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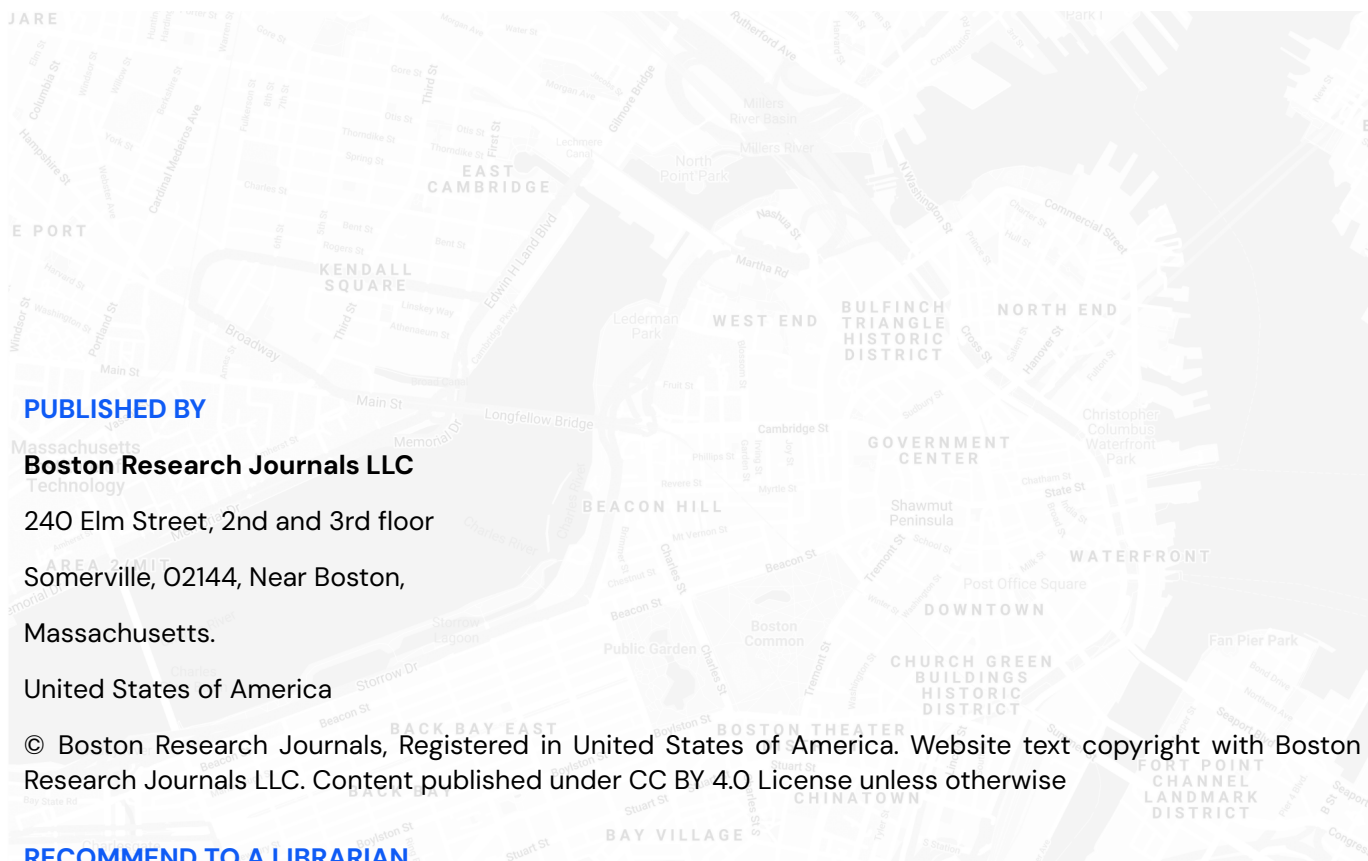
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Preface

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Peer-Reviewed Research Articles

Trump's New Strategy: Balancing Political Ambitions and Commercial Interests Within the Context of Redefining the Dynamics of Global Power

Dr. Awad Slimia⁵

ABSTRACT

This study examines the Trump administration's foreign policy as a complex strategy that intertwines political ambitions with commercial interests, resulting in global conflicts of interest. The authors employ a case study approach, policy analysis, and a review of existing literature to explore the impact of Trump's new orientations on reconfiguring international geopolitics. The analysis focuses on global issues the Transfer of Palestinians from Gaza Strip, Russian-Ukrainian War and the Precious Metals Deal, The Rupture in The Transatlantic Alliance, and the Trade War with China.

The findings indicate that Trump's policies, rooted in the pursuit of "Make America Great Again" "MAGA" from a businessman's perspective, are pushing the geopolitical landscape to move at a rapid pace; it is likely to damage the US relationships with its traditional allies while fostering closer cooperation between Moscow and Beijing in countering American dominance. This approach, driven predominantly by economic interests, poses a threat to international agreements and destabilizes the global order—a system that the US played a pivotal role in shaping in the aftermath of World War II and consolidating following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Within just one month of assuming office, Trump's controversial remarks ignited global tension, introducing unconventional policies that left observers astounded. Among his bold and puzzling proposals were threats to take control of Greenland, efforts to reclaim dominance over the Panama Canal, aspirations to annex Canada into the US, and a suggestion to rename the Gulf of Mexico as the "Gulf of America" Not stopping there, he signaled his intent to reshape relations with the European Union (EU) according to his perspective, deeming those relations fundamentally unbalanced.

On the economic front, Trump has escalated tariff wars with China and several European and global countries. He proposed a dramatic plan to end the conflict between Russia and Ukraine that included asking Kyiv to give up half of its natural resources, ignoring the interests of his European allies in the Atlantic. The Middle East was not far behind. Trump's provocative visions included more threats to the Palestinians, with proposals to displace the population of the Gaza Strip and place it under US administration to create a luxury tourist zone on their ruins. These seemingly unrealistic ideas represent a clear deviation from the traditional trajectories of US policy and raise many questions about their impact on global stability and regional security.

However, the relationship between politics and trade is a major pivot in global dynamics, and Trump's trade interests are a clear example of how economic goals influence political strategies. In the context of this relationship, Trump's perceptions are challenged by the conflicts of interest that can arise when dealing with global actors, adding to the complexities associated with political decisions that affect the principles of international relations. and decades of free trade doctrine. Thus, analyzing these announcements requires a careful examination of the factors that influence political decision-making in the presence of these potential conflicts that may hinder the achievement of strategic goals for both the US and international partners.

In this paper, the authors aim to explore the Trump administration's foreign policy as a complex strategy in which political ambitions are intertwined with commercial interests, leading to inevitable conflicts of interest across global domains.

Additionally, the paper examines the potential long-term effects of this policy on regional stability and the global balance of power. To achieve this goal, the researchers provide further insight into the following areas.

- II. Transfer the Palestinians and the Riviera of the Middle East
- III. Russian-Ukrainian War and the Precious Metals Deal
- IV. The Rupture in The Transatlantic Alliance
- V. The Trade War with China and Tariffs

II. TRANSFER THE PALESTINIANS AND THE RIVIERA OF THE MIDDLE EAST

During a press conference with Netanyahu on Feb. 5, 2025, Trump unveiled an unconventional plan to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The core of this proposal involves transforming the Gaza Strip into the "Riviera" of the Middle East by relocating Palestinian citizens to Jordan, Egypt, and several other countries while imposing restrictions on their right to return to their homeland. As part of this real estate initiative, Trump envisions the US taking control of the land, displacing millions of Palestinians to Jordan and Egypt, and replacing the ruins of Gaza with modern glass towers and high-rise buildings that offer breathtaking views. as well as, the development of commercial ports that would create unlimited job opportunities for newcomers, inviting global investors to relocate to the Strip. This ambitious and innovative approach is presented as a solution that could potentially end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict permanently.

Indeed, what influences Trump, the political leader of the world's most powerful country and an international real estate mogul, is his loyalty to his original profession as a real estate developer of skyscrapers, resorts, and golf clubs worldwide. According to Alain Frachon [1] of the French newspaper Le Monde, Trump, rich in experience, defies conventions and envisions 40 kilometers of coastline along the eastern Mediterranean, featuring luxury villas nestled among olive groves and local-style buildings by the waterfront, complete with a golf course. That is the concept!

In his book *Trump: The Art of the Deal*, p. 32, Trump expresses his enthusiasm for deal-making, particularly favoring large transactions. He describes his straightforward approach to this process: "I set very high goals," he states, "and then

I keep pushing and pushing and pushing to get what I'm after. Sometimes I settle for less than what I was after, but in most cases, I get what I want." [2]. In this statement, the real estate mogul overlooks the contributions of his advisors and supporters who have influenced his ideas. His controversial "Gaza Riviera" was not solely his creation; it was based on a 49-page document drafted by economics professor Joseph Belzman. [3] On July 21, 2024, his plan for the Gaza Strip includes the construction of renewable energy plants, a light rail system, airports, ports, digital governance, and beachfront hotels. Belzman reveals in his proposal that countries investing in this project will become shareholders with an extendable 50-year lease. However, this assertion is only partially accurate.

Blizman's plan was not the only initiative to capitalize on Trump's business ideas, which regard the Gaza Strip as a real estate opportunity. During his first term in 2017, Trump unveiled a vision for a similar plan spearheaded by his advisor and son-in-law, Jared Kushner, aimed at fostering peace in the Middle East. Referring to the January 2020 "Deal of the Century", Trump stated at the time, "If Jared can't bring peace to the Middle East, no one can." However, on the ground, Jared has failed to achieve significant progress and has even experienced a major setback in his efforts to bring peace to the region, despite having read about the subject [4]. Despite his failures, Kushner's deals continue to haunt Trump. A Trump advisor once described the Arab-Israeli conflict as not more than a real estate dispute and spoke of the potential beauty of Gaza's Mediterranean waterfront [5]; However, in a February 2024 interview at Harvard University, [6] Kushner stated that "Gaza's waterfront property could be very valuable if people focused on building livelihoods" (12:57). He further expressed that if he were in charge of Israel, he would consider "getting the people out and then cleaning up the place" (13:15), "diplomatically" moving from Rafah to Egypt (9:39), while demolishing structures in the Negev and relocating other Palestinians there, so that Israel could enter the Strip and complete the task (9:57). As part of this vision, a report published by The Times of Israel revealed that Kushner is behind Trump's announcement to take control of the Gaza Strip and displace its citizens [7].

Trump, Pelzman, and Kushner's perceptions reveal a striking lack of understanding and naivety regarding the causes and roots of the conflict. This

was evident during an interaction in the Oval Office when Trump asked, "Why do they want to go back? It was hell." A reporter responded, "But this is their home, sir. Why would they leave?" [8] With apparent naivety, the mega-dealer-turned-president attempts to reduce one of the most enduring and acrimonious political conflicts of the modern era to mere development or reconstruction. He reiterates his failed diplomatic strategies by insisting on the removal of Palestinian citizens from the Gaza Strip, operating under the belief that every beautiful beach in the world should be owned by him and his companies. For instance, during his first term, Trump promised North Korean leader Kim Jong-un that he would assist in constructing luxury hotels and apartments along the country's east coast if North Korea relinquished its nuclear weapons. However, Mr. Kim opted to continue developing weapons rather than Trump's proposed five-star resorts [9].

Trump's initiative unveils more insights into whom he considers stakeholders in Gaza's future. Here, the focus is not on Palestinian civilians, but rather on the US, Israel, and the contractors capable of implementing his vision. This tenuous understanding of how to address the root causes of the conflict inherently contradicts the principles of the agreements that Trump claims to have brokered after a series of negotiations that are purportedly mutually beneficial to both parties; Given the exclusion of Palestinians from the equation, these proposals can be interpreted as ethnic cleansing from the perspective of international law, rather than the peace deal that Trump envisions.

Nevertheless, the Israeli right has been impressed by these ideas as "providing space for a serious discussion" on the same project but with alternative means [10]. This is what the editor-in-chief of The Jewish Journal aimed to convey through Trump's Jewish commercial perspective. "As rockets flew over Gaza," Suissa wrote, "I dreamed of a magnificent strip of hotels and casinos next to a shimmering ocean. I imagined thousands of proud Palestinians working with smiles on their faces to serve the thousands of tourists from all over the world who come to their little strip of ocean paradise." "Next to this paradise... Entrepreneurs have established software companies, banks, and advertising agencies; universities have attracted students from around the globe, and local culture and the arts have flourished [11]. However, Suissa overlooks the fact

that all these dreams he envisions could become realities for the Palestinians simply by ending the Israeli occupation of their land.

The boisterous manner in which Trump manages his employees, real estate companies, and properties appears to reflect his steadfast belief in the importance of free and unfettered competition between himself and the rest of the world [12]. The mixed perceptions, coupled with threats and being fired do not consider the interests of even his closest allies, often raising their concerns. The first to push back against his proposals are his country's supposed allies in the Middle East, with Egypt and Jordan rejecting Trump's ideas [13]. The vast majority of the international community has condemned these proposals as acts of ethnic cleansing, which are punishable under international law. Indeed, Trump appears to lack the cognitive complexity necessary to grasp the nuances of foreign policy, relies heavily on unreliable advisors, and often disregards their counsel when it conflicts with his preferences [14].

The aggressive bargaining tactics employed by Trump to enforce his controversial Arab and international vision are likely to strain relations with allies. The use of US tariffs—one of Trump's preferred economic tools—and/or the imposition of economic sanctions on Jordan and Egypt, both of which receive billions of dollars in US aid annually, could have disastrous consequences [15]; On one hand, the risk of imposing a unilateral vision not only threatens to alienate key allies in the region—such as Jordan and Egypt, which maintain strong relations with Washington—but also Saudi Arabia, the primary diplomatic hub in the region and the spiritual home of over 2 billion Muslims worldwide, all of whom support the Palestinian cause. Consequently, the increasing pressure on regional allies to embrace this concept will inevitably result in a deterioration of bilateral relations and push the entire region to the brink of crisis. The peace treaties between Egypt and Jordan with Israel are essential for regional stability, border security, and Israeli defense planning. While Jordan hosts U.S. troops, Egypt permits crucial military overflights, and both governments consistently share vital intelligence with Washington [16].

On the other hand, Trump's policies will undermine efforts to normalize relations between Israel and Saudi Arabia. Jordan and Egypt are

currently unable to facilitate the displacement of more than two million Palestinians from the Gaza Strip into their territories. Even if these countries were to yield to Trump's coercion, the US foreign aid they receive is inadequate to offset the geopolitical, economic, security, and social risks and repercussions associated with such a move [17]. In other words, the apparent shift in the US president's policy regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, along with plans to displace Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, is viewed by most Middle Eastern leaders as detrimental to all parties involved—neither beneficial to the Palestinians nor Trump himself. Despite the impracticality of these proposals, they have succeeded in uniting both allies and adversaries in their rejection of these ideas.

III. RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR AND THE PRECIOUS METALS DEAL

During his election campaign, Trump pledged to end the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine, which he characterized as a senseless conflict that benefits none of the parties involved. He attributed the war's outbreak to his predecessor, Biden, claiming that his failed policies nearly led to World War III [18] Trump says "We're going to stop people from these stupid, endless wars...We're not going to participate in them ourselves" [19]. Based on these statements, on Jan. 20, 2025, Trump signed an executive order prohibiting the disbursement of any foreign assistance from the US in a manner that is not fully consistent with the foreign policy of the President of the US [20]. This order also applies to US aid, which saw a heavy influx during Biden's presidency to support Ukraine.

In his latest post, Trump launched a social media attack on Ukrainian President Zelensky after the latter accused him of being in the orbit of Russian disinformation. Zelensky convinced the US of America to spend \$350 billion to enter a war that cannot be won, one that never should have been started, and a war that he will never be able to settle without the US and Trump, Trump posted on his Truth Social website. The US has spent \$200 billion more than Europe, while the US will receive nothing in return [21]. These figures announced by Trump fluctuate without accurate verification. The Kiel Institute for the World Economy, a Germany-based non-profit organization that tracks military, financial, and humanitarian support to

Ukraine, reported that European countries—primarily the EU, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland—have allocated approximately \$140 billion in total aid to Ukraine, while the US has contributed around \$120 billion of the total aid; this assistance encompasses military, humanitarian, and financial support for Ukraine [22].

The media conflict between the two sides escalated significantly, reflecting a gradual progression on Trump's escalation ladder. Among the most notable controversial statements was his characterization of Zelensky as an illegitimate dictator, claiming that his popularity does not exceed 4%. He also urged Zelensky to prioritize organizing elections in his country [23]. Trump reiterated his accusation that Kyiv initiated the war with Russia [24], emphasizing the necessity of recovering the U.S. funds expended by Zelensky during the conflict [25]. He also asserted that there is no future for Ukraine within NATO. This escalation occurred just hours after U.S. officials convened with a Russian delegation in Riyadh to initiate discussions aimed at resolving the conflict, which has persisted for nearly three years [26]. Notably, representatives from Ukraine and the European Union, who are typically considered allies in this matter, were absent from these talks.

Amid a tense atmosphere and the beginnings of a complex crisis that increased uncertainty about the future of US support for Ukraine, President Zelensky held a meeting with Keith Kellogg, President Trump's envoy. By the end of the meeting, it appeared that Zelensky had caved under the weight of US pressure and threats, and the Ukrainian president wrote that "Ukraine is ready for a really strong and beneficial agreement with the President of the US on investments and security" [27]. Trump was quick to respond to Zelensky's post, stating, "We are informing Ukraine that it possesses very valuable rare earth materials." He added, "I told them I want the equivalent of \$500 billion worth of rare earth, and they essentially agreed to it" [28]. For his part, Zelensky highlighted some of the limitations of Trump's grand bargain, emphasizing that he would not accept any Trump-led peace deal with Russia unless his country was directly involved in the negotiations. This response came after Trump's statement that the US would begin negotiations with Russia [29]. According to The Telegraph, which obtained a draft of the pre-agreement, the United States proposed a 50% share of revenue from extraction, a 50%

share of all new licenses issued to third parties, and a right of first refusal on exports to other countries. The deal would be governed by New York law and would encompass access to minerals, oil, gas, ports, and other infrastructure as agreed upon, potentially leading to a form of economic colonization by the United States in perpetuity [30].

Trump, who does not consider Zelensky's presence at the negotiating table essential, concluded three years of unrestricted diplomatic and military support for Kyiv with a single decision, thereby deepening the divide and escalating tensions between Washington and Kyiv. Conversely, Washington and Moscow demonstrated a new rapprochement by collaborating on a plan to end the war in Ukraine during high-level talks in Saudi Arabia. This development raised concerns due to the absence of Ukrainian and European representatives, who were not invited to participate in the discussions [31]. Based on Trump's promises to end the war and bring peace to the region, as well as a realistic assessment of the battlefield, it is important to emphasize the following points: (1) returning to Ukraine's pre-2014 borders is an illusory and unattainable goal, particularly given the impossibility of reclaiming the Crimean Peninsula, which Russia seized in 2014, along with the territories occupied by the Russian army since the onset of the war in February 2022, which account for 22% of Ukraine's total area; (2) there is no commitment to include Ukraine in NATO or provide security guarantees; and (3) any deployment of international or European troops in Ukraine will not be subject to Article 5 of the NATO Charter [32]. That means the US will not intervene if NATO peacekeepers come under attack from Russian military forces.

On the other hand, Trump's statements regarding the promised peace are illuminated by the details of the discussions with Ukrainian leaders. Trump's messages are unequivocal: no more free aid. From this point forward, Trump intends to leverage Ukraine's significant mineral deposits to recoup the billions spent by the US in its efforts against Russia [33]. These rare elements, valued at \$500 billion in mineral wealth from Ukraine, could potentially repay the \$100 billion that Kyiv received during its conflict with Moscow [34]. Without a US commitment to the security and military guarantees that Kyiv requires, Washington proposed ownership of 50% of Ukraine's vital mineral resources in a revised draft to bridge the

gap [35]; Later, Ukrainian officials announced that Kyiv is prepared to sign an agreement for the joint development of its mineral resources, including oil and Gas after the US withdrew its demands for the right to \$500 billion in potential revenues from the exploitation of these resources [36].

Beneath the surface of military maneuvers and occasional peacemaking lies a deeper driver of armed conflict: Ukraine's vast natural resources. In fact, Ukraine possesses significant reserves of rare earth minerals that are vital to the world's most advanced technologies. In total, these minerals could be worth trillions of USD [37]; While the Trump administration is hesitant to provide additional US aid to Ukraine, it is now seeking to negotiate a deal on rare minerals that would enable US taxpayers to recover their investment [38]. On the other hand, Russia has successfully seized the resource-rich provinces of Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk, and Zaporizhia, as well as Crimea and the Black Sea. These maritime regions and borderlands, abundant in hydrocarbons and essential minerals such as graphite, lithium, and uranium, are not only central to Ukraine's sovereignty but also crucial for Europe's energy independence and the competition between the US and China for technological dominance. Control over these resources is a critical, albeit often underappreciated, factor in shaping the course of the conflict and will almost certainly influence the terms of its resolution; Although frequently overlooked in the headlines, Ukraine's resources are a vital component of the evolving geopolitical landscape [39].

In his quest to alleviate the Ukrainian burden inherited from his predecessor, Biden, in early 2022, Trump is striving to translate his words into action. As part of this initiative, Washington has intensified its efforts and proposed its own draft UN resolution on the anniversary of the war in Ukraine, after rejecting a resolution drafted by Kyiv and supported by Europe [40]; this draft resolution does not condemn Russia as the aggressor in the conflict, nor does it acknowledge Ukraine's territorial integrity [41]. This perspective aligns with Trump's belief that the UN should return to its founding purpose, as outlined in the UN Charter, which is to maintain international peace and security, including through the peaceful resolution of disputes [42]. By contrast, the draft resolution submitted by the EU and Ukraine refers to the "total invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation" and demands the immediate and unconditional

withdrawal of all of Moscow's forces [43]. This dramatic shift in Washington's approach to Ukraine has undermined the positions of the political elite in the West on acceptable norms about ending the war [44]; It put Washington's closest friends on a direct collision course in the corridors of the UN

IV. THE RUPTURE IN THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE

"We don't have eternal allies; we don't have eternal enemies. Our interests are eternal and Lord Palmerston, House of Commons, 1848".

The US and Europe are allies, or at least that is the perception many Europeans wish to maintain. However, this does not imply that they do not compete economically or that they do not have disagreements on certain foreign policy issues. Both parties recognize that they are aligned when challenges arise and consistently strive to uphold unity as a fundamental objective. Nevertheless, the second Trump administration appears to support the notion articulated by Lord Palmerston, suggesting that European allies warrant no special consideration. For this administration, European partners can be engaged, disengaged, or coerced to align with US interests. If a deal can be struck with Russia on a specific issue without European involvement—or even in opposition to their interests—then that is deemed acceptable [46].

European leaders at the Munich Security Conference were taken aback by the revelation that President Trump had engaged in a direct phone call with Russian President Putin, without prior consultation with Ukraine or NATO allies. Trump disclosed the call after it occurred, along with the announcement that direct negotiations to resolve the conflict in Ukraine would commence immediately, with Riyadh designated as the venue for this meeting [47]. In Ukraine, European countries have several strategies to employ to establish a foothold in the ongoing game between Putin and Trump. They possess a significant portion of the frozen Russian assets that are intended to be part of their negotiations with Putin and they are also major consumers of Russian gas [48]. "If there is an agreement reached behind our backs, it simply won't work" says Kaja Kalas, High Representative of the EU, adding, "You need the Europeans to make this deal happen [49].

For the time being, the facts have become

painfully clear to pro-war Europeans. The US position on Ukraine and its alignment with the Russian stance have deepened the emerging divide between allies on both sides of the Atlantic. On one hand, some European leaders have rallied behind Kyiv and pledged to bridge the financial and military gap left by the US supply cutoff, rejecting the notion that America would secure the rare elements, the Russians would acquire the land, and the Europeans would merely pay the bills while jeopardizing their security. The German defense minister stated, "The US should not have made concessions to Russia before the peace negotiations by excluding Ukraine's membership in NATO and accepting that the country would have to cede some of its territory" [50]. Added, the "US also should not have made concessions to Russia before the peace negotiations".

On the other hand, some European leaders have expressed support for President Trump's approach to ending the war through direct negotiations between Washington and Moscow. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban emphasized that Kyiv lacked the leverage to negotiate with Moscow, stating, "The Americans have to reach an agreement with the Russians. And then the war will end." He added, "Anyone who thinks that this war will end through Russian-Ukrainian negotiations does not live in this world" [51].

While Washington is engaged in reconnaissance diplomacy—where the Trump administration sends out questions and awaits responses from the parties—White House staffers are making phone calls to minimize travel expenses. In line with this trend, Polish President Duda, French President Macron, and British Prime Minister Starmer have decided to travel to the US to meet with President Trump individually [52]. To bridge the gap and halt the rapid deterioration of relations, Macron and Starmer addressed the tariffs that the US President intends to impose on Europeans during their meeting with Trump. They also sought to persuade him of the necessity of establishing a US safety net to protect Ukraine, which would serve as an effective deterrent against Russia [53]; However, Trump maintained his stance, delegating the responsibility of maintaining peace in Ukraine to Europe. He conditioned this on the establishment of a ceasefire agreement with Moscow, a strategy designed to secure U.S. access to the valuable resources he believes are located beneath Ukrainian territory.

Trump's vision for peace in Ukraine and the precious metals deal he seeks to secure are not the only points of contention between him and European leaders. Earlier, Trump suggested that the European Union could be the next to face tariffs, following his imposition of 25% tariffs on goods from Mexico and Canada, as well as an additional 10% tax on imports from China [54]. On another occasion, Trump demanded that NATO members allocate 5% of their GDP to defense, a substantial increase from the current target of 2%. He reiterated that the use of military or economic action to pursue the acquisition of the Panama Canal and Greenland was not ruled out, and floated the idea of turning Canada into a US state [55]; However, these announcements left Europeans scrambling to secure additional funds to re-equip their militaries and heightened their anxiety regarding a US president who is rapidly redrawing alliances [56].

Misfortune appears to be catching up with European allies following the unsuccessful Trump-Zelensky summit, which was anticipated to announce the signing of a rare metal deal. Meanwhile, on the southeastern tip of Asia, the Biden administration dedicated four years to establishing a united front with Europe to confront China. just a month into Trump's second term, this united front has become collateral damage, as the new administration has significantly reversed former President Biden's approach, fostering a friendship with Russia while alienating Europe [57]. However, Trump's negotiations with Putin seem to be occurring not only at the expense of Ukraine but also carry broader implications for China. Historically, the opposite has been true; Henry Kissinger's strategic opening to China contributed to the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union [58].

V. THE TRADE WAR WITH CHINA AND TARIFFS

One significant issue confronting the EU is the lack of unity among its member states. Governments and national leaders hold varying perspectives on a range of topics, including strategies for engaging with China. Although most member states share a common viewpoint, some adopt divergent positions, complicating the ability of EU countries to reach a consensus on the direction and pace of their collective actions [59]. While the European bloc became increasingly embroiled in the Ukraine war, China maintained a

neutral stance that leaned towards Russia, further widening the divide between Europe and China. European leaders established a precondition for Beijing to alter its position on Russia as a prerequisite for reaching agreements in areas of cooperation [60]; Despite Beijing's repeated calls for a ceasefire and adherence to UN principles, it has reaped significant benefits from this conflict, including substantial economic advantages. Among these is the implementation of the gas pipeline project, which extends from Russia as part of the connection to the Shanghai gas network on China's southeastern coast [61].

On the other hand, the Trump administration is engaging in a strategic maneuver with Russia, seeking to obtain economic advantages, such as lower prices for raw materials, while concurrently reshaping Sino-Russian relations. The objective appears to be to distance Moscow from Beijing's influence and diminish its increasing alignment with China [62]. At the 61st Munich Security Conference, Foreign Minister Wang Yi portrayed Beijing as a steadfast advocate for a multipolar world and distanced China from Russia's war in Ukraine. In contrasting itself with the US, China underscored its commitment to neutrality and condemned Western interference in domestic matters, particularly concerning Taiwan [63]. However, this type of rhetoric has not deterred Trump from continuing to impose and tighten trade restrictions on Beijing. He has justified these actions by citing (1) the need to halt the flow of contraband drugs, such as fentanyl, into the US and (2) the perceived inaction of Chinese officials in addressing this issue and preventing money laundering by transnational criminal organizations. As a result, the Trump administration implemented measures to hold China accountable, including the imposition of an additional 10% tariff on Chinese imports. Furthermore, Trump announced prompt actions to safeguard US national security by applying 25% tariffs on steel and aluminum imports from several countries, including China [64]. Similarly, Trump signed a National Security Presidential Memorandum (NSPM) designed to promote foreign investment while safeguarding America's national security interests, particularly against threats posed by foreign adversaries such as China. He directed the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) to limit Chinese investments in critical U.S. sectors, including technology, critical infrastructure, healthcare, agriculture, energy, raw materials, and others [65].

The US Secretary of Defense has intensified his rhetoric regarding China, labeling it a peer competitor to the United States. He accused Beijing of possessing both the capability and intent to threaten Washington and its core national interests in the Indo-Pacific region. Consequently, from the Secretary of Defense's perspective, this situation necessitates prioritizing U.S. deterrence in the Pacific, acknowledging the reality of resource scarcity, and implementing trade-offs to ensure that deterrence remains effective [66]. In response to these positions, a spokesperson for the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) stated that the Chinese business community strongly opposes the US overextension of the concept of national security and the obstruction of bilateral economic and trade exchanges [67]; He revealed that Washington not only restricts investments in China across various sectors—including technology, critical infrastructure, healthcare, agriculture, energy, and raw materials—through security reviews, but also employs economic sanctions and financial assessments to enhance controls on investments in China regarding industry scope, types of investment, and sources of financing. [68]. These actions reflect a familiar pattern in US foreign policy. However, when a country imposes tariffs—higher taxes on imported goods—or other sanctions to damage another nation's economy, the outcome is often retaliation and the onset of a trade war. Although China's tariffs were a response to Trump's retaliatory measures, their impact on American importers was more severe because China swiftly identified alternative suppliers for the goods it previously sourced from the US easily turning to neighboring Russia and other countries. Meanwhile, the US faced challenges in replacing Chinese imports, forcing American businesses and consumers to absorb the consequences of Trump's tariffs [69].

Trump's policies illustrate Kissinger's/Nixon doctrine and his insights on the multiplicity of powers, as well as the European Union's contradictory policies, which he encapsulated in his sardonic remark, do I call when I want to talk to Europe"?[70]; His warning regarding the consolidation of the relationship between China and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. [71] (The heir apparent, the Russian Federation), have been broken or almost broken by Trump's policies. Upon closer inspection, the positions of the two major allies—Beijing and Moscow—align on the necessity

of dismantling US hegemony and reestablishing an international order based on multipolarity and strategic alliances. The relationship between Beijing and Moscow was notably closer prior to Trump's actions. Throughout the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, the two allies have provided each other with essential support, consistently conveying political messages to Washington and Brussels. Essentially, both superpowers firmly oppose any unilateral actions that disregard their national interests, particularly those taken by Washington, including decisions or actions that threaten their sovereignty, security, and developmental goals. In contrast, EU countries have exhibited a divergence in their positions, at times circumventing the sanctions they imposed on Moscow by utilizing third-party intermediaries to pursue their interests.

While Washington and its NATO allies sought to break Putin's war machine and tighten the noose on China. Moscow and Beijing deepened their economic and trade ties. Their trade volume reached a record high of \$244.8 billion in 2024, compared to a 26.3% increase in 2023 [72]. Equally, the two poles have increased the pace of coordination in security and political aspects to limit US influence and bend the international system in their favor. On the one hand, the Russian, and Chinese militaries have launched several joint naval maneuvers in the Sea of Japan and the Russian Far East. Beijing and Moscow are strengthening their alliance as a counterbalance to what they see as American dominance in global affairs [73]; Both sides have activated cooperation and coordination in important regions, including the Arctic and Central Asian countries. The influence of the two countries has expanded through the BRICS group to include several countries in the Middle East and the African continent, as well as Latin America, while maintaining a certain level of divergent relations with some European countries.

Trump's comments about imposing tariffs on European imports have created trade tensions within the group. In a reversal of previous positions, European Commission President von der Leyen signaled a recalibrated approach to its relationship with China. She reaffirmed the EU's commitment to what she described as "de-risking," but also highlighted opportunities to deepen trade and investment ties with Beijing [74]; in addition, commenting on Trump's decision to raise tariffs on steel and aluminum products by 25% and several other imported European goods, the EU will work to

protect its economic interests. "We will protect our workers, our companies and our consumers," she said [75].

Trump's White House return signaled a shift in U.S. foreign policy, prioritizing China as the main geopolitical challenge while easing tensions with Russia. The strategy reflects the view that antagonizing Moscow risks strengthening its ties with China. This approach assumes that a strong Sino-Russian partnership poses the greatest challenge to US dominance. Closer military, economic, and diplomatic ties between the two powers would create a significantly more complex threat for Washington. To counter this, the Trump administration aimed to weaken their alliance by offering diplomatic and economic incentives to Russia, reducing Beijing's ability to rely on Moscow's resources in a potential conflict with the US [76].

Trump believes that America's golden age has returned with his re-election as President of the US with a huge popular mandate. The US will soon be stronger, richer, and more united than ever before, and the entire planet will become more peaceful and prosperous as a result of this incredible momentum and what we are doing and will do [77]. In an attempt to activate the engines of American greatness, Trump has unleashed his interplanetary threats on allies and friends alike. Besides announcing Washington's withdrawal from several international organizations and bodies, the number of executive orders issued by Trump will be no less alarming for the international community. "If this continues, the consequences of Trump's second term will not only be measurable in the atmosphere but will also affect people, communities, and the natural world" [78].

VI. RESULTS

Clear contradictions in decisions and positions characterize Trump's strategy, aimed at restoring what he sees as America's lost greatness and getting rid of Biden's legacy. Despite his focus on promoting American interests, his foreign policies are bound to strain US relations with traditional allies around the world. These policies also weaken multilateral agreements, threatening the foundations of the rules-based international order and fostering global instability and insecurity.

Trump's visions of mechanisms to settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict reflect his limited

understanding of this conflict and its historical and political dimensions, which is clear in the ideas he has put forward. From a business executive's perspective, Trump envisions that displacing the 2.3 million Palestinian citizens of the Gaza Strip would enable him to realize his utopian vision of a "Riviera of the Middle East," a model led by American capital and dominated by large corporations. According to him, this vision would create thousands of investment opportunities and jobs, but only for non-Palestinians.

Although during his first term Trump was deeply involved in the region's politics, including his decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and move the US embassy there, such a conceptualization reflects a lack of complexity and sensitivity in understanding the conflict, making it seem both simplistic and naïve. When reflecting on the disasters that have befallen the Palestinian Arab people since the infamous Balfour Declaration, the establishment of the State of Israel on the ruins of the indigenous population in 1948, the Great Naksa in 1967, and the subsequent occupation practices and policies aimed at displacing Palestinians from their historic land until today, one fact can be concluded that these colonial policies have led to the displacement of Palestinians from their historic land. It is that these colonial policies have failed to achieve their goals. Over the decades, the Palestinian Arab people have proven their deep attachment to their land and their strong will in the face of attempts to uproot and displace them. However, The Palestinian people have reached a resolute and collective decision: they shall never abandon their homeland.

Trump's policies toward Europe are pushing historic relations toward a conflict that could change the nature of transatlantic relations. These tensions are not limited to a single issue, but encompass a range of intertwined issues, from the demand that European countries increase their NATO spending to 5% instead of 2%, to visions of ending the Russian-Ukrainian conflict with Washington taking full control of Ukraine's resources, to tariffs on European imports, to dramatic proposals such as annexing Greenland or treating Canada as a US state, all of which have the potential to have a profoundly transformative effect. Overall, these issues will have a profoundly transformative effect on transatlantic relations, reshaping alliances according to new rules imposed by the Trump administration, and bypassing the

traditional rules that have governed these relations since World War II. If Trump persists in his demands without a comprehensive "grand bargain" that meets this new approach, a clash with the Europeans seems to be a matter of time. Here, EU countries may be forced to redefine their independent political and economic path away from the US. Considering the divergence in positions on contentious issues with Trump, the disintegration of the EU in its current form seems a distinct possibility.

President Trump's announcement that he wants to agree with Russia to end the conflict in Ukraine reflects a set of strategic goals. The most prominent of these goals is to open channels for the US to get rare earth resources, which are vital to the tech and military industries, in exchange for the billions of dollars it has provided to Ukraine over the last three years of the war. However, Trump did not offer any guarantees for the continued flow of US aid or tacit approval of Ukraine's entry into NATO. Ukrainian President Zelensky faced criticism during a live broadcast of a White House press briefing, where he appeared alongside President Trump and Vice President J.D. Vance.

These are clear signals aimed at wooing Moscow away from its growing alliance with Beijing, which developed during the war. This move reflects his conviction that the continued partnership between Russia and China poses a major threat to US hegemony over the global order, and may inspire other countries opposed to Washington's policies to join this alliance, further complicating the global geopolitical landscape.

As President Trump seeks the help of China, a close ally of Russia, to end the war in Ukraine, it has become clear that his plan to bring peace is problematic. He decided to impose across-the-board tariffs of 10%-25% on Chinese imports to the US, a move that could escalate tensions with Beijing, which had hoped to avoid a trade war with Washington. However, the war in Ukraine may represent a rare point of intersection for the two sides to cooperate. If Trump uses economic policy to establish positive relations with China, the latter also can manoeuvre. It is actively seeking to position itself as a potential peace broker in the conflict and has already made several proposals to resolve the crisis. However, the undeniable reality in the West is that so far, Beijing is leaning heavily toward Moscow in this war. With

the close ties between Chinese President Xi and Putin, the Chinese negotiating table appears to be an environment in which Russia has a greater advantage over Washington. For Trump, this reality poses a challenge. He must move carefully to avoid further isolating European allies that he increasingly sees as a financial burden on the US. On the other hand, he should read statements from Beijing and Moscow about his attempts to create a gap in the growing relationship between them that has become unbreakable.

When considering the broader ramifications, a second term for Trump could carry profound consequences, potentially posing challenges to the foundational principles of national security, state sovereignty, and the commitment to international law. Guided by his leadership and the strategic influence of his closest advisors, there is a possibility of a concerted effort to reestablish the US as the undisputed hegemonic power on the global stage. This ambition for dominance might drive a foreign policy heavily skewed toward showcasing unilateral strength, often placing less emphasis on collaborative efforts with other nations or longstanding global agreements. Such an approach could strain relationships with traditional allies, undermine widely accepted international norms, and contribute to growing instability within the international order. Over time, these dynamics might result in heightened geopolitical tensions and weakened structures of global cooperation

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The Theory of Relative Universality in International Relations: Revisiting the Jack Donnelly Concept

Dr. Mohammad Reza Dehshiri⁵

ABSTRACT

The present article aims to clarify the connectivity and complementarity of relative and universal affairs in international relations. Believing that, based on the “unity despite plurality” approach, it is possible to have one worldview despite the plurality of methods, it would be possible to have the basic, fixed, general, and universal principles, despite having secondary, multiple, diverse, numerous, changing, and specific models and rules. The article tries to extrapolate the theory of « relative universality » developed by Jack Donnelly as regards the concept of human rights to the main concepts of IR such as sovereignty, State, power, security, gain, national interest, order and values. In response to the question of why the IR concepts are universal and absolute in their pivotal core as well as relative and contextual in their fluid, soft and gelatinous shell, the article concludes, through an explicative method, that it is due to the paradoxical nature of globalization era in which the dialectics of unity in values and plurality in methods leads to the mutual dynamic interaction of particularity and generality in the framework of relative universality.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The present study aims to clarify the connectivity and complementarity of relativity and universality in international relations. Believing that,

based on the “unity despite plurality” approach, it is possible to have one worldview despite the plurality of methods, it would be possible to have the basic, fixed, general, and universal principles, despite

having secondary, multiple, diverse, numerous, changing, and specific models and rules based on uncertainty and evolution in the relative universality theory. Thus, it is possible to simultaneously believe in the idea of "One world" meaning a shared human mentality in terms of basic affairs, and the idea of "Many World" meaning multiplicity and diversity in the possible peripheral worlds in one actual world. Joining the absolute and relative, universality and localization, unity and multiplicity, or general and specific is not mutually exclusive, but a sign of synergy in the seemingly contradictory or paradoxical concepts of international relations. Such an approach can be counted as a network analysis of international relations, such that all related concepts would have a strong core (or constants) on which everyone agrees, while having a soft, gelatinous skin which is fluid and diverse. In the fabric of international relations, as one approaches the core, the general density of the network increases in terms of the consistency in different knots, and as one moves from the core to the skin, one approaches relative epistemology, influenced by a quantum approach in international relations, holding a world of dynamic evolutions and reality conjoined with continuous and evolutionary changes as well as the principle of uncertainty in the fluid, changing, transitioning, and becoming world (Zettili, 2001:1-4). Based on the quantum approach to international relations, an overlap exists among old and new approaches and theories of the concepts of international relations. Belief in multiplicity and relativity in epistemology while accepting fixed, absolute, and universal principles in ontology guides us towards a combined epistemology to understanding synthetically the international relations. In so doing, unity and plurality are processes in the life of international politics which enjoy a harmonic dialectics while seeming to be contradictory. The organic, intrinsic, and systematic unity is sometimes the dominant face, while at other times, plurality is the prominent feature of the international system.

II. REASONS FOR AND CONTEXTS OF THE RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY THEORY

On the reasons for and contexts of the link between the general and specific or universality and relativism in international relations, one can note the phenomenon of glocalization, in which international phenomena affect national and

sub-national actors towards cooperation in a top-down manner, and local phenomena influence international processes towards competition in a bottom-up manner. This interaction and mutual influence with a complementary approach pave the way for horizontal processes of globalization from the middle. Thus, if international phenomena have a universal approach, they also have a multiple and relative approach. Inspired by Robertson's ideas, one can claim that some kind of interaction is at play between cultural particularity and generality, such that, under the dialectic effect of centrifugal and centripetal forces, we witness -- in Robertson's words -- the "universalization of the particular" and the "particularization of the universal". In this context, joining seemingly contradictory and paradoxical affairs would be possible, and one would witness fragmentation, coopetition, and glurbanization. In this regard, John Naisbitts in his "Global Paradox" holds that, despite claiming the integration of the world based on macro-actors, globalization also pays attention to micro- and sub-national actors; the sub- and supra-national levels of analysis interact since the larger the global economy becomes, the more powerful its micro-actors become (Naisbitts, 1995). This integrated and synthetic approach which is, to a large extent, compatible with liberal realism and critical realism, can join contradictory affairs, e.g. simultaneously pursuing reformism and conservatism, joining the two contradictory trends of liberation and suppression, and finally merging universality and relativism.

Second, phenomena in international relations have become ambiguous and complex while being hybrid. Epistemic confusion with regard to international relations concepts in the transition period of the international system doubles the necessity of replacing the cognitive system based on the combination of different approaches while complementing contradictory concepts in a dialectic manner. The importance of the dialectic convergence of seemingly contradictory concepts is because international phenomena are multidimensional, and there is a need for cooperation between contradictory theories and simultaneous incorporation of different cognitive and interdisciplinary approaches if one is to fully represent international realities. Therefore, while emphasizing that international relations are a field with different but overlapping perspectives, Margaret Hermann (2002: 12) emphasizes the

necessity of transforming debates and competitions among various perspectives towards interdisciplinary and inter-paradigmatic discussion and cooperation. In fact, the important feature of paradigms in international relations is complementation not competition, such that relativist and universalist paradigms can complement and not contradict each other. Paradigms can establish meaningful relations with one another and assist one another in clarifying phenomena. Therefore, cooperation between different theories and the simultaneous use of different cognitive approaches can assist international relation researchers in the full representation of international realities. This approach can lead to a pluralistic consensus in ontology and epistemology in terms of an endeavor towards unity as a process (and not an outcome) and plurality (in terms of a contingency context of international relations), thereby facilitating cooperation among various sections of the international system despite competition among them.

Third, the current speed of change, dynamism, and evolution in the actual and complex world of international relations requires cognitive evolution in theories. With regard to the plurality of actors, increased differentiation and differences, expansion of dependencies, and diversity of relationships among societies beyond national borders, the complexity of international relations has doubled the necessity of adapting international relation theories with innovative novel approaches based on the evolutions of the actual world. In other words, the theoretical world must not engage itself in spatial theorization without any connection to realities far from practical realities in international relations, but must be employed as a tool for enhancing our understanding of the world around us (Biersteker, 2002:157-176). In today's two-faced world and based on the Janus face of politics, the dialectics of the strong and universal core of concepts with the soft and gelatinous skin leads to a unity of value despite plurality of methods, resulting in combined concepts such as refolution, netizens, or virtual reality as a result of a link between virtuality and reality or the dialectic between reality and meta-reality in the sense of the dialectics of the experienced or translated world based on the creation of an actual objectivity for an unreal matter using cognitive bricolage in the framework of intersecting theories. Considering the

expansion of human activities around the world, multi-faceted process and the multi-stakeholder nature of international relations have led layered concepts in which different levels of a single concept does not contradict but complement each other. In this context, in addition to directing international relations towards an interdisciplinary view, globalization leads to evolution, change, and transformation in concepts of international relations towards a combined, gelatinous, and layered state, such that, instead of a linear progress, we observe a cyclical or interconnected progress of concepts of international relations with an emphasis on the complexity of cognitive processes and frameworks related to actual dimensions, whether material or ideational, of the world. By challenging differences while also accepting them, globalization tries to establish integration and connectivity among them, thereby leading concepts towards a hybrid aspect.

Fourth, understanding of international relations has been, to a large extent, contextualized and conditioned, such that the interaction among actors varies based on time and place. Different environments require diverse rational views in order to establish a correlation (not a cause-effect relationship) between specific environmental and contextual conditions with appropriate rational concepts. Consideration of the location, temporal space, and conditional and appropriate relationship between these two in the framework of contingency rationality increases the efficiency and compatibility of international relation actors and promotes their understanding, expectations, and assumptions with regard to the political environment. The use of various and diverse approaches for the clarification, understanding, and interpretation of international relations and phenomena, depending on the topic and understanding as well as production of knowledge and understanding appropriate for historical-social backgrounds and conditions based on ontological unity and methodological plurality, enhances our understanding of reality and truth. Considering the practical-interpretative understanding aiming for explanation and solution of shared social problems in concrete actions, interactions, and contexts, determined by values and wishes, this integrated approach among constants and variables can assist strategic decision-makers and planners in responding to the stimuli of strategic adaptability (Manouchehri, 2011: 149).

Fifth, in the era of globalization, we witness fluidity in concepts or some sort of “consistent heterogeneity”, such that, despite its being consistent, the world is faced with endless inconsistency or plurality, also interpreted as a “patchwork world”. Evolution in concepts in the era of globalization is such that, in the dialectic process of attractive and repulsive agents, concepts adapt themselves to multi-faceted changes, while also adhering to global density and intensity of awareness towards the world as a whole. The mutual inter-penetrability of concepts in the dialectic process of integrative and unifying trends on the one hand, and centrifugal and pluralizing trends on the other, lead to some kind of “plural unity” (Sani, 2009). In other words, considering the density of time and place as noted by David Harvey (1989: 294), we witness the priority of the space of currents over the space of places, such that eco-politics (sensing the planet Earth as our home) as well as temporal geography (chrono-politics) replace territorial one. Geography will not disappear considering the temporal distribution instead of land distribution and due to commercial interactions in the digital space, but is recreated and re-regulated such that its new dimensions, including geoculture and geoeconomy, would acquire increasing significance.

As, according to Clause Schwab (2012), hyper-complexity and hyper-connectivity are the features of globalization, some kind of interaction exists between bottom-up and top-down globalization which strengthens horizontal processes, including inter-regionalism and globalization from the middle, while emphasizing the importance of the new middle class and scientific and cultural elites (Friedman, 2005).

In this regard, Held et al. (1999) believe that globalization has four features of extensity of global networks, intensity of global connectivity, velocity of global currents, and mutual impact of global and local connectivity. The latter feature leads to enmeshment between globalization and localization, in the sense that local events can have global outcomes, and global evolutions are reflected in the local context (mostly with considerable diversities). The enmeshment of the local and the global increases interactions and exchanges between domestic and foreign policy, diminishes the distinction between them, eliminates the borders between domestic and foreign law, and

even diminishes the boundaries between “power-based politics” and “norm-based politics”. In this context, the dialectics of homogenizing trends with unbridled trends leads to fluidity and instability in concepts simultaneous with dynamism, such that multi-layered, variable, and dispersed concepts emerge. In other words, globalization is a process in making, such that, in the era of multi-globalization, we observe the intensification of the competition-cooperation (coopetition) between actors. The powerful evolution of technology and the importance of noopolitik in the asymmetrical, multi-layered, and complex international system based on connectivity, fluidity, instability, unpredictability, uncertainty, multi-layered norms, multi-dimensional processes, and diverse actors results in the realization of the dialectic process of unity and plurality. The dialectic of homogeneity despite inhomogeneity seems to be paradoxical; however, this synthetic process changes actions from symmetric into asymmetric ones in the era of asymmetric globalization.

Although it seems to remind us of some kind of “cognitive insecurity”, in practice, this process leads to the deconstruction of traditional and linear cognitive systems towards an interaction between relative heterogeneity and increased homogeneity. Meanwhile, relative universality does not mean the governance of relativism or lack of constants in the science of international relations. Rather, it refers to the generalizability of relativity in most international phenomena while accepting the consensus in its ideational and cognitive core.

Examination of the nature of political phenomena in international relations demonstrates that, with regard to Friedman’s ideas about the importance of people changing the dimensions of the world from moderate to micro levels (Friedmann, 2005), a similarity exists between parts and the whole, meaning that the concepts of international relations have a holographic characteristic, i.e. the image is reflected in all parts of multi-layered concepts, and each part and layer can reflect the features of the whole. This leads to unity despite plurality in concepts which, in turn, include overlapping consensus with regard to international concepts. The reason for the relative universality of concepts or continuation despite change in concepts of international relations is that globalization is a two-faced phenomenon,

simultaneously being identity-depriving and identity-generating, and is affected by variables of time, place (environment), discourse, and context. Therefore, the conceptual core of international relation concepts has a global similarity, as the skin of concepts has relative diversity and difference. In fact, international relation concepts have developed from a linear development into a dialectic development (considering the link between structure and agent) due to their multi-layered and multi-agent nature. Meanwhile, with regard to the role reversal and the significance of the role of role in international relations, we observe a mixture of conceptual and functional analyses despite the fluidity of concepts.

III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The concept of relative universality was first discussed by Jack Donnelly with regard to the concept of human rights. He believes that human rights are relatively universal in terms of concept, content, and function.

What he means by conceptual universality is that all people deserve equal, inseparable, and universal rights as they have intrinsic integrity and dignity. By content universality, he means that there is consensus with regard to a universal list of human rights, including civil-political, social-economical, and collective-developmental rights, especially those noted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Donnelly, 2007: 281:289).

He also believes in functional universality despite the relative and contextual nature of human rights, since human rights protect people from shared threats to human dignity in the era of globalization. Of course, universality does not mean that human rights must be met at all times and places in terms of function. According to him, even the international legal universality of human rights shows that human rights are relative and contingent but universal, such that all movements of social justice and political opposition use the universal language of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whereas governments may not accept the expanse of universality of human rights, as currently non-aligned countries deny the Western homogenizing and central universality by emphasizing the right to culture in the framework of "human rights and cultural diversity". Therefore, by discussing the concept of overlapping universality with regard to human rights, Donnelly holds that

there is no justification that the acceptance of human rights in one place would lead to its legitimacy in other areas. Therefore, it seems that the universality of human rights according to Donnelly means the outcome of views shared by different cultures and finding the points of agreement between diverse cultures with regard to human rights. Therefore, the global call for human rights is mostly an outcome and not a cause or context legitimizing human rights (Donnelly, 2008: 194).

In this regard, Michael Goodhart believes that human rights are neither relative nor universal. According to him, functional, international legal, and overlapping-consensus universalities are justifiable, but anthropological and ontological universalities are not. He states that functional universality and international legal universality are relative, whereas overlapping-consensus universality has more universal than relative components. While disagreeing with Donnelly's idea with regard to conceptual and content universality, Goodhart believes that, in the case of conceptual universality, some people may not exploit some human right theories which are based on autonomy (Goodhart, 2008: 183-189). Based on these two views, it can be claimed that human rights have always been oscillating between cultural relativism and cultural universality; cultural universality has mostly emphasized cultural merging, convergence, or homogenizing, whereas cultural relativism has emphasized cultural heterogeneity, with the extremist version leading to cultural conflict or clash.

The approach adopted in this article which is based on relative universality emphasizes interaction, fusion, connectivity, bricolage, dialectics, and synergy among cultures, in addition to trans-cultural synergy. It seems that, as a gelatinous and multi-layered concept, human rights have become international, connected, imperative, generational, novel, committing, non-governmental, virtual, and progressive. Thus, a new discourse between relativism and universality must be created to emphasize the discovery of points of agreement among cultures with regard to human rights. Apparently, relative universality can establish some kind of fitness and adaptability between the homogenizing and equalizing view on the one hand, and the heterogenizing and differentiating one on the other.

IV. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

In general, the pivotal and universal basis of the concept of sovereignty depends on territorial and decisional domains. Territorial sovereignty means the application of the government's effective control and authority on a land and its people within geographical borders, while decisional sovereignty means the government's independence of ideas and actions in shaping its destiny, without foreign imposition or interference (Krasner, 1999).

Theories so far discussed in relation to sovereignty in international relations emphasize the recognition by the international society while emphasizing on territorial and decisional basis for the legitimacy of the sovereignty of governments (Adler, 2005: 65). Still, in this universal concept, some kind of relativity has emerged, such that under the influence of the sovereignty of new actors in the era of globalization (e.g. multi-national companies and international non-governmental organizations) and due to the quantum features of the new world of international relations, the status of territorialization has been weakened, and international relations have moved towards deterritorialization in the era of "end of geography" or "death of geography" (Toffler, 1970) due to the evolution in communication and transportation technologies. Governments' becoming bi-territorial (virtual and real), multi-layered (sub-national, national, and supra-national), and multi-dimensional (political, economic, cultural, and social) has led to the quantitative and qualitative evolution of governments and a change in the criteria for evaluating their legitimacy. Evaluation of the sovereignty of countries based on the method by which the governing political system has gained power, responsiveness to the needs and wishes of citizens, adherence to human rights and environmental standards, reacting in harmony with other governments in the international domain, and ability to efficiently manage domestic and military affairs has led to the relativity or negotiability of sovereignty conditional on adherence to commitments such as human rights, environmental issues, and establishment of internal order and security, to the point that countries which cannot institute domestic order and security are called semi-sovereignties (Padgett et al., 2010).

V. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF STATE

The core and universal concept of State is the ability to apply authority over citizens, enjoyment of legitimacy in establishing domestic order and stability, protection and promotion of governmental rights, and representation of the nation in interacting with governmental actors at the international level. Still, States are diverse in terms of function. Relativity in their function has made realists and those believing in a welfare state emphasize a maximal State with the function of applying increasing control in the domains of security and adoption of a supportive approach in the domain of economy. However, liberals and neo-liberals emphasize a minimal State which delegates authority to the private sector in the framework of free market mechanism. In this context, the regulatory state approach in the era of globalization believes in the State's priority over other actors, whether civil, non-governmental, or private, and its function of controlling and regulating the space of action of other actors instead of being a custodian in charge of affairs.

One of the reasons for the relativity of the concept of State is the weakened authority of the State on space and time, leading to inability to control the global current of information; similarly, in case of mastery over meta-technologies, it leads to the formation of a trans-territorial State (Binsbergen, 1999: 298).

A change in the scope of authority and the State's function also leads to a change in the identity of States such that, in Bell's words, the institution of State has become very small for large issues, and very large for small issues (Bell, 1987:14). In this situation, the inability of some governments in establishing domestic order and security has led to the formation of failed states or fragile states. The truth is that the role of State in the time of globalization is not declining, but based on the change in the vessel of State's activities and the change in their functional domain from being in charge to regulating the function of other actors and bestowing a space for their activities, we observe a change in the role of States based on the disharmonious but plural development of international relations actors.

VI. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF POWER

The concept of power has a strong and universal core and a relative soft skin. The absolute core of the concept of power is the ability to force others perform an action or prevent them from performing an action. Nevertheless, its soft skin is influenced by the role of material and ideational agents in forming the degree of power wielded by governments. Relativity of power is due to the difference among governments in their share of military, economic, political, social, and cultural power, especially the intangible faces of power such as normative, discursive, ideational, civil, persuasive, and network.

Power is relative on the one hand, if defined in a mechanical sense based on vertical order, i.e. the ability to determine international agenda and a tool for the survival and realization of the actual preferences of a government, especially the transformation of costs into influence and benefits. It is, on the other hand, absolute if understood in the organic and relational manner based on the mutual communicative action in the framework of horizontal order in the form of hidden manifestations and symbols. Relativity of power leads to its division into hard, soft, sharp, top-down, bottom-up, horizontal, power over (unidirectional and top-down exertion of power), power to (horizontal power as an attempt for achieving shared goals such as happiness, justice, and development), and polarity- and dimensionality-based, even leading to the transfer of power (from vertical to horizontal and vice versa) in addition to the dispersion of power under the influence of contingency rationality in international relations.

Considering the significance of plural power in the transition period which, according to Giovanni (2009), has a considerable degree of ambiguity, normative vacuum, unpredictability, entropy, and uncertainty, one can discuss the concept of interpolarity which, during the horizontal processes of major powers and to solve challenges, considers interdependence and cooperation as the strategic priority. Moreover, with regard to the importance of organic power, we will observe an increase in the significance of supervision instead of exertion of power.

VII. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY

In IR, the concept of security is both relative and absolute. It is absolute if it is for the maintenance of prime, core, and vital values and benefits, such as independence and territorial integrity, and it is relative if it is for the realization of marginal or peripheral values, such as the development of economic relations or maintenance of regional power. In addition, depending on threats, security can be absolute or relative. If a country attempts to resolve existential threats and realize ontological security, it aims for absolute security. Nevertheless, if it tries to resolve economic and social threats, it aims for relative security (Wolfers, 1952: 485). Thus, depending on values, the degree of security, type of threats, and tools for and costs of fighting threats, security will have different aspects and levels and enters the domain of incremental scale. In a similar vein, absolute and universal security depends on vital benefits and basic values, and is related to inordinately important, emergency, significant, vital, basic, and high-priority affairs. On the other hand, relative security is related to peripheral and marginal values, and the value of national security varies across countries and historical contexts. (Baldwin, 1985: 131)

Accordingly, in the words of Buzan, absolute and objective security becomes inaccessible, while extensive and multifaceted security, with features such as relativity, subjectivity, multi-layeredness, indivisibility, and multi-dimensionality (military, political, economic, social-cultural, and environmental) (Buzan, 2007: 330). Still, based on the interconnectedness of different dimensions of hard and soft security and concepts such as comprehensive, shared, harmonic, and collective security, Dahl and Lindblom (1991: 50) propose a concept called optimum security which is a combination of absolute and relative security. In addition, discussing concepts such as identity security as well as physical, emotional, stable, positive, cyber, virtual, and network security demonstrates the multi-layered and multi-agent nature of this concept despite the conceptual and functional interference of its dimensions.

VIII. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF GAIN

Gain in international relations is divided into absolute and relative. According to liberals, absolute gain means the actors' enjoyment of the results of international cooperation and interaction based on equation with a non-zero or multiplied algebraic sum, such that all actors can simultaneously enjoy the advantages of cooperation in a peaceful manner. On the other hand, according to realists, relative gain refers to each actor's enjoyment of part of the gain with regard to the conflict in the benefits of actors based on the game with a zero algebraic sum, such that one's benefit is accompanied by the other's loss (Grieco, 1988).

In this context, realists' theory of relative gain with a pessimistic approach, and liberals' absolute gain theory with an optimistic approach are both extracted from the shared context of international anarchy, as both emphasize the necessity of international cooperation (Cai, 2011). Both theories consider governments to be rational and unique actors, while historical, cultural, and religious factors may direct governments towards emotional actions (e.g. retaliation, especially in commerce). Of course, the actual world is so complex that it cannot be explained solely based on absolute or relative gain. Still, according to Mastanduno (1991: 75), relative gain has stronger roots in the actual world, although calculations based on it may be destructive enough to result in the two evils of protectionism and nationalism. The truth is that relative and absolute gain in the actual and complex world work together to lead actors towards mutual benefit in Keohane's words, because communication networks have emphasized the asymmetrical model of action and cooperation in the era of interdependence by transferring concepts and norms based on the concept of mutual benefit (Keohane, 1986: 1-27).

IX. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL INTEREST

According to realists, including Morgenthau and Stanley Hoffman, national interest as an objective reality has general and ever-lasting goals and a specified nature and is, therefore, considered a constant and absolute affair. According to liberals or subjectivists, however, national interest is proportional to the choice of agents and the environment for decision-making; therefore, it

varies, evolves, grows over time, and is contextualized. W. David Clinton in "The Two Faces of National Interest" (1994) believes that the term national interest is, on the one hand, a deterministic phenomenon which cannot be transgressed, while on the other hand, it is a completely variable and relative term (Clinton, 1994: 63-64). It seems that the absolute or relative nature of national interest depends on values targeted by governments. If governments aim to realize core or vital interests, they have adopted an absolute approach to basic interests for the survival of government and nation (including land, people, sovereignty, and governance). However, if they attempt to realize peripheral and marginal interests such as economic interest, they have adopted a relative approach to national interest. Apparently, a relative universality approach to national interest considers it multi-layered, where these layers are overlapping, compatible, and complementary, such that the basic interests (defending the land and territorial integrity), vital interests (maintenance of transit geopolitical status, especially access to international waters), and secondary or marginal interest (such as welfare and economic development) overlap and complement one another.

X. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF ORDER

Despite the existence of two approaches, absolute order and relative order, and although order does not merely mean stability and staticity but is accompanied by continuous change and evolution, it seems that relative universality in the sense of order depends on "fluid hegemony" in today's unstable and transitional world. This means that, on the one hand, we witness hegemonic equilibrium and stability in the world order and, on the other, the evolutionary and complex trends of the actual world of international relations directs order towards oscillating and asymmetrical balance (Adler, 2005: 212). The alternation of ambiguity and chaos with concordance and adaptation in actors' relative relations with regard to complex and multi-layered crises in today's multi-ordered world (Munich Security Report, 2018: 9) reveals that one can extract an internally consistent and orderly pattern from chaos and disorder over time.

In this regard, the scale and place hierarchy has become unstable, and some kind of dialectic of

order and disorder (chaos and disturbance) or the sequence of order and disorder has emerged in the form of expansion and contraction, leading to controlled disorder in the process of symmetrical and asymmetrical transition of the global paradoxical order (Hurrelli, 2007). Apparently, due to the plurality of actors and institutions and increase in innovations and invention, we witness deconstruction in long-term arrangements, whether stable order or disorder, such that non-linear dynamic models with an attractor in their horizontal and oscillating axis have led to the formation of fluid but systematic order in the "dynamic adaptation" process. In other words, some kind of order lies in any disorder and ambiguity, indicating randomness along with certainty; certainty because the disorder resulting from the geopolitics of chaos -- in the words of Ramonet -- is completely stable, predictable, and self-organizing at the large scale (Ramonet, 1999), and random because of the disorderly, organized, and unpredictable behavior at the local scale. The overlap between these two leads to some kind of orderly disorder, containing ultimate order despite disorder. Reaching order from disorder and vice versa after passing the attractor leads to fractal, asymmetrical, and multi-faceted shapes continuing at a balancing but oscillating and fluid point. In fact, in case of a process-oriented and organic view of order as an evolving phenomenon in transformative time and place, one can view a certain degree of order within disorder with a dynamic and effective nature, being influenced and influencing the environment. In other words, based on the butterfly effect, the smallest change may lead to huge disorders in the world. This principles demonstrates the non-linearity of evolutions in the international system, such that a small change in initial conditions may lead to vast and unpredictable results in the outputs of the international system (Murphy, 2010).

XI. RELATIVE UNIVERSALITY IN THE CONCEPT OF VALUES

The most important values in international relations include justice, peace, welfare, and freedom. Like difference, poverty, and inequality, justice and equality in international relations sociology can be both relative and absolute, although relativity is preferred to universality in this regard (Amiel & Cowell, 1992). If values are divided into relative and absolute and consider relative values such as peace, freedom, welfare, and

democracy to be contingent, absolute values can be divided into procedural (including justice) and ultimate (including prosperity). In this context, universality expresses stability, and plurality expresses relativity. Thus, relative universality in the sense of peace can be discussed in the framework of plural but stable peace; similarly, relative universality in the sense of justice can be realized in the form of distributive justice meaning the fair distribution of opportunities based on qualification in the worlds of John Rawls, and transitional justice meaning the minimal economical provision (food, clothing, housing for victims of war crimes and in the condition of humanitarian rights' violation in civil wars). These values have a non-material and ideational nature more than a material one (Biersteker, 2002: 157-176). If they provide good opportunities for all, these values pave the way for fair globalization (UN, 2004). Still, they have a strong and universal core and soft and gelatinous skin; if assumed as layers of ultimate absolute values, procedural absolute values, and relative universal values, they indicate some kind of overlapping consensus, i.e. some kind of shared, universal, and comprehensive mentality and understanding exists in human mind, originating from ontological universality, while also contextualized and contingent and requiring multiple and diverse foundations.

XII. CONCLUSION

Based on what has been discussed, it can be concluded that the concepts of international relations, while being universal, have acquired relativity and fluidity due to the dialectic effect of general and particular or global and local. Thus, in the era of glocalization when we witness institutionalization despite the integration of the dual process universalization of the particular and particularization of the universal, concepts also have a constant conceptual core despite variable and distinct skins. This conceptual dynamism in the era of fragmentation leads to mutual construction of universality and relativity in the concepts of international relations. In this way, homogeneous and heterogeneous dialectics as well as the interaction between universality and particularity have been realized in concepts such as sovereignty, government, power, security, gain, national interest, order, and values of international relations. Based on the oscillating process of transforming mechanism

into organism, international relations can include and explain all paradoxical phenomena.

The fluidity of today's world due to the rapid process of globalization will create an unstable future full of conflicts and clashes, in which one must be prepared for several futures and scenarios due to uncertainty and unpredictability of trends and processes. This ambiguous future results from the consensus of the world community regarding some values and disagreements regarding others, directing international relations towards "relative certainties".

The expansion of relative, variable, competitive, unstable, multi-layered, dispersed, and fluid values and the existence of commonality despite divergence and cooperation despite competition demonstrates the world system is in making fluctuant sub-national and supra-national collective identities direct us towards the possibility of joining paradoxical processes and the symbiosis of two seemingly conflicting organisms in today's interconnected world and their mutual communicative action in the framework of symbiotic realism. Due to intersecting and mutual effects of convergent and divergent processes and the change in actions from symmetric and harmonic towards asymmetric and disharmonic, the narrative-building of concepts has become important, and gelatinous and hybrid aspects of concepts have become related to low politics and their strong and stable aspects to high politics. Thus, due to the complexity of global trends and agendas, it seems that relative universality can include the strong and soft aspects of concepts and establish a link between multi-agent structures and inter-agent processes in the framework of synthetic analysis, and can become a guiding principle for explaining the network and intertwined world with the capacity of gradual change. Based on shared utility, it can convince actors with shared interests but asymmetrical capabilities to accept the model of asymmetrical action and cooperation in today's plural and polycentric world.

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The Iconoclastic Conversion of Malcolm X: Trauma of Black Nationals Behind Prison Writings To Discover Black American Identity

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ABSTRACT

The life of Malcolm X and his transformation is one of the notable occurrences of Black American identity in the search for racial equivalence. The period that Malcolm X spent in jail made him from an unruly boy to a Civil Rights leader. This intellectual enlightenment profoundly shaped his view of race, identity, and institutionalized tyranny. For example, prison literature developed as a hub on which he rebuilt his identity, sustained himself through independent education and evolved towards a rational understanding of the intricate aspects of Black identity in the United States. Significant to the investigation of prison literature and its influence on the growth of Malcolm X, the role of literary works and personal narratives for racial equality and comprehension should be taken into account with the broader insinuations of the actions that took place.

Malcolm X is known as one of the supreme symbols in the African American community and also as a Muslim minister. His beliefs significantly reformed during his entire lifetime. He firmly advocated for Black Nationalism and separatism, where self-determination and the autonomy of Black people were essential concepts. Malcolm X converted from Christianity to Islam, which aimed for a political reformation, more than a religious faith. That intensely influenced his thoughts about race and society during those years of his life. He said at this stage that a necessary step to overcoming the deadly threat of racism meant organizing a Black entity in an independent space, insisting that integration alone would not be enough. Malcolm X's exploration of Black identity within the prison system is marked by a profound understanding of the connection between race and identity, significantly influencing his literary bestowment. He learned the terrible reality behind systemic oppression inside the penitentiary more deeply than had been possible outside, and this allowed him to build a greater awareness of the crises encountered in America, thus inspiring action toward change among Black Americans.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Malcolm X's progressing beliefs demonstrated an increasing recognition of the complexities associated with race relations and a conviction in the potential for establishing a more just and equitable society. Malcolm X remains a strong icon for social and racial justice. His eloquence and literary work inspired many people who endured to stand for several aspects of rights.

The lack of prison literature would challenge the small influence on the intellectual and personal development of Malcolm X. In prison, however, he became an ardent reader of books that impacted his outlook affectionately. These include noticeable writings by Marcus Garvey, which offered historical reference to the Black power and self-autonomy. Those scriptures led him to see the matters connecting to justice and noble integrity. Therefore, through self-learning, Malcolm X metamorphosed his identity from hopelessness to purpose, constructing a basis for his future activism. He used those in his later speeches, with the theme of self-reliance, pride, and the inescapability of opposing oppression imbibed into them.

In the echoes of his identity, he deeply spoke with his inmates in the prison and found an understanding of the standing of community and solidarity for marginalized people. He also developed his knowledge that the mutual experiences of racism and disenfranchisement were not isolated incidents but rather belonged to a broader concern of the whole system. This understanding was the foundation on which his belief stood philosophy with a foundation rooted in group identity and opposition to a culture that wanted to wash away one's sense of self as a Black man.

Also, the personal threats to Malcolm X's life and the broader implications are far away. These effects extend beyond his person to perpetuate the struggle for racial justice and equality within the United States. His narrative aids as a fascinating framework in dissecting the complexities of Black American identity. Personal

experiences offer opportunities for insight into collective challenges. A distinguished example is Malcolm X, whose life is an archetypal paradigm of how personal story informs understanding of the broader context within the systemic racism operates and the fight for civil rights. His philosophies would be applied to current debates about identity and race, as they provide the groundwork for making sense of modern-day challenges facing Black Americans.

In the end, the new experience of Malcolm X, particularly from his time in prison was an insightful finding of Black American identity through literature and personal testimony. This intellectual revitalization, having the power of reading in his hands, had the power to redefine his identity and purpose; the exploration of what race and systematic oppression within the Prison led to a new realization, which understood the value of communal struggle and comrade solidarity. In the present context, the visions of Malcolm X still influence contemporary. The continued battle with racial issues, inequality, and injustice, as exhibited by the lessons learned from Malcolm X's life, highlights the importance of education, community, and resilience in dealing with adversity.

II. MALCOLM X: THE POWERFUL REVIVALIST FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN RIGHTS

Malcolm took the surname "X" to signify a break he had with his white slave master heritage. The most protuberant characteristic of the Nation of Islam is Malcolm X. This organizational movement highlighted religious and political aspects of the idea of promoting Black Nationalism and self-determination. Malcolm X inclined towards Black Nationalism in the early 1950s and quickly emerged as a captivating leader. He is an example of the Black Power movement, which called on blacks to assume liberation and fight for justice. Malcolm X's rhetorical skills and texts were an inspiration to many African American activists fighting for justice and equality in the matter of racial issues. The oratory ideas of Malcolm X often contradicted the positions adopted by other

leaders in the civil rights movement, like Martin Luther King Jr. Malcolm X believed that violence is needed to promote racial justice. Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York City. How he died sparked a massive outcry across the country, strengthening the energy of the Black Power movement. Malcolm X's legacy is an example of animate social justice organizations throughout the world. His autobiography is one of the most influential works in American literature, making for a compelling narration of his life and experiences. While Malcolm X finally became a leader of the Nation of Islam and a supposed icon of the Black Power movement, his identity is more complex than these roles suggest. He also lived being a good Muslim, a dutiful family man, and a passionate voice of social justice. His story is a historical, monumental, account of human resilience, self-determination, and relentless pursuit of racial equality.

Malcolm X stands as one of the most influential yet polarizing figures in the American civil rights movement. As a revivalist, he did not merely advocate for civil rights—he redefined the very nature of resistance among African Americans, emphasizing dignity, self-reliance, and militant self-defense over passive endurance. His legacy is not confined to the radicalism he was often criticized for during his life; rather, it is embedded in the empowerment of Black identity and the reinvigoration of political consciousness in the mid-20th century.

Unlike his contemporaries, particularly Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X's vision for change was rooted in a deep skepticism of white liberalism and the promises of integration. He argued that systemic racism was not a social ill that could be corrected through moral persuasion but a deeply entrenched structure of oppression that required radical transformation. This analysis resonated with many African Americans who had grown disillusioned with slow progress and continued injustices even after landmark legal victories like *Brown v. Board of Education*. Malcolm X's rhetoric, often branded as militant, provided a necessary counterbalance to the more conciliatory approaches of other civil rights leaders, thereby broadening the scope of Black political expression.

A pivotal aspect of Malcolm X's influence lies in his articulation of Black pride. Through his work with the Nation of Islam and later as an

independent voice after his pilgrimage to Mecca, he consistently challenged the internalized racism that plagued African American communities. His emphasis on reclaiming African heritage, rejecting Eurocentric standards of beauty and identity, and building economic independence were revolutionary ideas that laid the foundation for the later Black Power movement. In this way, Malcolm X served not just as a political figure, but as a cultural revivalist, urging African Americans to redefine themselves on their own terms.

Moreover, his evolution over time highlights the complexity of his philosophy. After his break with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X adopted a more global perspective, identifying with anti-colonial struggles across Africa and Asia. His shift toward pan-Africanism and human rights advocacy revealed a maturing ideology that sought justice not only for African Americans but for oppressed peoples worldwide. This transformation challenges the simplistic characterization of Malcolm X as merely a separatist or extremist, showcasing instead a leader capable of growth and deep reflection.

In conclusion, Malcolm X's contribution to the African American struggle for justice was far more than rhetorical defiance; it was a powerful revival of Black identity, self-respect, and collective purpose. His legacy continues to influence modern social movements that prioritize racial justice, autonomy, and systemic change. In the face of persistent racial inequalities, Malcolm X's voice remains a compelling call to action—fierce, unapologetic, and fundamentally transformative.

III. THE IMPACT CREATED BY MALCOLM X ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Malcolm X became an unavoidable figure in the Civil Rights Movement; his approach to problems of society was entirely different from other leaders. He was committed to Black Nationalism and self-defence, and his approach was often aggressive and stubborn. He paved a separate path and unique structure called radicalization; his rhetorical style of Malcolm X led the movement to a much more radical path as it questioned the mainstream standard of peaceful protests. His advocacy for self-defence and, in certain cases, violence found an echo among several African Americans who felt that integration was not adequate to address systemic racism and

discrimination. The ideology of Black Nationalism had always said that African Americans needed to advocate for self-determination and liberation. Malcolm X's message transcended the geographical borders of the United States

Malcolm X's influence stemmed from his insistence on viewing civil rights as part of a broader human rights struggle. Unlike leaders who primarily targeted U.S. domestic policies and racial segregation, Malcolm X internationalized the issue, drawing parallels between the African American experience and colonial struggles in Africa and Asia. This global lens allowed him to reframe the plight of Black Americans as not just a matter of civil liberties but of human dignity and justice. His speeches at forums such as the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations were early indicators of this shift, and they inspired a more radical, global perspective within segments of the civil rights movement.

One of Malcolm X's most significant contributions was his emphasis on psychological and cultural liberation. He challenged African Americans to reject the dominant narrative that portrayed them as inferior, urging them instead to embrace their African heritage and to develop pride in their identity. This cultural awakening, fueled by Malcolm's rhetoric, became a catalyst for the Black Power movement in the late 1960s, and continues to influence discussions of race and identity today.

Though often cast as a militant counterpoint to King's philosophy of nonviolence, Malcolm X's stance was more nuanced. He did not promote aggression but advocated for self-defense in the face of violence. His famous declaration, "by any means necessary," underscored his belief that African Americans had a right to protect themselves from racial aggression. This message resonated particularly with younger Black activists who were frustrated with the slow pace of change and the continued brutality faced by their communities, even amidst peaceful protests.

Malcolm X's assassination in 1965 cut short what many believe was an ongoing evolution in his thought. In the final year of his life, after his departure from the Nation of Islam and pilgrimage to Mecca, his views began to reflect a more inclusive understanding of the struggle for justice, signaling the potential for unity across racial and

religious lines. This transformation showed that Malcolm X was not only a man of conviction but one of intellectual growth and political maturity.

His journeys and public addresses drove worldwide anti-colonial and anti-racist campaigns, highlighting the universal aspect of racism. The "black power movement," which emerged during the late 1960s, must, by its right, be seen as part and parcel of the Black Power legacy. It is, after all, that movement that called for Black pride, self-determination, and empowerment in both political and economic fields. Malcolm's philosophical beliefs and articulateness formed the core of this movement that continues to influence American society today. Malcolm X's views are balanced on a militant stance against King's philosophy of non-violence. Therefore, King's ideology would not be too centralized on one narrow perspective and view: on the integration movement and non-violent protest. The willingness to challenge the status quo head-on with direct action as a crusade against racism was deemed necessary and a condition for victory in the struggle. It is a common consensus that no other figure has affected the Civil Rights Movement as much as Malcolm X. His extremist rhetoric, Black Nationalist ideology, and international influence all contributed to the course and vision through which the movement was shaped. Even though his claims of succession and leadership were sometimes compatible with those of his peers, his role in the struggle for racial equity and justice was undoubtedly integral.

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Indigenous Knowledge for Environmental Sustainability: A Case Study on the Santhal Community

Dr. Laxmiram Gope⁵, Sujit Kuiry⁹, Shaktipada Mahato⁵, Dr. Priyanka Karunamay⁹

ABSTRACT

By nature, Indigenous Knowledge is known as the traditional cum situational knowledge. It is considered traditional because it is passed down from generation to generation through various means, such as verbal instruction, trial and error, and hands-on experience, achieved by being deeply involved in the natural atmosphere or situation. Indigenous knowledge is grown and nurtured in a setting that is based on informal learning that flows spontaneously from community life in which people are not outsiders or impartial observers but a teaching which is deeply embedded and embodied in the sense where emotion, intuition, and understanding of place and nature play the most vital role in imparting unique strategies which assist in maintaining and sustaining the lives of the community. Therefore, through this study, the researchers would like to explore, explain and different aspects cum operation and coordination of the system of indigenous knowledge within Santhal community and its sustainability about the environmental sustainability, that is whether these indigenous knowledge practices have authentic implications at the present juncture of ecological crisis or not? Many argue in favour of incorporating indigenous knowledge practices in formal education. So now the question arises, can Indigenous Knowledge practices strengthen our education process, and how does it aid empowerment? Looking at the developmental strategies, we were find mainly two types of developmental strategies, i.e., the global strategy and the Indigenous way or local ways of developmental tactics. Both development process has their distinct orientation and implications. Through this paper, the researchers identify the indigenous knowledge practised by the Santhal community in the Purulia District of West Bengal. The Santhal community has an indigenous knowledge pattern deeply associated with environmental perspectives in sync with the three pillar of sustainability. Social, economic, and ecological sustainability. Santhal civilization firmly believes in the '3J' Model, i.e., JAL, JANGAL, AND JAMIN (WATER, FOREST, AND LAND), that is, a man cannot sustain without these three natural gifts.

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I. INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

By nature, Indigenous Knowledge is known as the traditional cum situational education & place-based knowledge, it is considered traditional because it can be transferred from generation to generation through verbal, trail error, doing of content and practical ways such as learning by doing, learning by experiencing and learning by performing by deeply involved in the natural atmosphere. This knowledge is also considered as poor people's knowledge because it is linked to the survival strategies of the poor people, who live in very remote, rural, and hilly areas where modern facilities are not often available. So they grow and nurture in a specific kind of knowledge pattern commonly known as indigenous knowledge. Through the study, *Das Gupta (2012)* argued that indigenous knowledge is crucial because it is viable, accessible, and affordable to the respective tribal communities of West Bengal. In another study conducted by *Prof Roy (2014)* on *indigenous technical knowledge*, the author has explored that the indigenous technical knowledge is based on modern scientific technical knowledge. Another pioneer work was conducted by *Prof Roy (2008)*. The title of this study was *Ethno-Pedagogy: Education of Tribes, Teacher's Training*. Through this study, he identified the Ethno-Pedagogical knowledge and developed an intervention model for incorporating this ethno-pedagogy into the formal teacher education curriculum. Therefore, from the above study, researchers reached at the point that the tribal communities and their indigenous practices have many utilizations from developmental perspectives. For Example, helps in learning unique strategies that assist in maintaining and sustaining the lives of the communities. This traditional approach of knowing creates a unique pedagogical content, i.e., Indigenous pedagogy, which is the art of crisis management, and every tribal community member has certain skills through which they manage their life through the utilization of minimum costs. *Dr.Gope et al (2017)* conducted a study on '*Identification of Indigenous Knowledge for*

Sustainable Development Practiced by the Santhal Community'. Through this study researchers explored that the tribals communities of West Bengal has many indigenous crisis management techniques such as family management, food crisis management, water crisis management, community crisis management, forest resources management, interpersonal management, relationship management, marriage ('*Bafla*' according to the Santhal '*Bafla*' is core relationship management tactic, they manage the relationship through the '*Baflas*' means marriage). Hence, if we want to transform indigenous knowledge into a formal educational process, we must build a unique place-based pedagogy qua indigenous pedagogy, which is relevant for risk management. For this purpose, tribal indigenous knowledge is helpful; specially Santhal women have unique traditional pedagogical knowledge cum indigenous pedagogy or ethno-pedagogy through which they sustain the mother earth as well as their '*family, community and society*'. These pedagogic practices are reflected through various means such as agriculture, animal husbandry, indigenous health care, traditional healing, indigenous fishing, nature study, land resource management, collection of natural resources from the forest, and crisis management tactics. Basically, the tribal communities of West Bengal learn through trial and error, observing the natural facts through close attachment and wisdom developed over a long time that is valid and reliable insofar as the perception of ground reality of society as well as nature is concerned. Simultaneously, they can understand the natural phenomena due to their deep involvement with nature. Whenever they face a problem, they try to manage it through the indigenous crisis management techniques that are already embedded in their experience. It is observed that tribal communities of Bengal have deep faith in their old heritage, in which the ancestral or old community members play a very crucial role both in the crystallization of social

norms and the transmission of wisdom to the young community members. Thus, socialization and acculturation in tribal communities are always in sync with their cultural beliefs as well traditional practices. Another study conducted by Das Gupta & Saha (2008) on *Indigenous knowledge—Imperative for Environmental Sustainability*, emphasizes that development must be integral to the local ecosystem and the local people's culture. Local people's culture and the traditional practices too are in a dynamic balance with the changing biophysical and socioeconomic circumstances. So through this study, researchers reached the point that indigenous knowledge practiced by the tribal people of West Bengal has ecological and environmental crisis management ethics, through which they can reduce the anti-ecological agendas and be able to develop the sustainable world in all respects, i.e., economically, socially, and environmentally. Bhattacharya. D (2008) in his study has focused on the weather forecasting aspect—an aid to environmental awareness. By this study, the researcher explored that the indigenous knowledge system has unique value for weather forecasting. Indigenous community members have a special faculty to perceive abnormality in nature, and they get the indication of upcoming weather changes through guesswork and due to their proximity to nature. Obviously, it is not the occult power that they might worship. Still, it results from the bond they share in their daily life, their economy, and rituals, which create a comprehensive worldview as well as generate insight regarding the natural calamity. Therefore, through this study, the researcher reveals and explains the coordination between Indigenous Knowledge with crisis management with authentic implications for the 21st century when risks of climate change and climate disaster are increasing proportionately with unsustainable modernization and consumerist lifestyle. Hence, many people now realise and propose incorporating indigenous knowledge practices in the formal educational process.

Here, a pertinent question arises: how can Indigenous educational practices be used to strengthen crisis management tactics? If we look at the developmental strategies, we will find mainly two types of such strategies, i.e., global strategy and another is indigenous way or local ways of developmental tactic; both development processes have their unique essence and implications in

different contexts, and they bear conflict management tactics or methods. Through this article, the researchers identify unique Indigenous Knowledge practised by the tribal people of West Bengal, especially in Purulia District in the westernmost part of West Bengal and which can be assimilated to make practical life more resilient from the perspective of crisis management tactics. In the Purulia district, large numbers of Santhal community member reside, and their social customs are very helpful for crisis management. Within the Santali Samaj, they have different social strata, and according to these strata, they classify various sects of their community members, i.e., *Manjhi Hadam* (considered to be the village head, he regulates the conflict within the Santali Samaj, hence his position is considered very prestigious). The Santhal community has an indigenous knowledge pattern that is deeply associated with environmental perspectives dealing with three pillars of sustainability, i.e., *social, economic, and environmental sustainability*.

Basically, Santhal civilization firmly believes in the '3J' Model, i.e., *JAL, JANGAL, AND JAMIN* (WATER, FOREST, AND LAND). A man cannot sustain life without these three natural gifts. By this natural and spontaneous perception that exists among the Santhal community, they are able to discern natural phenomena deeply, and it is a very unique knowledge of the said community that can be collected to devise appropriate strategies to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 agenda. Through this paper, researchers first identified Indigenous Knowledge practiced by the Santhali people and propose to utilize these strategies for empowering women through indigenous education. The need for women's empowerment at this juncture is crucial for the inclusive growth of a nation. In this scientific and sophisticated technological era, when we speak of momentous transformation, the question is how it can be achieved without gender justice? So, women's empowerment is an equally important postulate that we cannot gloss over. The expression of George Herbert Palmer that "One mother equal to a hundred school teachers" is but an in-depth realization. So, it is necessary to empower women in the areas of the economic, social, political, and cultural fields through the process of the spread of literacy, cognitive development, awareness building, and allied training. The present education system, therefore, needs to incorporate Indigenous

Knowledge inherent in communities like 'Santhal, Munda, Orao, Birhor', Sabar, and so on, which can be utilised for the purpose of new curriculum construction that would be more grounded, culturally oriented, and effective for society. This Indigenous Knowledge gives importance to local culture, language, and social customary laws of the indigenous peoples. Most educationists have opined to build new education for the new millennium through cultural context, collective, holistic, and adaptive perspectives.

Indigenous Knowledge applies to the micro level or at the grassroots level because it is developed over centuries by local communities with a long history of interaction with their natural surroundings and settings.

This study seeks to explore Indigenous Knowledge and its possibility of empowering rural women with special reference to the Santhal community of Purulia district, West Bengal. The main objective of this study was to analyse Indigenous Knowledge and how it can contribute to the empowerment of women. The ethnographic research design was adopted for the study. The researchers used observation and contextual interview techniques to collect the data from 80 women of the Santhal community of Purulia district, which constitutes the sample size for the study. Analyses were carried out using percentage distribution.

II. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

To explore, explain and different aspects cum operation and coordination of the system of indigenous knowledge within Santhal community

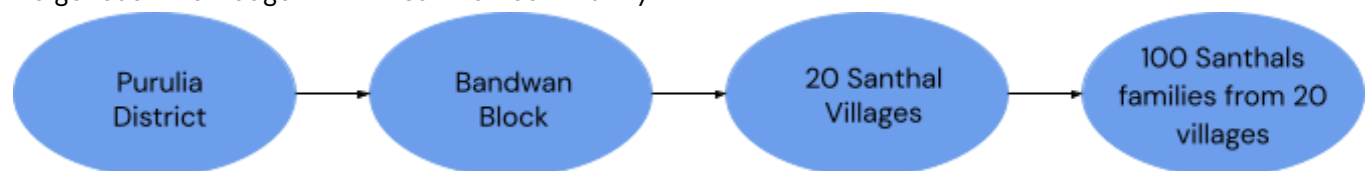


Figure 1: Sampling Area

and its sustainability in relation to the environmental sustainability

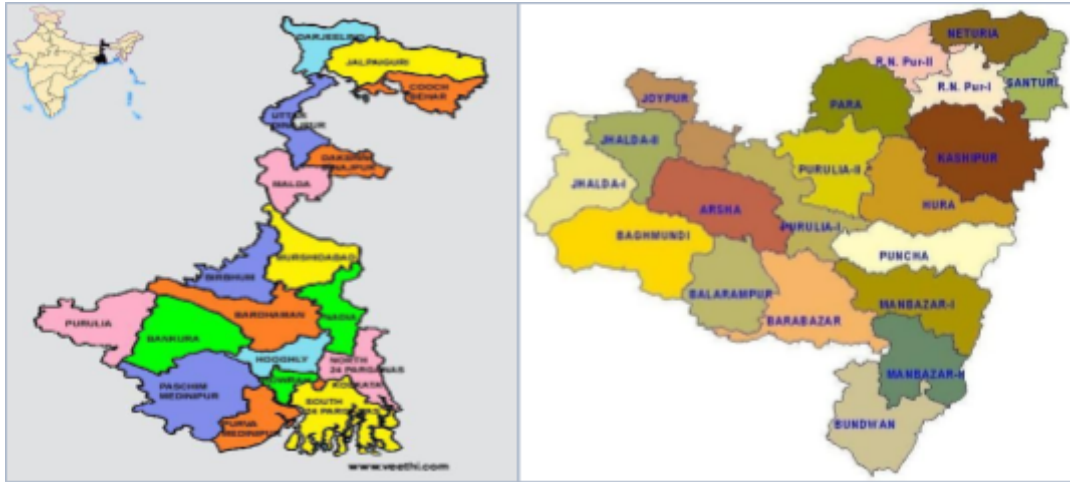
This article explored the possibility of indigenous knowledge for meeting the challenges of environmental sustainability.

III. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The researcher administered an ethnographic approach to fulfill the above objective. According to the ethnographic approach, researchers conduct naturalistic enquiry such as observation, field notes, and unstructured interviews, and in some cases, they conduct the 'case study' method for data collection. The researchers visited 20 Santal villages, including five families from each village.

Table 1: Sampling villages

| Sl. No | Village Name | Gram Panchayat | Remarks (Each village has five families) |
|--------|--------------|-------------------|--|
| I. | Bhogidi | Chirudih | Five family |
| II. | Chirudi | Chirudih | Five family |
| III. | Jharibad | Chirudih | Five family |
| IV. | Kaera | Chirudih | Five family |
| V. | Jorsal | Kuilapal | Five family |
| VI. | Kesra | Chirudih | Five family |
| VII. | Mangal | Bandwan | Five family |
| VIII. | Bhasmkata | Chirudih | Five family |
| IX. | Hargara | Chirudih | Five family |
| X. | Sirisgora | Bandwan | Five family |
| XI. | Kadaya | Kumra | Five family |
| XII. | Asanpani | Kuchia | Five family |
| XIII. | Kunchia | Kuchia | Five family |
| XIV. | Makopali | Kuchia | Five family |
| XV. | Pachapani | Kuchia | Five family |
| XVI. | Senkebasa | Kuchia | Five family |
| XVII. | Shalidih | Kuchia | Five family |
| XVIII. | Dhanpora | Dhadka | Five family |
| XIX. | Latajharna | Kumra | Five family |
| XX. | Aspara | Bandwan | Five family |
| Total | 20 Villages | 06 Gram Panchayat | 100 families |



Pic 1: Political Map of Purulia District (Sample area)

IV. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Area of the study: The study was conducted in the Bandwan block of Purulia district of West Bengal, India. This study area is very remote and hilly; therefore, there is no proper transparent system and modern facilities of life, like a public health care system, water tank, etc. So people depend on traditional science (indigenous science) in this area.

Nature of the study: Basically, this study is a naturalistic inquiry because researchers have special insight regarding the Santhal community since their childhood, and researchers are well acquainted with the Santhal practices and habits, though researchers collect data from various sources. However, participatory observation was the primary basis of this study, but researchers also prepared an unstructured questionnaire for the expert group. Therefore, the study is based on primary as well as secondary sources of data. Later on, researchers also conducted extensive library work.

4.1 Data collection tool

Population of the Study: All the Santhal community members in the Purulia district are considered as population of the study.

Sample and the Sampling Procedure: Twenty Santhal Villages were selected randomly, and then a stratified random sampling technique was used for the data collection. The sample was

classified by age group: male, female, literate, and illiterate.

V. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This section deals with the study's findings. The researchers juxtaposed the findings with two or more Indigenous knowledge components, i.e., Indigenous land management techniques, Indigenous health care, and Indigenous housing management tactics, which are part and parcel of crisis management. The tribes of West Bengal manage their lives through the utilization of Indigenous knowledge. Hence, the researchers have identified various components of Indigenous Knowledge and its essential aspects related to crisis management.

The findings indicate that the tribal communities nurture and bear many community perspectives and their practices have a unique knowledge pattern born of their inter-generational wisdom, their simple lifestyle and economy that banks on forests, and rituals which are integrally linked to nature and it develop a unique outlook that is never artificial, synthetic and unsustainable. Here, what is important is the informal education system. The practices it generates hold deep indignity, and such indigenous practices have many aspects of crisis management and to empower abilities in food production, such as *farming style, natural resource management, cooking, animal husbandry, child rearing, indigenous medicine, food preparation and preservation, health care, traditional healing* and so on.

The uniqueness of tribal communities of West Bengal is reflected in their fondness for dance, drama, songs, and social functions. So, these cultural activities often become coterminous with their collective unique self-identity, and they identify themselves through these cultural activities. The researchers have sought to explore various conflict regulation practices practised by the tribal communities of Bengal. Here they have identified more than 20 indigenous practices associated with conflict management by the tribals communities through participatory cum focused group discussion. Most of the tribal community members have opined that they manage their lives through traditional norms. Majhi Hadam and Jog Majhi are the key people in this regard. They make decisions in family matters, and they help the youth to make just decisions.

1. Indigenous land management technique: (Tribal community members manage the land, particularly agricultural land, through these unique management tactics).
2. Indigenous health care: Tribal community members manage their health issues and concerns through indigenous health care techniques; in this regard, they have faith in traditional healers, who treat people with great sensitivity at minimal costs.
3. Indigenous housing: (This is a unique kind of knowledge among the tribal community members. They built and managed their house with their ancient wisdom, as old member of the community instructed; they followed that instruction according to their faith and belief system.
4. Indigenous animal husbandry
5. Indigenous child-rearing practices
6. Indigenous forest resources management practices
7. Indigenous agriculture and land fertilization techniques.
8. Indigenous ritualistic practices and indigenous arts and crafts, especially bamboo craft.
9. Indigenous fishing and fisheries.
10. Indigenous horticulture
11. Woodwork and designing
12. Indigenous seed preserving
13. Indigenous cooking
14. Indigenous family management practices
15. Indigenous cottage industries
16. Indigenous food processing
17. Indigenous water resource management

18. Indigenous musical instruments
19. Indigenous relationship making and exchanging
20. Indigenous communication and transport
21. Indigenous religious practices.
22. Indigenous development strategies mean what the indigenous Santhal perceived as development in the context of modern developmental practices.



Figure 2: Indigenous knowledge practiced by the Santhal community

The indigenous house decorating process by the Santhal community women is unique because it involves a knowledge pattern for sustaining their houses. Their aesthetic sense helps them manage the conflict inherent within society and the family.

Above all, these knowledge spheres are missing and have disappeared from the indigenous community, particularly from the tribal community, because of a lack of proper respect and nourishment of this indigenous knowledge. We academics have much arrogance and a taste for modern knowledge developed and emerged from a sophisticated laboratory. Due to recognition of this Indigenous Knowledge and its application in crisis

management at large scales, it rapidly missing and becoming endangered. Nowadays, our academics, policy makers, and educationists have become very much interested in Eurocentric knowledge, and they are motivated by and leading to Eurocentric knowledge (*A knowledge pattern developed, grown, and nurtured by Europe or the West*). However, our former prime minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, emphasized this knowledge through the National Knowledge Commission in 2005. And now, our National Education Policy (2020) also emphasizes regional languages and indigenous ways of knowing and looking at the world.



Table 2: Indigenous knowledge practices practiced by tribal communities of West Bengal

| Sl. No. | Name of indigenous knowledge practices practiced by the tribal communities of West Bengal | Implications for environmental sustainability |
|---------|---|---|
| 1 | Natural colour preparation | Manage the house and uphold the sense of beauty. These practices promote ecosystem practices among the tribal community. |
| 2 | Land management/agricultural activity | Tribals have very deep knowledge regarding land and soil. They manage the soil resources through their knowledge system. Save soil, water, and forest, through this value concept, they sustain our Mother Earth. |
| 3 | Preparation of natural fertiliser | The Tribal community manages its economic life through natural resources. It practices resource integrity and maximizes the use of natural resources for resource generation. It does not use chemical pesticides, even for marketing, and it doesn't believe in making a profit by compromising its environmental ethic. |
| 4 | Knowledge about food preparation through natural products. | Indigenous food preparation helps them to address their food crisis. |
| 5 | Indigenous health care for sustaining health and well-being. | Indigenous health care helps them to sustain their health-related issue. |

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 7 | Indigenous resources management process | Indigenous communities run their life with minimum resources; their living style is very simple and satisfying with minimum resources. |
| 8 | Indigenous nature study | Indigenous community members are well acquainted with nature and its management tactics. |
| 9 | Indigenous housing | Indigenous community member builds their house with minimal natural resources. |
| 10 | Indigenous handicraft | Indigenous community members collect a livelihood through the use of natural resources in sustainable ways. |
| 11 | Forestry | They believe the forest is the source of all creatures, and they manage their survival crisis through forest resources. |
| 12 | Nature Study | Tribes have unique knowledge and beliefs about nature. They firmly believe that nature is the source of all kinds of resources and that we must worship nature for individual wellness. |
| 13 | Agriculture | <i>There is no culture without agriculture.</i> Most of the tribal community members engage with the agricultural field. |
| 14 | Animal husbandry | Animal husbandry is another economic activity among the tribal communities. They sustained their life through the nurturing animal. |
| 15 | Handcraft /domestic product | Most of the tribal community's members are associated with local resources and have deep knowledge of how to manage them. They also prepare household instruments with the help of local Resources. |
| 16 | Fishing style with unique ways: A new pattern developed by community members. | Among the tribal communities, they have much knowledge of fishing, through those arts, they catch fish. |
| 17 | Childrearing practices: | The tribal community in West Bengal nurtures its children with great sensitivity, and in this regard, it has developed a unique knowledge pattern for child-rearing. |

From the above table, we reached a point that the tribal communities of West Bengal do possess deep indigenous crisis management tactics, and these practices we must document and incorporate into the formal schooling for strengthening the '*Knowledge Horizon for Crisis Management for achieving environmental sustainability.*' This indigenous knowledge not only has the potential for crisis management and empowerment for tribal masses, but it has tremendous transformative potential for sustainable development, especially the 2030 Agenda or the SDGs. Through this knowledge pattern, we can develop an inclusive society with equity and equality within the society for sustainable development.

VI. CONCLUSION

'Everything on earth has a purpose, every disease has an herb to cure it, and every person has a mission to fulfil. This is the Indian theory of existence. Documentation of indigenous knowledge is urgent and of utmost importance for achieving Environmental sustainability. This situational cum indigenous knowledge plays a pivotal role in strengthening our developmental process when we are facing unforeseen disasters of tremendous magnitude, and our lives in the globalised setting is becoming precarious. Another Indian proverb shows the importance of natural resources in human life. This proverb teaches us the importance of nature in human life, 'Only when the last tree has

died and the last river has been poisoned and the last fish has been caught will we realize cannot eat money.' (Ancient Indian Proverb).

Tribal community members, particularly the Santhals, worship nature as a 'Marangburu' and devote the tree, land, and river as a God. In this way, they sustain themselves on this earth. One elder Santhal community member opined that the forest is not a resource for us; it is life itself. We were unable to live without the forest. It is the only place for us to live in harmony. Tribals are very keen on the forest and its essence. Santhal community male and female members discuss social issues and make decisions through the strong bond with

nature and natural surroundings. Therefore, whenever any challenges come from the nature perspective, Santhal community members took up arms for the protection of nature, they thought that nature is a gift and only nature can sustain and survive. One small incidents open our eyes, i.e, Santhal not only has faith in the living beings but also in non-living such as woods, stone, leaf of the tree. Thus they don't over the anthropocentric world view which focuses on the betterment of the human being only, rather than the creature-centric welfare. Planets are for everyone, not only for the betterment of human beings but also to advocate the beyond sustainability.



THE RESEARCHERS COLLECTED DATA THROUGH A
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION



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A Study Of Western Influences On Indian English Playwrights And Themes

Dr. Neelam Hooda⁵

ABSTRACT

The playwright, as other people can't stay unaffected to the quakes of progress in the public arena. They witness the adjustment of society and intensely look for new devices to etch out their viewpoints. All major playwrights have been impacted by certain authors and developments whose dramatic craftsmanship mirrors their motivation. There were a few significant conventional effects on the Indian playwrights like the impressions of people's craftsmanship, legends, Sanskrit drama, history as well as famous developments like the Bhakti development on Indian dramatists. Imperialism, patriotism, industrialism, urbanization and westernization got their separate responses in writing. European dramatists like Shakespeare, Henrik Ibsen, Sartre, Shaw and Camus and developments like therapy, absurdism, existentialism, communism and women's rights motivated Indian dramatists. The paper concentrates on the effect of conventional and western impacts on Indian dramatists, and how these variables changed the essence of Indian Drama.

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Keywords: Craftsmanship, imperialism, industrialism, communism, absurdism, existentialism.

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Read Online: <https://bit.ly/4igVicn>

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I. INTRODUCTION

Drama has been enhanced because of the combination of the rich old-style custom of the past and the advanced western ideas. It makes intriguing review to follow the development of European effects on Indian Dramatists. At the point when the English came to Calcutta, they carried with them, their adoration for Shakespeare.

Shakespeare was shown in the Hindu School. Shakespearean plays were at that point being organized in theaters. The English gave their adoration for Shakespeare to their Indian subjects also. Indian English drama has been affected by Elizabethan overall and Shakespearean drama specifically. The significant commitment was the

idea of misfortune, which was unfathomable in Traditional Sanskrit drama. Both Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore attempted to make pictures of widespread fellowship and world culture however their work was viewed with doubt.

Aurobindo was an insatiable peruser, and had gone through literary works of different nations too. He was intrigued by the world Works of art. His *Perseus the Deliverer* draws its topic from Greek folklore. His *Viziers of Bassora* is enlivened by stories from the Middle Eastern Evenings. Like Shakespeare he composed lovely plays what's more, enhanced them with components from traditional Sanskrit writing. *Perseus the Deliverer* has all components of an Elizabethan misfortune however follows the practice of a cheerful closure as in Hindu or Greek drama. The topic of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* addresses Aurobindo's perspectives on patriotism and opportunity.

Tagore's plays are a combination of Bengali people drama, Sanskrit drama, and western dramatic gadgets. However, established in old style Indian practices he connected with western models in his plays. Tagore's plays are like the plays of the Irish playwright W.B. Yeats as the two of them utilize the strategies of imagery.

Aside from Shakespeare, Indian dramatists were likewise impacted by G.B.Shaw, and Yeats. A few Indian playwrights are obligated to western masterminds like Sartre, Camus, Pinter and Beckett. T. P.Kailasam, whose style is contrasted with Ibsen or Shaw, composed his play *Karna* on comparable customs. Shaw, Sartre, Brecht, Giradoux and Camus returned to their fantasy and history to give a message to contemporary society. In the last part of the sixties and mid-seventies a gathering of contemporary Indian playwrights like Pratap Sharma, Nissim Ezekiel, Gurcharan Das, Asif Currimbhoy, Girish Karnad and Mahesh Dattani had to deal with literary conflicts as is symbolic of their period of social, political, cultural transition. They had to choose between portraying the countries rich cultural past and its colonial past, and had at their disposal traditional as well as western modes of theatrical expression. They wanted their plays to achieve 'universalisation' of the themes.

Girish Karnad clearly states, "To my generation a hundred crowded years of urban theatre seemed to have left almost nothing to hang on to, take off from. And where was one to begin again? Perhaps by looking at our audience again by

trying to understand what experience the audience expected to believe from the theatre" (Authors Introduction Three Plays 11).

Girish Karnad utilizes Brecht's idea of the 'legendary theater' to estrange the crowd from any deception of the real world, so he consolidates fantasy and reality in his plays. Brecht contended that a playwright should not attempt to cause the crowd to accept that the happenings on the stage are genuine, nor would it be a good idea for him he attempts to make the crowd a piece of it, rather he ought to follow the custom of the legendary theater and make the crowd view the occasions on the stage fundamentally, by removing himself. This should be possible by setting the story previously or 'epic' structure. Karnad additionally utilizes the method of 'play within a play' in *Hayavadana* and *The Fire and the Rain*.

Old style components are tracked down in overflow in Indian English Drama. Epics, fantasies, legends and history have been utilized for inspiration, characterisation, and symbolic reason. Narrating is an integral part of Indian culture and expressions whether oral or in composed. The contemporary dramatists have gotten this custom in their plays. Mohan Rakesh in his play *One Day in Aashadha* recounts the tale of Kalidasa. Karnad too gets stories from the epics and different texts and mixes them with western dramatic components to make a futuristic effect. *The Fire and the Rain* shows formal acts of Brahmins. The melody is an integral piece of Indian Society theater and has been incorporated by a few playwrights. Religion, governmental issues, weddings, celebrations, functions, music, family, and ladies' issues have all been a piece of our conventional writings and this custom has been extended in various present-day attires by the contemporary dramatists. There has been a mingling of the East and the West in our dramatic result, a characteristic peculiarity in the period of quick globalization, modernisation, and correspondence. Drama today isn't simply a method for entertainment.

Whether it is Greek, Roman, English, or Indian, drama has forever been a transporter of social and political changes. Having bloomed with time, by depicting changed content and topics, Indian drama has made some amazing progress from being philosophical, strict, verifiable, and fanciful to being the Contemporary Indian English Drama. It has veered off from depicting divine beings and

kings to showing the average person and his real factors and has become focused on bringing an adjustment of society. Contemporary Indian English drama takes up the topics connected with the urbanized, working class, English speaking society which is undergoing a perceptible social, moral, and mental change. Issues like conjugal infidelity and homosexuality are normal subjects of plays like *Do the Needful* and *On a Muggy in Mumbai*.

The need to zero in on the contentions in the existences of contemporary Indians emerges due to the intricacies in their lives. Socio-social situation of India was impacted generally by the pilgrim rule. Conventional Indian culture which originally functioned in a rank based ordered progression was additionally delineated with the expert worker worldview of pioneer rule. Present day living and westernized thinking supported individuals to break liberated from the shackles at familial, social and social levels. Financial development has turned into a measure for individual development and power. Oneself and its fulfillment is the main concern today.

Gurcharan Das in *India-Unbound* talks about the new working class finally, "it has no unmistakable ethos past money and the present time and place. It has no legends other than cricketers and Bollywood stars. The spirit has gone out of the old legitimacy working class, and a forceful private enterprise has supplanted the communist vision of the youth" (328).

These issues have turned into the features of the plays in post-pilgrim India. Local issues have been dramatized and capably introduced and playwrights have raised their voice against social injustice.

The development of Dalit writing is critical in such manner. Mahasweta Devi, in her play *Mother of 1084*, gets the issue of Dalit political uprising. Asif Currimbhoy's *Inquilab* manages the Naxalite development. His play *The Displaced person* discusses entering Bangladesh in 1971. Strict issues have been extended in a few plays as religion is a unifying as well as a dividing force in India. In a nation where such countless religions exist together, struggle or strain is normal and inevitable. Writing conveys these vibrations within itself. Vijay Tendulkar's *Kamala*, Tagore's *Natir Puja*, Dattani's plays are with strict struggles as subject.

Most dramatists have an intense social

inspiration to free society from its ills. Tagore's *Master and Rath Yatra* discuss the inequality in the Hindu standing framework. Vijay Tendulkar discussions about friendly issues, human connections, and ethical quality in his play *Vultures*. Bharati Sarabhai's *The Well Individuals* is based on Gandhian principles of social balance. Badal Sircar's plays *Bhoma* and *Parade* manage the abhorrence's of double-dealing.

Karnad's *The Fire and the Rain* has a low station young lady Nittilai question the blind convictions of upper position Brahmins and the requirement for ceremonies. She is likewise demonstrated to be more moralistic and sympathetic than her high society Brahmins in the play. Family assumes a significant part in Indian culture. Dattani depicts metropolitan families that are harsh and suffocating.

These issues have become the highlights of the plays in post-colonial India. Regional issues have been dramatised and powerfully presented and playwrights have raised their voice against social injustice. The growth of Dalit literature is significant in this regard. Mahasweta Devi, in her play *Mother of 1084*, picks up the issue of Dalit political uprising. Asif Currimbhoy's *Inquilab* deals with the Naxalite movement. His play *The Refugee* talks about entering Bangladesh in 1971. Religious issues have been projected in several plays as religion is a unifying as well as a dividing force in India. In a country where so many religions co-exist, conflict or tension is natural and inevitable. Literature carries these vibrations within itself. Vijay Tendulkar's *Kamala*, Tagore's *Natir Puja*, Dattani's *Final Solutions* are plays with religious conflicts as theme.

Most dramatists have an intense social motivation to liberate society from its ills. Tagore's *Guru and Rath Yatra* talk about the inequality in the Hindu caste system. Vijay Tendulkar talks about social problems, human relationships, and morality in his play *Vultures*. Bharati Sarabhai's *The Well of the People* is based on Gandhian principles of social equality. Badal Sircar's plays *Bhoma* and *Procession* deal with the horrors of exploitation.

Karnad's *The Fire and the Rain* has a low caste girl Nittilai question the blind beliefs of upper caste Brahmins and the need for rituals. She is also shown to be more moralistic and humane than her upper-class Brahmins in the play. Family plays an important role in Indian society. Dattani portrays

urban families that are oppressive and suffocating.

A major development in modern Indian writings including Drama is the growth of a feminist or women- centric approach, which seeks to perceive and project experience, from the point of a feminine consciousness and sensibility. Since Art is a creative expression of human- beings, it mirrors the society to which they belong. It has taken upon itself the onus of not only reflecting the images perceived in society, but also reacting to it and suggesting change. The 'Theatre of Protest' is identified by the rebellious voice it raises against exploitation of the weaker sections of society by those in power. It exposes the ills, horrors and tribulations of the vulnerable classes. It celebrates the will power, desires, and assertion of freedom of the downtrodden. Amidst the many voices, the cries and protests of the women subaltern can be heard distinctly. Theatre has proved to be a source of empowerment and the Indian dramatists have allowed their women to speak out and ask for a change.

A significant improvement in present day Indian writings including Drama is the development of a feminist driven approach, which tries to see and extend insight, from the point of a feminine cognizance and reasonableness. Since Workmanship is an imaginative articulation of people, it reflects the public to which they have a place. It has taken upon itself the onus of not just reflecting the pictures apparent in the public arena, yet additionally reacting to it and suggesting change.

The word 'Feminism' alludes to an intense consciousness of way of life as a lady and interest in feminine issues. It targets understanding the power structures, social practices, social institutions, and their job in the enslavement of ladies. Feminism in writing is worried about the portrayal of ladies in the public arena also, their corresponding position.

Feminism is a development which has its underlying foundations in the western culture. There it arose as a socio- political response, an insurgency, against the enslavement and mistreatment of ladies. Numerous feminist voices arisen in the west and requested their privileges. Journalists like Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Plant, Margaret Fuller, Virginia Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir have investigated the place of ladies and their depiction by male journalists. Mary

Wollstonecraft distributed one of the principal feminists works disasters to bring about balance in the public eye.

A scholarly feminist mission of the western world completely influenced Indian journalists yet they were fixated on two arrangements of values, customary and current. In India as well as in numerous other 'high level' social orders, orientation inequality is as yet an integral part of an acknowledged male dominated culture. Barbarities and discrimination are the two significant issues, which an Indian lady gets through no matter what her position, doctrine, or then again financial status. Ladies remain one of the weakest, and marginalized areas of Indian society.

Thus, Indian English dramatists tried to understand the impediments that society lay before its women and other marginalised sections, and projected them in their drama. From an art form, drama gradually became a vehicle of protest and a mirror of reality. It has become the voice of Humanism, and the call for Humanity.

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