CHAPTER 3


1.1 In August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait and refused to vacate. UN authorised use of force against Iraq. 34 countries fought together to make Iraq comply in the First Gulf War. ‘Operation Desert Storm’ was the high point.

1. US led invasion of Iraq in February 1991. This was hard politics based on military power and security.

The First Gulf war revealed the vast technology gap in warfare between US and others.

2. Concept of hegemony was based on the 'smart bomb' and the 'computer warfare'. Wide television coverage from ground zero, gave wide publicity to US hegemony. Financially the US made a profit in this war, as it received more money from other countries than it spent.

3. India's Policy options in relations with US: As a NAM leader, India played a balancing role during the Cold War. President Clinton from 1992 to 2000 focused on strengthening of democracy, climate change and world trade.


3.1 After 2000, the very large Indian diaspora in the US and India’s emergence as a software power are the two factors dominating its Policy towards USA. In a globalized world convergence of trade and growth factors are making India overlook the military factor of US. India’s NAM roots and own interests are likely to continue as a basis of foreign policy.

5. Where was the hegemony overcome?

The constraints of US hegemony are in its constitutional division of power between Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. Its open democratic system with a strong media, public opinion and NATO forces that constraint US ambitions.

10x10 Learning TM
2. Different kinds of Hegemony: Hegemony is about gaining and retaining more power than others.

- 1. Military based hard power hegemony, with budget being more than the total of 12 countries.
  
  1.1 US has overwhelming military superiority in terms of size of armed forces and technology.

- 2. Hegemony as structural power. This makes free trade possible.
  
  2.1 An open world economy needs the support of one power to keep world trade routes open for all.

- 3. Hegemony as soft power. This means capacity to manufacture consent through pursuit and imitating what is seen as superior.
  
  3.1 Class ascendancy in social political and ideological spheres. Cultural presence through Hollywood movies, magazines, newspapers, telecasts, fashion etc.

- 4. Institutions such as United Nations and World Trade Organisation.
  
  4.1 These are dominated by US due to its biggest contribution in their budgets.

Exercises at the end of the Chapter
1. Which among the following statements about hegemony is incorrect?
   a) The word implies the leadership or predominance of one State.
   b) It was used to denote the predominance of Athens in the ancient Greece.
   c) The country having hegemonic position will possess unchallenged military power.
   d) Hegemonic position is fixed. Once a hegemon, always a hegemon

   Answer: Statement d) is incorrect about hegemony.

2. Which among the following statements is wrong about the contemporary world order?
   a. There is an absence of world government, which could regulate the State’s behaviour.
   b. The US is the predominant player in world affairs.
   c. States are using force against one another.
   d. States, which violate international law, are severely punished by the UN.

   Answer: Statement d) is wrong about contemporary world order.

3. Which among the following statements is wrong with regard to ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’?
   a. More than forty countries joined in the US-led coalition of the willing to invade Iraq.
   b. The reason given for invading Iraq was to prevent it from developing weapons of mass destruction.
   c. The action was taken with the prior approval of the UN.
   d. The US-led coalition did not face major resistance from Iraqi forces
Answer. Statement d) is wrong about ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’.

4. Give an example each of the three kinds of hegemony that are dealt with in the chapter. Do not cite examples that are in the chapter.

Answer. The three kinds of hegemony are military, economic and political and soft power cum cultural hegemony.

An example of military hegemony is of India with its very large armed forces as compared to its smaller neighbours, namely, Shri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal. But India’s military hegemony is not due to its policy of threatening or subjugating its neighbours, though its size makes it appear a hegemon.

An example of economic hegemony can be seen within India between its cities. As the commerce capital of India, Mumbai dominates, and attracts people from all parts of the country. Mumbai Municipal Corporation is the richest municipality in the world. Its budget is more than that of many smaller states of India.

Example of soft power or cultural hegemony is the Hindi film industry, Bollywood, over the regional film industry. The Hindi films have a market and wider popularity than films made in other languages in India.

5. Mention three ways in which US dominance since the Cold War is different from its position as a superpower during the Cold War.

Answer. Since the Cold War US is dominating mainly in the economic and political spheres. In the military sphere the arms race of increasing stock piling of nuclear devices every year has stopped. The position of stockpiles as in December 1991 has been recorded and shared between US and Russia.

Politically, US have been interfering in facilitating former members of the Warsaw Pact to establish democratic forms of government to replace the communist form. For this a Constitution for each country has been created,
institutions of Parliament, Election Commission, different levels of Judiciary and Rule of Law have been created.

Economically, US has extended soft loans to the Eastern European countries to rebuild their economies to establish a capitalist system with a free market.

6. Match the following:

Answer. The correct matching is as follows:

   i. Operation Infinite Reach          a. War against Al-Qaeda and Taliban
   ii. Operation Enduring Freedom      b. Coalition of the willing
   iii. Operation Desert Storm         c. Missile attack in Sudan
   iv. Operation Iraqi Freedom         d. First Gulf War

7. What are the constraints on American hegemony today? Which one of these do you expect to get more important in the future?

Answer. The major constraints on American hegemony include:

a) The institutional architecture of US itself. Institutions are a system of division of national power between the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. The military power of the Executive is restrained by the Legislature that approves the funds and top military appointments made by the President.

b) The second constraint is democratic and open society of the US. There is a strong media that keeps an eye on national interest, and the public opinion and awareness is very active. This is a very large constraint on any President who attempts military action overseas.

c) The third constraint is the NATO force of 42 + countries. Though led by the US, all these countries are democratic and follow the market economy. It greatly moderates the ambitions of USA.
8. Read the three extracts in the chapter from the Lok Sabha debate on the Indo-US deal. Develop any one of these into a full speech defending a certain position on Indo-US relations.

**Answer.** I have developed the first extract, from the Prime Minister’s speech into the following speech.

Mr. Speaker,

I rise to inform this august House about the new Agreement my Government has signed with the United States of America, on the peaceful use of nuclear energy and greater cooperation on other international matter.

In international power politics, India has firmly adopted the non-aligned policy. Even during the Cold War era, we had resisted many pressures from both the super powers. World peace and non-alignment have been the corner stones of India’s foreign policy. Even after this Indo US agreement these policy objectives will continue.

Globalisation based on new technology has been established today. The US is a leading power in nuclear technology that has multiple peaceful uses. India is an emerging economic and soft power, and needs the cooperation of those who already have developed these technologies. Indo US agreement is a step in the right direction that will enable India to emerge as a developed country.

(150 words)

9. “If big and resourceful states cannot resist the US hegemony, it is unrealistic to expect much smaller and weaker non-state actors to offer any resistance.” Examine this proposition and give your opinion.

**Answer**. The ‘smaller and weaker small state actors’ is a reference to NGOs that have emerged in the social sector, in addition to social movements, and public opinion. The NGOs are voluntary organisations that can raise funds for their
activities. The social movement activists and the media also need funds to survive and grow.

As such, all the three non-state actors have valid reasons to be tempted to dilute their missions for funds from abroad. Yet, they can resist because they have a social cause and public good. Their reputation is a critical factor for each. If their integrity comes in to question, they may not be able to function at all. Therefore, in my opinion they need to abide by their vision and mission, and not compromise their values for larger funding. Funds may give them a short term benefit, but loss of reputation and integrity would result in total closure of their activities.

(156 words)