WAR AND GLOBALIZATION: CONTEXT AND THEORY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**WAR AND GLOBALIZATION:**
CONTEXT AND THEORY" submitted by **ANURADHA RAI** in partial fulfillment
for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University
is my original work. This dissertation has not been submitted, in part or full, for any
other degree of this university or any other university.

Anuradha Rai

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CONTENTS

Introduction

Everyday in newspaper, television and in the talks of people, war on terrorism, threat of terrorists and a potential threat to life and security is being talked. Not even single day passes without any news of some terrorist activities, ongoing wars and conflicts taking place in various regions of the world. War seems to be a permanent feature of our life in contemporary world. Why war looks persistent to our world and what are the factors helping it to persist? The very first thing which is now discussed while answering this question is that it is all because of 'Globalization'. Globalization is causing all these turmoil of unbalanced economic development, exploitation of weak by the powerful, making people conscious about protection of their identities, providing the necessary infrastructure for large scale war and spreading the influence of war on larger world. This creates the idea that globalization is a bad process causing threat and creating war. However, there are positive aspects of globalization which has been overshadowed by anti-globalization movement.

War is discussed as a phenomenon which is intimately bound up with the evolution of current world order. However, the number of wars fought in each age reveals the elementary fact that war has been deeply ingrained in human history. Niall Ferguson (2007) raises a very remarkable question that if all weapons are abolished and only biting is allowed, can we be sure that there would be no war? The historical record provides very clear cut evidence of warfare in hunting and gathering societies. Further, the emergence of well articulated social structure had given way to new factors of warfare. Standing armies became a permanent part of this social structure. Later on since the formation of states, inter-state wars dominated the international scenario. Wars in each age have been different from the other; like primitive wars were dissimilar from the wars for organizational formation and inter-state wars and contemporary wars are very much different from the earlier mode of inter-state wars. It means war as a social and political practice has not changed but the nature of war, the motives and techniques have changed. There are many factors contributing to this change and globalization is one such important factor.

Similar is the case with globalization. It is most widely discussed inter-disciplinary concept. Armand Mattelart argues that globalization has a hegemonic role

in organising and decoding the meaning of the world (cited in Schirato and Webb, 2003: 1). It has given rise to new set of relations in international politics. The world now is not only interconnected but trans-connected. This connectedness can be seen in every aspect of human relationship, sociological, political or economic and cultural. This makes it hard to have a clear and precise definition of globalization. It has been defined in many ways, emphasising one or some aspects of globalization. However, more applicable and interdisciplinary definition shows that the process is not of recent development. The debate related to archaeological roots of globalization is much extensive. The interconnection and networking of world had started since the early civilization. The process today has been intensified by the influence of many factors like, technological advancement, economic and political circumstances and change in social relations. War has just been one force to create such interconnection and intensification.

War in different ages has contributed to the development of globalization by interconnecting different societies and polities. According to the scholars of political thought, state itself emerged as a result of war to avoid war and connected different societies. The inter-state wars gave way to further globalization through imperialism and project colonialism. A major change in the process of globalization came after the two World Wars and the demand for global governance and development of cosmopolitan values to avoid bloody wars emerged. International organizations were set up to deal with inter-state conflicts and various norms were constructed to curb any such destructive war. This has majorly resolved the problem of inter-state wars. But new forms of war have developed now which involve the intra-state and trans-national groups having local as well as a global character.

Thus we can argue that globalization is transforming almost every aspect of human affairs and so is the case with war which fundamentally influences every strand of human relationships. Both affect each other as well. The current debate on new wars, changing nature of war, identity conflicts and clash of civilization is leading the conception that all these are caused by globalization. To understand the changing nature of warfare, it is necessary to look into the changing forms of interconnection developed with the processes of globalization. And this understanding demands a historical and analytical study of war and globalization.

Many works has been written by scholars and intellectual articles are published on this issue of interconnection between two central concepts of world politics. However, not many of these studies attempt to show the two-way interconnection between war and globalization. I have aimed to analyse the interconnection and to show how war affects globalization, and globalization simultaneously influences the course of war. Further, I will discuss that how old or new this interconnection is. An important question that enters at the outset is how to define and contextualize globalization? What is war and when did it originated? Is war a single and continuous phenomenon of world polity? What are the common forces that drive war and globalization? Are war and globalization influences on each other? How have war and globalization acted as a force to restrain and promote each other?

For my study of theory and the context of 'war & globalization', I have attempted to analyse the debates surrounding definition, theory and context of these terms. For contextual understanding, the historical method is useful. Thus, the study would involve the employment of the historical and analytical method to understand and to establish a clear conception of what is war and what do we mean by globalization. What are the dynamic and static characters of war and globalization? It will discuss the various theoretical debates with attention to changing contexts. It will also look into the interrelationship between war and globalization. Its purpose is to construct a systematic programme of research to determine factors that condition the origin and development of war and the impact of global factors on these wars and how these wars simultaneously have shaped the process of globalization. Similarly, the progress of globalization and the factors that have helped to intensify this process will also be emphasised through it.

The whole work is divided into three parts. In first chapter, I will discuss the debate and controversies related to globalization. I will examine the conceptual, theoretical and historical underpinnings of globalization. What is globalization and how is it defined? There are a bunch of definitions regarding globalization. Most of them discuss one or the other aspect of globalization, like some describe economic aspect of globalization by defining it as growing trade relations and free trade throughout the globe, some takes the social aspect to conceptualise globalization and assert that globalization is the intensification of social relations. Very few definitions

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are there which has tried to show a holistic picture of globalization like, Held et al. defines it as 'a process of widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnections'. I would discuss these definitions, their loopholes and then will take more appropriate definition of globalization for my work.

Thereafter, I would discuss various theoretical debates related to globalization. The major debate is among Globalist, Sceptics and Transformationalists. Globalists argue that globalization is vital and inescapable contemporary social process. Sceptics on the other hand are sceptical about globalization and see it as a myth. They are further divided into those who view it as something not new and those who think that it is not happening. Transformationalist follows the middle path as they believe that we have not entered into a completely new and unrecognized era in the direction of globalization neither is the case that nothing has changed. I would discuss this debate in detail and analyse which theory is more close to the reality and reflects the true picture. Globalization is considered as a recent development; however, there are many works which shows that it is a long historic process. I would take the contextual debate of globalization and discuss the history of the emergence and development of globalization.

In second chapter, I will take the issue of war, its contextual and theoretical discussion. War is a brutal and ugly enterprise, yet it remains central to human history and social change. Conventionally war was understood as armed conflict between political communities and last resort to fulfil interests. Carl Von Clausewitz considers it as continuation of foreign policy by other means and opined that each age has its own peculiar way of war. Today identity conflicts and terrorist attacks are much more frequent claiming millions of life whose goal is not nationalistic or imperialistic but very much related to claims to power on the basis of difference of identities. The new wave of identity politics which is both local as well as global is causing intra-national and trans-national wars. Globalization, which is considered as primary cause of new war is also helpful in evolving a global new war.

There is much debate surrounding the concept of war. Scholars disagree about the presence of a single, ongoing phenomenon of war and differentiate between various types of war, like civil war, inter-state wars, intra-state wars, trans-national wars, asymmetric wars, humanitarian wars. Many of them claim that each of these

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wars differs in their nature and character as the motive and forces behind each war differs. Martin Shaw, Mary Kaldor and Zygmunt Bauman belonged to this group of scholars who talk about transformation in warfare. On the other hand, there are many who advocate the presence of war as a single, continuous phenomenon. They argue that there are some static and dynamic forces present in each war. No doubt, each war differs in some way by the other, but there are common characters present in each war, like every war is fought with some motive and depends on the context. I would discuss the debate related to the definition of war and analyse these definitions. I would take the questions related to theoretical debate of war and explain the major theories of realism, liberalism, constructivism and Marxism, and how they describe war in world politics. Further, I aim to discuss the issue of contextual understanding of war. The anthropological study of war would help to draw the roots of war and historical understanding of war will show presence of war in changing time and space.

My third chapter will be important in the way that in this part, I would deal the issues and questions I have aimed for my research. In this chapter, I will discuss the interrelationship between war and globalization. The interrelationship between war and globalization has been discussed in many ways in earlier works of scholars, like Tarak Barakawi, Gabor Steingart, Dietrich Jung and others. Barakawi, in his writing *"Globalization and War"* describes that Globalization and war have had a very curious relationship. Globalization initially came to prominence in the wake of cold war while war was seen as part of old bad world. Thus war is seen as the sign of past world whereas globalization is considered as the feature of new world. Barakawi view globalization as circulation through which people and place become inter-connected with one another. He raises the question concerning war as breakdown of such circulations. Barakawi opined that war itself is a form of interconnection and a global force. We may not be agree with him on the emergence of globalization after second world war, but his views on interrelationship between the two is important. Barakawi's whole emphasis is on inter-state wars and he takes on a one dimensional analysis of the inter-relationship that how war has affected the process of globalization.

There remained some forces to drive the process of globalization and forces to make changes in the nature and character of war by remaining some characters common in all wars. Some of these forces are common to drive both, war and

globalization, like, technology, communication networks, transport facilities and socio-economic and political conditions. I will discuss these forces in common and how they drive war and globalization. Further, I would explore the effect of globalization on war, that is, how it restrains and intensifies war. The current problem of terrorism, identity wars, cultural wars and fundamentalism is claimed by some to be the outcome of globalization. On the other hand, advocates of globalization opined that it helps in reducing war. I would discuss these two views in detail. As globalization influences war, in similar way, war affects the process of globalization. Many wars fought in human history helped to promote and intensify globalization. However, war also attempts to restrain and hamper the process of globalization. This chapter would deal in detail, the discussion related to the interconnection between the two processes.

The concluding section of this dissertation will bring together all the three chapters and would seek to elaborate how the research questions, which has taken by me in each part, have been answered through this work. It would also emphasize the questions that remain to be answered and future scope of research in this area.

Chapter-1

Contextualizing Globalization

Globalization has made its presence felt in every field of knowledge, whether its sociology, history, economics, political philosophy or international relations. It is affecting the lives of people all around the world, John Beynon and David Dunkerley in "*Globalization: the Reader*" claim that 'globalization, in one form or another, is impacting on the lives of everyone on the planet' (2000:3). There is a wide range of literature on globalization, and study of globalization in international politics has acquired an urgent in the last few decades. It is considered as an inescapable phenomenon which at the same time is creating much controversy related to its genesis, theorization, methodology and its impact. With the development of alter-globalization and anti-globalization discussions as challenge to globalization, there is a need to revisit the globalization debate. Globalization as a cause of the widening gap in wealth among people, terrorist networks, demand for the reform and democratization of international institutions, effort to establish a global justice system and other such concerns animate discussions on globalization. How far is globalization accountable for all the problems the world faces today? Does reform in world systems means going away from globalization? Are the processes of localization and regionalism contrary to the process of globalization? And most importantly, is it possible to go back to a local and embedded system of the past?

This chapter will engage with the major debates related to globalization process. It will start from the more recent debate of anti- and alter-globalization movement and analyse its significance. It will also deal with the issue that whether such reactions are new in the process of globalization or had been a part of the reaction and responses to the ongoing changes within the process.

Further, I would address the theoretical debates related to globalization to develop an understanding of what globalization is. It will help us to analyse that whether globalization is a recent development or historical process having multidimensional aspects with an open ended goal. The major theoretical debate related to globalization is between Globalists, Sceptics and Transformationalists discussed by Held and McGrew. These three perspectives on globalization differ on the economic, political, cultural,

historic and other aspects. I would analyse the debate thoroughly to understand which theory come close to reality.

Thereafter, I would deal with the historical accounts of globalization and debates related to its process of evolution. There is great difference of opinion among scholars about the issue of when it has started. Some relate this process with the migration of homo-sapiens from Africa to the rest part of world while others consider that economic interdependence among major parts of the world helped in the emergence of the process. There are many who opine that globalization is a new phenomenon of recent age which has taken place due to the revolution in technology and communication system which has helped in compressing the global space to develop a consciousness of a single, related world. There are others also who view that the idea of globalization is a myth and what we are experiencing today is internationalization not globalization.

In subsequent sections, I would take the issue of whether there is single, unidirectional process with static forces to carry on this process of globalization or consider whether it is a multi-dimensional process. It will help in explaining the debate that globalization is a process or a structure. While looking through the history of globalization process we can analyse the current trend of globalization and the historical account of it to find out the change and if it is there how it is different from the early globalization process. An analysis is required to discover the reason for this change.

Thus, in this part of my work, I would deal with the theoretical and contextual debates related to globalization with our emphasis on the current discussions in this field related to the gains and losses of globalization, merits and demerits, its history and the forces that constitutes the process.

Anti- globalization movement:

Globalization is one of the most debated issues of contemporary times. Some relate it with global capitalism and imperialism and for others it is a continuation of the forces of progress, wealth, freedom and democracy. The defenders of globalization see it as beneficial, with the opportunity to open a new world. However, the critics of globalization consider it harmful, which brings domination of wealthier and developed over the poor and the underdeveloped. They view globalization as undermining democratic values resulting in cultural homogenization. Thus, while some consider it as

an inevitable and irreversible process for the development of the world, others take it as a phenomenon responsible for all the curses taking place in today's world and advocates to either reverse the flow or to change its direction.

The current conflict in international politics is seen as a movement against the globalization process. Ferguson has talked about 'sinking globalization' (Ferguson: 2005), John Gray believes that 'the era of globalization is over (Gray: 2002), Sauls Estrin opined that it is 'the end of globalism' (Saul: 2005) and Justin Rosenberg is of the view that 'the age of globalization is unexpectedly over' (Rosenberg: 2005). The thesis of a 'clash of civilization', opinions 9/11 as the turning point in modern world history and a reaction against globalization is strengthening the concept of alter-globalization and anti-globalization.

The term 'anti-globalization movement' has become widespread after Seattle demonstrations and according to Greaber, is 'a coinage of the US media' (cited in Eschle and Maiguashca: 2005). The activists and scholars began to question the motives of those who are advocating globalization and started highlighting the negatives impacts of it in social, political and economic arenas. The activists are opposing the militarism in Afghanistan and Iraq, increasing power of corporations, biased trade and liberalization policies, social and environmental destruction, cultural homogenization and other such issues. The charter of principles of World Social Forum (2002) (opposing any form of imperialism), declaration of principles of Globalize Resistance (against extension of corporate power over the people's lives by the help of international financial institutions), Peoples Global Action (standing against all forms of domination and discrimination), Global Justice Movement, Win Without War (the self consciously mainstream peace coalition) are some of the moves by those groups who are critical to the current globalization process.

However, the anti-globalization movements had started much before the Seattle protest of November 1999. Jose Seone and Emilio Taddie (2002:102) gave an account of the search for the genesis of the anti-globalization movement. They argued that it appears to lead us to the depth of the Chiapas jungles in mid-1996. From July 27 to August 3, 1996, about 3000 people from around 40 countries joined the international movement against neoliberal globalization. In the same line, in between April 14 to June 14, 1997, another demonstration against globalization took place in the response of neo-liberal policies, unemployment and exclusions in Amsterdam. In the end of 1997, economic and

financial crisis broke out in Southeast Asia which led protests, strikes and demonstrations against the current phase of globalization. In 1998, another major campaign was launched against the international institutions and their agendas which caused the postponement of negotiations of OECD. Demonstrations were further held between 16 and 18 May against the WTO meeting in Geneva and G8 meeting in UK. The participants were from around the world consisting farmers, workers, ecologists, women's groups, NGO's and unemployed workers. This was called as 'First Day of Global Action'. After a year, in 1999, 'Second Day of Global Action' came with stronger resistance and more participation.

The supporters of anti-globalization argue that the rich and the powerful have shaped globalization in their interest and thus a counter-movement has been started to reshape the world in the interest of people and the planet. This is referred to as the 'movement from below' by Mittelman (Falk, 2004: 45). They opine that the process of globalization is shaped by the rich capitalist people who advocated 'movement from above' and gave the concept of 'trickle down effect' to share the benefits of globalization. But the reality is that, this never happened and the divide between rich and poor is widening with all the benefits going to rich and capitalist class only. Another concern of these protesters is that power has slipped from state and societies to heartless corporations (Bisley, 2007:19) that are not interested in well being of people but in making profits.

The activists and academic critics of globalization share a common assumption that globalization is something which equates with 'economic and cultural homogenization' or neoliberal economic developments. Thus they reframe 'anti-globalization movement' as an 'anti-capitalist movement'. Branwen Gruffy Jones (2005: 53-73) argues that the growing magnitude of organised protest and movements against globalization and for social justice is a vital emergent feature of world politics in the current era. Mark Rupert opined that a new kind of social movement is emerging which he calls a 'movement of movements' resistance to neo-liberal globalization (Eschle and Maiguashca, 2005: 36-52). John Gray proclamation that the 'era of globalization is over' is according to him, because of the advent of trans-national terrorism. As the same global infrastructure which enabled the mobility of goods, capital, and people also make possible the trans-national organisation of violence, states will thus seek to limit the vulnerability by making borders more impermeable (quoted in Held & McGrew, 2007: 1).

All these opinions are talking about globalization as a stage which is passing now and a new stage of alter- or anti-globalization is emerging. If we look the current debate through the lens Thomas Kuhn's work, he talks about paradigms and says that a shift in paradigm causes emergence of new theories. The advocates of the concept of anti-globalization are arguing that a shift in paradigm is taking place. But if we go through the process of globalization and its history, it was never a smooth and one-dimensional process with a defined goal after which we can say that the process is over. The reactions to changes are not new, neither are they anti- or alter-. These are a part to the larger process of globalization which is itself global in character. If we put these things as pro to globalization it can simply be taken as 'global justice' or 'global democratic' movements and becomes a part of globalization.

Jagdish Bhagwati (2004), while discussing the debate of globalization and anti-globalization tried to examine claims of those who are anti-globalist. He categorise them into two: in the first category are the hard core protesters who have a deep seated antipathy towards globalization without certain defined objections. They are from different intellectual and ideological directions and their discontent is composed of anti-capitalist, anti-globalization and an anti-corporation mind-set. In the second category are those who argue that globalization is the cause of several ills today such as poverty and deterioration of environment. The source of anti-globalization sentiments among them is the concern that globalization lacks a human face. But Bhagwati explained the human face of globalization to make sure that all these criticisms have no firm ground. He argues that the charges made on international institutions and rich countries that they are biased and do no good for rest of the world is not convincing as every part and each realm has been benefitted by globalization and it is the poor and developing who are sceptical to this process and thus still preaches protectionist policies.

Bhagwati is right that globalization has affected every aspect of human life in somewhat positive way and international institutions are not always biased or useless for the third world. Sharing of knowledge and technologies has revolutionised the world with more advanced healthcare facilities, demand for rights and justice and better information facilities to increase transparency in social and political arenas. However, Joseph E. Stiglitz (2006: 4) differs with Bhagwati that globalization has benefitted everyone. He made the claim that globalization has failed to reach the expectations. He believes that globalization has the potential to benefit everyone but the problem with it is

that it has not been managed well. The rich and advanced countries have shaped globalization to further their own interest instead of setting a fair set of rules to promote the well being of everyone. Thus, according to Stiglitz, we need to make reforms to the process.

David Wilkinson (2006) also contested the view of supporters of antiglobalization. He argues that globalization should be seen as a nested set of processes with deep historical and biological roots on a wide functional scale, largely driven towards uncertain ends. He argues that the nightmare of anti-globalists is homogenisation of the whole world through the process of globalization. But they have ignored the historical process of these developments in identity formation, cultural exchange and economic exchange. He had cited accounts from Iberall and Wilkinson (1984a) to show that mixing and remixing of ethnicity is a long process with a history of at least 40,000 years and if cultural homogeneity were an stable stage it would have been attained long ago. He further analyses that anti-globalization work is being done itself on a global scale and thus anti-globalization movement is a part of globalization process. James Rosenau (1997) opined that both globalization and localization are clusters of forces that as they interact in different ways and different channels, contribute to more incompassing processes in the case of localization.

Glenn Adler and James Mittleman (2004) gave a very empirical picture of these anti-globalization protests in their work 'Reconstituting Common Sense Knowledge'. They showed that how the common sense knowledge which has been formed by media and the academic journals is different from reality. According to them, the protesters are against the 'unfettered globalization' and not the total rejection of globalization. With the shifts in identity in reference to class, sex, religion, race and ethnicity, old solidarities are changing. Today's protests are about the construction of new collective identities that transcends the territorial boundaries. Thus, according to these scholars, there is nothing like anti-globalization movement at all in true sense of the term.

The anti-globalization practices are, nonetheless, helping in the emergence of global militancy and violence. The worrying thing about it is that violence is getting legitimised by the activists. The Anarchist Youth Network of Britain and Ireland remarked that, "we want to destroy government and rich peoples' privileges. We want to get rid of the control that police, government and bosses have over our everyday lives"

). Wildfire argues that, "we, as insurrectionists must wage war on the state, the terror of hierarchy, the terror of war and most ....r of civilization" (Sullivan, 2003: 178). This global call for anti-globalization is thus helping to emerge violence at global scale. It conceives that enemy is everywhere, and concept of war and peace get changed. War is now not a limited enterprise but a wider phenomenon which encompasses war on terror, war for civil rights and liberties, war against racism, war against child exploitation, war on drugs, war of culture etc.

Hence, instead of reversing the global flow of capital, resources, knowledge and ideas, the anti- globalists themselves are promoting globalization in another way by demanding a more just and equalizing process to carry the interactions and interdependence in more balanced way. Resistance has always been a part of any process and globalization also constitutes it. It doesn't mean end of those developments. Resistance is constituted by and constitutive of globalization (Alder and Mittleman, 2004: 195). What the protesters of globalization are using to transcend the cultural and linguistic boundaries to organise such demonstrations is also a part of globalization process.

Thus, we see that the concept of alter-globalization and anti-globalization are only misleading and whatever reactions is coming out is a part of the larger process of globalization. It may make changes to democratize the current process to make it more just and acceptable. But this should not be taken as the anti-globalization attempt. Rennstich (cited in Modelski et. al., 2005: 87) argues the same that globalization has been the result of a number of recurring processes of trial and error, adaptation, system-wide learning, and thus a complex system based on the principle of self organization.

Defining Globalization:

Globalization has emerged as a new field for interdisciplinary study which is cutting across the traditional boundaries. The most important challenge of globalization research is that there is a need to connect and synthesise the various disciplinary understandings of globalization. Globalization involves economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and 'an establishment of the global market free from socio-political control'

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(Al-Rodhan, 2006: 3). Globalization research calls for an interdisciplinary approach broad enough to behold the 'big picture' (Steger, 2003:12). Defining globalization is a complex job because of the multi-dimensional nature of the concept, as Held and others put it, 'no single and coherent theory of globalization exists' (Held et al.1999:436). The concept of globalization is deployed across discipline, across the world, across theoretical approaches and across political spectrum (Scholte, 2002: 5). Many attempts have been made by the scholars to develop a concrete definition. However, all definitions gave a partial understanding of this wide ranging concept. There are economic, social, political and cultural definitions of globalization and only few definitions gave a holistic picture of globalization.

Economic interpretation:

The most widely discussed is the economic aspect of globalization. Globalization according to many scholars is best explained as an increasing process of economic interdependence. Most of the discussions and definitions of globalization thus talks about neo-liberal economic interconnections or the global spread of capitalist system. Immunal Wallerstein (cited in R.J. Holton, 1998: 11) argues that "Globalization represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labour". Bhagwati gave an appropriate definition for this approach when he says that, "globalization involves the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, direct foreign investment, short term capital flows, international flows of workers and humanity generally and flows of technology" (2004:3). OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) understands globalization as "...the phenomenon by which markets and production in different countries are becoming increasingly interdependent due to the dynamics of trade in goods and services and the flows of capital and technology" (quoted in Brinkman and Brinkman, 2002: 730-752). Robert Cox is of the view that globalization is something related to economic aspect of world polity when he argues that, "The characteristics of the globalization trend includes the internationalizing of production, the new international division of labour, new migratory movement from South to North, the new competitive environment that accelerates these processes, and the internationalizing of the state...making states into agencies of the globalizing world" (cited in Scholte, 1999: 5).

Paul Bairoch and Kozul-Wright (1996) gave another economic interpretation of globalization as "...process in which the production and financial structures of countries are becoming interlinked by an increasing number of cross-border transections to create an international division of labour in which national wealth creation comes, increasingly, to depend on economic agents in other countries, and the ultimate stage of economic integration where such dependence has reached its spatial limit". Another important economic interpretation of globalization has been discussed by Charles Oman who argues that, "Globalization' is the growth or more precisely the accelerated growth of economic activity across national and regional political boundaries. It finds expression in the increased movement of tangible and intangible goods and services, including ownership rights, via trade and investment, and often of people, via migration. It can be and often is facilitated by a lowering of government impediments to that movement, and/or by technological progress, notably in transportation and communications. The actions of individual economic actors, firms, banks, people, drive it, usually in the pursuit of profit, often spurred by the pressures of competition. Globalisation is thus a *centrifugal* process, a process of economic outreach, and a microeconomic phenomenon" (Oman, 1996: 5). Thomas Friedman is of the opinion that globalization influencing every region of the world and all individuals. It is, in the views of Friedman (1999), "[t]he inexorable integration of markets, nation-states and technologies to a degree never witnessed before - in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before, and in a way that is also producing a powerful backlash from those brutalized or left behind by this new system... Globalization means the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world."

Economic interpretation of globalization, thus, considers globalization as a process through which the smaller markets are getting integrated into a larger world market by transcending the territorial borders. Resources are allocated and distributed through the exchange of goods and services.

Cultural dimension:

James Watson in Encyclopaedia Britannica defines globalization in purely cultural term as "the process by which the experience of everyday life marked by the diffusion of commodities and ideas can foster a standardisation of cultural expressions

around the world." Globalization, according to him, hence, is related to cultural standardisation which takes place with cultural interaction, as George Modelski writes that, globalization is the history of growing engagement between the world's major civilizations. Globalization, for him is a concept which captures this historical process of widening and deepening of systemic interdependencies amongst national civilizations and political communities (cited in Held & McGrew, 2000, 2003, 55-59).

Arjun Appadurai describes that the " The critical point is that both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are product of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterised by radical disjuncture between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures" (Scott, 1997: 113). Fredric Jameson (1998) opined that, "As cultural process, globalization names the explosion of a plurality of mutually intersecting, individually syncretic, local differences; the emergence of new, hitherto suppressed identities; and the expansion of a world-wide media and technology culture with the promise of popular democratization".

Thus, globalization, for this group of scholars is a process of interaction of different cultures and creation of a homogenised, common culture through which the plurality of identities is threatened by the culture of the imperialist and dominating west.

Sociological interpretation:

Those who give sociological interpretation of globalization argue that economic integration of world is important but it is only a part of whole globalization process. Globalization brings transformation in social relations. For Anthony Giddens, 'Globalization is the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (1990: 64). According to him globalization is largely synonymous with modernity, since in the modern era 'the intensification of worldwide social relations' is far greater than in any previous historical period. David Held, Anthony McGrew and others (2003) define globalization as a "process which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations...generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks". Malcolm Waters (1995) discussed the two aspects of globalization process: intentional and non-intentional. Intentional aspects include increase in global marketing, actions taken to preserve the environment etc. but many

forces of globalization are impersonal and beyond the control of globalizing forces, like Islamic fundamentalism. Thus, globalization according to him is a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.

Anthony McGrew (2003) argues that, "[G]lobalization [is] a process which generates flows and connections, not simply across nation-states and national territorial boundaries, but between global regions, continents and civilizations. This invites a definition of globalization as: 'an historical process which engenders a significant shift in the spatial reach of networks and systems of social relations to transcontinental or interregional patterns of human organization, activity and the exercise of power". Martin Albrow argues that globalization 'involves the supplanting of modernity with globality and this means that overall change in the basis of action and social organization for individuals and groups' (1996: 4).

This group of scholars argues that with the development of technology and new modes of communication, geographical constrains are reducing which further causing a change in the social interactions. They emphasises that how compression in space and time is transforming human relationships. As Held et al. argue that "the 'historically unprecedented levels of global interconnectedness' are fundamentally transforming all aspects of social life; from the economy to the *environment*, the military to the state, all sectors are being recast" (1999: 7-28).

Political definition:

This group of scholars argues that globalization is mainly a political phenomenon. It is a process through which the political ideas and political set-up spread and acquire acceptance at global level. Held and Mc Grew define political globalization as the "shifting reach of political power, authority and forms of rule" based on new organisational interests "which are trans-national and multi-layered". State system, devised concretely in 1648 gets universalised. Similarly, the idea of sovereignty, rights, constitutionalism and welfare state emerged in world politics. Political structures started to get globalized mostly after the Second World War with the establishment of international institutions and with the lessening of the importance of territoriality. Discussions of 'global governance' and the emergence of 'world polity' are under way.

Beck (1999: 13) is of the opinion that, "Globalization - however the word is understood - implies the weakening of state sovereignty and state structures". Globalization has also changed the character of war and security concerns. Interstate wars are no more a worrying factors now. But internal threats within the state and transnational threats of terrorism and fundamentalism has been increased. Global war on terrorism that has been declared by USA is based on the considerations that the world is threatened by a common enemy which need a joint action by all the states and societies. Thus, globalization, according to the advocate of those giving a political interpretation is that it is a process through which polity is getting interconnected in the direction of the creation of a world polity.

Many scholars and academicians try defining globalization in such a way to includes all these dimensions to make it more inclusive. They define and measure globalization on territorial basis. Four important definitions that fall under it are: globalization as internationalization, globalization as liberalization, globalization as universalization and globalization as westernization (Scholte, 2000: 15-17). Those who define globalization as internationalization opined that it refers to growing interdependence among the states in terms of ideas and investments. Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson argue that globalization is an intense form of internationalization, so that the global is a particular subset of the international (Scholte, 2002: 8). Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, however, describe the difference between globalization and interdependence. They argue that globalization emerged in 1990s just as interdependence in 1970s, but these two are different in the way that interdependence refers to a condition or a state of affair whereas globalization denotes that something is increasing. They relate globalization with 'globalism' which according to them is a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at continental distances. Globalization, thus is, 'shrinkage of distance on a large scale'. They further opined that it can be contrasted with localization, nationalization or regionalization. The important issue related to globalism is not how old it is but the thinness or thickness of it. An illustratation of thin globalization is the 'silk route' which provided an economic and cultural link between ancient Europe and Asia, while the intensive and extensive relationships of today is the example of thick globalization. Hence, globalization is the process by which globalism becomes increasingly thick (wrote in Held & McGrew, 2003: 75). The official World

Bank definition in economic terms is "the freedom and ability of individuals and firms to initiate voluntary economic transactions with residents of other countries."

In the case of those who define globalization as liberalization, globalization denotes a process towards removing the territorial borders in way of movement of money, labour and resources to create a world economy. The term 'globalisation' has been widely used to describe the increasing internationalisation of financial markets and of markets for goods and services. Globalisation refers above all to a dynamic and multidimensional process of economic integration whereby national resources become more and more internationally mobile while national economies become increasingly interdependent (OECD, 2005: 11). The Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis view globalization as "[t]he generalized expansion of international economic activity which includes increased international trade, growth of international investment (foreign investment), international migration, and increased creation of technology among countries. Globalization is the increasing world-wide integration of markets for goods, services, labour, and capital" (quoted in Al-Rodhan, 2006: 17). However, globalization is not synonymous to liberalization. The fact of the matter is that the anti-globalization movement today is more about the rejection of this than the whole globalization process. This is more an exclusive definition of globalization which centres on the economic factors.

Another definition of globalization describes it as a process of universalization. They assume that globalization is causing homogenization of culture, politics and economy. Spread of Mc-Donald's, democratic values, and liberal economic structures are example of such universalization process. However, universalization is an age old feature of world history (Scholte, 2002: CSGR Working Paper 109/02). Claudio defined globalization as a significant and relatively rapid increase in the size and connectivity of a world system as an ancient social phenomenon which began 1000 years ago (Gills and Thompson, et al. 2006: 79-95). Two classes of globalization events are observable in world history: endogenous and exogenous. Earlier globalization of endogenous type occurred in West Asian world system when Mesopotamian and nearby polities formed the first large scale interaction sphere during the Uruk period. By the late Uruk period, the polities of lower and upper Mesopotamia as well as numerous surrounding polities in present day Iran, Syria, Turkey and the Levant were connected for the first time by the largest network of warfare, trade and political interactions. That system was global in the

sense that at that time its formation included all known countries. Exogenous globalization began with the emergence of Silk Route which linked Euro-Afro-West Asian world with East Asian system by 200 BCE. The last major exogenous globalization occurred when the Euro-Afro-West Asian world system became linked by politico-military conquest and commercial expansion with the separate world system of western hemisphere 500 years ago. Hence, according to him, after 1000 years the global world system has greatly increased its connectedness and reduced its connectivity diameter. Thus, we can see that no such homogenization is taking place and all these ideas get transformed to suit the local environment and vice-versa.

Globalization has been regarded by others as westernization. They argue that through colonialism and imperialism, the western countries had destroyed the non-western worlds' culture, political system and economic set-up. For these critics, globalization represents a hegemonic discourse, an ideology of supposed progress that makes far-reaching destruction and subordination (Scholte, 2002: 12). Malcolm Waters (1995) argue that, "Globalization is the direct consequence of the expansion of European culture across the planet via settlement, colonization and cultural replication. It is also bound up intrinsically with the pattern of capitalist development as it has ramified through political and cultural arenas. However, it does not imply that every corner of the planet must become Westernized and capitalist but rather that every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist West - to use Robertson's term, it must relativize itself" (2001: 6). To say that globalization means westernisation, however will be wrong. There is exchange and interdependence between western and non-western, and in some cases, developed world tries to dominate the non-western, but what about Islamic globalization, globalization of norms which are non-western, such as anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. Thus we cannot equate globalization with westernization.

John Aart Scholte gave a fifth type of theory of globalization by identifying it as deterritorialization or what he calls, a growth of supraterritorial relations between people (Held & McGrew et al., 2003: 84). He argues that all the four conceptions of globality can be reconciled with territorialist constructions of social space. He opined that social connections in contemporary world are at least partly detached from territorial logic and the global conditions now can be understood in terms of 'transworld space' (Scholte). Thus globality shows a distinct kind of space-time compression.

The close analysis of these definitions made us realize that some are broad while others are very narrow, some inclusive and other are exclusive. However, any definition of globalization should encompass a broad picture of the concept. Globalization is not a stage or a fixed paradigm but rather, a process which has resulted from the socio-cultural and economic integration of the world since the very evolution of human civilization. It is a wider concept, as can be seen from above definitions. No definition of globalization mentioned above reflects the multidimensional and complex picture of globalization. College Ripon however, had given more useful definition of globalization as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary life" (cited in Al-Rodhan, 2006) This definition lacks because it talks about contemporary life thus, describes globalization as a contemporary phenomenon. Similar is the problem with definition given by Held et al. (1999) "as the "widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the culture to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual." These definitions may be useful in one sense or another for multidisciplinary study. In my work, the working definition, which I found close to describe the concept, as:

"Globalization is widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of life leading to the compression of space and time."

This I believe incorporates the essence of globalization as it will describe almost every dimension of globalization and also the interconnection and compression of geography of the world. It also shows that globalization is an ongoing process and a value neutral concept.

Theoretical Debate related to Globalization:

Major theoretical debate related to globalization is whether it is a stage or a process. The current anti-globalization movement assumes that globalization is a stage which has ended or is going to end now. Another view regarding it is that globalization is a process. James Roseneu (1997) claims that term 'globalization' denotes something that is changing humankind preoccupation with territoriality and the traditional arrangement of state system and thus directly implies changes which differentiate it as a phenomenon of change rather than a desired end or a stage. As I have discarded the concept of anti-globalization, and taken it as a part of globalization process, my stand here is very clear that globalization is a process. Now there is three important perspectives regarding it:

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Globalists, who argues that globalization is vital and inescapable contemporary social process; Sceptics on the other hand are sceptical about globalization and see it as a myth and are further divided into those who view it as something not new and those who think that it is not happening and; Transformationalists, who follows the middle path as they believe that we have not entered into a completely new and unrecognised era in the direction of globalization neither is the case that nothing has changed.

Luke Martell, Hel and McGrew and others have discussed the Globalist, Sceptics and Transformationalist as three waves of globalization theory. They showed the difference in views on method, economy, politics, culture, history and future of globalization among the three perspectives. Globalists consider globalization as a causal but Sceptics opined that it is a discourse and internationalization is what we misinterpret as globalization. Transformationalists take the middle way as they say that it is an old process with some new, unprecedented forms making quantitative and qualitative changes.

Globalists argue that the contemporary economic globalization is moving towards the existence of a single global economy, integrating world's major economic regions. In this new era, people everywhere are increasingly subject to the global marketplace (Held et al., 1999). National economic regulations and decisions are getting affected by the economic organisations of regional and international. IMF, World Bank and regional organizations like ASEAN, EU, SAARC, and OPEC are influencing state policies in tremendous ways. These economic changes are having important political and cultural implications. The growth of international and trans-national organizations has changed the form and dynamic of state. The idea of global politics challenges territoriality and the inclusiveness that has been embedded in conventional notion of inter-state politics and the political (Held et al. 1999). The developments in communication systems, information technologies and microelectronics have opened the new and vast possibilities of organizing political action and power across vast distances. The extensive political interconnectedness has added to new policy making forums in the areas of common concerns. Also, there have been important changes in the scope of international law and change in the strategic areas.

Sceptics reacted to the globalist arguments on the impact and importance of globalization. They argue that globalization is not new and the processes being described

are not global. The current trend reflects a process of internationalization- growing interconnection between discrete national economies and societies. Hirst and Thompson (1996) argues that "globalization is a myth which conceals the reality of an international economy increasingly segmented into three major regional blocs in which national governments remains very powerful" (cited in Held and McGrew, 1999, p.2). Unlike Globalists, Sceptics describe that trade and investment flows were higher before First World War than what it is now. They also contend that what today is changing in economic realm is the emergence of regional organisations like EU, ASEAN and NAFTA, playing a strong and important role. Thus, it is regionalisation and not globalization of world. They have challenged the globalist claim of global economic integration and present an alternative picture of it. They showed that greater international trade and investment is happening but within the existing structure of established nation states and regions. They rejected the idea of deterritorialization and space becoming irrelevant in contemporary world. They had put a comparative study of the past and present world economy to show that the current integration of economy is nothing new. The actual net flows between world major economies are now much less than the start of 20th century (Held & McGrew; 2002).

Globalists further described the impact of globalization on culture. They argue that globalization has facilitated the emergence of homogenized global culture with a decline in national culture due to the effect of global electronic communication, migration and tourism. While the rise of nation-states and nationalist projects intensified cultural formation and interaction within circumscribed borders, expansion in European powers helped in the emergence of new forms of cultural globalization with innovation in transport and communication (Held and McGrew, 2002). Held and McGrew differentiated cultural nationalism and political nationalism and opined that political nationalism cannot deliver public good without regional and global collaboration. Thus we see that globalists take globalization as a new phenomenon which is taking over from nations the considerations of culture._

Sceptics, however, critiqued the Globalist view of impact of globalization on culture. They make a counter-claim to the Globalist view of a homogenized global culture. The idea of global culture, according to them, has no ground because it demands a shared consciousness of togetherness at global level which we never had. Whereas the struggle for national identity and nationhood has been so deep and extensive that it is not

possible to erode it by trans-national forces. Further, they have rejected the globalist idea that modern communication system is helping in the emergence of a feeling of global connectivity and oneness and argue that while new communication systems can facilitate the information of people of distant places, it may not generate a feeling of oneness. On the contrary, it can create an awareness of differences or the idea of 'the others'. The Islamic fundamentalism, reactions to preserve one's cultural identity, anti-westernized sentiments among the major indigenous cultures etc. are also the effect of this global communication system.

Another issue of contention is whether globalization is transforming the nature and character of state power? Globalists seek to show the decline of state power as a consequence of globalization. They argue that striking changes can be observed in the realm of power and position of nation-states. Hirst and Thompson (cited in Weiss,1998) opined that the 'power of nation states as administrative and policy making agencies have declined' while state's role as an economic manager is 'lessening'. On polity level, the sovereign power of states has been challenged as other states and international organisations interfere and influence the policy making of states. Humanitarian interventions have got legal permission by the international community. On the name of establishment and preservation of human rights and combating terrorism, the big powers under the flag of UN, are challenging the established norm of state's sovereignty and supremacy in domestic realm. Trans-national and multinational organisations are another challenge to state power. State power to policy making, thus, has been constrained and its importance has been declining. Territorial borders are becoming less important and trade is facilitating the decline in enmity on border issues. Increasing importance of liberalism and emerging global economy is forcing all governments to adopt similar policies.

Sceptics call into the question globalist position that state is losing its importance in the contemporary global world. Globalists tend to exaggerate the state power in the past. They opined that state is the supreme and sovereign authority in world politics and the role of modern states has increased with greater need to welfare functions and wider economic purposes. By 'nationalizing' much of the social life, nation-states thus provided a sort of 'social caging' device that existed alongside and gave structure to trans-national networks (Mann, 1993). Building strong states in developed countries and nurturing stronger state capacities is the major domestic challenge for them. The Sceptics see the continuing importance of states within their own boundary and also in trans-

national, globalized politics. In terms of power for non-state actors is not necessarily at the expense of state power. Today's new international problems- from terrorism to money laundering to bank failure and environmental degradation- have generated a new, transgovernmental order in which the state, rather than dissolving, is disaggregating into functionally distinct parts. These distinct entities- which range from regulatory agencies to courts and legislature- are networking with counterparts abroad, thus creating trans-governmental networks (Weiss, 2000). John Glenn opined that if one believes that today's corporations are more influential than most states and that they are truly footloose entities that are free to move from state to state, than political fatalism may follow. Thus, according to sceptics, the claims made about globalization as a force which could undermine the authority of states and would create a borderless world is incorrect.

Transformationalists, the third perspective on globalization debate has developed a new stand for the understanding. They focus not only on quantitative changes but also on qualitative transformations taking place. Globalization, according to them, is central force behind social, economic and political changes taking place in the world. They opined that the process of globalization is old and long-term, but the present form of globalization is unprecedented. There may have been trade and migration, for instance between Asia, Middle East and the fringes of Europe way back in pre-modern times, but technological and political changes since World War II have led to an unprecedented growth in the extent, velocity, volume and intensity of things...(Held et al., 1999: 7-14). It means there are some old and new elements in the globalization process constituted by the forces, old and new. Transformationalists such as Rosenau and Giddens argue that globalization occurs as states and societies across the globe are experiencing a process of profound change as they try to adapt to a more interconnected but highly uncertain world (Held and McGrew, 1999, p.2). They differ from globalist and sceptics in many ways. They criticise both schools for their 'tendency to conceptualise globalization as prefiguring a singular condition or end-state, that is, a fully integrated global market with price and interest rate equalization' (Glenn, 2007: 56). The Transformationalists argue that in terms of economy, the world is becoming more globalized. This stance is close to the globalist position of an interlinked and borderless trade relation, but they do not compare the old and the new world. There may have been trade and migration in pre-modern times but it differs in extent, velocity, volume, and intensity of things (Held and McGrew, 2007). Today, the world economy is becoming trans-national, de-territorialized

and more global. Thus, the Sceptics position that world is not globalized and there is nothing like global economic interactions, has been rejected by Transformationalists.

In terms of politics, the powers, functions and authority of nation-states is being reconstructed with the development of international, trans-national and non-governmental organizations. They do not question the importance of nation-states or their sovereign power like the globalists; neither have they agreed that states are an autonomous unit in contemporary world politics. They argue that changes have occurred in the power and authority of state. It need to develop a cooperative system with the trans-governmental and non-governmental groups which is developing greater hold on civil society and its restructuring. Territorial boundaries are still important because the social, economic and political activities are locally rooted, but its impact has become global. Thus, disembeddedness or re-territorialisation of local and national has taken place.

Transformationalists feel that the main issue of content between Globalist and Sceptics is whether the world is global or non-global. While dealing the cultural aspect of globalization the two remain ignorant of the fact that culture may stay national with its influence as a global input. Transformationalists are of the view that culture is not a static thing immune from the external forces. The global transformation of culture has taken place and it has become hybridized with complex identities. However, this process is not new but historic and ongoing. The major cultures of the world came in contact and evolve a new regional culture with local and global characters incorporated. Mike Featherstone suggests that "the process of globalization suggests simultaneously two images of culture. The first image entails the extension outward of a particular culture to its limit, the globe. Heterogeneous cultures become incorporated and integrated into a dominant culture which eventually covers the whole world. The second image points to the compression of cultures. Things formally held apart are now brought into contact and juxtaposition" (Featherstone, 1995: 6-7). Hence, culture itself is an evolutionary process. They discarded the globalist argument that world culture is homogenizing, at the same time they opposes sceptics remark of static national culture. Transformationalists, unlike Globalist and Sceptics, recognized that a cultural change does not mean evolving of a 'world culture', rather emergence of new cultures with some characters of the dominant culture of that period.

They opined that the future of globalization is uncertain. They see globalization as a multidimentional process and not a singular and unidirectional like the Globalists and Sceptics. No global convergence of economy, politics and culture is taking place towards homogenisation and universalisation of the world. Held and others argues that, "There is a single global system that nearly all societies are part of, but there is not global convergence or a single world society. National societies and systems are enmeshed in patterns of interregional networks, but these are different from global integration, which does not exist because that would assume homogeneity" (Luke Martell, 2007). In fact, globalization is influencing different states and societies of the world in different ways and thus, the consequence of it is also not the same. The outcome of globalization depends on the socio- economic and political environment of every society and state.

There are differences among the three on definition and periodisation of globalization. The major point of contestation which is of the intent of my study is to consider whether globalization is an old process or is it a new development. The Globalist stance is that it is a new social process that has begun after the Second World War, whereas Transformationalists opined that it is an old social process with some new development. While going through above debate we can conclude that globalization is a multidimentional process covering not only economy but other aspects of human life also. Thus, Transformationalists are much close to what is the real picture. The other two theories are at the extreme as one perceives it as globalizing everything towards a goal of one single unified world city whereas other remark that nothing is getting globalized. To see that how old or how new the process of globalization is we need to look into the debate of historical development of globalization.

Historical development:

The word 'global' is over 400 years old (Waters: 1995), the common use of word globalization did not begin until 1960. In 1961, *Webster* became the first major dictionary to offer definition of globalization and in 1962 *The Spectator* recognized globalization as a staggering concept. According to Robertson, the term was not recognised academically important till mid-1980s, but after that it has become well globalized (Waters, 1995: 2). We are sure about the history of the word 'globalization', but there is much debate related to the history of the process of globalization between those who consider it as a long historic process. Some argues that it is as old as other

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human civilization, while others are of the view that it started with the discovery of new lands and new routes to connect the distant continents. Thus, our main concern here is not the history of the term but of the history of process of globalization.

Modelski, Thompson and others (2008) are of the opinion that globalization has a long and deep historical root which predates modernity. As Modelski point out that globalization has a long historical process with a history of nearly 2,000 years. He discusses the two facets of globalization: connectivity and openness. Connectivists like Friedman and others see globalization as a growing condition of interdependence. To operate freely, the connectivity requires open societies with an absence of barriers. The view of Held and other Transformationalists goes beyond this connectivist opinion and they have described it as a historical process having two dimentions: spatio-temporal and organizational. Modelski takes the institutional dimension to discuss the evolution of globalization process. He remarked that both, connectivity and openness is the cause and consequence of organizational and institutional arrangements. Globalization is a set of four closely related institution building process. The four institution building processes identified by him are: the evolution of global economy; the global political evolution; the rise of global community and; globalization viewed as a summery process. Each process, according to Modelski, searches, explores, amplifies and selects a major institutional innovation. Global economy has moved from specialization and division of labour to the current information age, global political system has passed the imperial age and now heading towards the emergence of global governance. The rise of global community is based on the emergence of global justice system and democratization of world institutions.

Thompson also remarks that globalization as a process and concept denotes increased connectivity at any level. However, he has discussed the political aspect of globalization. He argues that while interdependence have began with the movements of homo-sapiens out of Africa, the current globalization process is largely a recent phenomenon that became more apparent only in last 500-1000 years. Global institutions with which we are familiar today began to emerge most visibly around the middle of second millennium. Pre-1500 globalization proceeded within the imperial institutions which were limited in their tendency to control multiple regions. The major evolutionary shift in globalization process, according to him, took place with the search of silk route around 200 BCE. Second major shift in globalization took place with Mongol expansion

in thirteen century CE. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the establishment of Iberian empire, a third major escalation took place.

Rennstich (2006) has uses the extended evolutionary world politics (EWP) to understand the development of globalization. He views globalization as an evolutionary process in the making than a unique occurrence of later twentieth century. Within the framework of EWP the four mechanisms that drive the evolutionary process of globalization are: variety creation (cultural process); cooperation or segregation (social process); selection (political process) and; preservation & transmission (economic process). All these world system processes have a time structure. The phase of global world system process that comes closest to the most common perception of globalization has began to develop around 900 CE, view Rennstich. This process was driven by nested political and economic processes. He has discussed the three steps in the evolutionary process of globalization with five blockages in the development of a world city system. First two blockages mark the transition from land based Silk Road to maritime-based spice route. Third and fourth blockage shows the turning points of the system from Spice route to industrial Atlantic system. The fifth blockade marks the transition to information age which is significant for the emergence of new external world city system. This he calls the modern world system process which started in 930CE.

Robertson (1992) opined that globalization involves the relativization of individual and national reference points to general and supranational ones. It therefore involves the establishment of cultural, social, and phenomenological linkages between four elements: the individual self; the national society; the international system of societies and; humanity in general. Robertson argues that the process of globalization is not new. It predates modernity and capitalism which had accelerated the process to move it to the level of consciousness of contemporary period. He has divided the globalization process in five phases: the germinal phase (Europe, 1400-1750); the incipient phase (Europe, 1750-1875); the take-off phase (1875-1925); the struggle-for-hegemony phase (1925-69) and; the uncertainty phase (1969-92). Thus, according to Robertson, globalization is the creation of renaissance period during which farther parts of the world was discovered and got interconnected.

Held et al. (1999) provides the division of globalization process into three historic phases: pre-modern globalization (1500-1850); modern globalization (1850-

1945) and; contemporary period of globalization (1945-now). The fragmented power arrangements which existed before 1500 provided by the interlocking ties and obligations of Medieval Europe declined due to peasant rebellions, struggle between monarchs, technological changes, religious conflicts and extension of trade & market relations. In pre-modern phase, began the establishment of absolute and constitutional states in Europe, based on sovereignty and territoriality. These states were capable for overseas operations. In economic realm, Silk Route linking China, Mediterranean, shipping route between Arabian Peninsula & India and caravan routes of near East & North Africa helped in the expansion of outward trade expansions. In cultural terms, main pre-modern stimuli to the movement of people were religious and economic. For example, Held and others (1999) gave a statistics that around 2 million migrants from China moved from third century BC to fifth century AD; the movements of armies and settlers from Greek and Rome; expansion of Islam etc. this shows that globalization is not something that appeared in last few decades.

Rothschild argues that one way of looking into the historical perspective of globalization is to see the economic and social history of international relationship and particularly the history of rapid increase in international trade, investment, communication and influence. He says that many such periods have come in past 250 years. The history of globalization can be studied by looking at trade, tariff, emigration and immigration policies, monetary history or the history of international economic institutions. But, according to Rothschild, history of globalization is more a matter of the history of ideas than of the history of economic life. He had described the economic thoughts of Adam Smith and others to show how it had constituted the idea of globalization. Important point of history of ideas from the perspective of globalization is 1770 as in 1776 came Adam Smith's famous book, *Wealth of Nations* in which he had discussed the world 'in which capital may wander about from place to place...'.

The idea of interdependence and interaction was later described by German philosopher Von Herder's "system of commerce", French mathematician and economist Marquis de Condorcet, Adam Muller and others. Karl Marx gave a more explicit description of the economic perspective of globalization. He was of the view that the discovery of America and search of new navigation routes through sea to reach distant lands established a world market. The need of market for increasing productions made by

bourgeoisie resulted interlinking the different regions of the world. This economic globalization laid its impact on culture and ideology also. He argues:

[National industries] are dislodged by new industries . . . that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature (1977: 224-5).

This establishment of world capitalism also helps to emerge a world proletariat who, according to Marx, will unite against the exploitation and suppression and would destroy all the capitalist institutions to create an egalitarian society. The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end (1977: 235-6).

Flynn and Giraldz present a different picture of the historical development of globalization process. They had taken 1571 as the year of the birth of globalization because in this year Manila was founded as Spanish entrepot which connected Asia and America. Further, the Columbian exchange and Magellan exchange permanently linked all populated continents in terms of culture, ecology, trade and diseases. From sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, silver trade linked the world with china becoming its dominant market. But today's globalization began after Second World War. He had discarded the claim by others that globalization began thousand years before on the ground that it comprises only one third of the globe. The permanent connection between old and new world was established in 1571 through manila galleons.

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Thus we see that there are three dominant views related to the historical development of globalization: globalization has a very long history continuing since the evolution of human civilization, globalization started with the interconnection of distant lands discovered by through great expeditions of fourteenth centuries and development of capitalism, and the third one is that globalization is a new phenomenon of twentieth century.

When we look into the development of human civilization, through the definition taken by me, that says: *globalization is widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of life leading to the compression of space and time,* it shows that globalization is a long and historic process, as the interconnection among humans itself has a long history. We can trace the history of the process of globalization since the very evolution of humans. All those who argue globalization as a creation of the renaissance period ignored the fact that spread of humans across the globe took place much earlier. Their reach in terms of transport, trade and communication was limited, but knowledge of a world beyond existed even in that period. It supports and suggests that the idea may be new in its terminology but process of globalization has a long historic account of the world started shrinking in terms of time and space. Hence, the other two views which saw globalization as an evolution of pre-modern or modern age can be discarded. Globalization is as old as human civilization and, thus, we will take the evolution of the process since the primitive age. This interlinkage intensified up to a larger scale in contemporary era with revolution in technological advancements. However, the extent of intensification remained different at different places and time as it got affected by the local, hence, impact and outcome of it varied. The process of globalization can be divided broadly into four stages on the basis of spatio-temporal differences:

Primitive globalization (1200 BC to 3,000 BC)-

As I have argued that globalization is an evolutionary process which has been continued throughout the human history, I must start it with the primitive age. Many scientific studies about the origin and migration of human have proved that we all are offspring of the people of Africa, who had spread throughout the world million of years ago. About 12,000 years ago, a small band of hunters and gatherers reached the southern tip of South America, which marked the end of long process of settling of humans in all

the five continents (Steger, 2003: 41). Till this age the global spread of human species got completed. The mode of interaction changed with the advent of agriculture. Through conquest and migration people came into contact with each other. Following the Neolithic revolution, started the process of urbanisation. Chew argued that one of the earliest sign of this urbanisation process appeared in the riverine valley of southern Mesopotamia, Egypt and north-western India over 5000 years ago and continued the transformation of the landscape by human communities that started with the advent of agriculture. The rise of agrarian communities provided a rooted identity for the first time to groups of humans who floated across the land in...(Chanda, 2007: 45). With the settlement of human communities, fixed trade linkages started which further led to cultural exchanges.

With permanent settlement of humans and increase in population, family and tribal organisation came into picture. Political organisation with an aim to protect, preserve and expand the controlled possessions came into picture. As in the Near East, Indus Valley or Yangtze basin, the rise of human settlements identified with a specific geographical location was the first step in the rise of civilization, states and empires. In this way, borders had been drawn in a world which was earlier a common possession of all. Globalization in pre-historic period was, however, limited due to limited technology and communication. Advanced forms of technology capable of overcoming existing geographical and social obstacles were largely absent (Steger, 2003: 43). Later developments extended the reach of humans towards long distance geographical and social interactions.

Globalization in Pre-Modern age (3,000 BC to 1400 AD)-

With the invention of wheel as a mode of transport and writing as mode of communication, that took place around 3,000 BCE, human interactions got more intensified. These monumental inventions amounted to one of those technological and social boosts that moved globalization to new levels. Diffusion of these technologies in different continents strengthened the globalization process. Increase in population led humans to search new agricultural lands. This further led to the migration of people towards fertile lands. Extended reach of human beings helped in the establishment of new political organizations like states with larger territorial areas and more unified governance system. Organised armies emerged to protect the state from external threats

and to grow it by conquering more regions. Pre-modern age can, thus, be characterised as age of empires. Roman empire, Egyptian empire, Macedonian Empire, Indian Empire, Persian Empire and Byzantine Empire were established during that period. This conquest of new lands to establish large empires in terms of power and territory led to the exchange of technology, culture and ideas or knowledge.

New trade routed had been discovered to import and export goods to distant places. Silk route was one of the most important among them which linked Roman Empire with China, Eurasia and Africa. It also became an important link for religion, philosophy, art and technology. The establishment of economic and cultural networks led to the migration of people towards urban areas, resulting in the cultural clashes.

Thus, pre-modern globalization differs with primitive globalization in the sense that in this period, with new technological advancement and search of new land routes, distant parts of the world get interconnected to have social, cultural, political and economic exchanges. The earlier tribal groups got more organised enlarged with the establishment of empires and imperialist tendencies. However, development of sea route was in its early phase and innovations were taking place in this area. Land routes were still important and transport relies on animals like horse, camel and elephants. Hence, due to limited development and innovations in trade and technologies, interactions were also limited.

Coming of modernity and globalization (1400 AD to 1600 AD) –

With the coming of renaissance and reformation during mid-fifteenth century and discovery of sea routes brought another revolution in the process of globalization. The knowledge of mathematics and science had helped in these expeditions. Curiosity to know a world beyond was the most important reason for such expeditions which further led to economic and cultural exchanges. The knowledge of the rest of the world brought the ideas and institutions to far flung regions. Innovations like mechanised printing, maritime technologies and invention of postal system played important role in the strengthening and deepening of globalization. This further increases the trade networks as European merchants helped and financed many such expeditions to search new lands and sea routes to Asia and America. Later on, states participated in such discoveries by providing security to the merchants of their states for which they get taxes. Huge profits

through taxes made states to realise the benefits of inter-continental trades. With increase power of these innovations, grew the intercontinental economic transactions.

Religion was an important force at that time. Christianity and Islam were major religions and religious heads were enjoying tremendous authorities. Reformation, an important movement to bring religious reforms, led to the establishment of secular, liberal and limited state. However, religion still dominated the landscape of world. Religious interactions led to religious wars, for example, coming of Islam in India and other parts of Asia led to bloody clashes. Finally, a sovereign and territorial state-system emerged in 1648 which made state as a sole master of domestic and external affairs with religion subordinate to state power.

This period is significant in the way that in this age new sea routes were discovered to reach far lands of other continents. The transport and communication system, and other technological advancements in political and military affairs, led the interconnection more intense. World came more close and the influence of changes was felt more clearly.

Industrial Revolution, Colonialism and Globalization (1600-1914) –

Technological advancements further revolutionized the world through better transport and communication networks. Industrial revolution was the consequence of such revolution which intensified the social, political, cultural and economic relations among the people living on different parts of the world. It brought changes in the structure and values of state and society with the emergence of a capitalist and liberal world. These structural changes and shifting in the values in the direction of individualism and universalism has been called as 'Modernization'. Spread of industrial revolution causes spread of these modern values across the globe.

This age witnessed tremendous growth in the extent of trade. It has been indicated by the growth ratio of production and trading of commodities. Between 1800 and 1913 international trade grew, as a proportation of world product, from 3 to 33 per cent and get tripled between 1870 and 1913 (Barraclough, 1978: 256). Capitalist system based upon the free market system and minimum interference was supposed to work on the theory of 'invisible hand' of market forces. European powers, in search of raw material and markets followed expansionist policies and established colonies in Asia, Africa and America. Main goal of establishment of these colonies was to capture primary resources for their industries. Inter-state wars were mainly for the capturing of new colonies.

Slave trade led to the large scale migration of people from one land to another. The most important force of this age was European imperialism (Bisley, 2007: 42). Efforts were made by the missionaries to spread Christianity on the ground of its teaching that everyone is equal in the eyes of god. Cultural interactions among the colonial West and the colonised people developed new understanding of civilized and barbarianism. Thus, conquest and trade created new interactions among the people of different culture, between slaves and masters and between colonial powers and the colonized.

Age of two World Wars, Cold War and Globalization (1914-1990) –

This age has been remarked as very important in world politics as it witnessed two world wars and great economic depression. In this age, nationalism emerged as a new vision through Fascism and Nazism. Protectionist policies were again being followed as a result of world war and economic depression. Trade declined and mercantilism emerged as a form of new economic policy. As the word 'World Wars' suggests, the impact of these two wars had been felt by the whole world. International conferences, summits were held and institutions were established to restrict any such destruction in future. New trade policies were formed to make trade relations more transparent and beneficial for all. International institutions like IMF and World Bank, to regulate these policies, had been established. League and United Nations were attempted to deal the conflicts in peaceful ways.

Norms and values like democracy, human rights, secularism, and multiculturalism were adopted as common by almost all member states. This all happened because till this time the impact of global interconnection was being felt by all and they agreed that happenenings of one part of globe affects the others. Cold War, however, divided the world in two major blocks, but major parts of Asia and Africa followed the policy of non-participation in block politics.

In this period, globalization gets an institutional support with the establishment of world institutions. Common platform was prepared to bring the world together and interact with each other to discuss matters of common concern which, till the cold war was limited to the avoidance of any further war. Revolution in military was of much significance with the inventions like nuclear arms and atomic bombs. Technological advancements played an important role to make the world feel the closeness and common concerns they share.

Contemporary Globalization (1990-till now)-

The end of two world wars and cold war brought changes in socio-economic and political dimensions of world politics. This age witnessed new development in world politics which established more interdependent and intensified world. Remarkable development in the movement of goods, services, capital and knowledge is taking place. The most important aspect of contemporary globalization is its level of openness and a broad-ranging political consensus in support of this state of affair (Bisley, 2007: 54). Another feature of contemporary globalization is the revolution in the field of information technology. Due to the result of such technological changes, major world population have access to new techniques like mobile phones, computers and internet, which facilitate quick knowledge of changes taking place throughout the world. This has created new links among the individuals to be in touch with the people far beyond their land. This has created a sense of belongingness with the world unseen by us.

Greater volume of trade and capital movement is another characteristic of this age. The trans-national and multi-national organisations are influencing trade policies and hence, policy formulations of states. Investment across boundaries is a major feature of this age. Many regional and international organisations have been established which aims to the removal of all trade barriers and creation of free trade areas. NAFTA, SAFTA, ASEAN, EU are some of these organisations.

It has also been argued that globalization is changing the role of state and limiting the affairs of state. Authority of state is declining in the field of not only trade but globalization is influencing the decision making and policy formulations as these are governed under the pressure of many new actors. Thus, we see that, in contemporary period, movement of knowledge, capital, people and resources has been intensified upto such a level that even small happenings have its impact on larger globe.

Conclusion:

In this chapter I have dealt with certain questions related to globalization such as, the question of anti-globalization, history of the process, theoretical debates related to it and challenges in developing a multidisciplinary definition of globalization. After the long discussion on these aspects of globalization we can argue that it is a long and open ended process. It has many positive and negative impacts but it is not possible to reverse the whole process of human evolution and interconnectedness which has taken place for much of human history and continued to do so. What we should do and can do is to try to eliminate the negatives impacts of it on society, culture, politics and the world economy. This is what protesters should bear in mind.

Chapter-2

Contextualizing War

Peace has always remained the goal of human civilization and war has been used as a mean to restore the peace. Any study related to the question of peace also invokes the question of war. Absence of peace can be understood by the knowledge of causes of war. Thus peace studies needed to be started from the study of war. Perfect peace has never ruled exclusively over the affairs of men. Conflict and discord are always with us. Similarly, any genuine attempt of restoration of peace and avoidance of war requires the study of war. In many cases war and peace get intermingled in such a way that it becomes hard to decide that the situation should be addressed as peaceful or warlike, for example, the cold war. Therefore, the study of war is relevant in each period of history. The commonwealth of Venice engraved upon its armory, 'Happy is the city which in time of peace thinks of war'. Seabury and Codevilla also commented that knowledge of war is especially required in peacetime, just as knowledge of any disease is gathered in good health (1989: 5).

Although war has been said as a brutal and ugly enterprise, it has taken place from the beginning of human evolution and in all parts of the world. History of mankind has been studied as the history of great wars. Thucydides opined that fundamental changes in international system are the basic determinants of such wars. War is ugly because it brings death, destruction, hunger, and hate with it. But most of the harms that we relate with war is associated to the times and places which we categorise as peaceful. Seabury and Codevilla opined that victims of peace outnumber the victims of war, and war in most of the cases is outcome of these brutalities which took place in the time we characterised as peaceful (Seabury and Codevilla; 1989: 6). Therefore war should not always be seen as something unwanted, unjust and destructive. War has helped in shaping the international system and bringing positive social changes and has inspired the art and literature since time immemorial. It has been glorified by the art and literature of almost all the periods in which one party justifies its stand by proving the other as evil doer. The concepts like holy wars, just wars, limited wars, unlimited wars, has remained an important area of research and study in academics. Hence, war is seen as an enduring phenomenon of international politics.

During the early period of human civilization, human being uses small weapons and less developed technologies with limited transport and communication facilities. This led to limit the causes of war up to food and land issues. With the emergence of states, the mode of warfare had changed. In the absence of any higher authority, war was seen as the final arbiter of disputes among sovereign states. With advancement in technology and transport and with greater development in the maintenance of states as an institution war became more institutionalized in the form of standing armies. Governments were having rules relating to the when and where to make war according to their interests. With the intensification of globalization process war has become more complex. Revolution in military affairs has been achieved to such an extent that extermination of all the life from this planet has become possible within a short while. With the development of weapons of mass destruction a debate to restrain war has been intensified. Scholars are worried about the danger of modern weapon technologies so much that Einstein remarked at some place that, 'I know not with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones'.

After experiencing the destruction and the ill effects of modern weapons in two world wars, serious efforts have been made in the direction of handling conflicts in peaceful ways. This has helped in reducing the inter-state wars in the international system. After Second World War and mainly after the end of cold war change in the pattern of war can be realized as inter-state wars has became less frequent and intra-state conflict has increased. According to Seabury and Codevilla (1989: 6-7), about 35 million people, of whom 25 million were civilians, have died in direct military operations since 1900. In the same period, at least 100 million people have been killed by police force and other intra-state forces. These intra-state conflicts have many causes like identity conflicts, ethnic hatred, economic resources, power sharing. In these conflicts political organizations like state has either very limited role or is itself a part of conflicting parties, for example civil strife in Pakistan and Sri-Lanka. The current rise in terrorist activities with global network represents another threat to mankind. These groups are having hidden network and are hard to be identified. They differ with intra-state conflicts in the way that they are trans-national in character and unlike it, their goal and purposes are not very clear; neither have they come clearly to confront their enemy. The biggest worry of contemporary world is that if these

terrorist groups will get access to the harmful nuclear weapons and weapon of mass destruction they will use it in irrational way leading to large scale destruction having devastating effect. Thus, the most worrying problem of contemporary war is that it is not mainly among states based on some norms and laws but a war between shadow or hidden organizations and the whole mankind or intra-state societal groups in which political organization like state has very limited role. War now has become more than a military enterprise and has come to incorporate every aspect of human life. This enlargement of contemporary war needs to be studied in a way different from what had been followed for inter-state wars.

The current shift in warring parties from inter-state to intra-state and shadow organizations have started the debate indicating that nature of warfare has been changed. Mary Kaldor has contended that the nature of warfare has changed as old wars, with standing army, open confrontation, with the norm like protection of civilians, limited destruction has changed into what she call "New Wars" with the characteristics such as an absence of demarcation between army and civilians and indirect confrontation with a goal of maximum destruction to the enemy side.

Even if we agree that new war is different from old wars and there is dynamism related to wars, the basic questions related to all kinds of wars is still the same as such: Why do people get engaged in the deadly and destructive activity of fighting? Is war rooted in human nature or is it a social and cultural invention? Have people always engaged in fighting or did they start this only with the advent of agriculture, the state, and civilization? How were the major developments in human history affected by war and, in turn, how did they effect war? Are wars declining and can it be eliminated totally? In this chapter I would discuss these questions. This chapter will focus on various definitions of war, different theories of war and their limitations. Further I will contextualize war in the perspective of definition taken by me. In next part of this chapter, I will discuss the continuity and change in the nature of warfare and then factors responsible for this.

Defining war:

Clausewitz describes that, "without knowing what war is, what war should be, what war can do, no theory of the conduct of war is possible, and all attempts made in the realm of strategy are futile" (quoted in Antulio J. Echevarria, 2007: 62). The very

first thing related to any study is how to define it. The same problem arises when we start studying war today. When we utter the word "War", what comes in our mind is; conflict, violence, bloody clashes where humans kill each other. War has been defined by using all these words. But due to the vagueness related to the words like "violence" and "peace", defining war has become more complex. Another difficulty is that the meaning of peace and security has expanded. Now any act of 'violence' is not only a bloody clash in which physical hurt is done but attacking on one's emotions, dignity and consciousness. Peace is not only the absence of violence; it is the absence of the threat of any such violence also. The idea of human security has expanded in scope to include other things then mere physical security. "In the wake of these conflicts, a new understanding of the concept of security is evolving. Once synonymous with the defence of territory from external attack, the requirements of security today have come to embrace the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence. The need for a more human-centred approach to security is reinforced by the continuing dangers that weapons of mass destruction, most notably nuclear weapons, pose to humanity: their very name reveals their scope and their intended objective, if they were ever used" (Kofi Annan, 2008). In this changing perspective of world, traditional definition of war may not be very useful. Also we need to look that which definition of war is more applicable today. There are many definitions of war given by biologists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, and political thinkers. By evaluating these definitions we can understand the varying dimensions of war.

The most widely acclaimed view related to war is that is it grounded in human nature. Whether biologists, psychologists, sociologists or political scientists, all starts from the same point that human propensity to go for war is related to its nature. Human being is a biological entity and human biology forms the first condition of its action. Biologists view humans as animals and relate the human instinct to war with the animal behaviour. They claim that like animals, humans fight on resources like food and land, rivalry for possession, the intrusion of a stranger etc. They discuss in detail human instinct[1] as an important and necessary factors to go for war. Mary

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[1] Human instinct is defined in zoology and psychology, the innate programming characteristic of a particular animal species that organizes complex patterns of behaviour, enabling members of a species to respond appropriately to a wide range of situations in the natural world. Such behaviours are usually fairly involved patterns of responses to particular stimuli and are often characteristic patterns of feeding, mating, parenting, and expression of aggression (refer Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia).

Midgley (cited in Moseley, 2002: 70) states that "Man has always been unwilling to admit his own ferocity". Raymond Aron remarks that, "[m]an, as an animal, is relatively combative- in other words, a slight stimulus is enough to release aggression" (Moseley, 2002, pg. 77). He further explains that a violent act by a person or an animal can be explained by a casual chain of events, and reason cannot affect man's biological inheritance: hence combat is strictly a biological act.

Darwin was the first scientist who had discussed human tendency to fight and gave his famous theory of "survival of the fittest". He had discussed war as struggle for life. Biologists are of the view that fighting, in the animal kingdom, cannot be regarded as anything accidental or abnormal and aggression[2] is a constant part of animal behaviour. This aggression is manifested among them in many ways, like they differentiate among family members and outsiders. Similarly, in human beings, this manifestation of aggressiveness is influenced by their social context. Aggressiveness of the group toward one of its members, toward an outsider, or toward another group as such is normally to be found in any society (Aron, 2003; pg-342). Aggression is a natural response of human beings, like animals to defend the vital interests like life, property or their identity. According to these biologists, aggression is the root cause of war. Aggression is further divided into offensive and defensive types. A group of scholars and biologists view aggression as an act of defensive behaviour against any threat and violence. Eric Fromm belongs to this group and argues that aggression is an innate defensive rather than offensive response to threats and violence. Any act of aggression takes place when personal ties get developed among the people. This creates an understanding of 'us' and 'them' or an 'insider' and 'outsider'. Andrey (1966) asserts that, the capacity to differentiate between members of the group is the first step to bond-forming and to the reduction of violence within the group; it is also the first step to increased intragroup tensions and hence human war.

But this biological theory of war has been questioned by others. Violence among animals does not involve technical knowledge, ethical understanding and

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[2] Aggression is a form of animal behavior characterized by an assault or attack by one animal on another. It can take two forms: one form of aggression leads to conflict between members of different species, and in another form of aggression members of same species attacks each other. First one is called interspecific aggression and the other one is termed as intraspecific aggression (see Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia).

motives. We can see a gap between animal and human social existence. This arises a difference between animal and human warfare. The term aggression has been used by biologists to show the act of war, while human act of war is more than war and also sometimes differ from aggression. Human behaviour is not fixed up to animals' behaviour as humans are not guided by instinct only but use rationality to decide the gains and losses before going for war.

Related to human biology is its psychology. All human beings have inherited the aggressive instinct and share some common nature and general psychological needs, but some are more violent than others. There is difference in the psychological makeup of individuals which causes difference in the dispositions of violence. Psychological definition of war emphasises the violence in war and drive of humans to kill as main cause of war. This school of theorists include Maslow, Kissinger, Juliet George and others and has postulated that the major causes of war can be found in man's psychological nature. Such psychological approaches range from very general, often merely intuitive assertions regarding human nature, to complex analyses utilizing the concepts and techniques of modern psychology. The former category includes a wide range of ethical and philosophical teaching and insights, including the works of such figures as St. Augustine and the 17th-century Dutch philosopher Spinoza. Modern writers utilizing psychological approaches emphasize the significance of psychological maladjustments or complexes and of false, stereotyped images held by decision makers of other countries and their leaders. Some psychologists posit an innate aggressiveness in man. Others concentrate upon public opinion and its influence, particularly in times of tension; others stress the importance of decision makers and the need for their careful selection and training. Most believe that an improved social interaction among individuals would decrease the feeling of insecurity and fear and would reduce the likelihood of war. All of them believe in the importance of research and education. Still, the limitations of such approaches derive from their very generality. Encyclopedia Britannica mentions that, "Whether the psychological premises are optimistic or pessimistic about the nature of man, one cannot ignore the impact upon human behaviour of social and political institutions that give man the opportunities to exercise his good or evil propensities and to impose

restraints upon him."[3] The psychologists explain the mankind's attraction towards war as a result of mythic mode of experiencing reality. They divide the world into good and wrong doers in which he/she identifies itself as good.

Sociologists gave another explanation of war, as they view it a specific social phenomenon appeared in certain period of human history. They argues that pride and desire for possession are the cause for inevitable disputes. Two individuals or groups are in conflict when they attempt to possess the same thing. It becomes violent when any one of them tries to apply force to make the other submit to it. Margret Mead gives a sociological definition of war as she talks that war is an invention like cooking, writing marriage, or trial by jury (Vasquez, 1993: Pp-31). It is a social invention through which people think they can handle certain situations. It is a type of learned behaviour and collective learning as groups fight with each other comes under the definition of war and not the individual fighting. Thus Mead considers war as a human phenomenon which explains its origin. Her analysis implies that war came in existence when some people realized that certain situations can be handled more efficiently through it. Thus, according to her to end war we need to for search other means to handle those problems.

The most famous and widely accepted definition of war is given by Carl Von Clausewitz who claims that "war is the continuation of politics by other means" (Howart and Paret: 1976, 1984). He further elaborates "war is thus an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will". He has described war as a political activity different from the social and economic. Politics is the interaction of government and people, and war did not interrupt this relation but helps in continuing it. It is not an independent activity, rather subordinate to politics. Therefore the causes of war must be political. He put forth the idea that war occurs when the normal politics and diplomacy fails. We need to understand here that what 'political' meant according to him. Does political include state activities only or something more than state and also away from state? Mansbach and Rhodes opined that Clausewitz's view on war is monopolized by states and advocates avoiding harm to civilians. His "trinitarian" conception of war is not relevant today. Vasquez (1993) criticised the concept of *force*

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[3]Encyclopædia Britannica. 2009. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 21 Jan. 2009 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/635532/war>.

in Clausewitz's definition by arguing that it is not a better scientific conceptualization. Another problem with his definition is the pre-conception of *enemy* before thinking of war. In international politics we cannot have such pre-decided *friends and enemies* and what matters is interest. These deficiencies make Clausewitz's definition inadequate for my study.

Hedley Bull (1977) is another scholarly name in the study of war who defines war as "organized violence carried out by political units against each other". This definition of Bull seems more appropriate than Clausewitz in the sense that it talks about organized violence which differentiates it from other forms of violence in the sense that it is not random and immediate but focussed and directed (Vasquez, 1993: Pg.25), which is different from the interpersonal violence. Also, the concept of *violence* differentiates it from other conflicts as conflict is wider in scope. Bull's theory talks about the involvement of political units in war which can be other than state. Bull argues that only political organizations participate in war and not the economic organizations. Economic organizations compete with each other in the way very different from war. I have found this argument of Bull problematic in the sense that he has ignored the wars which took place between colonial powers for economic reasons primarily to capture the recourses. War for economic reasons has a longer history and continues since the evolution of humans. Identity conflicts and war for prestige have also dominated the international arena. Vasquez criticises Bull that his definition does not talk about the aim of war which constitutes the most important element of war.

The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (First published on Feb. 4, 2000and revised on Jul. 28, 2005) conceptualise war as "an actual, intentional and widespread armed conflict between political communities". Here also war is taken as a phenomenon which can occur between political communities. A political community is defined by it as 'entities which either are state or intend to become state'. On the ground of intention it has described terrorists' organization as association of people with political purpose. But can we claim that all the terrorist activities are intended to have a state? What then can be said about their global network and what do we mean by global terror? Webster's dictionary defines war as "a state of usually open and declared armed hostile conflict between states and nations", which again restrains war up to inter-state conflicts and limits its genesis to

the formation of states. What about the clashes between the tribal groups and wars for nation-states which were organized and open?

Malinowski in 1941 has used war in the sense of "an armed contest between two independent political units, by means or organized military force, in pursuit of a tribal or national policy". But his conception by invoking "independent political unit", has excluded many wars of anti-colonial, liberation and genocides. Also the goal of war described is very narrow and limited to tribal or national policy. Cicero defines war as "contention by force". This was further criticized by Grotius on the ground that 'war is not a contest but a condition'. He adds that, "war is the state of contending parties considered as such". He explained war as a legal condition between juridical equals that is declared and which regulate the way those contending be armed forces may behave (Vasquez, P. 18). He gave an institutional definition of war governed by a set of principles different from normal international law. Thus, according to him war is an institution within the existing system with some legal backing. This legal character of war differentiates war from other forms of conflicts and violence in the view of Grotius. Thomas Hobbes meant war as "a state of affairs, which may exist even while its operations are not continued". Parsons commented that "in its most general sense war is the use of physical weapons and forces in a conflict that may be expressed without the use of such weapons and forces".

Most of the political definitions of war have discussed that for war to take place, there needs to be evidence of fighting which should be conducted by organized groups in which one party at least should be a state or a political community. States came into existence more clearly after the Westphalian Summit. So, should we assume that before that there was no war as such? How would we characterise what is going on in the contemporary world, for example Democratic Republic of Congo, in which state is either not a party or having a very limited role, is not war?

Alexander Moseley has given a working definition of war as "a state of organized, open ended, collective violence". If we go through analysing the changing meaning of security and changing nature of war since primitive to modern wars which Kaldor and others call 'New Wars', Alexander's definition will be more appropriate to use, as it does not bind us to state-centric wars, neither with causes and goals to be political in nature. War is organized and not immediate like street fights and

interpersonal violence. War is also open-ended in the sense that the outcome of war must not be pre-decided. It generally occurs when both parties are having parity in terms of power and not if one party is much stronger and in a condition of winning the war. It is a collective and not a personal clash. Further the use of conflict expands its scope to include non-violent hostilities. This definition claim war to be a series of battles but more then it; wars which exist without actual battles occurring, without declarations, rules and morality. In my work I have taken this as a working definition of war.

There is a lot of debate regarding how to differentiate war with other forms of hostilities. A famous saying goes on that there is nothing between war and peace (Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis*). Many times armed conflict is used interchangeably with war. Evan Luard explains how any conflict can be differentiated from war. He claims that for any conflict to qualify as war there must be a substantial measure of organization on both sides. Further, there must be a significant degree of fighting and the engagement in such fighting must be sustained over a period. On these ground he concludes that the march of an army unopposed towards enemy's territory will not come under war, neither villa coup d' 'etat.

Those who differentiate war with armed conflict have their reasons. Internal wars are different from the inter-state wars and armed conflict should be used for internal armed conflicts. But this basis of differentiation has many flaws like entities which are not states can also wage wars, and it is a traditional and inaccurate notion of state as the only war waging machinery. Another problem of using the term "armed conflict" is that which one is larger: war or armed conflict. In today's world politics, then armed conflict is more frequent than war, if we are taking this difference into account. Therefore when we are admitting that there are units other than states to wage wars, this type of differentiation will only create confusion.

Terrorism and civil strife's has been explained as another form of violence different to war. But, there is no clear definition of terrorism, so it is hard to draw a distinction between the two. First we need to define what exactly terrorism is? State, Non-state actor's differentiation is not useful in this regard also, because in some cases states get involved in sponsoring terrorist activities. Also, many times state defines the group as terrorists who are in the process of waging fresh formation. Thus

in my view, terrorism itself is not different from war, but another manifestation of it. As Ingrid Deter remarked, "all types of war are fought by individuals with different allegiances to different entities and these entities are not always state".

Theoretical debates related to War:

There are many contending theories related to the origin, causes and conduct of war. There are theories which offer prescriptions to end warfare and to establish lasting peace. In my work, I would discuss major approaches to the study of war: Realism, Liberalism, Marxism and Constructivism. Realism regards war as an inevitable feature of international politics. Arthur Koestler (1978) remarked that, "the most persistent sound which reverberates through man's history is the beating of war drums" (quoted in Sandra L.Bloom, 1997:16). They view that seeds of war is found in human nature which is unchanging. Hobbes commented that in absence of a governing authority human life was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". The ceaseless desire to power leads human being to go for war with others. So the establishment of an all powerful sovereign will help to create order and justice in the state of nature and will end war. Waltz, in his writing, "Man, State and War" opined that the important causes of war are found in the nature and behaviour of man. Wars results from the selfishness and misdirected aggressive impulse of human beings. As the nature of human beings remained unchangeable, warfare is a constant recurrence of human existence. Morgenthau recognized that due to the competition on scarce goods and absence of arbiter, struggle for power occurs. He is of the view that "desire for power" is the root cause of all types of war. Thus, 'desire', according to these scholars are an important driving force for war.

Most of the realist explanations hold the position that war and peace in international politics occur due to change in the distribution of capabilities. Mearsheimer draws upon the structural realism to analyse the change in international politics. He takes the case of Europe to contend that it had enjoyed peace in past forty-five years because of two reasons: bipolarity and presence of nuclear weapons. He had warned that withdrawal of USSR and United States will restart war and other crisis in the continent. War, according to him is less likely in bipolar system than under multipolar one. He talks about the conflict dyads, which is greater in multipolar system, compared to bipolar system and opined that to deter the conflicts is easier in

the second one than the first. He is also of the view that nuclear weapons tend to cause peace because states are less likely to go for nuclear war as it risks their very survival.
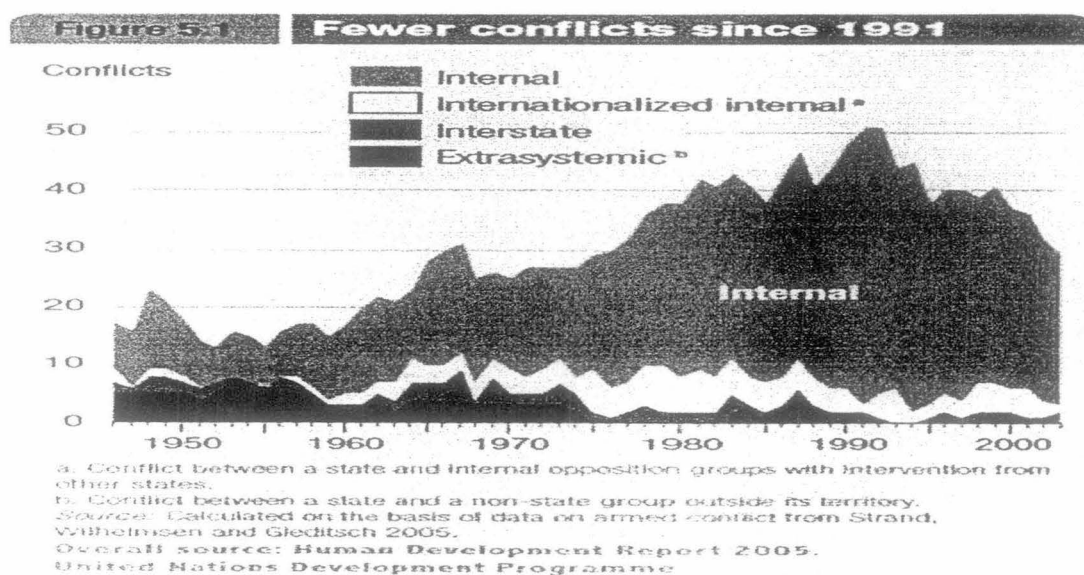
Realists from Thucydides, Hobbes to Morgenthau build their theory on two core assumptions; anarchy rules in international arena and states like human being are rational actors. Thus they see war as an act of rationality in which two contending actors fight for a rational goal and they fight only when they see the act of war as more fruitful than the expenditure and destruction caused. They select the most efficient mean to achieve their goal in which warfare is considered as one of them. The goal varies from the issue of survival to universal domination.

The Realist approach of war has been criticised by liberals who believe in the goodness of human nature and in their tendency to cooperate to extend peace and development of all. They advocate individual freedom, and according to them peace is a necessary condition for it. War, according to them, should be fought only to preserve peace and freedom. They believe that liberal states, having liberal institutions works to maintain freedom and peace in international arena. Democratic peace theory explains how and why democracies do not go for war. John Owns (1994) in his article, "*How Liberalism Produce Democratic Peace*", writes that liberal principles and democratic processes work together to make war between democracies virtually impossible. In liberal democratic states, citizens used to have their hold on war making decisions. As individual everywhere want peace and progress, they hardly decide to ruin it. Regan, in his speech of 1982 before British parliament, stated that governments founded on respect of individual liberty exercise restraint and peaceful intention in their foreign policy. Liberals argue that democratic states share some norms common to all which helps them to maintain peace.

The critics of democratic peace theory however say that this argument of democratic peace theorists is not supported by any empirical data and there are many examples of democracies going for war, for instance war of 1812, U.S. civil war, World War I between Germany on one side and France and Britain on other side. Layne have remarked that there is no evidence that democracies avoided war because of any shared norms. They act, behave and decide policies on the calculations of their national interests. Mansfield, Snyder, Layne and others remarked that many times attempts to spread democracy raises the risk of war. Also the newly democratic states are more war-prone than other forms of state. Democratic peace theorists reply to it

that war between liberal democracies took place only when one state does not see the other as democratic. Owen explains that the cases discussed by critics: Franco-American crisis, Anglo-American crisis of 1803-12, 1861-65, and 1895-96, broke out only when one conflicting party see other to be less democratic or undemocratic.

Liberal-Institutionalists gave another explanation of war. Locke was the first liberal who had advocated the establishment of state to ensure protection of life, liberty and property of individual and deter conflict turning to war. State establishes order and justice in internal arena and thus reduces the chances of war existing during the state of nature. In similar way, establishment of supra-state institutions will help in restraining the inter-state wars. Keeping this view in mind, the liberal institutionalists have advocated, from time to time, establishment of international organisations. Kant talks about the formation of world federation to maintain peace in the arena of international politics. Woodrow Wilson's idea of League of Nations was based on the same view of establishment of a world forum where states can discuss and decide things in a peaceful way instead of going to war. Even before the World War I, Concert of Europe, Hague Conference and other such treaties of arbitration reflects this idea of establishment of international institutions for building peace. They give example of United Nations as a success to this idea which worked to reduce inter-state wars and broke up of any major war like the previous World Wars. Liberal institutionalists claim that empirical data collected after establishment of UN shows a sharp decline in inter-state conflict.

Figure 5.1 Fewer conflicts since 1991

a. Conflict between a state and internal opposition groups with intervention from other states.
b. Conflict between a state and a non-state group outside its territory.
Source: Calculated on the basis of data on armed conflict from Strand, Wilhelmsen and Gleditsch 2005.
Overall source: Human Development Report 2005.
United Nations Development Programme

(Source: Human Development Report 2005, United Nations Development Programme)

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But critics of this approach deny these claims of liberal-institutionalists. Mearsheimer, one of the advocates of Realism, argues that institutions sometimes matter, but there is little evidence that they can increase the chances of peace. War will be the constant feature of international politics because its structure will remain the same which they assume is anarchic. These international institutions have no bindings and pose no compulsion on states policy making decisions. National interest is the primary goal of states and whenever they find it harmful to follow international rules, they can quit. Also, liberals assume wrongly that states seek mutual gains and in this case they would go to cooperate. In practice, they evaluate the relative gains and if the relative gains for other party is more, they deny cooperating.

Keohane and Martin have tried to address these criticisms made by Realists. Institutional theory, they say, do not claim that institutions can prevent war irrespective of the structure of international politics but they provide a table to negotiate with each other and where other states can mediate to create restrain for going to war. This has been mistaken by Mearsheimer and others. Further, states may evaluate the relative gains of each other, but those conditions are very limited. In fact, an institution reduces the fear of unequal gains and in this way reduces the importance of relative gains. Liberal institutionalists claim that international institutions promote cooperation by sharing information with each, providing an arbiter between the contending parties and establishing international law which is applicable to all in same way. Adoption of norms and ideas acceptable to all and the idea of collective security can eliminate the chances of war.

Increasing trade and economic cooperation and interdependence have started debate related to globalization that whether increased social, political and economic linkages has influenced the occurrence of war. Globalization and peace theorists have explored this connection of war with globalization. According to them, interdependence in the international realm will lead to peace. Classical liberal economists like Adam Smith and Ricardo developed the idea that movements of the factors of production, technologies and sharing of knowledge will bring cooperation and peace. The advocates of economic liberalism are of the view that 'trade promotes peace'. Karl W. Deutsch (cited in Paul F. Diehl et al., 2005: 195) maintained that trade and other form of intercultural exchange would help foster the development of a 'sense of community', which makes the resort to violent forms of conflict resolution

increasingly unlikely. Polachek stated that globalization lowers the likelihood of armed violence between states because growing interdependence renders warfare more costly (Polachek, 1980). Norman Angell in his book, *The Great Illusion*, remarked that any attempt to war in times of great economic interdependence is an act of high irrationality. Thus, the basic argument related to this school is that states try not to initiate conflict against a trading partner for fear of losing gains from trade and other exchanges.

This thought can be criticised on many factual and theoretical grounds. The colonial wars were fought among the trading partners to gain total control on the . resources of those regions which were first the trading partners. Also the increasing interconnectedness among different regions and in different realms like social, political and economic, has given rise to new motives for war. The colonial and imperial wars are the outcome of the growing technological developments; knowledge sharing and flow in the factors of production. Dependencies theories highlighted this negatives interdependence in the arena of trade and culture. Increasing penetration for the search of market through transnational and multinational corporations causes economic imbalance and social inequality as those who are more powerful economically and politically gain profit and the dependent regions suffers. Africa is a good example of this kind of interdependence where the developed world invest for purely profit motive and exploit its resources by making no gain for that region. Hirschman shows the negative consequence of asymmetric dependence, which supports that symmetric ties may promote peace but asymmetric interdependence creates conflict and tensions. Waltz claims that this cannot be denied that '...close interdependence nears closeness of contact and raises the prospect of occasional conflict' (Waltz, 1979: 138).

Marx and Engels have advanced the view that capitalism and free trade would result in class warfare. They alleged that the contradictory elements of capitalism will push the world towards a global tension which will result in a war between oppressors and oppressed. Search for new market will be another reason for the occurrence of war. According to them, in primitive societies, everyone was enjoying freedom and there was common ownership of means of production. According to the Marxist explanation, early humans evolved some three million years ago out of a highly evolved species of *ape*. Slowly primitive "*humans*" moved away from the forests and

into the plains. To survive they had to develop their only resources which were their hands and brain. Through trial and error, humans learned various skills, which had to be handed down from one generation to another. Communication through speech became a vital necessity. As Engels explained, "mastery over nature began with the development of the hand, with labour, and widened man's horizon at every new advance". Men and women were social animals forced to bond together and co-operate in order to survive. Unlike the rest of the animal kingdom, they developed the ability to generalise and think.

Labour begins with the making of tools. With these tools, humans change their surroundings to meet their needs. "The animal merely uses its environment," says Engels, "and brings about changes in it simply by his presence; Man by his changes makes it serve his ends, masters it. This is the final, essential distinction between Man and other animals, and once again it is labour that brings about this distinction." For many thousands of years, private property did not exist. Everything that was made, collected, or produced was considered common property. Between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago, a new higher period emerged and instead of roaming for food, advances were made in cultivating crops and domesticating animals. Men and women became free to settle in a particular place and as a result new tools were fashioned to assist the new work, and a food producing economy was created. But this does not caused the birth of private property and there was no private family. With the development of the productive forces, inequality began to appear within society. For the first time, men and women were able to produce a *surplus* above and beyond their own needs, resulting in a revolutionary leap forward for humanity. The production of a surplus brought change in the old forms of society, making a class division. The existence of these classes required an apparatus of force to subject one class by another. Rich and poor, landowner and tenant, creditor and debtor all made their appearance in society

Some people started capturing the resources with the help of their might, which initiated conflict. State is the product of such attempt in which the "haves" seek to dominate and decide the course of government to their own benefit. Marx remarked that the state is the tool of oppression in the hands of bourgeoisie and all wars had been fought basically to capture more and more resources. In the international arena as well, the rich and powerful states dominate and exploit the poor and weak. Capitalism has created conditions for continued exploitation. The policies of

capitalism are determined by class interests, profits, privilege and the preservation of the standing of the capitalist class. The influence today to go for war is due to the influence of capitalism. War is a move by capitalism in its quest for markets. All the colonial wars after the Industrial Revolution were motivated by the control of raw materials and capturing the market of new regions by European colonial powers. War in Iraq is considered as an U.S. attempt to control the oil resources of that country. This, according to Marxists, provokes the oppressed to start war against exploitation, injustice and suppression. Marxism was the first important theory to advocate the trans-national linkage of the exploited against capitalism. They opined that in the realm of domestic politics, state, due to such revolutions will wither away. And an egalitarian society will be established in which, like the early communism, means of production will be distributed to each according to their need.

Marxism has been criticised by others that it gives a false conception for the establishment of peace. As we see that with the advent of capitalism, people and states have come closer to cooperate with each other. Liberal institutionalists view establishment of institutions like state and other international organizations as a remedy for war, which is contrary to the Marxist conception of institutions. Also capitalism has helped in reducing poverty and other problems related to it. Marxist conception of society involves the authority over the means of production is also not very clear as in a liberal democratic system it is the people who decides the matters related to themselves. Also, there are many examples which show that material gains or capturing the means of production is not the primary goal of contesting parties. War in Rwanda, Iraq, Yugoslavia, Palestine and other such regions are having either cultural motive, ethnic issues or other identity problems. Thus, Marxism has failed to take into account the nature of war, mainly after the end of cold war.

Constructivism as an approach is a useful theoretical lens to describe war in changing context. They discuss the true nature of things such as collective violence, war, class, gender, and racial issues as outcome of norm and ideas. They opined that when agents like individuals, groups, or nations and events are contextualized in a normative and material structure it becomes easier to understand and evaluate cooperation or conflict among them. For example, rebellious behaviour may be better understood in the context of a corrupt, insensitive, oppressive, and patrimonial behaviour of power elite in a situation of resource scarcity and economic deprivation.

The goal is to examine human behaviour of cooperation or conflict in an effort to understand it. A violent event can only be understood if it is analysed in relation to other meaningful events. That meaning can be found in structures. In this sense constructivism develops an understanding based on the grounds very different from realism and liberalism but it does not give any contradictory view against these theoretical understandings. Understanding implies a profound and complex appreciation of the phenomenon (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001). For example, in order to understand group rebellion, one must get a sense of the rebels taking place worldview and their motivation within a normative-material social structure. Similarly, to achieve peace and human security after a long and brutal civil war, we needed to look into the normative and intersubjective beliefs that constructed the interests and identities of key actors during the civil war.

Constructivists explain events and issues on the assumption that actors are shaped by the socio-cultural environment in which they grow and live. Whereas materialist theories such as Realism, Liberalism, or Marxism take interests and identities for granted, Constructivists are preoccupied with their origin and change. Constructivists try to go beyond description to an understanding of constitution of things in order to explain how they behave and what causes political outcomes (Wendt, 1998). For instance, an understanding of how issues such as sovereignty, human rights, and laws of war, peacekeeping/peacebuilding, or bureaucracies are constituted demands an understanding of their effects in both international relations and internal politics. An obvious task for Constructivist empirical research related to peacebuilding is to establish that norms and the social structures are critical to the realization of human security. Various social structures could show how individual and group interests, self understandings, and behaviour relate to demobilization, identity politics, or post-war reconciliation activities. Constructionists have produced empirical studies showing how "global culture" shaped national policies, especially the policies of developing nations in different arenas. 'Constructivism is not only limited to the influence of norms and social understandings on different actors (individuals, groups, and states), it also investigates why they often had different influences on different actors (agents)' (Checkel, 1998). Thus, we need to understand the effect of global norms on war making and how domestic and global norms affect each other to comply with each other.

Analysing the above explanation of Constructivism we can derive that war according to constructivists is not something innate but is the result of constructed social, economic and political structures in the realm of both, the domestic and international spheres. Thus war is constructed and not rooted in the intrinsic nature of humans as discussed by Realists. To end war, we need to change these structures. Constructivists thus emphasises on the development of such norms which will lead toward the establishment of peace.

All the above theories explain one or another aspect of war and the causes of its occurrence and thus, have a partial view. Realism considers human nature as the root cause of war and hold the opinion that it is a rational mean to get what one wants, whether at the individual or state level. Liberals however are of the view that it's the lack of a machinery of cooperation and negotiation which give birth to war. War is not intrinsic in human nature and humans tend to establish peaceful relation with each other. Thus, cooperation and interdependence will lead to establishment of peace. But they ignore the biological and psychological tendencies of humans and also their aim to be most powerful. They cannot deny Realists explanation of humans as power-hungry. Marxist suggested the emergence of private property and fight to capture more wealth and means of production as the primary cause of war. But they have ignored the Realist and Liberal explanations. Constructivists lack the same when they gave an exclusive view different from the others for the occurrence of war. Any study of war needs to take into accord all these theories to develop a holistic approach to war given that it is a dynamic phenomenon.

Contextual understanding of War:

Any contextual understanding of war requires the understanding of its nature and character because war is seen as a continuous phenomenon but at the same time we see difference in primitive warfare and the wars of the modern era. Clausewitz's study revealed that wars do not have a single pattern. He remarked that, 'each era had its own kinds of war, its own limiting conditions, its own biases' (Echevarria II, 2007: pg 61). There is a long debate on the nature and character of war. Some scholars, like Clausewitz, John Keegan and Martin Von Creveld contend that war has no specific nature and it takes the form and motive that societies and culture lend it. According to them war changes it nature and character with change in context. The earlier wars

were different from contemporary wars and it will differ from wars of the future. The effect of intensified globalization process as and developments in technology redefines the nature and scope of war. There are others who reject this assertion of change and hold the view that no matter how much technology can change, the nature of war does not change fundamentally. Every future war would tend to demonstrate the same basic characteristics: mass mobilization, ideological motivations and ruthless prosecution (Charls Townshend et al., 2000: 24). Both views are partial in the sense that it ignores the static and dynamic characters of war. In each war, what Clausewitz has mentioned as objective characters: chance, hostility and purpose, remains present and each war is characterised by violence, uncertainty, danger and physical exertion. Nevertheless, progress in science and technology, the industrialization of military transport, invention of aircrafts, missiles and nuclear bombs have changed some of the character of war.

Williamson, in his article writes, "history, writ large, still represents the best available laboratory mankind possess for understanding the future". This applies in every field of knowledge and is tool for searching the solutions of present problems. In case of war, to understand the current and future course of conflicts, we need to go to the contextual understanding of war. War has been discussed by scholars and its course has been explained in many ways. There is great deal of discussions regarding the origin of warfare which can be broadly divided into two: war started since the pre-historic ages and other view is that it is the feature of age of civilization.

Some takes the stand that warfare is very old phenomenon and existed in human history since the dawn of humans on this earth and it is an intrinsic value found in the nature of mankind. Thus, they discuss war as natural. Human nature, as many scholars, since Thucydides and Hobbes till Waltz and others argue, is unpredictable, intractable, and unchanged. Thucydides noted that when he wrote his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, "it will be enough for me, if these words of mine are judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past and which will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future" (Richard Crawley, 2004). Conflict remains a part of human landscape since the evolution of mankind as Clausewitz remarked that uncertainty, chance, and friction will inevitably and perniciously influence the course of human

evolution. War remains one of the most important and oldest issues in the realm of international politics. Toynbee suggests that war has been the cause of downfall of all previous civilizations.

Azar Gat in his writing, *"War in Human civilization"* remarks that in anthropological literature, the concept of 'primitive war', which makes no distinction between hunter–gatherers and pre-state agriculturalists, is commonly used to describe 'original' warfare. It is Rousseau's conception of aborigines which has been advocated by the anthropologists. According to Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origins and Foundation of Inequality among Mankind* (1755), aboriginal humans lived generally harmoniously in nature, peacefully exploiting her abundant resources. Only with the coming of agriculture, demographic growth, private property, division of class and state coercion, claimed Rousseau, did war, and all the other ills of civilization, came into picture. The anthropologists argues that peoples of the most basic social organization—hunter–gatherers—some, if not most, of them engaged in warfare. However, it was not supported by all anthropologists. Many of them have given theories that denied intraspecific killing among animals and by the apparent absence of warfare among some extant among hunter–gatherer peoples the Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, the Hadza of east Africa, and the Pygmies of central Africa. These anthropologists have held that, because hunter–gatherers were thinly spread, supposedly untied to a territory, and held few possessions, they did not engage in fighting. Warfare has been assumed to have come later, with the coming of agriculture and the state. Azar Gat remarked, "Evidence suggests that hunter–gatherers in their evolutionary natural environment and evolutionary natural way of life, shaped in humankind's evolutionary history over millions of years, widely engaged in fighting among themselves. In this sense, rather than being a late cultural 'invention', fighting would seem to be, if not 'natural', then certainly not 'unnatural' to humans".

Many pre-historians consider that violent clashes between two groups had taken place during the Paleolithic period[4]. Leroi-Gourhan opined the same that hunting and warfare form a part of human behaviour and warfare is only an extension of this. War, according to him, is natural and is a form of "man hunting" (Guilaine

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[4] The history of human evolution has been categorized in many ways like: pre-historic, historic and post historic (which we call modern). Paleolithic is the pre-historic age of human evolution.

and Zammit: 2005). Clastres critics the view by claiming that biological and natural factors cannot explain social behaviour. Warfare is a human and cultural phenomenon which means it is an innovated and hence acquired behaviour, not innate. There is distinction between hunting and war, even if both are viewed as acts of aggression. Hunting is acquired to nourish them and guided by the biological need of humans, whereas warfare is not an act of 'cannibalism'[5]. "Primitive warfare is not linked in any way to hunting; it is not deeply rooted in the reality of man as a species, but rather in the social being of primitive society. The universality of primitive warfare indicates that it is cultural not natural" (Castres). The vast quantity of literature existing supports this view of origin of warfare.

Boulding (1965) is of the view that war is essentially a phenomenon of the age of civilization. It is associated with the development of cities as Neolithic villages, which had preceded the development of cities seems to be peaceful with unwalled and undefended archaeology. With the coming of civilization in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, cities became walled and protected. Even the oldest cities like Sumer and Jericho were war prone and having defensive structure. War, therefore, according to Boulding is the property of civilized conditions. The instability of empire, the instability of peace and the cyclical stability of war compose the constant theme of whole age of civilization from 3000 B.C. to the present time.

Keeley compares pre-historic wars with the civilized wars and tries to show that warfare during the pre-state population was more bloody and extensive than contemporary wars. He had given some significant data of the death rate of tribal populations like: 32.7 percent among Jivaro, 20.9 percent among Venezuelan Yanomami-Shamatari and around 18.6 percent among Papua New Guinea. Compared to this, only 2 percent were killed during western European wars of seventeenth century (Guilaine and Zammit: 2005). Primitive societies, thus we can see, were war-like, as wars were more frequent in them and it forms the very fabric of these societies.

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[5] Cannibalism is an act in which humans used to eat human flesh or eating the animals by the member of their own species. It was derived from the Carib Indians, discovered by Christopher Columbus of West Indies. The practice of cannibalism is found in many parts of the world like, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Sumatra, New Guinea.

Thus we see that war has remained a global phenomenon found in all human societies since pre-historic period but war itself was not globalized and its scale was limited to small groups which we call tribal groups. With the development of civilization wars became more organized and further lead the society to be organized to secure it from threats. This helped in the formation of state and rise of permanent armies under an organized governmental system. As these societies came in contact with each other with the intensification in the forces of globalization, scale of war extended from small region to larger one. With the discovery of new lands of America, Asia and Africa and coming together of the people of different continents, changes occurred in the motive of warfare.

To make the study on war more convenient we can discuss war in different time, tones and spaces and can divide it in many phases: prehistoric or primitive age, age of civilization, age of expansion, colonial and imperial age, age of nationalism, age of decolonization and self determination and contemporary age.

Primitive age:

There is very less literature on the issue of pre-historic societies and war. One thing is clear from the above discussion that even in pre-historic societies war existed. The prehistoric wars turned into primitive wars with the evolving interaction among humans of different groups. A more organized form of warfare started with the organization of society which took place with the advent of agriculture and permanent settlement of humans. This we call primitive age which has evolved through a vast period of time with greater social organization and much organized wars. Primitive people can be understood as a community which works on oral or wordily orders and memories and customs were the source of laws which passes from one generation to another. 'Primitive war is organized armed conflict between members of relatively small, stateless societies' (vayda, 1968). In this age wars were fought for biological, psychological and social motives. Wright argued that the military goal of primitive societies primarily involved maintaining "the solidarity of the political group and secondarily satisfying certain psychic needs of human personality" (cited in Lawerence H. Keeley, 1997: 8). While it was also based on humans biological and psychological instincts, primitive wars were more than just the responses based on human instincts. It involved not only more developed tactics and articulated actions

but agreements among warring parties, which differs from the earlier warfare. With the arrival of civilization complicated tactics began to appear and fighting groups increased in size, became more disciplined, more determined and more destructive. Primitive wars are also characterised by ritualised form of warfare in which warfare involves not only combat but magic and rules related to initiation of combat, burial and so on. Some rituals are still followed by the warring parties as norms of war which continued since then and shows that some human beliefs do not change with modernity or post modernity.

With the increase in population and advent of agriculture which had ended the human life as homeless wanderer, importance of territory was realized. This started the drawing of boundaries by the tribal groups, trespassing of which resulted in conflict and war. In Australia and Tasmania the commonest cause of war between aboriginals was killing game on the lands of other tribes (stevens, 2004, pg. 67). Wars also took place for the possession of grazing grounds. Davie (1929) claimed that 'groups come directly into conflict in carrying on their struggle for existence; they fight over hunting and grazing grounds, for food, for watering places, for plunder.' Thus, emergence of territoriality gave a new sense to humans in terms of cultural development and security. It moved from hunter to herder to agriculturalist and then to citizen of that territory. Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1979) remarked that, "territoriality is space-related intolerance ...the inhabitants of a territory enjoy a number of advantages. They know their way about it, they are familiar with its hiding places and watering places and where food is to be found, and know where to take refuge when danger threatens. In short they feel secure in it." These developments of territorial boundaries, however, do not cause only separation of one tribal group with another but also developed a common agreement among them to realize that a piece of land belonged to a particular tribe and therefore not interfering in each other's territory. Tribes get more organized and to defend their land they developed new techniques of warfare.
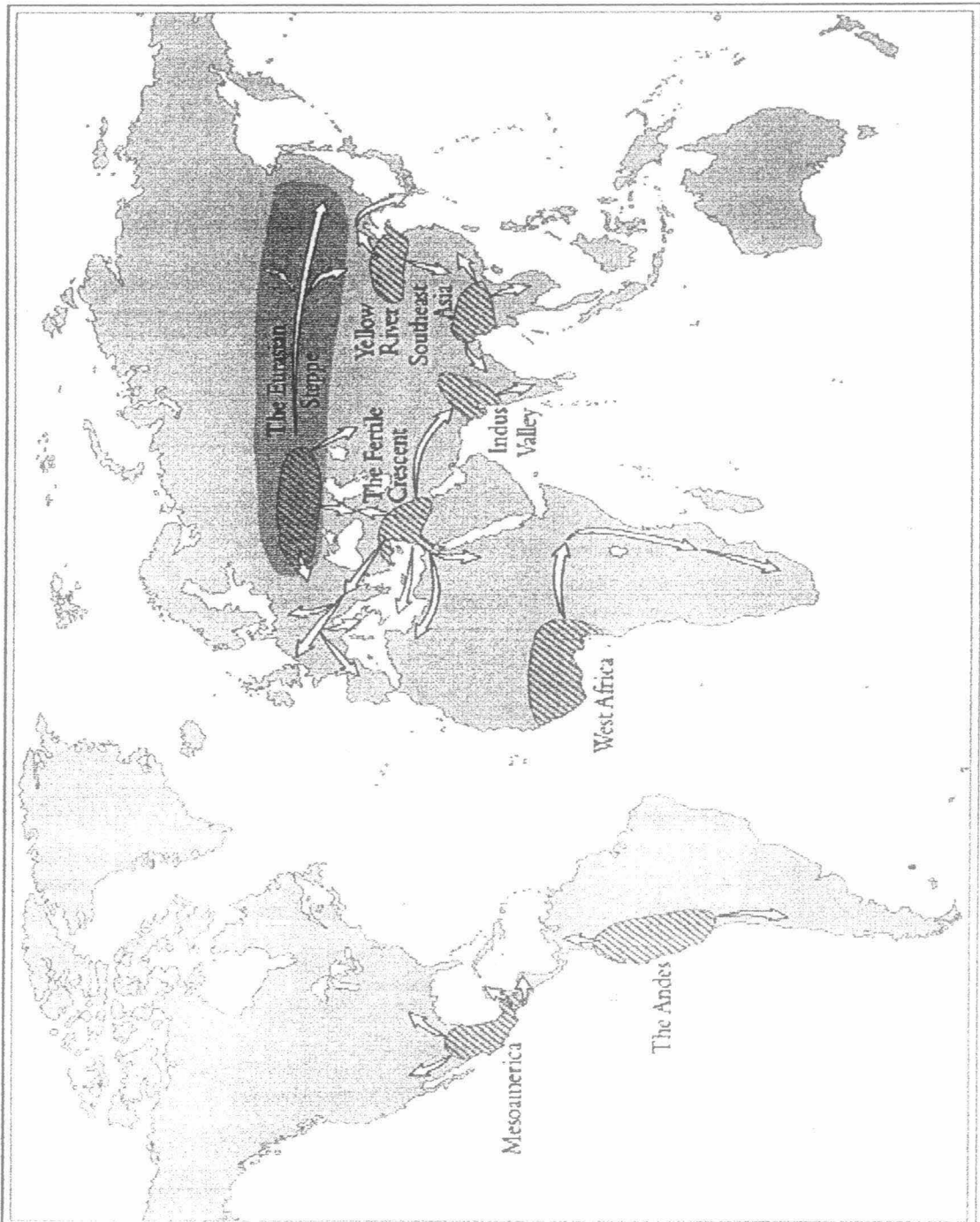
Origin and spread of agriculture and the state (major centres)

(Source: Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization,* P.158)

Thus, we see that intercommunication among humans led to the development of new ideas and technologies with changing time and space and paved the way for progress in science and invention. Primitive wars established the idea of territorial boundaries which brought the change in the motive and character of warfare and idea of state formation developed.

Age of formation of political organizations:

The Life of hunter gatherers had transformed tribal groups which led to an institutionalized interconnection among people. Production and accumulation of resources and wealth created social differentiation and intensified conflicts. Power was recognized as the major source of prestige and richness. Modes of communication and development of shared beliefs created new aspects of identity. Human communities became larger and more complex. The threat to war grew and organization for war became important instrument to gain prestige, power and wealth. Struggle for existence and fear for security of life and property encouraged social integration and disciplined armies under a common leadership. The advancement of societies, division of labour and advent of order expanded wars organization and intensification. Davie (1929) stated that 'Rude societies undergo remarkable changes when war converts the unordered populace into a disciplines army under a leader with powers of life and death.' With the achievement of permanent control over a territory to support the people living on that geographical area, permanent governing bodies were formed. Intra-group power relations were formed where chiefs were having the power to extract wealth to ensure the security of life and property of the people from outside danger and to maintain order and justice within the group. There are evidences of tribal assemblies in pre-state period which became less significant as the chiefs now endeavour to become king. Caesar in his book "The Gallic War" observed the transformation of Celtic society. He stated that, 'the more powerful chiefs... commonly endeavoured to make themselves kings' (Gat 2006: 212, war in human civilization).

This concentration of power to a single person or group of persons became more institutionalized. Individual leader with the assistance of its companions gained much influence and hierarchy in power relations among society was established. Orders and rules became compulsory and get the backup by the leader to get enforced. Process of formation of state started with it. This process of state building and state expansion was based on coercion and domination of one over the other. It led to the recurrence of war where warring parties came in contact with each other and with the victory of one the other party submitted to the will of first to accept its socio-cultural

and political traits. This process of domination and submission created more unified form of government with emergence of a political centre with more centred and organized machinery.

With time states were formed with a single head like the states of Greek, Rome and European states and age of dynasties started where intra-dynastic and inter-dynastic wars were continuous in existence. Evan Luard argues that the domestic struggles were more in this age where families were competing with each other for power in territory. He presented the case of France (war between Bourbon, Berry, Burgundy and Orleans), England (between Beaufort, Gloucester, York and Lancaster), Germany (between Luxemburg, Hapsburg, Wittelsbach and Hohenzollern) and Rome (between Borgia and colonna). Hundred Years war, Seven Years war and Thirty Years wars are example of such dynastic conflicts. Thus, the wars of this age were like the wars of semi-feudal age. It included conflicts over the issues of honour, right to succession and disputes over strategic and economic benefits. Towards the end of this period, these dynasties gradually acquired the character of more organised state and motives of war changes from personal honour and prestige to honour of state.

Wars of this age, thus, reflected the social and political structure of this age and these structures determined the motive of war.

Age of expansion (1400-1600)-

Mid 15th centuries can be characterised as the age of discoveries of new lands, technologies and ideas. At this time European sailors left their coasts to search for new lands and civilizations or what we can call 'in search of greater world'. The age of renaissance drove Europeans to new lands. These expeditions had the basic motives of willingness to know other civilizations, religious curiosity and also economic benefits. The advent of magnetic needle, new sea routes, and new mediums of transport, printing press, advanced military technologies like gun power, and other fire arms intensified such expeditions and also brought revolution in the internal administration of the states to make it more organized and efficient. Age of renaissance also brought religion in question and conflict arises between the religious and political heads in which political head won and religion became subordinate to politics. The notion of secular states was introduced and states became the sole master

to control the use of military power against each other. Now the main goal of states was expansion of its territory, power and prestige. Most of the wars of these periods were war of expansionism. War became the norm of interstate relations not in Europe only but also in Asia and Africa also, for example: at that time in India Muslim Sultanate was trying to capture the regions of North and Central India which were under Rajput rulers.

Cultural wars were other important characteristics of this period. The new forces of globalization help to know people of distant lands about different cultures living apart from their land. This discovery of different cultures as a result of voyages of Europeans created different warfare on cultural ground. Conflict between Christianity and Islam, between Mughal Empire and Hindu polity are some examples of these cultural conflicts when one tried to transform the other according to their own culture forcefully. Mosques, Churches and Temples were demolished. Cultural differences brought ideological differences related to the ideas of justice, order, ideas of aggressor, and norms of war. Cultural differences also made it difficult for the warring parties to come for a compromise and negotiation. This stage also witnessed the intra-cultural conflicts like war among Islamic powers struggle between Mughals and war between protestant and Catholics during sixteenth century. Due to the difficulty in understanding language and codes of each other communication was difficult to establish. But this also caused two parties to learn to understand each other's language and culture. This created a sense of understanding and developed cross-cultural link. Borders of empires expanded to include different cultures under it. Ottoman Empire advanced in Europe, Hungary and Mediterranean. Republic of Venice was ready to settle disputes with Turks who ruled Christians and Muslim rulers extended their influence over a large part of Hindu territory.

New routes discovered by the European sailors also revolutionized the trade. Many wars of this time were because of the reason of disturbed trade relations, for example: Ming refusal to trade with the Mongols in mid sixteenth century, aggression by the Steppe on China to collect luxury goods, attacks on India by Turks, Afghan, Iranians and Mongols. But trade relations at that time were private affairs of merchants and state was not having its much hand. Wars to capture resources and to get trade benefits were limited.

Thus, the age of discoveries and expansion helped people of different zones to interact with each other either through trade or war. This age victimized the revolution in ideas, science and technologies and its direct influence was seen on society, politics, economy and military expeditions.

Age of colonialism and imperialism (1600-1788)-

Discovery of new lands and revolutionary developments in the means of transport and communication drove the powerful European states to get away from the regional and inter-state conflicts to the establishment of colonies to fulfil their need of raw materials, market and labour force. First these states came to interfere in the affairs of private traders of their state to protect and promote their interest in the newly discovered lands of Asia, Africa and America. Soon they realized the benefits of trade and richness of these unexploited regions and took direct political and economic control of the affairs of these regions from private hands. The major wars of this period were aimed to the establishment of colonies by the European powers. They had to fight with the existing powers of those states as well as their competitors in this race of capturing the colonies. For example, war between Dutch, French and English over the lands of Asian states.

This period saw limited wars in the sense that aim of warring parties was not to destroy the other party but to make it to submit before it. In case of colonial powers and colonised states, the first one needed the support of locales to administer the political and economic affairs as they were unknown to the social context of these regions. Also, they cannot mobilise so much manpower to these faraway lands. We have lot of historical evidences of appointment of aborigines of these lands at lower levels of administration. They also needed manpower to expand their military expeditions to new lands for which they recruited colonial population.

These colonial and imperial expansions were assisted to a great extent by the intensification in the forces of globalization like new inventions in technology, transport and communication. Steamships, telegraph, railways, telephone and other such inventions led to the development of colonial control. Advent of more advanced weapons gave extra- advantage to colonial powers over the developing regions. Strengthening of naval and air force was another factor which helped to control far away colonies.

The spread of European influence and control to the territories of other continents started the process of Europeanization which brought change in the cultural, social and political setup of these regions. Imperialist tendencies grew much stronger among the Europeans which led to the outbreak of war between Austria-Turkey (1664 and 1682) and Russia-Turkey (1735 and 1768), but they were not the only imperial powers. Lunda in Africa, Abyssinia and Mehmet Ali in Egypt, Mahdi in Sudan and in China, were the imperial powers other than European imperialism.

These imperial expansions helped in the assimilation of culture, political systems, ideologies, traditions and military arrangements of conqueror and conquered. This process of assimilation can be seen in Manchus, Ottomans and Mughals. European impearialism also showed such tendencies in case of North America and India. This spread of ideas and knowledge and colonial exploitation make the people of these lands aware about concepts of self-rule, democracy, secularism and they started demanding the establishment of these in their territory. An awareness of 'our land' and 'our people' developed in these colonial states. It fuelled the nationalist movements in America, Asia and African colonies.

Age of nationalism (1789-1945):

This age is regarded as peaceful period in Europe as in between 1815-54 and 1871-1914 major powers did not fight with each other. However this period witnessed the two major world wars. Wars of this period were fought for nationalist ends. French wars under the leadership of Napoleon, Prussian wars of 1864, 1866 and 1870, Russian wars in Bulgaria and Bosnia and three Balkan wars, all were fought with nationalist spirit. Most of the civil conflicts in Europe also resulted from revolution among national minorities, fighting for recognition of their national identities (Luard: 1986: 58). Luard gave an empirical understanding of wars of this period as he observed that out of 43 civil wars in Europe after 1815, 26 represented national uprisings like demands of national independence or for national unification. The 74 wars of colonisation were inspired to some extent by nationalist competition among European powers.

The two major world wars are also claimed to be based on nationalist line. Among many causes of world war first, nationalism was one of the primary cause. The assassination of Archduke was because of nationalist sentiments. Another

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reason was that Germany wasn't fully recognized by the other countries as a tough competitor, and the German people wanted to be a real force in world affairs. Second war was just the continuation of the First World War. In Germany, Right wing nationalist elements under a variety of movements, but most notably the Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler, sought to blame Germany's "humiliating" status on the Jews, whom it claimed possessed a financial stranglehold on Germany. To return the past glory of Germany, Hitler, with the support of other nationalist powers decided to go for war.

The colonial exploitation and introduction of new technologies by developed European states in the colonies of Asia, Africa and America helped the people to organise themselves against their suppression and for the establishment of their own state. This developed the idea of nationhood among them. The early period of 20th century can be characterised as the age of emergence of nationalism. The spread of European control also causes spread of ideas like democracy, self government and statehood. Violent resistances started in the regions of Africa, South Asia, Central Asia, China and America.

The motives of war in this age primarily related to the rise of nationalist sentiments. An increasing consciousness of nationality based on shared identities and the demand of nationhood helped in the emergence of a new kind of war. Europeans fight wars in their continent for establishment of nation- states and outside their continent to increase their national pride. With the independence of North America, a new hope and demand for the establishment of nation-states emerged in other parts of world. People of shared identities had the motive to free themselves from the rule of foreigners. However, till 1914 a few numbers of colonies get independent. The process of decolonisation intensified only after the Second World War.

Age of decolonization and self determination (1945-1990):

With the spread of western ideas and knowledge and weakening of European powers in two world wars, demand of self- government and independence raised in colonial states. The intensified revolutions and war for independence made it hard for Europeans to rule further. The demand for decolonization started with the independence of America but it get intensified only after Second World War with the

weakening of colonial powers. Until nineteenth century decolonisation was limited to resisting the advancement of further establishment of colonies. After the Second World War, major colonial states stood against the suppression of the imperial powers. After Second World War large number of colonies achieved their independence. Thus the major wars of this period were war for decolonization. This decolonization process opened a new window of cooperation among the various regions as the colonies were supporting each other against colonialism and imperialism. African war for independence and against discrimination was supported by the countries of Asia and America. Indian war for independence was assisted by America, and other states of Asia.

Another characteristic of this age was demand for self government not only against colonial powers but even within the newly independent states. Intra-state conflicts grew rapidly in these newly independent states on nationalistic grounds or on the basis of discriminatory policies. Indo- Pakistan conflict in 1947, Arab- Israeli war of 1948-9, civil war in Burma in 1948, civil war in Indonesia from 1950 to 1962, and war in Vietnam from 1959 are some examples of intra- state conflicts.

This age also saw war between two ideologies: communists and non-communists. However this war was limited to small powers supported by the bloc leaders. The two superpowers did not go for war, but took steps to increase their political and military cooperation. Establishment of NATO and the Warsaw pact were the culmination of such endeavours. The two blocks tried to extend their ideological influence rather than territorial control over other states. Nuclear weapons played major role to restrict the outbreak of war between the major powers.

With the disintegration of USSR and end of tensions in international arena related to the possibility of Third World War, focus of world community get shifted towards internal problems. Major technological developments in transport and communications and revolution in military organizations and arms with the advent of nuclear weapons have changed the nature of warfare. Trans-national links have created another kind of conflict in international politics characterised as clash of civilizations, identity conflict and terrorism.

Contemporary Age (1990-Till date):

It roughly starts with the decline of USSR as the world system became more unilateral with USA as an unchallenged superpower. This age is characterised by the decline in the number of interstate wars which had dominated the international arena since a long time. But with it another feature of it is rise in intra-state conflicts. Due to the advent of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, any chance of intervention of global or regional powers has declined as they recognised that the destructive capacity of these weapons would escalate war from rational gain to total destruction.

Identity conflicts are seen to acquire a new meaning after the intensification of capital, labour and knowledge flows. Outsourcing has emerged as a new source of conflict. The migration of labour has engraved fear among the locals of erosion of their own culture and loss of jobs. Kaldor (2006) observed that the new identity politics arises out of disintegration or erosion of modern state structure, especially centralised, authoritarian states. Collapse of communist states and decline of welfare states in more advanced industrial states provides the environment in which new forms of identity politics are nurtured. Kaldor relates identity conflict with globalization.

Intra-state wars have challenged the notion of war as a phenomenon taking place between two sovereign states. It involves disintegration rather than integration of states like the case of Yugoslavia. Globalization has affected state building process of newly evolved state in such a way that war within societies and trans- has been promoted. The process of globalization has been intensified in such a way that it involves now integration and fragmentation, homogenisation and differentiation. Trans- national link has been established now more easily and speedily. Creation of multi-national and trans-national organizations has helped to develop new cultures. A set of socio-economic and cultural changes has taken place which has given war a different motive on cultural and economic grounds. Martin Van Creveld noted that war of contemporary period is nontritiniarian in nature where state authority has been diminished and political objective of conflict is not clear. Difference between civilian and soldiers has been blurred as some 80 percent of killed and wounded were civilians and only 20 percent were soldiers on active service (Munkler: 2005:14). Soldiers of war are hard to

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be identified because of the loosening of state control over use of force. Terrorist threat dominates the international arenas who are having their global networks. After the September 11 attack on USA by terrorist forces, the war against globalization achieved new heights and so is the act of terrorism. Successful terrorist attacks in London, Moscow, India and Pakistan shows growing power of these shadow organizations which is worrying the world.

Thus we see that changing military technologies and growing global connectedness has brought change in the social-economic and political environment of international politics which has influenced the nature and character of war and vice-versa. Contemporary wars are more complex than the preceding wars primarily because of the increasing complexity of the world polity today.

Conclusion:

This chapter has tried to answer a set of questions discussed at the onset related to war, its definition, theoretical debate to why wars happen and the contextual understanding of war as a phenomenon of world politics. There are still many unanswered questions. Since the collapse of Soviet Union the risk of nuclear war has receded between states, but what about the growing power of terrorist organizations equipped with modern technologies and weapons? What is the future of warfare? On what issues will future wars be fought and who will fight these? Questions such as these will be decided by the future course of international politics.

Scholars and opinion makers have observed that wars can be ended. In the present context it becomes quite necessary to end warfare otherwise it will end humankind. Establishment of United Nations was based on the primary motive of restraining any further wars. A lot of agreements and treaties have been signed to end wars, but contemporary wars fall outside the preview of existing treaties. An important issue related to contemporary wars is what course of action can be taken to end these local-cum-global wars? This is likely to determine for future intellectual engagements of war as an ongoing phenomenon.

Chapter- 3

War and Globalization

The twenty first century opened with the bloodiest wars that had taken place in human history. The large scale devastations in the two world wars confronted humanity with a fear of destruction of all humankind from the planet. Technological developments equipped humans with the capacity to eliminate and bring large scale destruction. Atomic bombs and nuclear weapons were the result of this technological development. The whole world was not involved in these wars but these were the first ever wars that had a global impact and thus, were termed aptly as 'World Wars'. Many causes were identified for these wars to take place and its consequences were much wider than those causes. For the first time, humanity realised how incidents that took place at one corner of the world could leave its impact on the larger globe. We can say that war was globalised and was accepted as a reality by everyone. This led to the establishment of International Organisations. These included most importantly the establishment of United Nations. After Second World War, protectionist policies adopted during the course of two World Wars has changed and world become more interconnected through these world organisations.

Another important incident in world politics took place on September 11, 2001, with an attack by the Al-Qaeda on the World Trade Centre in the USA. 'A group of well educated middle class men from Saudi Arabia and Egypt hijacked airliners and used them as weapons to attack the American power. This was planned in Afghanistan, Germany and the US, and was finance through international networks and broadcasted across the globe as a live action drama' (Bisley, 2007: 143). Once again the world was shocked. This attack on World Trade Centre was described as an attack on US hegemonic tendencies. The USA government called the world to unite against terrorism and a 'global war on terrorism' was launched. This has been described as the first major war of twenty-first century of globalization.

The two incidents are similar in the way that both had world repercussions. Major security concerns and questions arose after the two incidents and the world gathered at a common platform to discuss these concerns. However, the two incidents are very different in nature and character. The two world wars were between states

with some causes which were clear to those who were fighting and those watching. Their goal was also clear and defined. Whereas, in second case, one party in war is hidden and many of them are not very clear about what they are fighting for. The difference between combatants and non- combatants has been vanished and civilians has now are main targets of war. Hobsbawm (2002) presents a picture of this: only 5% of those who died in the two World Wars were civilians, however, this figure has increased to 66% now. He further adds that, this figure is supposed to be 80 to 90% civilian deaths in contemporary wars. There is no clear and defined goal of terrorists, who are a part of this war. All these affect the policies and strategy of the other party in war. The biggest problem with this global war against terrorism is that "the nature and parameters of the GWOT remain frustratingly unclear.....Sound strategy mandates threat discrimination and reasonable harmonization of ends and means" (Jeffery, Record, 2004). Hobsbawm (2002) also remarked that unlike traditional wars, these conflicts have non-negotiable ends. The confronting party on the point neither can negotiate nor can identify and destroy the enemy at all. We all know that a global network of terrorism exists, taking advantage of the contemporary interconnected world which is a consequence of more intensified forces of globalization. But it is becoming difficult to dig the roots of this networking. Thus, world terrorism is a result of globalisation.

The above two incidents are the example of interconnection between war and globalisation. The World Wars intensified the ongoing process of globalization by facilitating the world to have common security, political, social, economic and environmental concerns. Since 1945, interstate wars have moved out from world politics. However, the twenty first century world is witnessing the armed operations, not entirely in the hands of states. Whereas, global terrorist attacks and global war against terrorism is the result of more intensified process of globalization, which, according to scholars like Huntington and others, is due to the clash on differences over cultural, economic, social and political concerns. Nevertheless, we also need to focus that how the two world wars has influenced the course of future wars and the incident of 9/11 affect the course of globalization.

These two examples, which I have taken to show the interconnection between war and globalization, are from recent world history. A question will arise that is this interconnection new? If it is new than how new, and if otherwise then how old is it?

What are the common forces that drive both war and globalization? To answer these questions we need to look into the history of the interconnections between the two. As, both, war and globalization are the processes evolved since the start of human civilization, can we derive any interconnection between the two since that period? Wars have been fought for many reasons and to achieve different goals since the beginning of human history. In similar manner, globalization resulted to fulfil many of the needs of humans which cause them to come together. My main concern here is, how many wars have been fought to restrain the process of globalization and how wars have helped to intensify the process of globalization. As Bisley argues that 'war is subject to globalization as well as is a force which contributes to its ongoing dynamic' (2007: 137).

Other questions which I have deal in this part are: How globalization influences and get influenced by war? Has the intensity of war increased with more intensified globalization process? As, it is said that a lot of wars of contemporary age are the result of globalization process, like wars for identities, religious wars, cultural wars and so on and so far. However, in human history, there are many incidents when war resulted either to intensify the globalization process or against the intensification. In the subsequent section, I will analyse the central findings that emerges from this study.

Common Factors Driving War and Globalization:

War and globalization, both phenomena have a long drawn history of their development. During the course of their progress to what they today are understood, have combined a lot of forces. Both of these have some static elements because of which these phenomenons are still defined and described with the similar terms of 'War' and 'Globalization'. However, we cannot deny the dynamism which forms an important part of the two concepts. Richard Mc Cutcheon (2002) in his article, *The Iraq War as globalized war*, argues that, 'As with all human phenomena, war has elements which have been constant for centuries. War also has significant elements which are variable, mostly having to do with context, but not entirely. What needs to be repeated at the outset, because it is a central axiom, is that war constitutes a form of violence.' War, therefore changes in nature and character due to the dynamic elements, but does not change totally. Globalization has been intensified up to such a

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level that we can feel everything taking place in faraway lands within minutes. We are aware of events and react to it as if a local incident used to happen sometimes ago. Globalization has resulted in many wars in each era and now we are witnessing the war on terrorism and intra-state and transnational wars of identity and culture. Similarly, involvement of people in wars and interconnections which get established among them has promoted the process of globalization by promoting an understanding of each others.

Now, the query related to this interconnection is: what are the common forces which drive war and globalization so far. Wars reflect the technological and economic levels of development of their eras; their aims and manner of conduct provide an excellent means to access the political, economic and social priorities of the societies which fight (Bisley, 2007:136). Grey (1999) argues that the essence of war has not changed but the manner in which wars are fought have differed which is due to technological developments, shift in political priorities, forms of social organizations and change in the perceptions of moral worth (cited in Bisley, 2007). War technologies have changed and revolution in weaponry have played major role in this process. The development from Stone Age to nuclear age shows importance of technological innovations. It has increased the scope of war and its destructiveness leading to the adoption of new security and strategic policies by the world. John Robb (2008:3) in his writing, *Brave New War,* argues that, "we have entered the age of faceless, agile enemy. From London to Madrid to Nigeria to Russia, stateless terrorist groups have emerged to score blow after blow against us. Driven by cultural fragmentation, schooled in the most sophisticated technologies, and fuelled by transnational crime, these groups are forcing corporations and individuals to develop new ways to defending themselves". With globalization also, technological developments play a very crucial role. Peter Dicken (1998: 145) asserted that "technology is, without a doubt, one of the most important contributory factors underlying the internationalization and globalization of economic activity". In the intensification of the process of globalization, technology have played central role with the invention of wheel to aeroplane and foot messengers to internet system. Technological innovations in recent past have fostered the globalization process with speedy transfer of money, jet travel and faster shipping facilities.

Communication network is another important force which drives both, war and globalization. In earlier periods, we had limited information about the others, about their socio-political system and military and security system. Collecting information about enemy was a tough and risky job. So, wars were fought with limited information about the enemy. This used to lead more uncertainties in war. Now, we have flood of information about the other party which make us realize the strength and expected strategies of the enemy and makes the outcome less uncertain. Further, as Toffler (Pieterse, 2002) argued that even the small inputs of right information can cause disproportionate consequence. There is another aspect of it also that the flooding of information makes the decision making process more difficult. Communication and technology makes the influence of war more wide-spread. For example, the contemporary war of terrorism and war against terrorism has been felt by everyone and in each part of the world which is made possible through television and news channels. The communication system is becoming so important nowadays that scholars presume that the future wars will be information wars. Importance of media and internet is increasing. Like production and business, warfare has become knowledge intensive, to the point of 'knowledge warfare' in which 'each side will try to shape enemy actions by manipulating the flow of intelligence and information' (Toffler, 1993: 171). Communication is an equally important force of globalization. The emergence of a global consciousness is due to the development in communication systems. Communications helps in knowledge of others and adoption of common norms for common problems. The current example is the environmental issue and the problem of global commons on which the world community is trying to enter common norms to deal with the situation. Exchange of ideas and knowledge lead to globalization of norms and values like, democracy, human rights, justice and equality. Communication also helps to organise and administer the distant lands and thus, increase the intensity and depth of globalization.

Social and political factors are another important force to war and globalization. If the political structure is stable and democratic and society is progressive, it leads to minimise the occurrence of war. On the other hand, if society is divided and political system is unstable, wars happen frequently. More progressive society will be open to new ideas and new people. They will be more tolerant to others and thus less war-like. This will helps in globalization of norms and ideas. On

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the other hand, war and globalization bring changes in social relations which affects the stability of political structure. Simultaneously, change in political structure carry with it a demand to change society and influences the occurrence of war or intensification of globalization.

Economy is another important force to globalization and war. Economic interests and war go together. Economic and military leadership usually go together and are intertwined in notions of international hegemony (Bornschier et al., 1999). Economic disparities is said to cause more war. Liberal economic system, however, is considered as an important force for the globalization of world in social and cultural contexts. Economy is such an important force to globalization that many times, 'globalization' is used as synonym of 'economic globalization'. The opening of economies has reduced the role of state and increased interdependence among states and societies. It has also promoted the formation of transnational networks of criminal sectors and terrorist organizations. Carolyn Nordstrom (2004) describes about the economic benefits which goes to the big corporations through war, which is hidden but have a strong international network. Shadow networks, according to her, are fundamental to war and the process of development. They are central to world economic and political system. Large portion of entire global economy passes through shadows: 90 percent of Angola's economy; 50 percent of Kenya's, Italy's, and Peru's economies; 40 to 60 percent of Russia's economy; and between 10 and 30 percent of United States economy enters into extra-state transactions (Nordstrom, 2004: 11). Thus, huge chunk of capital moves through unidentified network and good number of people today work through illegal channel of shadows.

Thus, we have seen the important forces that drive war and intensify the process of globalization. Another interesting fact is that war and globalization themselves are forces influencing each other. War plays an important role to make globalization more widespread and intensifies the process. In similar vein, globalization leads to influence the occurrence of warfare in international politics.

Impact of Globalization on war:

Globalization has remained very strong phenomenon of world politics which affected and influences every arena of human life. Globalization is about interconnection and mutual constitution between different locales and the people

found there, the "making together" of world politics (Barkawi, 2006: 59). The worldwide circulation of goods, ideas, capital and people used to impact the world in different ways. A lot has been discussed about impact of globalization on economy, society and cultures of various regions of the world and its outcome. But there is lack of work on impact of globalization on war. Only after the terrorist attack of 9/11, scholars, academicians and people started discussing and acknowledging the impact of globalization on war. However, beyond terrorism, the intra-state and other forms of trans-state wars are other examples of influence of globalization on war.

Globalization works as promoter and impeder of war. The coming together of humans has not always been with the feeling of togetherness. The spread of early humans, search for agricultural land, formation of state system, imperialism, colonialism and the close interactions of contemporary age, all are marked with one or the other form of war. These epochs showed how increased human interconnections sometimes facilitate and sometimes impede the progress and presence of war. McGrew opined that, 'modern societies are extremely vulnerable to disruption of those complex systems which enable them to function effectively, from transport to banking. Although this always has been the case, it is perhaps compounded today because of greater reliance on vital foreign primary products (from food to oil), the transnationalization of production, and the critical role of communication and transport infrastructures. Global strategic complexes bind together the security of societies across the North-South divide (McGrew, 2007: 28). The new security threats has created the feeling among the people that security concerns are also interrelated in this interconnected world.

At the same time, globalization also helps to restrict war. Richard Cobden remarked that lessening the barriers to trade also lowers the importance of state boundaries and thus lessens the feeling of war and conquest (1987: 43). Liberals like Angell, Blainey, Doyle, Selfridge and Viner opine that globalization promotes peace. Karl W. Deutsch and others (Deutsch et al., 1957) maintain the view that economic and cultural exchange helps to develop a sense of community and hence, reduces the chance of war. The advocates of 'globalization and peace' argue that an increased economic interconnection reduces the likelihood of war due to increase in interdependence for their development. Further, with the advancement of communication, humans come to understand each other in better way, which helps to

reduce the chaos about things and about each other, which further leads to peace. With emerging consciousness about global commons and a sense of common threats in the form of terrorism, environmental problems and nuclear power, human being is coming together to deal these problems in an united way. This sense of belongingness, developing within them would decrease human impulse to fight with each other. Thus, in the opinion of these scholars growing consciousness of oneness reduces the chance of war.

The impact of globalization on the likelihood of war has been discussed by scholars in much detail. Contending arguments has been advanced in cultural, economic, social and political arenas of human life about this interrelationship.

Globalization Facilitating War:

Prior to World War I, the world witnessed close interconnections. 'British and French exports grew by respective factors of thirty-five and twenty-five between 1820 and 1913. French, German, and American exports all expanded over 30 percent in the three years before 1914. British capital exports were nearly nine percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1911—a ratio unmatched even in the current wave of globalization' (Patrick and Kevin, 2007). Just four years before the First World War, Norman Angell remarked that in such an interdependent world, going for war is an illusion which seems foolish and irrational. But he had been proved wrong as the First World War took place with such intensity to leave its remarks and influence on the whole world in one way or another. Capitalism and liberalization of world economy didn't helped much to restrain wars. Nevertheless, in the opinion of Karl Marx, it facilitates war. Marx remarked that spread of capitalism and free-trade would result in class warfare. Lenin develops this theory further to say that the search for new markets would result in global conflicts which will lead the world to global war. According to these theories, the entire major wars world had fought so far, is the result of the economic considerations. Increased trade has increased the war over resources and the commercial interests of corporate powers have increased the war of indigenous people and tribal organizations. Increased identity conflicts, anti-immigrant's movements, ethnic wars and the cultural and religious wars show that intensification of globalization has increased the issue areas of contention among people and societies.

Dependency theory also has this perspective of globalization and war. According to it, the world economy consist core and periphery, where the core is constituted by a group of few developed countries and other developing countries make the periphery. Core countries exploit the natural resources of the periphery to gain uneven economic benefits. It points to differences in trade and development between North and South and argues that only the developed, capitalist North is benefitting from the global interdependence and deepening of such interconnections. This leads the world towards imbalance and inequality which would result in global conflict and war.

Contrary to the peace-trade hypothesis, Schneider and Schultze (2003, 2005) have discussed trade- conflict relationship. They have argued that as the state gets heavy taxes and benefits from military industries, it would always favour economic liberalization and violence at global level. The economic differences caused by capitalism and liberalism are creating dissatisfaction in the poorer about globalization. They view these systems as a conspiracy of rich against them to capture their wealth and possession. They suspects the policies of world organizations like IMF and WTO as biased to fulfil the interest of wealthy states. Hence, they are opposing any further move of liberalism. Free trade is not supported by all as it is supposed to benefit only the stronger. Thus, trade promotes conflict and war and vice-versa. Technological progress makes the cost of fighting to decrease with the lowering of the prices of arms. Arms trade covers a larger portion of economic benefit of state and illegal arms trade through hidden economic channels is on increase. The globalized market economy is changing the social structure but in the opposite direction.

A group of scholars argue that globalization brings people closer in social, political, economic, and cultural and more importantly in terms of consciousness. However, this coming together is not a smooth process, neither does it ensures good to all or equal benefit to everyone. "The greater mobility of people, things and ideas will mean increased mobility for nonstate actors, weapons of mass destruction and radical fundamentalism of all types" (Echevarria II, 2003). History shows how the world major civilizations came in contact with each other. The agrarian societies fought over capture of land to maintenance of their pride and dignity. Further, with the emergence of governance, people came to organise in larger numbers but at the same time war also get more organized. Regular armies were formed to protect,

preserve and expand the power of one group against another. Issues became wider from mere survival to enhancement of one's possessions and pride. In the period of discoveries of new routes and new lands, religion became important, other than economic and political gains. Colonialism and industrialization gave another issue to fight for raw materials and market. This further turned into war for nationalism, freedom and human dignity to determine its own fate. Hobsbawm (1990), in his work, *Nation and Nationalism*, argued that nationalism creates war as the mobility of people, ideas and capital have thrown people into unrecognised world where they feel it difficult to find connections. This led to the emergence of 'fear' and 'hostility' for the 'others'. Thus, he had advocated the emergence of world of nations where the antagonism on national ground would not persist. Spread of new ideas, technological advancement in transport, communication and military affairs opened new windows of interaction with new areas of conflict and war.

With the lowering of tariffs, technological revolutions in every age and lessened importance of boundaries, the chances for war have increased. Cross border flows of information and communication facilities has helped to organise the transnational groups. Today, with modern technologies, war can be organized and monitored at any part of the world. Attack of September 11 is good example of it. This attack was planned in Arab with the help of transnational networks of some hidden organization with a goal to challenge the great power of contemporary world. In the context of intensifying trans-regional flows of people, goods, arms and cultures, the notion that local conflicts or intra-state wars could simply be contained geographically has proved illusory, as the tragic events of 9/11 and 7/7 confirm (McGrew, 2007: 25). Globalization has also made arms cheaper and within the reach of people in much easier way as it helps to get the financers of war. Carolyn Nordstrom (2004), in her work *"Shadows of War"* has explained in detail the interconnection between economies and war that how arm traders seek it beneficial to go people for war and it further leads to economic benefits of other economic groups related to healthcare and daily necessities.

Globalization has introduced new types of war like information wars and cyber wars. The global interconnectedness helps to affect the world system by attacking on one state. Innovation for increasing the military effectiveness has opened new vistas of warfare by transforming the organisational and operational character of

armed forces. Revolution in military affairs (RMA) have provided new tools and techniques of war like information warfare, network centric wars, or what we call cyber wars. The implication of RMA has broadened the problem of security. Also, attack on one sector can influence other sectors of a state and the related states. According to some statistics, more than 30 countries have developed or developing the capability to launch successful cyber attacks (Echevarria II, 2003). Cyber wars and information wars are considered as the future course of today's developments. States and organizations would try to dismantle the information system of other parties.

Transnational terrorist and criminal organizations, alongside those transnational social forces operating within the shadow global economy, have been able to exploit the infrastructure of globalization for their own illicit and destructive purposes. Globalization and its loosening of state power in many spheres heralds a new era of barbarism, violence and warfare (Kaplan: 2000). Vandana Shiva (2001) argues that "globalization is a violent system, imposed and maintained through use of violence." Increasing social and economic interdependence also increases the vulnerability. Terrorism has been described as a reaction against the spread of western values and injustice done by west, trying to dominate and exploit the other part. The anti-globalization campaigns are said to be a reaction to such move. Terrorism and globalization are particularly well-suited bedfellows: acts of violence are motivated by global injustices exacerbated by globalization; and terrorists are able to thrive in the complex networks that transnational space has created (Bisley, 2007).

Thus, we see that globalization creates and nurture the conditions for war in many ways. Increasing interconnections and interdependence also opens the world for new issues of contention. As some scholar have argued, 'It is due to the increasingly evident fact that we live in an era of endemic worldwide armed conflict, typically fought within states but magnified by foreign intervention' (Daily Mail, London, 22/11/2004: 19). The fear of world war today is actually greater than it was before (Hobsbawm in Lundestad et al., 2002: 25-40). Transnational network is making the world more vulnerable for war.

Globalization Restraining War:

There is another aspect of globalization which is focussed by the liberals and communitarians that globalization promotes peace. Karl Deutsch (1957) argued that social and economic interactions develops a sense of community which further leads to peace by minimizing conflict and violence. Due to the development in communication and transport facilities, exchange of ideas and culture has increased. Mobility of people has heightened due to cheaper and faster transportation and lowering of boundaries. This has increased people to people interactions and has helped in cultural development which took place with the intermixing of different cultures. Some call it the process of cultural homogenization. Jan Nederveen Pieterse argues that "a growing sensitivity to cultural difference coincides with an awareness of the world 'becoming smaller' and the idea of cultural difference receding" (1996: 9389). Non-Governmental organizations are playing an important role in present scenario and making the world to realize and come forward for solving the common problems of war and violence.

War is fought to make economic and political gains by capturing the possessions of others. Globalization has opened another way to make such gains, which is through liberal trade. Today, it is recognised that trade is not a zero sum and that it is cheaper and easier to buy goods rather than conquer their sources (refer Bisley, 2007). Globalization is said to develop an understanding of other people which helps to develop tolerance and to create a sense of respect for their beliefs and their system and thus reduces the chances of war which takes place due to the lack of it. The flow of information and communication among parties of domestic and international politics makes the people aware of the truth and to put pressure on government and states to resolve the issue through peaceful means. The much developed and expanded communication systems also help to talk and resolve issues of potential wars.

It helps in the spread of norms and principles which advocates common good of the whole world like promoting the democratic principles, religious tolerance, and human rights. Norms plays significant role in domestic and international arena. They are so important that in the absence of written laws, they regulate the conduct of war in certain ways by deciding the rules. They also help to promote peace by avoiding destructive and harmful practices. The international norm on constraining the use of

biological and chemical weapons is one example of it. The democratic peace theory explains the relationship between war and spread of democratic values through globalization. It argues that democracies tend not to fight with each other. They rarely experience civil war or serious internal violence (Hegre et al., 1999), and they generally do not engage in genocide or other extreme human rights violations (Rummel, 1995). Maoz & Russett (1993) have discussed the normative and structural model to describe why democracies are less prone to war. They opined that democracies develop a norm of cooperation and compromise. Further, its time taking and complicated to mobilise a democratic state to go for war as the legislation and execution of policies are done at two levels. People, in democratic system are more vigilant about actions of state and they don't support any war against the larger interest of people. Many times norms get institutionalised to make it more effective. United Nations is good example of this practice through which norms of peace and progress are promoted.

For Adam Smith, the most important consequence of the rise of commerce and manufacturing was that they introduced order and good government, which created the conditions for liberty and security 'among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in the continual state of war with their neighbours' (see Barkawi, 2004). The movement of goods, capital and services make states and societies increasingly independent of each other and constrain them to wage wars as war obstruct the flow and hinders the existing interconnection and interdependence. There are fewer incentives to wage war, since the facilitation of resources and capital flows between countries brought about by globalization renders looting rather expensive and ineffective way to profit from the natural endowments and economic success of rival countries (Ka Po Ng, 2006: 62). Free market also promotes economic development which strengthens society and government control over administration. This further leads to make state more efficient and able to fulfil the demands of people and hence minimises the chance of dissatisfaction and conflicts and thus promoting peace.

Norman Angell is a great supporter of the thought that trade and economic interdependence promotes peace by lessening the chances of war. He argued that, "The interdependence here indicated, cutting athwart frontiers, is largely the work of the last 40 to 50 years; and it has, during that time, so developed as to have set up a

financial interdependence of the capitals of the world, so complex that disturbance in New York involves financial and commercial disturbance in London" (1933: 143) (cited in Bisley, 2007). Thus, according to Angell, war has now become a costly enterprise, which will harm the economic interests of all the nations. Hence, any decision to go for war is unintelligent and irrational.

Globalization has also lessened the control of states and role of MNC's and TNC's has increased. These organizations advocate peace as they tend to view peacetime more beneficial for the flourishment of trade. Bilateral trade reduces the risk of war between the groups of nations (Oneal and Russett 1997, 1999; Russett and Oneal, 2001). State acts as a reluctant force to war because war acts as a disrupting element to trade. States get economic benefits from the liberalised policies to develop and prosper and thus they avoid going for war. Further, war has not remained as only way to punish the evil states. 'Globalization creates an environment that provides other instrument such as economic sanctions and inducements more effective in discouraging targeted states from resorting to war' (Ka Po Ng, 2006: 63). Globalization reduces the incidents of war as complex networks that link states' interests in such a way as to make war literally unthinkable (Mandelbaum, 1998). Importance of territory has declined which resulted in further decline of territorial wars between states. No state now seems to attempt to capture more territory for increasing its capabilities and power. Rosecrance argues that changes in the nature of economic productions are creating conditions in which conflict over territory makes less and less sense. The key factors of production have moved from being land and resources to being knowledge and capital (Bisley, 2007). Thus, according to him, economic interdependence has helped to end the issues of conflict and war.

This whole discussion was oriented to show that how development in communication and transportation, promotion of norms and ideas and increased economic interdependence helps to restrain war and violence. These are the positive developments of globalization, another aspect of this phenomenon, which cannot be ignored.

War Influencing Globalization:

Another way of looking into this interconnection is how war affects and influences globalization. War facilitates and restricts the process of globalization. The worldwide circulation of goods, ideas and people give rise of war, and in similar vein, war brings people and ideas together. Through war, people come to interact with each other and this interaction grows an understanding of the 'other' which leads to the spread and adoption of each other's ideas, norms and culture. Barawaki argues that in and through war peoples come to intensified awareness of one another, leaderships initiate and react to each other's move and armed forces and other populations circulate. Thus, according to him to be at war is to be interconnected with the enemy. He has remarked that 'war is a cooperative activity but at the same time, most uncooperative activity, implicit with hostility towards someone. Such connections lead to social processes as well as political and cultural transformations that are usefully understood through the globalization concept' (Barkawi, 2004).

The major ancient civilizations interacted with each other through war and conflict for the capturing of agricultural lands and possession of animals. Colonialism is another good example of how colonial wars helped in interacting the colonial empires with locals and established social, political, economic and cultural interactions. Imperialism of Russian and British Empire caused the victor and those who defeated to come in contact with each other through which they learn from each other differences. It never was a one way process. Even the rulers learned to adapt in the local circumstances and seek support of local people. Without the help of Indians as soldiers and in administration, it was not possible for British to rule on India for such long and on such larger part. Barawaki has discussed the example of Indian soldiers fighting under the British in different parts of world, and how those wars proved to be a learning process for India to understand the happenings of the world thus intensifying the globalization process.

Wars were used as an instrument to increase and expand economic gains. People, groups and state fights to capture the land and resources in each period. In primitive age, the tribal groups fought for land and animals. Imperialism wars took place to capture more and more territory to increase their power and economic gains was important mean, for which these imperial powers always seek to capture rich

regions. During industrialization, European powers were involved in war for the capture of raw material and market. The Iraq war has been explained by many scholars as US intention to capture the source of oil. War was necessary to initiate free trade, and it was the outcome of processes set in train by the expansion of free trade (Barkawi, 2006: 27).

War also works as a restraining force to globalization. Is minimises the intensity of globalization by opposing such interaction. This happens either due to the fear of loss of one's identity, culture or independence. As we have mentioned in earlier paragraph that the interactions through war helps in the establishment of wider connections through the interaction of warring parties. Similar is the truth that many wars had been fought to restrict any such interactions. And this also has a long history since the early age of development of civilizations. The agrarian wars were fought to restrict the power and hold of one group on land by the other. Similarly, in the age of discoveries, wars were fought against the spread of Islam, Christianity and European values. Imperial powers fought many wars against the attempt of restraining their influence and spread. Anti-colonial wars took place to get independence from European powers and to preserve the indigenous social and cultural values. It is said that the contemporary war of terrorism is directed against the west by the Islamic groups due to the fear of the loss of identity and cultural encroachment.

Thus, we see that war plays a duel role of facilitating and restraining the process of globalization. Sometimes it hinders the process of globalization and in some cases it helps to cause larger interaction. We can also see the two things happening at same time. Any war directed against the increasing interaction may result in establishing interactions. Take one example of imperial war. The imperial power fights to increase its hold which increases the intensity of globalization. On the other hand, the other party fights to restrict the sway of imperialism and in many cases, does so successfully. However, during war, interaction between the two parties promotes the spread some values. Even if the two parties do not reach to a decisive end through war, they negotiate and this negotiation takes place when they get ready to follow some common norms. We will discuss these in detail in the following section of this chapter.

War promoting Globalization:

War has always remained central to the theory and practice of international politics. In earlier section we had discussed how globalization, the most recognised phenomenon of contemporary world politics has influenced war, an ongoing and central feature of world. But, this is not a unidirectional process as war also helps to promote globalization. Since the dawn of human civilization, war has remained an enduring element in the picture of world politics. Wars were fought 'against' someone and 'against' some moves. So it is generally considered as a phenomenon which 'restricts' something. But war is not always contrary to globalization. Globalization, by pacifists, has been described as a phenomenon to restrict conflict and war to make world a more peaceful place. However, history shows that war and conflict remained central to the historical process of globalization. The two world wars and institutions created to restrict any further wars like these and have important role to develop common security and economic policies and to intensify and deepen the process of globalization. Further, humanitarian wars and norms and institutions created around them are important cause of globalization. War of terror makes the world organize against a common enemy to wage a counter war, a 'global war on terrorism'.

War involves interconnection between parties to conflict, interconnections that transform society and politics (Barkawi, 2006: 59). We can understand it through the example of imperial wars fought to make territorial gains. Imperial powers had large territories under them incorporating different culture, religion, social structure and values. When these imperial powers go for war, their army consists of people from all these different background. During war time they come in contact with these differences and also learn from each other. This leads to the spread of ideas and values. Colonial wars are another example of how war promotes interaction between distant and different people towards more intensified globalization. Modern imperialism, starting in the 1870s, gave rise to the most extensive colonial conquest in human history. But the 1930s, Europeans colonies and ex-colonies covered 85% of the globe's land surface (Fieldhouse, 1989: 373 cited in Ralvo and Gleditsch). All these colonies were influenced by western culture, ideas and their political and economic policies, which, no doubt, reflected the west. In contemporary period, humanitarian wars under the umbrella of UN shows similar trend. Even the war of terrorism and war on terrorism helps to promote globalization. Through war, the culture and societies comes in close contact with each other and get intermixed,

leading to social and cultural progress. War shapes societies and society shapes war. War encourages industrialization as well as other transformations in society. (Barkawi, 2005: 28).

Economic interdependence and free trade is considered as an important force of globalization. The discussion of war and free trade demonstrated that war is intimately interrelated to other social and historical processes, to economy, society, culture, and politics (Barkawi, 2006: 27). War and threat of war had promoted trade networks of Europe throughout the globe. In this way, it promotes economic progress through the promotion of industrialization and capitalism. Suez crisis and the war fought to control that trade route is an example of it. War was necessary to initiate free trade, and it was the outcome of the processes set in train by the expansion of free trade (Barkawi, 2005).

Military has always remained an important force. In earlier period, tribal groups rely on it for their security and prosperity and later on, state organized armies for this purpose. Held et al. argues that military power has been crucial to the territorial expansion of states and civilizations (Held et al., 1999: 94). War remained an important force of colonial expansion of British, Spain, Portugal and France. According to Hobsbawm (1987), the imperial wars helped in reducing the civil wars and unified the territories to help them emerge in the form of state. This has happened in the case of India which was divided into hundreds of small states fighting to widen their domination. British colonial rule helped in organising it as one single state under unified administration. First World War is considered as a turning point in the history of the process of globalization, which opened a new era of globalization. Further, during the two world wars and cold war, all the great powers had tried to establish trans-continental and trans-national military alliances like NATO (1949). Cold War is also significant for globalization. During this period, not only military alliances were formed but satellite system, internet and other such technologies were developed by the great powers to keep an eye on the other bloc of states.

Thus, we see that war in many aspects act as a facilitator of the globalization process. It establishes interactions between different cultures, societies and ideas during and after the violent conflicts and helps to develop a common norm for fighting and further, to negotiate. War promotes globalization by opening new trade routes, new networks of communication and increased interconnections.

War restricting Globalization:

War also works as a restraining force on globalization. It can divide people, destroy the trade networks, can promote the local and regional interests over the common interests of world. In early age of history, wars had been fought and won by the people and tribes to limit the influence of other group. Agrarian's opposes the migrants due to the fear of difference of culture and encroachment of their possessions. Many wars had been mobilized under the idea of 'others'. Indian freedom movement, what we call as anti-colonial war, was mobilized by our leaders with the idea that Britishers are other people who do not understand and respect what is "ours'. American Revolution took place on same idea. These wars were against the spread of what was considered as 'other' and to restrict the spread of other ideas and culture.

The two world wars can also be analysed from this perspective. Before First World War, mercantilism was disappearing and international trade was increasing. Gold standard was accepted as common exchange system by the trading states. International standards were promoted by the economic giants which was greeting acceptance by all. New inventions in transport and communication were bringing people nearer to each other. First World War hindered all these developments. Hirst argues that First World War 'destroyed the liberal international order with the reintroduction of autarchy, the imposition of regulations on foreign trade and the eventual failure of gold standard (2001: 70). Steger opined that world war first was against the Great Britain's attempt to construct a single global market under its leadership. In the aftermath of Second World War, world gets divided in two antagonistic groups under the leadership of two great powers. The period of cold war was full of the conflicts between these groups and their attempt to spread their influence and to reduce the influence of other group. This restricted mobility of people, capital and ideas within the limit of one's group and hence, restrained the intensification of globalization. Clark is of the view that, earlier, imperialism will ultimately come to be seen as fragmentationist, keeping worlds separate rather than integrating them (1997: 145). Korean War, Indo-China war, Indo-Pakistan war, Iran-Iraq war, Israel-Philistine dispute are some of the burning example of how war restricts the fruitful interactions and the progress of societies. These wars has constrained the flow of trade and people across the boundaries and heightened the costs of goods by exporting it through different channels.

Identity and culture are important cause for wars in contemporary age and the fear of loss of it due the globalization and attempt of homogenisation is restricting the move of cultural interaction. Much of the contemporary wars are fought over the issue of identity and culture in large parts of Asia and Africa. Genocide and ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sri-Lanka and Germany are some example of it. These wars cause division in the society and state which resulted in the demand for separate statehood. Creation of Pakistan, Bangladesh and disintegration of Yugoslavia are the result of such moves. Many wars of today are continuing with the demand of separation on the basis of ethnic and religious differences. The war of terrorism is another attempt to restrict globalization. Terrorists are against the increasing influence of western values and culture. They see globalization as the process of 'westernization'. Further, they feel that developed and rich states are conspiring to encroach their resources and to erode their indignity. Therefore, through the formation of trans-national and national groups, they are opposing any such development. Wars caused by cultural and identity basis further intensifies war by widening these gaps. The antagonism between the different ethnic groups continues through generations because the ongoing war and violence between the two groups. In this war, war intensifies further war by maintaining the differences and many times, widening those differences. Thus, war for the protection of culture and one's identity is another hindrance for globalization.

War is considered as contrary to the long-run economic well being of states. It disrupts the existing bonds of production and supply through which wealth is generated. Frederic Passy, in this context, argues that, "war is no longer merely a crime; it is an absurdity. It is no longer merely immoral and cruel; it is stupid. It is no longer merely murder on a large scale; it is suicide and voluntary ruin" (quoted in Edmund Silberner, 1947, 1972: 105). The First World War disrupted free trade and states started following the protectionist and mercantilists policies which increased the existing barriers between states. Thus, war against the economic disparities hinders the process of globalization.

War, thus, not only helps to promote globalization, but at the same time it hinders the intensity of globalization by opposing the process of increasing interconnections and interdependence. It happens mainly due to the fear of potential harm due to this interaction, which may or may not be true. For example, war to

protect social, cultural and religious indignity always took place in human history, but when we look into the progress of any society and culture, external influence always constitutes an important force to it. Change in the religious ideas of Christianity, which led to the emergence of Protestants was due to their interaction with other religions and mainly with Greeks. Christians believed that human life is a sin and we are punished to live on this earth because of the sin we had done. After coming to the contact with Greeks who view humans as the highest endowment of life on earth, protectionists started opposing the idea of unworthiness of life. But there always existed fear of loss of Christianity from others which caused lots of violence, killing and wars to restrict such influences. Hence we can conclude that war, in some cases, acts as a restraining force to globalization.

Conclusion:

In this section of my work, I have tried to answer the questions I had discussed in early part of this chapter which are related to definition, theorisation and contextualisation. Inspite of differences discussed by scholars related to different types of war, I have taken war as a single phenomenon existing in world politics since the early human civilization. I have agreed the position that war and globalization are interrelated since early history. There are some common forces which drive both these processes like technological innovations, revolution in communication technologies and transportation and change in socio-economic and political context. Later, I have analysed the interconnection between the two processes. I showed that the interconnection is not a one-way process as discussed in almost all works till now. Both acts as a force for other and get influenced by the other.

Conclusion

International opinion is strongly divided on the issue of importance and relevance of globalization. Some see it in constructive way of bringing people closer, developing an awareness of belongingness, and helping to create a peaceful way by eradicating poverty, injustice, conflict and war. Others focus on its demerits and see it as a great threat not only to peace and security but even to justice, equality and individual identity. This division related is also reflected on the issue of definition, theorisation and the temporal dimensions of globalization. Each discipline defines and discusses globalization in its own way and thus, limits the scope of its study. Economic interpretation is limited to the movement of trade, capital and labour, whereas, cultural explanation describes it as growing cultural interconnectedness. Sociologists view it as a process of transformation in social relations. The Political definition of globalization argues that globalization is a process of extending political set-up and ideas. Scholte has divided the definitions of globalization broadly in four categories: globalization as internalization, globalization as liberalization, globalization as universalization and globalization as westernization. He further argues that globalization is the process of deterritorialization. All theses definitions lack to present the holistic picture of globalization, however, there is a broadening consensus on it that globalization is influencing every arena of human life. There are some definitions like; Ripon (cited in Al-Rodhan, 2006) defines it as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary life" and Held et al. (1999) argues that globalization is "widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the culture to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual". These definitions are multidisciplinary in nature and include almost every aspect of the process. Thus, I have taken these for my study.

There is also debate on theorisation of this phenomenon. There are three major schools of globalization theory: Globalist, Sceptics and Transformationalists. Globalists portray it as a contemporary and an inescapable phenomenon influencing every domain of human life. Sceptics on the other hand, are dubious to it and are divided in two groups: one who opined that it is not new and so important and others who argues that nothing like globalization is happening. Both opinions are

unacceptable to Transformationalists. Globalist see globalization as a process aimed to create a single, unified and homogeneous world which is not the truth. Interactions are taking place in every aspect of life, but these interactions are not resulting the same as external and internal environment of each region have their influence. There is major difference in democratic structure of each state, however each are democratic. Similarly, cultural differences still persists. Thus, saying that globalization results similar social, political, economic and cultural structure everywhere is not correct. Similarly, the position of the Sceptics is also not entirely justified that nothing is changing. It is an inescapable fact that contemporary world is different from the earlier and changes have taken place. Transformationalists give a more balanced view that world has not get changed completely but changes have occurred with intensification in globalization process. They agreed to the view that globalization is not a recent development but has a long history. Taking the transformationalists position, I have proceeded to discuss the context of globalization. While looking into the history of globalization, we find that globalization as a process of increasing, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnection, have started much before of coming of civilization. However, we do not have historical evidences of the period before that. Hence, we find discussion related to the history of the process since that period.

One of the most debated aspects of globalization nowadays is its significance in today's world. The presence of a widened and intensified network of global connections is felt by everyone. However, there is great deal of debate related to the outcome of such interconnection. Humankind, in twenty first century faces many problems like, huge economic disparities among societies and states, major change in social relations, environmental degradation, ethnic and racial conflicts and what today is immensely discussed is problem of terrorism. This is happening in spite of the fact that enormous wealth has been created and major developments have taken place to save time and energy by mankind. But these developments are not helping to solve the problem of war as was expected, remarks by Stiglitz. The increased interconnection in various arenas of human life is opening new fronts of confrontation. The intensification of globalization creates concerns of development, identity, environment, justice and other such issues. Anti-globalists and critics of globalization argue that globalization is the root cause of all the problems and hence,

attempts should be made to deglobalise the world. This anti-globalization or deglobalization process has been mobilised at global scale and the resistance to globalization is getting more violent. Even terrorism is described as manifestation of the anti-globalization sentiments. Hence, both, globalization and anti-globalization, is generating new types of conflict.

The ongoing wars of the contemporary period is termed by many scholars with different names, like; new wars, transnational wars, intra-state wars, war on terrorism, war of terrorism and fourth generation wars. Many attempts have been made to draw a distinction between different types of war. But, for me, the suffix 'War' is important. The ever-presence of term 'War' shows that it has always been present in the ever-changing world. While going through the historical accounts of war, we have seen that wars have occurred since the emergence of human life.

Many justifications have been given by scholars about the inevitability of war. Political philosophers like Hobbes and Hegel expressed that war in not only inevitable but beneficial for mankind. In Hegel's word, 'war prevents a corruption of nations which a perpetual, let alone an eternal peace would produce' (cited in Barash and Webel, 2002: 14). Even today, war is justified on the ground that it would promote freedom, equality and justice by advancing and inculcating democratic values. Civil war in Iran (1979), war in Iraq (2003), Cuban revolution (1959), war in Sri-Lanka (2009) and Afghanistan (2001) has been justified on this ground.

Many theories argue that war is inevitable in human society as the root of it lies in the human nature which is unchanging. Biologists and psychologists talks about human biology and tries to provide scientific valid theory for causes of war. According to them it is inherent to the nature of human beings to fight with each other to secure their life and property and at the same time to increase their sway over others by increasing their capabilities. This is what has been later taken by the realists to formulate their theory. Sociologists view the causes of war in human society, and as an invention to deal certain problems created in society. Political scientists, however, remarked that it's a way to carry on the politics, when diplomatic efforts fail. My main concern however is how presence of war has been seen in world politics by these political scientists and more importantly, through the contending theories of international politics: Realism, Liberalism, Marxism and Constructivism.

Realism and Liberalism justifies their claim on the basis of human nature, however, their assumptions related to human nature differs. Realists characterise human nature to be selfish and power seeking. They further argue that this nature remains unchanged irrespective of time and environment. The greed for power, according to realists is the cause of war. War can only be avoided by establishment of balanced international system. But this balancing is an ongoing process and a balanced system is unachievable as capabilities are hard to measure empirically. Hence, in realist's opinion, war is unavoidable. Liberals, on the other hand, presume that humans are peaceful and cooperative. War takes place only when the order of society gets disturbed. They argue that increased cooperation and interdependence will lead to establishment of peace.

Marxism and Constructivism, however, view systemic defects as the causes of war. Marxism argues that the capitalist system creates economic disparities and is bound to be destroyed for the establishment of an egalitarian society. This change will be brought out through war between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Thus, according to Marxism, root of war is not in human nature but the international system. Constructivists asserts the importance of context. They argue that war can only be understood in relation to the other events taking place simultaneously. According to them, the social and cultural system shapes actor's behaviour. Hence, the elements of war lie in those systems and not human nature. Therefore, war can be constrained by making system level changes is what results from these major theories. Realism asks for trying to balance the system to restrict humans and states to work according to their instinct. Whereas, Liberals emphasises the need for establishment of international institutions to promote cooperation and interdependence. Marxism argues that international system should be based on justice and equality. Constructivists opined that the very cultural and social system should be transformed in such a manner to discard war.

However, total elimination of war and establishment of a peaceful society is still an idea. Each era has seen wars and attempts have been made to curb such wars. But we cannot deny the truth that each society simultaneously, prepares for war. Historical accounts of war shows an interesting picture of presence of war in early human societies and till yet we are facing this problem. With the intensification of interconnections among people, it has been expected that consciousness of global

world would emerge which will help to check wars. No doubt, globalization has done a lot to create a feeling of interconnection, but somewhere it lacks to construct the sentiment of belongingness and generates insecurity about one's own identity. Increased ethnic and racial clashes are an example of it.

This does not mean that globalization always produces war. Increased interdependence in economic, social, cultural and political arenas have helped the mankind to get rid of various problems which either directly generates war or build conditions for war. Emergence of international and regional organisations is result of such interdependence which further provides other mechanisms to deal with conflict and war. Increase mobility of capital, resources and people has given rise to need for understanding and accepting other cultures, societies and values. This helps in minimising the frequency of war. Further, acceptance of some common norms and values has also helped in minimising war and violence. For example, the global norm of non-interference, global justice system, norms related to humanitarianism are bringing the world together to realise some common problems and making consensus on these issue.

Thus, globalization not only promotes but at the same time restrains the tendencies of individuals, groups and states to go for war. However, this relationship between war and globalization is not unidimensional. War also influences the course of globalization. It restricts and promotes globalization. War played important role in the formation of societies, states and what we today have is regional and international organizations. It promotes interaction and helps in establishing linkages between people during and after wars. It helps in destroying the exploitative political, social and economic structures. It brings change, reform, justice and hope for something better. Nevertheless, war is a mechanism to solve these problems in absence of any other alternative and is said last resort of diplomacy. Going for war not always solves the problem and sometimes it engraves the issue at hand. Things get better only through dialogue and negotiations. This dialogue and discussion between contending parties demands a need to come to terms with each other and this would help in development of some common norms and values. Thus, war promotes globalization through establishment of common values, rules and norms.

However, war also creates hindrance in the way of globalization by dismantling the established systems and destroying the set pattern of relation. It curbs trade, social and political structures and increases antagonism by restricting the mobility of capital and people. War on terrorism declared after 9/11 incident has created strictness in visa rights by many countries. This led many to state that barriers are again tightening. The long history of ethnic wars has led the people of different ethnic groups suspecting each other and restricts communication among them. Nonetheless, it helps to generate further hatred and war. War also hampers the trade relations which lead to restrict the economic interconnections.

Thus, two major outcomes of this study are:

- Globalization and war are closely interlinked. Both influence each other and also get influenced by other forces like, technological advancement and socio-economic-political conditions.

- The interrelationship between war and globalization is as old as human civilization itself.

Until the 20th century war has not been realised as a grave human problem. The two world wars and new advancement in military technologies like development of explosives and nuclear weapons have raised now the dangers to human. Revolutions in military affairs and existence of nuclear weapons have led many to predict that likelihood of war has decreased. However, the presence of war can be seen in contemporary world. Inter-state wars have been replaced by intra-state and trans-state wars. Technological developments have intensified the process of globalization and war has also got globalised.

Many questions arise about the future course of this interrelationship. Many organizations and institutions have emerged and united against the widespread use of violence and war. There are peace movements challenging the widespread use of force in international politics. However, we cannot foresee the exact manner in which these interrelationships will unfold. Nevertheless, we can realize the need for creating restraints on future wars keeping in view the destructive capability of modern

weapons and their global impact. What Einstein observed several years ago still has a contemporary relevance. He noted that,

"*[w]e need an essentially new way of thinking if mankind is to survive. Men must radically change their attitudes toward each other and their views of the future. Force must no longer be an instrument of politics...Today we do not have much time left; it is up to our generation to succeed in thinking differently. If we fail, the days of civilized humanity are numbered*" (Barash and Webel, 2002: 3).

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