

NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Tutorial

Unit I Global Communication: Historical Perspective

Global communication is the term used to describe ways to connect, share, relate and mobilize across geographic, political, economic, social and cultural divides. It redefines soft and hard power as well as information power and diplomacy in ways not considered by traditional theories of international relations.

Global Communication implies a transfer of knowledge and ideas from centers of power to peripheries and the imposition of a new intercultural hegemony by means of the "soft power" of global news and entertainment.

The **study of global communication** is an interdisciplinary field that studies the continuous flows of information used in transferring values, opinions, knowledge, culture across boundaries.^[1]

With the end of the twentieth century and the turn of a new millennium, the global arena and the field of international communication were undergoing significant changes.^[2] Some authors started to use the term global communication because it goes beyond the bounds of individual states and emphasizes communication between and among peoples across borders and, importantly, the rise of transnational media corporations.^[3]

International communication traditionally refers to communication between and among nation-states and connotes issues of national sovereignty, control of national information resources, and the supremacy of national governments.

Nevertheless, earlier International communication theories have failed to develop models or research agendas that match the reality of the contemporary role of global communication. The old theories only explain part of the global picture and the theories of modernization, dependency, and cultural imperialism have failed to satisfactorily explain global communication

The term "global", implies a declining role of the state and state sovereignty. As a term, "international" has within it notions of bilateral or multilateral decisions. "Global" could be seen as an aspiration, also as a fear, of the weakening of the state. In addition, global may imply something more pervasive, more geographically inclusive than international

1. The Great North – South Divide.

The North-South Divide (or Rich-Poor Divide) is the socio-economic and political division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as “the North,” and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or “the South.” Although most nations comprising the “North” are in fact located in the Northern Hemisphere, the divide is not primarily defined by geography. The North is home to four out of five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all members of the G8. “The North” mostly covers the West and the First World, with much of the Second World. The expression “North-South divide” is still in common use, but the terms “North” and “South” are already somewhat outdated. As nations become economically developed, they may become part of the “North,” regardless of geographical location, while any other nations which do not qualify for “developed” status are in effect deemed to be part of the “South.”

Problems with defining the divide

Following the fall of the Soviet Bloc, which was commonly referred to as the Second World, many of its constituent countries were reclassified as developing, despite being geographically northern. At the same time, geographically southern nations previously considered “developing,” such as the East Asian Tigers or Turkey, have joined the modern First World, but are classified inconsistently in maps showing the North-South divide. Similarly, dependencies of developed nations are also classified as Southern, although they are part of the developed world.

On an ideological level, some development geographers have argued that current concentration on the North-South divide as the main organizing principle for understanding the world economy has overlooked the role of inter-imperial conflicts between the United States, Japan, and Europe.

Digital divide

The global Digital Divide is often characterized as corresponding to the North-South divide, however it is interesting to note that Internet use, and especially broadband access, is now soaring in Asia compared with other continents. This phenomenon is partially explained by the ability of many countries in Asia to bypass older Internet technology and infrastructure, coupled with booming economies which allow vastly more people to get online.

Development gap

The North-South divide has more recently been named the development gap. This places greater emphasis on closing the evident gap between rich (more economically developed) countries and poor (less

economically developed countries) countries. A good measure of on which side of the gap a country is located is the Human Development Index. The nearer this is to 1.0, the greater is the country's level of development and the further the country is on its development pathway (closer towards being well developed).

2. Domination of Transnational news agencies

Domination of transnational news agencies in the world Domination or hegemony is exercised by 5 largest transnational news agencies.

- AP
- UPI
- Reuters
- AFP
- ITAR-TAS (information telegraph agency of Russia - telegraph agency of the soviet union)

80% of 15 great news media corporations dominate the production of radio sets, tv sets and print media sets including printing devices, radio and tv communication satellite, paper ink and other elements of mass media technological infrastructure. The statistics provide the details of disparities that exists, and the dominance of north in the field of information. Thus making the south depend on north

Eg.1 During the British war with Argentina, over their claim on Falklands islands, several developing countries supported the Argentinian claim, but their newspapers were receiving the stories put out by the transnational news agencies, which were biased in favor of Britain. The newspapers in the developing countries could not afford to send their own correspondents to cover the war.

Eg, 2 The gulf war provides the eg. of how dependent for news on the west can destroy the content of third world media. During the gulf war, India's language dailies did not have the capacity to cover war events with their own correspondents. Almost all the newspapers depended upon the news originating from the western news agencies. The usage of words in the news dispatches became a form of psychological warfare during the so called gulf war.

3. Demand for NWICO & MacBride Commission

The **New World Information and Communication Order** (NWICO or NWIO) aka the MacBride Commission is a term that was coined in a debate over media representations of the developing world in UNESCO in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The term was widely used by the MacBride Commission, a UNESCO panel chaired by Nobel Peace Prize laureate Sean MacBride, which was charged with creation of a set of recommendations

to make global media representation more equitable. The MacBride Commission produced a report titled "Many Voices, One World", which outlined the main philosophical points of the New World Information Communication Order.

The fundamental issues of imbalances in global communication had been discussed for some time. The American media scholar Wilbur Schramm noted in 1964 that the flow of news among nations is thin, that much attention is given to developed countries and little to less-developed ones, that important events are ignored and reality is distorted.^[1] From a more radical perspective, Herbert Schiller observed in 1969 that developing countries had little meaningful input into decisions about radio frequency allocations for satellites at a key meeting in Geneva in 1962.^[2] Schiller pointed out that many satellites had military applications. Intelsat which was set up for international co-operation in satellite communication, was also dominated by the United States. In the 1970's these and other issues were taken up by the Non-Aligned Movement and debated within the United Nations and UNESCO.

NWICO grew out of the New International Economic Order of 1974. From 1976-1978, the New World Information and Communication Order was generally called the shorter **New World Information Order** or the **New International Information Order**.

The start of this discussion is the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as associated with the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) starting from the early 1970s.

Mass media concerns began with the meeting of non-aligned nations in Algiers, 1973; again in Tunis 1976, and later in 1976 at the New Delhi Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Nations.

The 'new order' plan was textually formulated by Tunisia's Information Minister Mustapha Masmoudi. Masmoudi submitted working paper No. 31 to the MacBride Commission. These proposals of 1978 were titled the 'Mass Media Declaration.' The MacBride Commission at the time was a 16-member body created by UNESCO to study communication issues.

Among those involved in the movement were the Latin American Institute for the Study of Transnationals (ILET). One of its co-founders, Juan Somavia was a member of the MacBride Commission. Another important voice was Mustapha Masmoudi, the Information Minister for Tunisia. In a Canadian radio program in 1983, Tom McPhail describes how the issues were pressed within UNESCO in the mid-1970s when the United States withheld funding to punish the organization for excluding Israel from a regional group of UNESCO. Some OPEC countries and a

few socialist countries made up the amount of money and were able to get senior positions within UNESCO. NWICO issues were then advanced at an important meeting in 1976 held in Costa Rica.

The only woman member of the Commission was Betty Zimmerman, representing Canada because of the illness of Marshall McLuhan, who died in 1980. The movement was kept alive through the 1980s by meetings of the MacBride Round Table on Communication, even though by then the leadership of UNESCO distanced itself from its ideas.

The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity of 2005 puts into effect some of the goals of NWICO, especially with regard to the unbalanced global flow of mass media. However, this convention was not supported by the United States, and it does not appear to be as robust as World Trade Organization agreements that support global trade in mass media and information.

Issues

A wide range of issues were raised as part of NWICO discussions. Some of these involved long-standing issues of media coverage of the developing world and unbalanced flows of media influence. But other issues involved new technologies with important military and commercial uses. The developing world was likely to be marginalized by satellite and computer technologies. The issues included:

- News reporting on the developing world that reflects the priorities of news agencies in London, Paris and New York. Reporting of natural disasters and military coups rather than the fundamental realities. At the time four major news agencies controlled over 80% of global news flow.
- An unbalanced flow of mass media from the developed world (especially the United States) to the underdeveloped countries. Everyone watches American movies and television shows.
- Advertising agencies in the developed world have indirect but significant effects on mass media in the developing countries. Some observers also judged the messages of these ads to be inappropriate for the Third World.
- An unfair division of the radio spectrum. A small number of developed countries controlled almost 90% of the radio spectrum. Much of this was for military use.
- There were similar concerns about the allocation of the geostationary orbit (parking spots in space) for satellites. At the time only a small number of developed countries had satellites and it was not possible for developing countries to be allocated a space that they might need ten years later. This might mean eventually getting a space that was more difficult and more expensive to operate.

- Satellite broadcasting of television signals into Third World countries without prior permission was widely perceived as a threat to national sovereignty. The UN voted in the early 1970s against such broadcasts.
- Use of satellites to collect information on crops and natural resources in the Third World at a time when most developing countries lacked the capacity to analyze this data.
- At the time most mainframe computers were located in the United States and there were concerns about the location of databases (such as airline reservations) and the difficulty of developing countries catching up with the US lead in computers.
- The protection of journalists from violence was raised as an issue for discussion. For example, journalists were targeted by various military dictatorships in Latin America in the 1970s. As part of NWICO debates there were suggestions for study on how to protect journalists and even to discipline journalists who broke "generally recognized ethical standards". However, the MacBride Commission specifically came out against the idea of licensing journalists.

Response of the United States

The United States was hostile to NWICO. According to some analysts, the United States saw these issues simply as barriers to the free flow of communication and to the interests of American media corporations. It disagreed with the MacBride report at points where it questioned the role of the private sector in communications. It viewed the NWICO as dangerous to freedom of the press by ultimately putting an organization run by governments at the head of controlling global media, potentially allowing for censorship on a large scale. From another perspective, the MacBride Commission recommendations requiring the licensing of journalists amounted to prior censorship and ran directly counter to basic US law on the freedom of expression.

There were also accusations of corruption at the highest level of UNESCO leadership in Paris. The US eventually withdrew its membership in UNESCO (as did the United Kingdom and Singapore) at the end of 1984. The matter was complicated by debates within UNESCO about Israel's archaeological work in the city of Jerusalem, and about the Apartheid regime in South Africa. The United States rejoined in 2003.

4. Global communication & culture

Globalization theory

Globalization theory was popularized in the 1990s as a model for understanding global communication. The concept of globalization inspired a number of theories from various schools of thought in communication studies that each emphasizes different aspects

of globalization. Many globalization theories highlight actors in the business sector as leaders in the processes of global integration. Transnationalizing business is often celebrated as progression toward a more interconnected world. Globalization theories are often associated with theories of modernity. Some scholars view globalization as the social, political, economic, and cultural integration of societies into a capitalist system; Others see globalization as a successor to modernity, while some see it as an iteration of imperialism. Some question the usefulness and legitimacy of globalization theory, arguing that it does not adequately conceptualize current international relations or function as a lens through which to examine everyday events. Many scholars criticize globalization theories as overzealous toward and unrealistic about the extent of global integration. Some scholars criticize social theorists for offering opinions and predictions based on theory with little practical evidence. In contrast, some scholars work to dispute the pessimistic views of globalization theory.

Cultural imperialism

Cultural imperialism is a mighty civilization exerts culture influence over another. Less economically prominent cultures often import culture from Western countries, which have the economic means to produce a majority of the world's cultural media, mostly via the global transmission of media. The weak civilization adopts the mighty civilization's customs, philosophies, worldviews and general ways of life. The theoretical foundations of the academic study of cultural imperialism mostly come from Michel Foucault's concept of biopower, governmentality and Edward Saïd's concept of Post-colonialism, which theories see cultural imperialism as the cultural legacy of colonialism or forms of Western hegemony. Media effect study which integrated with political-economy traditional is the core argument of cultural imperialism. There are two opposite effects of media study. The negative one is that Western media imposes socio-political conflicts to the developing country and the latter one's resistance to the media effects to preserve their traditional cultural identities. The positive effects are the issues of the process of civilization such as women's right or racial equality with exposing to Western media. Now the term of cultural imperialism usually refers to America's global culture expansion to the rest of world, which include brand name products, video media, fast food and so on.

Communication for development (C4D)

Communication for Development (C4D) is a praxis oriented aspect of global communication studies that approaches global development with a focus on action and participation for social change enacted through communication systems. C4D underlines "voice, citizenship and collective action" as central values that promote citizen-led development where the visiting party provides guidance rather than direction within the host community. C4D often

incorporates bottom-up theories of social change with the aim to create sustainable change which is believed to be more likely to occur if the efforts are planned, implemented, and sustained by community members themselves. Some development workers and academics suggest that a shared definition of communication for development should be clarified, because disagreement within the field can detract from the characteristics that most scholars view as central to current development, including participatory action research (PAR). Many C4D projects revolve around media systems as a central site for social change, which differentiates C4D from other approaches to development. Theories behind C4D highlight that development projects should be contextually situated and that communication technology will affect different types of social change accordingly.

Global cultural industries

Since the rise of the cultural industries has occurred simultaneously with economic globalization, cultural industries have close connections with globalization and global communication.

Herbert Schiller argued that the 'entertainment, communications and information (ECI) complex were having a direct impact on culture and human consciousness. As Schiller argued, the result of transnational corporate expansion is the perpetuation of cultural imperialism, defined as "the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating centre of the system".

The second wave of transnational corporate expansion, which began in the 1970s with the emergence of Export Processing Zones in developing countries, is focused on the development of global production networks. This process was described as a "new international division of labour (NIDL) by the German political economists Fröbel et al. (1980).

Ernst and Kim have argued that GPNs are changing the nature of the multinational corporation itself, from "stand alone overseas investment projects, to "global network flagships" that integrate their dispersed supply, knowledge and customer bases into global and regional production networks", entailing a shift from top-down hierarchical models of corporate control to increasingly networked and collective forms of organization.

Unit II Struggle for Balance of Information Flows

The MacBride Report had been welcomed by the U.S. press with rage, panic and considerable bias. Joseph A. Mehan of UNESCO charges that "with amazing uniformity, U S. newspapers have accused UNESCO of encouraging censorship, state control of the press, licensing of journalists by the state, and, in general, of being the archenemy of

freedom of the press.” The New York Times featured an editorial titled “UNESCO as Censor.” Time magazine issued a full-page editorial statement on “The Global First Amendment War.” Hundreds of newspapers carried stories similar to Editor and Publisher’s “Press Groups Denounce UNESCO Plan on Media.” On the other hand many Third World leaders see a chance for simple justice. 75 The New York Times featured an editorial titled “UNESCO as Censor.” Time magazine issued a full-page editorial statement on “The Global First Amendment War.” Hundreds of newspapers carried stories similar to Editor and Publisher’s “Press Groups Denounce UNESCO Plan on Media.” During the past year and a half there has flowed a small but steady stream of reports full of anger, fear and righteous indignation. For, in these actions the press sees mortal threats to its freedom -- while many Third World leaders see a chance for simple justice.73

This argument, played out in fora such as the Non-Aligned Movement and UNESCO conferences drew support from the Soviet Union, and hostility from Western administrations. It was partly due to fears of the growing "politicization" of UNESCO that the United States and Great Britain withdrew from that organization in the mid 1980s. Because many of these writers argued in particular against de facto media cartels, because of political problems within UNESCO itself, and because of the East-West rivalries of the times, the NWICO debate came to be treated as a confrontation between capitalist West and the Third World backed by Soviet communism. Opponents charged that the NWICO proposals were part of a larger communist agenda. The debate of "balanced flow of information" versus "free flow of information" was focus of the confrontation.74

And the heat was still on when the Western camp put forward its own agenda. In May 1981, some 100 representatives of print and broadcast organizations from the U.S. and 20 other nations met in the French Alps, where they adopted the “Declaration of Talloires,” calling on UNESCO to “abandon attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for the press.” In June, Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, charged that UNESCO had “lent itself to a massive assault on the free flow of information” and challenged General Secretary M’Bow that if he did not remain “neutral” and avoid confrontation on the issue, he faced a battle with the U.S. “This is a war UNESCO cannot win,” Abrams declared.75

The insistence on absolute freedom or a “free flow” of information was seen by the developing nations as the freedom of the fox in the chicken coop. By a free press, in the West, you mean a press owned by a few people who have a commercial monopoly, really a monopoly of the conscience of mankind. They are “the good people” and they “know what is right.” A free press means, for you, that the owner of the press is free to prevent whom he wants from being heard. You don’t have a free press at all. You have a press imprisoned by commercial interests. A. J. Liebling also said it: “Freedom of the press is reserved for those who own one.” 76

After the fall of Berlin Wall the UNESCO stance changed and so the attitudes of dominant Western powers. In new situation neither UNESCO nor the Third World was in position to offer any resistance to the New (extension of the old) World Order. The then US State Secretary James Baker announced that the United States would continue to observe the UNESCO. The main complaint for withdrawn was "politicization" of UNESCO but in new era the organization suffered political bias but that of the West. UNESCO remained excessively politicized. It seems clear, therefore, that the

"politicization" of UNESCO was merely part of a broader phenomenon.

It has become a truism that present information flows are marked by serious inadequacy and imbalance and that most countries are passive recipients of the information disseminated by translational corporations controlled by the developed world and most of them in the United States. The new communication technologies have only serve to widen the gap between those who have access to information and the means of using it and influencing others, and those who do not have these capabilities. In a situation where access to information is dependent solely on wealth and income, no change in this current flow of information seems likely in the future.⁷⁷

During the past three decades, it has been suggested that an imbalance in information production and distribution might underlie uneven world economic development. Fraught with ideology, the debate about a New World Information and Communications Order (NWICO), tended to focus upon media ownership and upon the contending concepts of information as commodity and information as social good, upon the freedom of information as an individual versus a collective right.⁷⁸ The collapse of the Soviet Union might provide an opportunity to overcome past political differences and to get down to the real business of assisting developing nations. The NWICO debate flourished, or perhaps one might more aptly say, raged, throughout much of the 1970s and 1980s in the halls of the United Nations, and particularly within UNESCO. NWICO proponents and opponents alike accepted the premise of a link between economic progress and the availability of information. However, liberal theorists maintained that national cultures and sovereignty were not threatened by information concentration, while structuralists and socialist analysts argued that they were. In particular, the NWICO proponents, mostly drawn from the ranks of non-aligned nations, claimed that Western ownership and control of both the news media and their distribution channels constituted a form of cultural dominance whose covert goal was capitalist economic expansion.⁷⁹

1. India's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the government concerns the policy initiatives made towards other states. The Ministry of External Affairs is responsible for carrying out the foreign policy of India. Foreign policy is currently focused on improving relations with neighboring countries in South Asia, engaging the extended neighborhood in Southeast Asia and the major global powers.

- Even before independence, the Government of India maintained semi-autonomous diplomatic relations.
- After India gained independence it soon joined the Commonwealth of Nations and strongly supported independence movements in other colonies.
- During the Cold War, India adopted a foreign policy of not aligning itself with any major power bloc.

- However, India developed close ties with the Soviet Union and received extensive military support from it.
- The end of the Cold War significantly affected India's foreign policy, as it did for much of the world.

Recent Developments

1. Neighbourhood First

- New Delhi's willingness to give political and diplomatic priority to its immediate neighbours and the Indian Ocean island states
- Provide neighbours with support, as needed, in the form of resources, equipment, and training.
- Greater connectivity and integration, so as to improve the free flow of goods, people, energy, capital, and information.
- India has also become more forthcoming in providing support and in capacity building, whether concluding its biggest ever defense sale to Mauritius, or in providing humanitarian assistance to Nepal or Sri Lanka.
- With Bangladesh, the completion of the Land Boundary Agreement, improvements in energy connectivity and steps taken towards accessing the port of Chittagong have all been crucial developments.
- India's focus on connectivity is also gradually extending outward, whether to Chabahar in Iran or Kaladan in Myanmar.
- India has also expressed its willingness to develop issue-specific groupings that are not held hostage to consensus.
- For example Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal (BBIN) grouping – meant to advance motor vehicle movement, water power management, and inter-grid connectivity
- With respect to all of its neighbours, including Nepal, India has taken concrete steps over the past two years to promote goodwill and deepen economic and social connectivity

2. Bridging diplomacy and development

- One of the major objectives of India's foreign relations has been to leverage international partnerships to advance India's domestic development.
- This includes improving technological access, sourcing capital, adopting best practices, gaining market access, and securing natural resources.
- The recently amended tax treaty with Mauritius is one example of how diplomacy can be used to benefit both investors and the government, and potentially increase India's tax base.
- The overall trajectory for India's development is positive, and the diplomatic momentum has clearly increased.
- India still has a mountain to climb to fully harness external inputs to advance economically, socially, and technologically.

3. Acting East as China rises

- With 'Act East,' the purpose was to show greater intent in realising what had long been an aspiration for India: to become an integral part of Asia.
- The new policy emphasizes a more proactive role for India in ASEAN and East Asian countries.
- Indian concerns regarding China's rise and the upsetting of Asia's delicate balance of power.
- Require a greater priority on improving border infrastructure, on overland connectivity to Southeast Asia via Bangladesh and India's Northeast.

4. Pakistan: Engagement and isolation

- Terrorism emanating against India by entities based in Pakistan and supported by elements of the state remains a top priority.
- Much of China's historical support for Pakistan has been driven by its desire to balance against India.
- The process of both engaging and isolating Pakistan despite repeated provocations will be long, frustrating, and politically unpopular at home.

- India's efforts at internationally isolating it and its offering a viable alternative model of South Asian engagement remain the only real prospect for resolving the Pakistan problem on India's terms.

5. India as a leading power: Raising ambitions

- India is not yet fully in a position to lead, or set the rules of the international order, but it is taking steps to seek full membership of the most important global governance platforms.
- India is already a member of the G20, the East Asia Summit, and the BRICS coalition, a testament to its status as a large country with a fast-growing economy.
- New Delhi also naturally aspires for permanent membership on the UN Security Council.
- India has recently embarked upon institution building of its own. The International Solar Alliance represents one such effort.

6. Indian Ocean Outreach

- Through this policy initiative, India started to reach out its maritime neighbours in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) with proposals of enhanced economic and security cooperation.
- This policy was unfolded during the Indian Prime minister visit to Sri Lanka, Mauritius, and Seychelles.
- With this India can project that it commands a strategic supremacy over the IOR and its relations with its maritime neighbors.
- Link West policy
- In an attempt to strengthen ties with India's western neighbours specially the gulf countries government proposed this policy to complement its Act East policy concerning East Asia.

India's priorities and strategic objectives

- Prioritizing an integrated neighbourhood; "Neighbourhood First."

- Leveraging international partnerships to promote India's domestic development.
- Ensuring a stable and multipolar balance of power in the Indo-Pacific; "Act East."
- Dissuading Pakistan from supporting terrorism.
- Advancing Indian representation and leadership on matters of global governance.

Shortcomings of India's foreign policy

- Country's strategic thinking continues to be guided by bureaucracy rather than strategic thinkers and specialists.
- Fundamental lacuna inherent in the country's strategic behavior is it functions without a grand strategic blueprint.
- Despite its stated global ambitions, India is confined to its South Asian geopolitical space.
- New Delhi's diplomatic efforts is revolving around the issue of Pakistan-backed terrorism and is talking about it at every major international forum instead of larger issues such as foreign direct investment, global partnerships, institutional reforms, economic diplomacy, etc.
- Reducing India's foreign policy focus to terrorism to such an extent demonstrates how tactical we are in our approach.
- New Delhi's relationship with Washington, especially the signing of the 'Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement' (LEMOA) is a clear departure from its traditional policy of not getting into military alliances.
- Sustained negotiations are necessary for the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) membership: public spats with countries like China is not the solution.
- India also does not have a comprehensive national security doctrine which could help pacify insurgencies, manage borders better or fight cross-border terror.

Concerns

- Even as India is increasing its geo-strategic sphere of South Asia, its influence within it is steadily weakened by Chinese economic and military power.
- New Delhi's focus on terrorism has compromised India's strategic relationship with China.
- India's insufficient commercial integration with Southeast and East Asia.
- Gaps between diplomatic efforts and agents of domestic implementation.
- Political resistance to engagement with Pakistan.
- Relative inexperience with leading on matters of global governance.

Way forward

- Long-term strategic thinking requires intellectual depth and an ability to look beyond the tactical considerations.
- There needs to be institutional coordination and follow-up action on the government's key initiatives.
- If there are well-articulated strategic doctrines, institutions will learn to refer to them and adjust their policies accordingly, leading to a lot more coherence in the country's strategic behavior.
- A national security doctrine would require a great deal of political consultation, careful scenario building, and net assessment by experts.
- Strategic thinking can flourish when the political class commits to institutional reform, intellectual investment and consensus building.

2. India and SAARC

SAARC was established in December 1985 during the first SAARC summit that was held in Dhaka. After gaining independence from the British rule, India adopted the policy of NSR or National Self Reliance and next formed SAARC along with 6 other member nations of South Asia namely: Bangladesh, Bhutan, Pakistan, Nepal, Maldives, India and Sri Lanka which continue to be its members till date.

India succeeded in building excellent trade relations and cordial relations on social, political and economic front with the 6 SAARC countries.

India has been an active member of the SAARC and aims at fostering better mutual understanding by supporting people-to-people initiatives. India offers a great source of potential investment in terms of trade and commerce as it is the sole SAARC member to be sharing borders with all 6 members via land or sea.

SAARC's prime objectives include: promoting the welfare of the people of South Asia, accelerating the Economic growth, social progress; providing dignified livelihood to all individuals and on a larger scale promoting the self-reliance amongst the South Asian nations and building trust and appreciation for other countries' problem.

In the way of achieving these objectives, poverty has been major hindrance. India offered a contribution of US \$ 100 million at the twelfth Summit held at Islamabad in 2004.

India's disputes and military rivalry with Pakistan is believed to be the cause of ineffectiveness of SAARC in integrating South Asian countries. If Indo-Pak relations improve, many SAARC nations could benefit from it by improved trade relations and creation of better export markets. SAARC has failed to work towards regional co-operation mainly because India has been reluctant to solve major regional disputes which have given rise to economic and political problems in South Asia.

Since India has an unbeatable economic, military strength and international influence compared to all 6 members of SAARC, the disparity of power brings in the reluctance from smaller states to work with India. They have fear of dominance from India if they co-operate in order to facilitate faster economic growth.

India has also heightened the fears of South Asian nations by acting in a dominating and arrogant way. Its dispute with neighboring Bangladesh due to redirection of water flows impacting Bangladesh's agricultural production has kept Bangladesh afraid of its powers.

Nepal is also fearful that India may take over its world trade because of its geographical suitability. As a result of all these fears and disagreements, SAARC has failed to promote regional co-operation and mutual trust amongst the South Asian countries.

The tension between India and Sri Lanka that prevailed for 4 years over Indian Military trying to curb the revolution by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil E Elam and Indo-Pak Dispute over the Kashmir valley and the resulting Trade violations are enough to prove that South Asian countries fail to achieve SAARC objectives by any means.

India must come to the front and initiate measures to encourage nations to prove their mettle and make the SAARC summit a meaningful affair. Appropriate measures should be taken with the intent of maintaining peace and resolving disputes amongst the SAARC member countries. Special Economic Zones and Export Promotion Zones should be created in all member countries to make trading easier and smooth the relations between the South Asian nations.

3. India and UN

India was among the original members of the United Nations that signed the Declaration by United Nations at Washington, D.C. on 1944 October and also participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. As a founding member of the United Nations, India strongly supports the purposes and principles of the UN and has made significant contributions in implementing the goals of the Charter, and the evolution of the UN's specialised programmes and agencies.

India has been a member of the UN Security Council for seven terms (a total of 14 years), with the most recent being the 2011–12 term. India is a member of G4, group of nations who back each other in seeking a permanent seat on the Security Council and advocate in favour of the reformation of the UNSC. India is also part of the G-77.

India is a charter member of the United Nations and participates in all of its specialized agencies and organizations. India has contributed troops to United Nations peacekeeping efforts in Korea, Egypt and the Congo in its earlier years and in Somalia, Angola, Haiti, Liberia, Lebanon and Rwanda in recent years, and more recently in the South Sudan conflict

India was one of the original members of the League of Nations. In principle, only sovereign states can become UN members. However, although today all UN members are fully sovereign states, four of the original members (Belarus, India, the Philippines, and Ukraine)

were not independent at the time of their admission. India signed the Declaration by United Nations on 1 January 1942 and was represented by Girija Shankar Bajpai who was the Indian Agent-General at the time. Afterwards the Indian delegation led by Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar signed the United Nations Charter on behalf of India during the historic United Nations Conference on International Organization held in San Francisco, United States on 26 June 1945. Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar later went on to serve as the first president of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Technically, India was a founding member in October 1945, despite it being a British colony. India, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia were all British colonies but were given independent seats in the United Nations General Assembly. India gained full independence in 1947.

Independent India viewed its membership at the United Nations as an important guarantee for maintaining international peace and security. India stood at the forefront during the UN's tumultuous years of struggle against colonialism and apartheid. India's status as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 cemented its position within the UN system as a leading advocate of the concerns and aspirations of developing countries and the creation of a more equitable international economic and political order. India was among the most outspoken critics of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, being the first country to have raised the issue in the UN (in 1946).

4. Role of UN & UNESCO in bridging the gap between north and south

The role of the media in the changing world is now more important, more relevant than ever, it involves mobilization, a call which has to emanate from the people, who can and must participate.

UNESCO reaffirms its commitment to the "free flow of information" in order to encourage the free flow of ideas by word and image and a wider and a better balance, dissemination of all forms of information contributing to the advancement of societies without any obstacle to freedom of expression, both through the traditional media and new electronic media system.

sectors of Communication, information and informatics, Culture and Education. This inter-sectoral project is aimed at strengthening UNESCO's role as a forum of reflection and clearing house on the impact of new information and technologies. UNESCO is also committed to capacity building in Communication, information and informatics to help member states, particularly the developing countries and disadvantaged communities world-wide to strengthen their capacities in communication, information and informatics. The mainlines of action for this are-(1) assistance to project for the development of communication (2) training of communication professionals (3) development of community media. UNESCO also continues to support the development of library and information service at the national and regional levels.

- (1) Development of library and information services
- (2) Restoration of world libraries
- (3) Upgrading of archival services

Unit-II India and Major Concerns

1. Rapid Urbanization

Urbanization refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas, "the gradual increase in the proportion of people living in urban areas", and the ways in which each society adapts to the change. It is predominantly the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more people begin living and working in central areas. The United Nations projected that half of the world's population would live in urban areas at the end of 2008. It is predicted that by 2050 about 64% of the developing world and 86% of the developed world will be urbanized. That is equivalent to approximately 3 billion urbanites by 2050, much of which will occur in Africa and Asia. Notably, the United Nations has also recently projected that nearly all global population growth from 2017 to 2030 will be absorbed by cities, about 1.1 billion new urbanites over the next 13 years.

Urbanization is relevant to a range of disciplines,

including geography, sociology, economics, urban planning, and public health. The phenomenon has been closely linked to modernization, industrialization, and the sociological process of rationalization. Urbanization can be seen as a specific condition at a set time (e.g. the proportion of total population or area in cities or towns) or as an increase in that condition over time. So urbanization can be quantified either in terms of, say, the level of urban development relative to the overall population, or as the rate at which the urban proportion of the population is increasing. Urbanization creates enormous social, economic and environmental changes, which provide an opportunity for sustainability with the "potential to use resources more efficiently, to create more sustainable land use and to protect the biodiversity of natural ecosystems."

Urbanization is not merely a modern phenomenon, but a rapid and historic transformation of human social roots on a global scale, whereby predominantly rural culture is being rapidly replaced by predominantly urban culture. The first major change in settlement patterns was the accumulation of hunter-gatherers into villages many thousand years ago. Village culture is characterized by common bloodlines, intimate relationships, and communal behavior, whereas urban culture is characterized by distant bloodlines, unfamiliar relations, and competitive behavior. This unprecedented movement of people is forecast to continue and intensify during the next few decades, mushrooming cities to sizes unthinkable only a century ago. As a result, the world urban population growth curve has up till recently followed a quadratic-hyperbolic pattern

Today, in Asia the urban agglomerations

of Osaka, Karachi, Jakarta, Mumbai, Shanghai, Manila, Seoul and Beijing are each already

home to over 20 million people, while Delhi and Tokyo are forecast to approach or exceed 40 million people each within the coming decade. Outside Asia, Mexico City, São Paulo, London, New York City, Istanbul, Lagos and Cairo are, or soon will be, home to over 10 million people each.

2. Food Self-Sufficiency

Food self-sufficiency gained increased attention in a number of countries in the wake of the 2007–08 international food crisis, as countries sought to buffer themselves from volatility on world food markets. Food self-sufficiency is often presented in policy circles as the direct opposite of international trade in food, and is widely critiqued by economists as a misguided approach to food security that places political priorities ahead of economic efficiency. This paper takes a closer look at the concept of food self-sufficiency and makes the case that policy choice on this issue is far from a straightforward binary choice between the extremes of relying solely on homegrown food and a fully open trade policy for foodstuffs. It shows that in practice, food self-sufficiency is defined and measured in a number of different ways, and argues that a broader understanding of the concept opens up space for considering food self-sufficiency policy in relative terms, rather than as an either/or policy choice. Conceptualizing food self-sufficiency along a continuum may help to move the debate in a more productive direction, allowing for greater consideration of instances when the pursuit of policies to increase domestic food production may make sense both politically and economically.

Food self-sufficiency has moved higher on the policy agenda in a number of countries following the extreme food price volatility experienced during the 2007–08 food price crisis and its aftershocks. Countries as diverse as Senegal, India, the Philippines, Qatar, Bolivia, and Russia have all expressed interest in improving their levels of food self-sufficiency. This policy turn has been widely critiqued as being misguided. The *Financial Times*, for example, noted in a 2009 editorial on the topic that the “aim of self-sufficiency in food would be disastrous globally” (Financial Times, 2009). The debate over food self-sufficiency is often cast as one in which economic reasoning and political imperatives clash. On one hand, proponents of food self-sufficiency defend the political right of states to insulate themselves from the vagaries of world food markets by increasing their reliance on domestic food production. On the other hand, critics argue that there

are high costs to states that prioritize political over economic considerations in setting their food policies.

This paper examines the concept of food self-sufficiency in the context of debates on trade and food security and makes the case that policy choice on this issue is far from a straightforward binary choice between the extremes of relying solely on homegrown food and a fully open trade policy for foodstuffs. It shows that in practice, food self-sufficiency is defined and measured in a number of different ways. The paper argues that taking a broader understanding of the concept opens up space for considering food self-sufficiency policy in a more nuanced way, rather than as an either/or policy choice. Conceptualizing food self-sufficiency in relative terms, and policies to support it along a continuum between closed borders and fully open trade, allows for greater consideration of instances when the pursuit of policies to increase a country's food production for its own domestic consumption may provide both economic and political benefits.

The first section of the paper provides an overview of the concept of food self-sufficiency and the various ways in which it is typically defined and measured. Section two outlines recent trends in food self-sufficiency for both the world's population and for countries. The third section sketches out the evolution of policy debates on this question, showing that food self-sufficiency has long been a key concern of states, and how recent critiques of the idea have painted it in binary terms. Section four discusses how a conceptualization of the idea in relative terms, along a continuum, can help to open space to consider the ways in which the risks of food self-sufficiency, as outlined by its critics, might be weighed against the risks of relying too heavily on world markets to ensure an adequate and stable food supply.

2. Defining and measuring food self-sufficiency

Food self-sufficiency is an often-used term, but it is frequently left undefined by those who employ it. This may be because there is more than one definition of the concept.¹ The FAO (1999) defines it in broad terms: "The concept of food self-sufficiency is generally taken to mean the extent to which a country can satisfy its food needs from its own domestic production." This understanding is illustrated in Fig. 1. In the diagram, the diagonal line that indicates where food production is equal to food consumption represents 100% food self-sufficiency. The diagram could be further refined by plotting individual countries onto it to show where they fall relative to the 100% self-sufficiency line. Some countries would fall over the line, indicating that they are more than self-sufficient, and some countries would fall below it, indicating that they are in food deficit.²

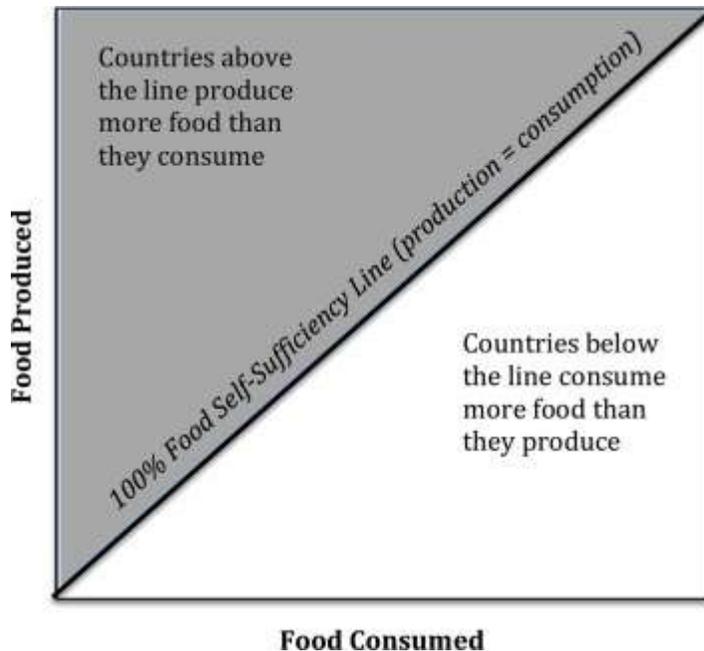


Fig. 1. Basic representation of food self-sufficiency.

Source: Clapp, 2015a.

This basic definition—a country producing sufficient food to cover its own needs—is how people typically understand the idea of food self-sufficiency, but some aspects of it are still fuzzy. It is unclear, for example, whether a country that pursues food self-sufficiency still engages in food trade with other countries. Determining how trade fits into the food self-sufficiency policies of individual countries requires further refinement of the definition of the concept and clarification with respect to how it guides government policy choice.

Some analysts define food self-sufficiency as a country eschewing all food trade and relying 100% on domestic food production to meet its food needs. This definition can be characterized as a country closing its borders and adopting complete autarky for its food sector. An extreme policy stance such as this is very rare in practice. All countries rely on imports for at least some of their food consumption, including large food exporters that produce far more food than they consume. Even, North Korea, the country with policies that most approach autarky, still imports food and accepts international food assistance (FAO, 2015a).

Given the prevalence of trade in today's global economy, a more pragmatic understanding of food self-sufficiency is domestic food production that is equal to or exceeds 100% of a country's food consumption. Trade is not ruled out within this definition, as food self-sufficiency is defined by the ratio of food produced to food consumed at the domestic level. Understood this way, food self-sufficiency is not necessarily focused on where specific foods are grown, but rather on a country's domestic food production capacity. Under this definition, self-sufficient

countries may still pursue a degree of agricultural specialization in order to trade these foods with other countries. The key point is that food self-sufficient countries produce an amount of food that is equal to or greater than the amount of food that they consume. A key indicator that captures this more practical understanding of the concept is the self-sufficiency ratio (SSR), which expresses food production as a ratio of available supply, as depicted by the following equation (FAO, 2012: 360):

$$\text{SSR} = \frac{\text{Production} \times 100}{\text{Production} + \text{Imports} - \text{Exports}}$$

The SSR can be further refined to include fluctuations in the level of domestic food stocks (Puma et al., 2015). The SSR can be measured in either calories or in volume of food produced by a country, although it can also be calculated based on monetary values. The SSR is typically calculated for a specific commodity or class of commodities—such as rice, wheat, maize, or cereals. The FAO recommends caution in applying the SSR concept to the overall food situation of a country, because it may mask instances where a country produces one food commodity in abundance while needing to rely on imports for other food commodities (FAO, 2012: 361). Most SSR analyses focus on key staple crops, such as cereals and starchy roots, in order to give an approximation of food self-sufficiency of a country.

Food self-sufficiency can also be measured in terms of a country's dietary energy production (DEP) per capita. Countries that produce 2500 kcal (kcal) or more per person per day are typically considered to be self-sufficient, as consumption of at least this many calories per day is seen by most nutritionists to be necessary to ensure an adequate diet (Porkka et al., 2013). Analysis by Porkka et al. (2013: 3), classified food production between 2000 and 2500 kcal per person per day as "insufficient", and production below 2000 kcal per day as "low".

These various indicators of food self-sufficiency give some clues as to the trade and food security status of countries, but they are not the same thing. Under both the SSR and DEP measures of food self-sufficiency, for example, a self-sufficient country can be an active importer and exporter of food. Most net food exporting countries are typically also self-sufficient, and most net food importing countries are not self-sufficient, but this is not necessarily always the case.⁴ Similarly, food self-sufficiency does not guarantee food security within a country, although the two concepts relate to one another. A country is considered food secure if food is available, accessible, nutritious, and stable across the other three dimensions (FAO, 2008). But food security as a concept does not distinguish whether that food is imported from abroad or grown domestically (Clapp, 2014). Food self-sufficiency, on the other hand, is focused on the supply, or availability component of food security, and is concerned with ensuring that the country has the capacity to produce food in sufficient quantities to meet its domestic needs. Some analysts also see food self-sufficiency as supporting stability in the food supply, while others contend that it can contribute to instability.

Part of what makes food self-sufficiency a complex issue is that different countries face diverse situations that make policy generalizations very difficult. For example, some countries that are more than self-sufficient in food at the country level can still have high levels of hunger and malnutrition among their population. Countries in this situation may produce more than enough of some

food crops, but too little of others that are required for a healthy diet. High levels of poverty in some self-sufficient countries may hinder food access for certain segments of the population. Other self-sufficient countries, on the other hand, have little difficulty in ensuring that their populations have access to an adequate and nutritious diet.

Likewise, some countries that have SSRs well below 100% may have no problem in securing adequate food supplies for their population through a reliance on international trade. High-income countries, for example, can easily afford imported food even when food prices on world markets are high and/or volatile. Yet other countries with SSRs below 100% may find it very difficult to secure adequate food imports for their population. Each country faces a unique set of circumstances regarding its ability to command food for its population, depending on its productive capacity, ability to import food, and ability to equitably distribute food domestically (Clapp, 2015a).

3. Criminalization of Politics

"Criminalization of politics" is a political buzzword in the United States used in the media, by commentators, bloggers as well as by defenders of high-ranking government officials who have been indicted or have faced criminal or ethical investigations.

Most recently, the term has been applied to proceedings against President George W. Bush's advisers and the Republican Party leadership in Congress, including Tom DeLay, Bill Frist, and Karl Rove (see Plame affair). The position of their defenders, who include Robert Novak, William Kristol and Rush Limbaugh, is that the accusations against these officials lack substance and Democratic partisans seek to weaken them for political reasons, perhaps to the point of retaking Congress in 2006.

The position of many Democrats is that the cause of the plethora of investigations is the "culture of corruption" established by the Republicans in power, and that anyone who has broken laws or rules must face the consequences. The opponents also point out that some of the politicians denouncing the current pursuit of alleged Republican misconduct have in the past called for vigorous pursuit of alleged Democratic misconduct.

The phrase was previously used by supporters of President Bill Clinton in reference to legal action against members of his administration, including Henry Cisneros. During the Watergate scandal, supporters of Richard Nixon claimed that he was guilty of nothing more than "hard-ball politics."

1. Naxalism

A **Naxal** or **Naxalite** is a member of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The term *Naxal* derives from the name of the village Naxalbari in West Bengal, where the

movement had its origin. Naxalites are considered far-left radical communists, supportive of Maoist political sentiment and ideology. Their origin can be traced to the split in 1967 of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), leading to the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist). Initially the movement had its centre in West Bengal. In later years, it spread into less developed areas of rural southern and eastern India, such as Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana through the activities of underground groups like the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

Unit-IV Global Issues

1. Terrorism and anti-terror measures

Counter-terrorism incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism. Counter-terrorism strategies include attempts to counter financing of terrorism.

If terrorism is part of a broader insurgency, counter-terrorism may employ counter-insurgency measures. The United States Armed Forces use the term foreign internal defense for programs that support other countries in attempts to suppress insurgency, lawlessness, or subversion or to reduce the conditions under which these threats to security may develop.

In response to the escalating terror campaign in Britain carried out by the militant Irish Fenians in the 1880s, the Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, established the first counter-terrorism unit ever. The Special Irish Branch was initially formed as a section of the Criminal Investigation Department of the London Metropolitan Police in 1883, to combat Irish republican terrorism through infiltration and subversion.

Harcourt envisioned a permanent unit dedicated to the prevention of politically motivated violence through the use of modern techniques such as undercover infiltration. This pioneering branch was the first to be trained in counter-terrorism techniques.

Its name was changed to Special Branch as it had its remit gradually expanded to incorporate a general role in counterterrorism, combating foreign subversion and infiltrating organized crime. Law enforcement agencies, in Britain and elsewhere, established similar units.

Counterterrorism forces expanded with the perceived growing threat of terrorism in the late 20th century. Specifically, after the September 11 attacks, Western governments made counter-terrorism efforts a priority, including more foreign cooperation, shifting tactics involving red teams and preventive measures.

2. Human Rights Issues

Human rights in India is an issue complicated by the country's large size & population, widespread poverty, lack of proper education & its diverse culture, even though being the world's largest sovereign, secular, democratic republic. The Constitution of India provides for Fundamental rights, which include freedom of religion. Clauses also provide for freedom of speech, as well as separation of executive and judiciary and freedom of movement within the country and abroad. The country also has an independent judiciary and well as bodies to look into issues of human rights.

The 2016 report of Human Rights Watch accepts the above-mentioned faculties but goes to state that India has "serious human rights concerns. Civil society groups face harassment and government critics face intimidation and lawsuits. Free speech has come under attack both from the state and by interest groups. Muslim and Christian minorities accuse authorities of not doing enough to protect their rights. But in the recent years, more emphasis is given to minority rights & freedom of speech. The government is yet to repeal laws that grant public officials and security forces immunity from prosecution for abuses.

2. Gender Issues

Gender equality, also known as **sexual equality**, is the state of equal ease of access to resources and opportunities regardless of gender, including economic participation and decision-making; and the state of valuing different behaviors, aspirations and needs equally, regardless of gender.

Gender equality, equality between men and women, entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities.

— *ABC Of Women Worker's Rights And Gender Equality, ILO, 2000. p. 48.*

Gender equality is the goal, while gender neutrality and gender equity are practices and ways of thinking that help in achieving the goal. Gender parity, which is used to measure gender balance in a given situation, can aid in achieving gender equality but is not the goal in

and of itself. Gender equality is more than equal representation, it is strongly tied to women's rights, and often requires policy changes. As of 2017, the global movement for gender equality has not incorporated the proposition of genders besides women and men, or gender identities outside of the gender binary.

UNICEF says gender equality "means that women and men, and girls and boys, enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities and protections. It does not require that girls and boys, or women and men, be the same, or that they be treated exactly alike.

On a global scale, achieving gender equality also requires eliminating harmful practices against women and girls, including sex trafficking, femicide, wartime sexual violence, and other oppression tactics. UNFPA stated that, "despite many international agreements affirming their human rights, women are still much more likely than men to be poor and illiterate. They have less access to property ownership, credit, training and employment. They are far less likely than men to be politically active and far more likely to be victims of domestic violence.

As of 2017, gender equality is the fifth of seventeen sustainable development goals of the United Nations. Gender inequality is measured annually by the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Reports.