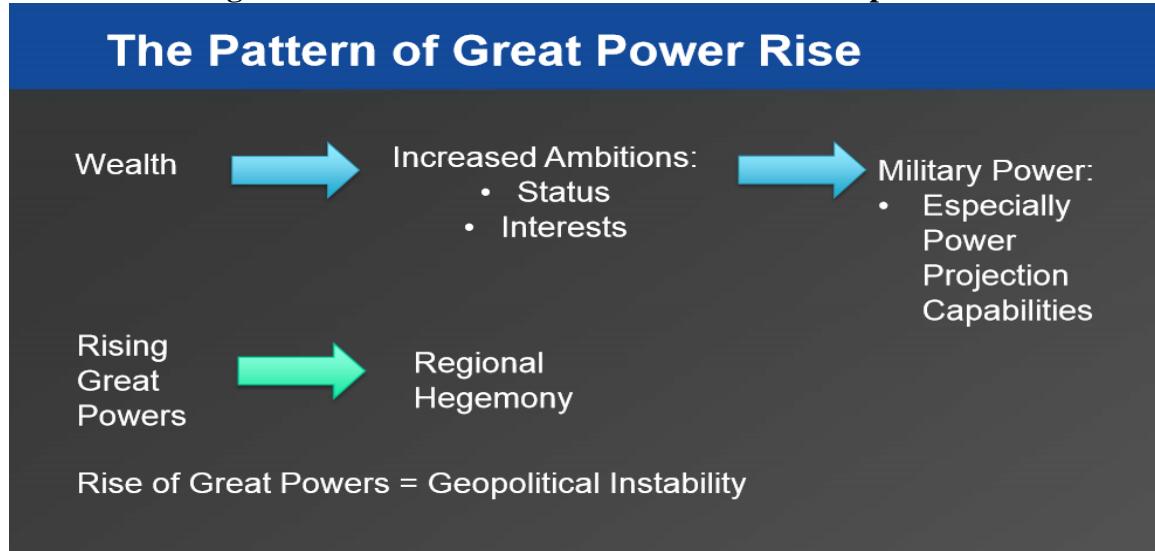
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<sup>137</sup> Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) was a famous Chinese communist party leader. Since, late 1970s till his death in 1997; Deng was the most dominant figure of China. He earned a lot of fame for abandoning several orthodox doctrines of the communist ideology and tried to incorporate the modern elements of the free-enterprise system and too many other fundamental reforms into the Chinese economy.

The overstretched military commitments of the US in addition to the Great Recession resulted into some dramatic shift in the Chinese perceptions of the global balance of power. Beijing now understands that the Washington is passing through a decline. Simultaneously, China views itself as having risen to the position of a great-power. The same status and the corresponding self-confidence are reflected by China in its foreign policy muscle-flexing. It is worth mentioning that the objective analysis of indicators also confirm the reality of China's rise and the corresponding relative decline of the United States (as mentioned in Chapter six of the study).

There could be no clearer proof of the American relative decline that China will very soon leapfrog the US and shall become the world largest economy, if it has not already done so. It is estimated that China has positioned itself to displace the US from the status of the world's largest economy; has certainly more than just economic significance; rather it is geopolitically vital. Christopher Layne (2012) maintains that the rising pattern of the great powers is well established in the archives of international politics.

**Figure 7-1: An Outline of the Great Power Rise pattern**



China like, the other ascending great powers claims of a “peaceful rise” though; yet it is a well-established fact that the emergence of new great powers has consistently been the element of geopolitical destabilization in the global system. In the later 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the same kind of ascendancy by Germany, the US, and Japan to the status of great powers triggered two world wars (Layne, 1993). Next, as soon the rising great powers turn out to be wealthier enough then certainly their transnational political ambitions upturn and ultimately they eagerly transform their economic potential into the military strength (Zakaria, 1999).

The second stride of rising great powers usually is to fortify their military muscles. In the case of China, it is a well-known fact that the Chinese leadership is already engaged in an extraordinary military modernization process that aims to expand the multidimensional capabilities of the People’s Liberation Army. Though China could not yet equate itself to the highly sophisticated military technology of the US; however, Beijing is undoubtedly narrowing the current advantage of its competitor, Washington (Cordesman, Hess & Yarosh, 2013). The next ultimate objective of the rising powers invariably is to seek dominance in their respective regions (Mearsheimer, 2001).

This hypothesis leads to a situation in which China and the US are heading on a course of collision, particularly in East Asia. Of course this is the region where the US has had the status of an incumbent hegemon since the end of WW-II. On the other hand, an ever increasingly powerful and assertive China categorically exposes, through its progressive expansion of encroachments, that the region is his backyard. It is worth mention that to avoid any confrontation between the two powers, the United States has to address the Chinese concerns in the region, otherwise any miscalculation may prove to be

catastrophic. Finally, new great powers aim to acquire economic and political interests beyond their borders, and they eventually pursue their agenda to procure the power projection capabilities which are ultimately indispensable to defend those offshore interests (Zakaria, 1998).

#### **7.4 The Chinese Rise, Would it be Peaceful?**

The China has been consistently reiterating that its “rise” will be peaceful, with no hegemonic designs and global dominance agenda. However, with the growing amount of tensions between China and its neighbors, particularly in those smaller Asian states in the Far-East which are looking for their security towards the United States, a key player in the region; the Chinese claims may not be as simple as they are being portrayed. In the presence of such a complex situation, between the US sponsored states and China, the predictions of a violent conflict in East Asian region cannot be completely ruled out in the coming decades.

A distinguished American professor of international affairs in Texas University, Christopher Layne (2015) argues that the United States would not be able to maintain its status-quo in East Asia. Therefore, in order to avoid any redundant and violent conflict in the region, the SU will have to go for accommodating China as the dominant player in East Asia. It can be argued that contrary to the dogma of the American foreign policy establishment, the accommodation of China as a rising great power, at least in the region, would be a prudent, as well as a highly realistic policy (Layne, 2015)

However, the idea that the US is in decline seems to be highly indigestible for those policymakers and scholars of international relations who are still overwhelmed by the

unipolar fantasy of the United States. As the former US ambassador to China, John Huntsman proclaims that the decline is un-American (Porter, 2015). At the same time, it can be observed that the foreign policy establishment of the US is also overwhelmed by strategic schizophrenia (Layne, 2015). Perhaps this is one of the reasons that even while confirming the continuing global supremacy of the US, the American foreign policy instruments seem to be worried about the rise of China. For instance, it is said that the strategic derive of “pivot to Asia,” launched by the Obama administration was aimed at the purpose of containing an increasingly assertive China (De Castro, 2013).

A large number of analysts of international politics assert that the American fear of China’s rise can be traced in majority of the Washington’s decision. For example while the civil nuclear deal was signed between India and the United States in 2006, a large number of factors were behind this strategic partnership but major the factor was American motive to contain rising China (Hussain, 2017).

Although China expressed its deeper concerns over the Indo-U.S civil nuclear deal, but Washington bothered neither the nuclear nonproliferation norms nor the concerns of China and Pakistan, strategic rivals of India in the region. Similarly, the American apprehension of regional dominance was also obvious in its impassioned reaction to the decisions of joining, the Chinese sponsored Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), by some of the closer US allies like; UK, France, Germany, Australia and South Korea (Sobolewski & Lange, 2015).

At the same time the American discomfort about the rise of China could be an unstated admission from the United States that its “unipolar moment” is over. On the other hand

the decline certainly may be un-American, as expressed by a large number of the US officials, but it would be extremely difficult to stop it from happening, sooner or later. Since, the decline of the US is said to be the product of the greater and impersonal forces of history. While China can be stated as if the poster child for the continuing course of shifting the world's geopolitical and economic center of gravity to Asian or the Eastern hemisphere from the trans-Atlantic or Western hemisphere (Layne, 2015).

Keeping in view the conflicting environment between the emerging great power China and the retiring hegemon, the United States; it can be reiterated, as it has been already discussed in this chapter; that there is always a regular pattern in the politics to get to the status of great powers. Predominantly Great powers enter into a race of hard competition for power, fortifying security, elevating status, enhancing prestige, and multiplying their influence. Undoubtedly, the newly emerging great powers endeavor to move up to the top of the elite club of the great powers. After being successful in their efforts, the great powers certainly want to materialize their influence of wealth and power to reshape the existing international order. Obviously in this newly constructed arrangement the new great powers seek privileges for their national interests. Eventually their aim is to become leading hegemonic power in their own region.

These detailed deliberations would easily guide the scholars of international politics in their judgment to decide that Chinese rise, as they claim, will be peaceful. Historical analysis would help to determine that it will be anything but peaceful. Christopher Layne (2015) also asserts that when the new great powers enter the global system, the result would be no other than the geopolitical turbulence and ultimately the war. In this regard the archives of history may easily render a lot of supporting evidences.

There could be some specific scenarios that may help to visualize why the Sino-US relationships may be facing geopolitical explosion in the region. One could be the “Dodge City Syndrome,” that can be referred to an American film scene where two gunmen encounter each other in the town saloon. Once they estimated the capacity of the other and look into one another eyes; one of them said that the town was not big enough for both of them to fight. After knowing the real strength of the opponent; one of them would definitely say that they must not go at against each other. There could be another way to think of the evolving relationships between China and the US; as Layne (2015) calls it the Newtonian Theory of Geopolitics; which identifies that certain region cannot be dominated by two superpowers at the same time.

The second scenario that may initiate Sino-US conflict is related to the dynamics of power transition mechanism, which certainly kick starts when a declining hegemon is face up to a fast-rising new great power. The dynamics of power transition forces the great powers to look for changing the global balance of power construction in their own favor; ultimately aim to be on the driving seat of the existing world order.

According to the structural realists the structure of global system is so complex that it necessitates all the bigger or smaller states to maximize their national power. Since, none of the rest of entities other than their national power can best serve these states; first in their survival and then in establishing their hegemony. However, it is worth mention that this school of thought believes that for changing the dynamics of world order from one type of polarization to the other – unipolar to bipolar or multipolar – the superpowers usually go at war (Mearsheimer, 2007).

Apparently it may look too easy to academically dismiss the idea that China and the US are heading towards a conflict in the coming decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The same notion is also upheld by some of the American international relations theorists who try to give

assurances that the likelihood of the Sino-American war is by far out of question. There could be three possible reasons behind this obstinate philosophy.

The first one is the deterrence effect of nuclear weapons; both of them are capable of destroying the whole world with their most lethal fossils. The second could be the pacifying effects of an economic interdependence, particularly among the two economic superpowers and the largest trade partners in the world, the US and China. In other words, the blessings of globalization may stop the two competing great powers from direct clash against each other. The third and perhaps the more certain reason could be due to the fact that China will place itself in the international institutions and the global political structures of the contemporary world order. Beijing will ultimately consent to the laws, rules and norms of contemporary system as well as the US dominated global institutions (Ikenberry, 2011).

However, none of these arguments seems to be highly persuasive for the following reasons. The first argument relating to the denial of Sino-US conflict, for both the great powers are nuclear armed states; certainly lead the scholars to analyse the fact that indeed nuclear armed countries are deterred from using nuclear weapons against each other, but they may not be clogged from fighting a conventional war. Such as India and Pakistan are the nuclear armed states; yet they engaged each other in conventional conflicts; like in the 1999 Kargil encounter. In early 2019, the two neighbors were at the verge of a full-fledged war when Pakistan shoot down the Indian fighter jet inside its own territory and also captured the enemy pilot (Abi-Habib, 2019). Therefore, Sino-US clash cannot be completely ruled out, when there are numerous conflicting issues, particularly in the East Asian region.

The second hypothesis that economic interdependence can prevent wars among the great powers; can also be repudiated for prior to the outbreak of World War I; the same kind of economic interdependence also existed among the European powers. The third notion is that a powerful China shall willingly subordinate itself to the, their rules and norms of international institutions in the contemporary world order or the Pax-Americana; which was predominantly established in post- WW-II era under the supremacy of the US.

The unusual transnational initiatives like; AIIB, SCO, BRICS and the BRI are believed to the foundations of China sponsored 21<sup>st</sup> century world order (Layne, 2015). As soon as China attains the status of an equivalent great power as against the United States; it will unsurprisingly demand for reshaping of the existing international order. Eventually the American sway of an uncontested hegemon shall diminish; for it is a well-established fact that great powers, once get on the top, do change the dynamics of international politics in accordance with their own national interests.

## **7.5        Polarization through Institutionalization**

After the culmination of WW-II, owing to its overpowering military and economic omnipotence, the US was indisputably the most dominant actor of the global structure. On the economic front; the American share of worldwide trade was around 50 per cent; the US Dollar outplayed the British pound as the reserve currency of universal economic system. The US had already grasped the status of maintaining the biggest share of the monetary reserves. Militarily, the US Navy and Air force gave it some indisputable global power projection capabilities. In this era the US was able to establish its hegemony by virtue of its military, financial and economic strength in addition to the security and

economic institutions like; the UN, NATO, the World Bank and WTO. All these transnational organizations strengthened the postwar liberal international order.

In the post- World War II era the United States also helped in resurrecting the war trodden and overwhelmingly devastated economies of European allies in the West and that of Japan in the Far-East. Moreover, Washington also created a comprehensive framework of alliances; many of them are still in functional today, to restore stability in Europe and East Asia. Above all in the post-World War II era the international order was also reinforced by the soft power of the United State; that aimed at the broadcast of ideological, ideational and cultural appeal throughout the world. Finally the US has also tried to project and promote its liberal international values abroad by encouraging democracy and human rights values in various parts of the world.

It can be argued that in the postwar period the US established and further promoted the international organizations, values and norms; which in turn buttressed the hegemony of United States in the world. The Hegemonic stability theory may well explain that why the Pax-Americana was created. Since, the theory holds that a hegemonic power is mandatory in liberal international order to manage and also further stabilize the political and economic systems of the world (Gilpin, 1975). Therefore, the triumphalism of the United States during the post-Cold War can be summarized by stating that, following the Soviet disintegration, as the benefactor of worldwide security and the ultimate manager of the transnational economy; in essence, the USA acted as the de facto government of the global system (Mandelbaum, 2005). Likewise, it is believed that the world's economic hegemon has the responsibility of formulating the rules for the global economic order.

At the time of transnational economic downturn, it has to kick-start by acting as the market of last resort for the exported goods from the rest of the nations by encouraging imports from them. The economic hegemon support the suffering economies; by supplying additional liquidity; by acting as the lender of last resort; and also by providing a reserve currency to the global economy (Layne, 2015).

At the same time the worlds militarily hegemon has the responsibility to ensure the stability of those regions which are critical for the smooth functioning of worldwide economy. It has also to safeguard the transnational communication lines, the global commons, which are vital for an open international economy and free movement of intercontinental trade (Posen, 2003). There is a general understanding among the scholars of international politics that the US has been more or less successful in performing the tasks of a world's economic and military hegemon since the end of World War II. However, the big question is that if it will be able to continue doing so in the future.

On the other hand, the American inward looking policy is not only signaling the decline of the Pax-Americana; but also complementing the Chinese offshore objectives. The 2016 election slogan of the current US president Donald Trump, 'America First' was enough to send an underlying message to the American allies, particularly in Europe and Asia, to look for their own engagements with a rapidly rising China and newly assertive Russia (Ignatius, 2016). Similar kind of view has also been expressed by Philip Stephens, a prominent analyst and foreign affairs columnist for the Financial Times; who has categorically stated that the Trump's policy of "America First" promotes belligerent isolationism of the US and also its president (Stephens, 2016).

At the same time Christopher Layne (2018) argues that the Pax-Americana constructed and also dominated by the United States after the end of the WW-II is now obviously fraying. However, it can also be argued that Donald Trump is mere a symptom of this threadbare, not the cause actually. Since, the root cause has long been accompanying the contemporary system.

As for the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order is concerned; the deliberations about the US decline and that of China's rise are not only related to economic and military competition between the existing and the emerging hegemons. However, there is a series of events and initiatives that will eventually open up into a transition phase at the world level. It is historically a natural phenomenon that a declining hegemon is replaced or otherwise joined by another or more than one ambitiously rising great powers.

Since, the beginning of discussion on world order, back in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, usually the transition has taken place as a result of some catastrophic conflict. Nonetheless, until now the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order is portrayed to be unique in this regard because the most influential emerging great power, China has repeatedly stated that its rise is peaceful. However, it can be argued that there might be a method to the madness, behind the claim of peaceful rise of China. Since, the rise of great powers has hardly ever been peaceful.

There are several references even in this study identifying that in the past couple of decades China has launched a number of, economic, political and security related initiatives that ultimately would be helpful in the implementation of Beijing's regional as well as global agenda. It is worth mention that most of these enterprises will certainly allow China to place itself at an advantageous position in international system. After that

China, with the help of its strategic allies may even go up to paralyze the contemporary world order by adopting the strategy of developing new transnational institutions like; the SCO and AIIB; that will be comparatively more catching at least for the “rest” if at all not for the “West.”

The edifice of such type of innovative transnational organizations, under the sponsorship of Beijing, will certainly enable China to expand its worldwide influence, particularly in Asia and Africa. After that China can certainly demand for some dramatic changes in the existing world order, in which United States has held a dominant position since the end of the World War II, and an uncontested hegemon in the post-Cold War era. On the other hand the likelihood of another perplexing scenario may not be completely ruled out. In that case if China along with its other important strategic partners threaten their withdrawal<sup>138</sup> (Zakaria, 2018) from the existing multinational institutions and show its intentions to construct separate set of institution; eventually the existing global system may collapse. The ultimate result of both these possibilities would certainly be a new world order that would be anything but a unipolar world system.

## **7.6 China Challenges the Pax-Americana?**

There is a general debate in international politics that today all the four pillars of the Pax-Americana (military, economic, institutional and ideational) are being challenged by China. In fact these were the essential pillars of the decades-long worldwide American hegemony. In such critical situation at least two fundamental and intimately connected

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<sup>138</sup> Fareed Zakaria, the analyst, in his September 6, 2018 column, ‘We have to look beyond the madness’ published in *The Washington Post* argues that the US president, Trump is at heart an “isolationist.” So he persistently questions the worth of the alliance structure... He also seems to want that the US to either withdraw from the world or turn its international role into a profitable, quasi-colonial enterprise.

questions may arise. First, if China exceeds, equals or even approximates its overall power to the US in all these areas, would the Pax-Americana be able to sustain further? Second, if it fails to do so, then what will be edifice of a future world order?

Although both these questions are significant possibly for the whole world; however, for the Americans, addressing the first is a highly contentious issue. Since, the ultimate end of this inquiry is whether the American power is substantially declining, a million dollars question. Since, the high ranking officials of the United States like; Jon Huntsman, the former Ambassador to China and the current Ambassador to Russia, specifically expressed the predominant interpretation of the American foreign policy establishment when he stated that decline is un-American (Porter, 2015). The same line is also followed by majority of the leading security studies analysts of the United States.

These types of primacists American still stalwartly believe that the world system is not only unipolar; rather, it will continue for a long time. Moreover, they also assert that American power will remain insurmountable for a long time to come. Nonetheless, statistics may help us to understand that these claims are increasingly unconvincing and even suspicious. In this context the point of view of the post-Cold War 'declinist school' predominantly consisting of the commentators like; Paul Kennedy (2010), Robert Gilpin (1987) and Samuel P. Huntington (1988); is getting stronger day by day (Layne, 2018). However, these prominent analysts faced a lot of criticism from their opponents.

It is worth mention that despite these scholars did not claim either that the American power advantages of the post- WW II era had already dissipated. Nor did they uphold that the US was at a stark edge of a hasty and disastrous decline. Nevertheless, they certainly

pointed out to the internal and external economic drivers of the American decline (as already discussed in this study). These declinists maintained that over the period of time these drivers would push American economic power to shrink relatively and ultimately cause a shift in the global balance of power.

It is significant to highlight that the declinists actually believed that the United States was passing through a slow and gentle decline. Primarily the downturn was originated by the fundamental structural feebleness of the US economy that was steadily but surely nibbling at its foundations. Scholars of the declinist school were unambiguously eyeing at the ultimate effects of this gradual decline on the overall American role in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century across the world. Even at that high time of the American unipolar moment, these commentators identified that the most critical task ahead of the US over the next decades was to recognize those progressive transnational broader trends.

The declinist also underpinned the need for managing such critical affairs very wisely; so that the relative erosion of the US overall position in the global system would occur slowly and smoothly. The declinist also warned the American establishment about the policies that would have further accelerated the course of American decline. Obviously such policies are those which are employed to bring about only short-term advantage; however, in the longer-term they are proved to be highly detrimental (Layne, 2018).

Besides these internal issues the US has also been facing some critical external challenges. The worldwide overstretched military engagements; particularly in East Asia where China is stretching its muscles to acquire the status of a regional hegemon is a matter of concern for the US. The boom in Chinese growth and its challenge to the

American economic hegemony; along with Chinas infusing soft power in Asia and Africa; are the most significant issues that challenging the Pax-American. In the following paragraphs there is a brief account of these challenges put forth by China.

### **7.6.1 China Challenges the US Military Might in the Region**

The US foreign policy establishment believes that despite all the debates about the decline; even then the advantage in American military dominance has been undefeatable; and it will continue for a significant time-frame in future. The American policy-makers and security studies experts are of the view that military power is their geopolitical trump card and it will certainly ensure Washington's lasting supremacy even if Beijing comes closer to the economic and technological advancement of US. However, very few among the foreign policy formulation circles have started to question this perspective.

In the discussions of China's rise and American decline; one of the most critical questions is of how long it will take China to catch up with the militarily power of the United States. Some of the recent studies regarding the balance of US- China military clout identify that the two great powers face different type of colossal strategic challenges (Blackwill & Tellis, 2015).

The Chinese strategic goals are currently considered to be are more limited than the US. For Beijing the main strategic objective is to dominate its own geographic backyard in South- East Asia. Since, China believes that establishing regional hegemony in the area would be the foundation of its geostrategic doctrine at the global level (Blackwill & Tellis, 2015). Moreover, it is a well-known fact that south-east Asia has turned out to be the pivot of Sino-US geopolitical competition as a whole.

On the other hand a number of scholars maintain that even if China is currently not capable of launching an all-out global challenge to the hegemony of the United States; there are obvious indications that it has started to draw levels with the American military power in the East-Asian region (Cheng, 2013). Moreover, the RAND Corporation<sup>139</sup>, in one of its recent study on the China and United States military balance has also referred to the overall receding trend of American military supremacy in East Asian region (Heginbotham et al., 2015).

The RAND also maintains that the overall trends in the US- China military competitiveness in the Fareast are no more auspicious for the United States. Though China has yet not been able to have sealed the gap with the US; yet it has quite rapidly narrowed it. It has also been predicted by 2020 the military dominance of United States in South-east Asia will be significantly eroded by China (Cliff, 2015, pp. 244-5). It has also been predicted categorically that during 2020s the power transition progression in East Asia would be a reality and eventually China will be capable enough to challenge the existing regional status quo (Cliff, 2015, p. 246).

On the other hand the US Defense Department in its “Annual Report to Congress; military and security developments involving the People’s Republic of China 2019” has also identified some interesting developments. The report says that during the initial two decades of the 21st century the China has thoroughly benefited from the notion to what the Chinese leadership view as a “period of strategic opportunity.” Fundamentally they

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<sup>139</sup> The RAND Corporation is a Washington based American global policy think tank. It is an impartial and non-profitable research and development enterprise that was established by Douglas Aircraft Company to conduct research and analysis for the American armed forces. The main financial sponsors of the RAND are the U.S. government; some private donations corporations; universities and individuals. Now the company has expanded enough to support other governments, transnational organizations, private enterprises and foundations in numerous issues like; defense, non-defense and even healthcare.

aimed to depend on domestically developed industry and multiply the Chinese “comprehensive national power” (US Defense Department, 2019).

The report has highlighted that over the coming decades, the Chinese leadership would be concentrating more on understanding of a prosperous as well as powerful China, which is also equipped with a “world-class” military power. Beijing also aims at acquiring the status of China as great power in the world along with the primary objective of emerging as the dominant power in the Indo-Pacific region. In the preceding years China continued to couple with a range of economic, foreign policy, and security instruments to ultimately materialize this vision.

The Chinese leadership has been putting their best efforts to implement the initiatives both at home and abroad which were essential for supporting China’s security and military objectives. For instance China endures to implement long term strategies like, “Made in China 2025” along with several other industrial development plans (McBride, 2018). These strategies stress upon the need to swap the foreign equipment with locally produced technological goods, especially those for the defense requirements. Certainly these steps present economic and strategic challenges to those countries which export high-tech defense and industrial products. Moreover, such plans also directly support the military modernization and indigenization goals. China has also been trying to align its civil and defense technology development program to achieve better efficiency, industrial and military modernization, and economic growth. In the recent past the Chinese leadership has emphasized more on the initiatives like, Civil Military Integration. They also made it the part of their national strategy by offering incentives to the civilian sector to enter the Chinese defense market.

The basic aim of these policies is to leverage China's growing economic, diplomatic, and military clout to ultimately establish its regional supremacy. Moreover, such initiatives help in expanding the country's transnational influence across the world. It can be argued that even the China's multinational nonmilitary projects like, BRI will probably drive overseas military basing on the plea to provide security for Belt and Road Initiative projects (US Defense Department, 2019).

At the same time China has also developed a transformed strategy regionalism in East Asia; primarily aimed at minimizing the "China threat" perception in the region. However, due to some of the continuing territorial disputes over different islands and parts of the South China Sea, of escalation of tension could not vanish. On the other hand China is also fully aware of its relative disadvantages and disadvantages in the region.

Therefore China pursues the strategy of securing its long and short term objectives without jeopardizing the regional stability. The Chinese frontrunners are employing the tactics that are short of armed conflict in the region; and also to pursue Beijing's ultimate strategic objectives. The underlying significance of these objectives also includes such calculated activities that do not provoke any armed conflict with the US and its close allies or partners in the Indo-Pacific region (Cheng, 2013). It interesting to note that China is not willing to compromise its territorial and maritime claims in the Indo-Pacific region; and it has also continued militarization in the South China Sea; but still these tactics are too calculated to offend the US, a dominant stakeholder in the region. On the one hand China seems to employ intimidating measures involving military and nonmilitary steps to advance its transnational interests; however, it is also trying to mitigate opposition from the other actors.

China is also committed to strengthen its military power that must be proportionate to that of other great powers, like US or Russia. The Ultimate aim of Beijing is to make the People's Liberation Army to be able to fight and win wars from the rivals, deter potential adversaries, and ensure to safeguard the Chinese national interests abroad. In this context PLA Aims to defeat, not merely compete with any other military, particularly the US military (Harold, 2018).

Undoubtedly China aims that the PLA is to keep up with, match, and possibly exceed the American military capabilities. Such goals reflect the Chinese calculation of the vital operational challenges necessary for the accomplishment of significant assignments like; defending the Chinese airspace, handling conflict of Taiwan and above all the projection of power in the East and South China Seas to sue claims to disputed land and maritime features (Chase, Garafola & Beauchamp-Mustafaga, 2018). In short it can be stated that China competes to dissuade its rivals including the United States from confrontation or preventing Beijing from achieving its ultimate strategic goals. China would not hesitate if it felt necessary that the PLA should be capable to defeat any adversary if it decides to launch a contest against the Chinese policy moves.

### **7.6.2 Chinese Challenge to the US Economic Hegemony**

Although the Great Recession of 2008 did not close the unipolar ascendancy chapter of the United States; however, it has bitterly affected the hegemonic role of the US across the world. On the one hand it has directed the focus of attention, at the internal and external level, towards the diminishing American power; and on the other hand it has also accelerated the American declinism both at home and abroad that could be witnessed in

different forms during the past decade. The waning supremacy of the US is certainly chipping away every pillar of the Pax-Americana (as discussed earlier); and afterward their impending erosion will make the survival of American hegemony increasingly doubtful. On the other side the rapidly rising China is also belligerently challenging the post-Cold War Pax-Americana.

From the time of the onset of Great Recession, the emblems of waning American economic power and the growing economic muscle of China have become too abundant to ignore across the world. Since the beginning of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century China has uninterruptedlly been taking away the top positions in various disciplines of global economy. By 2010, *The Wall Street Journal* announced that China has surpassed Germany in the world exports (Miller & Walker, 2010) and by 2014 *The Guardian* declared that after passing the United States, China has become the world's largest trading nation (Monaghan, 2014). Finally China crossed the United States in manufacturing, a title the US had held for a century (West & Lansang, 2018).

Similarly, the World Bank in its 2014 report highlighted the striking proclamation that China had jumped over the US and titled itself to be the largest global economy in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP) (Fray, 2014). Moreover, it is also predicted that before the mid of 2020s, China would overtake the United States in GDP and will get to the position of the largest economy in the world as measured by global market exchange rate (Layne, 2018). All these dramatic swings in the comparative economic advantages of China over the US will certainly yield massive economic, political and strategic insinuations on the Sino-US engagement in East Asia and in overall 21<sup>st</sup> century world order. In this regard the managing director of the IMF, Christine Lagarde, gave a very

sensational statement in July 2017, by saying that in accordance with the by-laws of the organization, in ten years' time its headquarters may be repositioned to another member country that enjoy the status of being the largest economy, most likely to be in China (Lagarde, 2017).

Undoubtedly, all these indicators are enough to draw a clear image of the United States' relatively declining economy. The primacists of the US have been presenting numerous crafty opinions in their endeavors to downplay the far reaching implications of the continuing swing of the global economic power from Washington to Beijing. However, some of the prejudiced reasons are considered to be least convincing at the international level. For instance; in order to measure the national power, per capita income could be a much superior yardstick than mere aggregate GDP; China is far behind the US in modern technology and that China is incompetent of making inventions (Beckley, 2012).

It is worth mention that apart from economic brilliance China is rapidly unveiling its modernity and marvels in a number of fields. For instance; the world's largest radio telescope and its corresponding China's ambitions into the universe, the launching of the world's first quantum satellite, the largest number of computers in world using made-in-China microprocessors, and the use of artificial intelligence, both in the civil and military industries; are certainly hypnotizing the United States as well as the whole world (Layne, 2018).

The diminishing American economic dominance may not be clear to primacists in the United States, but it is seamlessly obvious to many impartial observers. For example; the dwindling relative economic supremacy of the US became unambiguously clear at the

time of the Great Recession. It has not hurt the notion of Pax-American by unveiling the inability of the US economy to manage the global economy in an odd period; and also by causing a significant shift in the Sino-US strategic balance of power in East Asia.

The Great Recession has made clear in numerous respects that the US was no more capable of fulfilling the responsibility of being the manager of the global economy. Since, it is well established fact the economic hegemon is required to resolve global economic crisis, not cause it. Moreover, the global economic hegemon has to be the lender of last resort and not the debtor; whereas the US has become the largest debtor and China the largest creditor of the world (Sharma, 2010).

At the April 2009 G20 summit in London, the US wanted to attain rebalancing of the global economy by persuading the Europeans, particularly Germany, to export less and import or consume more from the United States. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel categorically rejected the American requests for rebalancing the international economy (Dempsey & Kulish, 2009). The refusal of Berlin to the Washington's policy of economic impetus clearly highlighted fading ability of the United States to act as the frontrunner of the global economy. Similarly the Trump administration has also made a vociferous complaint that Germany exports too much, whereas it imports too little; however, like his predecessor could not push or persuade Germany to moderate its trade surplus in favor of the US.

With the reducing ability of United States to manage the international economy and mounting economic clout of China will obviously have profound implications on the dynamics of strategic balance between Washington and Beijing. Such as the 'pivot' to

Asia strategy announced by the Obama administration was projected to reassure the countries of Indo-Pacific that the US would do everything to counterbalance the ever mounting economic sway of China in the region. The high ranking American officials were openly expressing their concerns about the China's rise and its growing influence in East Asia (Spetalnick, & Brunnstrom, 2016). At the same time China has made a lot of ground to turn 'power balancing' strategy into its own favor in the region as well as in the world. The contemporary economic trends suggest that large number states will be inevitably drawn into geopolitical orbit of China by the overwhelming magnetic pull of its economy. The American economic influence is gradually shrinking in number of regions in the world; while correspondingly that of China is mounting dramatically.

As discussed in previous chapter that China's share of Global trade has risen by manifold in the past three decades. Since, 1993 the Chinese trade to ASEAN has jumped from only 2 to 14 %; while that of the US has dropped to 8.2 from 18 % (Layne, 2018). Similarly, the Chinese trade ties with Europe, Japan, South Asia, Africa, Latin America, Central Asia and the Middle East have been greatly strengthened. Therefore, the corresponding geopolitical relations between China and all the other regions have certainly opened the door of opportunity for Beijing to reassert its influence; and to get advantage in the Global balance of power against the US.

In short the ever increasing economic dependence on China from various countries around the world will be certainly reflected in geopolitical and strategic alignments in the coming decades. China will be able to leverage its growing economic power to boost its geopolitical position, generally in the world and particularly Indo-Pacific region. In such a scenario the hegemony of US is bound to diminish, if not siphoned at all.

## 7.7      **Institutional Challenges to the Pax-Americana**

The Chinese challenge to the Pax-Americana is not confined only to economic or strategic competition; rather it's a multidimensional contest. After the Great Recession the Washington has lost its position of playing the role of the manager of the global economy; while China has been consistently climbing the international economic distinctions. Beijing has first established itself as the regional and then it has started eyeing at the status of the global economic hegemon.

Moreover, the additional strikingly element can be observed in China's challenge to the institutional framework of the contemporary world order. It has been repeatedly indicated that the Pax-Americana was established on pillar of international institutions and its erosion may also lie is the weakening of its legacy in these transnational institutions. China is also aware of the fact that the prospects of major overhauling or even the replacement of the existing international order would be through worldwide institutionalization.

On the one hand, the emerging powers, especially China, demand the reforms process of the world's economic and security institution, the IMF, World Bank and the UN Security Council, to give greater role to the newly emerging great powers. Similarly, one more indicator of the global balance shift transpired in 2008 when after the insistence of China and the other major emerging economies, the G-8 global economic summit was transformed into the G-20 (Schmucker & Gnath, 2011). This incredible shift ultimately allowed these emerging economies like; India, Indonesia, South Africa and others to have greater voice in international economic affairs.

The emergence of G-20 also establishes the necessity of yielding the global economic power to the emerging nations, especially China, which confirms that the relative power of United States is diminishing. The devolution from G8 to the G-20 also underlined that the shift in global economic power is correspondingly taking place from the Euro-Atlantic world to Asia. Since, the only Asian state, Japan had been a member of G8; while the G-20 comprises one third of its members from Asia including China, India, Japan, South Korea, Australia, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the advent of G-20 as the principal organ of economic management at the global level also confirmed that after the Great Recession the stature of the United States along with Europe to play their stewardship role in the international economic management had dramatically slipped away from their control (Wolf, 2010).

Since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the world has seen the establishment of some newly thought out institutions that may potentially constitute a shadow or parallel world order outside the precincts of the Pax-Americana. The most significant among these are considered to be the Beijing Sponsored Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Belt and Road Initiative. In addition, one of the most referred transnational bodies is the BRICS comprising of the rapidly emerging nations; Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa.

It is worth mention that neither the staying power and impact nor the ultimate objective of these institutions is certain so far. However, their symbolic role in the present world and their future role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century international order may be highly significant. For the declining Pax-Americana; they accentuate the degeneration of the US designed and the US dominated post-WW II liberal international order. On the other hand, for the

“Rest” or the emerging powers like, China and the resurging giant like, Russia; these institutions are the symbol of recognition of their status and prestige in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order (Park, 2016).

In the following paragraphs there is brief account of the strategic significance of these organizations in the context of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order, particularly in terms of the Sino-US balance of power competition in the region as well as in the world. Moreover, Russia, being a key stakeholder in Eurasia and a strategic partner of China; is also determined to introduce itself as a major power in the world. Hence, the role of Moscow in these institutions is also under consideration.

### **7.7.1 The Shanghai Cooperation Organization**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is basically a Chinese headed and Russian backed Eurasian political, economic, and security association. The SCO was announced on June 15, 2001 in Shanghai, China. Initially its members were China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; however, India and Pakistan joined the organization in June 2017 and the SCO membership has expanded to eight countries. The SCO Heads of State Council is the supreme decision-making body that meets once a year to approve decisions and guidelines on all important matters of the organization. The member states conduct military exercises regularly in order to promote cooperation and harmonization in the member states against terrorism and other security threats. The primary objective of the SCO is to maintain regional peace and stability. Owing to its growing significance in Eurasian region, the SCO is generally regarded as the "alliance of the East" (Bhadrakumar, 2007).

The SCO is regarded as the largest regional organization in the world in terms of geographical coverage and population. It is covering around 60 per cent of the Eurasian landmass and nearly 50 per cent of the world population and almost 45 per cent of the world energy reserves (Alimov, 2018). It is believed that such a massive alliance in the East, where China and Russia are having a central role is certainly a challenge for United States in the contemporary international politics as well as in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order.

In the contemporary international politics the 9/11 incident was the beginning of new engagements across the world. However, the most affiliated or the worst affected region by this occurrence was the Central Asia or the SCO countries. In fact, SCO is considered to be one of the first international organizations that formally responded against the devastating attacks by condemning the terrorist act through a combined statement issued by its government leadership. During the ‘War on Terror’ against Al-Qaida in Afghanistan the members of the SCO decided to collaborate with United States and the NATO forces on their own individual basis. Even some of them had offered their military and logistic support to the Americans and their allied forces. For instance, Uzbekistan allowed the US to establish the Karshi-Khanabad (K2) airbase for refueling and transit facilities (Javaid & Khan, 2015).

However, with growing presence and influence of the US in the region; Beijing and Moscow decided to revive the engagement of SCO with an increased prominence on its contribution as a coalition to counter terror campaign. It was also decided to combined make effort in order to set up mutual program for the countries of Central Asia, particularly those of the SCO members. These efforts for the re-activation of SCO were primarily adopted to address the worries of China and Russia regarding the prolonged or

permanent presence of the US in the region. It was thought that owing to the American presence in the area, the possibilities of SCO to lose its relevance and reliability would rise dramatically; hence timely measures were felt to be taken (Javaid & Khan, 2015).

The broad analysis of the SCO reveals that this is a kind of unique partnership system of interstate interaction that provides an institutional platform for comprehensive regional economic, political, security and cultural cooperation. It is an exceptional model of regionalism within the context of the contemporary realities of Eurasian zone. The SCO aims at the development strategies, the regional linkages and the coordinated efforts primarily for economic security related issues of the member countries.

Keeping in view the dynamics of 21<sup>st</sup> century world order, the SCO has got a highly significant status at the regional and global levels. Since three major emerging powers; China, Russia, and India are its member, with ever growing sense of multifaceted cooperation. Moreover, the Beijing initiated OBOR is going to help in further strengthening the connectivity among the member states; in addition to the countries of Western Europe. Above all the SCO is continuing to obtain the common political and security objectives; along with its efforts for searching the optimum level of mechanisms to expand the economic ties, and strengthening cultural bonds and humanitarian interactions between its members (Alimov, 2018).

Generally, it can be argued that the experience of formulating the SCO is possibly the first transnational engagement in the history of building alliances which is based on an equal partnership among states of different sizes, with varying degrees of political influence, varied economic potentials, and diverse cultural as well as civilizational

features. Owing to the enormous geographical edifice of the SCO, the organization may prove to be extremely helpful in building a thoroughly connected Eurasian continent between the constituent states. Their mutual socioeconomic and geopolitical ties and deeper interactions will certainly define the nature of commitment in the coming decades. The SCO will obviously provide common platform to the member states, particularly China and Russia to fortify their strategic relations. Moreover, these tactical ties between the emerging power China and the resurrecting power, Russia; equipped with huge amount of human and natural resource capitals are a matter of real concern for the West in general and the US in specific (Alimov, 2018).

As mentioned above that the SCO holds the largest human, natural and geographical resources in the world. However, the degree of its effectiveness lies in the level of mutual cooperation and seriousness in setting as well achieving the future goals. In the past, there has been some kind of conflict of interests and even rivalries between different members of the organization like; India - China, and India- Pakistan. All the members will have to address their mutual issues in peaceful manner, otherwise such a diversified (both in cultural and geographical aspects) international alliance may face severe challenges. As a whole the SCO continues to develop gradually to enhance partnership at the regional level but it can prove to be a kind of deterrence for any other actor having aggressive designs or which intends to destabilize the region.

#### **7.7.2 The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)**

The AIIB is a newly formed Chinese initiated organization with primary objective to foster viable economic development by creating wealth and improving infrastructure as

well as connectivity in Asia. The bank aims to achieve these goals by investing in massive infrastructure and other productive sector projects. Another significant aim of establishing this transnational economic institution is to promote regional cooperation and partnership for the sake of addressing the development challenges.

The underlying purpose of AIIB is to create an environment of close collaboration with other important bilateral and multilateral development institutions in the region and beyond. The construction of the AIIB is believed to follow the other similar China sponsored initiatives for the encouragement of the global multilateral financial structure. The AIIB is taken as the first international financial institution established on the direct initiative of a non-Western economic power. The initiative of AIIB was launched by Chinese President Xi Jinping in October 2013. The idea was projected in response to the unembellished financial gap for sustainable infrastructure in Asia and the West.

This multinational bank started its operations in January 2016, with its headquarters in Beijing, China. The AIIB has 84 members; out of them 48 are regional states and 36 non-regional, including 14 EU member states. The financial resources of AIIB are US\$ 100 billion with 20 percent paid-in and 80 % callable. The biggest shareholders in AIIB with their share are; China, India, Russia and Germany with 30, 9, 7 and 5 % respectively. The motto of AIIB is “lean (efficient), clean (no corruption), and green” with key sectors of energy, transport, water, and urban development (European Strategic Notes, 2015).

It is believed that, the AIIB is to become a potential game changer in financing the multidimensional development in global infrastructure networks. According to the experts its early signs point to China derive of using the project not only for economic

development but also for the pursuit of its far reaching geostrategic interests in Eurasia. For instance, the AIIB is essentially a driver of accelerating the Beijing's plans for reviving as well as revitalizing the new 'Silk Road' connecting Asia and Europe.

The formation of Chinese initiated transnational bank reflects the greater economic significance of the rapidly emerging markets in general and that of China in specific. The AIIB, along with the other important China-led initiatives like; the New Development Bank (NDB) and Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA), conceived by the BRICS countries; currently have an overall collective capital base of US\$ 250 billion (European Strategic Notes, 2015).

This huge amount of capital represents a substantial financial firepower, under the influence of China, which is roughly equivalent to that of the World Bank. It can be categorically stated that the foundation of all these new institutions certainly reflect the growing economic strength of China as well as the mounting discontent of the country with in the prevailing multilateral financial institutions at the global level. Since, being one of the top two economies of the world, Beijing has been complaining of its underrepresentation in these international frameworks in general but in the IMF and World Bank in particular.

It is worth mention that not only China but the other emerging market economies also have complains about their inadequate clout in the transnational financial bodies like the IMF. They are dissatisfied with the overall slow pace of reforms in addressing these unbalancing practices. Therefore, the AIIB is thought to be only in some measure an economic vehicle of regional economic and infrastructure development; however, in

reality, it may be used for the pursuit of long term and wider geo-political interests of China at the regional as well as world level. These kinds of concerns are also reflected in the unwillingness of Japan and the United States to join the AIIB (Etzioni, 2016).

A thorough analysis of the geopolitics of the Chinese economic boom, it can be argued that the activities of Beijing are not only restricted to the economic and financial domains. Rather China seems to have unblemished geopolitical and geostrategic underlying components in these developments. The plethora of China's led initiatives that are apparently economic like; the AIIB, the NDB and the OBOR are undoubtedly aimed to increase the global economic, political as well as strategic influence of Beijing, predominantly after the creation of these parallel institutions.

The construction of AIIB has clearly caused a sense of nervousness among the US, Japan and numerous EU member states. Since, all these key economic players maintain that the AIIB could be the strongest competitor of the World Bank and the ADB (Asian Development Bank), the existing economic power centers in the world. These dominant economic players also share their concerns that the AIIB will not uphold common standards of governance. According to the reports, China intends to give larger stake to the Asians as compared to European nations. It is estimated that up to 75 % quota is planned to be shared among the Asian countries based on their economic size. Certainly this decision would give China the largest voting status in the institution (Etzioni, 2016).

The AIIB is also considered to be preface for a New World Order, where China will certainly be a key player (Rein, S. (2017). It is only another exhibition of China's quest to extend unmatched financial and technical capabilities to the other Asian states for the

development of vital infrastructure and broader economic capabilities. The EU is seen to be in a perplexed situation; on the one hand to welcome the AIIB as a global financial balancing mechanism; and on the other hand it is going to shift the world economic center away from the West, in Asia.

From various European financial institutions the EU is advised to keep a close eye on wider geopolitical and geostrategic trends in the world, especially those budding from Beijing. Since there is a wider perception that instead of revising geographical borders, China is likely to use its economic muscles to pursue the unilateral political and security interests in the world. In short the AIIB clearly signals that the Sino-US balance of power, both in economic and geostrategic terms, now is tilting towards Beijing (European Strategic Notes, 2015).

### **7.7.3 The Geostrategic Challenge: BRI**

The Belt and Road Initiative is also one of the significant initiatives of China's future goals. In May 2016 the leaders of some twenty-nine countries and various representatives from around other eighty states, arrived in Beijing to deliberate on yet another ambitious plan of China, 'one belt one road' (OBOR); latter it was termed as BRI. It is a transnational infrastructure development initiative, which is also referred as the 'new Silk Road' by various commentators. It can be stated that BRI plan is the continuation of the China's few years ago coined the AIIB. The Chinese President Xi Jinping's visualized BRI is signature policy that calls for the multibillion dollars investment (up to US\$ 1 trillion) to stimulate a massive trade and economic development plan (Layne, 2018). The prime objective of BRI is to construct transport links that will ultimately integrate the

manufacturing hubs of Europe and East Asia with consumer markets and raw material producers in various regions of Asia and Africa.

Such type of significant trade and shipping routes shall be connecting China along with other joining nations from the Asian regions with different parts of Europe. As a result there will be stronger prospects of searching and promoting new markets for the goods and services produced in China and other emerging Asian economies. A number of analysts maintain that the developmental aspects of BRI may be viewed as the Chinese version of a new Marshall Plan, introduced by the US in the post WW II era; rather may be even on a much grander measure (Xi v Marshall, 2018).

The BRI is also perceived as an instrument of for Chinese expanding geopolitical influence in different regions, specifically in central Asia. There are several references which suggest that BRI is part of the Beijing's strategy to cement its supremacy over the Eurasian 'heartland'. Both the AIIB and BRI are the indicators of the declining US economic and strategic power.

Moreover, they also clearly challenge the Pax-American, in respect of all the geopolitical, global economic leadership and in the hierarchy of international institutions. There should not be any doubt that Beijing envisions the AIIB as a potential rival to the IMF and World Bank. Although, in the debates of Sino-US rivalry, the economic perspective is slightly overshadowed by the military balance of power amid Beijing and Washington, predominantly around the strategic theaters of; Taiwan, South China Sea, the East China Sea and the Korean peninsula; since these flashpoints could spark a conflict between the two giants (Mearsheimer, 2010).

## 7.8 The Sino-Russian Axis and the Hegemony of the US

The strategic partnership between China and Russia can be viewed in context of balance of power mechanism between the existing hegemon, the United States and the emerging great power China, and the resurging or reasserting power Russia. The two Eurasian giant have the history of being the super powers of the world; however since the era of Pax-Americana, both Moscow and Beijing were emphatically marginalized by Washington for different reasons. Nonetheless, United States, in its unipolar fantasy over engaged itself in military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq; whereas China and Russia started rapidly assert their influence on the world stage. Currently, the American hegemony is undoubtedly declining. China, as a result of its immeasurable economic achievements and Russia, on the basis of its economic revival and military muscles; are heading towards a transformation of the existing world order, where the likelihood of shifting the epicenter of global politics from the West to Rest is obvious.

A large number of scholars from international politics affirm that the rapidly emerging developments and the associated debates like; the American inability to avert or overcome the Great Recession, the expansion G8 to the G20, the discussions about the reform or review of the UNSC along with increasing literature about the US decline; are the symptoms of multilateral world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Moreover, the exhibition of a wide-ranging symmetry between Moscow and Beijing in the formulation of political and economic blocks like; the SCO, BRICS, AIIB, NDB and B&RI; is also indicating the degree of strategic partnership as well as the future goals of the two Eurasian great powers (Rauch & Wurm, 2013).

On the other hand with the deepening and broadening of the China-Russia relationship are believed to have ever more negative implications for the United States. Rather some of the commentators argue that the main driver of Sino-Russian cooperation is their competitiveness with the US. Whereas the momentum of these strategic ties is based on the common objectives and values; the perceived Sino-Russian susceptibilities in front of the US and Western pressures in various social and political issues; and the prospects for the two emerging great powers to expand their influence at the expense of the decline of the American led world order (Sutter, 2019).

In fact the partnership between China and Russia developed and further broadened in the post-Cold War era. These ties strengthened expressively since the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, particularly during the past decade. The forward looking temperaments of the current leadership of the two countries; President Xi Jinping and President Vladimir Putin support the estimation of stronger relations. The further momentum in these ties is based on areas of common objectives and values as well as common challenges and opportunities, in special reference to the American hegemony and subsequent decline. Therefore the ever increasing alignment between China and Russia no longer is only an “axis of convenience” having too much narrow impact on the affairs of international order; instead the cooperation is meaningful and result oriented (Sutter, 2019).

The manifestation of these increasingly and longstanding cooperation between Beijing and Moscow can be identified in clear and assertive moves by the two emerging great powers to challenge the American hegemony and reshape the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order in accordance with their own favor. The exhibition of such kind of objectives was evident in the Russian military exercise Vostok, in September 2018, conducted by some 300,000

Russian troops was also participated by 3,200 Chinese fighting forces under “joint” Russian-Chinese command.

It is worth mention that the exercise was bigger than any previous Russian military exercise since the end of the Cold War. The background of the exercise was the escalation of tensions in both countries’ relations with the US over wide ranging issues of security, economic and diplomatic nature. In addition, the ever advancing signs of mutual support between Moscow and Beijing against Washington instigating some skeptics of China-Russia collaboration to hesitantly acknowledge the de facto alliance (Bin, 2019).

The cooperation between Russia and China is posing increasingly severe challenges to the American led world order in their respective spheres of priorities and concerns. On the one hand Russia asserting itself in Europe and the Middle East to counterbalance the American ascendency; while China is trying to defuse the supremacy of the in a number of regions, particularly in the Indo-Pacific along the China’s continental and maritime peripheries. The challenges that Russia has to deal with encompass the military and paramilitary actions in Europe and the Middle East. Moreover, Moscow is also engaged in cyber and political warfare, of varied intensity and goals, aiming to undermine the harmony of NATO, the cohesion of EU and the internal sociopolitical dynamics of the US such as its elections (Sutter, 2019).

China is engaged in undermining the resolve of the United States and its allied actors both through covert and overt means of manipulation. The key characteristic of the Chinese strategic incursion is to launch the kind of operations against the US involving soft power by employing economic incentives and propaganda against the competitors.

The American officials have repeatedly complained about the Chinese cyber-attacks for stealing substantial strategic information and intellectual property. According to the commentators, Beijing fixes all these steps in order to foster its technological and economic competitiveness and ultimately to dominate the global trade and intellectual markets (Finkle & Bing, 2018). It is also perceived that the China's act of intimidating the neighbors by an extraordinary buildup of its military and nonmilitary security forces is eventually helping Beijing to expand its regional control and influence.

In addition these clandestine tactics also support Beijing in advancing its civil and military industrial complex<sup>140</sup>, at the expense of leading American and other transnational companies. According to a report of *The Japan Times*, published in January 2015; the military aviation experts had identified that the designs of Chinese newly developed “fifth-generation<sup>141</sup>” fighter jet; the J-20 and the J-31; were extensively influenced by design of American F-35 stealth fighter. The report claimed that basically the design was stolen by the Chinese hackers from the Lockheed, one of the leading American jet fighters production company (Kyodo, 2015).

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<sup>140</sup> The military industrial complex of a country is a kind of informal alliance between the military and the defense industry that owns the responsibility supply to it. The driving force behind this relationship between the authorities and defense inclined companies is the benefit of both sides. On the one side the military obtains weapons of war and on the other side the corporations are paid for their supplies. The phenomenon is most commonly employed in reference to the relationship between the US military and its closer links with defense contractors; in other words the Pentagon and the politicians. The MIC gained popularity after a cautionary stance on its damaging effects highlighted by the US President D. D. Eisenhower in his farewell address in January 1961.

<sup>141</sup> A fifth-generation jet fighter is a kind of vague phenomenon. It is attributed to those jet fighters used in the world that incorporates the combatant technologies developed particularly in the 21st century and these are taken to be the most advanced aircrafts. The exact characteristics of fifth-generation fighter jets are inexplicit. However, Lockheed Martin defines them as having the attributes of stealth technology, low probability of being intercepted by the radars, high-performance airframe structures, advanced and multirole avionics features, and highly integrated computer systems that are capable of networking with all other elements within the battle space.

Both China and Russia are engaged separately as well as collectively to complicate and curtail the American hegemonic power and influence in the global politics, economy and security related issues. They synchronize their moves in order to support one another in their corresponding challenges being posed against the US along with its allies and close partners in Europe, the Middle East and different regions of Asia. These combined efforts from the two emerging great powers also encompass the diplomatic, security as well as economic agencies in multidimensional forums.

The two Eurasian powers also support one another in the issues confronting the United States and the allied grievances about the Russian and Chinese coercive expansion in various regions. They also complement each other in other measures that are challenging regional order and global norms in addition to the American backed transnational institutions. They also incorporate the bilateral relations with various actors mostly involving the opponents of the US, particularly those in Tehran, Pyongyang and Damascus; which are also openly challenging the American hegemony. Certainly these issues are severely embarrassing the US authorities. For instance the frustration of the US president Donald Trump can be easily observed in his regular tweets on China in 2017;

17 March: North Korea is behaving very badly. They have been ‘playing’ the United States for years. China has done little to help!

13 April: I have great confidence that China will properly deal with North Korea. If they are unable to do so, the U.S., with its allies, will! U.S.A.

16 April: Why would I call China a currency manipulator when they are working with us on the North Korean problem? We will see what happens!

29 July: I am very disappointed in China. Our foolish past leaders have allowed them to make hundreds of billions of dollars a year in trade,

30 November: The Chinese Envoy, who just returned from North Korea, seems to have had no impact on Little Rocket Man ..... Russia and China condemned the launch.

28 December: Caught RED HANDED — very disappointed that China is allowing oil to go into North Korea (Trump, 2017).

It is worth mention that the two great powers have been working more diligently together in reaction to the stronger pressures on Beijing and Moscow related to the Trump administration's policies on National Security and National Defense. They are also cooperating with each other in their joint response on the hardening of American security, economic and political pressures on China and Russia that has dedicated little public attention to the fact that how the two countries work together to counter the interests of the US. On the other hand; President Trump is considered as an element of uncertainty and his statements on Chinese and Russian matters are some sometimes overshadowed by his determination to sustain personal connections with the Chinese president Xi Jinping and Russian president Vladimir Putin. Such a situation further complicates the already complex relations among Beijing, Moscow and Washington (Sutter, 2019).

Despite the fact that China and Russia are close partners in various areas of strategic, economic, political and even cultural harmony. They share common views on different regional and global issues, particularly in their response to the American worldwide supremacy. However, in some of the areas things are not as rosy as they are perceived. For example the two governments have been persistently avoiding entering in some kind

of formal alliance. They are unenthusiastic in taking extensive risks for supporting of one another in the arenas where the prospects of overlapping their respective interests are unattractive.

Some of the commentators also maintain that long term vulnerabilities can also mar the relationships between the two countries. For example the Russian dissatisfaction over its increasingly junior role relative to that of China may explode and eventually exploit the existing understanding between the two powers. It is also stated that China and Russia have varied interests on the issue of preserving or perturbing the existing world order. Beijing and Moscow have different positions over the issue of regional expansion on the part of significant but smaller powers in Europe and Asia looking for the support of the United States.

The strategic ties between China and Russia are short of laid-down principles or parameters. The two also have the history of conventional rivalry and any miscalculation on the part of any one of them may eventually result into grave consequences. The debate can be concluded by arguing that any arrangement but short of a strategic alliance between China and Russia would not be adequate to comprehensively transform the existing system into a multipolar world order. Even if they essentially, over the time, succeed in undermining the influence of the United States in significant geopolitical regions of Eurasia as well as East Asia, the probabilities of tensions between them are more likely to grow than shrink (Chase et al., 2017).

## **Major Findings and Conclusion**

The main objective of the thesis was to discuss the Sino-Russian role in the 21<sup>st</sup> century new multipolar or multicentric world order. The scholarship of global system is an extremely multifarious phenomenon; therefore, it was deemed necessary to understand the dynamics of world order in historical, social and international political perspectives. The desire of peace, stability and order in the world has ever been the aspiration of human being. In this regard, the first ever and truly candid efforts were made in the 1648 Westphalian Peace Treaty. Since then, the phenomena of world order passed through an extensive evolutionary process till the outbreak of the World War I. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the dynamics of international power politics passed through repeated course of realignments; particularly after the two World Wars and the Cold War.

In the post WW-I era, some of the renowned scholars and political leaders like, the US president, Woodrow Wilson put greater emphasis on forming ostentatious international organizations such as; the LON, UNSC, ICJ; to establish lasting peace in the world. The pains of WW-I to Woodrow Wilson were evident in his tenacity to illustrate it a “war to end all other wars”. Regrettably, this noble aspiration did not last more than two decades.

However, in the inter wars period a number of serious developments like; unbearable reparations on Germany by the Allied forces, the great depression, rise of Communism and the fascist regimes; troubled the entire world order. Just two decades later than the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, the WW-II erupted amid the Allied and Central forces. Then in the bipolar world system the United States and Russia emerged as the two competing super powers, perpetually engaged in proxy war against each other.

The Cold War ended with the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, leaving the US as the sole super power in the unipolar world. Washington triumphed itself as global hegemon with an absolute certainty that no other actor alone or even an alliance of the strongest players could challenge the American supremacy. The American foreign policy hawks started overriding the global system by intimidating the other key actors. The authoritarian behavior and highly aggressive designs of the US exasperated majority of the other states, especially the rapidly emerging China and the resurgent Russia.

Contrary to the expectations from hegemonic stability, sustainable peace and order could not triumph in the unipolar system. Devastating incidents like; the 1991 Gulf War, the US led global war on terror and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 jolted the entire international system. Despite strong resentments from the international community; including its NATO allies like, Germany and France; the unilateralist approach of the US further provoked agony among majority of the other nations in the world. Since then heated debates in academia and the political circles also began on the costs and benefits of unipolar world order.

Along with other emerging great powers, China and Russia suspected that they have been frequently marginalized in numerous critical issues of international politics. Therefore, the two Eurasian giants expressed their disappointment in the unipolar system. Beijing and Moscow undertake that the sovereignty of other states has been exposed to the policing role of the sole superpower, asserting a self-proclaimed authority to encroach into the domestic affairs of other nations. Being obsessed by the dictatorial behavior of the US; even powerful players like China and Russia, who had already developed

strategic relations, started rethinking of transforming the international system from a unipolar to a new multipolar world order.

Taking into account the future world order, a perception is being developed that in such a multilateral, multipolar or multicentric world system, nondiscriminatory prospects of progress and prosperity would be accessible to weaker states. The use of soft power by China, as the key characteristic of this new world system is anticipated to help the underdeveloped nations in lifting their economies. The rapidly rising Chinese economy is ready to inject trillions of dollars as loans, grants and investment in; infrastructure, energy and locomotion projects in almost every region of the world.

It is also alleged that behind such massive investments; the sleeping dragon may have covered its face of the new liberalist imperial designs. Though, its leadership consistently asserts that Beijing does not harbor any hegemonic agenda for global dominance. Still, a worldwide perception also dominantly prevails that in its announcements of peaceful rise; China actually seeks to introduce a new international order. China demonstrates to build a narrative that its sponsored system would be ostensibly based on the principle of shared interests and a win-win situation for all other states.

Since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the global political system is equally characterized by the consistently dwindling American supremacy, complemented by rapidly emerging China and aggressively resurging Russia. The two Eurasian giants have also developed an underlying empathy that the US led unipolar world system has to undergo a transition into a multipolar world order, where China and Russia, being the major players have to play their key roles. In such a complex situation; the rise of China to the position of an

economic giant and the Russian undertakings for revitalizing its eminence; along with their growing strategic ties is a serious challenge to the American hegemony. Rather, these developments also mark the shift of global power from trans-Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific region in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global system.

The presence of competitive environment between the US and Sino-Russian axis is not only rooted in conflict of interests; but it is also characterized by both convergences and divergences, in the future globalized liberal internationalist world. In recent past, China has been successful in introducing itself as a key stakeholder and a revisionist challenger in multidimensional aspects of the American dominated global system. Russia has also expressed its clear intentions of denouncing any subordinate role for itself in the international power politics. The strategies of Moscow in the developments of Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East are the illustrations of Russia's future designs.

China and Russia have established a kind of synergy in their mutual interests; while the US has to confront some highly critical challenges. First, it has to neutralize the China's rapid rise; second, the US ought to counterweight the prospects of deeper strategic partnership between the two Eurasian giants. The rivalry amid China and the US; along with the corresponding scenarios of common interests have wielded exciting arrays of conflict and cooperation. These complex interactions of interdependence and rivalry are nurturing in various regions of the world; that would be pivot of the future global system.

### **Major Research Findings**

The study of world order is an exceedingly broad subject. It has a number of highly significant themes like; the evolutionary phases, the sociopolitical dynamics, the

economic, political, military and cultural variables. All these topographies and their essential rudiments may demand several research works. However, after delimiting some of the aspects, this study has the following significant research findings.

- The evolution of world order has passed through an extensive journey of various phases. In fact the aspiration of human being for stability, peace and order can be traced back in the ancient Greeks and Romans; but the general concept of order emerged in the world after the Peace of Westphalia. Since then numerous treaties were signed to maintain order and stability; but peace could not last for too long; except during the “Concert of Europe” era. After the Waterloo (1815) and the Congress of Versailles (1814-15); the 19<sup>th</sup> century in general and its second half in specific; were comparatively peaceful till the outbreak of WW-I in 1914. This serenity is believed as the outcome of no major conflicts among the key European powers; otherwise wars continued in the rest of the world. The Latin American Wars of Independence (1806-1826), the Opium War between the Great Britain and the Imperial China (1840-42) and the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) are too often quoted in international relations. The overall world order from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been uncertain and unstable. Despite some highly candid efforts from the world leaders; wars, warriors, weapons and woes have ever been part of the international politics. The realist perspective of seeking maximizing and utilizing the power has dominated the world; however, some of the inferences of liberal internationalism and interdependence were also employed.
- The study has also revealed that 20<sup>th</sup> century was the bloodiest era of the human history that is also labeled as “a beastly century” or “an age of extremism.” During only seven and half decades of this century; from the outbreak of WW-I (1914) to the end of

Cold War (1991); around 200 million people were either killed or allowed to die as a result of human choices. For the first time almost the entire human race, equipped with the latest and lethal weapons were engaged in wars. The aftermaths of WW-I were so alarming that it was labeled as a total war; or a war to end all other wars. Progressive leaders like the Wilson believed that human being could not afford any other catastrophic war; therefore the world largest organization, the LON was established to settle the transnational disputes peacefully. However, the casual behavior of great powers and the emergence of fascist regimes debarred the LON; and the desire of eternal peace could last only for two decades. By 1939 the WW-II erupted that concluded with the use of nuclear weapons. Again the liberalists stood up for durable peace; and the UN along with its associated organs was constituted to maintain order in the world. However, the super powers Cold War rivalry and several other conflicts amid their client states diluted the peace-building efforts and the world order in the bipolar system.

- The study has also highlighted that after the nail-biting bipolar world system between the two heavily-laden nuclear armed super powers; instead of peace and harmony, the worldwide American imperialist designs dominated the unipolar world order. In unipolar system, the US, being the sole super power of the world, established an uncontested hegemony over the entire global system. President, Bush blatantly announced the US intentions of the “New World Order” to dictate its own terms by introducing new norms to the entire international community; for potentially no other player or even an alliance of powerful actors was somewhere closer to the American global supremacy. Majority of the key international players undeniably acknowledged the overwhelming hegemony of Washington across the globe; and nothing significant would

happen in the world without being significant to the US interests. A dominant perception prevailed that the United States was free to politically or militarily engage any other player; or to decide if and when it was to make critical decisions of global significance. The 1990s were the climax era of American hegemony; however, since the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century its anticlimax has started due to its hyper-power undertakings.

- The study has revealed that the American decline and the decline of American hegemony are two conspicuously different phenomena. Certainly the Pax-American is at odds; the unipolar system is giving way to the multipolar, multilateral or multicentric world order; but it does not necessarily infer to the idea that the US is losing its status of a world power. Since, Washington is indeed the strongest military power of the world and its economic, political and cultural eminence may take several decades to degenerate in totality. So the declinism of the American led or the Western dominated world order does not categorically ascertain the decline of the US itself.
- The study has also discovered that the existing era in international politics is a transition phase from the US lead unipolar world system to an un-elucidated new world order. A number of inquisitive descriptions of the structure of future system such as: multipolar, polycentric, multilateral, non-polar, neo-polar, a-polar or a no one's world order; are likely. The study has also focused on a number of highly pertinent questions like; how the future world system would be different from the outdated unipolar world order? How and why would it happen? Which of the key actors are capable of playing their critical role in the transformation process? What would be the likely costs and benefits of this new world order for the global system? What would be the United States' response to the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order?

- This research work has also underpinned that it can be emphatically established that the prospects of pooling together the national sovereignties into some transnational cooperative institutional arrangements are more likely. In such kind of provisions the great powers like; the US, China and Russia, along with other key players, may develop understanding upon the settlement of an unconventional engagement that may be ascribed as the new multilateralism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order. Such an arrangement could also be characterized as a global system of hegemony without a hegemon. As a leading power in the international system, the US is expected to put greater stock in such multilateral cooperation and new arenas of partnership. Washington is under enormous pressure due to its internal and external burdens like; huge debts, trade deficits, overstretched military commitments in worldwide operations and enormous budgetary extravagances. On the other hand, the emerging great powers are also challenging the American hegemony. Hence any miscalculation from either side may result into catastrophic consequences for the entire world system.
- Owing to the unprecedented developments and extraordinary demands for change; the already existing global institutions are being challenged from various angles; and newly worked out extraordinary international collaboration are under consideration. It seems that China and Russia have reached an underlying understanding that the earlier has to focus on being frontrunner on the economic and the later on the military fronts. They have established strategic engagement, aiming to stalwartly support a new world order in the 21<sup>st</sup> century along with their resolve to establish the new IOs like; SCO, AIIB and BRI; capable of challenging the existing status-quo in the global system. These newly constituted bodies would defy the Western oriented post WW-II era transnational

institutions; it is also believed that they will reflect the phenomena of the rise of the “Rest” or the “East.”

- The study has also revealed that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global politics, there are four main centers of power in the world. This research work has tested the economic and military variables of the major powers and concluded that the US, China, Russia and the EU are the most potent power centers of the global system. The GDPs, the share in the global trade and the military statistics of the world’s leading actors have been thoroughly analysed to identify the actual powerful players in the world. As per statistics, the US is the world’s largest economy, but numerous indicators suggest that very soon China will grab this position; as currently its share in global trade is the highest. Next two positions in the list are held by the EU and Japan; whereas, Russia holds the status of being the eighth largest economy of the world. However, some of the rapidly emerging players or the second tier of world economies like; India, Brazil, Turkey, Egypt and others may at any time in future surprise the dominant existing economic powers.
- Militarily, no doubt the US is the strongest player in the world. However, China and Russia are aggressively involved in narrowing down the gap of American supremacy. The two Eurasian powers are focused to enhance their military budgets along with modernization and indigenization of the armed forces. They are also keen in strengthening their strategic ties through regular visits by the heads of states and other high officials. Beijing and Moscow constantly arrange mutual exercises between the armed and paramilitary forces. As a result of these measures in the recent past; the American supremacy has been challenged by China in the Far East, while Russia aims to neutralize the American hegemony in the Middle East and in some parts of Europe.

- The study has also highlighted that the US decline is particularly indigestible for those highbrows who are still overwhelmed by its unipolar fantasy and they proclaim that the decline is un-American. However, while ratifying the lasting global supremacy of the US, its foreign policy instruments express their anxiousness about the rapid rise of China. Statistics also indicate that the situation is in favor of Beijing. Thus, it can be established that in near future the US would ultimately lose its capability of retaining the status-quo in East Asia. Hence, in order to avoid any violent conflict, the US will have to accommodate China as a dominant player at least in the Far East region.
- The American apprehensions of China's rise are evident in majority of its foreign policy goals. The strategic drive of Washington's "pivot to Asia," categorically aimed at the containment of an exceedingly assertive Beijing. The recent trade embargo against China by the US also validates the American frustration and mistrust between the two economic super powers. The 2006 Indo-US nuclear deal was reportedly stirred by a number of factors, but the key among them was to contain the growing China. The same trepidation of regional domination was apparent in an impassioned American reaction towards its closer allies like; the UK, France, Germany, Australia and others; after they decided to join the AIIB. The Chinese claims of peaceful rise and its aims for shifting the global economic and strategic center of gravity from the West to the East are not only multiplying the American anxiety but also the complexity of global system.
- The American fear about the rise of China is also ascertained by the regular pattern ever exercised in the international power politics. Predominantly, great powers enter into struggle for supremacy, followed by fortifying their security, elevating status,

enhancing prestige, and multiplying their influence world over. The emerging powers first target to get on the top and join the elite club of the great powers then they certainly materialize their influence of wealth and power to reshape the international order, where they demand privileges for their respective national interests. The history of international politics certainly reveals that the fundamental aim of all the emerging great powers is to acquire the status of hegemons in their regions. Following these traditional footprints, the rise of China could be anything but peaceful.

- The Sino-US rivalry is also underpinned by the dynamics of power transition mechanism that unquestionably kick-start when a declining hegemon confronts a rising new great power that aims to turn over the global balance of power or the existing world order in its own favor. The entry of new great powers in the global system usually results into geopolitical turbulence and eventually the outbreak of war. As the edifice of the world system enforces the international actors to pursue power in order to change the entire world order. Hence great powers and their sponsored states usually go at war; and it would be tough to dismiss the likelihood of Sino-US conflict in the coming decades.
- This research work has also revealed that China is enthusiastically challenging the main pillars (military, economic, institutional and ideational) of the Pax-Americana. In this context the vital question would be that if China succeeds in exceeding, equalizing or even approximating its power to that of the US, what will be the future of the contemporary hegemonic world system and what will be edifice of a future world order? Many Americans firmly believe that the decline is un-American and they hope for the continuation of the existing system for decades. They also assert that the power of the US

will remain unbeatable; but statistics indicate that such claims are unconvincing and suspicious. Owing to the internal and external drivers of decline; the American economic hegemony will first shrink relatively; and it will ultimately cause the US decline and a shift in the global balance of power. However, by adopting better foreign policy options, the American decline and its overall position in the global system can be transformed into relative erosion that may occur slowly and smoothly.

- The study has also revealed that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order, the emerging powers, especially China is also trying to exercise the US post WW-II strategy of polarization through institutionalization. On the basis of its overwhelming military and economic supremacy, the US emerged as the most dominant player in the global structure. The US shared around 50 percent of the global GDP; the US Dollar replaced the UK Pound as the global reserve currency; and Washington had held the world largest foreign exchange reserves. The American armed forces were also insurmountable. The US aimed to launch its hegemony by establishing global financial, political and security institutions like; the UN, UNSC, NATO, IMF, WB and WTO. Ultimately, these IOs fortified the US led liberal international order. Washington stepped in to help in resurrecting the war trodden economies of its allies. The US also established broad networks of alliances and soft power to broadcast its ideological and cultural agenda across the world.

In the past few decades, China also has launched vital economic, political and security initiatives that could ultimately aim to implement the Beijing's 21<sup>st</sup> century regional or global agenda. These enterprises will first allow China to place itself at an advantageous position; and then with the help of its strategic allies Beijing may even go up to paralyze

the contemporary world order. These goals may be achieved by adopting the strategy of evolving new regional and global institutions like; the SCO, AIIB and others that will be comparatively more catching; at least for the “Rest” if at all not for the “West.” These Beijing sponsored IOs will certainly enable China to expand its worldwide influence, particularly in Asia and Africa. Eventually China could demand for dramatic changes in the American lead world order. China, along with its strategic partners, may threaten their withdrawal from the existing IOs to construct a parallel system; eventually the existing global system may collapse. The ultimate result of both these possibilities would certainly be a new world order that could be anything but a unipolar world system.

- The Hegemonic stability theory accentuates that the presence of a hegemon is essential for the overall world order. The American triumphalism during the post-Cold War era was also ascertained by its managerial role in worldwide security and economic issues. In essence, the US acted as the de-facto government of the global system. However, the American inward looking policy is gestulating the decline of the Pax-Americana, which is also complemented by the Chinese offshore objectives. The election slogan of the US president Donald Trump, ‘America First’ has signaled to the American allies; particularly in Europe and Asia, to look for their own engagements with a rapidly rising China and newly assertive Russia.
- The dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order herald the US decline and the China’s rise. The economic and military race between the existing and the emerging hegemons, along with a series of developments, will eventually introduce the transition in the overall world order. Since, it is a natural phenomenon that a declining hegemon is

either replaced or joined by one or more ambitiously rising great powers. Historically, any change in international order proved catastrophic, but the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order is portrayed to be distinctively different; since China as the most influential emerging great power has repeatedly explained that the future global system will be peaceful. However, behind the slogan of China's peaceful rise there might be a "method to the madness" since, the rise of great powers has hardly ever been peaceful.

### **Key Recommendations:**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order, the dynamics of international politics seems to be different from the preceding one. Owing to the modern trends of globalization and liberal institutionalism the world has become a web of global trade. The growing sense of interdependence among various nations has also escalated the quest for relative gains even among the closer allies. The simultaneous presence of conflict and cooperation amid nation states has put the world leaders under nerve breaking stress in establishing their relations with both friends and foes. All actors, especially the great powers have to be meticulously aware of their international rights and responsibilities.

The US decline is perhaps one of the most critical subjects of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order. It is primarily indigestible for those who are still fascinated by the unipolar fantasy; and they assert that the decline is un-American. However, the anxiety of the US foreign policy instruments and the statistics; indicate that the global political theater is in favor of China. In the coming decades the American hegemonic position would deteriorate and to avoid any violent escalation in the Far East, the US needs to accommodate the key actors, especially China as a vital player at least in the region.

There are certain arguments that the decline of the American lead hegemonic order would also be as favorable for the US as it is for the Rest. The decline of liberal hegemonic order will minimize the chances of reemergence of hyper unilateralism; as demonstrated by the George W. Bush administration. On account of the necessity of burden-sharing, the US can certainly seek to go far multilateralism. Keeping aside the liabilities of the hegemonic position, the US might have the opportunity to devise more modest and multifaceted foreign policy to earn greater respect, wider support and more legitimacy at the global level. Eventually, the United States could express additional willingness to accept and accommodate the emergence of rising powers to address global challenges effectively.

The structure of future world order may not essentially depend upon the American perceptions and attitude towards the "Rest." Rather it may equally depend on how the "Rising Rest" perceives and interact with the US as a retiring hegemon. The emerging powers and their newly structured institutions ought to pay due veneration to the US. Correspondingly, Washington needs to be looking to the fact that its policy towards the rising powers does not result into destabilizing effects to the entire world order. These reciprocated regards shall prove more conducive for the regional stability and overall global peace.

This study has also underpinned that as a result of the "pooling together" the national sovereignties; particularly that of the great powers into transnational cooperative institutional arrangements; would be an extremely fruitful strategy. In such unusual provisions; the US, China and Russia, along with other key players, may develop understanding upon the settlement of unconventional arrangements that could be

attributed as the new multilateralism of the 21<sup>st</sup> century world order; or a global system of hegemony without a hegemon.

As a leading player in the future world system, the US is anticipated to put greater stock of cooperation and multilateral collaboration towards new arenas of partnership. Though, Washington is under enormous internal and external pressures for its huge foreign debts, trade deficits, overstretched military commitments in worldwide operations and massive budgetary extravagances. Though the emerging great powers are relentlessly challenging the American hegemony; even then any serious miscalculation from Washington may result into catastrophic consequences. So the United States, being a senior fellow, needs to demonstrate highly deliberated approach towards all the new developments and the emerging great powers.

The internal and external drivers of decline may categorically shrink the American economic hegemony and then it will cause; the decline of the US led hegemonic world order. Eventually, the process of transformation in the global balance of power will kick-start. However, by adopting prudent foreign policy options and avoiding the behavior of a hyper power; the US can evade an absolute decline. Rather the overall American status in the global system may transform slowly but smoothly with relative erosion. The same gradual decline is not only beneficial for the US but also for the emerging powers and the entire world system.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century world, undoubtedly the American hegemony is declining. On the other hand; China, owing to its virtually infinite economic triumphs and Russia, for its military resurgence and economic revival are jointly striving for a new multipolar world order.

The United States also has the opportunity of capitalizing divergent options. Washington needs to cooperate with the emerging great powers by allowing them to enjoy their due share of authority as well as responsibility in the critical affairs of international system. The Second and perhaps the more frightening choice could be to confront the rising powers and put the entire world into a colossal trouble. The US, having performed the leadership role in the world system, is certainly expected to choose the more rational choice and adopt an accommodating attitude towards the emerging powers. The US needs to respect the ascending positions of China and Russia; while Moscow and Beijing can be suggested to demonstrate their veneration towards Washington.

All the great powers need to work for the overall development, prosperity, stability of the entire world. The issues of global significance ought to be resolved through negotiation and dialogue; while the minor incidents can be easily overlooked for the sake of overall world peace. Globalization has brought the world at the zenith of complex interdependence. The initiatives from the rising players like; the SCO, BRICS, AIIB, NDB and BRI ought to be digested by the US and its partners; while the mastermind of these institutions are not to exhibit them as instruments of intimidation.

The study also recommends genuinely constituted efforts for the effective and fruitful utilizations of the transnational organizations. There is a growing worldwide perception that the existing IOs are playing their role only for safeguarding the interests of the great powers or their clients. The UN, UNSC and other transnational institutions are to rethink their fundamental role of global peace and stability. These worldwide institutions have to discharge their functional assignments in accordance with norms of democratic standards, equality and justice; so that the overall pessimism of the third world countries is

transformed into international peace and a collective optimism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalised world.

In the contemporary system China and Russia have mutual interests and common objectives of neutralizing the American hegemony in the world. However, strategic partnership may at any time in future prove infuriating for each other, especially in the post hegemonic world. The two powers have to be very clearheaded in their mutual engagement as well as in their competing strategy against the US. Since, the Cold War rivals were the WW-II allies.

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