

3

THE NATION-STATE AND GLOBALISATION OF POLITICS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The western civilisation is divided into three periods namely, ancient, medieval and modern. The modern nation-state system is the continuation and development of the nation-state that was born in Europe, and evolved through all three periods mentioned above. The very coining of the term nation-state illustrates an appreciation of the vital differences and yet linkage between "nation" and "state". It was designed to describe a territorial-political unit (a state) whose borders coincided or nearly coincided with the territorial distribution of a national group. More precisely, it describes a situation in which a nation has its own state. The day when nation-states could be self-sufficient are gone forever. The more industrialized a country is, the more dependent it is upon other countries for the supply of raw materials, and for finding markets for its products. Globalisation in this context implies at least two distinct phenomena. First, it suggests that political, economic and social activity is becoming comprehensive worldwide in scope. And secondly, it suggests that there has been an intensification of levels of interaction and linkages among the states and societies which make up the international society. The meaning of the terms 'Nation' and 'State' has been discussed in the previous lesson. In this lesson, you will read about the Nation-State system and its position in relation to power blocs and their interlocked position.

3.2 OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson you will be able to :

- recall the concept of nation-state
- distinguish between nation-state and territorial state
- trace the evolution of nation-state
- recall how the nation-state emerged in the Third World
- explain the concept of globalisation and the factors influencing inter-dependence of nation-state, and

- recognise the major areas of inter-dependence among nations

3.3 NATION-STATE

Before we explain the nature and working of the modern nation-state system, it will be desirable to know about its meaning, origin and development. According to Palmer, the nation-state system "is the pattern of political life in which people are separately organised into sovereign states that interact with one another in varying degrees and in varying ways". These states are involved in conflict as well as co-operation. For the protection of their interest nation-states resort to methods of peaceful persuasion, and when these method fail, they resort to the coercive methods, called force.

3.3.1 Meaning of Nation-State

It is now a well known fact that the 'nation-states' have replaced territorial states. But all states are by definition claimants of territory and 'nation-states' are no exception. In contrast to the 'territorial state', the idea of the 'nation-state' implies that its territory belongs to the population which inhabits it, and to no-one else. A state which stands in a relationship of periphery to some other state or power as the core or metropole is not a 'nation-state', but a province or a part of an empire. The primary sense of the 'nation-state', is that it is different from an empire, defined as a kind of territorial state system within which entire population or nations (even if they might retain the appearance of being the inhabitants of a distinct and separate territory) are also considered as either superiors or inferiors. Nations consist of those who belong together by birth. States consist of those who are subject to their own sovereign legal authority. A true nation-state therefore, would consist only of those who belonged to it by birth and of those who were subject to its sovereign legal authority.

3.3.2 Evolution of Nation-State

The modern Nation-States which replaced feudalism as a result of the victory of industrial revolutions in England the U.S.A. and France etc. are the political organisations of a new capitalist class. History of the past four centuries is the history of the rise and growth of nation-states. In the twentieth century nation-states have emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a result of national liberation movements against the colonial power. Various factors intellectual, religious, socio-economic, cultural and political have contributed to the rise and growth of nation-states.

The most important factors which have contributed to the rise of the nation-state system are:

1. Disintegration of the Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, breakdown of the feudal order
2. Rise of the nation-states based on territory, population sovereignty, and law.
3. The theoretical and intellectual contribution of thinkers such as Machiavelli, Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, Althusius and others

The disintegration of the Roman Empire began with the invasion of the Goths around 410 A.D. By 476 A.D. the Roman Empire ceased to exist. It broke up into thousands

small feudal units, and the imperial rule came to be replaced by the local rule. With the decline of the Roman Empire, the institution of Church had, in 395 A.D. split into the East Holy Roman Empire which became known as orthodox Catholic Church and the West Holy Roman Empire which became known as Roman Catholic Church. In the sixteenth century, the movements of Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation created further divisions in the Holy Roman Empire. While the empire was facing disintegration from internal forces it had also been engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the political authority of the princes, dukes, and kings in which it lost steadily. The Holy Roman Empire came to be replaced by a new order of nation-states. The feudal units which had arisen in Europe after the decline of the Roman Empire and breakdown of the central authority had maintained their sway for a considerable period of time. They functioned as government and performed many useful functions for people. These included political, economic, social, administrative and judicial functions. But with nation-states in the offing, the feudal units appeared to have outlived their purpose and rapidly fell into decline with the disintegration of the Roman Empire. The Holy Roman Empire, and the feudal order, the nation-states began to appear on the scene. With the passage of centuries the feudal units became stronger and consolidated through conquest and marriage. The rulers of the feudal units under the titles of the dukes, princes and kings continually intrigued and fought among themselves. The most powerful and successful among them acquired and ruled relatively larger territories. This process was particularly rapid during the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The relatively larger kingdoms were to be the nation-states. The creation of nation-states out of feudal units was thus primarily due to the strength and effectiveness with which the territories were established and ruled; it was further strengthened by the progressive weakening of the papal authority, the rise of the well-integrated communities capable of loyalty to their newly born states, the rise of the mercantilist middle class, the emergence of languages such as English, French, Italian, and German and their literatures. Thus, the new states came to be established in England, France and Aragon (Spain): By the twelfth century, a number of small but independent nation-states of Venice, Genoa, Florence (Tuscany), and others came to be established in Northern Italy. These Italian states had close and extensive relations among themselves and developed devices such as diplomacy, alliances and balance of power for conducting their foreign policies.

The theoretical and intellectual contribution of thinkers and statesmen helped a great deal in the emergence and development of nation-states. Machiavelli, Bodin and Hobbes upheld the right of the kings to rule against the right of the Pope (Papal authority) Althusius advocated that power of the kings to rule, must be properly shared with the people; for the kings ruled according to their contract with the people, so it was the duty of the kings to protest and take into confidence the religious minorities — Catholic or Protestant. Another great thinker Grotius, put forward the doctrine of absolute sovereignty of the king within his kingdom and the necessity of recognition and adjustment to the limitations of sovereignty exercised by other nations. Machiavelli argued that the ruler's interests were the end and had to be served, whereas power was the means, to be used for serving the interests of the prince, or the ruler. The idea of these thinkers and statesmen provided the ready conceptual basis for the nation-state system and laid down broad guidelines in which the system could advance. They supported the position of nation-states against the authority of the church and provided the rulers with instruments of statecraft.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 3.1

Fill in the blanks with appropriate words from the brackets:

- (i) The modern nation-states are the political organisation of rule (Capitalist, Socialist, communist)
- (ii) Nation-states have emerged as a result of (colonial rule, liberation movements, socialist revolution)
- (iii) The feudal units were ruled by, and (duke, prince, king, priests)
- (iv) Machiavelli, Bodin, and Hobbes upheld the right of the king to rule against the right of the authority. (Papal, feudal, legal)
- (v) These nations have gained power after independence. (sovereign, coercive, state)
- (vi) implies that the governments are the supreme law making authorities in their respective territories. (Liberty, Sovereignty, Power)
- (vii) All the nation-states are equal members of the international (system, community, politics)

3.3.3 Rise of Nation-States in the Third World

During the twentieth century many new states like India, Pakistan, Burma, Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana, Fiji, Vietnam, Indonesia, Libya, Syria and others have emerged in Asia and Africa after the collapse of the system of imperialism. In many cases these states were created as a result of national liberation struggles. These nations have gained sovereign or supreme power after independence which was achieved after long struggles. These new states were badly exploited by the colonial powers and even after their independence they still suffer from economic, social, cultural, and political backwardness.

The European States enriched themselves through the brutal exploitation of the colonies. But during the latter half of the 19th century and during the present century, national liberation movements emerged in the colonies mainly under the leadership of the urban educated class and these colonies got their independence and national sovereign states emerged. Thus, after the Second World War many new states could be seen on the map of the world. At present these newly independent states are known as the "Third World" countries because they did not join either the American or the Soviet Bloc. They decided to follow independent foreign policy. On the basis of their being economically less developed they are called underdeveloped, or developing countries.

3.3.4 Elements of Modern Nation-State

The three main elements of the modern nation-state system, which also formed the basis of the state system in the earlier centuries also, are sovereignty, territorial integrity and legal equality of the states.

Sovereignty means that the countries are fully independent and their government are supreme law-making authorities in their respective territories. This principle was first established by the Treaty of Westphalia which provided that only sovereign states could

enter into treaty relations with each other and a political unit which lacked sovereignty could not become a legal unit in the system. It could not conclude treaties with other states or become member of international organisation or claim any other rights available to the sovereign states under international law. Sovereignty means supreme, unlimited power when a state is completely independent of a control, and has full control within its territory as a sovereign state. Today also a political unit lacking sovereignty has no legal standing among other states. The second important feature of a nation-states system is territorial integrity which is a logical corollary of the first. Boundaries of the states must be protected at all cost. A sovereign state does not like outside interference in its affairs and must therefore abstain from interference in the internal affairs of other states. The states may influence behaviour of each other but must respect each other's territorial integrity

Thirdly, all nation-states irrespective of their size, population, military capabilities, economic resources, etc. are equal members of the international community. This principle of "equal rights of all the nations large and small" has been accepted by the U.N. Charter. It is something like all individuals being equal in the eyes of law, whatever their educational and economic status may be. It may be noted that this principle of equality of different independent states was recognised almost at the same time when the nation-states made their appearance. The various writers of the eighteenth century also endorsed the principle of equality of states.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 3.2

Fill in the blanks with appropriate words from the brackets:

- (i) The nation-state system has become further (internationalised, weakened)
- (ii) The centre of international politics has shifted from the Old World to the (developed world, third world, socialist world).
- (iii) The balance of power is now and not (multicentric, unicentric, bicentric).
- (iv) The phenomenon of collective security has also assumed significance. (international, national)
- (v) The citizens interest in national affairs has (increased, decreased, remained).

3.4 CHANGES IN THE NATION-STATE SYSTEM

The nation-state system has witnessed a number of significant changes during the twentieth century.

Firstly, the nation-state system has become internationalised. Today, the nation-state system has become global, it embraces the nations — big and small — of all the continents of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. The expansion of the system in Asia and Africa has been particularly phenomenal and has brought about far reaching changes in the system. Before World War II, except a few independent nations such as Japan, Thailand, Nepal and Ethiopia, the continents of Asia and Africa consisted of colonial countries. Today the region is bustling with several free countries such as India, Pakistan,

Sri Lanka, Myanmar (Burma), Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, etc. Besides, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt and several other countries of West Asia and North Africa have become important nation-states

Secondly, from the point of view of the traditional (western) members of the state system, these countries are too numerous, populous, and as seen in recent years, too influential to be ignored. Their entry has considerably enlarged the international community. They have already made their weight felt with regard to not only the usually sensitive questions of world peace and disarmament. In recent years, some of the nations such as India, Egypt and other non-aligned countries have played the role of peacemakers in situations affecting western nations. No wonder therefore, that the centre of international politics has shifted from the U.S.-European World to the Afro-Asian World. It has shifted from London, Paris and Washington to New Delhi, Cairo, and Peking. As has been evident time and again in recent years that international politics has increasingly become subject to the influences and pressures of the Afro-Asian capitals.

Thirdly, with the internationalisation of the nation-state system and shifting of the centre of international politics, the arrangement of nations and the pattern of security have undergone significant changes. Balance of power has no longer remained a purely European phenomenon which it has been in the past until World War I. Today there is no single dominating power. Further, there is no monopoly of Britain or any other single country.

3.5 GLOBALISATION

The term 'Globalisation' can be understood if you would realise that today nation-states of the world have become so closely interconnected that the entire mankind living in this world, this globe, treats itself as members of one community. When the terms global politics, and global order were not used, there were a large number of inter-related but separate nation-states. These states were units of a system called international system. Even today, nation-states exist and they are still determined to protect their sovereign and territorial integrity, yet they are so closely inter-dependent that one world, one globe, is emerging as an integrated community.

At the end of twentieth century, nation-state is losing its earlier predominance. Today we speak of global politics, as against international politics. Today, slowly and steadily a new global community is coming into existence.

'International' means a process of less and less separation, but greater cooperation or oneness among states. In the global order many other agencies are getting integrated in one community.

Science and technology have greatly helped in the emergence of one global community. Rapid means of transport and communication (direct telephone links, fax, internet etc.) have enabled not only governments, but also individuals living in different states to interact so intensively that the national boundaries have blurred, though not yet disappeared. People are moving for business and pleasure in a single day from one continent to another, not just from one country to another. They speak and communicate with each other, in different parts of the world, while sitting in their offices or homes. Interdependence is more apparent in the realm of economics. Large companies based in one country but operating in large number of other countries are called multi-national corporations. These corporations called non-state actors, have tried to treat the globe as

one single market, rather than a set of distinct national markets.

The economic, social and political interaction, reducing the distance between nation-states is defined as globalisation, and the newly emerging interdependent system is known as global order.

3.5.1 Nation-State and Globalisation

The state, declining in its powers, is no longer able to impose a uniform sense of identity. With the pressure for national uniformity removed, a variety of other forces is released. Within the national territory, multiple narratives and new identities are emerging. It is as if the nation-state is being fatally assailed from above and below. The hurricanes of globalisation swirl in the skies above, whilst from below, the national soil is fissured by semi faults.

The result is that the sovereignty of the nation-state is collapsing under pressure from local and global forces. Economic necessities (compulsion) are compelling states to surrender parts of their sovereignty to super-national organisations. The European Union is a good example. In south Asia, we have SAARC. This association of seven countries, including India and its neighbours is promoting regional economic co-operation.

Technological advances have made national frontiers loose. States retain sovereignty, but governments have suffered a decline in their authority. They are less able, for example, to control the trans-border movement of money or information between various countries. They face the pressures of globalisation. At the same time there are demands for devolution of power. A thickening web of interdependence requires countries to work together. Indeed, in the global neighbourhood, citizens have to co-operate for many purposes: to maintain peace and order, expand economic activity, tackle pollution, halt or minimise climatic change, fight diseases, weapons, ward off famine, deter terrorists, defeat economic recession, share scarce resources and so on. Matters requiring nation-states to pool their efforts in other words, calling for neighbourhood action keep increasing.

3.5.2 Economic Interdependence

The international community today faces enormous challenges in dealing with economic governance of growing interdependence of economies. Matters like continued impoverishment of much of the world and the unused human potential that entails, and the increased realisation of the threats to the environment and thus to survival of entire humanity. The world has become highly integrated economically, the mechanisms for managing the system in a stable, sustainable way have lagged behind. The time is ripe now to create a global forum that can provide leadership in economic, social, and environmental fields.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 3.3

Fill in the blanks with appropriate words from brackets:

- (i) Globalisation primarily relates to act.vity. (political, economic, social)
- (ii) The sovereignty of the nation-state is under pressure from

global and local forces. (collapsing, increasing)

- (iii) advances have made globalisation reality. (Technological, military, economic)
- (iv) A thickening web of requires countries to work together. (independence, interdependence, sovereignty)

3.6 MAJOR AREAS OF INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG NATIONS

A dense pattern of international linkage has emerged with the initial expansion of the world economy and the rise of the modern state. Domestic and international politics are inter-woven throughout the modern era. Domestic politics has always to be understood against the background of international politics. The international developments are often referred to as part of a process of 'globalisation'. In this modern period, the major areas of inter-dependence can be identified as : **Security Concern, Managing Economic Interdependence, Strengthening the United Nations and Strengthening the Rule of Law Worldwide.**

In the context of a highly interconnected global order, many of the traditional domains of state activity and responsibility (dense, economic management, communications, administrative and legal systems) cannot be fulfilled without resorting to closer international co-operation. As demands on the state have increased in the post-second world war years, the state has been faced with a whole series of policy problems which cannot be adequately resolved without co-operating with other states and non-state actions. The states have to increase the level of their political integration with other states.

Political co-operation between states is increasing at a very fast speed. Political problems and security concerns of one country affect many others. When Bangladesh crisis took place in 1971, India got involve in a war with Pakistan. The crisis in Sri Lanka between people of Tamil origin and the Sinhalese has not left India undisturbed. When Iraq attacked neighbouring Kuwait in 1990, the entire West Asia was disturbed and 28 countries under the leadership of America sent their armed forces in 1991 to liberate Kuwait by defeating Iraq. Politically, the movement of peoples from one country to another has brought white, black, yellow, all peoples under one sovereign authority. For example, large numbers of Indians, other Asians and Africans who today live in UK, USA and in many other countries, rub shoulders with local people and are indicative of one global order.

Economic co-operation has led to the emergence of one international market place, transforming it into a resonant global market. It is said that socially, economically and politically peoples are interacting, and trying together to solve problems, such as poverty, starvation, population explosion, floods and earthquakes. This has resulted in peoples of various nationalities working together on this earth which looks like one "Spaceship Earth".

It gives the impression that the capacities of nation-states have been curtailed. It is true, yet with global politics, global market place and global movements the role of the state as agency of globalisation has certainly increased.

From the perspective of globalisation, the modern nation-state is often portrayed as increasingly trapped within webs of global linkage permeated by seemingly supra-national inter-governmental and trans-national forces, and unable to determine its own fate. Globalisation is frequently portrayed as a homogenizing force, eroding 'difference' and the capacity of nation-states to act independently in the articulation and pursuit of domestic and international policy objectives: the democratic territorial nation-state seems to face decline or crisis. Yet, while there has been rapid expansion of inter-governmental and trans-national links, among other things, the age of the nation-state is by no means over.

INTEXT QUESTIONS 3.4

Fill in the blanks with appropriate words from brackets:

- (i) Domestic politics has always to be understood against the background of politics. (international, internal)
- (ii) Decision-making process in the modern world is..... (multi-bureaucratic, autocratic, democratic)
- (iii) The state's capacities have been (curtailed, expanded, decreased)
- (iv) Globalisation is frequently portrayed as a force. (homogenizing, economic, political)
- (v) The age of the nation-states is by no means (exhausted, ended)

WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNT

In this lesson you have learnt something more in details about nation-state, a topic that was introduced to you in the last lesson. You read in this lesson how the nation-state has grown over the centuries, and how its role has both been increased and curtailed. In this lesson you have learnt about globalisation, which means that the whole world, the entire globe, is coming one closer economically and politically, that humankind now appears to be living in one 'spaceship' called earth. Various institutions like giant size companies, and multi-national corporations (MNCs) are doing business in large number of countries. This brings peoples of many nation-states, and their economies into one common market place. The nation-state still exists, but peoples of different nation-states are now co-operating to solve common problems of mankind.

Thus, you can now say I am an Indian and I am proud of being so. But, I am also a member of this one world which is emerging into one global order. You must adjust yourself into this new process of globalisation while retaining identity as Indian.

TERMINAL EXERCISE

- 1. Define the following terms
 - a) Nation-State
 - b) Globalisation
- 2. State the positive and negative effects of globalisation

3. Describe briefly the elements of a modern nation-state.
4. What are the major areas of interdependence among nations?

GLOSSARY

- (i) Metropole — chief city of a country
- (ii) Reformation — Improvement; reconstruction
- (iii) Papal Authority — Authority of the Pope
- (iv) Pandemic — occurring over wide area
- (v) Supra-national — involving more than one nation
- (vi) multi-bureaucratic — combined body of officials

ANSWERS TO INTEXT QUESTIONS

- 3.1 (i) Capitalist
(ii) Liberation movements
(iii) Duke, Prince, King
(iv) Papal
(v) Sovereign
(vi) Sovereignty
(vii) Community
- 3.2 (i) Internationalised
(ii) Third World
(iii) Multicentric, Unicentric
(iv) International
(v) Increased
- 3.3 (i) Economic
(ii) Collapsing
(iii) Technological
(iv) Interdependence
- 3.4 (i) International
(ii) Multi-bureaucratic
(iii) Curtailed
(iv) Homogenizing
(v) Exhausted

HINTS OF TERMINAL EXERCISES

- (i) Refer to Section 3.3 and section 3.5
(ii) Refer to Section 3.5 and section 3.1
(iii) Refer to Section 3.3.4
(iv) Refer to Section 3.6