

Political outcomes

The political aspects of globalisation — and the question of whether tolerance will be sufficient to build a better world in the future.

Outline

Loss of sovereignty

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The diminishing effectiveness of political borders on the flows of goods, capital, labour and ideas, and the role of multi-government organisations. The shift of power from nation states to TNCs as a result of economic size and dominance. The wealth of TNCs compared with nation states.



Loss of Sovereignty

What is a Nation-State?

The 1990s was a decade of enormous change for atlas makers. In the early 1990s, the Soviet Union disintegrated and 15 new countries were created as a result. At about the same time, Yugoslavia began a process of disintegration and turmoil that was still continuing a decade later. This turmoil resulted in the creation of yet more countries. This process was not new – new countries are created while others disintegrate, and the map of the world has always been changing to reflect political changes. Indeed, an atlas published a century ago is of almost no use today to study national boundaries except in an historical sense.

Each of these countries in the world should correctly be called a **nation-state**. A nation-state is a defined area of territory that is under the control of a single government that controls the economy, political organisation and external security. Although this may seem a simple definition at first sight, it often results in complex situations and conflicts that are difficult to resolve.

Responses to the loss of sovereignty

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The resurgence of nationalism as a country attempts to regain control of its resources and culture. Anti-globalisation movements. Attempts to control migration.



ToK BoX — Pages 649 and 659 Political ideologies Tolerance and relativism



The world has not always been divided into nation-states. Through most of human history, groups of people organised themselves in tribes. Each tribe shared a common language, culture, religion and history. In Europe, alliances, conflicts

and revolutions resulted in some tribes and communities being conquered or amalgamated with others, forming larger and larger political territories. In 1648, a peace treaty known as the Treaty of Westphalia acknowledged the existence of independent sovereign states for the first time, and the concept of the nation-state is often seen to date from that time. When Europeans began to colonise other parts of the world, the nation-state concept came to be applied in all continents as boundaries and territories were defined.

Some communities have only embraced the concept of the nation-state quite recently, if at all. Even today there are groups within countries such as Papua New Guinea, Congo and Ethiopia who see their 'nation' as their tribe, and their territory as the valley or area they have traditionally controlled. For such people, the tribe in the neighbouring valley is seen as a different nation with a

different language whom they have traditionally fought against in war (figure 17.1). This creates quite a challenge for the governments of countries such as Ethiopia, Congo and Papua New Guinea government in Port Moresby as they try to build a strong loyalty to a single nation-state that includes traditional enemies.

The nation-state is different from the concept of nation, which is closer to the traditional smaller grouping just described in Papua New Guinea. A **nation** is a community of people bound together by a common culture and history, who have a collective sense of being different from others. Although nations and nation-states sometimes coincide, they usually do not. Thus, the Basque people who have their own language and live in the Pyrenees mountains of Europe are a nation which happens to inhabit some territory in the nation-states of France and Spain. In a similar way, Indigenous Australians are members of one nation within the nation-state of Australia. The Kurds are a nation of about 20 million people who mainly live in five nation-states – Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria and Armenia.



17.1 Members of the Mursi tribe in southern Ethiopia. The Mursi have a strong loyalty to their tribe rather than to the national territory of Ethiopia, with which they do not identify. A distinctive feature of the Mursi is that the adult women identify themselves with large round lip plates that are up to 15 centimetres in diameter, inserted into a slit separating their lower lip and jaw.

Having defined the ‘nation-state’, the common question many people ask is “how many nation-states are there in the world today?”. This is a surprisingly difficult question to answer, because it is not always clear whether a place is a nation-state or not. For example, Scotland is part of the United Kingdom, but it has its own sports teams, its own flag, its own National Assembly and issues some denominations (but not all) of its own currency. Therefore, is Scotland a nation-state, or is it part of the United Kingdom?

Most authorities recognise very small micro-states as nation-states, examples being Andorra, Monaco and the Vatican. Some countries recognise the Republic of Kosovo as a separate nation-state, but other countries regard it as still part of Serbia (figure 17.2). No countries

recognise the Republic of Transdnestr (or Pridnestrovie as it is sometimes known), which is a breakaway region on the border between Moldova and Ukraine, and yet the area has functioned effectively as a separate nation-state since it declared its independence from Moldova in 1992.



17.2 A general view of Priština, the capital of Kosovo.



17.3 The Governor's Residence in Macau during the time when Macau was a Portuguese colony, flying the Portuguese flag. Macau was returned to China in December 1999, and is now a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China. It has the distinction of being the first European colony in Asia, and also the last.

There are other examples of places that could be defined as a nation-state, but which are unclear. Figure 17.3 shows the Governor's Palace in Macau when it was still a Portuguese colony. Colonies are not nation-states. Although they have a defined territory, permanent inhabitants and sometimes a separate structure of administration, they lack full control over their internal affairs. In December 1999, Macau was handed over to China and it became a Special Administrative Region, like Hong Kong. Is Macau now a nation-state? It is issuing its own stamps and currency and has its own flag and administration, although is controlled ultimately from Beijing as being part of China. The case of Greenland is also difficult. It has its own flag, issues its own postage stamps and is entirely self-governing for internal affairs, but relies on Denmark for defence and foreign policy, uses Danish currency and is represented by several seats in the Danish parliament (figure 17.4).



17.4 The Greenlandic flag, flying on a fishing vessel.

One criterion often applied to whether a place is a nation-state or not is whether it is a member of the United Nations. However, this would have excluded Switzerland as a nation-state as it had chosen not to be a member until 2002. Furthermore, Yugoslavia was excluded from UN membership for a period of time, but obviously this did not mean it ceased to be a nation-state. Israel is a member of the UN, but about 20 Arab nation-states insist that Israel does not exist as a nation-state.

Another possible criterion is whether a country competes in the Olympic Games. This would allow both China and Taiwan (which competes as Chinese Taipei) to be seen as separate nation-states, even though the United Nations excludes Taiwan from membership because it considers the People's Republic of China to be "the only lawful representatives of China" at the UN and does not question China's claim that Taiwan is part of China. If participation in the Olympics became a criterion for status as a nation-state, Scotland would be excluded, although at another level, Scotland has its own soccer and rugby teams that compete in international competitions.

There is even disagreement over which is the smallest nation-state in the world. The smallest territory to make a claim is the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, which occupies 1.2 hectares in a building in Rome. It issues its own coins and has diplomatic relations with over 100 nation-states. However, it is not recognised by the majority of nation-states, is not a member of the UN, does not have sporting teams which compete in the Olympic Games, and is not viable without Italian support.

So there is probably no 'right' answer to the question of how many nation-states exist in the world. There are 192 members of the UN, although the UN also has several non-member observers, including the Vatican, Palestine and the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. There were 204 members of the Olympic movement registered to compete in the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. The Guinness Book of Records used to list 191 sovereign states plus 65 non-sovereign territories (making a total of 256), but complaints from various groups opposing the status

of certain areas as nation-states led Guinness to stop publishing their list in 2004. The Instituto del Tercer Mundo in Uruguay which produces the biannual book the World Guide lists 217 countries, and the Travellers' Century Club, a US-based organisation for people who have visited over 100 countries, lists 319 (of which Alaska is a separate entity and each emirate of the United Arab Emirates is also separated).

Even these numbers are certain to change constantly. Currently, the world's newest country is Kosovo, which declared independence from Serbia in February 2008. Prior to that, the newest country was Montenegro, which became a country in June 2006 after separating from Serbia. Since 1990, 28 new nation-states have come into being, and unless history changes dramatically from past trends, other nation-states will separate, amalgamate and be invaded in the years ahead.

QUESTION BLOCK 17A

1. What is the difference between a 'nation' and a 'nation-state'?
2. Name some examples of nations which are not nation-states.
3. How many nation-states are there in the world today?

The Changing Role of the Nation-State

Since the mid-1600s when nation-states emerged as the dominant form of organising the territories of the world, they have performed two main roles. First, nation-states have exercised political and administrative control over areas of land and the people living within those areas. Second, they have dominated relations between people in different areas, sometimes through trade but at other times by conflict and war.

Nation-states exist in a world of differing **power relationships** in which some nation-states are stronger than others. As globalisation has occurred in recent decades, the role of nation-states changed somewhat as the rise of other powerful bodies – **transnational corporations** and **international organisations** – became more significant. Before the 1960s, nation-states had only to deal with each other; today they must also deal with these other powerful organisations, not only TNCs but organisations such as the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation.

Challenges to National Sovereignty

The growing importance of international organisations and transnational corporations has led some people to question the power of the nation-state today. As long ago as 1969, the historical economist and author Charles Kindleberger wrote "the nation-state is just about through as an economic unit", although another writer (Michael

Porter) wrote much more recently that “while globalisation of competition might appear to make the (nation-state) less important, instead it seems to make it more so”.

On balance, it seems that Porter’s view is more realistic. Governments of nation-states continue to play a major role in global politics and international trade. All governments in the world influence the markets and economies in their own nation-states, and international agreements are always subject to government approval and control. Therefore, the nation-state is still extremely powerful in shaping the global economy.

To some extent, nation-states **compete** against each other globally in a similar way that companies compete within a national economy. Nation-states compete to attract **foreign investment**, to sell exports and to gain a competitive advantage over other nation-states. Some historians argue that the reason Japan declared war in 1941 was because it thought it could get access to resources more cheaply by invading the countries of East and South-east Asia than by trading with them. Many commentators also assert that the United States invasion of Iraq in 2003 was economically motivated, the main purpose being to secure reliable and affordable supplies of oil in the face of opposition from the-then Iraqi President, Saddam Hussein.

Of course, competition between nation-states is more complex than competition between companies. Corporations are usually solely (or primarily) driven by profits, and if they make a loss they go out of business. On the other hand, nation-states do not go out of business, however much they suffer when economic performance is poor. Furthermore, nation-states are not direct rivals in the same sense that Coca-Cola and Pepsi are rivals. When Pepsi’s market share increases, it is almost always solely at the expense of Coca-Cola, and vice versa. However, if the economy of a nation-state performs well, it is not necessarily at the expense of another nation-state’s economy.



17.5 The powerful influence of TNCs such as Nestlé and Pepsi is demonstrated by their strong visible presence on these tall buildings in Caracas, Venezuela.

The role and importance of transnational corporations was described in chapter 16. **Transnational corporations** (TNCs) are seen as posing an increasing threat to nation-states. Transnational corporations today are estimated to control more than a quarter of the world’s economic activity. This gives TNCs enormous bargaining power when negotiating with national governments as they can easily threaten to relocate to another country if they do not easily get what they want in negotiations (figure 17.5). Governments are accountable for their actions to the voters (depending upon the system of government operating in the country), whereas TNCs are subject to the control of much smaller and more elite groups of people, notably the company’s shareholders. Therefore, some commentators feel that TNCs are less likely than governments to make decisions that reflect the interests of the broad mass of the population.

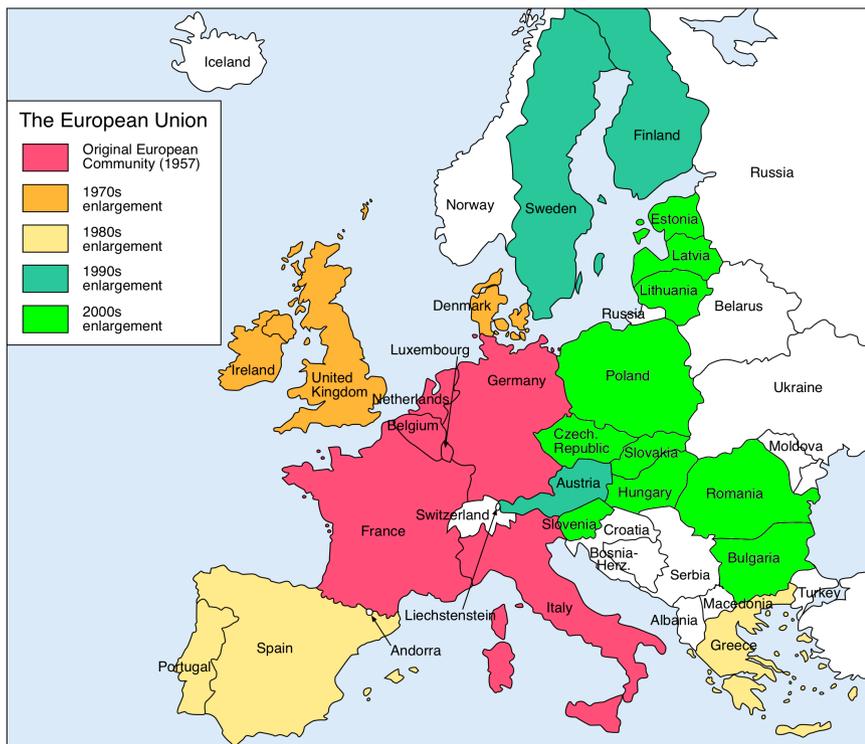
With more nation-states recognising the advantages of co-operation rather than competition, several **regional economic blocs** grew during the period from 1950 to the present. There are four types of economic bloc with varying degrees of integration:

- **Free-trade areas** are groups of nation-states which have agreed to remove trade restrictions between themselves, but retain independent trade policies towards non-members.
- **Customs unions** extend the free-trade area arrangements by establishing common policies and tariffs against non-members.
- **Common markets** extend the customs union arrangements still further by permitting free movement of workers and goods between members.
- **Economic unions** integrate the economies of the members even more than in the common market by ensuring that each member’s economic policies are in harmony and by agreeing to national control by international agencies established by the economic union. An economic union is the strongest form of regional economic integration short of political union.

The differences between these four types of regional economic blocs are summarised in figure 17.6. Over 100 regional economic blocs now exist, with notable examples including NAFTA (the ‘North American Free Trade Agreement’ between Canada, the United States and Mexico), MERCOSUR (‘Southern Zone Common Market’, a customs union between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and AFTA (‘ASEAN Free Trade Agreement’ between the Association of South-east Asian Nations [ASEAN] of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam). A free-trade agreement also exists between

	Free-Trade Area	Customs Union	Common Market	Economic Union
Removal of trade restrictions between member states	✓	✓	✓	✓
Common external trade policy towards non-members		✓	✓	✓
Free movement of factors of production between member states			✓	✓
Harmonisation of economic policies under supranational control				✓

17.6 Types of regional economic integration.



17.7 Expansion of the European Union.

Australia and New Zealand, effectively creating a common market between the two countries.

Of the regional economic blocs, the largest and most successful has been the **European Union (EU)**. The EU had its origins in the 1950s when six nation-states – France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg – formed the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1958, customs duties between the six members were abolished, and in 1968 they introduced a common external tariff. Membership of the EEC increased during the 1970s with the addition of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, and during the 1980s with the addition of Greece, Portugal and Spain.

A desire to further strengthen economic ties led to the signing in 1991 of the Treaty of Maastricht. This created the European Union, agreeing to abolish passport checks between members, introduce a single currency the

‘euro’, (€), and readjust national economic policies to conform to EU standards. Some nation-states have been reluctant to embrace all these reforms, Britain being the most notable example. Membership was further expanded during the 1990s with the addition of Austria, Finland and Sweden, and since 2000 with the addition of Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia (figure 17.7). Membership is likely to expand in the future as other applications from Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey are being considered. Current membership of the EU is 27 nation-states.

The ultimate goal of the European Union is to be ‘an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen’. The EU states its objective is to promote economic and social progress that is balanced and sustainable, assert the European identity on the international scene and introduce a European citizenship for the nationals of the Member States. The European Union has its own flag, its own anthem and celebrates Europe Day on 9th May. With many of the symbols of a nation-state, some people in Europe (and especially in Britain) fear that membership of the EU will mean a loss of sovereignty and a political union will become inevitable (figure 17.8).

Membership of the EU seems to have had a very positive impact on the economic development of member states. On the other hand, the formation of the EU has damaged the economic development of some other countries.



17.8 The Headquarters of the European Commission, which is the executive body of the European Union, in Brussels (Belgium). The EU has become an additional layer of government for member states in Europe.

For example, before the United Kingdom (UK) entered the EU, Commonwealth countries such as New Zealand and Australia enjoyed preferential import taxes when they exported goods to the UK. When the UK joined the EU, the UK was obliged to treat Australia and New Zealand like any other non-EU member, and this caused a sharp fall in exports from those countries to the UK, forcing them to find new markets in other parts of the world.

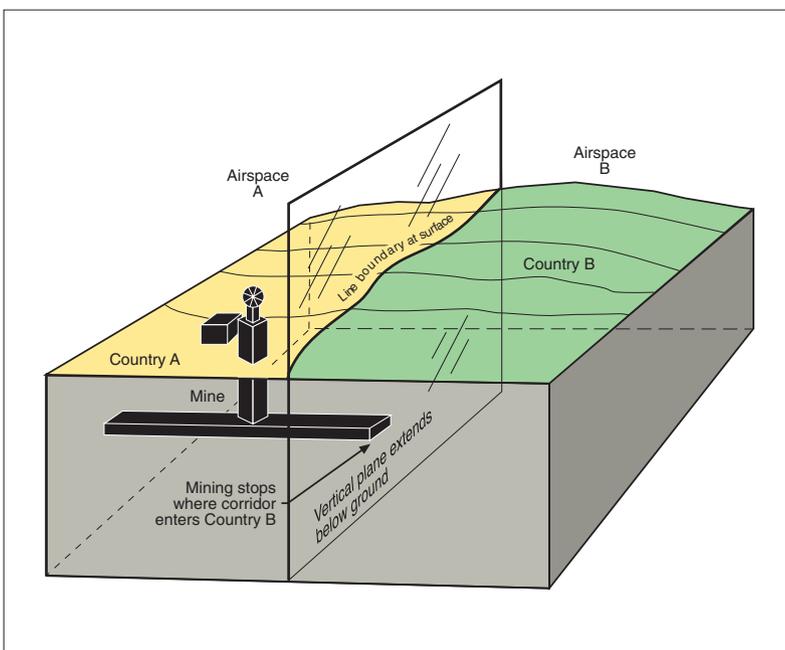
QUESTION BLOCK 17B

1. *If the nation-state is becoming weaker in today's world, what other bodies are taking over the power?*
2. *Outline the differences between the four types of regional economic blocs.*
3. *Give three examples of regional economic blocs, and for each one, say what kind of regional economic bloc it is.*
4. *Do you think the European Union is strengthening or weakening the power of the nation-states that are members? Explain your reasons.*

Political Tensions and Conflicts

Political tensions and conflicts can arise in a nation-state for many reasons. However, many of the conflicts over the years can be traced to disagreements over resources, and the ownership of territory in which resources are found. We therefore need to examine the nature of **national boundaries**.

Although boundaries appear as simple lines on maps, complex sets of laws revolve around them. A boundary is actually like a vertical sheet that cuts through the rocks beneath the surface and the air above it (figure 17.9). The legal control of governments extends to the limits of these boundaries, including the air above the surface and the



17.9 A political boundary affects the rocks beneath the surface as well as the air above it.

rocks (and mineral deposits) beneath. Where boundaries follow a natural feature, such as a mountain range or a river, the boundary usually follows the middle of the feature unless special circumstances apply (figure 17.10).

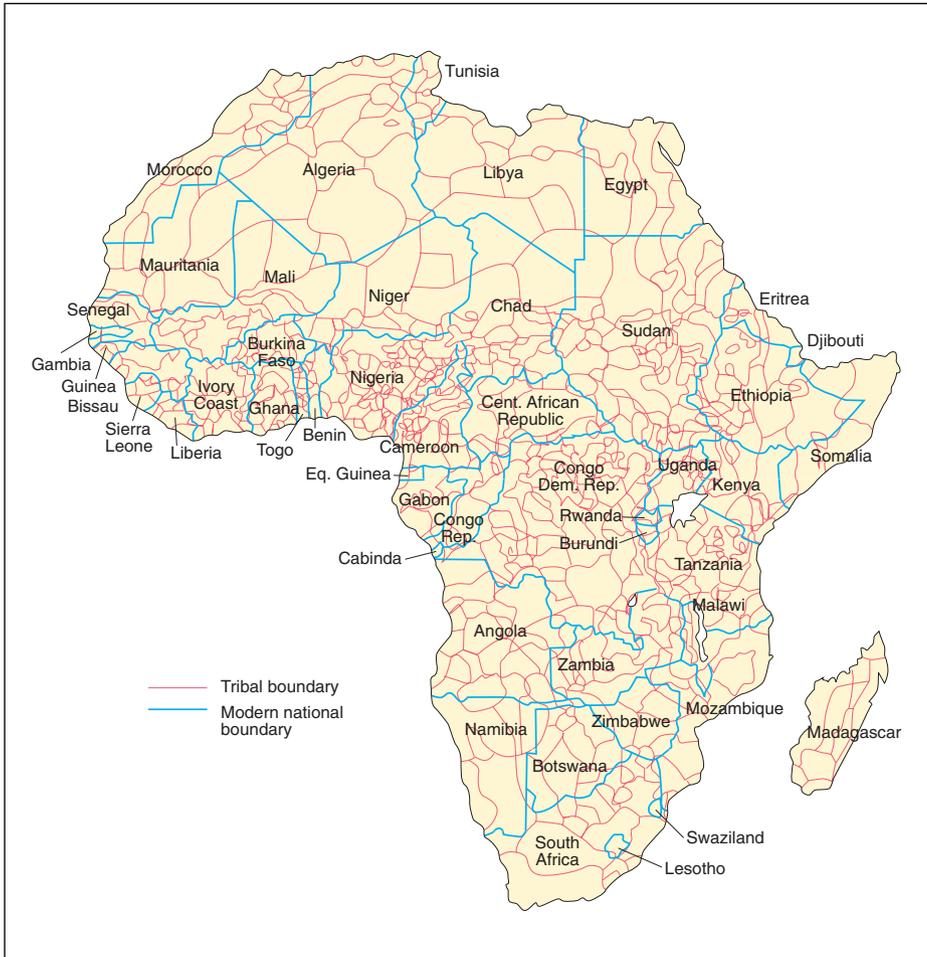


17.10 The white red-topped concrete posts mark the precise boundary between Poland and Slovakia on Mount Kasprov Wierch. In general, the boundary follows the ridge line separating two watersheds.

Boundaries above and below the surface can cause conflict. Nation-states insist that they control the airspace above their territory, and thus have the right to refuse entry to aircraft if they wish. It was for this reason that the Soviet Union insisted it was right in shooting down a Korean airliner that flew off course over Sakhalin Island in September 1983, causing the death of 269 passengers.

A war between Iraq and Kuwait in 1991 was caused by a similar way of thinking. When the boundary was drawn between Iraq and Kuwait, no-one knew that a large oil field called the Rumaylah reserve was situated beneath the surface. In 1990, the Iraqis claimed that Kuwait was drilling too many oil wells on its side of the border, depleting the underground oil deposits. Furthermore, the Iraqis claimed that the Kuwaitis were drilling oblique oil wells from the surface in Kuwaiti territory into Iraqi underground territory. The dispute led to war in early 1991 into which the United States, Britain and other major powers were drawn.

Boundaries are a common source of conflict, because they frequently do not coincide with ethnic or cultural differences (figure 17.11). Several types of national boundaries exist. **Geometric boundaries** are straight lines that bear no relationship to the physical environment or cultural groups living in an area. Several of the boundaries imposed by the colonial powers upon Africa are geometric boundaries, such as between Algeria and Mali, Egypt and Libya, and Namibia and Botswana. The long boundary between the United States and Canada is another example of a geometric boundary for most of its length, and most Australian state borders are also geometric.



17.11 Ethnic territories and national boundaries in Africa. Tribal boundaries were largely ignored by the European colonial powers which drew the boundaries. This has resulted in great ethnic diversity in many nation-states, often leading to conflict.

Physical-political boundaries follow natural features, such as a river or the summit of a mountain range. The border between the Australian states of New South Wales and Victoria is a physical-political boundary for most of its length, as it follows the course of the Murray River. Other examples include the border between China and Nepal, which follows the Himalaya Mountains, and between Russia and north-east China which follows the

Amur River. This last example has caused conflict, as the course of the river has changed over the years. International law states that a boundary between two nation-states in a navigable river shall follow the central line of the main channel. However, shifts in the main channel meant that islands which were once in one country shifted to the other side of the channel. China and Russia, or the Soviet Union as it then was, fought a short and bitter border war in March 1969 over Chenpao Island, a desolate island in the middle of the Amur River which became disputed territory.

A third type of boundary is the **arbitrary boundary**. These boundaries usually arise following an armed conflict, and represent a compromise between two hostile groups. A well-known example of an arbitrary boundary was the division through Berlin between the occupying forces of the Soviet Union to the east, and the armies of France, Britain and the United States to the west (figure 17.12). In 1961, this boundary became a symbol of the divide between the capitalist west and the communist east when the Berlin Wall was built (figure 17.13). The Berlin Wall remained a symbol of division until 1989 when it was destroyed by a popular uprising, symbolising the re-unification of Germany.

The fourth type of boundary is the **cultural-political boundary**. These boundaries attempt to follow the borders between ethnic or cultural groups, or linguistic



17.12 This boundary marker has been preserved in Berlin, Germany, to mark the former international boundary between East and West Germany. Deutsche Demokratische Republik means 'German Democratic Republic', which was the official name of the communist nation-state of East Germany.



17.13 One of the few remnants of the Berlin Wall that is preserved. This view shows a section of the wall, looking from the former Communist, or eastern, side of the Wall.

groups. A problem with these boundaries is that boundaries between ethnic groups are seldom 'clean', and quite a degree of mixing occurs in a transition zone. Furthermore, the areas inhabited by particular groups are likely to change over time, and this can lead to conflict if the boundaries are not adjusted – and even if attempts are made to adjust them! The boundaries around former Soviet republics such as Armenia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan are attempts at drawing cultural-political boundaries.

During the 1990s, the former nation-state of Yugoslavia disintegrated into several smaller countries. A major factor in the conflict was that many ethnic groups with long histories of dispute had been grouped together in the one nation-state, but the traditional rivalries remained (figure 17.14). Attempts were made to re-draw cultural-political boundaries so that the ethnic differences could be accommodated, but the task proved too difficult because of the complex mixing of groups that had evolved over the centuries.



17.14 Mine fields that were laid during the break up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s present a continuing danger in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Tourist brochures used to claim that Yugoslavia had seven borders, six republics, five ethnic groups, four religions, three languages and two alphabets. In fact, the diversity was even greater than this because in addition to the five main ethnic groups (Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Slovenian), there were 13 others in substantial numbers. In addition to the three major languages (Serbo-Croat, Macedonian and Slovenian), there were several others, and radio broadcasts were made in seven languages while newspapers were printed in eleven.

Ethnic diversity does not necessarily mean a nation-state is not viable. In addition to the ethnic differences within many African countries (shown earlier in figure 17.11), other countries have significant differences. For example, Belgium is divided almost evenly between speakers of Dutch in the north and speakers of French in the south without any conflict. In Yugoslavia, the conflict arose because of a combination of the ethnic diversity, a long

history of changing alliances and warfare, and the economic differences that had been allowed to grow between the ethnic groups.

Government investment had been concentrated in the major cities, especially in Serbia and Bosnia, while outlying areas inhabited by ethnic minorities such as the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and the Muslims in Bosnia had been allowed to remain impoverished. The horror of ethnic conflict reached a climax in July 1995 when Serbian forces initiated a program of 'ethnic cleansing', or genocide, against ethnic Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) living in the small mountain town of Srebrenica (figures 17.15 and 17.16, as well as figure 11.151 in chapter 11). This resulted in the deaths of 8,000 men and boys within a three day period, the largest mass killing in Europe since World War II (figure 17.17).



17.15 The town of Srebrenica in the mountainous north-east of Bosnia-Herzegovina.



17.16 Many of the buildings in Srebrenica still bear the scars of intense fighting in the 1990s.

Ethnic differences have been responsible for many conflicts. One example of almost constant unrest, conflict and civil war caused by ethnic conflict is Myanmar during the period since independence in 1948. Myanmar, which used to be known as Burma, has eight main ethnic groups – Burmans (or Myanma), Karens, Chin, Shan, Rakhine, Kachin, Mon-Khmer and Kayah (figure 17.18).

ToK BoX



Political Ideologies.



In studying political ideologies, it is important to look deeper than the day-to-day ways in which politics are expressed. Some of the deeper questions that political philosophers ask include:

- What is the ultimate justification for the existence of any form of government?
- What ought to be the proper limits of government power over members of society?
- Should elected representatives be allowed to vote as they see fit, or should they merely reflect the majority opinion of their voters (or their party leaders)?

Political ideology means “a comprehensive set of beliefs about the political world”. People who follow a particular political ideology usually do so because they believe that society can be improved by following certain doctrines.

Political ideologies are commonly labelled as ‘left wing’ and ‘right wing’. **Left wing** political ideologies emphasise equality and collective ownership of resources, while **right wing** ideologies emphasise individual rights and private ownership of resources.

One of the earliest political philosophers was Heraclitus, who lived in Greece from 535 BC to 475 BC. **Heraclitus** argued strongly that democracy was an inferior form of government because when it comes to the search for wisdom and truth, the opinion of the greatest number may well be a poor guide, especially if they are poorly educated and uninformed.

Plato (429 BC to 347 BC) may well have been influenced by Heraclitus when he said that the best government would be that carried out by philosophers who were not self-interested and had been trained in the search for wisdom. Plato believed that ruling is a skill. Just as people’s ability in all skills varies from person to person, Plato believed that people differ innately in their skills of leadership. Therefore, those with the greatest capacity for ruling should be trained into the skill, and then made

rulers. Furthermore, because they had the greatest skills to rule, they ought to be given absolute authority so their laws could be put into effect without frustrating and inefficient delays from ill-informed objectors.

Plato’s viewpoint on leadership was possibly the most powerful argument ever directed against democratic government. There are, however, some commonly expressed objections to Plato’s view of leadership:

1. Some people deny that ruling is a skill.
2. Even if ruling is a skill, and even if people differ in their skills to rule, perhaps rulers should still be accountable. The question then arises — to whom should a ruler be accountable if everyone else is less skilled in leadership than the ruler?.
3. Some feel that a society run by the few altruistic philosopher-kings will stop most people developing moral autonomy, and that this is a problem.

The next great leap in thinking about political ideology came almost 2000 years later from the English philosopher, **Thomas Hobbes** (1588-1679). Perhaps reflecting the view of the much earlier Chinese philosopher, Confucius, Hobbes claimed a chaotic society was to be feared more than anything else, noting also that chaos arises because people are innately selfish and egoistic.

According to Hobbes, the way to avoid chaos is compromise — securing an agreement among people to abide by certain rules or conventions, called laws. However, Hobbes realised that to be effective, laws must be enforced. Hobbes felt that enforcement requires absolute power to be effective, and he suggested that one person — a king — should be the ruler to avoid conflicts between those on a committee or a panel of rulers.

There are two commonly expressed objections to Hobbes’ philosophy of leadership:

1. It is an expression of defeatism, a ‘peace at any price’ philosophy, and is

therefore unacceptable to non-submissive people.

2. It surrenders liberty in return for security — but which would most people regard as being more important?

Modern political thinking has seen ideologies fragment into a multitude of different perspectives. This book is not the appropriate medium to analyse the full range of political ideologies — there are whole books, websites and university courses to do that — but among the notable political ideologies in the world today, we can note the following:

Liberalism is the political ideology that places the highest value on individual freedom and claims that the role of the government should be quite limited. It is probably the dominant political ideology in the world today. In **classical liberalism**, it is assumed there are certain areas of conduct which are immune from the government’s interference; these are called “rights”. All people are seen as being equal as they have rights that are neither given by society nor taken away by society. The source of authority is the people (‘the masses’) who appoint the government, thus making democracy the most popular form of government for most liberals. **Modern liberalism** opposes the use of state power to enforce standards of behaviour, and it has thus evolved into an ideology that advocates minimum government and maximum individual liberty.

A more extreme form of liberalism is **libertarianism**. Libertarianism follows the teachings of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), who wrote “it is wrong to suppress an opinion that the majority does not approve of because the suppressed opinion may be true”, and “interference in personal matters will in the long run prove harmful to a democratic society”. Libertarians therefore advocate minimal government as a way to maximise individual liberty, and they usually favour legalisation of drugs and prostitution, prohibition of censorship and the freedom for women to have abortions.

Capitalism is an economic expression of the philosophy of liberalism, and in various forms, it is the dominant economic system in the world today. First defined by the economic philosopher, Adam Smith (1723-1790), capitalism is an ideology that advocates private ownership of property and minimal government intervention. In capitalism, almost no central planning of an economy is done by the government as the economy is guided by what Adam Smith called 'the invisible hand' — which in reality was the price mechanism which adjusts demand and supply to regulate prices.

The political ideology of **conservatism** combines elements of liberalism and capitalism. Conservatism promotes the importance of the individual as a means of preserving traditional moral and ethical values within society. Conservatism views inequality as natural and inevitable, although it also claims that privileged people should act with generosity towards those who are less privileged. This is the principle of *noblesse oblige*, a French term that literally means 'the nobility is obliged', but which is generally taken to mean that with wealth, power and prestige come responsibilities. Since the 1980s, a movement known as neo-conservatism has developed this ideology into a set of policy positions, which typically includes low taxes, small size of government, traditional moral values and an expansive foreign policy.

In contrast with liberalism and conservatism, which emphasise the rights of the individual, **socialism** emphasises the collective good and the welfare of the group as a whole. Socialism makes the claim that the most important goal of government is to provide high-quality, relatively equal conditions of life for everyone, and that a strong, interventionist government is necessary to overcome the selfishness of powerful individuals and to protect the weak and vulnerable in order to achieve this goal.

There are two main types of socialism. In **democratic socialism**, humans are seen as being intrinsically social and caring in nature, and thus they see the good of society as being more important than the good of the individual — and they will elect governments that reflect that view. The policy priorities of democratic socialist governments therefore tend to include public (government) ownership of resources and property, extensive government regulation, generous welfare systems (such as free education and free health care), often financed by relatively high taxes on in-

comes that redistribute incomes from the rich to the poor, and a large government bureaucracy to manage planning and delivery of services.

In contrast to Democratic Socialism, **Marxism** (named after the German economic philosopher, Karl Marx, 1818-1883) focuses on the struggle between different classes in society. During a period in the mid-1800s when Marx was living in Britain, he wrote "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles... All class relationships are independent of people's wills, and in fact are really determined by the prevailing economic system."

Marx saw capitalism as the means whereby the rich exploit the poor, making profits from the labour of the working class. Based upon this observation, he developed a scheme to show the evolution of societies from primitive communism (as might be found in an isolated tribal society) through various

that the transformation from a capitalist society to a socialist one would be difficult, that a strong dictatorship group is needed to enforce change, and this enforcement could be through repression if it was necessary for the greater common good.

Although it has fallen into disfavour, **fascism** (which includes **Nazism**), combined the strong government of Leninism with the private ownership of resources of capitalism. Fascists argue that citizens can prosper only when the nation prospers (hence 'national socialism'). Following the principles of Darwinism ('the survival of the fittest'), fascism thus glorifies strength, rejects equality (as this is seen as artificially propping up the weak), advocates nationalism and rejects pacifism.

In recent years, the simple traditional left-right spectrum of political ideologies has become more confused. Some commentators label the times since 2000

Name of Historical Period	Features of Historical Period	
	Class Situation	Ownership of production
6. Communism	No class conflict	No private property
<i>The state withers away</i>		
5. Socialism		
<i>Progressive Revolution</i>	class	private
4. Capitalism		
<i>Progressive Revolution</i>	conflict	property
3. Feudalism		
<i>Progressive Revolution</i>		
2. Slavery		
<i>Fall of 'Communist Man'</i>	Introduction of private property leading to class divisions	
1. Primitive communism	No class conflict	No private property

phases of exploitation to socialism, and eventually when the government has withered away, to communism. Marx saw this evolution as historically inevitable (see the table above).

The Russian revolutionary, Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) disagreed that a peaceful transition to socialism was inevitable. Lenin translated Marxism into a form of political action to speed up the transformation of society. Developing an ideology that has become known as **Leninism**, Lenin claimed that violence is necessary to overthrow powerful power,

as the post-ideological period. One important political ideology that grew in strength from the 1960s onwards was **feminism**. This ideology advocates psychological, political, social and economic equality for women with men. It rejects patriarchy and sexism, and promotes pacifism. There are many sub-types of feminism, each with particular emphases, including liberal feminism, radical feminism, black feminism, post-colonial feminism, multiracial feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism, libertarian

feminism, postmodern feminism, eco-feminism and lesbian feminism.

Environmentalism has emerged as an important new political ideology. Also known as **ecologism**, environmentalism differs from both liberalism and socialism in that it does not focus on people, either as individuals or collectively. Environmentalism advocates that the environment is endangered and must be preserved through regulation and lifestyle changes. It thus focuses on ecosystem health rather than human beings, and thus rejects anthropocentric (human-centred) beliefs. Arising from the ground-breaking writings of the American writer Rachel Carson, whose 1963 book 'Silent Spring' first drew the

world's attention to environmental issues, environmentalism advocates ecological stewardship and sustainable development. In several parts of the world, most notably in Western Europe, environmentalism is expressed through what has become known as Green politics.

Fundamentalism of various types has always been a factor in political thinking. In recent decades, the rise of **Islamic Fundamentalism** has focussed more attention in Western countries on the role of religion in politics. Islamic fundamentalism, as expressed through groups such as the Taliban in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda in several countries and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) in Pakistan, calls

for a return to the centrality of religion in every day life and a literal (perhaps militant) interpretation of the Qu'ran. Islamic fundamentalism calls on its followers to live according to strict Islamic codes, it rejects Westernisation and the secularisation of Islamic societies, and some groups support the use of violence, sometimes in extreme forms such as beheadings or what is termed in the West as 'acts of terrorism'.

There are, of course, many other political ideologies in addition to the ones summarised here. Moreover, each of the ideologies mentioned here has various sub-groups and sometimes factions as well.

The next ToK BoX is on page 659.

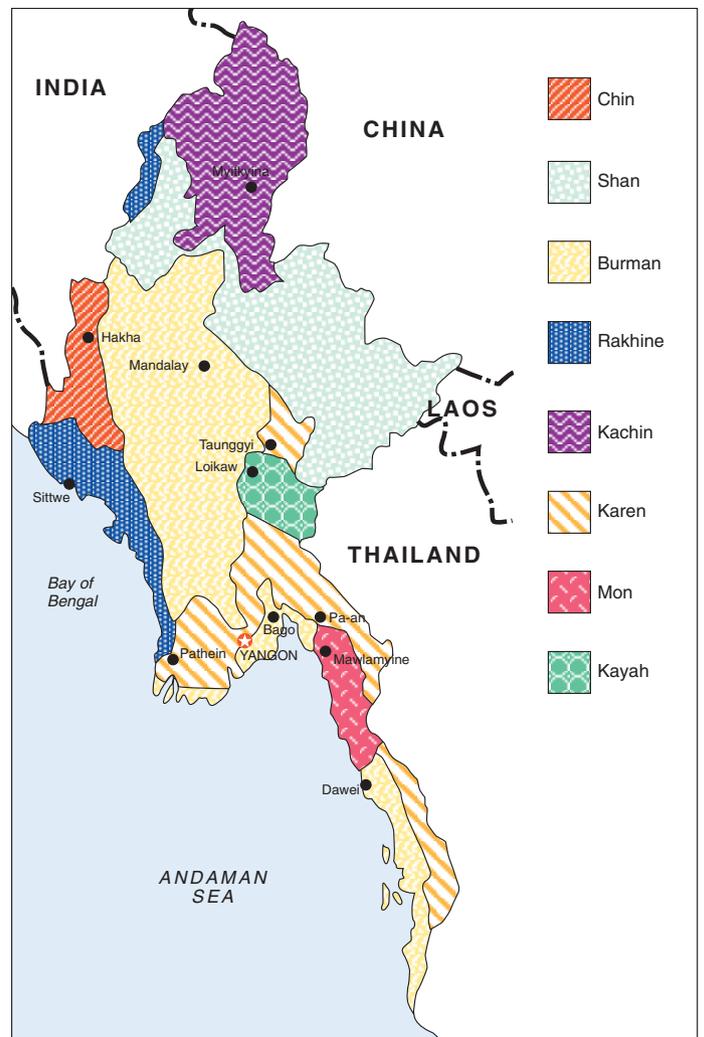


17.17 A small section of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery to Genocide Victims, where many of the victims of the genocide are buried.

These groups are divided into many smaller tribal groups, however, and altogether there are almost 70 different ethnic groups and tribes in Myanmar. Each of these groups has its own style of dress, language or dialect.

It is estimated that the ethnic breakdown of Myanmar is 65% Burman, 10% Shan, 7% Karen, 4% Rakhine and 2.3% each of Chin, Kachin and Mon-Khmer. Other recently migrated ethnic minority groups, such as Chinese, Indians and Assamese make up about 1% each of the population. These ethnic groups migrated to Myanmar from different areas over the centuries. The Burmans migrated from Tibet, the Mon-Khmer from Cambodia, the Shan from Thailand, and so on.

This history of migration has led to a long history of conflict, especially between the Burmans and the Mon-Khmers, each of which managed to control the other at different times in history. The Burmans were in control in the late 1800s, when the British arrived and colonised all the feuding ethnic groups. However, the British never managed to control the ethnic minorities completely, and



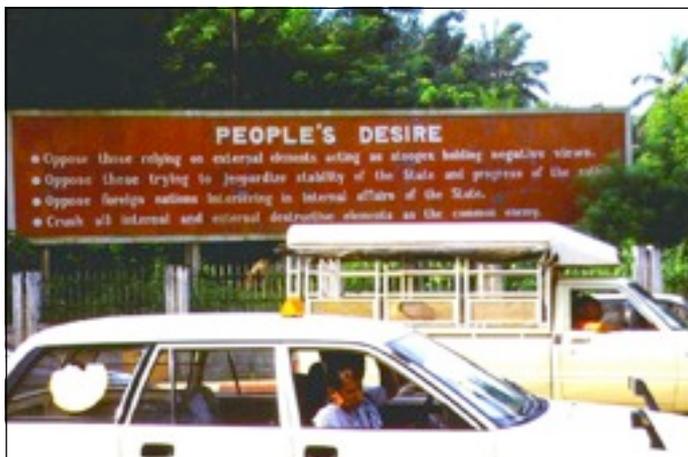
17.18 The distribution of Myanmar's main ethnic groups.

these groups were given some autonomy and self-government.

When Myanmar became independent in 1948, the ethnic groups were promised a degree of independence, but for various reasons this was never implemented. This led to armed conflict as several ethnic groups formed their own armies to fight to secede (separate) from Myanmar. By

the early 1990s, there were 35 separate insurgent factions fighting the central government of Myanmar, mainly in the mountainous border areas. The numbers in these armies varied from as few as 50 (in the Tai National Army, Kayah New Land Revolution Council and Palaung State Liberation Organisation) to tens of thousands (Mon-Tai Army and Shan United Army). As well as fighting the government, these groups are often in conflict with each other, and conflict also exists between different factions within ethnic groups, such as the Karen People’s Liberation Front and the Karen Liberation Army. Sometimes, the conflicts become confusing, such as the constantly changing alliances and conflicts between the Shan State Army, Shan United Revolutionary Army and the Shan United Army.

Several of these armies operate in the area known as the ‘Golden Triangle’, and so are financed by growing and selling opium, or by charging taxes on goods smuggled through their areas of control. The instability caused by the conflicts has led to major propaganda campaigns within Myanmar to develop loyalty to the central government (figure 17.19).



17.19 A large sign designed to encourage loyalty to the central government in Myanmar.

With the turn of the century in 2000, the situation began to calm for the first time in many decades. One large army that had been supported by Chinese Communist groups, the Wa National Army, negotiated a truce with the government of Myanmar. This enabled Chinese foreign aid to flow in Myanmar, and opened the border areas between Myanmar and China. Some 14 other truces were negotiated with ethnic groups, including some large and well-armed armies such as the Kachin Independence Organisation, the Mon National Liberation Front. However, ethnic conflict continues on a significant scale in many border regions of Myanmar and seems unlikely to abate.

QUESTION BLOCK 17C

1. Explain how national boundaries are three-dimensional.
2. Give two examples of national boundaries that have caused conflicts.

3. What are the differences between (a) geometric boundaries, (b) physical-political boundaries, and (c) cultural-political boundaries. Give an example of each.
4. Explain briefly why Yugoslavia experienced so much conflict during the 1990s.
5. Why has Myanmar experienced so much ethnic conflict since independence in 1948?
6. Suggest a realistic solution to the ethnic conflicts in Myanmar.

Can These Issues be Resolved?

Humans always seem to have been in conflict. However, during the twentieth century (1901 to 2000), the scale of conflict and warfare has been much greater than ever before (table 17.1).

Table 17.1
War-Related Deaths, 1 to 2000

Period	Total War Deaths (millions)	Deaths per 1000 people
1 to 1499	3.7	n.a.
1500 to 1599	1.6	3.2
1600 to 1699	6.1	11.2
1700 to 1799	7.0	9.7
1800 to 1899	19.4	16.2
1900 to 1999	115.8	44.5

Source: Based on Eckhart, W (1991) and Sivard, RL (1996), cited in Renner, M (1999) p.153

The wars of the twentieth century had a huge impact on countless millions of families, and even on the overall demographic structures of many countries. In World War I, France lost almost 20% of its military age males, and Germany lost 13%. Russia still has an imbalance of males and females because of the number of males killed during World War II. Moreover, the proportion of civilians killed during armed conflicts during the twentieth century was generally greater than earlier wars (table 17.2).

The causes of these conflicts can be grouped in two broad categories. First, conflicts arose in and between nation-states, either for control over resources or because of conflicting political ideology. Second, conflicts arose either within or between nation-states due to ethnic rivalry. Even where conflicts arose in the first category, ethnic conflicts were often part of the conflict. For example, of the 53,547,000 deaths in World War II, it is estimated that there were about 3,053,000 deaths from the attempted genocide of Jews, Poles and Gypsies by the Germans, 1,471,595 of which occurred in the Auschwitz death camp

Table 17.2

Death Tolls in Selected Conflicts, 1500 to the Present

Conflict	Period	Number Killed	Civilian Victims (%)
SELECTED WARS, 1500 TO 1945			
Peasants War (Germany)	1524 - 1525	175,000	57
Dutch Independence War (against Spain)	1585 - 1604	177,000	32
Manchu Conquest of the Ming Dynasty (China)	1616 - 1662	25,000,000	n.a.
30 Year War (Europe)	1618 - 1648	4,000,000	50
Spanish Succession War (Europe)	1701 - 1714	1,251,000	n.a.
7 Year War (Europe, North America, India)	1755 - 1763	1,358,000	27
French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars	1792 - 1815	4,899,000	41
Taiping Rebellion (China)	1851 - 1864	25,000,000	n.a.
Crimean War (Russia, France, Britain)	1854 - 1856	772,000	66
US Civil War	1861 - 1865	820,000	24
Paraguay vs Brazil vs Argentina	1864 - 1870	1,100,000	73
Franco-Prussian war	1870 - 1871	250,000	25
Spanish-American War	1898	200,000	95
World War I	1914 - 1918	26,000,000	50
World War II	1939 - 1945	53,547,000	60
CONFLICTS SINCE 1945 WITH MORE THAN ONE MILLION DEATHS			
Chinese Civil War	1946 - 1949	1,000,000	50
Korean War	1950 - 1953	3,000,000	50
Vietnam (US intervention)	1960 - 1975	2,358,000	58
Biafra (Nigerian Civil War)	1967 - 1970	2,000,000	50
Cambodian Civil War	1970 - 1989	1,221,000	69
Bangladesh Separation from Pakistan	1971	1,000,000	50
Afghanistan (Soviet intervention)	1978 - 1992	1,500,000	67
Mozambique Civil War	1981 - 1994	1,050,000	95
Sudanese Civil War	1984 - present	1,900,000 +	97
US Invasion of Iraq	2003 - present	1,308,000 +	97

alone (figure 17.20). It was largely as a response to the horrors of the **holocaust**, as the attempted extermination of Jewish people is known, that a separate Jewish nation-state, Israel, was established after World War II.

Many peace and disarmament treaties have been signed in an effort to reduce the risk of armed conflict between nation-states. Indeed, it is estimated that about 50,000

bilateral and multilateral treaties have been negotiated and signed.

Perhaps the most important initiative has been the establishment of the United Nations (UN). Most nation-states of the world are now members of the UN, whose objective is to get nation-states talking about their disagreements rather than fighting over them. Although the UN

is sometimes criticised as being expensive, bureaucratic and ineffective, it does seem to have been effective when it has intervened and sent multi-national peace keeping forces into conflict situations.



17.20 Part of the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz in Poland, where an estimated 1,471,595 Jews, Poles and Gypsies were killed, either in the gas chambers or by starvation, bashing, shooting or hanging.



17.21 The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park is a memorial to those who suffered in the world's first nuclear attack, when the US dropped an atomic bomb here on 6th August, 1945, killing 140,000 people. In the background is the A-Bomb Dome, the skeletal ruins of the former Industrial Promotion Hall, which was the building closest to the hypocentre (ground zero) of the nuclear bomb that remained at least partially standing.

Nonetheless, military expenditures remain high in many parts of the world. In 1988, towards the end of the Cold War that had existed between the United States and the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, the armed forces of the world comprised 28.7 million soldiers. With the easing of tensions since the end of the Cold War, military expenditures has fallen and the number of soldiers has also been reduced. Nuclear stockpiles have been reduced from about 70,000 warheads in 1988 to fewer than 26,000 today. However, it has been estimated that just 50 of today's nuclear weapons could kill 200 million people, and the numbers that still exist are far more than enough to destroy the planet (figure 17.21).

Although several nation-states have abandoned nuclear weapons during the 1990s (Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus and South Africa), the use of nuclear weapons by remain-



17.22 Each year, about 10 million origami paper cranes are added to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park as a symbol of people's aspirations for peace.



17.23 This memorial in the former Jewish ghetto in Warsaw (Poland) remembers the millions of men, women and children who were murdered in the gas chambers simply because of their ethnicity.

ing nuclear countries or by fringe terrorist groups is still a real threat. The countries that are known to have nuclear weapons today are the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea.

People often feel powerless in the face of the huge military might of modern nation-states. One response is to form or join peace groups. With the increasing threat of

war, the number of peace groups has grown markedly from their small beginnings in the US and UK in 1815 (figure 17.22). The cause of peace is also being advocated by many NGOs (non-government organisations) that advocate issues such as environmental quality, justice and equity, human rights and government accountability in addition to peace (figure 17.23).

It may be no coincidence that in the twentieth century, nation-states reached their most powerful position in world history, and we experienced the most horrific wars and conflicts ever (figure 17.24). With the decreasing power of nation-states as international organisations and regional economic groups gain more influence, many people hope that global conflicts are an accident of past history. On the other hand, globalisation and changes in the balance of development between peoples are creating new inequities, and these have potential to generate new conflicts. Furthermore, ethnic tensions remain in many parts of the world, many of which have long histories of reprisal and revenge.



17.24 Scars showing the ferocity of armed conflict in 1956 can still be seen on this wall in Budapest, capital city of Hungary.

In the end, conflicts will only be solved by the changed attitudes of human beings. As the UNESCO charter states, 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed'. This is a strong argument for educating young people in the importance of loving and harmonious relationships, because in the final analysis, it is people who choose to be in conflict.

QUESTION BLOCK 17D

1. Draw a column graph to show the 'deaths per 1,000 people' data in table 17.1.
2. Do you think these treaties are a sign of desperation or a real source of hope?
3. Explain why the size of the world's armed forces may still be a threat to peace in spite of cutbacks during the 1990s.
4. Is there a solution to war and conflict? Write as much as you wish to explain your views.

Responses to the Loss of Sovereignty

Nationalism

Nationalism is the ideology or belief that emphasises patriotism, loyalty to and the advancement of a particular nation. In general, nationalism refers to an existing nation-state, but it can be also refer to the yearning for the creation of a new state or independence for a colony or an occupied territory. Nationalism may also refer to a nation (as opposed to a nation-state), such as the Basques, the Kurds, the Indigenous Australian and the Inuit people.

The Professor Emeritus of Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics, Anthony D. Smith, said there are certain criteria required to give a nation its identity:

- a fixed homeland (current or historical)
- high autonomy
- hostile surroundings
- memories of battles
- sacred centres
- languages and scripts
- special customs
- historical records and thinking.

When nationalism becomes extreme, such as when patriotism is expressed aggressively towards others, then it is known as **jingoism**.

There has been a resurgence of nationalism in many parts of the world in recent decades. One reason for this is that with the break up of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, many people have perceived a growing trend for ethnic groups to achieve autonomy and control their own destinies. This has encouraged groups such as the Palestinians, the Kurds, the Chechens and the Tuaregs to campaign for their own nation-states.

A second explanation for the resurgence is that nationalism is seen by many as a force to counter the cultural homogenisation that globalisation brings. In this way, nationalism can provide a sense of identity and stability in a rapidly changing world.

A third reason for the resurgence of nationalism is less idealistic, and this is the use of nationalism as a weapon of reaction against immigration. In several countries of western Europe, conservative people have become alarmed by what they see as large-scale immigration of migrant workers from Muslim countries such as Turkey, and nationalism has been invoked as a response.

One example of a country where the resurgence of nationalism is an important factor today is **Turkey**, a largely Muslim country that is situated in western Asia

(occupying the Anatolian Peninsula), with a small piece of territory also at the far south-east corner of Europe.

Modern Turkey was founded as a democratic, secular republic by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I (figure 17.25). Since that time, Turkey has become tightly integrated with the West through its membership in organisations such as NATO, the OECD, the Council of Europe and the G-20 major economies. Turkey has applied for membership of the European Union.



17.25 Like most government workers, this civil servant works under a portrait of modern Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

One of Atatürk's important foundations of Turkey was its secular government. A **secular** administration is one that has no religious or spiritual basis. In a nation-state where 98% of the population are Muslim, this was a decision that sent Turkey along quite a different path of development to many other countries in the Middle Eastern region.



17.26 A large Turkish flag flies above the entrance to Istanbul University. Despite its official status as a secular state, Turkey's flag displays the crescent moon and star that symbolise Islam.

Turkey's focus on secular nationalism rather than Islam has had consequences throughout the country's modern history. More than many other Muslim countries, Turkey has emphasised its secular nationalism by requiring that women not wear headscarves in schools, universities or government offices, and with prominent displays of the

national flag (figure 17.26). The ban on headscarves in government buildings is seen by many people as discriminatory as many Muslim women wish to express their religious faith and devotion to Islam by wearing their headscarves (figure 17.27).

There have been incidents in recent history when Turkey's nationalism has been expressed through violence. For example, in September 1955, about 100,000 took part in a government-sponsored program of attacking foreigners' homes, schools and churches in Istanbul, the country's largest city. Huge piles of materials taken from foreigners' shops were placed in the streets and either taken by Turks or destroyed. As a result of these attacks, almost everyone who could not claim to be Turkish left Istanbul, a remarkable change for a city that had for centuries been marked by tolerance and acceptance of people from many lands.



17.27 When given the choice, many Turkish women choose to wear headscarves.

Turkey's nationalism is also expressed at times by government suppression of 'alternative nationalisms', such as claims for autonomy by minority groups such as the Kurds and the Armenians.

In 2004, the Turkish government labelled university researchers who wanted to discuss the Kurdish and Armenians claims 'traitors'. In 2007, a famous Turkish writer, Hrant Dink, was murdered by Turkish nationalists after he wrote about the expulsion and killing of hundreds of thousands of Armenians in eastern Turkey in 1915. As an ethnic Armenian, Hrant Dink had labelled the action as genocide, but he was convicted of insulting the Turkish nation as a consequence. Turkish nationalists then surrounded his office with shouts of "Love Turkey or leave it!", and he received hundreds of death threats before being murdered shortly afterwards. Since that time, about 50 other writers have been put on trial, charged either with 'attempting to influence the outcome of judicial proceedings through their writings' or for 'insulting Turkishness'.

Turkey's application to join the European Union is having an impact on the resurgence of nationalism in Turkey. For

Turkish nationalists, joining the EU would mean a loss of Turkish identity, and the EU application has therefore led them to increase their efforts to oppose EU membership by emphasising Turkish nationalism and identity. On the other hand, supporters of EU membership realise that violent nationalism in Turkey will work against the success of their application. Therefore, they are making efforts to reduce nationalist tensions by showing greater tolerance for dissenting viewpoints, which is what the EU demands.



17.28 These university students in Istanbul are protesting against the government policy that denies women the choice of wearing a headscarf in government offices, schools and universities if they choose to do so.



17.29 The Hagia Sophia Mosque in Istanbul, one of the many great mosques found in the city that demonstrate Turkey's long association with Islam.

Despite this, the government is resisting demands for freedom to wear headscarves in educational institutions and government buildings on the grounds that it does not want to be seen to be encouraging fundamentalist Islam (figure 17.28). Although Islam is seen as an important part of Turkish identity, Atatürk's secular foundation of the modern Turkish state is also seen as important (figure 17.29). Many Turkish people are demanding an Islamic state. For secular Turks, this is sometimes interpreted as a threat to nationalism and the distinctive identity of Turkey as a nation-state. An attempted Islamic revolution in Turkey failed in 1997 when it was suppressed by the

army. For many Turkish people, Islam is an important part of their identity with a long history, and they are demanding the freedom to express their faith in their day-to-day lives.

QUESTION BLOCK 17E

1. What is meant by the term 'nationalism', and how is it different from 'jingoism'?
2. Why is there a resurgence of nationalism in many countries today?
3. To what extent is the resurgence of nationalism in Turkey a consequence of attempts to regain control of its culture and its resources?

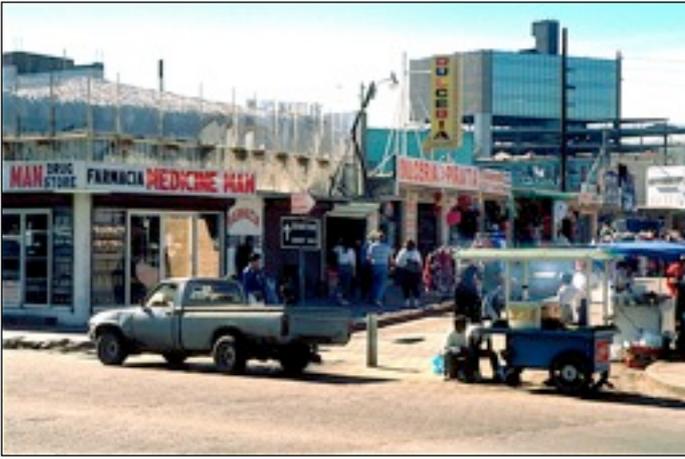
Controlling Immigration

The resurgence of nationalism is one response to the perceived loss of sovereignty brought by globalisation. Another response in several parts of the world is the introduction of tighter controls on immigration.

In this context, **immigration** can be defined as the international movement of people into a country for the purpose of permanent settlement. Traditionally, voluntary international migration usually occurred primarily for family reunification (the main cause to countries such as Australia and Canada) or for employment (the main cause to countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Germany). In recent years, however, these causes have diversified with other reasons becoming more significant, such as international education, arranged brides, adopted children and retired people. These changes have resulted in a significant shift in the gender balance of migrants and an increase in the rate of female international migration. Today, about 200 million people were born in a different country to the one where they are currently living; this represents about 3% of the world's population.



17.30 In an effort to stop illegal migration from North Korea into China, the Chinese authorities are constructing concrete and barbed wire fences along many stretches of the border between the two countries.



17.31 Tijuana, Mexico's border city with the United States.



17.32 In contrast to towns in Mexico (see figure 17.31), even small towns in the US (such as Las Vegas, New Mexico, seen here) offer far greater resources, wealth, potential and opportunities.

In an increasingly globalised world where people have better information about job opportunities and the differences in wealth from place to place, the rate of international migration is likely to increase among people in search of employment. This has led to very high rates of immigration in some countries and regions, such as the United Arab Emirates (+23 migrants per 1,000 population), Kuwait (+16 migrants per 1,000 population), and Macau (+15 migrants per 1,000 population). Similarly, some countries and regions that are sources of labour are experiencing significant emigration (loss of people) for the same reasons, some examples being Bangladesh, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Turkey and the Philippines.

The United States accepts more legal immigrants as permanent residents than any other country in the world, and the number of immigrants in the US today is about 38 million people (of a total population of 305 million). The most important source countries for immigrants to the US are (in descending order of importance) Mexico, China, Philippines, India and Vietnam. Almost 24% of US immigrants have come from Mexico (9.6 million people), much higher than the figure for the second largest source, China (5% of migrants).

Because they share a common land border, and there is a significant gap in wealth between them, there is large-scale movement of migrant labour from Mexico into the

United States (figures 17.31 and 17.32). The United States has a net migration rate of +4.31 migrants per 1,000 population (2009), whereas Mexico has an rate of -3.61 migrants per 1,000 population (2009) (figure 17.33).

The figures in the preceding paragraphs state the official statistics. However, a large number of the immigrants from Mexico to the US make the move illegally. It is estimated that there are about 11 to 12 million illegal immigrants in the US, of whom over half are from Mexico and a quarter are from other parts of Latin America. About 25% of the illegal immigrants live in California, which is the largest US state adjoining Mexico.

Many of the illegal immigrants from Mexico to the USA cross the land border between the two countries, usually at night. The border is fenced, heavily patrolled and the natural environment is hostile, being hot, arid desert (figure 17.34). Because of the difficulties of making a successful border crossing, many of those wishing to migrate illegally hire professionals who know the local terrain and situation, and agree to smuggle them across the border in return for a payment. In an effort to reduce illegal border crossings, US officials have agreed to build a separation barrier along the border and to increase the number of armed patrols that police the border zone.



17.33 The road crossing between Mexico and the United States at Tijuana. The cars on the left are entering the US from Mexico, while those on the right are heading towards Mexico.



17.34 The harsh landscape immediately north of the US-Mexican border.

ToK BoX



Tolerance and Relativism.

When people are confronted with political views they do not agree with, they often respond in one of two ways. One response may be open hostility, which in its most extreme form might be termed fundamentalism. An alternative response might be tolerance, respecting the other person's right to hold different views and perhaps agreeing to disagree. A more extreme form of tolerance may be relativism — which is the opposite of fundamentalism.

Fundamentalism is the uncritical, literal acceptance of what are supposed to be the founding doctrines or documents of a tradition. It demands a closed mind and the suspension of rational faculties. It could be summed up in the simple mantra “‘We’ are right, ‘they’ are wrong!”.

Fundamentalism is attractive to people in search for security against the challenge of a universe where everything seems to be up for challenge. This security comes at a cost, however. For example, fundamentalism can promote irrational intolerance among some political or religious groups, it tends to close the mind to any authentic search for truth, or new insights or corrections, and its claims to truth are not subjected to the scrutiny of being measured against any external tests.

The alternative pathway — **tolerance** — seems like a more hopeful way to ensure peace and harmony. In the world of half a century ago, tolerance was not widely valued as a virtue. However, since the 1960s, tolerance has taught us to understand and listen to perspectives that differ from our own and even to learn from these alternative perspectives. Tolerance has challenged us to be less racist, less biased against alternative sexual orientations, more committed to gender equality, more committed to equality of opportunity for those with disabilities or those who are older, a greater unwillingness to discriminate against indigenous people or those with a different skin colour and it has opened us to be willing to listen to the views of other religious groups.

Unfortunately, many people are confused by the differences between tolerance and relativism. **Tolerance** accepts that there may be a single truth but encourages understanding of alternative perspectives which may partially share this truth, and even acceptance of those people who sincerely operate within a completely different framework. On the

other hand, **relativism** holds that every truth is deserving of equal respect and can be held to be equally valid — even if it conflicts with other truth. Tolerance acknowledges that there is such a thing as truth, whereas relativism denies that truth is anything more than an opinion or a view that has been shaped by culture or some other factor.

Relativism thus reduces truth to personal preferences, opinions, persuasion and power. In this way, relativism tends to empower those who are most articulate and persuasive, and disempower those who are weaker in society.

Moreover, relativism is an incoherent philosophy. For instance, relativists claim that ‘there is no such thing as absolute truth’. If you agree with the statement, you are accepting an absolute truth and therefore negating the statement. If you disagree, you are saying that there IS such a thing as absolute truth. Either way, the statement actually argues that absolute truth DOES exist. Relativism is self-refuting like “I can’t speak a word of English”.

Even committed relativists do not live their lives as though there was no such thing as absolute truth. If a relativist disputes the balance of his or her bank account, then it is most unlikely that he or she will be happy with the answer “well, that’s your truth, and I have my truth, and our truths have equal worth, so we will just have to agree to disagree”.

Even on questions of morality, many people would argue that there are absolute truths. For example, many people would be prepared to argue:

- Gang rape of a 13 year old in war is always and everywhere wrong.
- Pedophilia is, always and everywhere, wrong.
- Beating up old people for amusement because they belong to a different racial group is, always and everywhere, wrong.
- Committing genocide is wrong, always and everywhere.

Each of these is an absolute statement about a moral position because of the ‘wrong, always and everywhere’ inclusion.

A committed relativist will reject these claims and will maintain that they are simply society’s assumptions and that by stating a position on them, I am guilty of an imperialist mentality which

seeks to subvert the values of other cultures.

However, most people are not relativists and would claim that these actions are always and everywhere wrong.

But on what basis could people argue against a relativist? What might make these and similar actions wrong in an absolute sense?

One response is to claim that “Those actions are wrong because they violate a divine command”. However, there is a major problem with this argument because it raises the question of which divine commands from which religious tradition should be accepted as absolute. A Christian may say that cutting off a person’s hand for theft is barbaric or stoning a woman caught committing adultery cannot be the command of God, and yet many Muslims would want to affirm these practices and ground them in Sharia (Islamic) law.

The ancient Greek philosopher, Aristotle (384 - 322 BC), attempted to provide a more universally satisfying response. His answer was to claim that “actions such as these are wrong because they go against what it is to be human.”

Aristotle said that every creature has its own nature. All human beings share a common human nature — we are human; we are not cats, pine trees, earthworms or grasshoppers. Even though we may differ in many ways due to hair and skin colour, personality, intelligence, gender, sexual orientation and many other factors, nevertheless we all share certain attributes that define us as human beings.

Aristotle considered that each species of plant and animal had an individual nature depending on what the thing in question was — grasshoppers share a grasshopper nature and human beings share a human nature. This approach has had a huge influence on the development of western civilisation and international law. Genocide and rape are condemned in warfare because these are held to be crimes that go against our common humanity. They are held to be wrong because they are actions that go against the fundamental nature of what it is to be human.

If Aristotle is right, we can overcome relativism and discern what is true and right by exploring what it is to be fully human. This will be done in the next ToK BoX.

The next ToK BoX is on page 672.

Another route for illegal immigrants to the USA is to remain after a legitimate visa has expired. The illegal immigrants are known as 'visa overstays', and they tend to be better educated and more professional people than those who attempt the dangerous border crossings. About half the illegal immigrants in the USA are 'visa overstays', and to control this situation, US officials have tightened the data gathered for all foreign visitors, including the collection of biographic, travel, and biometric information such as photographs and fingerprints, and increasing insistence that all foreigners to the USA use electronically readable passports.

A third form of illegal immigration to the USA involves various types of visa fraud, which means obtaining a visa on false grounds. The most common type of visa fraud is the 'green card marriage' in which a foreigner marries an American specifically to settle in the USA, even though they have no intention to live together as a couple. Other examples of visa fraud include mail order brides, human trafficking (where the immigrant becomes a slave of the sponsoring person), or payment to an American citizen in return for writing a personal letter of recommendation. Other than running effective security checks, visa fraud is very difficult to control until it is exposed after the migrant has already arrived in the USA.

Paradoxically for a country that was built on migration, immigration is becoming an increasingly controversial issue in the United States. Public opinion polls are almost evenly split between those who believe illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans and those who believe that illegal immigrants perform the jobs that Americans are unwilling to perform. To some extent public opinion in the USA has a discriminatory undertone as the majority view expressed is that the migration of Poles, Italians, and Jews was very positive for the US, whereas migration of people from Mexico, the Philippines and the Caribbean is overwhelmingly viewed negatively.

QUESTION BLOCK 17F

1. Explain why globalisation has led to an increase in immigration in many parts of the world.
2. Why is the rate of migration from Mexico to the United States so large?
3. Describe the attempts of US officials to control migration from Mexico.

Anti-globalisation Movements

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the world's increasingly globalised economy was hit with a series of financial peaks and troughs. In 2008, a severe global recession led many people in MEDCs to question whether globalisation was really the good thing that they had been led to believe. A poll was conducted by London's *Finan-*

cial Times in June 2007 in which 1,000 people were interviewed in six MEDCs. The results showed that people in the United Kingdom, France, the United States and Spain were about three times more likely to claim that globalisation was having a negative rather than a positive effect on their countries. Similar views were expressed in Italy and Germany, although the majorities there were smaller.

The pro-globalist view that opening economies to freer trade brings benefits to poor and rich countries alike is increasingly being questioned by people in MEDCs, regardless of whether they are conservative or liberal in their outlooks.

Growing cynicism towards globalisation has encouraged the growth of **anti-globalisation movements**. These groups are opposed to the unregulated expansion and globalisation of capitalism, and they are especially critical of the large profits they believe many corporations are making. Anti-globalisation groups tend to express themselves in the language of socialism, criticising 'ruling élites', 'corporate greed', 'capitalist colonisation', and 'dispossession' or 'oppression' of the masses. Since the first anti-globalisation groups began, they have tended to form coalitions with like-minded groups by adopting a broad spectrum ideological position that opposes:

- environmental destruction
- child labour
- third world debt
- exploitation of working people
- gender oppression
- oppression of minority groups
- discrimination
- capitalism
- transnational corporations
- militarisation
- genetically modified crops

and promotes:

- animal rights;
- the rights of indigenous peoples; and
- anarchism



17.35 This café in Bethlehem is modelled on the well-known international chain, Starbucks.

In an article in *New Formulation* in 2003, the American author, Chuck Morse, described anti-globalisation as a movement that “directly attacks global capital’s economic and political infrastructure with radically democratic politics and a strategy of confrontation”, adding that it is “bold, anti-authoritarian, and truly global — and also quite effective.”

Morse also added the following analysis:

“The emergence of the anti-globalisation movement has produced a feeling of near euphoria among anarchists. Not only are our commitments to direct action and decentralisation shared broadly in the movement as a whole, but we are also enjoying a political legitimacy that has eluded us for decades. We can now articulate our anti-statist, utopian message to activists around the world and we are no longer dismissed as terrorists or cranks. In many respects it seems like we should just mobilise, mobilise, and mobilise.”

In addition to their opposition to large, highly visible, global corporations such as McDonald’s and Starbucks (figures 17.35 and 17.36), anti-globalisation groups focus attacks on three organisations that are seen to promote globalisation — the WTO (World Trade Organisation, which argues for reduced tariff barriers and freer world trade), the World Bank (which gives advice and long-term development loans to LEDCs), and the IMF (International Monetary Fund, which gives countries crisis loans). Gatherings of world political and business leaders are seen by anti-globalisation groups as opportunities to demonstrate and attack those in positions of power, and anti-globalisation protectors have effectively closed and disrupted meetings of trade ministers and high ranking officials.



17.36 The logo of this Shanghai coffee shop is reminiscent of Starbucks — a common target of attacks by anti-globalisation groups.

Perhaps one of the most surprising features of anti-globalisation movements is that although they are becoming more and more effective in mobilising support in MEDCs, they have found much less widespread support in LEDCs, even though they claim to exist to support the rights of the poor. This has led to complaints that people in LEDCs seem to be relatively accepting and supportive of globalisation, whereas the strongest opposition to globalisation comes from affluent activists in wealthy countries.



17.37 This taxi driver in Bangladesh may never gain directly from the forces of globalisation, but he has portrayed his admiration for modernisation and internationalisation nonetheless. Globalisation tends to be rated more positively in LEDCs than in MEDCs.

There is evidence that many people in LEDCs see the anti-globalisation movement as a threat to their jobs and livelihoods, and an intrusion by well-meaning but misguided outsiders into their affairs (figure 17.37). There is a genuine fear in many LEDCs that if the trend towards greater globalisation were to reverse, many people would be left in poverty with little prospect to achieve the riches to which they aspire.

Which of the various competing perspectives are realistic or persuasive probably depends on one’s individual perspective and world view. Perhaps time will help the question become clearer as to whether globalisation is a constructive or destructive force — and for whom.

QUESTION BLOCK 17G

1. Suggest reasons why globalisation seems to be losing support in MEDCs, but is still seen as a positive force in LEDCs.
2. Why do anti-globalisation movements focus on many issues that seem to be unrelated to globalisation, such as gender oppression and animal rights?
3. Evaluate the effectiveness of anti-globalisation movements in the world today.