

OXFORD IB DIPLOMA PROGRAMME



GLOBAL POLITICS

COURSE COMPANION

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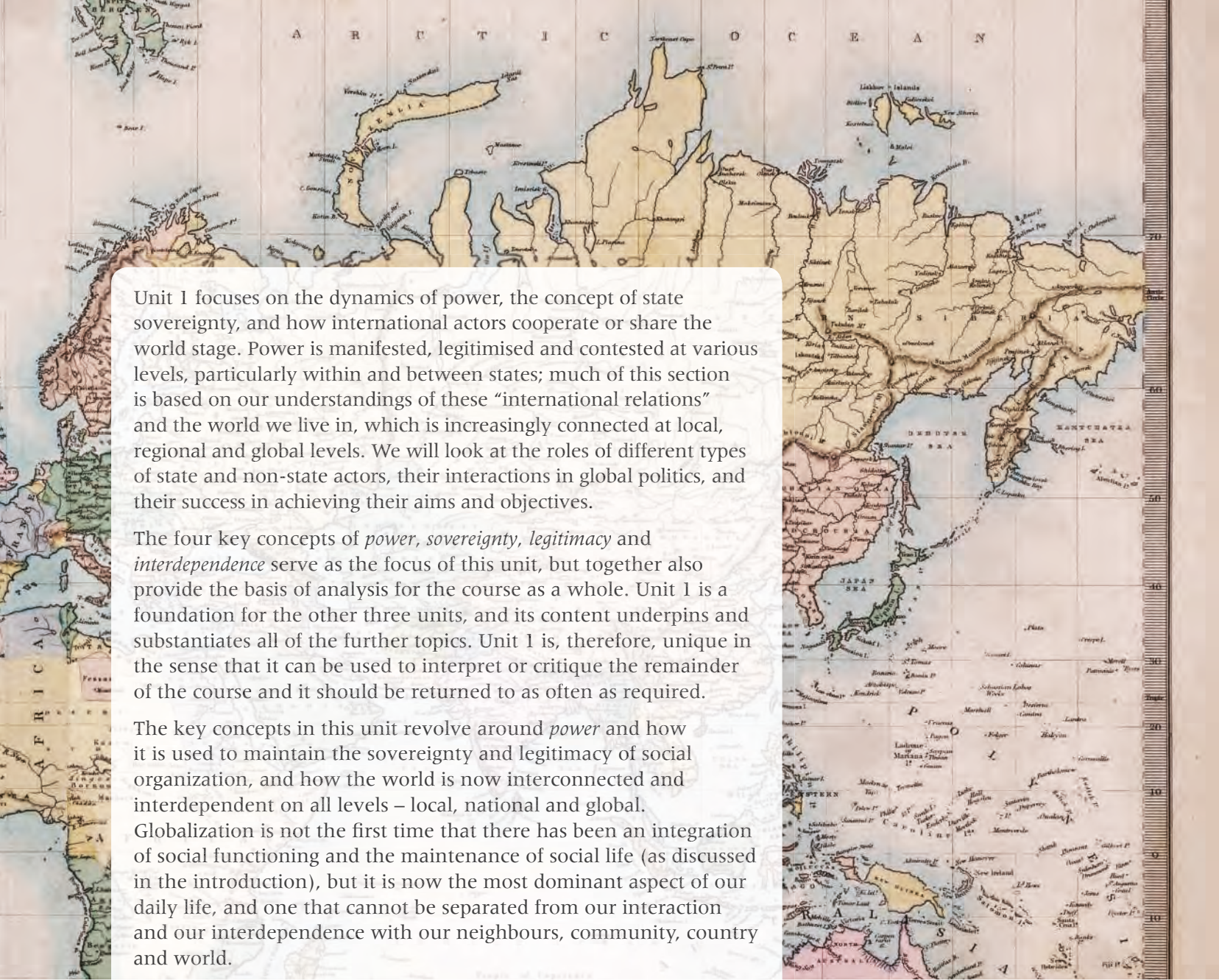
1 POWER, SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Key concepts

- Power
- Sovereignty
- Legitimacy
- Interdependence

Learning outcomes

- Nature of power
- Operation of state power in global politics
- Function and impact of international organizations and non-state actors in global politics
- Nature and extent of interactions in global politics



Unit 1 focuses on the dynamics of power, the concept of state sovereignty, and how international actors cooperate or share the world stage. Power is manifested, legitimised and contested at various levels, particularly within and between states; much of this section is based on our understandings of these “international relations” and the world we live in, which is increasingly connected at local, regional and global levels. We will look at the roles of different types of state and non-state actors, their interactions in global politics, and their success in achieving their aims and objectives.

The four key concepts of *power*, *sovereignty*, *legitimacy* and *interdependence* serve as the focus of this unit, but together also provide the basis of analysis for the course as a whole. Unit 1 is a foundation for the other three units, and its content underpins and substantiates all of the further topics. Unit 1 is, therefore, unique in the sense that it can be used to interpret or critique the remainder of the course and it should be returned to as often as required.

The key concepts in this unit revolve around *power* and how it is used to maintain the sovereignty and legitimacy of social organization, and how the world is now interconnected and interdependent on all levels – local, national and global. Globalization is not the first time that there has been an integration of social functioning and the maintenance of social life (as discussed in the introduction), but it is now the most dominant aspect of our daily life, and one that cannot be separated from our interaction and our interdependence with our neighbours, community, country and world.

Key questions

- 1 How is power expressed in global politics?
- 2 On what geographic levels does global politics operate?

1.1 Power



▲ A collection of international flags in Munich, Germany

The nature of power

Power is a matter of relationships. Power is also situational. It cannot be viewed as a unitary or independent force but as an aspect of relations among people. The ability to direct another's actions or a country's economy is always situated within a context that has increasingly become the subject matter of social inquiry. Power cannot be assumed, but needs to be explored and studied in order to discover the patterns and bases on which it operates.

Eric Wolf, one of the most prominent scholars in the study of the concept of power and its application to social analysis, outlined four types of power. In his words, "power works differently in interpersonal relations, in institutional arenas and on the level of whole societies" (1999: 5).

For global politics, it is Wolf's *structural power* that is the most useful in studying the relationships between key concepts and units in this course. Structural power includes the people, power and politics that feature in global politics. There are other types of power that also fit into our study. These include theories of power and types of power, such as military, social and cultural, unilateral and multilateral, hard and soft, which all present differing kinds of power relevant to the particular example under study, and will be discussed throughout this Companion.

Power in context

The past century has been an era of revolutions, genocides and major wars in almost every part of the globe. Millions have died from violence in conflicts over religion, ethnicity and colour, and what all of these conflicts have in common are the adversarial claims over the resources that support the basic ability to reproduce life. There are many communities that are today in danger of extinction and many more that are in dire poverty. Over the past 50 years, the configuration of the world's resources has changed dramatically. More than half of the world's population now lives on less than US\$2.00 per day, and one child (under five) dies every three seconds from poverty – that is some 60 million between 2000 and 2006. How did this happen?

When we observe the world today, we notice first the many divisions based on physical geography, but quickly revealed are also divisions based on race, ethnicity, religion and the many ways by which people and communities reproduce themselves and the contexts of their daily living. These contexts are interwoven with divisions based on nations, power, politics and claims to authority. Every day the news – available by radio in even the remotest of villages – tells stories of conflicts and quests for peace, of battles and genocides and attempts at reconciliation, of crises and the hopes of peace by the citizens of a globe who are now all interconnected in ways that we have never been before. There are no longer isolated peoples, regions or countries, and one region's

TOK

Can we have beliefs or knowledge that are independent of our culture? Does global politics seek to discover truths about human nature, or is it based on assumptions about human nature?

wars over oil are another's crises over food and basic resources. The ways in which the world's resources are used have become issues of power and authority. Scientists now predict that the current conflicts over energy resources will be dwarfed by future claims over water, as desertification takes away livable spaces and famines are initiated by increasing droughts brought on by industrialization and global warming. Dams, for example, often affect the availability of water thousands of miles away, while pollution is making more of the Earth's water unusable for food production.

A number of questions may immediately be raised:

- How do decisions affecting the global and local distribution of resources get made?
- How is authority determined?
- Who decides who has the right to build dams or burn forests, or worse, allow the genocide of an area's population?
- What is a government, and who decides what it does?

Anthropology tells us that there are many different types of government and ways of reproducing human social life, and that in the context of human history, government is a relatively recent development. Egalitarian societies have been a common thread throughout most of human history, characterized by equality between men and women, between groups, and among communities. The earliest forms of the differentiation of people is based on age and sex, but even these divisions do not necessarily mean that there is an inequality between older and younger or between men and women. These early differences are *task* oriented, with older and younger people performing different aspects of labour to maintain community life, or they are biologically necessitated, such as the case with women bearing children.

So how did we get to this point of ever more complex forms of social hierarchy, power, and authority? What is the difference that people experience in a simple or a complex society? We have seen in the introduction chapter that earlier societies are not just societies and cultures minus some of the characteristics of more modern ones. They are *qualitatively* different from the societies and culture that most of us live in today, and our experience of daily life is, by definition, very different from those who lived hundreds or thousands of years ago. We are unique, indeed.



▲ Desertification necessitates permanent crop protection in many parts of the world

TOK

Can a person or group of people know what is best for other people?



▲ A Somali National Government soldier walks past burning debris following a suspected suicide bombing

States and statehood in the contemporary world

In contemporary society states are the best-known mechanisms of social control and social integration. Designed to promote and protect “the will of the people”, they have their own internal dynamics. There are many and varied kinds of states in the contemporary world, and not all have been successful. We have many examples of failed states in our world today – states that can no longer maintain social control over their populations. A few recent examples include Libya and Somalia, and there are others that are fast approaching that point. As the *New Yorker* reports (2016), Tunisia is the only country to emerge from the Arab revolutions of 2011 as a functioning democracy. Mexico has become dangerously close to becoming a failed state with the influx and violence of drugs and cartels, as has Colombia and other countries of that region for the same reason.

Many claim that the term “states” has become outdated as boundaries are no longer legitimate, and the sovereignty of states has been questioned by trade agreements and large multi-national corporations. Also, the porous nature of many states with the immigration and migration of millions of people around the globe questions the stability of territory as it has been traditionally defined.



▲ 9 March 2011: Rebel soldiers fighting against Colonel Muammar Gaddafi fire a Katyusha rocket near Ras Lanuf, Libya

Other types of power

Beyond those discussed above, other descriptions and reference to power have come into play as analysts try to understand the nature of power and its sources. Joseph Nye, for example, in his book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990), uses the terms “hard” and “soft” power as descriptors of kinds of interventions that are designed to bring about the desired change, whether coming from the outside or within a geographic level. As their names suggest, “hard” power refers to the use of force and threats of force to influence the decision-making of those in charge; “soft” power lies more in the realm of



negotiation, promises of aid, cooperation and other non-military means of influencing change. Recently, the descriptor of “smart” power has been added to this matrix, and although there is debate about its first use and who used it, there seems to be some consensus that it came from speeches made by Hillary Clinton as she ran for President in the 2016 election in the USA. “Smart” refers to the combination of hard and soft power, the ability to use both when called for, or one or the other when necessary.

Other kinds of power used in this Companion include military power, economic power, political power, social power, individual versus collective power, and universal versus multilateral power. It is important to remember that these are descriptors, not analyses, and that the type of power described must be part of a larger discussion and analysis of power and its uses. For example, Wolf’s structural power refers to social conditions and the use of labour to maintain social realms. Soft power is a descriptor for a kind of approach to the use of power, and needs to be connected to the analysis of particular situations and the strategies that are being employed.

Violence and structural violence

What is violence? As citizens, we customarily assume a commonplace definition that encompasses physical acts among individuals, groups or nations. However, there are subtler and less obvious forms of violence that are inherent in the diverse forms of inequality and unequal access to social resources. In today’s world, violence is inherently integrated into the larger process of political economy and social life. Derived from liberation theologians, structural violence is the situated place characterized by social inequality that is exerted systematically – “that is, indirectly – by everyone who belongs to a certain social order... The concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression” (Farmer, 2004).

Along with that violence and oppression, however, is the need to integrate the power that generates and maintains structural violence, and by which society is kept operationally functional. States often employ structural violence through laws and other mechanisms that would make it seem that the cause of this kind of violence occurs naturally. If poverty is a major problem, then, the reason for it becomes one of individual failure rather than problems with the system. The state thus protects itself from becoming the object of blame for the unequal access to resources that often causes the violence of poverty and the silence of those in poverty.

Social scientists have been interested in structural violence as part of a study of power to analyse events associated with globalization, and that includes an analysis and reconstruction of events around the world, on scales that vary from the household to regional and continental organization. One of the more insidious characteristics of structural violence, as Farmer points out, is the erasure of history and the machinery of suffering, and how suffering and poverty generate violence (Farmer, 2004).

ATL Research skills

Research the first use of the term “smart power” and why it was introduced.

Class discussion

What is violence? Discuss your individual interpretations of the term.

1.2 The nation state, power and modes of social control

The nation state, the result of a complex division of labour and exchange relationships, is a political and territorial entity. “Nation” implies that there is a common ethnicity and cultural characteristics, such as language, while “state” most often refers to the sovereign nature of the area in which a state has been formed. While we know that state formations are the result of stratified socio-economic classes that have developed formal legal authority backed by force, it is less clear when a state becomes a nation state, or whether the nation can exist before state formation takes place. Nationalism has historically been a mechanism by which peoples are united under common characteristics with a sense of identity, generally backed by a government that defines a state. Whether nations existed before a state is formed is a research question, and many theories exist on both sides of the issue.

States are classified as sovereign if they are independent entities not controlled by other territories or entities. They are political entities governed by a single form of government. People living within a sovereign state are subject to the rules, laws and duties as citizens of the state entity. Here we also have to consider internal sovereignty, for in order for sovereignty to exist, there has to be an agreement within the nation’s population that the state is legitimate and the holders of the will of the people. Here is where sovereignty can become very complicated, for while the nation’s leaders may assert to others around the globe that the sovereignty of the nation is stable and real, those inside that nation may not agree with their leaders, and conflict within the state can be a problem for the wishes of its leaders, elected or not.

The French Revolution

During the French Revolution less than 50 per cent of the population spoke French, and even fewer spoke it well. Here is an example where the state clearly did come before the nation. The French Revolution solidified the role of the state as a generator of common identity, creating policies and mandates that united the “French People” under a dominant language, culture, and territory.





Nations and states have goals to unite people under a single rubric of political rule. The Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci (2011), in his *Prison Notebooks*, coined the term *hegemony*: the goal of harmony through the agreement of the peoples under state control. However, this is not always possible, and he states that when the creation of hegemony becomes impossible, then the state often uses force. The elites that are the beneficiaries of state unity generate their own ideologies to justify their positions as managers and leaders, as well as rally the population for war when it is to the advantage of state organization or when the state is threatened by internal or external forces. They are also the generators of what is now often referred to as *structural violence*, or the institutional mechanisms by which people are discriminated against or oppressed because of their particular ethnicity, race or gender. The object of the managers of a state is to provide legitimacy for its existence that incorporates its peoples and resources. Other definitions of states represent the political realities of the area and its history. The present circumstances that are transforming areas, territories, legitimacy and social control are transforming past circumstances with the realities of the rapidly changing world system.

At the start of the twentieth century, there were approximately 50 acknowledged states (Crawford, 2007: 3). Crawford tells us that before the Second World War there were approximately 75. He continues:

The emergence of so many new States represents one of the major political developments of the twentieth century. It has changed the character of international law and the practice of international organizations. It has been one of the most important sources of international conflict (2007: 3).

The most common forms of states are unitary states, federal states, confederations, democratic states, militarized states, fragile/failed states and rising states. The differences between these types of states are predominately political: unitary states, for example, are organized by a centralized power that incorporates various territories and resources central to its functioning; confederations are unions of countries and territories with a centralized authority; militarized states are groups of territories organized for military action, and so on.

In the contemporary world, types of states are changing often, with confederations coming together to defend territorial resources. There is an evolving nature of state sovereignty that is militated by stronger states and, importantly, multi-national corporations. These states must continually justify their legitimacy with the people under their governance. It is not unusual in the contemporary world to witness changes of governments, wars between states that were formerly close allies, and changing allegiances among governments and other non-governmental entities. Some of these changes are influenced by international law, challenges to the Westphalian conception of state sovereignty, or the ultimate power of the central administration. There has been much debate about the possibility of this sort of state, given the interactions of trade and challenges to centralized law, such as supra-nationality, humanitarian intervention, indigenous rights, and social movements. It is better conceptualized as an ideal that never quite comes into full completion as competing stakeholders keep the politics of states in motion.

TOK

To what extent do the language and concepts we use shape or determine, rather than just describe, the world?

ATL Research skills

Research the Westphalian concept of state. With a partner, discuss whether this a model that most countries follow today.



▲ Antonio Gramsci, 1891–1937, wrote widely on philosophy, politics and linguistics; he was also a founding member of the Communist Party of Italy

Social order, ideology and power

In order for power to be sustained, it must be justified, either by convincing people that existing forms of power are justified and good, or by force – whether that be the blocking and prevention of resistance against the existing forms of power or by all-out warfare. This justification of relationships of power is accomplished through the application of *ideology*, or “ideas in the service of power”.

Wolf distinguishes between *ideas* and *ideology*, for, as he notes,

the term “ideas” is intended to cover the entire range of mental constructs rendered manifest in public representations, populating all human domains... “ideology” needs to be used more restrictively, in that “ideologies” suggest unified schemes or configurations developed to underwrite or manifest power. (1999: 4)

In simple terms, *ideology* means a way of thinking about a situation, a context, or the world. When we are told, for example, that the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness is best brought about by supporting the policies of a current administration (whether that be national, local or institutional), we are being presented with an ideology that hopes to direct our thinking and our action. The goal of ideology, according to Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), the Italian political theorist and resistance leader who fought the Fascist government of Mussolini, is to create a peaceful state of social stasis through *hegemony*, where the dominating world-view is integrated throughout society as a whole. The object of hegemony is to convince all within a society that the government is working towards their best interests, and this is accomplished in a number of ways, including education, the Church, military ideology, the penal system (Foucault, 1975) and the control over media and everyday cultural life. Where hegemony cannot be achieved through the incorporation or co-optation of competing ideologies, force is used, as we can see from the brutal actions of Mussolini in the 1930s. Gramsci, prolific in his writing, died in 1937 as a political prisoner, having been in prison since 1926. The point that Gramsci made clear was that ideologies represent powerful agendas, providing a “social cement” (Therborn, 1980: 4).

The sophistication of an ideology, then, is found in its ability to construct a convincing logic that *includes* the reservations and resistance of its critics, thereby creating the lack of conflict that leads to hegemony. When force becomes necessary the actual seizure may only be momentary; it is an act that is necessary to gain power and domination. In other words, to exercise power, there must be mechanisms in place to keep it going, to keep social tensions from tearing the domination apart. The successful implementation of hegemony creates a “common sense” that all understand and share, it becomes an integral part of the culture. It is this “common sense” in a community that we look for to understand the mechanisms by which the interplay between power and its exercise takes place (Kirsch, 2001: 43).

1.3 Non-state actors

Along with the authority of nations and states, non-state actors, from the United Nations to smaller organizations, are playing a larger role on the world stage. We can refer to these types of actors as civil society, or the portion of society that acts as an alternative to coercive state power. In simple terms, non-state actors are those that operate outside the sphere of governmental control. Unit 3 has many good examples of non-state actors and their contributions to social movements and to politics. Some good examples of these types of actors are Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the United Way and academic discipline associations such as the American Anthropological Association. These organizations often take positions on the debates around the local, regional, international and global actions and policies of the day, and are often more useful in the struggle to change long-held positions than states themselves.

Another type of non-state actor that has gained much attention are the interrelated state organizations or IGOs (intergovernmental organizations), the most prominent being the United Nations. We will refer more to the United Nations below, and Unit 2 also uses the United Nations as a focal point for the discussion of human rights. Other IGOs that have gained prominence are the trade unions that exist on almost every continent, such as the African Union, and more government-related organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The Union of International Organizations (UIO) lists 68,000 international organizations, adding somewhere in the area of 1,200 per year. Not all of these organizations are active (the UIO estimates that about half are active and half are not), and these include both NGOs and IGOs. Other prominent organizations that play a large role in global politics are multi-national (sometimes referred to as transnational) corporations (MNCs), such as General Electric, Westinghouse, BP, Exxon Mobil and, more recently, Facebook and Twitter. As these companies operate in many different countries and interact with their governments, they can exert strong influences on every level of global politics. *The Economist* reported that in 2012, for example, General Electric held more assets than any other financial firm in the world (10 June 2012). As they report:

Of the 100 companies with the most foreign assets, 17 hold over 90% of their assets abroad, including ArcelorMittal, Nestlé, Anheuser-Busch InBev and Vodafone. Their share of foreign sales is also substantially larger than GE's. More than half of GE's 300,000-strong workforce is based outside America; Toyota, which has slightly more employees, only has 38% of its 326,000 workers abroad. (2012; accessed 16 June 2016)

These new realities, created in the midst of globalization, have their clearest effect on the local level. This is demonstrated by empty streets where stores and factories used to be, abandoned houses that people have forsaken in their quest to find work in other areas where, they

ATL Research skills

Pick one of the NGOs (non-governmental organizations) mentioned here. Research two ways in which the organization has influenced international relations in recent years.



▲ The logo of the African Union



▲ The logo of General Electric

hope, production has not yet moved outside the country, a drastic dip in the population that affects the ability of families to maintain ties as generations split apart in the movement of peoples, and the rise of poverty generated by a lack of jobs and the entitlements such as healthcare and retirement benefits that jobs provide.

For example, in Kirsch's 1988 ethnography, *In the Wake of the Giant*, he shows how a healthy, family-dominated town in the north-east of the United States became torn apart as parts of its major employer, General Electric, went overseas or closed down. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, USA, where this ethnography was carried out, was part of a deindustrialization that blanketed much of the north-east and Midwest of the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, splitting generations as younger members of the community moved away in search of work, and creating crises as sources of pollution from the General Electric plant resulted in health crises that the company would not take responsibility for. The irony in this particular case is that the head of General Electric at that time, Jack Welsh, was born and raised in Pittsfield, and his direct orders to close down most of the plant not only destroyed the strong ties between corporation and community that has existed for the previous 100 years, but left a community that had, for the most part, been designed and run by the corporation so they lacked the knowledge of how to organize themselves or attract other industry when General Electric fled the scene.

TOK

How has technology changed the way in which knowledge is produced? What role does the media play in shaping people's views of issues in global politics?

Also operating on global levels are large media corporations, 96 per cent of which are owned by four multi-national companies. Social movements and resistance movements are now more visible on an international scale, sometimes as a result of Internet access or because of actions by organizations such as Amnesty International. The legitimacy and sometimes even the survival of states are tied into these multi-national organizations and forums, as the following units will show.

The United Nations

The United Nations and its members and activities are referenced throughout the course and throughout this Companion. It is an organization of interrelated states that was created shortly after the Second World War as a way to generate cooperation among the world's states and, some would argue, as a direct reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust (more of this will be discussed in the next unit on human rights). Before the United Nations there was the League of Nations, established after the First World War by the Treaty of Versailles. It was, like the United Nations, created to maintain peace and security among nations, but was designated a failure when the Second World War started.

The term "United Nations" was coined by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1942. The United Nations emerged as a pledge by 26 nations to band together and prevent major conflicts, especially with what were called the "Axis Powers", which consisted of Germany, Italy and Japan. They were joined by 24 other countries directly after the Second World War ended, meeting in San Francisco to draft the UN Charter, which was initially signed by 51 countries. The remaining assets of the League of Nations



▲ The logo of the League of Nations

were turned over to the United Nations, as the League formally dissolved.

Today, most of the countries of the world are members of the United Nations, and its organization is a monolith that reaches out in all directions, touching almost every citizen on the planet. With agencies and research organizations as part of its outreach, the United Nations holds a potential power that no individual country could possibly assemble. Its major constituent parts are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. Its 193 member countries agree in principle to abide by the UN

Charter and to obey the rulings of the Security Council, which often deals with major conflicts and disasters around the world. As an intergovernmental organization it provides universal ideals for nations to follow, sometimes intervening in conflicts. The range of its power is a subject of ongoing debate, as are the constitution of the Security Council and the prosecution of individuals and nations through the International Criminal Court.

The essence of the debates about the United Nations centre on its ability to challenge the sovereignty of the nation state, and if any of its treaties and covenants are enforceable at all. There have been many objections to the rule of the Security Council and its effect on smaller and less-developed nations. A developed, industrialized country has never been brought before the International Criminal Court, and in particular the United States, Russia, China, India and Israel, as members of the Security Council, are almost never challenged on their actions in their own countries or globally. Interestingly, these countries are often the major nations that do not sign agreements on issues such as the environment, the abuse of women and children, and human rights.

Many, then, bring into question the place of the United Nations in world politics and as an example of good global governance. The next unit on human rights discusses these issues in more detail as Franklin D. Roosevelt's wife, Eleanor, initiated and founded the commission that drew up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The debates around this declaration and the inability to enforce human right precepts are ongoing problems that attract attention from every part of the globe. Importantly, the United Nations operates by assembling nations together, while the daily realities of local and global politics takes place on levels far below the chambers of the United Nations in New York.



▲ The Security Council chamber at the UN headquarters in New York

1.4 Communities

In the introduction the community was defined as a geographic level on which we work and analyse the global arena. Both NGOs and IGOs are most active on community – or, perhaps more precisely, local – levels. However, given the influence of outside forces such as IGOs, MNCs and the United Nations, the viability of communities has come into question. The existence and definition of communities have become increasingly a subject of debate in the academic and the public sectors, and a further discussion of its present use and the surrounding debates can be helpful in defining our basic units of study.

Class discussion

Has the Internet created equality among citizens?

The basic question is whether we can define communities outside the constraints of territory, or taken a step further, without place. Those promoting the primacy of cyberspace would seem to suggest that the community in space and time has become a relic of the past. The often referenced “virtual community” assumes something post-community, or at least a reformulation of community. Andrew Sullivan, in a story for the *New York Times Magazine* (2000, Section 6: 30–34), makes a claim that the Internet has generated an equality among citizens that Marx could have only dreamed of. If we are to accept his premise, “virtual communities” promise equalitarian interaction, requiring only a computer and a modem. What is forgotten, of course, is who has access to a computer and a modem and who does not.

Cyberspace communities are based on technology, and in the words of Gillespie and Robins (1989),

In considering the extent to which the new communications technologies challenge or reinforce existing monopolies of information, and the associated spatial hierarchies and interdependencies, we need to ascertain in whose interests they are developed and whose interests they serve. (1989: 11)

They conclude that the

“distance-shrinking” characteristics of the new communications technologies, far from overcoming and rendering insignificant the geographic expressions of centralized economic and political power, in fact constitute new and enhanced forms of inequality and uneven development. (1989: 7)

The new definitions of community emphasize space over physical place and are more pronounced in the capital-intensive countries, in which the role of technology has been more decisive in everyday life. Even within these countries, however, in Bourdieu’s (1982) terms, the effect has been uneven, as those with the resources to access and to own technology have been more willing to redefine themselves as novel and distinct from those who are forced to rely on more traditional means of communication and identification.

The Internet *has* proved to be an enormous asset to those, with certain means, who are isolated and unable to communicate freely with their would-be peers. What has occurred with the rise of the Internet and other communications technologies is the ease at which, for some



populations, communication over space is possible. However, while the ability to express one's thoughts and feelings in novel modes of communication has helped some to reinforce self-identification, it can also contribute to an isolation that potentially works against the same process of self-discovery that the Internet engenders. The validation that the Internet provides exists in isolation from the physical, and the body, in postmodern terms, becomes an abstraction that is secondary to the working of the imaginary. Composed of text, cyberspace acts as a particularly relevant example of the primacy of space over place, where reality is inferior to perception (Mihalache, 2000).

What can we say about the state of our communities, then, as we have traditionally known them, and what is the outlook for their continued survival? We have noted that the need for the community as a basis for socializing the next generation has diminished. Nevertheless, from independence movements in less capital-intensive countries to the resurgence of cultural identities, communities have continued to assert group identification and affiliation. There are no shortages of examples of geographic communities that have acted as sites of resistance against oppression, and of community revolts that have broadened into larger revolutions. How do we reconcile the lessons of history with the realities of change that are represented in "the problem of place"? David Harvey argues:

... we cannot go back... we cannot reject the world of sociality which has been achieved by the interlinking of all peoples into a global economy... we should somehow build upon this achievement and seek to transform it into an unalienated experience. The network of places constructed through the logic of capitalist development, for example, has to be transformed and used for progressive purposes rather than be rejected or destroyed. (1993: 13)

Should this position be uncritically accepted? Is increasing globalization inevitable? Even if we accept the premise that we cannot resist globalization, how this understanding and call for action is put into use remains an open question, tied to our understanding of place and space. Citing Young, Harvey further posits:

The 'desire for unity or wholeness in discourse'... 'generates borders, dichotomies and exclusions'. In political theory, furthermore, the concept of community 'often implies a denial of time and space distancing' and an insistence on 'face-to-face interaction among members within a plurality of contexts'. Yet there are 'no conceptual grounds for considering face-to-face relations more pure, authentic social relations than relations mediated across time and distance.' (1993: 15)

However, the extreme cases where communities are presented as being exclusionary and, by implication, promoting discriminatory practices (and, in the worst cases, atrocities), run the risk of "blaming the victim". We cannot ignore the enormous pressures to which communities have been subjected in a period of rapid globalization. The conflict between and among communities has often led to a tragic outcome. Other consequences have been the loss of livelihood, the alienation of community members from each other, and the loss of a sense of being. Further, the "new communities" of virtual reality and other forms of communication over networked space often exclude

Class discussion

Is increasing globalization inevitable?

TOK

How can we decide between the opinions of experts when they disagree with one another? Are there different amounts of disagreement in the different areas of knowledge? In what ways might disagreement be helpful to the production of knowledge?

the very people who are most subject to the purposeful fragmentation created by a growing capitalist market: those without the resources to have access to electronic communication networks. Populations without resources, and particularly those exploited in less capital-intensive countries, are hardly able to participate in these new forms of community definition.

Unsurprisingly, the argument concerning exclusion is the same that has been used against “identity politics”. This argument envisions “all human beings with universal human rights” as Duberman (2001) explains the complaint. The logic ignores the fact that communities and identities are being challenged rather than legitimated, dissolving the common bases for resistance with other attacked minorities and communities, the bases for building bridges (Kirsch, 2000).

There is a difference between communities of exclusion, often generated by conflict from the outside, and communities as centres of cultural transmission and inclusion. While not all relations may be alienating, the very changes in time and space to which Harvey refers have often come as a reaction to community resistance to domination that causes the “alienation, bureaucratization and degradation” experienced by many around the world. When the basis for this identification is destroyed and the individual is left on his or her own, alienation results. As Maria Dalla Costa (1996: 113) tells us,

It is significant that, according to Italian Press reports in 1993–94, many cases of suicide in Italy are due to unemployment or to the fact that the only work available is to join a criminal gang. While, in India, the ‘tribal people’ in the Narmada valley have declared a readiness to die by drowning if work continues on a dam which will destroy their habitat and, hence, the basis of their survival and cultural identity.

Suicide, of course, is not the only way out. Violence is often a part of the threat to communities, precipitated by a perceived need to maintain a past, even if idealized. Young’s complaints about the attributes of communities are most often during the processes of community destruction, as can be witnessed by the many recent examples in Europe and Africa. Stable communities have no reason to exclude individuals or to promote genocide.

From community to affiliation

The fact that geographic communities feed into wider networks of social interaction is a staple of social analysis. Society comprises communities and the individuals within them. As we have noted, the real change in the definitions of community has come in the conceptualizations of time and space. Communities as physical entities have been metamorphosed into the “communities of taste” or “taste cultures” to which Jane Jacobs refers (in Harvey 1990: 67). These “taste cultures” are driven by the market, and as such, change often. So then, according to this reasoning, do communities. What we are left with is a definition of community that is truly driven by the forces of the market, and thus by the needs of capital accumulation.



The space-time compression discussed earlier is reflected in our networks. According to Manuel Castells, a Spanish sociologist, new information technologies are “integrating the world in global networks of instrumentality,” in what he calls “a vast array of virtual communities” (2000: 21–22). At the same time, as Castells reminds us, there has been an increasingly anxious search for identity, meaning and spirituality. “... why,” Castells asks, “do we observe the opposite trend throughout the world, namely, the increasing distance between globalization and identity, between the Net and the self?” (2000: 22). The use of the Internet can increase feelings of loneliness, alienation and depression, as substantial studies have concluded (Wolton, 1998, in Castells, 1997: 387).

As an example, Castells cites the psychoanalyst Raymond Barglow, who reports that his patients are having dreams about their heads being programmed by a computer, to illuminate the paradox that has developed in a society where the self seems lost to itself, isolated and alone (2000: 23).

Our networked society is both a result and a cause of an alienation and aloneness that has pervaded our lives. It has also created a desire for connectedness and affiliation. Although many argue that the Internet has created new communities, the loss of the physical self and physical interactions in these interchanges is real. Even though it can be argued, as Wellman does (Wellman, 1997, Wellman and Wortley, 1990), that virtual communities need not be opposed to physical communities, the increasing dependence of communication by online interaction fosters a sense of the unreal that is very much a part of our daily lives in the twenty-first century, and is reflected in the theory building that is popular in academic circles today.



▲ Anti-globalization protests in Seattle, USA

Class discussion

Do you agree with Castells' description of virtual communities?

As Castells concludes,

So in the end, are virtual communities real communities? Yes and no. They are communities, but not physical ones, and they do not follow the same patterns of communication and interaction as physical communities. But they are not "unreal," they work in a different plane of reality. They are interpersonal social networks, most of them based on weak ties, highly diversified and specialized, still able to generate reciprocity and support by the dynamics of sustained interaction. (1997: 389)

The question remains, of course, of what is represented in this "sustained interaction"? How long does it last? As we see from the protests in Seattle and Washington and from the Zapatistas in Mexico, the use of the Internet can further communication and "communities" of resistance. In these cases, as in most cases of Internet-based communities, their sustainability is limited to the subject at hand: they are not easily maintained or reproduced. They weaken or disappear quickly, sometimes reappearing in different forms or not at all.

Communities and agency

Still, if we acknowledge that communities have been and continue to be the primary sites of resistance to outside domination, then the call for internationalist politics need not contradict this fact. It is not necessary to relegate geographic communities to the past in order to agree that a global system does exist and has transformed social life. As Harvey tells us, the building of new communities through the mechanisms of cultural politics – from the building of Shaker communities to the takeover of the Castro district in San Francisco by a gay community – is still common practice. Thus, he would prefer to see "the differences as oppositions inherent in the condition of both modernity and postmodernity rather than as irreconcilable contradictions..." (1993: 15).

There remains in Harvey's writing, nonetheless, a tension between communities as place-bound, old or new, and other forces, particularly capital, that are not contained by space. For, in his words,

Oppositional movements are generally better at organizing in and dominating space than they are at commanding space. The 'otherness' and 'regional resistances' that postmodern politics emphasize can flourish in a particular place. But they are easily dominated by the power of capital to co-ordinate accumulation across universal fragmented space. Place-bound politics appeals even though such a politics is doomed to failure. (Harvey 1993: 24)

Inherent in this "rule", as Harvey regards it, is the opposition between space and place. Communities operate within place, capital among fragmented space. Resistance to the oppressing forces of capital, then, is doomed because of the free-floating ability of capital to override the constraints of place. The conclusion is therefore a pessimistic evaluation of the possibilities of place-bound politics. But Saskia Sassen (1998), for one, has shown the investment of corporations in the telecommunications infrastructure of global cities is an example of the continued importance of place within the global system and the possibilities that it engenders for collective action. More disturbingly,



in putting forth the argument that space dominates place and that the new politics of space is a result of that defeat, there is an assumption that opposition to outside rule has been defeated, and with it, the possibilities for community and class politics (Harvey, 1993: 27). For our present purposes, we know many examples of place-bound resistance. Indeed, the form that place-bound politics takes is not pre-ordained, or necessarily structural. It may be mediated by the possibilities of leadership or by the defeat of attempts to assert place over spatial dominance. Unions, for example, exist over space. Their membership is, however, deeply grounded in the politics of place. If, as Harvey reminds us, place and space are social constructs, then there is reason to be optimistic about the integration of place and space, and the role of communities within that framework.

The (new) civil society

The concept of civil society developed as a way of describing the transition from the feudal household economy to public commodity-based exchange relations, dating back to the early thirteenth century. Civil society came into being as an alternative to the modern coercive State that developed after the fall of feudal relations (that is, the French Revolution). While the State did assume control over the exchange of goods, by the 1800s, the “bourgeois public sphere”, as the philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1991: 74) called it, was largely autonomous, separated from the government. Habermas’ argument is that during the period of the development of the public sphere, direct control over production was taken out of the hands of the dominating authorities and placed within the public sphere, while the role of the state was to regulate and to administer social controls. It is only when the state interfered with the system of trade, during the latter part of the nineteenth century that we see the destruction of the separation between state and society. Society becomes a state function, and the state assumes public control (to learn more about this change, see Habermas, 1991: 142).

The *new* civil society takes from its older form the separation of State from the public sphere – and by extension its constituent communities – and the struggles to assert agency in societal organization. It was reintroduced both in academic circles and popular culture during the 1980s to explain the phenomenon of independent organizations and affiliations that challenged the mechanisms of the multi-national corporations and the state in controlling public debate and action. Once again, the idea of civil society began to take on a meaning that separated independent forms of communication and organization from institutional structures. The circumstances that have brought civil society back are the same that have caused the differing definition of communities: the increasing fragmentation of society that includes the attempted weakening of geographic social groupings, including the influence of states on the global field. In short, as Jeffery Goldfarb has put it, civil society represents the “use of an old concept for new times” (1998: 91).

For Goldfarb, the “new times” are the events in Eastern Europe that have reshaped the face of politics in the former Soviet bloc. Stemming

from opposition to the existent Party-states, new avenues were created to express opposition to state mechanisms of control. Spontaneous protests, newspapers, newsletters, and clandestine radio and TV broadcasts all made demands for a more “humanistic” socialism. They were initiated by intellectuals and other individuals who saw themselves as a loyal opposition to the ruling regimes. Their efforts initially failed, particularly in the late 1950s and 1960s, to gain the reforms they sought, and they were sometimes brutally repressed by the ruling parties, which led to a blossoming of social movements that sought a stable public sphere independent of institutional governance. What evolved, says Goldfarb, was “an extensive alternative cultural system... an alternative system of public life, a free public life” (1998: 88).

Solidarity, as an example, began as a reform-orientated trade union organization that did not challenge institutional control. Lech Wałęsa declined to declare the labour movement a political organization and upheld the organizational base of the Communist Party. “He seemed not to be interested in the state at all,” writes Goldfarb. “The image he used was one of the opposition: of society versus the authorities, where the end of social agitation was for society to be left alone, at least a little more than it had been” (Goldfarb, 1998: 88). Adam Michnik, like Wałęsa before him, used the image of society versus the state in his widely cited “A New Evolutionism”. What followed was a notion of civil society that presented an alternative to established political norms of social control. The dissidents of Eastern Europe were clear about the diversity that was a component of civil society, the link among social classes and lifestyles across space that comprised a social force in opposition to ruling organization.

It is important to point out, as Goldfarb does, that not all of these developments proved positive. Manipulated xenophobia, as Goldfarb



▲ Members of the Landless Workers’ Movement throw corn towards the gates of the US embassy in Brazil, in protest against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO)



calls it, is very much a part of the political landscape (1998: 98). The nationalist response garnered in Eastern Europe has been a very real social alternative to the civil society model. But like civil society, these are integrated parts of the same struggle. Civil society depends on the actions of affiliation across space to counter state domination of the public sphere. Xenophobic nationalism is one negative response to that challenge.

The movements of Eastern Europe have provided a new life for the idea of civil society that has now taken on wider meaning in academic and popular circles. Gellner (1994), in a more general definition, describes it as the place where free associational activity dominates, limiting the possibility of complete state domination. Cohen and Arato add opposition to the dominance of corporate and market entities (Goldfarb, 1998, 84). Similarly, Walzer (1991) delineates civil society as “the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks – formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology – that fill this space” (1991: 293). Thus, we are now witnessing the use of the term, in particular, for the widespread growth of indigenous movements around the world, from Christian assertions of identity recognition in Japan and the reassertion of the Welsh language in Great Britain to the Zapatistas in Mexico, Mayas in Guatemala, Brazil’s Landless Workers’ Movement, Cherokee culture in the United States and the ethnic movements of the Philippines. In all of these developments exists the common cause of autonomy from outside control. For here what drives the maintenance of resistance is the pursuit of community stability.

These accounts are important for our discussion of communities and their continued role in establishing place as an important site of affiliation. Much of the rush to redefine communities is driven by the need to account for the events and social change on a global scale that, on the surface at least, transcend geographic communities. Without engaging arguments around the role of public opinion and the ideologies of power, addressing publics as an analytic tool can clarify the “taste cultures”, “abstract communities”, and interest groups that are now often defined as communities. The public, as we have discussed, is separate from the institutional structures of power and the coercive ideologies that they represent.

This unit has focused on the many realms of power and governance that exist in global politics today. It is by no means a complete reference manual to what exists in global politics and its rapidly changing circumstances. What is here is a guide for discussions and chances to relate the concepts of global politics to real-world environments. The importance of Unit 1 lies in its discussions and references to power, sovereignty, legitimacy and interdependence that influence the subject of global politics. Each of the following units will have their own focuses and ties to the global environment, but ultimately they all refer back to the basic key concepts that are the subject of this unit.

ATL Research and self-management skills

For more discussion on the role of public opinion on the ideologies of power see Behabib, 1992; Devine, 1992; Fraser, 1992; Lippmann, 1995; Wright, 1993; Speier, 1995.

1.5 Exam-style questions

- 1 Discuss the claim that power in global politics is mostly exercised through the use of force and threats.

Examiner hints

Responses are likely to include a definition of the concept of power; such as the ability to make someone do something – often, but not always, by the use of force or threats – or face consequences; or the ability to achieve a desired outcome through the use of other means, which could involve the use of both coercive (force and threats) and co-optive mechanisms.

Responses may make reference to ideas such as distinctions drawn between hard and soft power. Candidates may also refer to the concept of smart power which in effect combines elements of both hard (coercion and payment) and soft power (persuasion and attraction), sometimes making it difficult to distinguish where coercion starts and ends. Candidates could also highlight the fact that the concept of power is central, yet remains elusive in nature. Better answers may be able to weave relevant theories on power into the arguments.

Arguments for the claim may include:

- the centrality of military and economic power is still accepted by realist thinkers who argue that the possession of superior capabilities is more likely to result in successful outcomes for states
- states aspiring to be more powerful still seek to expand their military capabilities; wealth and economic prosperity – seen as key pre-requisites for building status and power
- the states that exert the most influence globally (for example, agenda setting in UN) also have strong military capabilities and economic resources
- the continued existence of intrastate and transnational wars involving non-state actors requires states to resort to use of force, suggesting that coercion is both effective and essential
- propaganda, censorship and disinformation continue to be used as a means of coercion by state and non-state actors, for example, ISIS using social media to attract fighters.

Arguments against the claim may include:

- aspects of soft power such as political ideals, cultural norms and social policies may be equally if not more influential than force
- the mere possession of resources doesn't always result in a country having the power to achieve desired outcomes: sometimes non-material factors such as changes in strategy and/or leadership can affect outcomes
- diplomacy and economic assistance are useful in furthering goals and interests
- persuasion can be effectively used to achieve goals and preferred outcomes through the use of means such as education and propaganda, for example, through the use of social media
- the acquisition and maintenance of instruments of coercive power – military power, arms procurement, nuclear weapons is increasingly expensive
- incentives such as incorporation into free trade agreements in an era of economic interdependence work more effectively than coercion
- non-coercive means can produce a voluntary response from a given state and lead to a more effective and long-lasting result
- many transnational issues such as climate change, pandemics, cybercrime, drug trafficking and terrorism cannot be mitigated through forceful means.

Responses should contain references to specific examples. These may be taken, for instance, from the continued emphasis on weapons and arms acquisitions by states like China, where rapid military modernization is closely linked to its ambition to become a formidable political and economic power, like the US or Russia. Examples of the increasing use of soft power could be drawn from Japan's pacifist strategic culture and China's so-called charm offensive. Any other valid and relevant examples should be evaluated positively.

- 2 Examine the claim that increased interactions and interconnectedness in global politics have fundamentally changed the nature of state sovereignty.

Examiner hints

Responses should include an understanding of the concept of sovereignty; for example, they may make reference to features such as territorial control and the principle of non-interference in another state's affairs. The definition may differentiate between internal and external sovereignty. Responses may make reference to ideas such as the equality of states in international law, or may include a brief discussion of Westphalian sovereignty. Responses may discuss interactions and interconnectedness in global politics by drawing on key concepts not mentioned in the question, such as interdependence, globalization, development or sustainability.

Arguments for the claim may include:

- globalization, the rise of non-state actors and the increasing interconnectedness of the world are challenges to state power and sovereignty, as individual states have less control
- states are losing influence through the pooling of some aspects of their sovereignty, such as in the case of the EU
- global issues which are cross-border in nature such as pollution, disease, war or terrorism increasingly require cooperation and action across state boundaries, which may then place limitations on state activity and sovereignty
- increased specialization in the economic organization of the world means that states are no longer self-sufficient in many areas but are dependent on each other for vital supplies and services
- responses to human rights abuses have given rise to the concept of “conditional” sovereignty and to humanitarian intervention.

Arguments against the claim may include:

- the centrality of state sovereignty in the international system has endured despite globalization, as illustrated by the number of states in the international community;

- statehood is still highly desired and most secessionist groups seek to be states and seek full membership of the UN
- no other actors are as powerful as states, as evidenced by the difficulties experienced by non-state actors such as the United Nations in exerting power to influence global issues
- states still rely on and deploy enormous amounts of military power and control and the world is still organized around state-centric security concerns
- states are not necessarily threatened by globalization and may respond to interconnectedness by adapting and competing in other ways for influence (for example, through trade, “cultural imperialism”, or the power of agenda setting)
- increased cross-border interactions and interconnectedness have not necessarily changed the nature of state sovereignty: there are other important, often domestically rooted, factors, such as the growth in influence of civil society.

Responses should make reference to specific examples. For instance, candidates could discuss the role of media in war reporting (“the CNN effect”) or the phenomenon of the spread of communications technology and the attempted control of social media by states, as in the case of China. They could refer to specific problems that do not respect state boundaries, such as greenhouse gases or refugees, for example, from Syria entering neighbouring countries. Conversely, they could refer to states such as China and Brazil, whose influence has increased in recent years or to the persistence of interstate conflicts where violation of sovereignty is still the most significant aspect at play, such as in the case of Russia's recent disputed behaviour in Crimea.

Responses should include the candidate's examination of the claim that increased interaction and interconnectedness in global politics have fundamentally changed the nature of state sovereignty.

- 3 Power is often assumed to be linked to the possession of, or access to, resources. Discuss the validity of this view.

Examiner hints

Responses should include an understanding of the concept of power.

A spectrum of power may be indicated – from influence and capacity through to coercion and force. Candidates may discuss power in the sense of international relations, and/or in the sense of internal control. Responses may make reference to different types of resources (for example, military, economic, or natural resources), or may, equally validly, focus on one particular type of resource such as economic resources.

Arguments in favour of the view that power is linked to the possession of resources may include:

- states that have the most resources do often have the most power on the world stage (for example, the US, China)
- history shows us that those with power often come in and take away resources from resource-rich but less powerful states
- within states, those who possess resources tend to be the powerful actors in the society (for example, the US, Russia).

Arguments against the view that power is linked to the possession of resources may include:

- power can be difficult to measure (for instance, soft power, social power, cultural power) and perceptions of power may matter just as much as having tangible resources
- resources alone are not power; intention and capability (for example, effective leadership and administration) transform resources into power;

- there are states with abundant natural resources that have a relative lack of power on the world stage, as abundant natural resources may go hand in hand with commodity-led, lower value growth (for example, DRC)
- even states which have copious resources still face numerous other challenges that undermine their ability to exercise power or control (for example, the restrictions placed on them by international law, the structure of international institutions, such as the UN Security Council, or the influence of civil society).

Responses should make reference to specific examples. Which examples are included is likely to depend on the selected interpretation of the concept of power and the types of resources discussed.

Responses could distinguish between states that have hard power arising from the possession of military, economic, and/or natural resources (for example, the US, China, Brazil), and states that have soft power that is not based to such a degree on tangible resources and that can be informational, diplomatic, or cultural, and involve agenda setting (for example, UK, Norway).

Candidates could discuss the relationship between power and natural resources in specific countries, for example:

	High natural resources	Low natural resources
Much power	USA, China	Japan
Little power	DRC	Haiti

Responses should include the candidate's evaluation of whether power is linked to the possession of resources.



- 4 Evaluate the claim that state sovereignty creates obstacles for the realization of justice for individuals and communities.

Examiner hints

Responses are likely to include an explanation of the concept of sovereignty – which implies that the state or government has supreme, unqualified authority. This is reflected in the claim by states to be the sole author of laws within their own territory (internal sovereignty). Internal sovereignty is the location of supreme power within the state. External sovereignty refers to the capacity of the state to act independently and autonomously on the world stage. Candidates should also briefly discuss their understanding of the concept of justice.

Arguments in favour of the claim may include:

- in matters relating to human rights violations and atrocities, states and leaders continue to invoke the concept of sovereignty. They agree to monitoring and judgments by human rights courts and commissions only to the extent that they choose to. Sovereignty has, in that sense resisted human rights agreements
- many human rights agreements have been ratified by states, but with reservations, for example, the UN Convention on Women. For instance, India, Germany and Hungary choose not to be bound by certain sections of the CEDAW
- sovereign states resent the monitoring of perceived injustices to both individuals and communities by NGOs and the media
- sovereignty continues to curb issues related to justice for communities and groups such as women, minorities and gay rights: states set their own limits on the rights given to such communities, and argue that this is within their domestic jurisdiction and is also closely related to cultural and societal practices specific to their jurisdiction
- sovereignty becomes an issue in cases where an individual or group seeks political asylum on the plea that their human rights are being violated in another country. In such situations, the sovereignty of the country in question clashes with issues of justice.

Arguments against the claim may include:

- the emergence of significant international

organizations such as the UN, the EU, the WTO and international NGOs has entailed the setting-up of agreed rules, laws and practices, including some enforcement mechanisms

- membership of most of the states in the UN and its institutions involves participating states accepting and allowing other members to intervene in its domestic affairs if it fails in its fundamental duty to protect citizens and communities within its sovereign territory
- the international community has been able to intervene successfully in cases where injustice has been meted out to individuals and groups. Such humanitarian intervention is now increasingly accepted, and is achieved through coalition efforts as well as through international organizations such as the UN.

Responses should include reference to specific examples to support their evaluation of the claim in the question.

Examples that might be used to support the claim that state sovereignty hinders realization of justice to individuals and communities could include the continuation of human rights abuses in North Korea (including enslavement, murder and mass starvation), Somalia, and Sudan, and the fallout of these on the lives of people. They could also cite examples of human rights agreements that have been ratified, but with certain reservations by some states; for example, India, Germany and Hungary chose not to be bound by sections of the CEDAW.

Examples that could be used to illustrate the counterclaim that state sovereignty can no longer obstruct the realization of justice for individuals and groups could cite examples of successful humanitarian interventions such as those in Liberia, East Timor and Sierra Leone. They could also note cases where organizations such as the EC ensure the application of EU treaties and legislation through formal infringement proceedings, or even by referring the member state to the European Court of Justice. These rules dilute state sovereignty.

Responses should include a conclusion on whether or not state sovereignty obstructs the realization of justice for individuals and communities.

- 5 Examine the claim that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.

Examiner hints

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent grasp of the concept of military power, and are likely to contrast this with other types of power such as economic power. They could include discussion of the various components of power, for example, military, economic (tangible) and leadership (intangible), or of how power has been viewed differently by different schools of thought.

Arguments in favour of the claim that the significance of military power has diminished could include:

- the increasing weight of variables such as economic interdependence, transnational actors and international organizations
- increased globalization leading to less emphasis on individual states and their individual military
- power; economic power being equally, if not more, important than military power, as economic power is required to bolster military power
- the idea that some issues do not lend themselves to military solutions, for example, states may avoid using military action if it could negatively impact future trade agreements etc.

Arguments against the claim that the significance of military power has diminished may include:

- military force remains critical, as shown by the fact that the production of arms continues to increase
- the sale of military weapons has become a major factor in the arming of various contestants for control of resources
- military power is also still important as a deterrent, etc.

Answers should include reference to specific examples. These could include examples such as the anti-military culture in places such as Japan; anti-war movements, such as the protests against the war in Iraq; or the importance of military power in the conflict in Syria.

The responses are likely to end with a conclusion stating to what extent the candidate agrees or disagrees that the significance of military power is diminishing in contemporary global politics.



- 6 Discuss the impact of NGOs, MNCs, and international organizations on state sovereignty.

Examiner hints

Better answers will demonstrate an excellent understanding of the concept of sovereignty, including reference to sovereignty as characterizing a state's independence, its control over territory and its ability to govern itself. Candidates may talk about the role and functions of the state, and then proceed to explore how and what kind of an impact each of the aforementioned – NGOs, MNCs and international organizations like the United Nations – has had on state sovereignty.

Arguments that these actors have no real impact may include:

- states may control the agenda of many of these organizations
- the strengthening of national security and national interest due to the threat of terrorism and to economic interests
- states sometimes have a choice over whether to align with recommendations/policies etc from these organizations, rather than these being compulsory, etc.

Arguments that these actors have a big impact may include:

- trade agreements
- corporate demands on state laws, for example, environmental or labour laws
- capital flight
- threats to relocate
- the ability of these actors to have significant impact, even bringing down governments or bringing about severe economic consequences for states, etc.

The responses should make reference to specific examples, such as (have no real impact): the EU, the World Bank, and the IMF control the interests of states; states can ban NGO protests such as in Singapore; the US refused to sign the Kyoto agreement; (have a big impact): can bring down governments, for example, Guatemala.

The responses may end with a conclusion/judgment on the impact of NGOs, MNCs and international organizations on state sovereignty.

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