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## International system: Transition from bipolarity to Multipolarity

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### **Abstract –**

Multipolar world stands for distribution of the power among several states instead of being dominated by one or two states. During Cold War, the world was divided into two poles, leading analysts to call it a bipolar world. But with the end of Cold War, the world experienced a unipolar turn, when analysts believed that United States Of America emerged as the sole dominant power at the global level. However, with the emergence of China Japan, India, Brazil, South Africa and other non-state actors, multipolarity as a concept receiving wider scholarly attention. Today, power is not concentrated in any single state. At global level it opens up the foreign policy and security choices for all countries. Multipolarity throws open windows of opportunity for weaker states to exercise their strategic autonomy by enlarging the scope of bargaining.

### **Keywords :**

International System, hegemony, Bipolarity, Unipolar world, Multipolarity, Superpower

### **Introduction**

The atmosphere of international relation changes like weather . As the weather, this is hardly predictable. Even though the changing nature of international relations is appeared in the talks of layman, the changing structure of the distribution of power among nations is attempted to analyze and forecast only by leaders and analysts. The changing nature of international relation is like love . It is easier to experience than to define or measure. As stated by Joseph Nye (1990), the flow of global order influences the destiny of individual nations and are often associated with get the cataclysmic storms of world order.

Contemporary world is experiencing a critical transformation . Unlike the previous bipolar world order , today's most prevalent trend is the individual nation states concerns over their power and ability to influence the global system. Such happening is relevant because diffusion of power among multiple actors is a clear sign of multipolarity as well as the imminent adieu of the unipolar world.

As argued by Carr (1964: 102) “politics, at its heart is power politics.” Power equations are situated at the core of international system. 21<sup>st</sup> century is marked by critical socio-economic changes. Particularly since 2000, one hears more labels such as ‘partners, allies, competitors or rivals to refer power and relations. The end of Cold War and the disintegration of USSR is the clear sign of the end of bipolarity. Aftermath of cold war, many at times, the unilateral action of United States presented the sign of unipolar world , at the same time, the world system is yet to

have an exact alternative to America's strength. However, the emergence of several non-state actors including BRICS, ASEAN, the emerging giants like China, India and Brazil and their influence in international system can't be ignored.

This research work explains the changing dynamics of power in international relations. The paper entails the experiences of post-bipolar world. The research paradigm of this research is post-positivist, which contains the important elements that shapes the contour and flow of International Relations. This work is based on analytical approach and secondary data and information undertaken by respective literary sources.

The key area concentrated by this work is whether the present order can be diagnosed as multipolar or the world is still preserving the privilege of previously established dominant powers. Sources and trends of power is always subjected to changes. Here, the transformation of power dynamics after bipolarity is very carefully observed and analyzed.

### **The Changing Sources of Power**

Despite its considerable limitations, Role of military is undeniable part of international relations. 'The threat of use of force for aggression or protection remains a potent political bargaining tool' (Nye : 1990)

Apart from the hard power soft powers including technology education economic growth and economic growth are becoming the new determinants of power. To experience less resistance to its wishes, a states needs to achieve the consensus based acceptance in the eyes of international community. In other words the universalism of a countries culture and its ability to establish a set of conducive rules and institutions that govern areas of global activity is one of the vital sources of power.

After Cold War, the international community has gone through the assertion of neo-liberal ethos. Existing anarchy of global order, through the generation of uncertainty among the states, impedes cooperation.

The world order since the disintegration of USSR is featured by varied form of international order. The decade of 90's, experts diagnosed the world with a sole superpower i. e. United States. But from 2000, the growth of multilateral actors are quite visible.

### **Salient features of Bipolarity**

Through the prolonged period of cold war was free from an escalation of a hot war, it did not refrain from creating instability across four continents. From scholar's lenses, Bipolarity consists by 3 major elements :

1. Bipolarity
2. Bipolarization
3. Relative Balance

Thus, this systematic structure entails (Kaplan 1957; Waltz 1979; Thompson 1986) two actors and their respective alliances stand in a position of substantial conflict toward each other (bipolarization) control a dominant share of military capabilities in the system (bipolarity), and the

leader of each pole holds military capabilities that pose a substantial threat to the other (relative balance). In order to designate a system as a bipolar, the elements of bipolarity ought to reach a certain minimum threshold, though fluctuations might be permissible in case of bipolarization & relative balance, depending upon the context. In pragmatic context, presence of bipolarity can be observed, when two states control at least 50% of relative military each of the two states controlling at least 25%, while no other State controls as much as 25% (Rapkin, Thompson, Christopherson 1979; Thompson 1986).

In popular literature, to measure the extent of bipolarity, states military expenditure has been taken into consideration. Here, specific focus has been paid to the defense expenditure of great powers of the given period.

### **Features of hegemony**

Volgy and Imwalle (1995) stated that during a period of hegemony, one actor appears in the system that is able to exercise strong leadership in fashioning in terms of world order, establishing essential systematic rules, and holds (and at times uses) military and economic capabilities extensive enough to deter those actions of other actors that could potentially disrupt hegemonic leadership and systematic stability.

The presence of hegemony is detected, when a single power (actor) along with a parallel possessions of capabilities and willingness intends to lead the international system and shape as well as influence the order and predictability in global political scenario.

Historical analysis indicates that the occurrence of hegemony can be observed parallels to bipolarity, when a relatively strong contender (militarily) arises to challenge and take the leadership of global arena.

### **Interrelationships between superpowers and global political environment**

International relations cannot be viewed without considerations of the superpower. Similarly the architecture of superpower cannot be understood in absence of 'peripheries' and its environment's behaviors. Since, after disintegration of USSR, Russia experienced dismantle of its military, economic and political system and international arena too lacked any viable candidates for bipolar status, for instance:

Asian giants including China and Japan may take decades to achieve a sustainable economic growth along with domestic infrastructure and political strength, the US, as the sole preponderant actor has been continuing its role as the sole superpower.

### **Strategy of US in Post Cold War arena**

The collapse of USSR in 1991 initiated a deep force asymmetry between US and all other state actors. Unlike United Kingdom, it permits America to shape the nature and contours of world order by mobilizing its military and technological resources.

With the occurrence of Japan's economic stagnation in early nineties, American's fear over imminent dominance of East Asian economies has come to an end.

On the other hand, due to global liberalization and America's US's advancement of Neo-liberal policies, Asia, Latin America and Africa locked the peripheries into ever deeper dependency as raw materials producers, export processing zones and/or targets of financial accumulation for the capitalist core (Imwalle, Volgy (1995).

Thus, by shaping the content of modernity, US has been establishing itself 'Like Rome in the days of the Roman Empire, the US [became] the center of webs of control and communication that span the world and the source of a ubiquitous visual lingua franca conveying American culture to the rest of the world' (Kroes, 1999).

With all these elements, US advances its preponderance and autonomy in one hand and influences and reshapes the international system on the other hand.

The main driving force behind US hegemony is America's military strength. Throughout the passage of time period aftermath of Cold War, America's strategy to exert its power reflect the state's adherence to –

1. Liberal Globalism
2. Traditional Realism
3. Militarism and neo – imperialism

From the arena of Clinton's government, US effectively advances hegemonic governance under the banner of global financial and trade liberalization. In case of failure in the attainment of the requirements for natural workings of globalized free market, the superpower achieved the same through direct state intervention.

Thus, through its neo liberal mechanisms, US affirmed its comparative advantage in post – industrial service sector including communications, entertainment etc., and impose a normative global culture of business and social practices (Sassen, 1996). In the opinion of scholar Wade, 2002, increasing economic affluence and information mobilization permits the state to obscure its self constraints and at the same time it puts everyone else under same constraint. It was Gulf War of 1991, where US found it as an opportunity to justify its defense budget at Cold War levels.

Under the administration of George W Bush, assertion of America's hegemony was more visible. His governance renewed and expanded the earlier campaign against United Nation by assaulting international rules based UN system. Teleological notions of America's destiny and purpose are deeply rooted in America's political tradition. Ms. Condoleezza Rice, President Bush's National Security advisor, accused President Clinton for 'subordinating the national interest for the sake of illusory international community (during the presidential campaign of 2000). Discourses after 9/11 further offers an opportunity to nurture America's triumphalist ideology. With an unchecked concentration of executive power, US takes steps like set up a parallel secret military justice system, Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib etc.

Assertion to restore America's hegemony is clearly visible through the Justice department's infamous legal opinion that the President is not bound by US or international laws prohibiting torture.

As time passes, scholarly discussions and theorization have been taken place regarding the emergence and sustainment of America's superpower & whether the world's structure is appropriate to define as unipolar.

### **American Unipolarity: A structural perspective**

Although at many times, Unipolarity and empire is used interchangeably, both the words connoted different meaning. Where Unipolarity permits and refers the parallel existence of separate and sovereign nation-states, this is something what empire denies at the same time. In a very straight way, presence of Unipolarity can be considered, when one states has significantly more capabilities than any other & in most extreme case, the power of this super power could not be matched even with the unification of rest all powers of international system.

In respect to America, it's military spending is almost as great as the rest all other nations combined. But in case of different, this is not the case. As commented by

Jervis (2009), the distribution of soft power too roughly related to the distribution of military and economic strength though some trends exhibited the possibility of preponderance through the mere virtues of their culture, tradition and ideology. Unipolarity presents the state with a great opportunity to seek what Arnold Wolfers called "milieu goals" and to try to remake the world in its own image. The unipole can pursue luxuries, and once a state has started to do so, it, like an individual, soon comes to see them as necessities (Jervis, 2009). Kenneth Waltz commented that "The powerful state may, and the United States does, think of itself as acting for the sake of peace, justice, and well-being in the world. But these terms will be defined to the liking of the powerful, which may conflict with the preferences and the interests of others.... With benign intent, the United States has behaved, and until its power is brought into a semblance of balance, will continue to behave in ways that annoy and frighten others."

The same experiences can be explicitly visible through the America's coercive efforts to restore democracy across the Central Asian states & humanitarian intervention.

### **End of bipolarity & Unipolar World Order**

The nature of post bipolar and imminent unipolar world and circumstances can be classified into 4 distinguishable headings –

A security community among the leading states,  
the existence of nuclear weapons, the prevalence  
of liberal norms, and the menace of terrorism.

In the post bipolar system, the leading powers like Western European nation, US, Japan , China do not fear each other (although they are yet to be engaged in any conflict in an explicit way.) However, here the traditional notion of superpower does not complement, if second tier of states wanted to conquer superpower. Frankly it refers that in current scenario

“unipole has less influence because the tactic of divide and rule is less available to it and the leading states have less need of it for their protection. But it also relieves the unipole of the burden of keeping these states from going at one another.” (Jervis, 2009)

In respect to ideology, liberal values including democracy still dominates international community. None presents the comprehensive alternative to it despite the existence and sizeable spread of Asian Culture and Islamic Fundamentalism.

But several times unipolarity does not contemplates every feature of International liberalism. International liberalism cries for juridical equality among states and this is what rarely present under current leadership of American system.

Another remarkable factor in today’s system (not directly linked to Unipolarity, but indirectly it influences) is the rise of non state actors. From Amnesty International to Hezbollah, the relationships between state and non-state actor is far from being easy to analyse. By criticising and seeking to influence to Unipole’s behaviour, they are likely to concentrate more on unipole , which could have the unintended consequence of underlining rather than undermining the unipole’s position. For instance – the development of terrorism.

The unprecedented fear generated by terrorism becomes one of the most significant tools to shape foreign policy of superpower. Here, the example of US after 9/11 attack can be brought for discussion.

### **America as a unipole**

A country’s foreign policy reflects its domestic regime and aspirations of its people. Cold War period, U.S. vacillated between accepting a heterogeneous world and believing that the USSR would be a threat as long as it was communist as written by Robert Jervis. In order to establish long lasting peace and stability, transformation is vital. Aftermath of 9/11 attack US

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adopts the policies like ‘Global war on Terror’ etc. which invites lots of criticism from different fellows.

### **Imperial politics: Crisis of US Hegemony**

The prime motive behind the Bush revolution is characterised as an attempt to remove all constraints upon US sovereignty, and secure unipolarity well into 21<sup>st</sup> century.

“One aspect of the wrecking operation that the administration has undertaken is worth special attention: the destruction of some of the main schemes of co-operation that have been established

since 1945 and that are aimed at introducing some order and moderation into the jungle of traditional international conflicts ... Pushing aside the UN , or refusing to accept curbs on the use of US force, can mean one or two things. The US may want to return to pre 1914 conditions...or else, the US, seeing itself as the guardian of world order, would leave restraints on other states standing, and reserve to itself the right to select those restraints of international law and institutions that serve its interests and to reject all the others (Hoffman, 2003).

The US was the main initiator and the primary beneficiary of the institutionalisation of world politics after 1945. It employed the institutions it helped create to stabilise the post war capitalist world economy and to create webs of dependence linking its allies in the Atlantic and Pacific to the American centre. It exchanged 'restraints on its power for institutional agreements' and traded off 'short term gains for longer-term gains' (Ikenberry, 2000).

Unlike the previous powers who simply dominated World system only by exercising force US created incentives through binding and institutionalised agreements, favoured US without compromising its position with junior partners. Most US allies it has been observed that by receiving a significant amount of economic and military help they decided to remain as a subordinate state under the banner of US leadership.

Under the administration of George Bush America claimed that The universal expansion of American power would provide indispensable benefits of goods and services. However no amount of architecture and campaign of American soft power as well as its attractiveness can bury the ugly side of America's imperial action. Nor it can remove the Failure of America's experiment On the land of Iraq and Vietnam. The Bush administration's effort to obtain 'unilateral world domination through absolute military superiority' (Lieven, 2002) is not much away from collapse. As commented by Record, an export of U.S. Army war college, stated that "the conflation of all Qaeda and Saddam Husain's Iraq as a single undifferentiated terrorist threat .... was the strategic error . He added that the declared objectives in the global War on Terror are far from a realistic point and condemn the United states to a hopeless quest for absolute security.

However unlike the practices of previous superpower United States aimed not only to prevent the rise of a parallel competitors. Simultaneously it has been practising an uncompromising attitude and action against terrorism . Moreover, America tries to maintain an open international economic system democratic regimes.

But changes are inevitable in International system. In post Cold War countries are left with lesser incentives to cooperate with America. Many of the superpower objectives still need persuasion rather than forceful coercion & hypocrisy is endemic in International relation.

Recently enemies of US like North Korea, Japan, Russia have been growing significantly. The unprecedented growth of China since recent decade is also caused concern to US hegemony. Proliferation of nuclear weapons and economic growth of East Asian giants are another factor.

Within this atmosphere, the major question is what would remain of a unipolar system in this proliferated world. Although some scholars still diagnosed the world as unipolar by most measures and considerations but now a days many countries are emerging , with an ability to

protect themselves even against the superpower. Scholars of international relations are still grappled by a confusion about how the emerging powers would use this increasing security. The current behaviour of Russia and Ukraine gives a hint about intensification of conflict with neighbour because they no longer fear all out war on one hand. On the other hand some cases portrays the willingness of emerging security community to engage in cooperation & thus results the growth of interdependence, which in turn prevents the possibility of the escalation of armed tensions.

Thus such growing interdependence among different state and non state actor producers a very convenient environment for the development of multipolarity

### **Transition towards Multipolarity**

The contour of a multipolar world with growing interdependence are mainly produced by material interest resulting from increasing systematic cooperation and interdependence among states From the first quarter of 21<sup>st</sup> century along with the globalisation process, the world witness the rise of new grouping of states from the global South. Even though the role of multilateralism is played out in the UN was secondary to the great game and usually cantered on the non use of veto power in the UN Security Council ; the established giants have been challenged explicitly 'because of the privileged roles in systematic terms as expressed in their veto status inside the United Nations, the directorate role assumed by G7 or G8, the longstanding debate over votes and a shares in the international financial institutions, the globally directed initiatives (such as those dealing with offshore financial centres) from the OECD, and the existence of exclusive small groups such as the green door process through the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Flames, Cooper;2013)

However, all such initial steps by emerging economies towards established powers were met with repeated failures . For instance =

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) ; an initiative by newly developing post colonial states was failed as a result of Northern resistance.

But in contemporary times, a remarkable changes has been occurred in power dynamics of International relations. Recent experience entails the presence of a number of successful steps by emerging and re emerging economies, which in turn resulted the change in global balance by occupying a prominent place in world capitalist market. Establishment and operation of several multilateral mechanisms like BRICS, G8 etc contribute a lot for the maintenance of the image of multipolarity. Meditation advocacy and substitution networks are extremely crucial in today's shifting global order. The post colonial states including Brazil, China and India have achieved a considerable weight in respect to their status and presenting themselves as agenda setters, brokers and coalition builders in recent power relations.

Network mechanism such as India -Brazil- South Africa dialogue forum and Brazil South Africa India China etc. have significantly contributed to the evolution of a new informal type of multipolarity and they achieved more benefits from this new institutional structure than any other previous player.

### *The Rise of China*

*“The Chinese style is impressive. The Russians will fight you for every nickel and dime, and elbow you at every level, and lose a million dollars of goodwill in the process. The Chinese have a sense of the longer trends and focus on that, not on ploymanship.”( Kissinger, 1971)*

Since the time of Cold War and bipolarity the Chinese adopted a unique foreign policy, i.e. ‘United Front’. Under the banner of these they aimed to avoid their isolation by building solidarity with the non-aligned world and dividing the West. Throughout the Cold War, the Chinese played their card well and ensured that they don’t upset either Henry Kissinger and Alexi Kosygin. Presently, assertion of Chinese diplomacy in the South China Sea dispute upheld the dominant diplomatic tactic of China. They sought to pursue unilateralism. The new tactic of China is to seek revenge for the ‘Century of Humiliation from 1839 to 1949’. Now, China has developed an uncompromising attitude towards the rest of the world and challenging the democratic values of International community.

Presently, in South Asia with advent of covid-19 pandemic, China has its 3<sup>rd</sup> multilateral dialogue virtually with neighbouring countries in order to take forward closer coordination on fighting covid -19 and cooperating their agendas, reflecting a new approach in Beijing outreach to the region. It’s growing global economic influence and the economic and trade policies it maintains have significant implications for the United States and world order. With the robust government policies and strong political leadership, China is witnessing a brilliant record in terms of economic growth and development.

However, although rapid economic progresses were made, China still remains a developing country. China’s per capita income is still a fraction of that in Western countries. Besides, China’s market reforms are still incomplete. Rapid economic growth has increased inequality among urban population; large scale urbanisation also posed great challenges to environmental sustainability which has created big external imbalances. Besides, China is also facing demographic pressures related to an aging population and a large displacement of domestic labour.

### **BRICS**

Initiated with the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of recently emerging economies i. e. Brazil, Russia, India and China in 2006 and riding on the political synergy created by regular summits since 2009, BRIC turned itself into BRICS in 2010, with the joining of South Africa. BRICS occupies an unquestionable relevance. It represents 42% of the world’s population, 30 % of the land area, 24% of global GDP and 16% of international growth. The BRICS aimed to reform of existing multilateral institutions which would aptly portray the structural changes of world economy and growing primary role that emerging markets now exercise. BRICS seeks to serve as a bridge between global north and south. In the field of diplomatic bargaining and negotiations, the grouping has gone through a reasonably productive journey. To attain financial stability in the regions, it established a New

Development Bank (NDB) in the form of Contingency Reserve Arrangement. Moreover, BRICS helps to develop a common perspective on a wide range of global and regional issues. It tries to achieve reform of multilateral institutions ranging from the United Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to the World Trade Organisation and now even the World Health organisation. BRICS is attempting to pragmatically shape its Counter- Terrorism Action Plan with measures & mechanisms to confront terrorist financing, radicalisation and misuse of internet and other public networks by extremists as well as terrorist organisations.

But in the backdrop of covid -19 pandemic, which tarnish the global image of China , the escalation of strained relationships between India and China over Eastern Ladakh, the conflict between China and Russia, ongoing War of Russia and Ukraine, China and Russia's bitter relationship with West, serious internal challenges of both Brazil and South Africa, Critics questions the relevance of BRICS. Huge trade deficit between China and rest other member countries is a huge challenge for other partner nations. In this global recession, trade war, escalation of conflict between Russia and Ukraine , trade War and protectionism, the most crucial challenge for the BRICS consists in the development of a new global model of governance which should not be unipolar, but inclusive and constructive.

### Way Forward =

Despite the relative shrink of United States hegemony, the world is yet to have a full mechanism to function as a multilateral system. Multilateralism needs global consensus and cooperation, which is hardly feasible in the current climate of strategic contestation among different states ranging from China- India, trade war between US and China, Russia- Ukraine and so on. Moreover, in respect to BRICS, first it must need to shed the centrality from China and create a better internal balance along with diversification and strengthening of regional value chains. Multipolar world always demands sovereign equality and democratic decision making among nation states. The future growth of multilateralism is closely linked to peaceful and politico-diplomatic settlement of crisis and conflict in various regions of the world. Thus, enhancing communication between international community is vital for moving ahead to this multilateral vision of world.

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